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No HAVEs to GIVE? No problem! On the Lack of Asymmetries between Ditransitive Constructions in Slavic *Have* vs. *Be* Languages

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ABSTRACT

This paper explores a correlation, due to by Harley (2002), that only languages of the world that express predicative possession with a transitive verb akin to English *have* (i.e., languages with P_{HAVE} that incorporates into BE in her terms) are languages which allow double object constructions. We focus on Polish language (a HAVE language) and Russian (a BE-language) and show that the distinction between HAVE and BE languages and the availability of P_{HAVE} does not necessarily affect the properties (or existence) of double object constructions. We next turn to another potential diagnostic for the presence of a PP in a DOC, due to Bondarenko (2018) and involving the availability of restitutive readings in DOCs. We show that Polish and Russian behave alike and both lack restitutive readings in DOCs, which suggests that the presence of a PP/P_{HAVE}, which Polish has and Russian appears to lack, cannot be the factor responsible for restitutive readings

KEYWORDS one · two · three · four

1 INTRODUCING THE ISSUE: HAVE VS. BE-LANGUAGES – CORRELATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS

This paper explores a correlation discussed by Harley (2002) that only languages of the world which express predicative possession with a transitive verb akin to English have, henceforth referred to as Have-languages, are languages which allow double object constructions. Languages of the world differ in how they express predicative possession and can be roughly divided into two groups (see Stassen 2009 for full typology): Have-languages, examples of which are given in (1), and Be-languages, languages which lack a transitive verb used for possession and instead use be, as shown in (2).

(1) HAVE-languages: transitive HAVE; *Possessor* = Subject, *Possessee* = Direct Object

a. I **have** a car. (English)

b. **Mam** samochód. (Polish)
have.1SG car.ACC
'I have a car.'

c. **Imam** kola. (Bulgarian)
have.1SG car.ACC
'I have a car.'

d. Marija **ima** knjigu. (BCS; Browne 1993: 369)
Maria has book
'Maria has a book.'

e. **Imam** hišo. (Slovenian; Priestly 1993: 440)
have.1SG house
'I have a house'

f. J'**ai** une voiture. (French)
I-have.1SG a car
'I have a car.'

g. Une **kam** një laps. (Albanian; Stassen 2009: 65)
I have.1SG.PRS a pencil
'I have a pencil'

h. Sean kitab **darad**. (Farsi)
Sean book has.3SG
'Sean has a book'

(2) BE-Languages: intransitive verb (be, exist), *Possessee* = Subject, *Possessor* = Oblique

a. U menja **(est')** mašina. (Russian)
at me.GEN **(be)** car.NOM
'I have a car.'

b. Man **ir** velosipēds. (Latvian; Harves & Kayne 2012: 122)
me.DAT is bicycle.NOM
'I have a bicycle'

c. Mohan ke-pass ek kitaab **hai**. (Hindi; Harves & Kayne 2012: 122)
Mohan GEN-near one book be.3SG
'Mohan has a book.'

d. Mari-nak **van**-nak kalap-ja -i (Hungarian; Szabolcsi 1994: 44)
Mari-DAT be-3PL hat-POSS.3SG-PL -NOM
'Mari has hats.'

Some HAVE-languages make use of both HAVE and BE (for different types of possessive constructions, as shown in (3)).

(3) Mixed HAVE/BE Possessive languages

a. U Hanny **ësc'** kvatèra. (Belorussian)
at Hanna.GEN be apartment.NOM
'Hanna has an apartment.'

b. Hanna **mae** kvatèru. (Tsedryk 2020: 80)
Hanna.NOM have.3SG apartment.ACC
'Hanna has an apartment.'

c. Jón **er** med blá augu. (Icelandic; Levinson 2011)
Jon.NOM is with blue eyes.ACC
'Jon has blue eyes.'

d. Jón **hefur /*á** blá augu. (Jim Wood, p.c.)
Jon.NOM has /*has blue eyes.ACC
'Jon has blue eyes.'

The presence or absence of a transitive possessive construction (akin to English have) has been argued to correlate with other properties crosslinguistically. For example, Harves & Kayne (2012) point out the generalization in (4), which they build into their analysis of transitive need.

(4) All languages that have a transitive verb corresponding to need are languages that have an accusative case-assigning verb of possession.(Harves & Kayne 2012: 130)

We use Polish and Russian here as examples from Slavic in support of this generalization. Polish, a HAVE-language, has a transitive verb akin to English need (5), while Russian, a BE-language, does not (6).

(5) a. **Mam** samochód. (Polish)
have.1SG car.ACC
'I have a car.'

b. **Potrzebuję** samochód.
need.1SG car.ACC
'I need a car.'[1]

(6) a. U menja **(est')** mašina. (Russian)
at me.GEN **(be)** car.NOM
'I have a car.'
b. Mne nužna mašina.
me.DAT necessary.F.SG car.NOM.F.SG
'I need a car'

Harley (2002) discusses yet another generalization that exists among HAVE-languages of the world, which we state in (7) as a prediction of her analysis.

(7) On transitive *have* and Double Object Constructions (DOCs)
Only HAVE-languages (i.e., languages with a P_{HAVE} in Harley's analysis) are predicted to have Double Object Constructions (DOCs).

