

Deriving composite roles in syntax

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Abstract. As its starting point, this article examines the distribution of dative argument-like dependents in Russian, which often alternate with PPs headed by the preposition *u* ‘at’. It addresses the question of whether the various interpretations of these phrases instantiate syntactically motivated ambiguity or pragmatically resolved vagueness. We demonstrate that all relevant readings can be derived syntactically in a uniform way that makes use of and corroborates a compositional approach to thematic (semantic) roles. Specifically, a single DP can receive a composite role by matching the semantic features of several functional heads that it c-commands, which results in the apparent ambiguity of datives and *u*-PPs. We extend the proposal to datives and similar dependents in languages beyond Russian, including Albanian and other languages of the Balkan Sprachbund, as well as German and Romance.

Keywords. dative; genitive; *u*-PP; thematic role; Russian; Albanian; German; non-selected argument

1. Overview. The present article discusses the distribution of dative argument-like dependents in Russian, which usually (though not always) alternate with PPs headed by the preposition *u* ‘at’. As shown in (1), these can have various interpretations, such as Beneficiary, Experiencer, Unintentional Causer, Possessor, etc.:

- (1) a. Olegu / U Olega rebënok razbil vazu.
 O.DAT at O.GEN child.NOM broke vase.ACC
 DAT: ‘A/the child broke Oleg’s/a vase, and Oleg was affected.’
 PP: ‘At Oleg’s place/in Oleg’s care, his/a child broke his/a vase.’
- b. Maše / u Maši Stepan prodal staruju mašinu.¹
 M.DAT at M.GEN S.NOM sold old car.ACC
 DAT: ‘Stepan sold an/the old car for Mary (she will receive the money).’
 PP: ‘Stepan sold an/the old car on Mary’s request.’

The polysemy of datives and *u*-PPs raises the following question: Do datives and *u*-PPs under their various readings instantiate syntactically motivated ambiguity or pragmatically resolved vagueness? In other words, can all their interpretations be derived syntactically in a uniform way? We argue that the answer to the latter question is yes and use data such as in (1) to support a compositional approach to thematic (semantic) roles.

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¹ In this article, we leave aside dative Goals of canonically ditransitive predicates such as ‘send’ or ‘give’, as their behavior does not align with that of the dative DPs discussed here, with dative Goals being obligatory and not alternating with PPs; see Bailyn (2011) and Boneh & Nash (2017) on Russian and Harley & Miyagawa (2017) for an overview of approaches to canonical ditransitives.

Following Reinhart (2002) and Kallulli (2006), among others, we treat thematic roles as being composed of features matching those introduced by specific functional heads on the clausal spine. A single DP can receive a composite role by matching the semantic features of several functional heads that it c-commands, which results in the apparent ambiguity of datives and *u*-PPs.

The article proceeds as follows. Section 2 presents additional examples and demonstrates that datives and *u*-PPs do not alternate freely and that their semantic distribution can and should therefore be captured in syntax. Section 3 outlines our analysis in terms of decomposing thematic roles into features. Section 4 discusses predictions made by the proposal, all of which are borne out. Section 5 considers the possibility of applying the presented approach to other languages, and section 6 concludes with a programmatic agenda for extending the analysis to ethical datives, integrating it into the framework of the parametric approach in terms of Redundancy and Deficiency recently developed in Kallulli & Roberts (2025).

2. Datives and *u*-PPs: Regulated ambiguity. In Russian sentences under consideration, exemplified in (1), datives denote Affectees, Attitude Holders, and/or Beneficiaries. In turn, *u*-PPs are typically interpreted as so-called Dominions (Matushansky 2021), that is, areas of influence/control of an animate individual, and/or as Unintentional Causers, that is, causers that could have but ultimately lack control over the described event. Additionally, both datives and *u*-PPs can have a secondary external possessor reading, in combination with one of those mentioned above.

