

The Subject of Defective T(ense) in Slavic*

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Abstract. In this paper we argue that the EPP requirement of Tense (that it occur with a specifier) is an independent syntactic primitive that is operative in the absence of both nominative Case and subject-predicate agreement. This proposal is supported empirically by a class of accusative-Case-assigning unaccusatives in Russian and Ukrainian. For these predicate types, the direct internal argument bears accusative case, but occurs in Spec-TP at PF. This results only when T lacks agreement features, thereby establishing a correlation between a defective Tense, which is ϕ -incomplete, and a ϕ -complete light-*v*, which values accusative Case of a complement. We conclude that there is no such thing as “Case absorption”. This displacement, which is not predicted by Burzio’s Generalization, is driven by the EPP, rather than Case or agreement.

1. Introduction

In human languages, a phrasal unit that is interpreted thematically at Logical Form (LF) as occupying one syntactic position may occur overtly in Phonetic Form (PF) in a different position, a phenomenon referred to as the displacement property. As Chomsky has noted (1994: 221–22), this property appears to be unique to human languages, especially in contrast to artificially constructed formal systems such as logic (in its variety of formulations) and so-called computer languages. It has been a constant focus in the study of modern generative grammar from the outset. Within the Principles and Parameters framework of the past two decades and more particularly within recent refinements of the Minimalist Program, attempts to discover what motivates this property have identified three potential factors: Case, agreement, and the requirement that certain functional categories must have syntactically realized specifier phrases. For example, the displacement that occurs in the English passive construction in (1) be-

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low could be motivated in terms of: (i) Case: the nominative (NOM) pronoun must move to the specifier position of the clause (headed by the functional category T(ense) and hence Spec-TP) to be licensed; (ii) Agreement: the pronoun must move to Spec-TP to establish agreement with the passive auxiliary *was*; and (iii) the property of the functional category T, which requires that the pronoun move to create Spec-TP.

- (1) He was attacked *t* by the visitor.

With only English data it is difficult to determine to what extent each factor alone might motivate displacement. From another point of view, this becomes a problem of separating the operative factor from epiphenomena that might cooccur.¹

This article examines unaccusative constructions² in Russian and Ukrainian where the predicate assigns accusative Case (ACC) to a nominal expression that shows up at PF in the specifier position of TP. These constructions provide empirical evidence for teasing apart the operative roles of the three potential factors in displacement phenomena. They show that T, in the absence of agreement or Case-licensing properties, has an independent requirement that triggers movement to its specifier. They also demonstrate a correlation between defective T lacking agreement (ϕ -) features and a ϕ -complete *v* below, which can check ACC in the case of all unaccusative predicates. The correlation is not merely possible, but necessary. These unaccusative predicates cannot occur with ϕ -complete T because if they did, the result would not yield a convergent derivation: the ϕ -features of *v* would be checked but not the ϕ -features of T.³ Exactly how this works will be discussed below.

¹ See, for example, Martin 1999 and Boeckx 2000a, b where it is argued that the requirement for a specifier reduces to a Case requirement. Pesetsky and Torrego 2001 claim that the requirement is not a primary feature of any head (as in Chomsky 1994), but rather is a subsidiary feature of some other formal feature that triggers displacement (e.g., *wh*- or ϕ -features). Similarly, Chomsky 2001: fn. 6 conjectures that this requirement correlates with the full set of agreement features on T.

² The term “unaccusative” should be construed as a technical term for a class of constructions in which a nominal expression that functions as a complement of a predicate shows up in PF in canonical subject position (i.e. Spec-TP).

³ Following Chomsky 2000, 2001, Pesetsky and Torrego 2001, and much previous work dating back to George and Kornfilt 1981, we will argue that NOM Case is licensed by agreement, rather than Tense, in Slavic (as well as English). Cf. Iatridou 1993 and Ura 2000, where it is shown on the basis of Modern Greek and Japanese, respectively,

1.1. The Framework

In recent refinements of the Minimalist Program (in particular, Chomsky 2000, 2001), displacement in narrow syntax is driven by an uninterpretable feature of a head of one of the core functional projections: CP, TP, and *v*P.⁴ Non-defective T and *v* have a full set of uninterpretable ϕ -features, which are checked via matching of corresponding ϕ -features of nominal expressions. Uninterpretable structural Case features of the nominal expression delete under such matching. Each core functional projection may have a specifier position that is not semantically-selected by the functional head. These are designated “EPP-positions”—i.e., positions not forced by the Projection Principle. These positions are motivated by a functional head’s requirement for an overt specifier.⁵

A major innovation in recent minimalist syntax is that feature checking of uninterpretable features need not involve movement. Uninterpretable features enter the derivation (from the lexicon) unvalued. They are valued and deleted (hence checked) via the relation Agree, which matches the unvalued features of the probe to the corresponding valued features of the goal. In the case of the unvalued uninterpretable ϕ -features of a verbal element, matching with the valued interpretable ϕ -features of an NP results in the valuation of the uninterpretable Case feature of the NP (and its subsequent deletion)—e.g., the ϕ -features on the probe T and the Case feature on the goal NP in (1).

that the correlation between NOM Case and agreement does not hold universally. In these languages, as well as others, T’s ϕ -features and NOM Case can be checked independently.

⁴ Since this paper is concerned with the systems of structural Case and agreement, we will not discuss the uninterpretable *wh*-feature of C.

⁵ Note that the Extended Projection Principle (EPP) consists of the Projection Principle plus “the requirement that clauses have subjects” (Chomsky 1982: 10). The term EPP in recent theoretical discussions has come to refer just to the requirement that extends the Projection Principle, now generalized to specifier positions of functional categories. To be sure, Chomsky 1982 refers only to the EPP requirement of Infl. In what follows we will use the term EPP to refer to the requirement for a specifier rather than a morphosyntactic feature or a property of such features. Lasnik 2001 gives two arguments for this view of the EPP. One concerns the observation that if Agree applies long distance (as in Chomsky 2000, 2001), then movement is not motivated by feature checking. The other is based on his analysis of object raising in ellipsis constructions.

Chomsky 2001 assumes that “a goal as well as a probe must be active for Agree to apply” (cf. his (3i)). To be active is to have an unvalued (uninterpretable) feature. It follows that only N with unvalued structural Case can be active. Once structural Case has been valued via Agree, the NP headed by this N is frozen in place. This would account for the impossibility of raising the subject of a finite clause, as in (2).

- (2) *Mary seems [_{TP} *t* is proud of her work]

Given that NOM on *Mary* is valued under agreement with the head T of the complement TP, *Mary* would be frozen in the complement TP. The only way for this derivation to converge is with merger of expletive *it* in the root Spec-TP. An alternative derivation for (2) in which the Case feature of *Mary* is valued under matching with the root T would result in the ϕ -features of the complement T remaining unvalued—in which case this derivation fails to converge.

As will be discussed below, the facts from accusative unaccusative constructions suggest that the assumption that an NP is unmovable once its Case has been valued is untenable.

The operation Move applies only in those cases in which the probe has an EPP requirement, in addition to its ϕ - or *wh*-features. The question of whether the EPP requirement of T can drive movement independently of its ϕ -features is the central concern of this paper. In the standard case of movement (e.g. the passive construction in (1)), the moved constituent also involves the operation Agree to check structural Case. However, Agree can apply without movement, as in the case of the English existential construction in (3), where the unmoved expletive associate *a visitor* values the ϕ -features of T:

- (3) There is a visitor in the kitchen.

In these constructions, the EPP requirement of T is satisfied by the merger of the expletive *there*.⁶ In this regard, the satisfaction of the EPP

⁶ Chomsky 2001 assumes that the expletive “has the uninterpretable feature [person]”. In this way, satisfaction of the EPP via expletive merger also involves matching of agreement features. Presumably the [person] feature of the expletive must be uninterpretable like the expletive itself, hence entering the derivation unvalued, so that it agrees with the value of the [person] feature of its associate. The derivation of the expletive construction in (3) would involve the application of Agree between the probe T and the goal *a visitor*, followed by the application of Agree between the probe *there* and the goal *is*. For the goal *a visitor* to be active, it must have an uninterpretable Case

is separate from the checking of Case and agreement. However, these constructions are famously controversial with respect to the whether the expletive bears (NOM) Case and, if so, whether the associate bears some other Case (see Belletti 1988 and Lasnik 1995 for discussion). We will show that the Russian and Ukrainian constructions introduced in section 2 are significantly more straightforward in the way the EPP is distinct from properties of Case and agreement, and thus make an important contribution to this discussion.

