AGREE-dependent A-movement
and low copy pronunciation in Russian

Bonnie Krejci, Vera Gribanova, & Boris Harizanov
Stanford University
{bkrejci,gribanov,bharizan}@stanford.edu

"Что с вас взять? Ведь вас здесь не стояло!"
– Anna Axmatova, overheard by N. Il′ina, 1956.[1]

1 Introduction

- There are different types of movement:

  - AGREE-based A-movement (passive, unaccusative, raising)

  - Non-AGREE-based A-movement ('A-scrambling')

  - Ā-movement (WH-movement)

- These types of movement are distinguished from one another, among other things, by (a) their landing site and (b) whether or not AGREE is involved.

- CLAIM: AGREE-based movement in Russian A-chains[2] is distinct from at least one type of non-AGREE-based movement (certain oblique preverbal arguments).

  - In AGREE-based movement, either the highest or lowest copy can be pronounced (i.e. "covert movement" if it's the lowest copy).[3]

  - This option is not available for the other type of movement (pronounce the high copy only).

EMPIRICAL BASIS FOR THE DISCUSSION:

- Non-oblique internal arguments may be case-marked accusative (ACC) or nominative (NOM); they may be case-marked genitive (GEN) under negation.

- This includes surface objects of transitives (1b), surface subjects of unaccusatives (2b), and surface subjects of passives (3b), but not subjects of transitives or unergatives (Peškovskij, 1956; Pesetsky, 1982).[4]

- Note the default (3SG.N) agreement pattern for (2b) and (3b).

(1) a. Ja ne videl   èti   filmy.
        I NEG saw.3SG.M these.ACC films.ACC
        'I didn't see these movies.'

---

[1]N. Il′ina, *Anna Axmatova, Kakoj ja eë videla*. 1991. This parody of street language (*you weren't in line here!*) was used by Axmatova in reference to Il′ina, who had not been in Russia during the worst times of Stalinist terror.

[2]We use 'AGREE-based movement' here as a shorthand for the kind of AGREE operation that yields φ-agreement.

[3]Our starting assumption throughout is that the Y-model may permit situations in which a syntactic object moves in the narrow syntax but is pronounced in its base position in accordance with the copy theory of movement (Chomsky, 1993).

[4]Although Babby (2001, 1980) documents a limited set of examples in which unergatives are also able to take the genitive of negation.

b. Ja ne videl ètix fil′mov.
   I NEG saw.3SG.M these.GEN movies.GEN

'I didn't see these movies.'

(2) a. Otvet ne prišel.
      answer.NOM NEG came.3SG.M

'The answer didn't come.'

    b. Otveta ne prišlo.
      answer.GEN NEG came.3SG.N

'An answer didn't come.'

(3) a. Gazety ne byli polučeny.
      newspapers.NOM NEG were.PL received.PL

'The newspapers were not received.'

    b. Gazet ne bylo polučeno.
      newspapers.GEN NEG was.3SG.N received.SG.N

'The newspapers were not received.'

- For unaccusatives and passives, the GEN argument may appear preverbally (4a,5a) or postverbally (4b,5b).

(4) UNACCUSATIVE WITH GENITIVE OF NEGATION
    a. **Gribov** zdes′ ne rastët.
      mushrooms.GEN here NEG grow.3SG.N
      'No mushrooms grow here.'

    b. Zdes′ ne rastët **gribov.**
      here NEG grow.3SG.N mushrooms.GEN
      'No mushrooms grow here.'

(5) PASSIVE WITH GENITIVE OF NEGATION
    a. Segodnja **gazet** ne bylo polučeno.
      today   newspapers.GEN NEG was.3SG.N received.3SG.N
      'No newspapers were received today.'

    b. Segodnja ne bylo polučeno **gazet.**
      today   NEG was.3SG.N received.3SG.N newspapers.GEN
      'No newspapers were received today.'

- The structural position of the preverbal GEN argument (4a,5a) (and other oblique preverbal arguments) is a matter of some debate (Lavine & Freidin, 2002; Babyonyshev, Ganger, Pesetsky, & Wexler, 2001; Bailyn, 2004; Slioussar, 2011, *inter alia*).

- Our focus: cases in which the sole argument is postverbal (4b,5b).

- Following Pesetsky (1982), Harves (2003) among many others, we take the postverbal GEN (and NOM) arguments of unaccusatives and passives to be merged initially as sisters to the verb.[5]

---

[5]This is an important starting point, because there is an alternative analysis in which the NOM argument may right extrapose to a high position. That analysis could potentially account for all of the binding, scope, and control data without necessitating any of the conclusions we come to here. There is some agreement that postverbal transitive and unergative subjects are extraposed (Sekerina, 1997; Slioussar, 2011), while arguments of unaccusatives are generated as internal arguments (sisters to the verb) and are not extraposed (Polinsky et al., 2013; Slioussar, 2011). For further evidence that the NOM arguments investigated here are not extraposed when they are postverbal, see Appendix A.