In active transitive clauses, as in (1) and (2), and with impersonals, as in (3), the contrast between the two types of dependents is less prominent and it may seem that they always alternate:

- (2) a. Mne rebënok razbil vazu.
 1SG.DAT child.NOM broke vase.ACC
 ‘For/to me the child broke my/a vase.’
 = ‘The child broke my/a vase and I was **affected**.’
- b. U menja rebënok razbil vazu.
 at 1SG.GEN child.NOM broke vase.ACC
 ‘At my place/in my care the child broke my/a vase.’
 = ‘The child broke the vase and I was **responsible**.’
- (3) (U menja / mne) razbilo vazu (vetrom).
 at 1SG.GEN 1SG.DAT broke.N.SG vase.ACC wind.INST
 ‘My/a vase was broken (by the wind) and I was responsible (PP)/affected (DAT).’

The contrast becomes more noticeable with unaccusatives, as in (4), and with dispositional middles, as in (5). In both cases, *u*-PPs receive an Unintentional Causer reading. However, unaccusatives do not allow datives, and with dispositional middles, dative DPs have a clearly distinct Attitude Holder reading.

- (4) a. U Olega / *Olegu sgorel sup.
 at O.GEN O.DAT burnt soup
 ‘The soup burnt, and Oleg was responsible.’
- b. U Olega / *Olegu zavjali cvety.
 at O.GEN O.DAT wilted flowers
 ‘The flowers wilted, and Oleg was responsible.’

- (5) a. Olegu legko čitajut-sja takijeknigi.
 O.DAT easily read-MID such books.NOM
 ‘For Oleg such books read easily.’ (= Oleg can read them easily)
- b. U Olega legko čitajut-sja takije knigi.
 At O.GEN easily read-MID such books.NOM
 ‘Such books by Oleg read easily.’
 (= Oleg wrote the books and is responsible for them being easy to read)

Having presented the core data, in the next section we put forward our proposal on how to account for them.

3. Proposal.

3.1. SYNTACTIC ASSUMPTIONS. Following much of the theoretical literature on Russian, we assume that datives and *u*-PPs occupy distinct positions in the syntactic structure (Bailyn 2011, Arylova 2013, Boneh & Nash 2017, Antonyuk 2020, Matushansky 2021, i.a.).

U-PPs are merged in Spec,AnchorP above vP/VoiceP (cf. Arylova 2013); see Rivero & Savchenko (2005) similarly placing *u*-PPs above CauseP. As mentioned in section 2, their primary role is Dominion (cf. Matushansky 2021). Dative Beneficiaries, Affectees, and Attitude Holders are introduced by a high applicative head (Pylkkänen 2008; Dyakonova 2009 and Boneh & Nash 2017 on Russian), with the ApplP being added above VP, which possibly contains an internal argument, but below the external-argument introducing vP. A simplified structure is given in (6), to be fleshed out in further detail in section 3.2.

- (6) [_{AnchorP} ***u*-PP** [_{vP} Agent [_v [_{AppIP} **Dative** [_{Appl} [_{VP} V Theme]]]]]]]]

We further assume that an occasional external possessor reading results from a dative or a complement of the preposition *u* ‘at’ binding an implicit possessor inside a structurally lower dependent (see Burukina 2014, i.a., on implicit possessors in Russian). That neither datives nor *u*-PPs are dedicated external possessors explains their compatibility with pre/post-nominal DP-internal possessors, as in (7).

- (7) Olegu / U Olega Mašin rebėnok razbil vazu Petra.
 O.DAT at O.GEN M.’s child.NOM broke vase.ACC P.GEN
 DAT: ‘Mary’s child broke Peter’s vase, and Oleg was affected.’
 PP: ‘At Oleg’s place/in Oleg’s care, Mary’s child broke Peter’s vase.’

3.2. FEATURE COMPOSITION OF THEMATIC ROLES. We follow Reinhart (2002) and Kallulli (2006, 2007), i.a., in that thematic roles are composed of features matching those located in the functional heads on the clausal spine that introduce the corresponding argument(-like) dependents.

