Differential Source Marking in the languages of Europe

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Abstract. The article deals with encoding Source arguments of the predicate 'take' in the languages of Europe and identifies factors involved in Differential Source Marking. Animacy turns out to play the crucial role in this respect: while the encoding of animate Sources is rather homogeneous, inanimate Sources are encoded in different ways depending on the localization. The encoding of animate source can coincide with that of one of the two (or both) basic localizations: IN or ON or be different from it. Differential Marking of animate Sources is attested in Central Europe and implies recipient-like vs. ablative-like alternation where the encoding depends on whether something is taken for good or not and whether some extra force is applied or not. Differential Marking of inanimate Sources occurs in quite a number of European languages with different localizations; it is not always symmetrical to Differential Translocation Marking and can depend on the topicality on the argument or its semantic type.

Keywords: Source, argument alternation, Differential Argument Marking, languages of Europe, syntax

1 Introduction

The paper is devoted to different means of encoding Source in European languages. As in the case with different ways of encoding Goal (Zaika 2016), this phenomenon can be accounted for both in terms of argument alternation

and with reference to Differential Argument Marking (DAM)[1]. Different types of DAM can depend on both grammatical and lexical factors and be sensitive to the relevant properties both of the argument (agentivity, referentiality, animacy, semantic type) and of the predicate (aspect and aspect-like categories). For instance, Differential Goal (Translocation) Marking involves such factors as voice, information structure, the semantic type of the argument, and a number of others (Zaika 2016).

While Differential Object Marking is well studied, the other, especially locative types of DAM are less known. While there exist a number of works on Differential Goal Marking (Differential R/Goal Marking, Differential Marking of Spatial Relations, Differential Translocation Marking), sometimes described in terms of argument alternation or variation (cf. Kittilä 2008; Kittilä, Ylikoski 2011; Kittilä, Luraghi 2009; Nikitina 2010; Zaika 2016, among others), Differential Source Marking, to my knowledge, has hardly ever been analysed. This may be attributed to the fact that cross-linguistically Goal is more salient than Source (cf. Ikegami 1987; Papafragou 2010; Kabata 2013, among others). A description of Differential Source Marking in Ancient Greek (Luraghi 2011) is one of the few works on this phenomenon. Differential Place marking is analysed in (Haspelmath 2019), though his article deals with the opposition of formally marked and unmarked cases, as well as with shorter and longer forms, explained in terms of frequency asymmetries and predictability,[2] while in my analysis both members of the opposition can be equally formally marked (as is also the case with Differential R [Recipient/Goal] Marking (Kittilä 2008)). Like Differential Translocation Marking, and unlike Differential Subject Marking or Differential Object Marking, Differential Source Marking is not restricted to the core arguments and most often involves two explicitly marked cases or adpositions rather than a zero marked case.

The languages of my sample include Indo-European (Slavic: Russian, Ukrainian, Belarusian, Polish, Czech, Slovak, Bulgarian, Macedonian, Serbian;

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1   We use a conventional definition of DAM; cf. "Any kind of situation where an argument of a predicate bearing the same generalized semantic argument role may be coded in different ways, depending on factors other than the argument role itself, and which is not licensed by diathesis alternations" (Witzlack-Makarevich, Seržant 2019, 2).

2   Cf. the definition: "Differential place marking is a situation in which the coding of locative, allative or ablative roles depends on subclasses of nouns, in particular place names (toponyms), inanimate common nouns and human nouns" (Haspelmath 2019).

Baltic: Latvian, Lithuanian; Germanic: Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, Icelandic, German, Dutch, English; Romance: Portuguese, Spanish, Catalan, Occitan (Gascon), French, Italian, Romanian; Celtic: Welsh, Breton; Albanian; Greek; Ossetic, Armenian); Uralic (Finnish, Estonian, Hungarian); Altaic (Turkish); Kartvelian (Georgian); Nakh-Daghestanian (Lezgian); and an isolate (Basque). The research is mostly based on consultations with language experts, though language descriptions and corpus data were used as well.

In the present study, I will only analyse the Source (both animate and inanimate) arguments of the predicate 'take'. While the locative vs. allative alternation can appear with quite a number of sematic groups of predicates ('put', 'get stuck into', 'write down', 'lock up', 'gather') in several languages of Europe, I could not find other groups of verbs with Sources allowing for argument alternation[3].