- There is the theoretical possibility that these arguments undergo movement to some left-peripheral position even when they are pronounced postverbally (low copy pronunciation).

- Potsdam and Polinsky (2011) demonstrate (contra Babyonyshev et al., 2001) that the postverbal GEN argument does not undergo syntactic movement in conjunction with low copy pronunciation (4b,5b).

- We argue that when the *in situ* argument of the unaccusative or passive is NOM (6b), it *does* undergo movement, followed by pronunciation of the lower copy.

(6) UNACCUSATIVE WITH NOMINATIVE ARGUMENT
   a. **Griby**   zdes′ ne   rastut.
      mushrooms.NOM here   NEG grow.3PL
      'Mushrooms don't grow here.'
   b. Zdes′ ne   rastut   **griby.**
      here   NEG grow.3PL mushrooms.NOM
      'Mushrooms don't grow here.'

- Binding, control, and scope diagnostics in AGREE-based A-chains (passive and unaccusative) demonstrate:

  – the postverbal NOM arguments occupy a high position in syntactic structure, even though they are pronounced low;

  – postverbal GEN arguments do not occupy this high position.

- We attribute this to the observation that NOM arguments enter into an AGREE relation with T (valuing case and φ features), while GEN arguments do not.

- Hypothesis: movement chains predicated on a φ-AGREE relation in Russian permit pronunciation of a low copy; the other type of movement — not predicated on AGREE — does not.

AGENDA:

- **§2**: NOM arguments of unaccusative/passive constructions undergo movement despite being pronounced low (binding, control, and scope). This contrasts with GEN arguments of unaccusative predicates under negation.[6]

- **§3** demonstrates that other oblique arguments — DAT direct objects of verbs — pattern like the GEN arguments in their inability to move and be pronounced low.

- **§4** presents our analysis.

- **§5** concludes and discusses analytical consequences.

2 Diagnostics for low copy pronunciation in movement

- We consider three diagnostics which indicate that AGREE-dependent movement can involve low copy pronunciation, while at least one other kind of non-AGREE-based movement cannot.

---

[6]For evidence that NOM arguments also behave this way in raising constructions, see Appendix B.

- In Russian this boils down to the contrast between GEN (unagreeing) vs. NOM (agreeing) sole arguments of unaccusative/passive predicates in postverbal position.[7]

- All of the diagnostics are predicated on the idea that syntactic height is relevant (for binding, control, and scope interpretation).[8]

2.1 Binding

- Evidence of a syntactic dependency with low copy pronunciation:

  - the relevant argument should be pronounced *in situ*;
  - if it has moved high in the narrow syntax, binding possibilities should be expanded.

- Arguments which cannot move in the narrow syntax in the absence of high copy pronunciation should not be able to bind anaphors located high in the syntax.

- Our hypothesis:

  - NOM arguments pronounced in their *in situ* position
    * enter into an AGREE relation with T,
    * undergo movement to [Spec, TP].
    * We expect them to bind anaphors located high in the structure,
    * even when they are pronounced low.
  - GEN arguments pronounced in their *in situ* position
    * will not enter into an AGREE relation,
    * will not move,
    * and will not be able to bind anaphors located high in the structure from their low position (Babyonyshev et al., 2001; Polinsky & Potsdam, 2013).

- The possessive anaphor *svoj* requires a clause-mate binder (7,8) (Rappaport, 1986; Bailyn, 2007).

(7) Ivan$_i$ ljubit   svoju$_i$ sobaku.
    Ivan love.3SG self.ACC dog.ACC

    'Ivan loves his dog.'

(8) Vanja znaet,   čto Volodja$_i$ ljubit   svoju$_i$ sestru.
    Vanja know.3SG that Volodja love.3SG self.ACC sister.ACC

    'Vanja knows that Volodja loves his (Volodja's/*Vanja's) sister.'   (Rappaport, 1986, 103)

---

[7]One might wonder whether preverbal GEN arguments, having undergone movement to the left periphery, can do all the things that low GEN arguments (we claim) cannot — e.g., bind high anaphors. This is a question with a long history, originating in Bailyn's (1995) and King's (1995) early work on word order and discourse configurationality in Russian. As discussed in the conclusion, our analysis is compatible with the idea that GEN internal arguments move to a preverbal position that is either a second specifier of TP or a specifier of a separate discourse-associated functional head; in either case it is an open question whether that landing site is an A-position. The same question goes for DAT experiencer arguments, especially if there is a second argument that is a NOM: whether we expect the NOM argument to scope over or under the DAT argument will depend on our ideas about where its landing site is w.r.t. the position of the DAT. We leave these very interesting questions open for the present.

[8]All that is necessary for us is that the high position of the NOM argument be high enough to e.g. bind the relevant anaphor. This is true of NOM arguments of unaccusatives pronounced in preverbal position.

(1) Na svoëm jubilee sam   imeninnik   tak i   ne pojavilsja.
    at self's party   self.NOM birthday-boy so and NEG appeared.3SG.M
    'The birthday boy never even appeared at his own party.'