Finally, note that the notion “defective category” plays a central role in the analysis of accusative unaccusative constructions. A defective category is defined in (4):

- (4) A category that lacks a full set of ϕ -features is **defective**.

In English, infinitival T (as in (5)) and passive *v* (as in (1)) are ϕ -incomplete and hence defective categories.

- (5) We expect Len to finish his book this summer.

The independent status of the EPP requirement of T with respect to the Case/agreement system is tested precisely when T is defective. If movement to Spec-TP occurs in the absence of ϕ -features on T, the EPP alone must be sufficient to cause displacement.

2. The Paradigm and ϕ -Completeness

In (6–8) we provide examples of accusative unaccusatives in Russian and Ukrainian:

feature. Note that the expletive itself need not have a structural Case feature given that the uninterpretable [person] feature is sufficient to render it an active probe. Note further that the valuation of the expletive’s [person] feature requires that the valued uninterpretable features of T remain available in the derivation for some period of computational time. That the expletive must have a [person] feature is, however, not obvious. It is only necessary under the hypothesis that EPP-movement occurs as a side-effect of Agree.

(6) Russian Finite Accusative Unaccusative⁷

- a. Soldata ranilo pulej.
 soldier_{ACC} wounded_[-AGR] bullet_{INST}
 'A soldier was wounded by a bullet.'
- b. Podvaly zatopilo livnem.
 basements_{ACC} flooded_[-AGR] downpour_{INST}
 'Basements were flooded by the downpour.'
- c. Ženščinu zadavilo kovrom samoletom v parke
 woman_{ACC} crushed_[-AGR] carpet airplane_{INST} in park
 Gor'kogo.
 of Gorky
 'A woman was crushed by the flying carpet [attraction] in
 Gorky Park.'

[Moskovskij komsomolec 9/13/99]

In the case of the Russian construction the **indirect** internal argument can also appear pre-verbally in discourse-neutral speech. The basic requirement for discourse-neutral word order entails (in descriptive terms) a simple prohibition on V-initial structures. Examples with preverbal instrumental (INST) NPs are given in (7):

(7) Russian Finite Accusative Unaccusative

- a. Vetrom i doždjama sbilo seti.
 wind_{INST} and rains_{INST} knocked-down_[-AGR] nets_{ACC}
 'Wind and rains knocked down some nets.'
- b. Volnoj oprokinulo lodku.
 wave_{INST} overturned_[-AGR] boat_{ACC}
 'A wave overturned a boat.' [Kovtunova 1980: 354]

The Ukrainian accusative unaccusative construction is a nonagreeing passive. The example in (8c) contains a passive *by*-phrase:

⁷ This predicate type was discussed as early as Rothstein 1983. See Babby 1994 for a detailed discussion of its argument structure.

(8) Ukrainian Non-Finite Accusative Unaccusative⁸

- a. Inozemcja bulo posadženo do v'jaznyci.
 foreigner_{ACC} was_[-AGR] placed_[-AGR] to prison

'A foreigner was put into prison.'

- b. Nemovlja bulo znajdeno u košyku.
 baby_{ACC} was_[-AGR] found_[-AGR] in basket

'A baby was found in a basket.'

- c. Ja spodivajusja, [ščo cej žart ne bude
 I hope that this joke_{ACC} NEG will be

vykorystano "Pravdoju Ukrajinu".

used_[-AGR] Pravda_{INST} of Ukraine

'I hope that this joke won't be used by *Ukrainian Pravda*.'

[Wieczorek 1994: 47]

The basic facts of these constructions are given in (9):

(9) Accusative Unaccusative Construction (6–8)

- i. the underlying complement of the verb bears ACC case
- ii. there is no thematic external argument
- iii. discourse-neutral word-order is established by the location of the ACC or INST complement in a preverbal position
- iv. the complement is optionally non-D(iscourse)-linked in the preverbal position⁹
- v. the main predicate bears no agreement morphology

These predicate types, referred to in Babby (2000) as "un-Burzio" verbs, contradict Burzio's Generalization, the correlation between a predicate's thematic and Case properties, given in (10):

⁸ This predicate type is usually referred to in the Slavic literature as "Ukrainian *-no/-to*"; see Billings and Maling 1995 and Lavine 2000 for discussion.

⁹ An entity is "D-linked" if it has a pre-established reference in the universe of discourse. We will use the term "non-D-linked" to refer to non-generic indefinites. These terms are borrowed from Pesetsky 1987. They are discussed with respect to the EPP in Russian in Babyonyshev 1996.

- (10) Burzio's Generalization (Chomsky 1986: 139; Burzio 1986: 178)
 A verb (with an object) Case-marks its object if and only if it θ -marks its subject.

In what follows, we will suggest that Case never drives the A-movement attributed to the correlation in (10) (cf. Marantz 1991). Instead, displacement may reduce to the requirement of T for a specifier (cf. Rothstein's (1983) "syntactic predication"), i.e. a requirement of core functional projections as in Chomsky 2000.

The central task regarding (9) is to show how these properties are connected in a principled way. We will argue that the underlying ACC- (or INST-) Case-marked complements of these unaccusative predicates move to the specifier position of a defective T, thus providing evidence for separating T's EPP requirement from its other, purely morphological, uninterpretable ϕ -features. Thus the structure of accusative unaccusative constructions is (11) and (12) on the opposite page.¹⁰

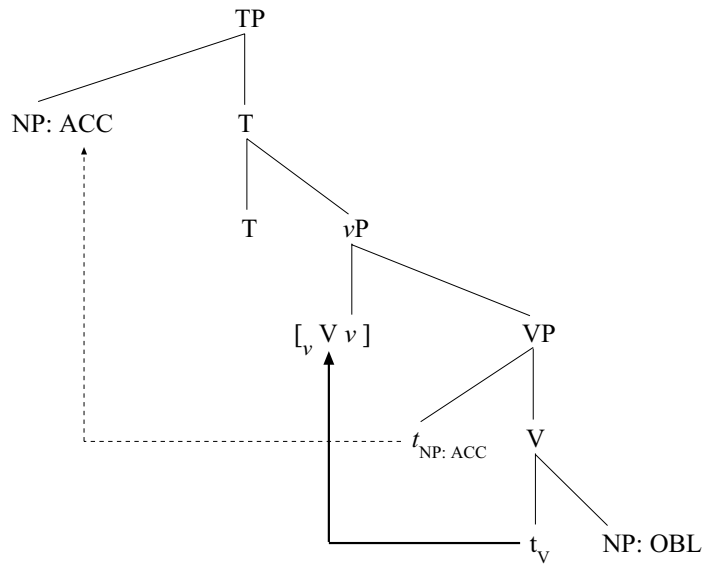
¹⁰ The trees in (11–12) refer specifically to the Russian accusative unaccusatives in (6–7). Note that the two internal arguments are in the same minimal domain (i.e., VP, or, after V's adjunction to *v*, *v*P) and, thus, are "equidistant" to T (in the sense of Chomsky 1993) with respect to Minimality and Shortest Move. This explains how the EPP-probe in T can identify either of the internal arguments for movement.