If only HAVE-languages are expected to exhibit true Double Object Constructions (DOCs), then we would expect Russian, a BE-language, to lack DOCs, whereas Polish, a HAVE-language, is expected to have them. We show in this paper that in fact, Russian does have true DOCs (8-a), just like Polish (8-b), and that the DOCs in each language pattern alike with respect to diagnostics proposed to distinguish DOCs from Prepositional Dative Constructions (PDCs) in languages such as English (9).

(8) a. Ivan dal Maše knigu.
Ivan.NOM gave Masha.DAT book.ACC
'Ivan gave Masha a book.' (Russian)
b. Jan dał Marii paczkę.
Jan.NOM gave Maria.DAT package.ACC
'Jan gave Maria a package.' (Polish)

(9) a. Basia gave Stephanie some oysters. [Double Object Construction]
b. Basia gave some oysters to Stephanie. [Prepositional Dative Construction]

The facts suggest one of two possibilities for the analysis of Russian, in light of Harley's (2002) proposal. Either (a) Russian lacks Harley's P_{HAVE} altogether and therefore, P_{HAVE} is not involved in DOCs at all or (b) Russian has P_{HAVE} but just doesn't make use of it for predicative possession in the same way that English does (a possibility suggested by Harley for languages such as Japanese and Hiaki). In what follows below, we show that there is mixed evidence for the existence of P_{HAVE} in Russian, following Harley's logic. As we will see, if Russian has P_{HAVE}, then Harley (2002) is in the clear, but a new issue arises for Bondarenko's (2018) discussion of DOCs and restitutive readings, to be discussed below.

The remainder of this paper is organized as follows. In 2 we present Freeze's (1992) analysis for Have as Be + P, which serves as the inspiration for Kayne (1993) and Harley (2002)'s analyses. In 3 we briefly present Harley (2002)'s analysis of Possessives and Double Object Constructions. In 4 we present facts from Slavic ditransitives showing that Russian and Polish behave similarly with respect to diagnostics used to distinguish DOCs from PDCs. In 5 we discuss the status and relevance of restitutive readings in Slavic DOCs for the discussion at hand, and in 6 we conclude with directions for future research.

[1]We note here, in response to an anonymous reviewer, that genitive case is also possible (and considered the prescriptively correct form) with the verb *potrzebować 'need'* in Polish.

2 (SOME) PROPOSALS FOR POSSESSIVE HAVE: WHAT'S P GOT TO DO WITH IT?

Freeze (1992) sets out to provide a unified account of locative, existential and possessive sentences. Examples of each type of sentence are shown in (10) for English and (11) for Russian.

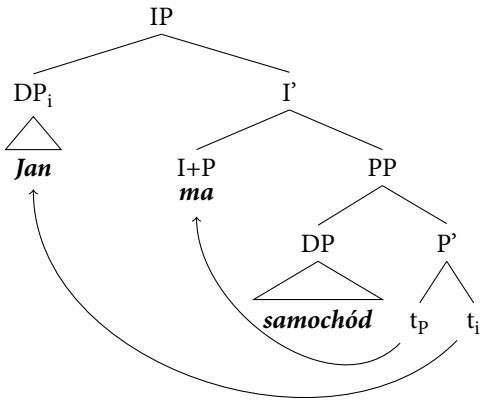
(10) a. The book is on the bench. [locative]
b. There is a book on the bench. [existential]
c. Lupe has a book. [possessive]

(11) a. Kniga byla na stole. [locative]
book.NOM was on table.LOC
'The book was on the table'
b. Na stole byla kniga. [existential]
on table.LOC was kniga.NOM
'There was a book on the table.'
c. U menja byla kniga. [possessive]
at me.GEN was book.NOM
'I had a book.' (Freeze 1992: 553–554)

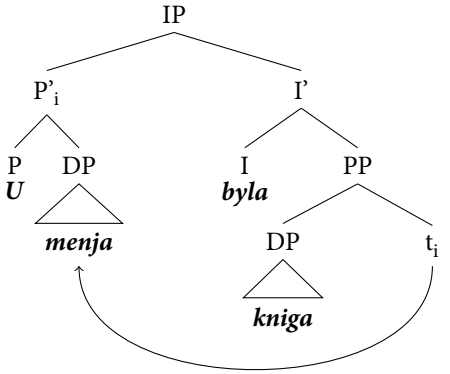
He argues that all three types of sentences start from the same underlying structure. Here we consider two of his derivations, one applied to transitive *mieć* 'have' in Polish in (12-a), and the other to a predicative possessive structure in Russian involving *byt'* 'be.'

(12) Freeze (1992): Possessive *have* = existential *be* + P

a. **Polish** HAVE-possessive Jan ma samochód.
Jan.NOM has car.ACC
'Jan has a car'



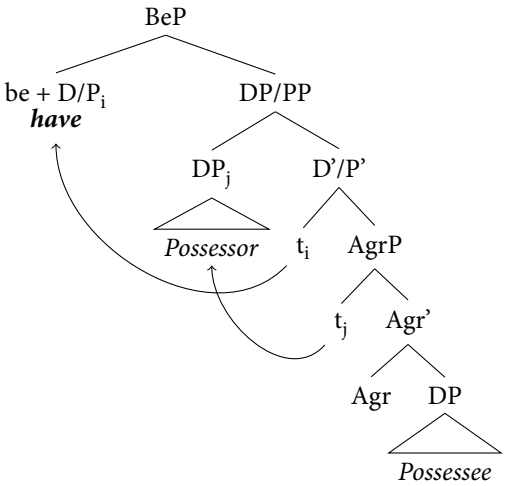
b. **Russian** BE-possessive U menja byla kniga.
at me.GEN was.F.SG book.NOM.F.SG
'I had a book.'



