

# Null Expletives and the EPP in Slavic: A Minimalist Analysis

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## 1 Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to consider the status of null expletives and the EPP in Slavic sentences lacking a canonical NP subject. My central empirical claim is that under basic minimalist assumptions,<sup>1</sup> the properties of Slavic impersonals can be fully accounted for in an analysis that rejects null-expletives, but still recognizes EPP effects. The broader theoretical claim of this paper involves the apparatus of the Minimalist Program itself: I will argue for a more direct relationship between the overt morphology in a given numeration and the featural composition of the functional categories that this numeration projects. That is, I will argue that the presence of particular features in a functional head is not exhaustively determined by the properties of the functional head itself, but by the particular morphology of the lexical items involved in a derivation.

The Minimalist Program presents a crucial departure from GB theory that bears prominently on how grammatical relations such as subject (and thus the EPP in general) are understood. In GB theory it was assumed that grammatical relations were closely linked to structural positions, which, in turn, were determined by X-bar theory. Grammatical relations are now reduced to checking relations. In the course of my analysis of the EPP in Slavic, I will show that the notion of a unified subject position (i.e., [Spec, IP] in GB terms) crucially fails to account for the fact that the complex of traditional subject properties can be distributed over a sequence of positions in an articulated INFL structure. In the present analysis, I will view subject-verb agreement, nominative Case assignment, and the satisfaction of the so-called “EPP-feature” to consist of distinct checking operations, unified by the spec-head relation.

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<sup>1</sup> See Chomsky 1995, as well as Ura 1996 and Thráinsson 1996.

The present paper will be organized in the following way. In section 2 I will present some preliminary data and a sample derivation and structural representation. In section 3 I will provide a more in depth analysis of the data and provide cross-linguistic independent motivation for the separation of the EPP and Case features. Sections 4 and 5 concern predicate agreement and null expletives.

## 2 Data, Derivation and Structure

(1) is the standard proposal for phrase structure in Chomsky 1995, ch. 3 (=MPLT):

(1) [<sub>AGRSP</sub> Spec AGRs [<sub>TP</sub> Spec T [<sub>AGROp</sub> Spec AGRo [<sub>VP</sub> DP [V DP]]]]]

At the end of this section, I will modify (1) to conform to the specific morphological properties of the Slavic impersonals below in (3-9).<sup>2</sup>

My central claims with regard to the projection of phrase structure are summarized in (2) below:

(2) Procedure for Projecting Phrase Structure and Featural Composition

- a. Project only those functional categories for which there is overt morphological evidence in the numeration (see Thráinsson 1996);
- b. Assume that the featural composition of heads is *not* universal, i.e., it is also determined by overt morphological evidence

We now consider the Slavic impersonals in (3-9). Here, as elsewhere in this paper, the focus is on East Slavic and Polish, where,

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<sup>2</sup> I make use of the (Agr-less) multiple-spec structure proposed in Chomsky 1995, ch. 4 (=Categories and Transformations) only in the case of the Old Russian example in (14-15), where the features of the head, T, differ in terms of strength (see Ura 1996 on the theory of multiple feature-checking).

within Slavic, the peculiar configuration of impersonals with accusative arguments is most common (see Mrazek 1990:96-104).<sup>3</sup>

(3) Russian:

- a. Uši                    založilo  
ears: ACC PL    clogged-up: NSG  
'My ears clogged up.'
- b. \* Uši                    založili  
ears: NOM PL    clogged-up: PL
- c. On vse žalovalsja na nasmork, a založilo uši  
he PRT complained at sniffles but clogged-up: NSG ears: ACC  
'He kept complaining of sniffles and then his ears clogged up.'

(4) Russian:

- Dux                    zaxvatilo  
breath: M ACC SG    seized: NSG  
'It took my breath away.'