For us it is enough to say that the NOM argument has moved to this position even if it is not pronounced there.

- Binding of *svoj* is crucially not limited to NOM.

- DAT (and presumably other oblique) arguments may bind *svoj*, given the right configuration (Babyonyshev et al., 2001; Chvany, 1975, 67).

(9) Ivanu$_i$ bylo   žal   sebja$_i$ i   svoju$_i$ sobaku.
     Ivan.DAT was.3SG.N sorry.for self.ACC and self.ACC dog.ACC
     'Ivan was sorry for himself and his dog.'

- Unaccusatives:

  - *in situ* NOM arguments (10a): bind anaphor in a high position → syntactic movement
  - *in situ* GEN arguments (10b): cannot bind anaphor in high position → no syntactic movement

(10) *In situ* ARGUMENTS OF UNACCUSATIVE PREDICATES
   a.   Na svoëm jubilee   tak i   ne   pojavilsja   sam   imeninnik.
        at self's anniversary so and NEG appeared.3SG.M self.NOM birthday-boy.NOM
        'The birthday boy never even appeared at his own party.'
   b.   * Na svoëm jubilee   tak i   ne   pojavilos'   samogo imeninnika.
        at self's anniversary so and NEG appeared.3SG.N self.GEN birthday-boy.GEN

- Passives:

  - *in situ* NOM arguments (11a): bind anaphor in a high position → syntactic movement
  - *in situ* GEN arguments (11b): cannot bind anaphor in high position → no syntactic movement

(11) *In situ* ARGUMENTS OF PASSIVE PREDICATES
   a.   V svoej berloge ne   byl   najden   ni odin   medved'.
        in self's lair   NEG was.3SG.M found.3SG.M not one.NOM bear.NOM
        'Not one bear was found in his own lair.'
   b.   * V svoej berloge ne   bylo   najdeno   ni odnogo medvedja.
        in self's lair   NEG was.3SG.N found.3SG.N not one.GEN bear.GEN

- Summing up:

  - For the purposes of anaphor binding, sole NOM arguments of passives and unaccusatives can act as if they have moved even in their *in situ* positions;
  - Sole GEN arguments of passives and unaccusatives act as if they have not moved to a higher syntactic position from their *in situ* positions.

2.2 Control

- Evidence of a syntactic dependency with low copy pronunciation:

  - the relevant argument should be pronounced *in situ*;
  - if it has moved high in the narrow syntax, it should be able to control a structurally high PRO.

- Arguments which cannot move in the narrow syntax in the absence of high copy pronunciation should not be able to control a PRO located high in the syntax.

- Our hypothesis:

  - NOM arguments pronounced in their *in situ* position
    * undergo movement;
    * we expect them to be able to control a PRO located high in the structure,
    * even when they are pronounced low.

  - GEN arguments pronounced in their *in situ* position
    * will not enter into an AGREE relation,
    * will not move,
    * and will not be able to control a PRO located high in the structure from their low position (Polinsky & Potsdam, 2013).

- NOM and (in spoken registers) DAT 'subjects' can control PRO (Pesetsky, 1982; Kozinskij, 1983; Moore & Perlmutter, 2000, *inter alia*), in this case in the gerundive.

(12)   PRO$_i$ načavšis′ iz-za   erundy, **ix**   **ssory$_i$**   uže   ne   prekraščalis′.
     PRO begun   because-of nonsense their.NOM spats.NOM already NEG stop.3PL
     'Having started out of nothing, their quarrels would never stop.'   (Polinsky & Potsdam, 2013)

(13)   PRO$_i$ putešestvuja, **vam$_i$**   udastsja   uznat′   mnogo novogo.
     PRO traveling   2PL.DAT manage.3SG.FUT learn.INF much   new
     'As you travel you will be able to learn many new things.'   (Polinsky & Potsdam, 2013)

- Unaccusatives:

  - *in situ* NOM arguments (14): control a PRO that's in a high position → syntactic movement

  - *in situ* GEN arguments (15): cannot control a PRO that's in a high position → no syntactic movement

(14)   PRO$_i$ načavšis′ iz-za   erundy, uže   ne   prekraščalis′ **ix**   **ssory$_i$**.
     PRO begun   because-of nonsense already NEG stop.3PL   their.NOM quarrels.NOM
     'Having started out of nothing, their quarrels would never stop.'

(15)   * PRO$_i$ načavšis′ iz-za   erundy, uže   ne   prekraščalos′ **ix**   **ssor$_i$**.
     PRO begun   because-of nonsense already NEG stop.3SG.N   their.GEN quarrels.GEN

- Passives:

  - *in situ* NOM arguments (16): control a PRO that's in a high position → syntactic movement

  - *in situ* GEN arguments (17): cannot control a PRO that's in a high position → no syntactic movement

(16)   PRO$_i$ popavšis′ na spisyvanii, ne   byl   dopuščen   k začëtu **ni odin**   **provinivšijsja**
     PRO caught   on cheating   NEG were.3PL permitted.3PL to test   not one.NOM guilty.NOM
     student$_i$.
     student.NOM
     'Having been caught cheating, not a single guilty student was permitted to take the test.'