The rest of the article is organized as follows. Section 2 looks into animacy effects on Differential Source Marking. Sections 3 and 4 deal with Differential Marking of animate and inanimate Sources, respectively. Finally, Section 5 presents my conclusions.

2 Animacy

As demonstrated in (Kittilä 2008, 2014), animacy can play a crucial role in Goal Marking. It turns out that it can be relevant for Source marking as well.

It can be debated whether animate and inanimate Sources (cf. *Peter took a book from Mary* vs. *Peter took a book from the table*) can(not) have the same semantic role. As to the opposite semantic role, Recipient (which is usually animate) is sometimes seen as one of the types of Goal in the broad sense (Kittilä 2008, 2[4]; Kittilä, Ylikoski 2011, 32), while in other works the same phenomenon can be described as direction-recipient polysemy (Kittilä, Luraghi 2009). As animate and inanimate Sources with the predicate 'take' normally occur in complementary distribution, they will be regarded here as the same semantic role.

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3   Some predicates allowing for this kind of alternation ('to borrow', 'to learn', etc.) can be found in English (Wayles Browne, p.c.)

4   Cf. "we can define R [Recipient] as a general Goal of transfer that can be either animate or inanimate depending on context".

While the encoding of animate Source in languages of Europe is rather homogeneous, the encoding of inanimate Source depends on the exact spatial configuration involving such localizations as IN, ON, AT, UNDER, ABOVE, IN FRONT OF, BEHIND.
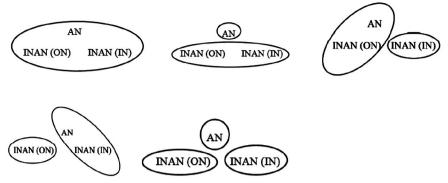
As shown in my previous work (Zaika 2019), animate (possessive) Source encoding tends to coincide either with recipient encoding or with some kind of inanimate Source ("ablative marking") encoding. In fact, in all languages with ablative encoding of animate Source, it is encoded as one of the two (or both) basic localizations: IN or ON.

With this in mind, language experts were asked to translate three sentences: *Peter took a book from Mary* with an animate Source, *Peter took a book from the table* and *Peter took a beer from the fridge* with inanimate Sources and different localizations. After that, the formal marking of the Sources in the translations was compared. Corpora and grammatical descriptions were used to check other means of encoding the Sources and sometimes to analyse the possible alternation with other localizations in inanimate Sources.

Sometimes Source pragmatically coincides with Possessor, so it can be translated as Possessor. Thus, the sentence *Peter took a book from Mary* can be translated into Spanish as (1a), where the preposition *de* encodes internal possession. In order to distinguish between the encoding of Possessor and that of animate Source, the speakers were asked to translate a sentence including both a Possessor and an animate Source (1b).

(1a) *Pedro   cog-ió   el   libro   **de**   **María**.*
     PN   take-PST.3SG   DEF   book   PREP   PN
     'Pedro took Maria's book.'

(1b) *Pedro   le   cog-ió   su   libro   **a**   **María**.*
     PN   DAT.SG   take-PST.3SG   his   book   PREP   PN
     'Pedro took his book from Maria.'

Technically, the three types of Sources can be encoded in five different ways and, interestingly, all the possible five types of syncretism are present in European languages. They are represented schematically in Figure 1 and the examples are provided below.

FIGURE 1

2.1. The same encoding of animate and inanimate Source (AN = INAN (ON) = INAN (IN)) is quite common in Europe. It is attested in English, Swedish, Norwegian, Latvian, Italian, Bulgarian, Macedonian, Greek, Turkish, Armenian, Ossetic. See a Latvian example below:

(2a) *Pēc-is*   *paņēm-a*   ***no***   ***Maš-as***   *grāmat-u.*
PN-NOM.SG take-PST.3   PREP   PN-GEN.SG   book-ACC.SG
'Pēcis took a book from Masha.'

(2b) *Pēc-is*   *paņēm-a*   *al-u*   ***no***   ***ledusskapj-a.***
PN-NOM.SG take-PST.3   beer-ACC.SG   PREP   fridge-GEN.SG
'Pēcis took a beer from the fridge.'

(2c) *Pēc-is*   *paņēm-a*   *grāmat-u*   ***no***   ***gald-a.***
PN-NOM.SG take-PST.3   book-ACC.SG   PREP   table-GEN.SG
'Pēcis took a book from the table.'