(5) (West) Ukrainian:

- a. Teper cju formu                    vil'no vžyvajet'sja v našij movi  
now this form: F ACC SG freely use: 3SG REFL in our language  
'This form is now freely used in our language.'  
[Smerečyns'kyj 1932:25]
- b. Teper cja forma                    vil'no vžyvajet'sja v našij movi  
this form: F NOM SG                    use: 3SG REFL  
'This form is now being freely used in our language.'
- c. ?? Teper vil'no vžyvajet'sja cju formu                    v našij movi  
use: 3SG REFL this form: F ACC SG

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<sup>3</sup> I will use the term "impersonal" to refer to constructions that lack a nominative NP and subject-verb agreement.

- (6) Ukrainian:  
 Bat'ka kole v boci  
 father: ACC SG pierce 3SG in side  
 'My father has a sharp pain in his side.'
- (7) Polish:  
 a. Skargi przyjmuje się w biurze  
 complaints: ACC PL accept: 3SG REFL in office  
 'Complaints are taken in the office.'
- b. ???Skargi przyjmują się w biurze  
 complaints: NOM PL accept: 3PL REFL
- c. ? Przyjmuje się skargi w biurze  
 accept: 3SG REFL complaints: ACC PL
- (8) Polish:  
 Sprawę załatwi się  
 matter: ACC SG resolve: 3SG REFL  
 'Things will work out.'
- (9) Czech:  
 a. Kratších slov se užívá častěji  
 shorter words: GEN PL REFL use: 3SG more-often  
 'Shorter words are used more often.'
- b. \*Kratší slova se užívají častěji  
 shorter words: NOM PL REFL use: 3PL
- c. Užívá se spíš kratších slov než delších  
 use: 3SG REFL rather shorter words: GEN PL thanlonger  
 'Shorter words are used rather than longer ones.'

An immediate observation is that the word order in the impersonal constructions in (3-9) entails a preverbal non-nominative NP-constituent. This word order is judged to be "discourse-neutral" by native speakers and occurs discourse-initially. Thus I will argue that

these objects have not undergone topicalization to a special position (adjoined to IP according to King 1995), but instead are raised to satisfy the EPP, where the EPP position, in addition to lacking a particular discourse function (see Babyonyshev 1996:13-27), is no longer associated with nominative Case or subject-verb agreement.

Thus the structure of the impersonals in (3-9) should reflect the fact that these are non-agreeing predicates with a preverbal non-nominative DP. According to (2a), AGRsP will not be projected and according to (2b), T will lack a Case feature, marking this functional head as underspecified. The absence of a Case feature in T, which checks nominative Case when present, is crucial to this analysis because it allows impersonals to converge without a feature mismatch in TP (i.e., a DP marked accusative in a checking configuration for nominative Case), resulting in a canceled derivation (Chomsky 1995:308-310). The fact that the numeration in each of the impersonals in (3-9) contains a DP will force the projection of a D-feature on T, which the syntactic evidence in the (a) sentences in (3-9) suggests is strong.<sup>4</sup> In accordance with the movement operation Attract,<sup>5</sup> I will assume that in the (a) sentences in (3-9) the strong D-feature on T is checked overtly by a raised argument which is initially Merged as an internal argument of the verb. Note that the accusative (or genitive) object in these impersonals is the only available constituent whose D-feature can enter into a checking relation with T.

As for those sentences in (3-9) which do *not* show OV word order, I will assume that the theme-rheme organization of the sentence has superseded overt feature-driven movement, i.e., the

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<sup>4</sup> The strong D-feature on T is the way in which the EPP is formulated in the Minimalist Program.

<sup>5</sup> Attract is formulated the following way (Chomsky 1995:297, slightly modified): “A functional category attracts the feature F if F is the closest feature that can enter into a checking relation with its head.” Thus, strictly speaking, Attract operates on features only. For overt movement, I will assume “generalized pied-piping” of the lexical material associated with the raised D-feature in order to satisfy interface conditions at PF: the D-feature itself cannot be pronounced and, thus, at PF is uninterpretable.

object in these sentences is obligatorily rhematic.<sup>6</sup> Theme-rheme structure can be considered part of the phonological component, which affects the surface syntax (see Chomsky 1995:343).<sup>7</sup> I will return to instances of the object appearing post-verbally in section 2.