(17)   * PRO$_i$ popavšis′ na spisyvanii, ne   bylo   dopuščeno   k začëtu **ni odnogo**
     PRO caught   on cheating   NEG was.3SG.N permitted.3SG.N to test   not one.GEN
   **provinivšegosja studenta$_i$**.
     guilty   student.GEN

- Summing up:
  - For the purposes of control of a highly positioned PRO, sole NOM arguments of passives and unaccusatives can act as if they have moved even in their *in situ* positions;
  - Sole GEN arguments of passives and unaccusatives act as if they have not moved to a higher syntactic position from their *in situ* positions.

2.3 Scope

- Evidence of a syntactic dependency with low copy pronunciation:
  - the relevant argument should be pronounced *in situ*;
  - if it has moved high in the narrow syntax, scope possibilities should be expanded.

- Arguments which cannot move in the narrow syntax in the absence of high copy pronunciation should exhibit a more limited range of scopal interpretations.[9]
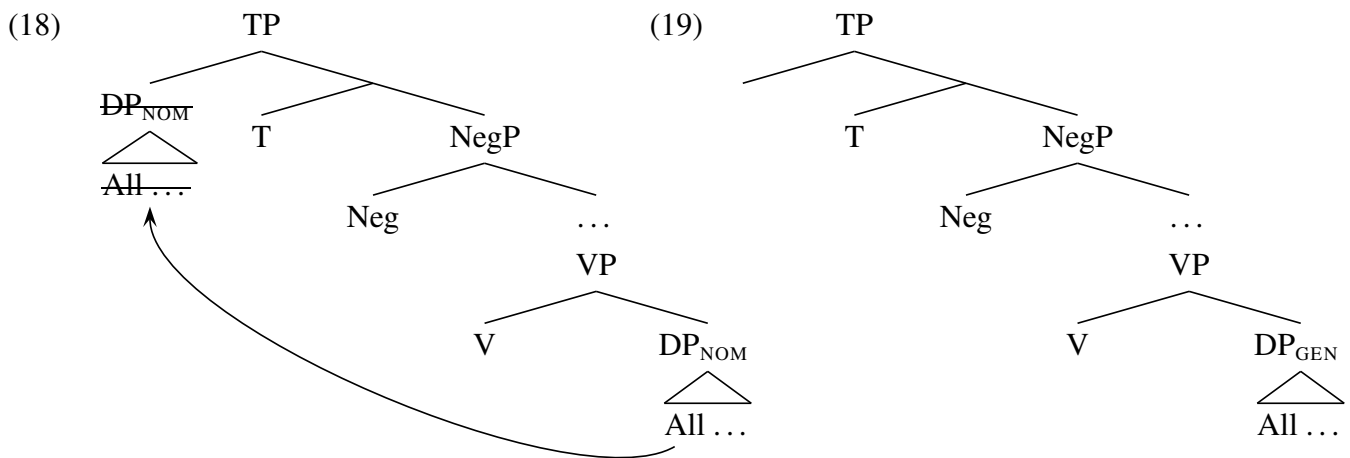
(18) ... (19) trees

- Our hypothesis:
  - NOM arguments pronounced in their *in situ* position
    * enter into an AGREE relation with T
    * and move to [Spec, TP].
    * We expect scope expanding possibilities for this low argument as a result of movement.
  - GEN arguments pronounced in their *in situ* position
    * will not enter into an AGREE relation,
    * will not move,
    * and will not exhibit scope-expanding possibilities in their low position (Potsdam & Polinsky, 2011).

- Scope of universal quantifiers w.r.t negation: both scopes are permitted in unremarkable monoclausal transitive sentences.

(20) Vse ne   prišli.
      all   NEG come.3PL
      'Everyone didn't come.'
      'Not everyone came.'

---

[9]Scope judgments were collected by asking speakers if the relevant sentences were compatible with particular contexts. e.g. *There were five skirts and only four fit in the suitcase*; or *There were five skirts and all five did not fit in the suitcase.*

- Unaccusatives:

  – *in situ* NOM arguments (22): both scopes[10]

  – *in situ* GEN arguments (23): only narrow scope → no syntactic movement

(21) a. not [fit all skirts in suitcase]
        → [all skirts] pronounced low, receives surface scope interpretation

  b. all skirts [not fit in suitcase]
        → [all skirts] pronounced low but syntactically high

(22) *In situ* NOM ARGUMENTS OF UNACCUSATIVE PREDICATES

V čemodan ne   pomestilis' vse   neobxodmye   dlja menja jubki.
in suitcase NEG fit.3PL   all.NOM necessary.NOM to   me   skirts.NOM

'All the skirts necessary to me did not fit into the suitcase.'   ALL ≫ NEG
'Not all the skirts necessary to me fit into the suitcase.'   NEG ≫ ALL