As shown in (12-a), Freeze's proposal for transitive *have* cross-linguistically is that a preposition incorporates into the Inflectional head, which he assumes hosts *be*, resulting in a case-assigning transitive verb *have*. In a BE-language, on the other hand, no such incorporation takes place, leaving *be* and an overt preposition to be spelled out separately.

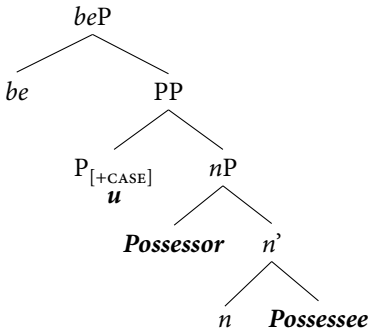
Kayne (1993) builds upon Freeze's analysis, adopting the be + P-incorporation approach to deriving transitive *have*, but notably reversing the c-command relations between the Possessor and Possessee, as shown in (13).

(13) Kayne (1993) (abbreviated)



Jung (2008) adapts Kayne's proposal for Russian, a BE-language, arguing in favor of the structure in (14), based in part upon facts suggesting that the possessor in Russian c-commands the possessee upon External Merge.

(14) Jung (2008) for **Russian**



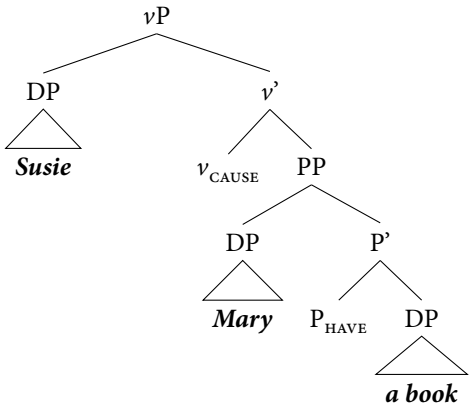
As we'll see next, Harley's (2002) proposal for the underlying structure of DOCs across languages mirrors the c-command relations argued for by both Kayne (1993) and Jung (2008) with respect to the Possessor and Possessee, which are interpreted as the Goal and Theme respectively.

3 HARLEY (2002) ON P_{HAVE} AND THE STRUCTURE OF DOUBLE OBJECT CONSTRUCTIONS

Harley (2002) argues that Double Object Constructions have the underlying structure in (15-b) while Prepositional Dative Constructions have the structure in (16-b).

(15) a. *Susie gave Mary a book* [Double Object Construction]

b.

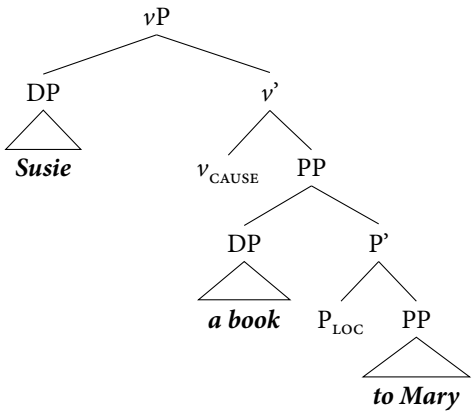


Inspired by the proposals of Freeze (1992) and Kayne (1993) for possessive *have*, Harley adopts a decompositional approach to ditransitive give in which prepositional P_{HAVE} selects for the two internal arguments. It takes the Goal argument in its specifier and the Theme as its complement. v_{CAUSE} selects for the external argument, which Merges in its specifier. Crucially, in (15-b) the Goal *Mary* c-commands the Theme *a book*, much as the Possessor c-commands the Possessee in possessive *have* constructions in both Kayne (1993) and Jung's (2008) proposals in (13) and (14) above.

In the PDC, on the other hand, as shown in (16-b), the Theme c-commands the Goal, the latter of which now appears as a PP complement to a locative prepositional head that Harley calls P_{LOC}.

(16) a. *Susie gave a book to Mary* [Prepositional Dative Construction]

b.



According to Harley (2002), only languages that have P_{HAVE} in their lexicon are languages that have true double object constructions. This raises the following question: How do we know whether a language has P_{HAVE}, other than looking for transitive *have* itself? One response suggested by Harley is the following: "*Languages without* P_{HAVE} *do not allow possessors to c-command possessees* [emphasis ours] and show no evidence of a double-object construction, in which Goals c-command Themes" (Harley 2002: 29).[2] If Harley is correct, then the first step towards establishing the existence of P_{HAVE} in a given language is to look at its predicative possessive constructions to see whether they offer evidence for possessors c-commanding their possessees.

3.1 POLISH: A HAVE-LANGUAGE WITH P_{HAVE}

We begin with Polish, a HAVE-language that we would expect to have P_{HAVE} and therefore show evidence in possessive constructions for Possessors c-commanding their Possessees, in accordance with the structure proposed by Kayne (1993) and adopted by Harley (2002). As the examples in (17) show, this indeed appears to be the case for Polish.