2.2. Different encoding of animate vs. inanimate Sources (AN ≠ INAN (ON) = INAN (IN)) is attested in most of the Romance languages (Portuguese, Spanish, Catalan, Occitan, French), Basque, some Slavic languages (Polish, Slovak, Ukrainian), as well as in Albanian, Welsh, and Georgian. See Ukrainian:

(3a) *Pet-ja*   *vzja-v*   ***u***   ***Mash-i***   *knyh-u.*
PN-NOM.SG take-PST.SG.M PREP   PN-GEN.SG   book-ACC.SG
'Petja took a book from Masha.'

(3b) *Pet-ja*   *vzja-v*   *z*   ***kholodyl'nyk-a*** *pyv-o*.
    PN-NOM.SG   take-PST.SG.M   PREP   fridge-GEN.SG   beer-ACC.SG
    'Petja took a beer from the fridge.'

(3c) *Pet-ja*   *vzja-v*   ***zi***[5]   ***stol-u***   *knyh-u*.
    PN-NOM.SG take-PST.SG.M   PREP   table-GEN.SG   book-ACC.SG
    'Petja took a book from the table.'

It is interesting that in the abovementioned Slavic languages (Polish, Slovak and Ukrainian), the preposition encoding inelative (IN) and superelative inanimate (ON) localizations (*z/ze*, *z/zo*[6] and *z/zi* respectively) originates from etymologically different prepositions *$*j{\sigma}z{\sigma}$ and *$s{\sigma}n$ (Zhovtobrjux et al. 1980, 244), having two different cognates in some other Slavic languages, cf. *iz* and *s* in Russian, *z/ze* and *s/se* in Czech, *iz* and *s/sa* in Serbian.

It should also be mentioned that in Basque, the ablative case, as well as in other locative cases, regularly encoding Source with other verbs has different forms for animate and inanimate noun phrases: *etxe-tik jaso* (house[SG]-ABL get) 'to get from home' vs. *emazte-a-gan-dik jaso* (wife-SG-ANIM-ABL get) 'to get from his wife' (Differential Marking of Goal and Source in Basque was analysed in (Creissels, Mounole 2011)[7]).

2.3. Different encoding of inanimate Source (IN) — AN = INAN (ON) ≠ INAN (IN) — is attested in German, Dutch, Estonian and Finnish. See German:

(4a) *Petja*   *hat*   *sich*   *ein*   *Buch*.
    PN   AUX.PRS.3SG   REFL   INDF.ACC.SG.N   book.SG
    von   ***Mascha***   *genommen*
    PREP   PN   take.PTCP
    'Petja took a book from Masha.'

(4b) *Petja*   *hat*   *sich*   ***aus***   ***dem***   ***Kühlschrank***
    PN   AUX.PRS.3SG   REFL   PREP   DEF.DAT.SG.M   fridge.SG

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5   The preposition *zi* is a phonologically conditioned allomorph of *z*.

6   Polish and Slovak prepositions are phonologically conditioned allomorphs as well.

7   Cf. "Aristar (1997) shows that locational cases/adpositions are often less or zero marked with place names but require a dedicated suffix with other nouns which are less expected to occur in expressions denoting location." (Witzlack-Makarevich, Seržant 2019, 2–3).

ein	*Bier*	*genommen*
INDF.ACC.SG.N	beer[SG]	take.PTCP

'Petja took a beer from the fridge.'

(4c) *Petja hat*   *ein*   *Buch*   **vom**
PN   AUX.PRS.3SG   INDF.ACC.SG.N   book.SG   PREP.DEF.DAT.SG.M
Tisch   *genommen*.
table.SG   take.PTCP

'Petja took a book from the table.'

2.4. Different encoding of inanimate Source (ON) — AN = INAN (IN) ≠ INAN (ON) — is attested in Lithuanian:

(5a) *Peti-a*   *paėm-ė*   **iš**   **Maš-os**   *knyg-ą.*
PN-NOM.SG   take-PST.3   PREP   PN-GEN.SG   book-ACC.SG

'Petja took a book from Masha.'

(5b) *Peti-a*   *paėm-ė*   **iš**   **šaldytuv-o**   *al-ų.*
PN-NOM.SG   take-PST.3   PREP   fridge-GEN.SG   beer-ACC.SG

'Petja took a beer from the fridge.'

(5c) *Peti-a*   *paėm-ė*   **nuo**   **stal-o**   *knyg-ą.*
PN-NOM.SG   take-PST.3   PREP   table-GEN.SG   book-ACC.SG

'Petja took a book from the table.'