In (10) I give the derivation for (3a) and in (11), below, I give its structural representation. The other examples of impersonals with pre-verbal accusative DPs should have a similar derivation and representation.

(10) Uši založilo: Derivation

**Merge D, V** = [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>V</sub> založilo [<sub>D</sub> uši ]]]

**Merge VP, AGR<sub>o</sub>** = [<sub>AGR<sub>oP</sub></sub> AGR<sub>o</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>V</sub> založilo [<sub>D</sub> uši ]]]]

(motivated by the ACC Case on *uši*)

**Merge AGR<sub>oP</sub>, T** =

[<sub>TP</sub> T [<sub>AGR<sub>oP</sub></sub> AGR<sub>o</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>V</sub> založilo [<sub>D</sub> uši ]]]]]]

(motivated by the Tense feature on *založilo*)

(overtly) **Move D** to [Spec, TP] =

[<sub>TP</sub> uši<sub>i</sub> T [<sub>AGR<sub>oP</sub></sub> AGR<sub>o</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>V</sub> založilo [<sub>D</sub> t<sub>i</sub> ]]]]]]

(by Attract: the D-feature (plus the lexical material associated with it) raises to check the EPP in [Spec, TP])

(covertly) **Move AGR<sub>o</sub> + V** to T =

[<sub>TP</sub> uši<sub>i</sub> AGR<sub>o</sub><sub>j</sub> založilo<sub>k</sub> T [<sub>AGR<sub>o</sub></sub> t<sub>j</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>V</sub> t<sub>k</sub> [<sub>D</sub> t<sub>i</sub> ]]]]]]

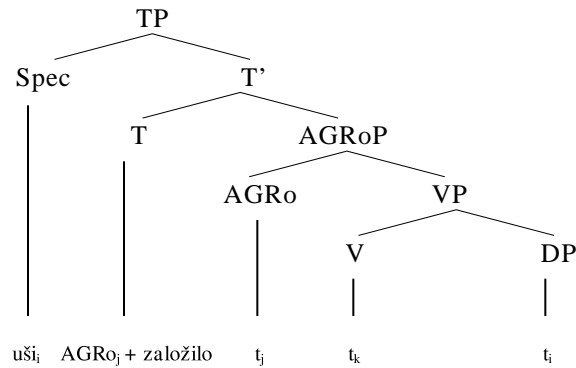
(ACC Case on *uši* is checked against the AGR<sub>o</sub> + V + T complex head)

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<sup>6</sup> The possibility of theme-rheme structure affecting feature-checking, in the present case delaying it until after spell-out, has not been discussed in the literature as far as I know. Here I provide only an initial formulation which will have to be refined in future research.

<sup>7</sup> Babby 1980 demonstrates clear syntactic effects of theme-rheme structure on the basis of an entirely different set of data.

## (11) Uši založilo: Structural Representation



Note that the normal checking configuration for the accusative argument never occurs: due to the lack of overt Verb-Movement to AGRo (and then to T) in Russian and the other Slavic languages that we are considering (See Bailyn 1995 on Russian), the direct object cannot have its accusative Case checked overtly in [Spec, AGRoP]. Here I assume Holmberg's generalization which states that overt object raising is contingent on overt verb raising. The lack of overt object raising allows us to propose an AGRoP with no Specifier. As a result, the object DP can raise overtly to [Spec, TP] with no violation of Shortest Move: the moved element has not skipped an appropriate landing site. The complex head AGRo + V adjoins to T at LF where V (in conjunction with AGRo) checks accusative Case on the object DP in a spec-head relation.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Note however that AGRo is only indirectly involved in the checking of accusative case morphology, i.e., the accusative Case feature itself is an N-feature of V. In the impersonal predicates we are considering, there are two factors which may allow the nonprojection of AGRoP: i) there is no object agreement with the predicate; and ii) the accusative Case of the object can be checked elsewhere, namely, wherever V adjoins to a functional head whose specifier can host the accusative argument. If T lacks its usual (nominative) Case feature in such predicates, as I have suggested above, the possibility arises for the accusative Case feature to be checked (post-Spell-Out) in its (i.e., T's) specifier. It will be recalled that the accusative object already moves to [Spec, TP] overtly to check the EPP feature; V moves independently