Babby (1994) notes that the indirect internal argument of Russian accusative unaccusatives need not be marked INST. The Source theta role, for example, will be realized as an *ot* 'from' + GEN PP, as in (i):

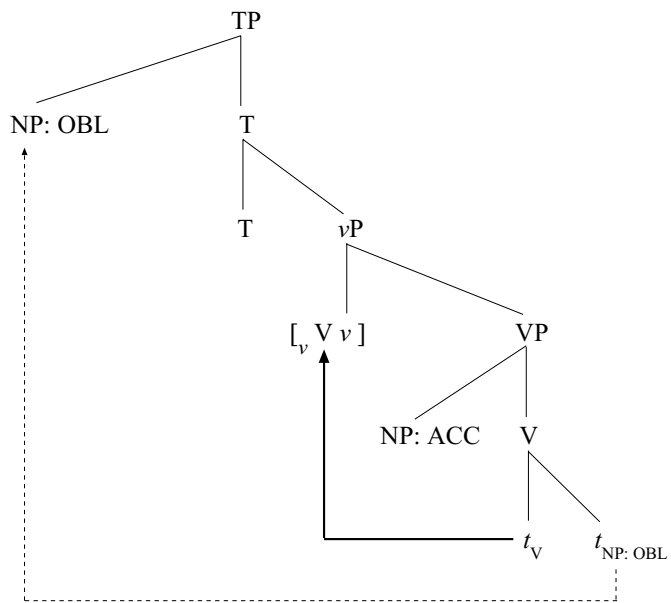
- (i) Nos založilo ot pyli.
 nose_{ACC} clogged_[-AGR] from dust_{GEN}
 'My nose got stuffed up from the dust.'

For this reason, the trees in (11–12) refer to the indirect internal argument as NP:OBL. Note, additionally, that the INST *by*-phrase in the Ukrainian nonagreeing passive is not a complement of the verb and, thus, cannot move to the V-initial position under neutral discourse, in contrast to the indirect internal argument in the Russian examples in (7).

(11)



(12)



The dotted lines indicate that either the NP:ACC or the NP:OBL can move to Spec-TP. *v*P lacks a specifier. This indicates that Russian and Ukrainian, unlike Scandinavian, are not object shift languages. ACC Case on the direct internal argument is valued “long distance” via Agree with ϕ -complete *v*. The oblique semantic Case on the indirect internal argument is assigned by lexical V when the two merge.¹¹ Because T is ϕ -incomplete (i.e. defective) it cannot value NOM Case.

Note the correlation between T_{def} (where Tense lacks agreement morphology, indicated as [-AGR] in (6–8)) and the ability of an unaccusative predicate to converge with an ACC complement. When T is ϕ -complete, the sole argument of an unaccusative (or one of the internal arguments of a di-unaccusative) would be forced to enter into a relation with T’s uninterpretable ϕ -features, a relation that is precluded in Slavic for NPs bearing non-NOM Case. While any unaccusative *v* can potentially assign ACC to its complement, this operation will survive only those derivations that do not subsequently require that this ACC NP enter into a relation with T’s ϕ -features. Consider in (13) the four logical possibilities for the ϕ -completeness of T and *v* that could occur with unaccusatives:¹²

- (13) a. $T_{\text{comp}} / v_{\text{def}}$ c. $T_{\text{def}} / v_{\text{comp}}$
 b. $T_{\text{comp}} / v_{\text{comp}}$ d. $*T_{\text{def}} / v_{\text{def}}$

The configuration in (13a) gives the case of standard unaccusatives, which conform to Burzio’s Generalization. Unaccusative *v* is defective and consequently fails to value ACC on its complement. Defective *v* creates a weak phase (cf. Chomsky 2001) in which the unvalued complement is still active and, thus, can be valued by the higher ϕ -complete T. The result is an unaccusative predicate with a NOM subject (e.g., English *arrive* and *disappear*, and their Russian equivalents *prijti* and *isčeznut’*, respectively).

¹¹ See Freidin and Babby 1984 on the distinction between semantic and lexical (quirky) Case. One criterion for semantic Case is that it can alternate with structural Case, while lexical Case cannot (cf. (6a) and (14a)).

¹² This typology of unaccusative predicates with respect to ϕ -completeness developed out of discussions with Stephanie Harves. Harves (2002) proposes a different analysis of the accusative unaccusative construction where both T and *v* are ϕ -incomplete and ACC Case is valued by a ϕ -complete V. We are assuming that V does not carry ϕ -features independent of T and *v*.

When both T and *v* are ϕ -complete (as in (13b)), a clause whose verb is unaccusative will converge only in the case of di-unaccusatives, where there are two NPs available: one to value the ϕ -features of *v* and another to value the ϕ -features of T. The examples in (6a-b) will converge as follows with T_{comp} :¹³

- (14) Russian Accusative Unaccusatives ($T_{\text{comp}} / v_{\text{comp}}$)
- a. Pulja ranila soldata.
bullet_{NOM.F.SG} wounded_{F.SG} soldier_{ACC}
'A bullet wounded a soldier.'
- b. Liven' zatopil podvaly.
downpour_{NOM.M.SG} flooded_{M.SG} basements_{ACC}
'A downpour flooded basements.'

In the case of unaccusatives with a single internal argument, the configuration in (13b) will necessarily fail to converge. Only one of the two ϕ -complete probes will be able to value and then delete its uninterpretable features.

The configuration of ϕ -features (13c) yields a convergent derivation for the accusative unaccusatives in (6–8). Because unaccusative *v* is ϕ -

¹³ Babby (1994) refers to the examples in (14) as "demiactives". Raising of the direct (rather than indirect) internal argument (the Theme) requires the affixation of reflexive *-sja*, which, by lexical stipulation, is not available for all verbs. The affixation of reflexive *-sja* in the case of di-unaccusatives is a productive property of Subject-Experiencer (Psych) Verbs, as in (i):

- (i) Russian Subject-Experiencer Verb
- | | | | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|------|------|---------------------|
| Ivan | udivil- | sja | ètoj | novosti. |
| Ivan _{NOM.M.SG} | surprised _{M.SG} | REFL | this | news _{DAT} |
- 'Ivan was surprised at this news.'

Some verbs in Russian that allow nonagreeing accusative unaccusatives (as in (6)) also allow affixation of reflexive *-sja*. The example in (6b) shows the same pattern as (i) above: the Theme argument can appear in the NOM (that is, be valued by T's ϕ -complete probe), inducing reflexive *-sja*. The relevant example is the Middle in (ii):

- (ii) Russian Di-Unaccusative
- | | | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------|------|--------------------------|
| Podvaly | zatopili- | s' | livnem. |
| basements _{NOM.PL} | flooded _{PL} | REFL | downpour _{INST} |
- 'Basements were flooded by the downpour.'

Note that (i-ii) instantiate the ϕ -completeness configuration given in (13a): $T_{\text{comp}} / v_{\text{def}}$. These are unaccusative predicates whose surface subject bears an internal theta-role (Experiencer in (i) and Theme in (ii)).

complete, it values ACC on its complement. The moved ACC NP satisfies the EPP of T_{def} .¹⁴

The accusative unaccusative construction provides some motivation for not considering the EPP to be a species of feature checking. If it were, then T_{def} would enter a one-way checking relation with the ACC NP in which the NP checks the EPP-feature of T_{def} but T_{def} checks no feature of the NP. This would contradict the otherwise well grounded assumption that both probe and goal must be active (i.e. have an unvalued feature) to be related by Agree (see Chomsky 2001).

Turning briefly to (13d), note that this configuration is hopelessly deviant. Assuming that all unaccusatives select at least one internal argument, if both T and v are defective (as in (13d)), this argument will not be valued for Case. The resulting uninterpretable Case-feature will cause the derivation to crash.

The unaccusative types available with respect to the ϕ -completeness of T and v are identified in (15).

- | | | |
|---------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| (15) a. | $T_{\text{comp}} / v_{\text{def}}$ | <i>arrive</i> type |
| b. | $T_{\text{comp}} / v_{\text{comp}}$ | di-unaccusative |
| c. | $T_{\text{def}} / v_{\text{comp}}$ | accusative unaccusative |
| d. | $*T_{\text{def}} / v_{\text{def}}$ | N/A |

Note that the configuration in (15c) is our main concern. The two central questions posed by this configuration are: (i) Can a defective category impose an EPP requirement?¹⁵ and (ii) Is a structurally Case-marked NP obligatorily “frozen” for subsequent narrow-syntactic operations once its Case is valued?

¹⁴ The availability of accusative unaccusatives in Russian and Ukrainian, but not English, ultimately depends on lexical properties. For example, the English passive **Him was attacked by the visitor* is ruled out by the fact that English contains no finite form of *be* that lacks agreement morphology. Nonagreeing passives of the Ukrainian *-no/-to* type in Russian, such as **Vanju bylo ubito na vojne* ‘Vanja_{ACC} was killed_{N.SG} at war’, are similarly ruled out by the lack of nonagreeing morphology. The word-final morphology on *ubito* ‘killed’ is either default (occurring, for example, with quantified NPs) or neuter singular. In contrast, Ukrainian *-no/-to/* is a dedicated nonagreeing morpheme. The neuter singular in Ukrainian is marked by */-e/* rather than */-o/*. We do not attempt to derive the lack of nonagreeing morphology as a lexical resource.