(17) a. Maria$_i$ (w końcu) ma swój$_i$ dom.
Maria.NOM at last has REFL house.ACC
'Maria has her own house.' [Condition A]

b. Każdy doktorant$_i$ ma swojego$_i$ promotora.
every doctoral.student has REFL advisor.ACC
'Every doctoral student has their (own) advisor.' [Quantifier-Variable binding]

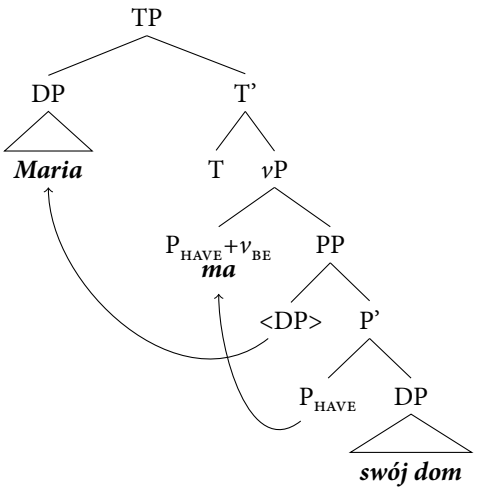
c. *(Ona$_i$) ma książkę Marii$_i$.
she/*pro* has book.ACC Maria.GEN
'She$_i$ has Mary$_i$'s book.' [Condition C]

In (17-a) we see that the nominative Possessor Maria is able to bind an anaphor *swój* in the accusative Possessee *swój dom* 'self's house,' suggesting that it indeed c-commands it, in accordance with Condition A. (17-b) shows that a Possessor containing a quantifier, here *każdy* 'every,' is able to bind the variable in the Possessee containing the reflexive anaphor, here *swojego promotora* 'self's advisor.' Finally, (17-c) indicates that a pronominal Possessor cannot be coreferential with an R-expression contained within the Possessee,

[2]This statement immediately calls to mind Bailyn's (1995, 2010, 2012) analysis of Russian DOCs, in which he argues that Themes c-command their Goals within the VP, based on evidence from anaphor binding (e.g. with the predicate *predstavit'* 'to introduce'). Bailyn's proposal is supported in part by Antonyuk (2015, 2020), who presents data from Quantificational Scope Freezing effects in Russian, arguing in favor of three distinct types of ditransitives in Russian, one of which falls clearly in line with Bailyn's proposal. If Bailyn's (1995) initial analysis of Russian DOCs is correct, then we would not expect Russian to show evidence of a DOC, given the quote from Harley (2002) cited above. However, as we will see below, Russian passes diagnostic tests for identifying DOCs within a language.

yielding a Condition C violation. These facts can all be accounted for with the structure shown in (18).

(18) (=(17-a))

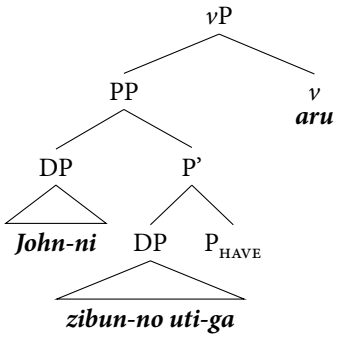


3.2 RUSSIAN: A BE-LANGUAGE WITH OR WITHOUT P_{HAVE}?

We now turn to Russian, a BE-language which we would not a priori assume to have P_{HAVE} in its lexicon but which is not immediately ruled out under Harley's analysis. A language may in fact have P_{HAVE} and not incorporate it into *be*, as Harley argues for Japanese. Japanese is a *have*-less language that nevertheless offers evidence for Possessors c-commanding their Possessees in possessive constructions. For example, the sentence in (19-a), with the structure in (19-b), shows that a dative case-marked Possessor in Japanese can bind a reflexive inside the Possessee.

(19) a. John-ni zibun-no uti-ga aru.
John-DAT self-GEN house-NOM exist
'John has his (own) house.' (Harley 2002: 56)

b. (Harley 2002: 57)



Harley (2002) takes such facts as evidence for the existence of P_{HAVE} in Japanese, which selects for its arguments in the same way that a HAVE-language such as Polish does, albeit in a head-final configuration. The existence of P_{HAVE} in the lexicon of the language is what allows it to build true double object constructions, such as the example in (20).[3]

[3]See Harley (2002), who follows Miyagawa (1997), for arguments that the sentence in (20) is a true DOC in Japanese and not an instance of scrambling the DAT Goal over the ACC Theme.

(20) Bugs-ga Daffy-ni piza-o age-ta.
Bugs-NOM Daffy-DAT pizza-ACC give-PST
'Bugs gave Daffy a pizza.' (Harley 2002: 57)

Returning now to Russian, let us consider whether or not there is evidence in support of the existence of P_{HAVE} in predicative possession, similar to Japanese. At first glance, the examples in (21) indicate that a PP-internal Possessor is able bind reflexive *svoj* 'self's' in the Possessee.

(21) a. [$_{PP}$ U Ivana$_i$] byla svoja$_i$ mašina.
at Ivan.GEN was REFL car.NOM
'Ivan had his own car.' (Jung 2008: 67)
b. Teper' [$_{PP}$ u menja$_i$] est' svoja$_i$ Tesla.
Now at me.GEN BE self's.NOM Tesla.NOM
'Now I have my own Tesla.' [*https://www.drive2.com/b/5569853787922770 28/*]
c. [$_{PP}$ U nas$_i$] est' svoi$_i$ pravila i principy.
at us.GEN BE self's.NOM.PL rules.NOM.PL and principles.NOM.PL
'We have our own rules and principles.'