### 3 Analysis

#### 3.1 The Data

The basic facts regarding (3-4) were discussed above. I will return to (3c) shortly. The Ukrainian and Polish examples in (5) and (7-8) demonstrate impersonalization as a productive process associated with affixation, in contrast to the type of impersonal predicate in (3-4) and (6) which is limited in Russian and Ukrainian to a relatively small number of lexical items. In (5) and (7-8), as well as in Czech (9), the reflexive morpheme is functioning in a voice-altering capacity. In Ukrainian and Polish the reflexive morpheme shares the lexical property of optionally projecting AGRsP; i.e., the verb may optionally merge with an accusative object or a nominative subject. In the impersonals in (5) and (7-8), when AGRsP is *not* projected, it follows that there will be no subject-verb agreement and T will be deprived of its Case feature. The resulting form in both languages is a middle.<sup>9</sup> In the personal (b) sentences in (5) and (7), AGRsP *is* projected as well as the Case feature on T to check nominative. The Ukrainian example in (5b) is a canonical passive. The Polish example in (7b) is quite marginal; the permissibility of subject-verb agreement for such Polish expressions with the reflexive morpheme (i.e., for middles rather than for pure reflexives) depends on the semantics of the VP, an issue I will not pursue here (see Dziwirek 1994). The Ukrainian example in (5c), where the accusative object appears post-verbally, is readily interpretable, but infelicitous in a discourse-neutral setting.

Note that in (9a) there is no accusative Case checking; the verb here, *užívat se*, assigns lexical Case. Though the oblique object can still raise by Attract to check the strong D-feature on T, the way in which its Case is assigned may differ from the other examples. Chomsky 1995 (ch. 4) argues that only structural case is checked. Lexical (or inherent) Case is interpretable and thus need not enter a

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to T (post-Spell-Out) to check Tense. Thus, a maximally simple alternative structure for (11) is:  $[_{TP} DP_i T [_{VP} V [t_i]]]$ .

<sup>9</sup> See Lavine 1997 for more on the voice properties of such constructions.

checking relation. This argument has been challenged by Stjepanović 1997, following Lasnik 1995, where the bearer of lexical case is shown to raise out of VP to enter a checking relation in the usual way. At this point in the analysis, it is not necessary to take a position on the way in which lexical Case is treated. My sole claim in (9a) is that regardless of Case, the DP *kratších slov* raises to [Spec, TP] where it checks the strong D-feature on T.

As a final note on the data in (3-9), I want to clarify that the OV surface word order is by no means obligatory. In (3c) and (9c) I have indicated a fully acceptable alternate word order. These are examples of contrastive focus, where the focused (i.e., rhematic) constituent (*uši* in (3c) and *kratších slov* in (9c)) is post-verbal and, in the Russian example, marked by neutral (falling) intonation.

### 3.2 Cross-linguistic Motivation for the Separation of the EPP and Case Features

The existence of constructions in which an object acquires the positional property of subject without the associated Case marking has long been observed in the “pre-theoretical” descriptive literature. Keenan 1976 notes examples of such “inverse constructions” in Biblical Hebrew, and Saharan and Bantu languages. The intuition that languages can split subject functions such as the traditional positional constraint and nominative Case is confirmed by recent research within the Minimalist Program. Jonas 1996 demonstrates the independent checking relations of the EPP and Case features in Icelandic Transitive Expletive Constructions (TECs), such as (12) :

#### (12) Icelandic TEC at Spell-Out

[<sub>AGRS<sub>P</sub></sub> Pað málaði<sub>i</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> útlendingur<sub>i</sub> [<sub>AGRO<sub>P</sub></sub> húsið<sub>k</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> *t<sub>i</sub> t<sub>j</sub> t<sub>k</sub>* ]]]]]  
 there painted foreigner the-house  
 ‘A foreigner painted the house.’