(23) *In situ* GEN ARGUMENTS OF UNACCUSATIVE PREDICATES

V magazine ne   okazalos'   vsex   neobxodimyx dlja menja produktov.
at store   NEG appeared.3SG.N all.GEN necessary.GEN for   me   groceries.GEN

#'At the store all the groceries necessary to me turned out not to be there.'   #ALL ≫ NEG
'At the store not all the groceries necessary to me turned out to be there.'   NEG ≫ ALL
(similar judgments reported in Potsdam and Polinsky (2011); Polinsky and Potsdam (2013))

- A naturally attested example from the Russian National Corpus,[11] consistent with our observations:

(24) a. По словам испанца Диего Кампоса, когда он приехал в Новгород, ему пришлось перес-
          мотреть свои взгляды на предпологаемое меню просто потому что. . .
          According to the words of the Spaniard Diego Campos, when he arrived in Novgorod, he had to
          reconsider his view of the prospective menu simply because. . .

  b. v gorode ne   našlos'   vsex   neobxodimyx produktov.
      in town   NEG found.3SG.N all.GEN necessary.GEN groceries.GEN
      'Not all the necessary groceries could be found in the town.'   NEG ≫ ALL

  c. Хамон, например, пришлось заменить салом. Чешский повар Роберт Коура привёз с собой
      пражскую ветчину по той же причине — в Новгороде её нет.
      For example it was necessary to substitute lard for jamon. The Czech chef Robert Koura brought with
      him Czech ham for the same reason — in Novgorod it doesn't exist.

- Passives:

  – *in situ* NOM arguments (25a): both scopes → syntactic movement

  – *in situ* GEN arguments (25b): unfortunately not possible

---

[10]Slioussar (2011) finds that the NOM argument in examples like (22) can take only narrow scope, in contrast to the postverbal NOM argument of an unergative predicate, which she shows may take wide or narrow scope. She takes this as evidence that internal nominative arguments do not raise to [Spec,TP]; on our analysis, however, internal NOM arguments must have the option of moving to a higher position even when they are pronounced *in situ*. We think we understand why the two sets of judgments differ as they do and leave this for future discussion.

[11]Alina Beriašvili. Skušaj, detočka, jajco dietičeskoe. *Novgorodskie vedomosti*, 2012.

(25) *In situ* ARGUMENTS OF PASSIVE PREDICATES

    a.   Na ètom kompjutere ne byli najdeny vse fajly.

        on this computer   NEG were.PL found.3PL all.NOM files.NOM

        'All the files were not found on this computer.'   ALL ≫ NEG

        'Not all the files were found on this computer.'   NEG ≫ ALL

    b. ?/* Na ètom kompjutere ne bylo najdeno vsex fajlov.

        on this computer   NEG was.3SG.N found.3SG.N all.GEN files.GEN

- Summing up:

  - Sole NOM arguments of passives and unaccusatives can take wide scope → act as if they have moved even in their *in situ* positions;

  - Sole GEN arguments of unaccusatives cannot take wide scope → have not moved to a higher syntactic position from their *in situ* positions.

3 Comparison with *in situ* datives

- NOM and GEN arguments of unaccusatives are advantageous to compare:

  - both plausibly originate and remain in the same position throughout the derivation;

  - there is no other argument competing for agreement or a high ('subject') syntactic position.

- A potential confound, however:

  - The difference between GEN (of negation) and NOM may be one of size rather than of height.

  - Pereltsvaig (2006):

    * certain quantified noun phrases (e.g. *pjat′ devoček* 'five girls'),
    * when they do not trigger agreement (3SG.N),
    * also cannot bind anaphors,
    * cannot co-refer with PRO,
    * and cannot take wide scope,
    * *even when they are preverbal subjects*.

- Relevance for us: the GEN assigned under negation could also be structurally different from NOM nominals (along the lines of Pesetsky 1982 and its descendants) — with corresponding non-referential (roughly speaking) semantics.

- On this alternative account, regardless of whether GEN arguments move, they cannot bind, control PRO, or take wide scope for entirely independent reasons.

- The evidence in §2 still points to movement for postverbal NOM arguments of unaccusatives, but the contrast with GEN arguments is potentially lost.

What to do?

- The ϕ-AGREE account predicts that *any* non-NOM postverbal argument will behave just like the GEN arguments of unaccusatives under negation.

- A way to test: DAT direct objects of verbs.

- Advantage of this move:
  - morphological DAT case does not prevent:
    * binding by a DAT argument (Babyonyshev et al., 2001; Chvany, 1975, 67) (26),
    * wide scope of a DAT argument over negation, (27))
    * or control by a DAT argument (Pesetsky, 1982; Kozinskij, 1983; Moore & Perlmutter, 2000) (28),
    * as long as the argument is high enough in the structure.

(26) Ivanu$_i$ bylo žal sebja$_i$ i svoju$_i$ sobaku.
Ivan.DAT was.3SG.N sorry.for self.ACC and self.ACC dog.ACC
'Ivan was sorry for himself and his dog.'

