

**OVS in Russian:** The OVS word order in Russian is often argued to be derived via A-movement of the object (Bailyn 2004; Pereltsvaig 2021, a.o.). For example, Pereltsvaig (2021) provides evidence from reciprocal binding and weak crossover effects that there is no  $\bar{A}$ -movement involved. If OVS is derived via A-movement of the object, two questions emerge: (i) how the main verb ends up before the subject; (ii) how to A-move the object over the subject without violating minimality.

**A smuggling approach to inversion:** Smuggling (Collins 2005) is the idea that the lower DP can be moved above the higher DP as a subconstituent of some VP via movement of VP. As a result, the lower DP can be targeted for A-movement without violating minimality. Storment (2025) argues that smuggling of the VP derives inversion constructions in general.

- (1) a. *Knigu čitajet Petja.*  
 book.ACC reads Petya.NOM  
 ‘Petya reads the book.’  
 b. [<sub>VoiceP</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> citajet knigu] Voice [<sub>vP</sub> Petja v [<sub>VP</sub> citajet knigu] ] ]
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In (1), movement of VP to [Spec, VoiceP] renders the object DP close enough to be targeted for further movement operations without violating A-minimality – it can satisfy the EPP feature on T by moving to [Spec, TP], thus deriving the OV order (Bailyn 2004, a.o.).

**The negative claim:** The smuggling account predicts that the postverbal argument is the external argument. We argue that this prediction is **not** borne out.

**Diagnostics for external arguments:** We use agent-oriented adverbials and purpose clauses formed with *čtoby* as diagnostics for the presence of the external argument-introducing Voice head. To guarantee that they work in Russian, we use the absolute impersonal verb *tošnit* ‘to be nauseated’, which is argued to involve an internal argument (Lavine and Franks 2008), cf. (2). If the smuggling approach to OVS is on the right track, we should expect that S will retain the external argument properties under inversion, as it resides in its usual structural position.

- (2) a. \**Menja naročno tošnit*  
 me.ACC intentionally nauseates  
 Int.: ‘I intentionally nauseate myself.’  
 b. \**Menja tošnit, čtoby ne čuvstvovat’ sebja ploxo s utra*  
 me.ACC nauseates in.order not feel self bad in morning  
 Int.: ‘I nauseate myself in order not to feel bad in the morning.’

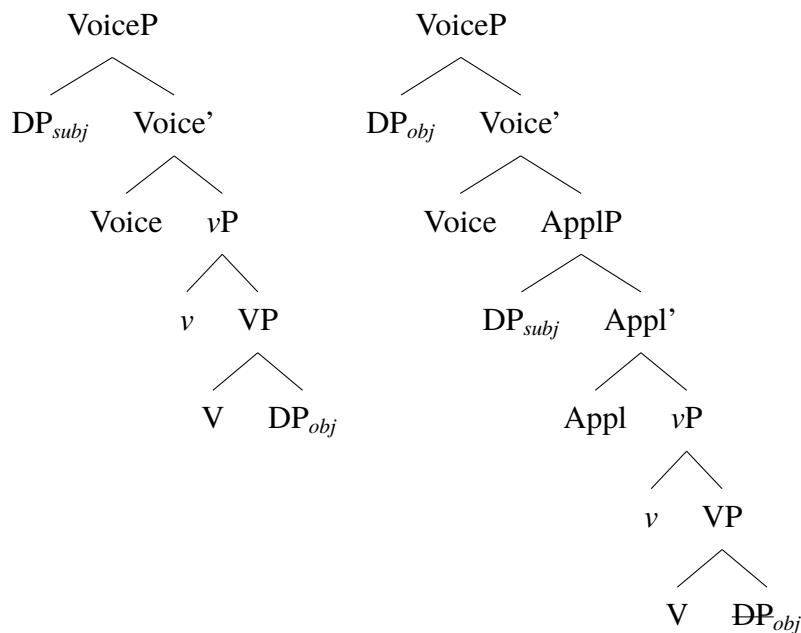
**A problem for the smuggling approach:** As shown by agent-oriented adverbials and control into a purpose adjunct clauses, OVS configurations do not involve external arguments. We also show that using variations of Pereltsvaig’s (2021) WCO examples to ensure that we probe the properties of the OVS variant where O undergoes A-movement (even the more permissive speakers reject 3c and 4c).

- (3) a. *Petja naročno čitajet knigu.*  
 Petya.NOM intentionally reads book.ACC  
 ‘Petya reads the book intentionally.’  
 b. \*<sup>l??</sup> *Knigu naročno čitajet Petja.*  
 book.ACC intentionally reads Petya.NOM  
 Int.: ‘Petya reads the book intentionally.’

- c. \**každygo studenta naročno rugaet ego naučruk*  
 every.ACC student.ACC intentionally scold.PRES.3.SG his supervisor.NOM  
 Int: ‘Every student is intentionally scolded by his supervisor.’
- (4) a. *Petja čitajet knigu, čtoby poumnet’.*  
 Petya.NOM reads book.ACC in.order get.smart  
 ‘Petya is reading the book in order to get smart.’
- b. \**Knigu čitajet Petja, čtoby poumnet’.*  
 book.ACC reads Petya.NOM in.order get.smart  
 Int.: ‘Petya is reading the book in order to get smart.’
- c. \**každygo studenta rugaet ego naučruk, čtoby poizdevatjsja*  
 every.ACC student.ACC scold.PRES.3.SG his supervisor.NOM to mock.INF  
 Int: ‘Every student is intentionally scolded by his supervisor for his supervisor to mock him.’

**Our analysis:** In the spirit of Neu (2024), we suggest that the inversion order corresponds to an affectee reading of the subject, derived via an applicative thematic structure (see the discussion of agent-affectee alternations in German and Spanish in (Cuervo 2003; Neu 2024).

- (5) Two structures for Russian transitive verbs (Cuervo 2003; Schäfer 2008; Neu 2024)



In the spirit of Deal’s 2019 analysis of applicatives of unaccusatives in Nez Perce, we suggest that the affectee DP cannot undergo A-movement to Spec, VoiceP for anti-locality reasons and, thus, the lower argument undergoes A-movement. Therefore, the affectee DP (the ‘subject’) stays in the thematic domain and is predicted to be on the right of the verb, assuming that Russian verb undergoes head movement to Asp (Gribanova 2013).

**Conclusion:** We have argued that a smuggling approach to OVS order in Russian makes incorrect predictions regarding the external argument status of the ‘subject’ and proposed an alternative analysis that assumes variable argument linking (Neu 2024).

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