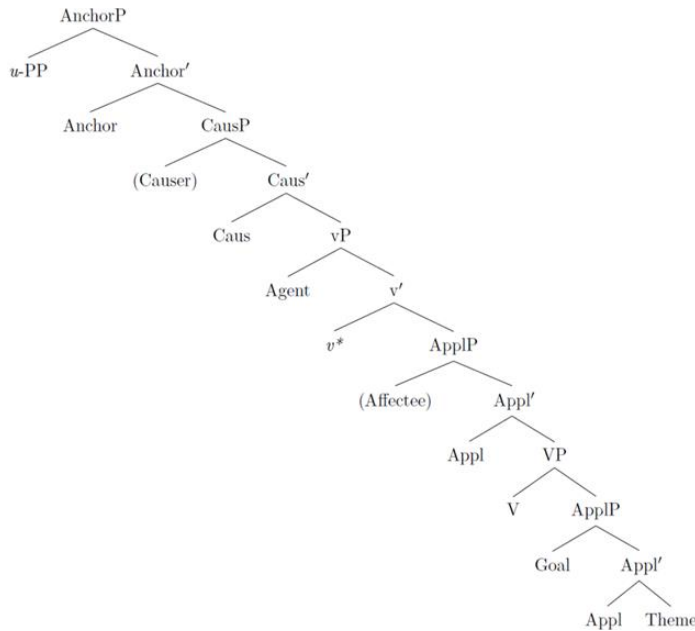
The inventory of functional heads in Russian that are relevant to the present discussion of datives and *u*-PPs is given in Table 1.

F ⁰	Features	Thematic role
Anchor	[-intent]	Dominion
Caus	[-intent, +cause]	Causer
v*	[+intent, +cause]	Agent
high Appl	[-intent, +affected]	Affectee

Table 1. Functional heads and their semantic features

A more detailed structure based on (6) is shown in (8). We make two assumptions regarding this derivation. First, ApplP, CausP, and AnchorP are optional and are only added in the structure when a corresponding participant needs to be introduced; vP is present in all agentive predicates, both transitive and unergative. Second, while high Appl and Caus introduce new participants semantically (via thematic features) they do not necessarily project their own specifiers. These projections can remain unsaturated until a higher DP is merged, matching the lower thematic features.

(8)



3.3. CAPTURING THE AMBIGUITY. Brought together, the analytical assumptions outlined above allow us to successfully capture the apparent ambiguity and polyfunctionality of dative and *u*-PPs. We propose that an argument can receive a composite role matching the semantic features of several (of the) functional heads it c-commands, if there is no feature conflict and no other suitable DP intervenes (more on this in section 4).² This results in complex interpretations of *u*-PPs and datives. This approach is comparable to the process of delayed gratification (Myler 2016; also Hale & Keyser 1993). For example, in (1), a Dominion *u*-PP can also check the [+cause] feature on Caus and the [+affected] feature on high Appl, saturating three roles at the same time.

² We assume that, if the structure contains an agentive vP, an Agent must be projected in Spec,vP; merging it in a higher specifier position would lead to a featural conflict ([±intent]).

4. Predictions. The analysis we have proposed above, whereby the ambiguous readings of datives and *u*-PPs are transparently derived from syntax and should hence not be treated as pragmatically resolved vagueness, allows us to make several predictions, all of which appear to be borne out.

Firstly, there can be constructions that are only compatible with either a CausP or a high ApplP, but not with both. Recall the unaccusative examples in (4). In this configuration, datives and Affectee readings are unavailable, while *u*-PPs are allowed and receive a Dominion+Unintentional Causer reading; see also Rivero & Savchenko (2005). Russian *sjá* anticausatives exhibit similar behavior. They too are incompatible with datives (9a). However, they preserve the causing sub-event entailment, as indicated by their compatibility with ‘from’-Causes (9b), and allow *u*-PPs that are, again, interpreted simultaneously as Dominions and Unintentional Causers (9a); see Schäfer (2008), i.a., on anticausatives containing a causative projection and being compatible with cause(r)s, despite their name.