¹⁵ Recall that Chomsky 2001: fn. 6 assumes that it cannot.

3. The Case for EPP-Motivated A-Movement

To address question (i) first it must be considered whether some factor other than the EPP drives the displacement of a predicate-internal argument in (6–8). Next, this movement must be distinguished from discourse-oriented short-distance scrambling of arguments. These issues will be taken up in sections 3.1 and 3.2, respectively. In section 3.3, we further discuss the role of defective T in the derivation of accusative unaccusatives.

3.1. Case-Driven Movement to T of Non-Nominative NPs

What is new about the data in (6–8) with respect to recent work on A-movement of non-NOM NPs to a preverbal position is that the underlying complements in these examples are **structurally Case-marked** and **optionally non-D-linked** (see fn. 9). This contrasts with the familiar paradigm from Icelandic in (16), where a lexically Case-marked complement may be displaced into Spec-TP.

(16) Icelandic Quirky-Case-Assigning Passive

- a. Stólunum hafði verið stolið á uppboðinu.
 the chairs_{DAT} had_[-AGR] been stolen at the auction
 ‘The chairs had been stolen at the auction.’
- b. Það hafði verið stolið fjórum stólum á
 there_{EXPL} had_[-AGR] been stolen four chairs_{DAT} at
 uppboðinu.
 the auction
 ‘There had been stolen four chairs at the auction.’
- c. *Hafði verið stolið fjórum stólum á uppboðinu.
 [Sigurðsson 1992: 14]

In (16a), where the main verb assigns lexical (i.e. quirky) Case to its complement, the passive construction exhibits the standard raising of the internal argument to Spec-TP without the standard Case- or agreement-checking motivation. In the absence of such movement, as in (16b), an expletive is merged in Spec-TP. When neither raising nor merger of an expletive into Spec-TP occurs, the result is deviant as (16c) illustrates. Under an analysis in which there is no independent EPP requirement, the obligatory presence of preverbal material in (16a–b) must follow from some other feature of T. Boeckx (2000a) argues that the requirement for an overt Spec-TP in such instances fol-

lows instead from an enriched machinery for Case-checking, involving the presence of a “Generic Case” feature in T, which attracts the lexically Case-marked complement or an expletive.¹⁶ Under this view, EPP-motivated movement in (16a-b) can still be held to overlap with a Case-checking operation.

To be sure, the existence of lexically Case-marked complements that are displaced into subject position is among the thorniest problems involved in reducing the EPP to Case (or to some other feature of T). For Icelandic, the Generic-Case proposal and an independent EPP-analysis are roughly equivalent since they account for the same set of data. Note, however, that the generic Case proposal cannot be extended to account for the data in (6–8). The main empirical problem with applying Boeckx’s proposal to the Russian and Ukrainian examples is that the preverbal internal arguments in these accusative unaccusatives are **structurally** Case-marked, in contrast to the derived lexically Case-marked subject of the Icelandic passive in (16a). Under the Generic-Case-checking mechanism for this movement, unaccusative V’s complement would be forced to check two distinct structural Cases (with the peculiar property of bearing a morphological reflex of the former only), thereby creating a chain that is doubly Case-marked.

That the direct object of accusative unaccusatives bears structural (rather than lexical) ACC is demonstrated on the basis of the following facts. First, the direct object undergoes Genitive of Negation (GenNeg) and Partitive Genitive (GenPart) formation, processes that are well known to apply to structurally Case-marked elements only.¹⁷ Note the examples from Russian and Ukrainian in (17) and (18), respectively:

(17) Russian: GenNeg¹⁸

Ne	zatopilo	ni	odnogo	podvala.
NEG	flooded _[-AGR]	not	single	basement _{GEN}

‘Not a single basement flooded.’

¹⁶ The term, “Generic” Case, presumably comes from a quantificational analysis of the raised NP, where a higher position in the tree for indefinites correlates with a generic (rather than existential) interpretation.

¹⁷ For discussion, see Freidin and Babby 1984.

¹⁸ The EPP in free-word-order languages is typically “overridden” by Focus Structure in a way that we will not make explicit. The word order chosen for the examples in (17–18) reflects the fact that GenNeg and GenPart apply most naturally to new, or focused, constituents, rather than to topics. Focused constituents in Russian and Ukrainian appear on the right edge under neutral intonation.

- (18) Ukrainian
- a. GenNeg
- Na druhyj den' ne bulo znajdeno joho čovna.
 on next day NEG was found_[-AGR] his boat_{GEN}
 'On the following day his boat wasn't found.'
 [Shevelov 1969: 177]
- b. GenPart
- Spočatku bulo vypyto vody a potim
 at first was drunk_[-AGR] water_{GEN} and then
 vidrizano xliba.
 sliced_[-AGR] bread_{GEN}
 'First some water was drunk and then some bread was
 sliced.'

The examples in (17–18) are in contrast to lexically Case-marked NPs, which fail to undergo GenNeg, as shown in the Russian examples in (19):¹⁹

- (19) Russian: Lexical Case [*Podražat'* 'imitate' + DAT]
- a. GenNeg
- *Oni ne podražajut inostrannyx metodov.
 they NEG imitate foreign methods_{GEN}
- b. Oni ne podražajut inostrannym metodam.
 they NEG imitate foreign methods_{DAT}
 'They do not imitate foreign methods.'
 [Freidin and Babby 1984]

Another argument for a structural Case analysis of the ACC complement of accusative unaccusatives is the "heterogeneous" NP-internal case-marking pattern for numerically-quantified nominals, as in (20). When the numeral bears structural Case, the remainder of the NP is obligatorily marked GEN. If the numeral bears lexical Case, the re-

¹⁹ Due to space limitations, similar examples for GenPart, as well as the Ukrainian cognate examples for both GenNeg and GenPart, which show the same phenomena, will not be given.

mainder of the NP will be marked “homogeneously” with the same lexical Case, as in (21).²⁰

(20) Russian Numerically-Quantified NP: Structural Case

Ivan	poceloval	pjat'	krasivyx	devušek.
Ivan	kissed	five _{ACC}	pretty _{GEN}	girls _{GEN}

‘Ivan kissed five pretty girls.’

(21) Russian Numerically-Quantified NP: Lexical Case
[pomoč’ ‘help’ + DAT]

- a. Ivan pomog pjati krasivym devuškam.
Ivan helped five_{DAT} pretty_{DAT} girls_{DAT}
‘Ivan helped five pretty girls.’
- b. *Ivan pomog pjati krasivyx devušek.
Ivan helped five_{DAT} pretty_{GEN} girls_{GEN}

Using these Case-marking patterns as a diagnostic for structural versus lexical Case, we see in (22–23) that the ACC complement of accusative unaccusatives does indeed bear structural Case. Under the theory that these predicates assign lexical ACC, the homogeneous Case-pattern would be falsely predicted to occur (cf. grammatical (21a)).

(22) Russian Numerically-Quantified Accusative Unaccusative

Vetrom	razbilo	pjat'	okn /	*ókna.
wind _{INST}	broke _[-AGR]	five _{ACC}	windows _{GEN}	windows _{ACC}

‘The wind broke five windows.’

²⁰ See Babby 1987 for a discussion of these facts.

(23) Russian Numerically-Quantified Accusative Unaccusative²¹

U nego na vojne vyrvalo pjat' reber / *rëbra.
 at him at war tore-out_[-AGR] five_{ACC} ribs_{GEN} ribs_{ACC}
 'He had five ribs torn out [by an explosion] at war.'