(27) Vsem devočkam ne nravitsja èta kniga.
all.DAT girls.DAT NEG please.3SG.F this.ACC book.ACC
'All the girls don't like this book.'   ALL≫NEG
?'Not all the girls like this book.'   NEG≫ALL

(28) CONTROL OF PRO BY A HIGH DATIVE

PRO$_i$ putešestvuja, **vam**$_i$ udastsja uznat′ mnogo novogo.
PRO traveling 2PL.DAT manage.3SG.FUT learn.INF much new

'As you travel you will be able to learn many new things.'   (Polinsky & Potsdam, 2013)

- Returning to objects of verbs which select for DAT complements, we observe that those can control a lower PRO (29).

(29) On pomog devočke$_i$ [PRO$_i$ najti sobaku].
he.NOM help.3SG.M girl.DAT PRO find.INF dog.ACC
'He helped the girl find the dog.'

- By contrast, these DAT arguments cannot control a high PRO (30), take wide scope (31), or bind a high anaphor (32) from a VP-internal position.

(30) PRO$_{*i/y}$ possorivšis′ iz-za erundy, Vasja$_y$ ne zavidoval devočkam$_i$.
PRO having-fought because.of nonsense Vasja.NOM NEG envy.3SG.M girls.DAT
'Having quarreled because of nonsense, Vasja didn't envy the girls.'

(31) Učitel′nica ne verit vsem učenikam.
teacher.NOM NEG believe.3SG all.DAT students.DAT
#'For all of the students, the teacher does not believe them.'   #ALL≫NEG
'The teacher believes not all of the students.'   NEG≫ALL

(32) * Poka šli doklady [drug druga]$_i$ Vasja zavidoval devočkam$_i$.
while went.3PL presentations of each other Vasja envy.3SG.M girls.DAT

Summing up:

- The question raised at the start of this section: is the oblique argument's inability to bind, control, and take wide scope a fact about **syntactic height** or about its **internal structure** (case/size)?

- It's hard to tell in the case of GEN arguments of unaccusatives under negation.

- Data from direct object DAT arguments demonstrates that the generalization is about **syntactic height**, not internal structure (size/case).

- Movement in conjunction with low copy pronunciation is not a possibility for arguments that do not AGREE (i.e. non-NOM arguments).
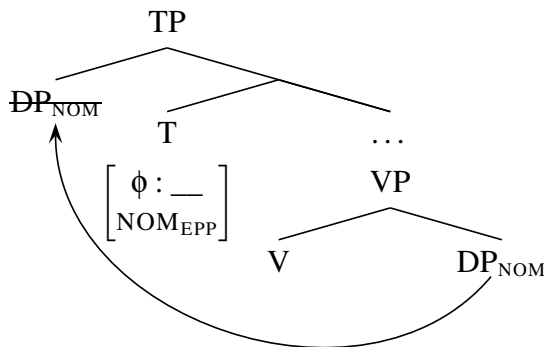
4 Analysis

Generalizations:

- NOM *in situ* arguments always enter into an AGREE relation and always move, though there is an option to pronounce the lower copy in the chain.

- If the GEN argument remains *in situ*, it has not moved (i.e. there is no option of movement and low copy pronunciation).

Assumptions:

- The relevant type of GEN case is assigned first.

- Finite T looks for a DP in its c-command domain to agree with.

  - only caseless DPs are visible to the search procedure, and
  - the probe agrees with the highest eligible goal.

- If T agrees successfully, it gets the ϕ feature values of the DP and assigns its case feature to the DP.

- If T cannot agree (e.g. because there are no visible DPs in its c-command domain), it gets the default ϕ feature values (per Preminger, 2014).

- The EPP subfeature forces syntactic movement (and is not a phonological requirement).[12]

(33) Nominatives (unaccusatives, passives)
    a. *In situ* nominatives
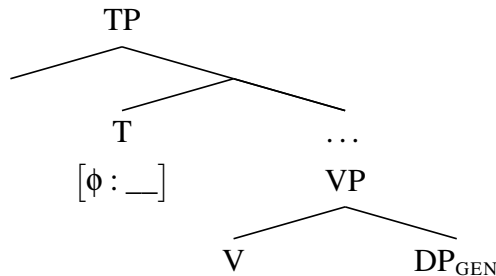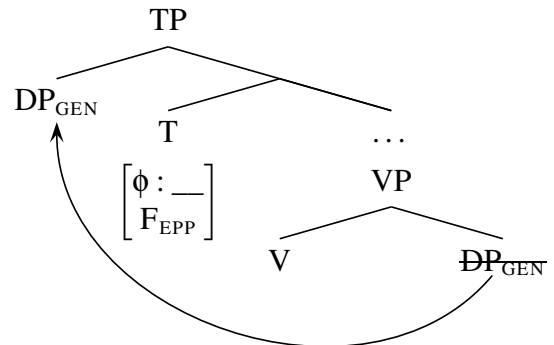   b. *Ex situ* nominatives
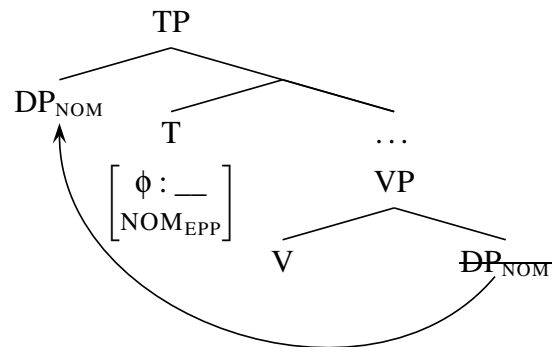
(34) Genitives (unaccusatives, passives)
    a. *In situ* genitives of negation
                                                    b. *Ex situ* genitives of negation