2.5. Different encoding of animate Source and two types of inanimate Sources — AN ≠ INAN (IN) ≠ INAN (ON) — is attested in Russian, Belarusian, Czech, Serbian, Hungarian, Danish, Icelandic, Romanian, Breton, and Lezgian. See Serbian:

(6a) *Petar*   *je*   *uze-o*   **od**   **Marij-e**   *knjig-u.*
PN[NOM.SG]   AUX.3SG   take-PTCP.SG.M   PREP   PN-GEN.SG   book-ACC.SG

'Petar took a book from Maria.'

(6b) *Petar*   *je*   *uze-o*   **iz**   **frižider-a**   *piv-o.*
PN[NOM.SG]   AUX.3SG   take-PTCP.SG.M   PREP   fridge-GEN.SG   beer-ACC.SG

'Petar took a beer from the fridge.'

(6b) *Petar*   *je*   *uze-o*   **sa**   **stol-a**   *knjig-u.*
PN[NOM.SG]   AUX.3SG   take-PTCP.SG.M   PREP   table-GEN.SG   book-ACC.SG

'Petar took a book from the table.'

3 Differential Marking of animate Sources

Alternation in the encoding of animate Sources is attested in Czech, Slovak, Serbian, and Albanian; see Slovak:

(7a) *Peť-o*   *zobra-l*   **od**   **Maš-i**   *knih-u.*
    PN-NOM.SG take-PST[SG.M] PREP   PN-GEN.SG   book-ACC.SG
    'Peťo took a book from Masha'.

(7b) *Peť-o*   *zobra-l*   **Maš-i**   *knih-u.*
    PN-NOM.SG take-PST[SG.M] PN-DAT.SG   book-ACC.SG
    'Peťo took a book from Masha.'

This case can be labeled "ablative vs. recipient alternation".[8] By recipient encoding I mean encoding coinciding with that of the Recipient of 'give' (it is expressed by the dative in the four above-mentioned languages). By ablative encoding I mean that of the argument of motion verbs such as 'go (away)', 'run (away)', 'return', etc. Thus, in Slovak, an animate Source of the verb 'take' can be encoded either in the same way as an argument of 'return' (cf. (7a) and (8)) or as an argument of 'give' (cf. (7b) and (8)).

(8) *Peťo*   *sa*   *vráti-l*   **od**   **šéf-a**.
    PN   REFL   return-PST[SG.M] PREP   boss-GEN.SG
    'Peťo returned from his boss.'

(9) *Peťo*   *da-l*   **Maš-i**   *knih-u.*
    PN   give-PST[SG.M] PN-DAT.SG   book-ACC.SG
    'Peťo gave a book to Masha.'

In Czech and Slovak, recipient (dative) marking is used when something is taken without permission ((Janda 1993, 58) for Czech, Viktoria Kniazkova, p.c. for Slovak). Still, the distribution of the markers is not similar in these closely related languages: while in Czech the dative is preferred to the prepositional construction *od* + GEN, in Slovak the prepositional construction is by far more

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8   The alternation was briefly described in (Zaika 2019).

frequent.[9] In Serbo-Croatian, the ablative preposition *od* + GEN with the verb *uzeti* 'take' is used when something is borrowed rather than taken for good; in Polish, the proposition *od* + GEN is used with the verb *wziąć* 'take', while dative (recipient) marking is possible with the verb *zabrać* 'take away' (Janda 1998, 257-258). Geographically, languages allowing for ablative vs. recipient alternation correspond to a contiguous area in Central Europe which represents an intersection of the recipient-like Sources typical of Western Europe and ablative-like Sources, typical of Eastern Europe except for East Slavic languages where the locative marking of the animate Source is more common[10].

4 Differential Marking of inanimate Sources

Argument alternation of inanimate Sources is attested in East Slavic (Russian, Belarusian, and Ukrainian), Baltic (occasional examples in Latvian), and some other languages of our sample (English, French, Occitan, and Albanian). Unlike Differential Source Marking of animate noun phrases, this kind of alternation does not represent a contiguous area. I label this case "ablative vs. locative alternation", as one type of the encoding coincides with that of stative location (the argument of the verbs 'be', 'stay', etc.). Languages allowing for this type of alternation can differ in both the type of localization and the factors triggering the alternation. In most languages of the sample, ablative encoding is preferred to locative encoding.