Note, finally, that if the ACC complement of accusative unaccusatives were lexically, rather than structurally, Case-marked, this would predict that two ACC NPs (one lexical (an Experiencer) and the other structural) should be able to cooccur in the same clause. Indeed, Sigurðsson (1992) notes this possibility for Icelandic:

(24) Icelandic Experiencer Predicate

Okkur vantaði vinnu.
 us_{ACC} lacked_[-AGR] a job_{ACC}
 'We lacked/needed a job.' [Sigurðsson 1992: 4]

Similar ACC-ACC predicates do not occur in Russian and Ukrainian (or elsewhere in Slavic) where both ACC NPs are arguments. Note, for example, the ungrammaticality of (25), falsely predicted to converge with two ACC NPs under the theory that one of the two is lexically Case-marked (that is, where the first ACC is an Experiencer, parallel to the Icelandic example in (24)):

(25) Russian

*Ee vyrvalo krov'.
 her_{ACC} vomited_[-AGR] blood_{ACC}

²¹ Note that in this example we have chosen the mono-transitive unaccusative *vyrvat'* 'tear-out; vomit' to show that mono-transitive accusative unaccusatives likewise occur with a structurally Case-marked complement. Note in (i) that GenNeg also applies with this verb-type:

(i) Mono-Transitive Accusative Unaccusative

Posle vzryva okazalos', čto nikomu ne vyrvalo
 after explosion turned-out that no-one_{DAT} NEG tore-out_[-AGR]
 kišečnika.
 intestine_{GEN}
 'After the explosion, it turned out that no one's intestine was torn out.'

Returning to the Icelandic paradigm in (16), note that the DAT-NP/EXPL alternation reflects an interpretive distinction that obscures the precise nature of the checking relation with T. The raised internal argument in (16a) is obligatorily interpreted as definite. Under a theory of Generic Case, it would follow that this interpretive effect is, in some sense, built in to the checking operation. This presents an additional empirical obstacle for applying such a Case-checking mechanism to the preverbal ACC NPs in Russian and Ukrainian accusative unaccusatives since these preverbal ACC NPs are optionally interpreted as non-generic indefinites (i.e., they are optionally non-D-linked).²²

To summarize, the preverbal ACC NP in Russian and Ukrainian accusative unaccusatives is structurally Case-marked and indefinite (under neutral discourse). We have shown in this section that this ACC NP does not enter into a Case (or agreement) relation with T. Furthermore, we have distinguished the Russian and Ukrainian accusative unaccusatives from the superficially similar lexically Case-marked passive construction in Icelandic, which, unlike the Slavic constructions, involves an obligatory definite interpretation for the raised nominal expression.

3.2. On Short Scrambling in Russian

In order to establish that the displacement occurring in (6–8) reflects the EPP requirement, it is necessary to show that movement of the internal argument to the preverbal position in such cases is not simply a more general instance of discourse-motivated short (clause-bound) scrambling. In sections 3.2.1 and 3.2.2, we will briefly review facts concerning focus projection and Weak Crossover (WCO) that support the EPP hypothesis.²³ In section 3.2.3 we provide evidence for syntactic movement to a functional projection in the Tense/Aspect system.

3.2.1. Focus Projection

One striking fact about the accusative unaccusatives in (6–8) is that the displacement of an internal argument does not disrupt focus projec-

²² On the interpretation of the Russian examples in (6–7), see Kovtunova's (1980) article on "word order" in the Russian Academy Grammar.

²³ The facts in section 3.2.1 draw heavily on Lavine 2000, ch. 2.

tion, the process by which, under neutral intonation, the focus (new, or non-D-linked material) projects from the most embedded element to the whole VP or clause, the latter resulting in maximally wide focus (see Cinque 1993, Selkirk 1995, Reinhart 1995, Zubizarreta 1998). Because the wide-focus interpretation asserts the whole sentence as new it can be felicitously uttered in an out-of-the-blue context. In contrast, **scrambling disrupts focus projection** (Junghanns and Zybatow 1997: 300–12; Kondrashova 1996: 138–48).

This distinction between constructions with and without scrambling can be demonstrated using the Russian double-object construction. As Junghanns and Zybatow (1997) show, the interpretation of focus indicates that the basic order in double-object structures such as (26) is the one in which the DAT Goal precedes the ACC Theme (see also Kondrashova 1996: 142–43).

(26) Russian Double-Object Construction²⁴

a. Basic Order

Odna	ženščina	podarila	mal'čiku	jabloko.
one	woman _{NOM}	gave	boy _{DAT}	apple _{ACC}

- (i) 'A woman gave a boy an apple.'
 (ii) 'A woman gave the boy an apple.'

b. Scrambled Order

Odna	ženščina	podarila	jabloko _i	mal'čiku	<i>t_i</i> .
one	woman _{NOM}	gave	apple _{ACC}	child _{DAT}	

- (i) *'A woman gave an apple to a boy.'
 (ii) 'A woman gave the apple to a boy.'

[Junghanns and Zybatow 1997: 295]

When the ACC NP scrambles over the DAT NP in (26b), it not only has the effect of removing *jabloko*_{ACC} 'apple' from the focus, but, more importantly, focus now can no longer project to the entire VP; the DAT NP, as a result, is narrowly focused. In (26a), there is no discourse-oriented scrambling, with the result that focus can take scope over the

²⁴ Focus projection is detected here, and elsewhere, on the basis of whether an indefinite reading is available for both internal arguments. The judgments, as well as the examples themselves, are from Junghanns and Zybatow 1997. See Ionin 2001 for additional argumentation (contra Bailyn 1995) for the DAT-ACC order in double-object constructions as basic.

entire sentence. The focus projection facts for (26a-b) are schematized in (27a-b), respectively:

(27) Focus Projection

- a. for (26a): [IP (FOC) Subj [VP (FOC) V [(FOC) NP_{DAT}] [(FOC) NP_{ACC}]]]
- b. for (26b): [IP Subj [VP V [NP_{ACC}] [(FOC) NP_{DAT}] t_{ACC}]]]

Although the SVOO order in (26a) exhibits a well-known focal ambiguity (which in (27a) is shown to be potentially four-ways ambiguous), VO(O) without an S fails to exhibit the same ambiguity, as demonstrated for accusative unaccusatives in (28–29):

(28) Russian (cf. (6a))

#Ranilo	soldata	pulej.
wounded _[-AGR]	soldier _{ACC}	bullet _{INST}

(29) Ukrainian (cf. (8a))

#Bulo	posadženo	inozemcja	do v'jaznyci.
was _[-AGR]	placed _[-AGR]	foreigner _{ACC}	to prison

In these examples, the V-initial order, which is reported as awkward in discourse-neutral speech, constitutes a non-basic, scrambled structure. The examples in (28–29) either bear a particular focus structure (narrow focus on the right edge, with all other elements interpreted as part of the presupposed segment of the clause) or are interpreted as narrative-inversion structures, familiar from the Germanic literature, with a “folksy,” “story-initial” reading.²⁵ Thus, the VO(O) order for Russian and Ukrainian accusative unaccusatives has two possible interpretations: (i) narrow focus on the indirect internal NP_{OBL} argument (or PP adjunct); or (ii) narrative inversion. By analogy with the focus

²⁵ The term “story-initial” for V-initial structures in Russian is borrowed from Bailyn 1998. Zwart (1993) proposes, on the basis of V-initial structures in Germanic, that V-initial narrative inversion structures involve a null narrative operator in Spec-CP which is responsible for driving movement of V to C, while at the same time blocking XP-movement into C’s specifier (yielding the non-V-2 structure). Note additionally that Russian and Ukrainian lack EPP-satisfying expletives of the sort employed in Icelandic (16b). See Babby 1998 and Lavine 1998, 2000 for argumentation against the presence of null expletives in structures such as (28–29).

projection pattern in double-object constructions, we are forced to assume that the VO(O) structure (on the non-narrative-inversion reading) involves discourse-oriented scrambling. It is precisely for this reason that the expected maximally-wide focus interpretation is not available.

Note that it is not only surprising that the VO(O) structure cannot be interpreted as maximally focused, but that the OVO structures given in (6–8) can be. That is, what we are demonstrating here is that **only** the OVO structures, as in (30–31) (repeated from (6a) and (7a)), allow for focus projection (with the accompanying focal ambiguities):²⁶

(30) Russian: Accusative Unaccusative

Soldata ranilo pulej.
 soldier_{ACC} wounded_[-AGR] bullet_{INST}
 ‘A soldier was wounded by a bullet.’