- (9) a. U Olega / *Olegu razbila-s’ vaza.
 at O.GEN O.DAT broke-SJA vase.NOM
 ‘Oleg’s/a vase broke, and Oleg was responsible.’
 b. Ot vetra razbila-s’ vaza.
 from wind broke-SJA vase.NOM
 ‘The vase broke from the wind.’

The second prediction follows from the first. If a construction does not allow a high ApplP but allows a CausP, the *u*-PP is no longer [+affected] (9a).

Thirdly, in the presence of an overt Affectee, an *u*-PP should ~~also~~ no longer be understood as [+affected]. As shown by the contrastive examples in (10), this prediction too is borne out.

- (10) a. U Peti Maša priparkovala mašinu.
 at P.GEN M.NOM parked car.ACC
 (i) ‘At Peter(’s), Mary parked the car.’
 (ii) ‘Mary parked the car on Peter’s behalf, and he was responsible.’
 b. U Peti Maša priparkovala mne mašinu.
 at P.GEN M.NOM parked 1SG.DAT car.ACC
 Allowed: ‘At Peter(’s), Mary parked the car for me.’

Fourthly, in the presence of an overt Affectee, an *u*-PP Causer cannot be interpreted as an external possessor, since the lower dative argument intervenes and is prioritized as an antecedent.

- (11) U menja Maše rebėnok razbil vazú.
 at 1SG.GEN M.DAT child.NOM broke vase.ACC
 (i) ‘At me, the/my child broke a vase for/to Mary.’
 (ii) ‘At me, the/my child broke Mary’s vase.’
 Not available: ‘At me, the/my child broke my vase for/to Mary.’

Fifthly, a dative dependent cannot receive a secondary Unintentional Causer reading, since it is located in an ApplP lower than a CausP and does not c-command the Caus head. As shown in (12), datives are, indeed, restricted in their interpretation.

- (12) Mne rebënok razbil vazū.
 1SG.DAT child.NOM broke vase.ACC
 ‘For/to me the child broke a/my vase.’
 felicitous continuation: ‘It was Mary’s fault/responsibility.’
 infelicitous continuation: ‘(But) Mary too was responsible.’
- (13) U menja rebënok razbil vazū.
 at 1SG.GEN child.NOM broke vase.ACC
 ‘At my place/in my care the child broke a vase.’
 felicitous continuation: ‘(But) Mary too was responsible.’
 infelicitous continuation: ‘It was Mary’s fault/responsibility.’

Finally, the structure in (8) indicates that Anchor, Caus/v*, and high Appl can introduce three distinct DP arguments. Such examples are indeed accepted by native speakers, see (11) above.

5. Expanding the dataset: Additional support from other languages. Some languages express the various interpretations of the Russian dative and genitive (*u*-PPs) arguments exclusively with either datives (e.g., Albanian, Bulgarian, German, Romanian, Spanish) or genitives (e.g., Greek).³ For instance, as discussed in detail by Kallulli (2006), the dative arguments in the sentences in (14) and the genitive in (15) can be interpreted as possessors, affected participants, and unintentional causers.⁴

- (14) a. Albanian
 Benit i-u thye dritarja.
 Ben.DAT DAT.3SG-NACT broke.AOR.3SG window.the.NOM
- b. Romanian
 Lui Ben i se sparse ferestrea.
 B.DAT 3SG.DAT REFL broke.3SG window.the
- c. German
 Dem Ben zerbrach das Fenster.
 the.DAT B. broke the.NOM window
 (i) ‘Ben’s window broke.’ (ii) ‘The window broke and Ben was affected by that.’
 (iii) ‘Ben unintentionally broke the window.’
- d. Bulgarian
 Na Ben mu se šcupixa očilata.
 to B. 3SG.DAT REFL broke.3PL glasses.the
 (i) ‘Ben’s glasses broke.’
 (ii) ‘The glasses broke and Ben was affected by that.’
 (iii) ‘Ben unintentionally broke the glasses.’