The most typical localizations allowing for this alternation are IN (10a-b) and ON (11a-b), though BEHIND (12a-b) and UNDER (13a-b) are possible as well, cf. Russian:

(10a) *No   zhen-a   vzja-l-a   **iz**   **shkaf-a***
     but   wife-NOM.SG   take-PST-SG.F from   cabinet-GEN.SG
     gradusnik   i   poda-l-a   Muhin-u.
     thermometer[ACC.SG] and   give-PST-SG.F   PN-DAT.SG
     'But his wife took the thermometer from the cabinet and gave it to
     Muchin.' (RNC)

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9   I would like to thank Viktor P. Zaharov and Viktoria Kniazkova for their valuable help with corpora data.

10 In the languages of Eastern Europe, occasional ablative source marking can occur alongside with locative source marking, though these cases are relatively rare.

(10b) *Fedor Ivanovich* *vzja-l* ***v shkaf-u*** *pachk-u*
  PN take-PST[SG.M] in cupboard-LOC.SG packet-ACC.SG
  cha-ja.
  tea-GEN.SG
  'Fedor Ivanovitch took a packet of tea from the cupboard.' (RNC).

(11a) *Buddo* *vzja-l* ***so stol-a*** *kruzhk-u*
  PN take-PST[SG.M] from table-GEN.SG cup-ACC.SG
  s *holodn-ym* *cha-em* *i* *sta-l* *pit'.*
  with cold-INS.SG.M tea-INS.SG and begin-PST[SG.M] drink-INF
  'Buddo took a cup of cold tea from the table and began drinking.' (RNC)

(11b) *Togda* *ja* *posh-l-a* *na* *kuhn-ju* *i*
  then I.NOM go-PST-SG.F on kitchen-ACC.SG and
  vzja-l-a *tam* ***na podokonnik-e*** ***pis'm-o***.
  take-PST-SG.F there on window_sill-LOC.SG letter-ACC.SG
  'Then I went to the kitchen and took there a letter from the window
  sill.' (RNC)

(12a) *Odnazhdy* *vzja-l* ***iz-za*** ***okna***
  once take-PST[SG.M] from-behind window-GEN.SG
  kilogramm *Mit-in-ogo* *syr-a*
  kilogram[NOM.SG] PN-POSS-GEN.SG.M cheese-GEN.SG
  poe-l, *no* *mezhdu* *ram* *ne* *polozhi-l.*
  eat-PST[SG.M] but between frame[GEN.PL] NEG put-PST[SG.M]
  'Once he took a kilo of Mitia's cheese from outside the window [and]
  ate some, but he did not put it [the rest] between the frames.' (RNC)

(12b) *Sejchas* *pesn-ja* *«Pro* *kapitan-a»,* *nado* *vzja-t'*
  now song-NOM.SG about capitain-GEN.SG necessary take-INF
  za kulis-ami *furazhk-u* <…>
  behind backstage-INS.PL cap-ACC.SG
  'And now the song "About the captain" will be performed, we
  should take the captain's hat in the wings.' (RNC)

(13a) *Tridcat'* *tysjach* *vzja-l* ***iz-pod*** ***matras-a***.
  30 thousand take-PST.SG.M from-under mattress-GEN.SG
  'He took 30000 [rubles] from under [her] mattress.' (RNC)

(13b) <…> *oni,*   *konechno zhe,*   *vzja-l-i*   **pod**
           they-NOM   certainly   PTCL   take-PST-PL under

   kryl'c-om   *kljuch.*
   porch-INS.SG   key[ACC.SG]
   'Naturally, they took the key from under the porch.' (RNC)

It should be noted that Differential Translocation Marking in Russian is found within the same localizations as Differential Source Marking (IN, ON, BEHIND and UNDER) (Zaika 2016), while other localizations (IN.FRONT. OF, OVER, BETWEEN) do not allow for it. Differential Translocation Marking and Differential Source Marking are, however, not always symmetrical:

(14a) *Petja vzja-l*   *iz*   *sumk-i* / ^{ok}*v*   *sumk-e*   *kljuch-i.*
      PN   take-PST[SG.M]   PREP   bag-GEN.SG PREP   bag-LOC.SG   key-ACC.PL
      'Peter took the keys out of his bag.'
(14b) *Petja polozhi-l*   *v*   *sumk-u* /   **v*   *sumk-e*   *kljuch-i.*
      PN   put-PST[SG.M]   PREP   bag-ACC.SG   PREP   bag-LOC.SG   key-ACC.PL
      'Peter put the keys into his bag.'