(31) Russian: Accusative Unaccusative

Vetrom i doždjama sbilo seti.
 wind_{INST} and rains_{INST} knocked down_[-AGR] nets_{ACC}
 ‘Wind and rains knocked down some nets.’

Thus, (30), for example, felicitously responds to (i) *čto slučilos’* ‘what happened?’, (ii) *čto slučilos’ s soldatom* ‘what happened to the soldier?’, and (iii) *kak ranilo soldata* ‘how was the soldier wounded?’. The possible focus domains for (30) are given in (32):

(32) Focus Projection for (30)

[IP (FOC) NP_{ACC} [VP (FOC) V [(FOC) NP_{OBL}]]]

The central claim being made here is that the surprising focus projection facts in (32) follow from EPP-motivated movement of the direct internal argument. The failure to get maximally-wide focus in the VO(O) structure, then, results from a conflict between a formal syntactic requirement of the clause (T’s EPP) and an underlying argument structure that does not trivially satisfy this requirement via Merge. It

²⁶ Recall from earlier discussion that either the ACC NP or the INST NP can appear preverbally with focus projection. “OVO” is thus shorthand for both NP_{ACC} V NP_{INST} and NP_{INST} V NP_{ACC}.

follows that the basic-order requirement for focus projection is dependent on the more general requirement of syntactic well-formedness.

The non-disruption of focus projection in (6–8), which provides evidence against a scrambling analysis for these predicates, indicates that a non-discourse-oriented relationship is established with T_{def} in terms of its EPP requirement. That is, we distinguish between semantically-driven A-movement (scrambling) and EPP-driven A-movement. Only the latter exhibits focus projection. This is further supported by the fact that focus projection to the clause is not disrupted by movement to Spec-TP in ordinary passives, the prototypical case of A-movement.

3.2.2. Weak Crossover

An analysis that treats the movements in (6–8) as EPP-driven, rather than semantically-motivated scrambling, predicts that the landing site of such movement should exhibit A-position properties. One test that identifies A-movement is the ability to override Weak Crossover (WCO) effects. In English, for example, when a nominal expression is moved to a non-argument position across a pronoun, the pronoun cannot be construed as anaphoric on the moved phrase, even though the anaphoric interpretation is possible when no movement occurs. Thus, compare the overt *wh*-movement in (33a) and the covert LF movement of the quantified NP in (33b) with (33c), where the nominal expression does not move.

(33) English: WCO

- a. * who_i does his_i mother love t_i ?
- b. * His_i mother kissed every child_i .
LF: [every child_i [his_i mother kissed t_i]]
- c. His_i mother loves John_i

In contrast, movement to an argument position over a pronoun does not induce a WCO effect, as a comparison of (34a) and (34b) demonstrates (see Mahajan 1990 for further discussion).

- (34) a. * who_i does Jill_j seem to his_i mother [α t_j to like t_i]
 - b. who_i [IP t_i seems to his mother [α t_i to be a good cook]]
- [α in (34) denotes the embedded clause boundary, details aside]

We have already established that movement to Spec-TP does not affect focus projection in simple cases where no anaphoric relations are involved. The focus projection facts generalize to the weak crossover paradigms for Russian in (35–36).²⁷

(35) Russian: WCO

- a. *(Rano ili pozdno) [ego_i vladel'ca]_k ub'et *t_k*
 soon or late its owner_{ACC} will kill_[-AGR]
 každy_i pistoletom_i.
 each gun_{INST}
 'Sooner or later [its_i owner]_k will be killed by every gun_i.'
 LF: [every gun_i [[its_i owner]_k will kill *t_k t_i*]]
- b. (Rano ili pozdno) [každy_i pistoletom_i]_k ub'et
 soon or late each gun_{INST} will-kill_[-AGR]
 ego_i vladel'ca *t_k*.
 its owner_{ACC}
 'Sooner or later every gun_i will kill its_i owner.'
 LF: [[every gun_i]_k [*t_k* [will kill its_i owner *t_k*]]]

(36) Russian: WCO

- a. *[nogu ego_i nositelja]_k natiraet *t_k* každy_i novym
 foot_{ACC} of its wearer rubs sore_[-AGR] each new
 sapogom_i.²⁸
 boot_{INST}
 'The foot of its_i wearer is rubbed sore by every new boot_i.'
 LF: [every new boot_i *t_k* [[the foot of its_i wearer]_k rubs sore *t_k t_i*]]

²⁷ Note that in (35–36) it is the **indirect** internal argument that moves to the preverbal position. The examples are constructed this way in order to provide an appropriate testing ground for crossover.

²⁸ A reviewer points out for (36a-b) that *nositel'* 'wearer' is, strictly speaking, not a word (in the prescriptive sense). Since this does not affect the analysis of (36a-b) and given that native speakers of Russian understand the admittedly non-standard use of the word, we have chosen not to modify the example.

- (36) b. [Každym novym sapogom_i]_k natiraet nogu
 each new boot_{INST} rubs sore_[-AGR] foot_{ACC}
 ego_i nositelja t_k.
 of its wearer
 ‘Every new boot_i rubs sore the foot of its_i wearer.’
 LF: [[every new boot_i]_k [t_k [rubs sore the foot of its_i wearer t_k]]]

In the non-deviant (b) examples, the focus projection can include the entire clause. Note that even though the antecedent of the pronoun crosses over the pronoun overtly, no crossover effect occurs (i.e., the anaphoric relation with the pronoun is not blocked), suggesting that the moved constituent lands in an A-position before undergoing QR to a non-argument position.²⁹ This reinforces the analysis that movement of the internal argument in accusative unaccusative constructions is to Spec-TP.

We are assuming here that the weak crossover configuration, which is generally prohibited, involves a pronoun whose antecedent is construed as a variable to its right (cf. Chomsky 1976). The sentence (37a) violates weak crossover at LF because the trace of *každyju devočku* ‘every girl’, which is construed as a variable, functions as the antecedent of the pronoun to its left.

²⁹ It is worth noting here that there is some controversy about whether overt *wh*-movement in Russian creates a weak crossover effect. Thus (i) is considered marginal, though perhaps not clearly deviant.

- (i) ??Kogo_i ljubit ego_i sobaka t_i?
 who_{ACC} loves his dog_{NOM}
 ‘Who does his dog love?’

King (1995: 54–55) states that the anaphoric reading of (i) is possible, though not preferred. Interestingly, when the *wh*-interrogative is replaced by a name, the sentence is fully grammatical on the anaphoric reading.

- (ii) Vanju_i ljubit ego_i sobaka t_i.
 Vanja_{ACC} loves his dog_{NOM}
 ‘His_i dog loves Vanja_i’ / ‘Vanja_i is loved by his_i dog.’

The contrast in relative grammaticality judgments suggests that *wh*-movement in Russian (in contrast to the short distance scrambling in (ii)) might manifest a weak crossover effect. If it is possible for speakers to analyze (i) as a scrambling construction, then perhaps the weakness of the perceived deviance results from a confusion of the two analyses.

- (37) Russian: WCO (SVO ~ OVS)³⁰
- a. *Ee_i sobaka ljubit každuju devočku_i.
 her dog_{NOM} loves each girl_{ACC}
 'Her_i dog loves every girl_i.'
 LF: [every girl_i [her_i dog loves t_i]]
- b. Každuju devočku_i ljubit ee_i sobaka t_i.
 each girl_{ACC} loves her dog_{NOM}
 'Every girl_i her_i dog loves.'
 LF: [every girl_i [t_i [loves her_i dog t_i]]]

In contrast, in (37b), when *každuju devočku* 'every girl' is scrambled overtly across the subject *ee sobaka* 'her dog' the anaphoric relation is not prohibited. This suggests that at LF, the variable bound by the quantified expression *každuju devočku* 'every girl' occupies the scrambled position rather than the verb complement position in which accusative NP is assigned its thematic function. The idea is that covert QR creates a weak crossover configuration whereas overt scrambling does not.

There is, however, a crucial difference between the examples in (37) and the accusative unaccusative constructions in (35–36). In the former, scrambling in the (b) example disrupts focus projection so that only the nominative NP can be focused, whereas in the latter focus can project to the entire clause. The difference concerns whether the dislocated phrase moves to Spec-TP (EPP-movement) or to some higher projection (scrambling).