³ In Greek, genitive historically supplanted dative, while in German the opposite tendency is observed, namely that dative is replacing genitive (Sick 2004).

Note also that in Albanian datives are invariably doubled by a clitic.

⁴ We acknowledge that, unlike in Russian, in the languages exemplified in (14) and (15), anticausatives are compatible with dative Affectees. At present, we cannot explain the difference and leave it aside to be accounted for by future research.

e. Spanish

A Ben se le rompió el coche.
to B. REFL DAT.3SG broke the car

(i) ‘Ben’s car broke.’

(ii) ‘The car broke and Ben was affected by that.’

(iii) ‘Ben unintentionally broke the car.’

(15) Greek

Tu Ben tu kaike i supa
the.GEN B. 3SG.GEN burn.NACT.P the.NOM soup

(i) ‘Ben’s soup burnt.’

(ii) ‘The soup burnt and Ben was affected by that.’

(iii) ‘Ben unintentionally burnt the soup.’

Together, *u*-PPs and datives in Russian appear to be equivalent to either datives or genitives (if there is no dative) in these other languages. The data in (14) and (15) gives rise to the same question as the Russian examples discussed above: Do the readings in (i), (ii), (iii) in the examples in (14) and (15) involve ambiguity or vagueness? We argue that, as in Russian, the answer is ambiguity, which arises from differences in syntactic structure. This idea has been previously expressed by Kallulli (2006) based on the following facts (cf. Schäfer 2008 on German).

Firstly, datives (and in Greek, genitives) in sentences such as (14) and (15) cannot be interpreted as possessors in the presence of an overt possessor. As in Russian (see (7)), this indicates that these dependents have a different primary function other than the External Possessor.

(16) a. Albanian⁵

Benit i-u thye dritarja e Anës.
B.DAT DAT.3SG-NACT broke.AOR.3SG window.the.NOM AGR A.DAT

b. German

Dem Ben zerbrach Annas Fenster /
the.DAT B. broke A.GEN window
das Fenster von Anna.
the window of A.

(i) ‘Ben unintentionally broke Anna’s window.’

(ii) ‘Ben was (somehow) affected by the breaking of Anna’s window.’

Not available: ‘Ben’s/Ben and Anna’s window broke.’

Secondly, in the presence of an oblique argument expressing a causing participant (introduced with the preposition ‘from’ or ‘through’),⁶ a dative can only be interpreted as an affected participant (and possessor) but not as an Unintentional Causer:

⁵ Genitive and dative are syncretic in modern Albanian; however, regular possessors are invariably preceded by a left-adjacent linker (*e* in (16a)) that agrees with the head noun in phi-features, definiteness, and case. The presence of a linker distinguishes unambiguous possessors appearing lower in the structure from all other dative arguments. Another difference is that only the latter, but never the former, are doubled by a clitic (see also footnote 3).

⁶ Following Emonds (1985), by ‘oblique’ here we mean introduced by a preposition, as opposed to, e.g., Schäfer (2008), who refers to sentences such as (16b) under their unintentional causation reading as “oblique causer constructions”.

- (17) a. Albanian⁷
 Benit i-u thye dritarja nga era.
 B.DAT DAT.3SG-NACT broke.AOR.3SG window.the.NOM from wind
- b. German
 Dem Ben zerbrach das Fenster durch den Wind.
 the.DAT B. broke the window through the wind
 (i) ‘Ben’s window broke from the wind.’
 (ii) ‘The wind broke the window to Ben (i.e., Ben was somehow affected by it).’
 Not available: ‘Ben unintentionally broke the window through the wind (e.g., he left the window open).’