---

[12]We have shown that NOM internal arguments *may* move to [Spec, TP]; one may ask whether they *must* do so. We assume for concreteness here that the movement is an obligatory one, but leave open the possibility of the other option as well.

For NOM arguments:

- $T_{[\phi:\_\_,\text{NOM}_{\text{EPP}}]}$ will probe for an appropriate nominal with which to AGREE and to which it can assign case.

- It will find the sole argument of a passive or unaccusative if that argument has not been assigned GEN under negation.

- The features on T will force both agreement and movement (capturing the effects documented in §2).

- According to our hypothesis, the φ-AGREE relation facilitates pronunciation of either the low (33a) or the high (33b) copy of the nominal.

For GEN arguments:

- $T_{[\phi:\_\_]}$ will probe for an appropriate nominal with which to agree, but will find nothing — the argument bearing GEN of negation is not an appropriate target for φ-agreement.

- Default agreement will result.

- Movement does not take place, capturing the effects documented in §2.

- If T also has a feature F_{EPP} associated with it (perhaps the feature responsible for short scrambling), the GEN argument will move.

- Because this movement is not predicated on φ-AGREE, there will not be an option to pronounce the low copy in such configurations.

5   Conclusions and Consequences

- Our claim: AGREE-predicated movement (at least for φ-agreement) permits pronunciation of a low copy in a movement chain; other types of movement do not.

- Within Russian this connects to a larger debate about word orders in which the preverbal argument is not a nominative.

(35)   SVO ∼ OVS WORD ORDER

    a. **Ivan**   čitaet ètu knigu.
       Ivan.NOM reads this book.ACC
       'Ivan reads this book.'

    b. **Ètu knigu**   čitaet Ivan.
       this book.ACC reads Ivan.NOM
       'Ivan reads this book.'

(36)   UNACCUSATIVE WITH GENITIVE OF NEGATION

    Gribov   zdes′ ne   rastët.
    mushrooms.GEN here   NEG grow.3SG.N

    'No mushrooms grow here.'

(37)   ADVERSITY IMPERSONAL CONSTRUCTION

    a. **Soldata**   ranilo   pulej.
       soldier.ACC wounded.3SG.N bullet.INSTR
       'A soldier was wounded by a bullet.'

    b. **Pulej**   ranilo   soldata.
       bullet.INSTR wounded.3SG.N soldier.ACC
   'A soldier was wounded by a bullet.'

(38) RAISING

    a. **Yaša**   možet   stroit′   dom.
      Yaša.NOM can.3SG build.INF house.ACC
      'Yasha can build the house.'

    b. **Livnem**   možet   zatopit′ kvartiry.
      rain.INSTR could.3SG flood.INF apartments.ACC
      'Rain could flood the apartments.'

    c. **Kvartiry**   možet   zatopit′ livnem.
      apartments.ACC could.3SG flood.INF rain.INSTR
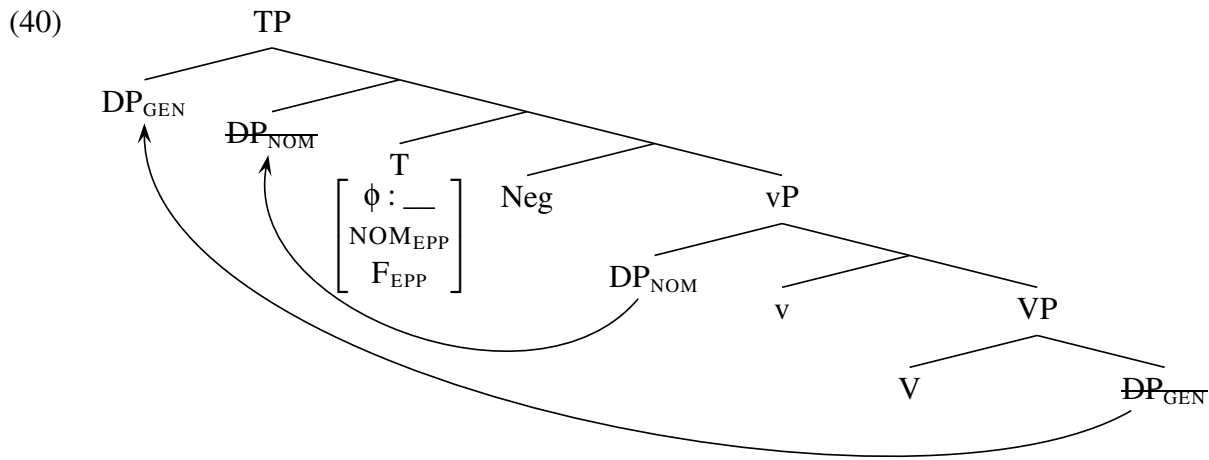   'The apartments could flood from the rain.'