The weak crossover facts demonstrate that both Spec-TP and the position to which an argument may scramble are A-positions. The difference in focus projection construal now strongly suggests that the position to which an internal argument moves in an accusative unaccusative construction must be Spec-TP.³¹

³⁰ OVS structures such as (37b) appear to involve V-movement. See Bailyn, forthcoming, for discussion.

³¹ Note that accusative unaccusatives in Ukrainian, as in (ia-b), also show weak crossover effects:

- (i) a. *[Joho_i gospodarja]_k bulo pokusano t_k kožnym sobakoju_i.
 its owner_{ACC} was bitten_[-AGR] each dog_{INST}
 'Its_i owner was bitten by every dog_i.'
 LF: [every dog_i [[its_i owner]_k was bitten t_k t_i]]

3.2.3. Movement to Spec-TP

This section takes up the question of whether this non-discourse-oriented preverbal A-position is actually an immediate constituent of a projection of Tense/Aspect. First we examine evidence from *vP* adverb placement which demonstrates that the landing site of the displaced internal argument is outside of *vP*. This analysis is further supported by genitive of negation facts and evidence from binding theory. The latter provides additional evidence that the landing site of the displaced internal argument in accusative unaccusative constructions is an A-position, hence within the complement of C.

Given that *vP* adverbs occur at the left periphery of *vP*, the contrast between the (a) and (b) examples in (38–39) shows that the dislocated accusative internal argument occurs outside the *vP* projection:

(38) Russian Accusative Unaccusative

- a. Rabočego_i [_{VP} sil'no [_{VP} udarilo *t_i* oskolkom
worker_{ACC} strongly hit_[-AGR] shard_{INST}
plity]].
of concrete slab
'A worker was hit hard by a shard of concrete slab.'
- b. ??[_{VP} Sil'no [_{VP} rabočego_i udarilo *t_i* oskolkom plity]].

(39) Ukrainian Accusative Unaccusative

- a. Inozemcja_i bulo [_{VP} pidpil'no [_{VP} posadženo *t_i* do
foreigner_{ACC} was secretly placed_[-AGR] to
v'jaznyci]].
prison
'A foreigner was secretly put into prison.'

-
- (i) b. [Kožnym sobakoju_i]_k bulo pokusano joho_i gospodarja *t_k*.
each dog_{INST} was bitten_[-AGR] its owner_{ACC}
'By every dog_i was bitten its_i owner.'
LF: [[every dog_i]_k [*t_k* [was bitten its_i owner *t_k*]]]

However, the passive *by*-phrase in Ukrainian (in contrast to the indirect internal argument in Russian accusative unaccusatives) cannot occupy the preverbal position discourse-neutrally, so there is no focus projection in such cases. For this reason, the Ukrainian weak crossover paradigm does not distinguish EPP- from discourse-driven movement.

- (39) b. ??Bulo [_{vP} pidpil'no [_{vP} inozemcja_i posadženo *t_i* do v'jaznyci]].

The (b) examples show that when the dislocated accusative occurs within the *vP* projection (i.e. following the *vP* adverb), the sentences become significantly less acceptable.

Given that *vP* is a complement of the functional head Negation, the analysis proposed for (38–39) is further supported by scope of negation facts. This is based on the contrast between regular accusative constructions and the accusative unaccusative, as illustrated in (40) and (41).³²

- (40) Russian GenNeg

- a. SVO

Ivan ne videl {??ni odnu sobaku / ni
Ivan_{NOM} NEG saw not single dog_{ACC} / not
odnoj sobaki}.
single dog_{GEN}

'Ivan didn't see a single dog.'

- b. OVS

{??Ni odnu sobaku/ Ni odnoj sobaki } ne
not single dog_{ACC} not single dog_{GEN} NEG
videl Ivan.
saw Ivan_{NOM}

- (41) Russian GenNeg: Accusative Unaccusative

- a. {Ni odnu korovu/ ??Ni odnoj korovy} ne
not single cow_{ACC} not single cow_{GEN} NEG
razdavilo traktorom.
crushed_[-AGR] tractor_{INST}
'Not a single cow was crushed by a tractor.'

³² The examples in (40) are from Ionin 2000.

- (41) b. {Ni odin podval/ ??Ni odnogo podvala }
 not single basement_{ACC} not single basement_{GEN}
 ne zatopilo vodoj.
 NEG flooded_[-AGR] water_{INST}
 ‘Not a single basement was flooded with water.’

In (40a) the structurally Case-marked internal argument appears in the GEN when it is within the scope of sentential negation. If this internal argument occurs as ACC instead of GEN, the result is significantly degraded for most speakers. We assume that the strong preference for the genitive of negation is conditioned by the presence of *ni odin* ‘not a single’, presumably concatenated within the object NP. The same preference holds when the internal argument is scrambled to clause initial position (see (40b)). In marked contrast, in the case of the accusative unaccusatives in (41), ACC on the preverbal dislocated internal argument is preferable under neutral discourse to the GenNeg, which is degraded.

The fact that GenNeg on the displaced preverbal argument of the accusative unaccusative is distinctly less preferable than ACC is consistent with our analysis that it occurs in Spec-TP. The contrast with a scrambled object suggests that for GenNeg the scrambled object behaves as if it remains in complement position—possibly by reconstruction. Thus the GenNeg facts provide further evidence for A-position properties of the displaced argument in the accusative unaccusative—i.e., it does not exhibit reconstructive behavior.

Anaphor binding, as illustrated in (42), provides further evidence that the displaced argument in accusative unaccusative constructions occupies an A-position.³³

(42) Russian: Accusative Unaccusative

- a. Milicionerov_i ranilo puljami prinadležaščimi
 militiamen_{ACC} wounded_[-AGR] bullets_{INST} belonging
 drug drugu_i.
 to each other_{RECIP}
 ‘Militiamen were wounded by bullets belonging to each other.’

³³ Note that reflexives in Russian normally require a canonical NOM subject antecedent. For this reason, we use reciprocals, which potentially can be bound by any commanding antecedent in an A-position. See Rappaport 1986 for details on the application of Binding Theory Condition A in Russian.

- (42) b. *Puljami prinadležaščimi drug drugu_i ranilo
 bullets_{INST} belonging to each other_{RECIP} wounded_[-AGR]
 milicionerov_i.
 militiamen_{ACC}

In (42a) the displaced argument appears to bind the anaphor in VP. Given that the antecedent of an anaphor must be in an A-position, (42a) alone would appear to establish that the movement in accusative unaccusative constructions must be to an A-position. However, as indicated in (11–12) and discussed below in section 3.3, it is possible that the anaphor is bound by the trace of the displaced argument, which asymmetrically c-commands it. Nonetheless, (42b) provides clear evidence that the displaced INST argument is in fact in an A-position. If it were in a non-A-position, then under reconstruction the anaphor would be properly bound. Example (42b) shows that the argument that remains in VP cannot bind an anaphor within the displaced constituent (which we assume occupies an A-position).

With respect to anaphor binding, the accusative unaccusative construction again contrasts with the short scrambling examples. Thus compare (42) with (43).

- (43) Russian: OVS

- a. *[Mašu i Ivana]_i poznamomili drug druga_i
 Maša and Ivan_{ACC} introduced_{PL} friends_{NOM}
 drug druga_i.
 of each other_{RECIP}
- b. Fotografii drug druga_i ljubjat [Maša i
 photographs_{ACC} of each other_{RECIP} like_{3,PL} Maša and
 Ivan]_i.
 Ivan_{NOM}
 ‘Maša and Ivan like photographs of each other.’

The example in (43a) shows that even though *Mašu i Ivana* ‘Maša and Ivan’ c-commands the anaphor *drug druga* ‘each other’, proper binding does not occur between the two. However in (43b), the nominative argument (presumably in an A-position) can bind the reciprocal anaphor

even though it does not overtly c-command the anaphor.³⁴ The binding in (43b) appears to reflect reconstructive behavior on the part of the scrambled argument. If so, then reconstruction in (43a) would yield a structure in which the accusative argument does not c-command the anaphor, thereby accounting for the deviance of the example. The reconstructive behavior in (43) identifies the scrambled position as distinct from a canonical A-position. The lack of reconstruction in (42b) supports our analysis of the landing site as an A-position.