Here, the lexical subject checks its Case feature (at LF) in [Spec, TP], while a productive overt expletive checks the EPP feature in [Spec, AGRsP].<sup>10</sup>

Standard English ECM constructions also provide evidence for EPP-satisfaction independent of Case. (13) is from Lasnik 1995:

(13) English ECM Construction

I believe [someone to be [*t* here]].

Note that movement of ‘someone’ to the embedded subject position is driven by the strong D-feature on the embedded non-finite T. There is no other feature to attract it; the specifier of the embedded TP is not a Case position. The accusative Case of ‘someone’ is subsequently checked in the usual fashion by movement to the [Spec, AGRoP] of the matrix verb. Following the assumption that the N-features of AGRo in English are weak, this movement must be covert by Procrastinate (see Lasnik 1995:621-624 and Chomsky 1995:345-346 for discussion).<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Jonas (personal communication) suggests that the EPP feature is not universally contained in T, but may be hosted by other functional heads. Note in the Icelandic TEC in (12) that the strong D-feature responsible for EPP effects is hosted by AGRs. The [Spec, TP] position in Icelandic appears to be associated with a particular discourse interpretation, namely indefiniteness (Jonas 1996:168-169, 178-181), which drives the movement of the lexical subject.

<sup>11</sup> An alternate analysis which accounts for ECM facts based on Greed, rather than Attract, is proposed in Bošković 1997. Under a strict interpretation of Greed, namely that only the morphological requirements of the moved item can provide the driving force for movement, Bošković argues that the embedded subject *someone* cannot move to satisfy the EPP feature alone: such movement would be “altruistic.” Instead, the embedded subject moves *overtly* to the matrix [Spec, AGRoP], where it checks its own Case feature. See Bošković 1997:105-124 for the details of his analysis. The effect of the EPP is more convincingly isolated in raising structures that do *not* contain a potential Case-marked position for the embedded subject to move into. Note the Icelandic Raising Expletive Construction below, where the matrix verb does not assign accusative Case (i.e., there is no matrix AGRoP projection):

(i) Það virðast [ margir menn [ vera *t* í herberginu]]  
 there seem many men to-be in the-room  
 ‘Many men seem to be in the room.’ [Jonas 1996:169]

The final supporting evidence that I will introduce to demonstrate that the EPP can be checked independently is the nominative object construction in Old Russian, as illustrated in (14):

(14) Old Russian (OR) Nominative Object Construction

Korolju bylo ta ruxljad' dati  
king: M DAT was: N that property: F NOM give: INF  
‘It was for the king to give back that property.’  
[Timberlake 1974]

In this example T’s D-feature is checked overtly by an oblique DP while its Case feature is checked in the covert (post-Spell-Out) syntax by the nominative object.<sup>12</sup> Thus (14) presents the logical possibility that two features of a functional head may vary with respect to strength. Here, following Ura 1996, I will argue that T enters into multiple feature-checking relations, i.e., the independent checking of particular “subject functions,” necessitating the multiple-Spec structure proposed in Chomsky 1995, ch. 4 (§10). Following the modified “Categories and Transformations” phrase structure, the dative subject is merged in its theta-position in the Spec of the “light verb” projection,  $\nu$ P.<sup>13</sup> Following Babby 1997, I will treat the dative marking on the subject of the infinitive as lexical (inherent) Case assigned by the infinitival affix on the lexical verb. At this point I will further adopt the minimalist assumption that lexical case enters the derivation [+interpretable]. In accordance with the procedure I assume in (2b) for projecting the featural composition on functional heads, light  $\nu$  will not have its usual (accusative) Case feature, and T, in the absence of subject-verb agreement, will not have phi-features to be checked. Factoring out movement of the copula (which does not obligatorily appear in such Old Russian constructions), the following structure obtains:

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<sup>12</sup> I assume that the preverbal position of the object *ta ruxljad'* is a result of its thematic discourse status.