Thirdly, when an overt adverbial meaning ‘accidentally’ or ‘inadvertently’ is inserted in the Albanian sentence in (18), the Unintentional Causer reading becomes more salient, with the affectedness flavor remaining, as predicted by our analysis in section 3, since the dative here matches the thematic features of both high Appl and Caus. In contrast, the Unintentional Causer reading for the dative is unavailable and only the affected reading obtains if an overt ‘by’-phrase is inserted, indicating a passive construction:⁸

- (18) Albanian
 Benit i-u thye dritarja padashje.
 B.DAT DAT.3SG-NACT broke.AOR.3SG window.the.NOM inadvertently
 (i) ‘Ben unintentionally broke the/his window (and was affected by it).’
 (ii) ‘Ben’s window was broken (by someone) inadvertently.’
 (iii) ‘The window was unintentionally broken on Ben (by someone).’

Following Kallulli (2006, 2007), we attribute the enhanced accessibility of the unintentional causation reading in (18) to the use of an adverb that signals the presence of an event participant that is capable of willful agency (typically, [+human]) yet does not have to act willfully. (Note that this also motivated the postulation of the [±intent] feature in Table 1.) This is corroborated by the fact that the dative argument in such contexts cannot be non-human, as shown in (19):

- (19) Albanian
 *Erës / Tërmetit i-u thye
 wind.DAT earthquake.DAT DAT.3SG-NACT broke.AOR.3SG
 dritarja padashje.
 window.the.NOM inadvertently

⁷ The Albanian sentence in (17a) has an additional passive interpretation due to the presence of (syncretic) non-active morphology; see footnote 8 for more detail.

⁸ As for the ambiguity between Unintentional Causer readings and passive readings in Albanian, as in (18), it is the presence of non-active morphology—identical in anticausatives/passives—that makes the two interpretations possible. Kallulli (2006, 2007) further points out the significance of the formal identity between ‘by’- and ‘from’-phrases in Albanian (i), also attested in other languages that draw a line between active and (medio-)passive (i.e., non-active) Voices, such as Greek and Latin.

(i) Dritarja u kris nga Beni / presioni.
 window.the.NOM NACT crack.AOR.3SG by/from B.the pressure.the
 ‘The window was cracked by Ben.’/‘The window cracked from the pressure.’

As shown in (20), the same pattern is observed in German. As in Albanian, the causer reading becomes more salient and the affectedness flavor remains due to the syntactic and therefore semantic composition.⁹

- (20) German
 Dem Ben zerbrach das Fenster unabsichtlich.
 the.DAT B. broke the window unintentionally
 ‘Ben unintentionally broke the/his window (and was affected by the window breaking).’

German also imposes the same restriction as in the Albanian examples above, namely that the dative argument in such contexts cannot be a non-human participant, as illustrated in (21):

- (21) German
 *Dem Wind / Erdbeben zerbrach das Fenster unabsichtlich.
 the.DAT wind earthquake broke the window unintentionally

The Unintentional Causer reading also becomes more accessible in Albanian and German sentences with a constituent negation, as in (22) and (23). As Kallulli (2006) notes, the preferred reading in these examples is the one whereby Ben and not Eva was responsible for the window breaking. That is, it is not the window-breaking event itself that is negated but the identity of the participant responsible for it (and/or the identity of the participant affected by it).

- (22) Albanian
 Dritarja ime u thye,
 window.the.NOM my NACT broke
 por nuk i-u thye Evës por Benit.
 but not 3SG.DAT-NACT broke E.DAT but B.DAT
 ‘My window broke, but not Eva but Ben who was responsible for it.’

- (23) German
 Mein Fenster zerbrach, aber nicht der Eva,
 1SG.NOM window broke but not the.DAT E.
 sondern dem Ben.
 but the.DAT B.
 ‘My window broke, but not Eva but Ben was responsible for it.’

Summing up, an unintentional causation reading in Albanian and German is available together with an affected reading, as predicted by our analysis.¹⁰

6. Conclusion. The central questions we set out to address in this article are the following. (i) Do datives and dative-like dependents, such as Russian *u*-PPs, with their various interpretations instantiate syntactically motivated ambiguity or pragmatically resolved vagueness? (ii) Consequently, can syntax be described as (in)flexible and to what extent? We have argued that syntax is inflexible and yields the ambiguous readings of the participants under discussion.