To summarize the results of this subsection, we have shown on the basis of adverb and scope facts (with respect to Negation) that the moved constituent in accusative unaccusatives lands in a site higher than *v*P (and NegP). The fact that this moved constituent can appear non-D-linked in its preverbal position strongly suggests that movement does not occur to positions generally associated with topicalization (e.g. Spec-CP and XP adjoined to TP). Further binding facts indicate that this movement targets an A-position. Locating this movement between *v*P and C implicates the Tense/Aspect system. This is consistent with our analysis that movement in the case of Russian and Ukrainian accusative unaccusatives is driven by T's EPP requirement.

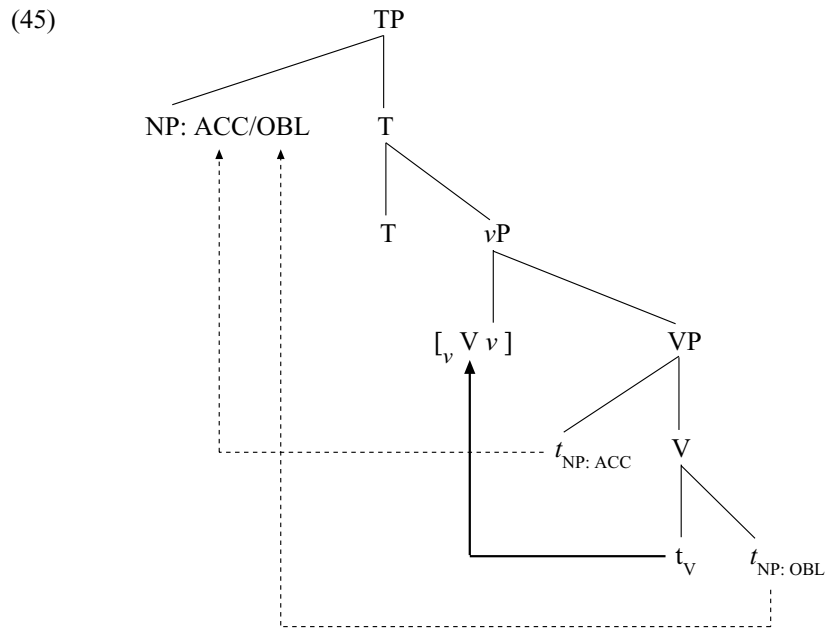
3.3. The Derivation of Accusative Unaccusatives

We now return to the derivation of Slavic accusative unaccusatives. Russian examples are given in (44a-b) (cf. (6a)) for reference:

- (44) Russian: Accusative Unaccusatives
- a. Soldata ranilo pulej.
 soldier_{ACC} wounded_[-AGR] bullet_{INST}
 'A soldier was wounded by a bullet.'
- b. Pulej ranilo soldata.
 bullet_{INST} wounded_[-AGR] soldier_{ACC}
 'A soldier was wounded by a bullet.'

The structure for accusative unaccusatives is given in (45) (which combines (11–12)).

³⁴ Tania Ionin (p.c.) reports that the nominative argument in (43b) appears most felicitously in the post-verbal position when accompanied by focal stress.



The predicate V merges first with the indirect internal argument, and then the resulting constituent merges with the direct object.³⁵ On the first merger, V checks the “inherent” case that is associated with its indirect internal argument. On the next merger, V assigns its remaining theta role. The maximal projection of V then merges with light-*v*, a null affix-like element to which lexical V subsequently attaches. Light-*v* checks structural ACC on the direct object via Agree, assuming that *v* is ϕ -complete. This operation does not involve movement; no Spec-*v*P is projected because *v* does not have an EPP requirement in these languages (i.e., these are not Object-Shift languages). At this point T_{def} merges with *v*P forming TP. Because T is defective it has no agreement features to check. However one of the internal arguments of *v*P must concatenate with TP to form a specifier position in order to satisfy the EPP requirement of T. This derivation establishes that displacement need not be motivated by either Case or agreement. As noted above, it

³⁵ To be sure, not all instances of accusative unaccusatives are ditransitive; cf., for example, (23). In the case of mono-transitive unaccusatives, V merges with the ACC NP as its complement. That is, under Bare Phrase Structure (Chomsky 1995), there is no fixed position in the tree for the direct object. The position in which it is merged depends on the thematic properties of the predicate.

further shows that an NP whose Case has been valued previously is not necessarily frozen in place. In this case a goal need not contain an unchecked feature to be active with respect to some probe.

If T were ϕ -complete in (45), the derivation would fail to converge. The exact nature of this failure is not obvious. Given that the NP moving to Spec-TP does so only to satisfy the EPP, it's not obvious why the interpretable agreement features on the NP couldn't also check the agreement features of T. To address this puzzle, let us consider three possible solutions. Suppose that ϕ -complete T assigns NOM to the NP that checks its agreement features. This would create a form N+ACC+NOM—surely impossible in Slavic and likely universally. We might further assume that the ACC Case affix blocks the attachment of the NOM affix. Thus, the derivation violates Lasnik's stranded affix prohibition (Lasnik 1981). Now if a stranded affix constitutes a piece of phonological material that can't be interpreted as a word, then it might be construed as a violation of Full Interpretation at PF.

Alternatively, we might assume that only a NOM Case-marked NP can check the agreement features of T. Then the derivation fails to converge at LF because of the unchecked uninterpretable agreement features of T that survive. This analysis presupposes NOM Case as a precondition for checking the agreement features of T, rather than as a reflex of agreement with T (as in standard analyses). If we abandon the analysis in which agreement values Case, then we lose the explanation for why T and *v* cannot both be defective in the same clause—i.e., the uninterpretable Case feature of the internal argument could not be eliminated from the derivation.

As a third alternative, consider the possibility that there is a universal prohibition against the ϕ -features of an NP entering into more than one agreement relation. Thus, in the case of the accusative unaccusatives, the ACC argument, which gets its Case valued via establishing an agreement relation with *v*, could not enter into an agreement relation with T—regardless of NOM Case. This unique agreement constraint generalizes to other instances of improper movement, for example (46).

(46) *John was believed *t* was content.

By hypothesis, the deviance of (46) concerns agreement rather than Case—i.e., that the agreement features of the NP can only be used once

to value the agreement features of T (see Freidin and Vergnaud (2001) for additional discussion).³⁶

4. Conclusion

This paper has attempted to demonstrate that (i) the EPP requirement of T is still operative with T_{def} and (ii) this feature impoverishment of T is a necessary condition for the class of accusative unaccusatives. Fact (i) shows that the EPP requirement is independent from the issue of ϕ -completeness. This contradicts the theory in which the EPP is demoted to the status of a mere “property” or “subfeature” of another feature (as in Pesetsky and Torrego 2001). Note further that the Slavic examples show that the EPP requirement of T is independent of any particular structural Case (see Schütze 1993 and Babyonyshev 1996). In standard unaccusatives, the EPP is satisfied by a NOM NP, whereas in the accusative unaccusative construction it may be satisfied by an ACC NP or an INST NP. Contra Chomsky 2001, T’s EPP requirement crucially does not follow from its ϕ -completeness. The EPP requirement of T is independently instantiated in the absence of both (NOM) Case and agreement. As far as we know, this is the first time that the non-redundancy of T’s EPP requirement has been demonstrated on the basis of movement of a non-NOM, structurally Case-marked, optionally non-D-linked NP.

We have also shown that it is precisely the incomplete ϕ -set of T that allows certain unaccusative predicates to converge with ACC-Case-marked complements (fact (ii)). With standard unaccusatives, where T is ϕ -complete, the direct internal argument cannot appear in the ACC because that would involve a single NP entering into two agreement relations (with v as well as T). Stipulating a correlation between the presence of an external argument and the licensing of ACC Case is unnecessary. If so, then in the case of passives with a ϕ -complete T, there is no need to rule out ACC on the complement by means of the mysterious notion of “Case absorption”. The properties of the various constructions follow from general principles of grammar interacting with the specific attributes of the functional categories T and v —specifically, their ϕ -feature composition and the EPP.

³⁶ Note also that the unique agreement prohibition overlaps with a constraint on Case uniqueness, interpreted as applying to tokens, not just types (see Freidin (1992)).

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