However, it appears that other DPs contained within some PPs can also bind *svoj*, as shown in the examples in (22). (Or perhaps, no DP binds it at all.)

(22) a. [$_{PP}$ V **xokkee**], kak i v drugix vidax sporta, **svoi**
In hockey, as also in other forms.LOC sports.GEN self's.NOM
steny igrajut značitel'nuju rol'. (Rappaport 1986: 114)
walls.NOM play.3PL significant role.ACC.
'In hockey, as in other sports, **one's own** walls play a significant role.'
b. [PP Meždu **nimi**$_i$] ustanovilis' **svoi**$_i$] osobye otnošenija.
between them.INS established.PST.PL self's.NOM special.NOM relations.NOM
'Their own special relations became established between them.'
(Timberlake 1980)

Complicating this picture further is the fact that the reflexive *svoj* appears to have a number of uses outside of its strictly reflexive interpretation, as discussed by Padučeva (1983). For instance, Nedoluzhko (2016: 110–114) points out a number of places where Russian may use *svoj* to indicate "one's own" but Czech cannot use reflexive *svůj*.

(23) a. [$_{PP}$ U **každogo učenogo**] est' **svoja** biblioteka. (Russian)
at every scientist.GEN BE REFL library.NOM
'Every scientist has their own library.'
b. **Každý vědec** má *svou /vlastní knihovnu. (Czech)
every scientist.NOM has.3SG REFL/own library.ACC
'Every scientist has their own library.'

(24) a. **Svoja** kvartira lučše čem sjemnaja (Russian)
REFL apartment.NOM better than rented.NOM
'One's own apartment is better than a rented one.'
b. *__Svůj__ byt je lepší než nájemní. (Czech)
REFL apartment.NOM is better than rented.NOM
Intended: 'One's own aparment is better than a rented one.'

In sum, testing Condition A effects to determine c-command relations between arguments with *svoj* in Russian possessive structures is not straightforward.

As for using Condition C to test whether the possessor c-commands the possessee in predicate possession, cataphora rears its head in Russian. Sentences such as (25-a) are predicted to be illicit independently, since Russian shows cataphora constraints, as shown in ((25)b-c) (see Antonyuk-Yudina & Bailyn (2009) and Nikolaeva (2014), among

others, for further details and analysis).[4]

(25) a. *[PP U **nego**$_i$] kniga **Ivana**$_i$. [Condition C]
at him$_i$.GEN book.NOM Ivan$_i$.GEN
Intended: 'He$_i$ has Ivan$_i$'s book.' (Masha Esipova, p.c.)
b. *[$_{DP}$ Eë$_i$ učitel'nica] poxvalila Mašu$_i$. (Nikolaeva 2014: 19)
her$_i$ teacher.NOM praised Masha$_i$.ACC
c. ???[$_{DP}$ Kniga o nej$_i$] upala na Mašu$_i$.
book.NOM about her$_i$ fell on Masha$_i$.ACC

The examples in ((25)b-c) both show that a pronoun that precedes a coindexed R-expression but does not c-command it, nevertheless yields an ungrammatical utterance in Russian. Thus, the fact that (25-a) is ungrammatical, where a pronoun is contained within the PP possessor and cannot be coreferential with an R-expression contained within the Possessee, cannot be ruled out as a straightforward Condition C effect.

This leaves us in somewhat of an unsatisfying position. It would appear that the facts in ((21)-(25)) above are unable to definitively tell us whether Russian is a language that has Harley's (2002) P_{HAVE} or not, leaving the predictions of her analysis for the existence of Double Object Constructions unclear for this language.[5] What is clear is that it would not at all be surprising for Polish to have true DOCs, given that Polish appears to have P_{HAVE}. If Russian has them as well, which we will see below that it does, then Russian must be a P_{HAVE} language if Harley's analysis is correct. As we will see, assuming the existence of this silent preposition in both Polish and Russian raises additional questions about the structure of DOCs in these languages.

4 DOUBLE OBJECT CONSTRUCTIONS IN POLISH (HAVE) AND RUSSIAN (BE)

In this §, we discuss in detail the properties of Polish and Russian ditransitive constructions. As shown in ((26)a-c) for Polish and in ((27)a-c) for Russian, both languages allow either internal argument to precede the other and disallow the PDC variants with overt PP Recipients/Beneficiaries.

(26) Polish
a. Jan dał Marii paczkę. GOAL>THEME
Jan.NOM gave Maria.DAT package.ACC
'Jan gave Maria a package.'
b. Jan dał paczkę Marii. THEME>GOAL
Jan.NOM gave package.ACC Maria.DAT
'Jan gave a package to Maria.'
c. *Jan dał paczkę do Marii.
Jan.NOM gave package.ACC to Maria.GEN
Intended: 'Jan gave a package to Maria'

(27) Russian
a. Ivan dal Maše knigu. GOAL>THEME
Ivan.NOM gave Masha.DAT book.ACC
'Ivan gave Masha a book.'

[4]A reviewer brings to our attention the fact that in cataphoric contexts, coreference is affected by information structure factors (see Moulton et al. 2018 and the refererences therein for a detailed discussion), and the possibility that the examples in (25a-b) might improve if the antecedent is not new information focus.