We further attempted to answer the following questions. How can these readings be formally derived? What are the base positions of datives and *u*-PPs? We have proposed an inventory of functional heads in the thematic domain equipped with specific thematic features, siding with the

⁹ In contrast with Albanian, no passive reading obtains in the German sentence in (20), because of the lack of passive/anticausative syncretism in the language.

¹⁰ The arguments made in this section based on Albanian and German also apply to ~~the other languages mentioned.~~

delayed gratification approach (cf. Hornstein 1999), pace (one part of) the theta-criterion (Chomsky 1981; also Chomsky et al.’s 2023 principle of Preservation). Expanding the dataset to languages beyond Russian, in particular Albanian and German, we have acknowledged cross-linguistic variation in how morphological case maps onto distinct thematic roles.¹¹

Further scrutiny notwithstanding, the ambiguous interpretations of datives and dative-like dependents examined in this article could potentially be integrated and accounted for within the framework of Redundancy and Deficiency developed in Kallulli & Roberts (2025), whereby Redundancy is defined as feature invisibility at the LF interface and Deficiency as feature invisibility at the PF interface. Specifically, if dative and genitive are instantiations of interpretable ϕ -features, as has been argued for oblique cases (cf. Kallulli & Roberts 2025), then they can be described as deficient since they often lack overt exponence; recall, for instance, the syncretism between dative and genitive in Albanian, Greek (where genitive has historically supplanted the dative), and German (where the distinction between dative and genitive has been neutralized in most contexts).¹²

Another interesting direction for the future is expanding our dataset to include non-thematic datives and compare them to non-selected but argument-like datives; as shown in the Albanian example in (24), these are merged in different positions, with ethical datives being the highest in the structure (Greco 2025 and references therein).

- (24) Albanian
 Na/M’ *i*/*më/*të/*na/*ju) bë-k-a
 1PL/SG.DAT 3SG/1SG/2SG/1PL/2PL.DAT do.PART-ADM-3SG
 (edhe) muzikë!
 also music
 ‘Oh, so s/he (even) makes music to him/her (we/I notice)!’

Particularly interesting here are possible interactions between non-thematic and thematic datives, including the PCC-effect observed in local dative clitics—a novel, hitherto overlooked pattern.

Finally, note that in sentences such as (24) the affected dependent doubled by a clitic can be expressed overtly, as shown in (25).

- (25) Albanian
 Na/M’ (*i*) bëka (atij/asaj/Benit/Evës)
 1PL/SG.DAT 3SG.DAT do.PART-ADM-3SG him/her/B./E.DAT
 (edhe) muzikë (atij/asaj/Benit/Evës)!
 also music him/her/B./E.DAT
 ‘Oh, so s/he (even) makes music to him/her/Ben/Eva (we/I notice)!’

In (25), as in (24), *na/m*’ is an optional first person ethical dative and *i* is an optional third person singular affected dative. Interestingly, if the latter is present, then the ethical dative cannot double a DP; however, if the affected dative clitic is absent, then *na/m*’ can be accompanied by an overt doubled DP but only with an affected interpretation. Therefore, ethical datives appear

¹¹ One direction for future research is further relating the differences between Russian and the rest of the languages mentioned in section 5 to them using BE- vs. HAVE-possessive constructions: the split between datives and *u*-PPs in Russian correlates with BE-possession, while the dative/genitive-only languages employ a HAVE- possession strategy.

¹² Structural cases, on the other hand, can be viewed as redundant since they are uninterpretable at LF.

to be the only non-selected dependents in Albanian that are incompatible with an overt associated DP, which in turn corroborates Kallulli's (2025) idea that they are exponents of additional (speech-act related) person-features introduced in the left periphery and not via reduction of pronouns in the thematic domain.

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