In Ukrainian and Belarusian, the alternation is possible with the localizations ON and IN; cf. Ukrainian: *vzja-l-a z kamin-a* take-PST-F.SG PREP mantel-GEN.SG 'she took from the mantel' vs. *vzjav na lutci* take-PST.M.SG PREP windowsill-LOC.SG 'took from the windowsill'; *uzja-ty z sakvojazh-a* take-INF PREP suitcase-GEN.SG 'take from the suitcase' vs. *viz'm-esh u svoj-emu sejf-i* take-FUT.2SG PREP REFL-LOC.SG.M safe-LOC.SG 'you will take it from your safe' (RNC).

As Differential Source Marking in every language would require a separate extensive study, I will mention only some factors known so far.

One of the factors that seem to influence the alternation under consideration in Russian is information structure. The same factor can also account for the locative vs. allative alternation with some Russian verbs (Nikitina 2010, 283). With some nouns, locative marking of the predicate 'take' tends to correspond to the focus position, while ablative encoding marking is normally used in the topic position:

(15b) *Voz'm-i   piv-o   **v   holodil'nik-e.***
    take-IMP.2SG   beer-ACC.SG   in   fridge-LOC.SG
    'Take the beer from the fridge.'

(15b) *On   podoshe-l   k   holodil'nik-u,   vzja-l*
    he[NOM.SG]   come-PST[SG.M]   to   fridge-DAT.SG   take-PST[SG.M]
    iz   nego** (**/??* ***v   nem) *butylk-u   piv-a.*
    from it.GEN   in   it.LOC   bottle-ACC.SG   beer-GEN.SG
    'He came to the fridge and took a bottle of beer from it.'

A similar alternation is observed in Albanian where an indefinite prepositional phrase with the locative preposition *në* is used in the focus position, while the ablative preposition *nga* is used when it is a part of the topic (Maria Morozova, p.c.):

(16a) *Petrit-i   mor-i   një   pije*
    PN-NOM.SG.DEF   take.AOR-AOR.3SG   ART.INDF   beverage.ACC.SG.INDF
    në   frigorifer.
    PREP   fridge.ACC.SG.INDF
    'Petrit took a beer from a fridge.'

(16b) *Petrit-i   mor-i   një   pije*
    PN-NOM.SG.DEF   take.AOR-AOR.3SG   ART.INDF   beverage.ACC.SG.INDF
    *nga   **frigorifer-i.***
    PREP   fridge-NOM.SG.DEF
    'Petrit took a beer from the fridge.'

In Baltic languages, locative Source marking is by far less common than in East Slavic languages. Thus, the rare examples in the parallel corpus (RNC) in Latvian show an obvious focus position:

(17) [*Ludmila, iedod akvareļa krāsas un otiņas*].
    — *Paņem   pat-i,   tur   plaukt-ā.*
    take.IMP.2SG   yourself-NOM.SG.F   there   shelf-LOC.SG
    '[Ludmila, give me the watercolours and the drawing pins]. — Take them yourself, there, on the shelf.' (RNC)

In Lithuanian, unlike in East Slavic languages, locative encoding of inanimate Source is unacceptable:

(18) *Peti-a   paėm-ė   **iš**   **šaldytuv-o** /   */?? **šaldytuv-e**   al-ų.*
    PN-NOM.SG take-PST.3 PREP fridge-GEN.SG fridge-LOC.SG beer-ACC.SG
    'Petia took a beer from the fridge.'

English also prefers ablative encoding of inanimate Sources (19), while occasional locative Source encoding can occur as well (20):

(19) *I **got** a spade **from the tool-house**, and began to delve with all my might — it scraped the coffin.*[11] (RNC)

(20) *In a moment," said I, arising, "I will go and get [the money] it **at the tent**.*[12] (RNC)

Another factor affecting inanimate Source encoding in Russian is the type of the Source. Where premises/institutions are involved in the action, the locative marking is preferred:

(21) *Ja   vzja-l   spravk-u   **v   adres-n-om***
    I.NOM take-PST[SG.M] certificate-ACC.SG in address-ADJ-LOC.SG.M
    stol-e   /?? **iz   adres-n-ogo   stol-a** <…>
    desk-LOC.SG from address-ADJ-GEN.SG.M desk-GEN.SG
    'I took the certificate from the registry-office.' (RNC).