<sup>13</sup> Following Chomsky 1995, ch. 4,  $\nu$  is the higher head of a layered VP-shell for transitive verbs.



The agreeing predicates in (16-17) demonstrate an alternation in the way in which the verb Merges. To pursue an explanation of such an alternation, I will now turn to the impersonal neut sg morphology itself. The notion of “default morphology” is not an explanation in minimalist terms. It suggests that the predicate “looks ahead” at the resulting syntactic configuration and then accordingly selects non-agreeing morphology. According to minimalist assumptions, following the assumptions of the Strong Lexicalist Hypothesis (or what Di Sciullo and Williams 1987 refer to as “Syntactic Atomicity”), items are selected from the lexicon fully-inflected. The syntax is projected based on the morphological features of the selected lexical items, and not *vica versa*.

Following Babby 1996, I will argue that inflectional morphology in its non-canonical use (i.e., when *not* marking agreement) systematically affects Argument Structure. The neuter singular ending in its non-canonical use is lexically stipulated to show no subject-verb agreement. In minimalist terms, after Merging with a complement, a verb with this type of morphology immediately proceeds to target AGRo, as in the derivation in (10); a subject position within VP as in (1) is not projected. In accordance with (2a), the functional category AGRsP, where subject-verb agreement is checked, will also not be projected, and the verb itself, in accordance with (2b), will lack its usual phi-features.<sup>15</sup> In such a case, if a subject NP were projected, it would have to raise to a [Spec, AGRsP] position where agreement would fail and the derivation would crash. In contrast, in the agreeing predicates in (16-17), the verb (+ complement) *must* Merge with a subject and ultimately target AGRsP because the [-interpretable] phi-features that agreeing verbs contain must be checked.

Independent evidence for a separate non-agreeing affix, distinct from neut sg morphology, is found in the Polish impersonal / personal passive participle alternation. In (18), the non-agreeing

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<sup>15</sup> The 3 neut sg ending *-o* is thus best treated as derivational, rather than inflectional, morphology since it directly affects predicate Argument Structure and is not involved in agreement. This makes the lack of phi-features on impersonal verbs a completely predictable property.

impersonal affix *-o* in the (a) sentence is contrasted with agreeing *-e* in the (c) sentence:

(18) Polish Impersonal vs. Personal Participial Predicate

a. Impersonal Passive

Pszenicę siano zawsze jesienią  
 wheat: F ACC sowed: IMPERS always in-fall  
 ‘Wheat was always sowed in the fall.’

b. \*Pszenicę siane...

c. Personal Passive

Dziecko było kochane przez matkę  
 child: N NOM was loved: N SG by mother: ACC  
 ‘The child was loved by the mother.’

[Dziwirek 1994:182-185]

Note that in the Polish adjectival (participial) declension, *-o* is a distinct *derivational* morpheme<sup>16</sup> whose sole function is to mark impersonal predicates. In (18b) we see that the neut sg affix (*-e*) cannot project an impersonal, but agrees with neut sg subjects as in the canonical passive in (18c). When the neut sg ending does not differ phonologically from the non-agreeing impersonal ending, the two inflections must be considered separate homophonous endings.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup> The Polish and Ukrainian *-o* in *-no/-to* constructions was initially the neut sg inflectional ending in the nominal (i.e., short form) declension of adjectives. With the loss of the nominal declension of adjectives in these languages, inflectional *-o* was reanalyzed as belonging to the derivational stem to form a new unchanging predicate category. For a general account of the history of *-no/-to* constructions see Brajerski 1979 for Polish and Shevelov 1969 for Ukrainian.

<sup>17</sup> Thus the neuter singular gloss in (3-4), as well as in (19-21) below, may be best marked as IMPERS(onal), as in (18a).