[5]We thank a reviewer for the suggestion that the presence of transitive *imet'* 'to have' in Russian may indicate the availability of P_{HAVE} in the language. While *imet'* has been traditionally described as restricted in usage, typically limited to abstract nouns such as *svoboda* 'freedom' or *pravo* 'right,' examples exist with concrete objects as well. Space limitations restrict us from detailed discussion of this point here, but we note that if this reviewer is correct, then we wonder why Russian DOCs would not be subject to the same semantic restrictions as objects of *imet'*.

b. Ivan dal knigu Maše. THEME>GOAL
Ivan.NOM gave book.ACC Masha.DAT
'Ivan gave Masha a book.'
c. *Ivan dal knigu k Maše.
Ivan.NOM gave book.ACC to Masha.DAT
'Ivan gave a book to Masha.'

If Harley's correlation between the availability of P_{HAVE} and the availability of DOCs in a language is on the right track, our revised prediction is that ditransitive constructions in Polish should behave like DOCs, but if Russian lacks P_{HAVE}, we expect its ditransitive constructions to behave like PDCs in English. This leads to the question of what the differences are between DOCs and PDCs, which we address in the next §, where we survey some of the relatively well-established differences between DOCs and PDCs in English.

4.1 SOME DIFFERENCES BETWEEN ENGLISH DOCS AND PDCS

English DOCs and PDCs differ in interpretation (see Green 1974, Gropen et al. 1989, Jackendoff 1990, Kayne 1984, Krifka 2004, Larson 1988, 1990, Oehrle 1976, Pesetsky 1995, Rappaport-Hovav & Levin 2008, Thoms Forthcoming, among many others). A common, though by far not the only, view is that DOCs express transfer of possession/caused possession, whereas PDCs express caused motion. This is why, for example, locations are impossible as indirect objects in DOCs (but possible in PDCs), as shown in ((28)a-b) and why non-agentive/causer subjects are only possible in DOCs, as shown in ((29)a-b).

(28) a. The editor sent the article to Philadelphia.
b. ??The editor sent Philadelphia the article. (Harley 2002: 37)

(29) a. The war years gave Mailer his first big success. (Oehrle 1976: 79)
b. *The war years gave his first success to Mailer.

Another difference concerns the ability to nominalize both internal arguments, which is possible in PDCs but impossible in DOCs, as shown by the following contrast (Kayne 1984, Marantz 1993, Pesetsky 1995):

(30) a. the gift of the book to Mary [PDC]
b. *the gift of Mary of the book [DOC]

Yet another difference, which we will only consider in passing, concerns scope and the generalization that PDCs allow either object to outscope the other one, but DOCs disallow inverse scope, as shown in ((31)a-b) (Aoun & Li (1989), Bruening 2001, Larson 1990). This generalization, however, has been challenged by Bruening (2019), whose experimental results do not show any difference in scope between DOCs and PDCs

(31) a. The teacher assigned *one problem* to *every student*. ONE > EVERY, EVERY > ONE
[PDC]
b. The teacher assigned *one student every problem*. ONE > EVERY, *EVERY > ONE
[PDC] (Larson 1990: 604)

With these differences between English DOCs and PDCs as background, we turn to Polish and Russian ditransitive constructions.

4.2 APPLYING THE TESTS TO POLISH AND RUSSIAN

In this §, we apply the tests that distinguish English DOCs from PDCs to Polish and Russian ditransitive constructions and show that they exhibit the restrictions associated

with DOCs irrespective of the order of the two objects (see Citko 2011, Dyakonova 2009, Gogłoza 2020, Łęska 2019, among others, for relevant discussion). First, both Polish and Russian disallow Locations as Indirect Objects irrespective of the word order of internal arguments, as shown by the ungrammaticality of ((32)a-b) and ((33)a-b). The only grammatical variant is the one with an overt directional preposition in (32-c) and (33-c). What distinguishes the grammatical examples in (32-c) and (33-c) from the ungrammatical ones in (26-c) and (27-c) above is the fact that the PPs in the grammatical examples represent Direction/Location rather than Recipient/Beneficiary.

(32) Polish

a. *Wysłałam Warszawie paczkę.
sent.1SG Warsaw.DAT package.ACC

b. *Wysłałam paczkę Warszawie.
sent.1SG package.ACC Warsaw.DAT

c. Wysłałam paczkę do Warszawy.
sent.1SG package.ACC to Warsaw.DAT

(33) Russian

a. *Ja otpravila Moskve posylku.
I.NOM sent Moscow.DAT package.ACC

b. *Ja otpravila posylku Moskve.
I.NOM sent package.ACC Moscow.DAT

c. Ja otpravila posylku v Moskvu.
I.NOM sent package.ACC to Moscow.ACC

Second, both Polish and Russian allow non-agentive/causer subjects, again irrespective of order of the two internal arguments, as shown in ((34)a-b) and ((35)a-b).

(34) Polish

a. Wojna dała Tołstojowi nowy pomysł.
war.NOM gave Tolstoy.DAT new idea.ACC

b. Wojna dała nowy pomysł Tołstojowi.
war.NOM gave new idea.ACC Tolstoy.DAT
'The war gave Tolstoy a new idea.'

(35) Russian

a. Vojna dala Tolstomu novuju ideju.
war.NOM gave Tolstoy.DAT new idea.ACC

b. Vojna dala novuju ideju Tolstomu.
war.NOM gave new idea.ACC Tolstoy.DAT
'The war gave Tolstoy a new idea.'