In French (22a-b) and Occitan[13], the ablative vs. locative alternation cannot be accounted for in terms of the information structure or other above-mentioned factors and needs further investigation.

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11 Cf. the Russian translation *Ja vzja-l v sara-e lopat-u* <…> I take-PST[SG.M] tool-house-LOC.SG spade-ACC.SG 'I got a spade from (= in) the tool-house.'

12 A translation from Russian: "Сейчас, — сказал я, вставая, — я пойду возьму [деньги] в палатке."

13 The Occitan examples were translated from English in order to exclude possible French influence.

(22a) *Pierre   a   pris   une   bière **de   la**   **glacière**.*
　　　 PN   AUX   take.PTCP   INDF.SG.F   beer   from   DEF.SG.F   fridge
　　　 'Pierre took a beer from the fridge.'

(22b) *Petia   a   pris   une   bière **dans le**   **frigo**.*
　　　 PN   AUX   take.PTCP   INDF.SG.F   beer   in   DEF.SG.M   fridge
　　　 'Petia took a beer from the fridge.'

　　Some European languages show another type of alternation involved in the opposition between more general and more specific localizations. In Basque, inanimate Source can be encoded both with the ablative (*mahai-tik* table[SG]-ABL 'from the table') and with a location noun taking the ablative (*mahai gaine-tik* table top-ABL 'from the table', lit. 'from the top of the table'). A similar alternation can be found in Swedish, cf. *från kylskåpet* 'from the fridge' vs. *ur kylskåpet* 'out of the fridge', and in Estonian (Žilinskaitė-Šinkūnienė et al. 2019, 212).

　　As shown in this section, Differential Marking of inanimate Sources depends on whether they are encoded in the same way as static location. The two types of encoding correspond to two of the five possible types of syncretism between Location, Source, and Goal (Location ≠ Goal ≠ Source and Location = Source ≠ Goal) mentioned in (Pantcheva 2010), the former being quite common and the latter, rare. Unsurprisingly, locative encoding of the Source in European languages is much rarer than ablative encoding.

5 Conclusions

The most important factor accounting for Differential Source Marking in European languages is animacy, the opposition of animate and inanimate Source encoding being attested in more than a half of the languages of the sample (Portuguese, Spanish, Catalan, Occitan, French, Romanian, Breton, Welsh, Basque, Polish, Slovak, Czech, Ukrainian, Russian, Serbian, Belarusian, Danish, Icelandic, Albanian, Hungarian, Lezgian, Georgian). Still, in some languages of Europe (English, Swedish, Norwegian, German, Dutch, Latvian, Lithuanian, Italian, Bulgarian, Macedonian, Greek, Estonian, Finnish, Armenian, Ossetic Turkish) animate Source is encoded as either inelative or superelative inanimate Source. As can be seen from the lists of the languages, the distribution of the languages involves the genetic factor, most of the Romance and Slavic

languages, unlike most of the Germanic languages, tending to encode animate and inanimate Source differently. Geographical distribution of the animacy factor is harder to observe, still it can be seen that Differential Marking of animate vs. inanimate Sources is more typical of Western and Central Europe.

In animate Sources, only Differential Source Marking can depend on whether something is taken by force or not and whether something is taken forever or not and is found in Czech, Slovak, Serbian, and Albanian. In inanimate Sources, Differential Marking can be accounted for by other factors such as the location type, information structure, or the type of the container.[14] Geographically, the languages with this type of Differential Source Marking are scattered throughout Europe, including Russian, Belarusian, Ukrainian, Latvian, English, French, Occitan, and Albanian, East Slavic languages allowing for Differential Marking with a variety of localizations.

List of Abbreviations
ACC—accusative; ADJ—adjectivizer; ANIM—animacy; AOR—aorist; ART—article; AUX—auxiliary; DAT—dative; DEF—definite; GEN—genitive; INDF—indefinite; INF—infinitive; INS—instrumental; FUT—future; LOC—locative; M—masculine; NEG—negation; NOM—nominative; PN—personal name; PREP—preposition; PST—past; PTCL—particle; PTCP—participle; REFL—reflexive; SG—singular.

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14 In terms of (Witzlack-Makarevich, Seržant 2019, 33) the former alternations could be described as the predicate-triggered DAM, while the later ones are argument-triggered DAM.

Data Sources

RNC   *Russian National Corpus.* Available at: http://ruscorpora.ru.

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