## 5 Null Expletives

In the previous section we addressed the problem of agreement in impersonal predicates. In the absence of a functional projection for subject-predicate agreement, the role of null expletives is sharply reduced. Furthermore, by separating the EPP from the nominative Case, we saw that null expletives need not be invoked to check the EPP-feature on T.<sup>18</sup>

According to the present analysis, the EPP is satisfied by the operation Attract on the verb's sole internal argument. It should be borne in mind that null expletives are semantically vacuous: they contain only the categorial D-feature. The question is: do we need this D-feature? The claim in this paper is that invoking null-expletives to account for non-agreeing impersonal predicates amounts to introducing a D-feature into a derivation where its effect is already independently accounted for.

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<sup>18</sup> The question of *overt* expletives in Slavic is discussed in Billings 1993 and Franks 1995. In Ukrainian, for example, both Billings and Franks argue that the neuter singular pronoun *vono* may function as an expletive in impersonal sentences, filling an otherwise open subject position. The following example is cited in both sources:

- (i) Vono b ne vadylo s'ohodni pohuljaty  
 PRT NEG harm: NSG today take-a-walk

'It would do no harm to go for a walk today.'

This indeed would suggest an alternate strategy for satisfying the EPP than the one proposed in this paper; however, treating Ukrainian *vono* as a place-holder for unfilled subjects is not unproblematic. First note that *vono* in (i) is optional and, in fact, judged by my informants as marginal. Note also that *vono* is not used in weather verbs such as those below in (19-21) in contrast to English *it* or German *es*:

- (ii) (\*Vono) sutenije  
 growing-dark: 3SG

'It is growing dark.'

Finally, there is no evidence that *vono* takes part in the expletive-associate constructions described in Chomsky 1995:340-348. Chomsky suggests that expletive constructions alternate with nonexpletive constructions to affect a difference in interpretation between overt raising of a subject (in the case of nonexpletive constructions) and the covert raising of its features (in expletive constructions). Since Slavic organizes theme-rheme structure by means of scrambling, expletive-associate constructions, by hypothesis, should be unmotivated.

A final question concerns the null-expletive proposal for impersonals of the “weather verb” type, as in (19-21):

- (19) Russian:  
 Stemnelo  
 grew-dark: NSG  
 ‘It grew dark.’
- (20) Polish:  
 Wypogodziło się  
 cleared-up: NSG REFL  
 ‘It cleared up.’
- (21) Czech:  
 Zahřmělo  
 thundered: NSG  
 ‘It thundered.’

To determine the structure for these expressions, I refer back to (2) for the projection of phrase structure and featural composition of functional heads. According to (2a) there will be no AGR projections. T will be projected to check the Tense feature of the verb but, in accordance with (2b), will *not* contain a D-feature. Uninterpretable features appear in the syntax only in relation to the morphological properties found in the numeration. Thus, in (19-21) my claim is that the T projected by the “weather verbs” is even more underspecified: not only does it lack a Case feature, as in the other impersonals we have analyzed, but it also lacks a D-feature to attract nominal material.<sup>19</sup> The claim, then, is *not* that all Slavic sentences strictly adhere to the EPP, but instead that the D-feature on T, if projected, is strong, and by the operation Attract, will induce the raising of an impersonal’s internal argument.

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<sup>19</sup> The option of “relativizing” the specification of T’s D-feature appears to be possible only in nonexpletive languages (cf. English: \*Is raining). I thank Željko Bošković for bringing this problem to my attention.

## 6 Conclusion

In the present analysis I have argued for what can be labeled a *lexicalist application* of the minimalist apparatus. All elements of the functional layer of structure that I have proposed are motivated by the overt morphology in a given numeration. I have shown that when Case and Agreement are factored out, the strong D-feature on T can be checked independently, allowing for EPP-effects in the absence of a canonical nominative NP subject. I have also provided evidence for the claim that a verb's inflectional morphology may function in a *derivational* capacity to affect a predicate's Argument Structure. This allowed for an analysis in which special neuter singular morphology on impersonal verbs could be associated with the lack of an AGRsP projection.

In addition to maintaining a constrained version of the EPP for Slavic, I was able to show that null expletives in Slavic impersonals lack any functional motivation. An analysis was developed which both accounts for the uninterpretable D-feature on T, and resolves the question of agreement features on V, without introducing phonologically null and semantically vacuous additional elements.

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