And third, nominalization of internal arguments with two genitive DPs is impossible, as shown in ((36)a-b).

(36) a. *podarunek książki Jana (Polish)
gift book.GEN Jan.GEN
Intended: 'the gift of the book to Jan'

b. *podarok knigi Ivana (Russian)
gift book.GEN Ivan.GEN
Intended: 'the gift of the book to Ivan'

Since Slavic scope facts are notoriously complex (and far from agreed upon) and the English facts have been contested, we will not rely on them here.[6]

[6]noftnotefalse Interestingly, however, Łęska (2019) and Antonyuk (2020) report a difference in scope that mirrors the difference between English DOCs and PDCs.

The interim conclusion that emerges from this §is that with respect to the diagnostics that distinguish Double Object Constructions from Prepositional Dative Constructions, Polish and Russian ditransitive construction behave alike and pattern with Double Object Constructions, *not* Prepositional Dative Constructions. This is not what we expect if only Polish has P_{HAVE}, which, according to Harley (2002), is a necessary component of a DOC, and seems to suggest that either *both* Polish and Russian have P_{HAVE} in ditransitives or *neither* does (and DOCs do not involve a PP structure). However, there might be another way to probe into whether both languages have an underlying PP in DOCs, which may (or may not) distinguish between Polish and Russian. This is what we explore in the next §.

5 NOT AGAIN! RESTITUTIVE READINGS IN POLISH AND RUSSIAN DOCS

Yet another syntactic construction that has been shown to behave differently across ditransitives in different languages involves so-called restitutive readings with *again*-modification. Beck & Johnson (2004) observed that both DOCs and PDCs allow repetitive and restitutive readings, as shown in (37) and (38). What is relevant for our purposes is the availability of restitutive readings in DOCs, which Beck and Johnson derive from the small clause structure for DOCs. For the restitutive reading to be available, there must be a constituent representing the state of *Satoshi* having the map, which the adverb *again* can modify. This is precisely what the small clause structure headed by *have* or P_{HAVE} allows.[7]

(37) Thilo gave Satoshi the map *again*. [DOC]
   a. **Repetitive**: 'Thilo gave Satoshi the map, and that had happened before.'
   b. **Restitutive**: 'Thilo gave Satoshi the map, and Satoshi had had the map before.'

(Beck & Johnson 2004: 113)

(38) Thilo gave the map to Satoshi *again*. [PDC]
   a. **Repetitive**: 'Thilo gave Satoshi the map, and that had happened before.'
   b. **Restitutive**: 'Thilo gave Satoshi the map, and Satoshi had had the map before.'

(Beck & Johnson 2004: 116)

Building on Beck & Johnson (2004), Bondarenko (2018) notes that Russian DOCs only allow repetitive readings, irrespective of the order of the two internal arguments and the placement of the adverb.

(i) Polish
   a. Haker wysłał *jakiś plik każdemu pracownikowi*. [?∃∀/∀∃]
   hacker sent some file.ACC every worker.DAT
   'The hacker sent some file to every worker.'
   b. Haker wysłał *jakiemuś pracownikowi każdy plik*. [∃∀/*∀∃]
   hacker sent some worker.DAT every file.ACC
   'The hacker sent some worker every file.' (Łęska 2019: 171)

(ii) Russian
   a. Učitel' podaril *kakuju-to knigu každomu studentu*. [∃∀/∀∃]
   teacher.NOM presented some book.ACC every student.DAT
   'The teacher presented some book to every student.'
   b. Učitel' podaril *kakomu-to studentu každuju knigu*. [∃∀/*∀∃]
   teacher.NOM presented some student.DAT every book.ACC
   'The teacher presented some student with every book.' (Antonyuk 2020: 45)

[7]In a PDC, the PP serves the same purpose.

(39) Russian

a. Maša **opjat'** otpravila knigu Kate.
Masha.NOM again sent book.ACC Katja.DAT

b. Maša **opjat'** otpravila Kate knigu.
Masha.NOM again sent Katja.DAT book.ACC
'Masha sent Katja a book again.'
Repetitive: available in both ((39)a-b)
'Masha sent the book to Katja, and that had happened before.'
*__Restitutive:__ unavailable in both ((39)a-b)
'Masha sent the book to Katja, and Katja had had the book before.'

Bondarenko also notes that the restitutive reading becomes possible when the PP variant is used, as shown in (40).[8]

(40) Maša opjat' otpravila knigu [$_{PP}$k Kate]. (Russian)
Masha.NOM again sent book.ACC [$_{PP}$to Katja.DAT]
'Masha sent a book to Katja again.' (Bondarenko 2018: 38)

a. **Repetitive**: available
'Masha sent the book to Katja, and that had happened before.'

b. **Restitutive**: available
'Masha sent the book to Katja, and Katja had had the book before.'

Bondarenko takes these facts to mean that Russian DOCs cannot involve a small clause structure since a small clause would make restitutive reading possible. She links the availability of restitutive readings to the presence of a PP in the structure. This means that DOCs cannot involve an empty P (e.g. P_{HAVE}) for the same reason. To explain why restitutive readings are linked to the presence of a PP, Bondarenko follows McIntyre (2008), who shows that PPs introduce subevents, which in turn can be modified by *again*. Bondarenko's conclusion about Russian is consistent with Harley's proposal that BE-languages (like Russian) do not have P_{HAVE} in their lexicon. This predicts that Polish, being a HAVE-language, should allow restitutive readings in DOCs, given that it has P_{HAVE} and an underlying P is necessary for these readings. This, however, is not the case. Polish patterns with Russian in this respect as well and disallows restitutive readings.[9,10]

[8] One reviewer correctly points out that Bondarenko's examples in ((39)-(40)) are not entirely parallel to those of Beck & Johnson (2004), since she uses the predicate *otpravit'* 'send' instead of *dat'* 'give.' *Otpravit'* does not entail the successful receipt of the object by the intended recipient, unlike *dat'*. The native speakers that we consulted much prefer Bondarenko's examples with *otpravit'* to *dat'* here with the PP complement (as shown in (27-c), they disallow this PP with *dat'*.) Due to limitations of space, we must leave further discussion of this point to future work, referring the interested reader to Bondarenko (2018) for discussion of the relevant lexical semantics here.

[9] In this respect, we follow Gogłoza and disagree with Wiland (2008), who claims restitutive readings are possible under certain circumstances.

[10] Polish also disallows restitutive readings when an overt PP is present, as shown in 10. We were not able to replicate Bondarenko's judgments, but if she is right about Russian allowing restitutive readings when a PP is present, we do not have an explanation for this difference between Polish and Russian.

(i) Marek uwielbia swoj zegarek i nigdy się z nim nie rozstaje. Niestety, odwiedzając rodziców, Marek zostawił swój zegarek w ich łazience.
['Marek loves his watch and he never puts it away. Unfortunately, on visiting his parents, he left his watch in their bathroom.']

a. #Mama znów wysłała zegarek do Marka /Markowi.
mother.NOM again sent watch.ACC to Marek.GEN /Marek.DAT
'Marek's mother has sent the watch to him again.'

b. #Mama wysłała znów zegarek do Marka /Markowi. (Gogłoza 2020: 96)
mother.NOM sent again watch.ACC to Marek.GEN /Marek.DAT
'Marek's mother has sent the watch to him again.'

(41) Jan **znowu** dał Ewie książkę. (Polish)
Jan.NOM again gave Ewa.DAT book.ACC
'Jan gave Ewa a book again.' (Gogłoza 2020: 94)
a. **Repetitive**: Available
'Jan gave Ewa a book again, and Jan had done it before.'
b. ***Restitutive**: Unavailable
'Jan gave Ewa a book, and Ewa had had that book before.'

Thus, if Bondarenko is correct about restitutive readings requiring a PP, then neither Polish nor Russian can have an underlying PP in their DOCs. If Bondarenko is wrong about restitutive readings requiring a PP, then something else must be responsible for the lack of restitutive readings in both Polish and Russian ditransitives. We take this something else to be the negative setting of the so-called Resultative Parameter (Snyder 1995, 2001, Beck & Snyder 2001: 48), according to which 'languages without resultatives …permit restitutive readings with a more limited range of predicates than languages that do have resultatives.' English does have resultatives of the relevant type: it allows secondary adjectival predicates to get a resultative reading that applies to the internal argument, as shown in ((42)a-b).

(42) a. Mary pounded the metal **flat**.
b. The cold temperatures froze the river **solid**.

However, as shown in (43) and (44), both Polish and Russian disallow adjectival secondary predicates to get resultative readings and require PPs to make it possible.

(43) Polish
a. *Maria ubiła kotlet **płaski/płaskim**. (Polish)
Maria.NOM pounded porkchop.ACC flat.NOM/flat.INS
Intended: 'Maria pounded the porkchop flat.'
b. Maria ubiła kotlet **na płasko**.
Maria.NOM pounded porkchop.ACC to flat
'Maria pounded the porkchop flat.'

(44) Russian
a. *Anna vyterla stol **čistyj /čistym**. (Russian)
Anna.NOM wiped table.ACC clean.ACC /clean.INS
Intended: 'Anna wiped the table clean.'
b. Anna vyterla stol **do čistoty**.
Anna.NOM wiped table.ACC until cleanliness
'Anna wiped the table clean.'

6 SUMMARY

To sum up briefly, we have shown that the distinction between HAVE and BE-languages does not necessarily affect the properties of ditransitive constructions, or the existence of true double object constructions, in Polish and Russian. We used Harley's (2002) diagnostic to determine whether a language has P_{HAVE} (a necessary component of a double object structure), which was the presence of a c-command relationship between a possessor and a possessee in a predicative possession structure. According to this diagnostic, Polish has P_{HAVE}, and is predicted to have DOCs, whereas Russian appears to lack P_{HAVE} but *does* have true DOCs. We next turned to another potential diagnostic for the presence of a PP in a DOC, due to Bondarenko (2018), involving the availability of restitutive readings in DOCs. We noted that once again Polish and Russian behave alike and both lack restitutive readings in DOCs, which suggests that the presence of a PP/P_{HAVE}, which Polish has and Russian appears to lack, *cannot* be the factor responsible

for restitutive readings.[11]

ABBREVIATIONS

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ACC	accusative
BCMS	Bosnian/Croatian/Montenegrin/Serbian
DAT	dative
F	feminine
GEN	genitive
LOC	locative
NOM	nominative
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PRS	present
PST	past
REFL	reflexive
SG	singular

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[11] Note that this is an argument against Boneh and Nash's (2017) analysis involving silent PPs in Russian DOCs. Due to space limitations, we leave further discussion of this point to your imagination.

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