Two major hypotheses:

1. There is a designated A-position [Spec,TP] that hosts a diverse array of arguments (Bailyn, 2004; Lavine & Freidin, 2002). The bold arguments in (35) through (38) are in [Spec, TP].

2. Only arguments that have agreed with T land in this A-position, with all others landing in a designated Ā position (Slioussar, 2011). Only the bold arguments in (35a) and (38a) are in [Spec, TP]; the others are in another position.

Two possibilities arise from our evidence and analysis:

- Hypothesis 2 is on the right track: only NOM arguments, agreeing with finite T, are attracted via EPP to the [Spec, TP] position. Other arguments (e.g. preverbal GEN) do not enter into an AGREE relation with T and are attracted to the left periphery by EPP on some other functional head.

(39)
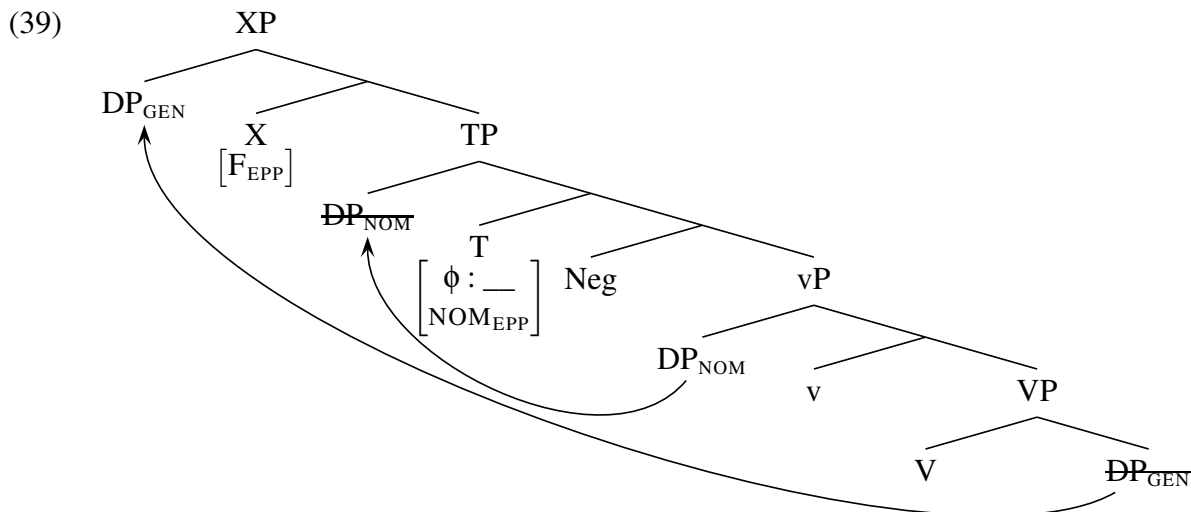
- Hypothesis 1 can be maintained *if* we allow for the possibility of multiple specifiers of T; in a transitive clause with a NOM and a GEN argument, the first specifier will host the NOM argument and the second will host the GEN argument. The NOM argument will still have the option of being pronounced low.

(40)

```
                              TP
              ┌───────────────┴──────────────┐
           DP_GEN         ┌──────────────────┴──────────────────┐
                       D̶P̶_NOM      ┌──────────────┴──────────────┐
                              ┌─────┴─────┐      Neg                 vP
                              │    T      │                ┌─────────┴─────────┐
                              │ φ : __    │            DP_NOM         ┌─────────┴─────────┐
                              │ NOM_EPP   │                           v                  VP
                              │  F_EPP    │                                      ┌────────┴────────┐
                              └───────────┘                                      V              D̶P̶_GEN
```

OPEN QUESTIONS:

1. To what extent is this a Russian-specific pattern (e.g., do we expect to find strong evidence of low copy pronunciation in e.g. A-scrambling in other languages?)

2. We have argued for a narrow contrast here between φ-AGREE-based movement and non-AGREE-based movement of GEN/DAT arguments. Does the generalization extend to e.g. Ā-movement?

6 Appendix A: NOM postverbal arguments of passives and unaccusatives are not extraposed

An alternative analysis that is not consistent with our conclusions about AGREE-based movement:

- The postverbal NOM argument in passive and unaccusative constructions is extraposed to the right.

- This means the NOM comes to be in a high position in the syntax,

- which in turn could explain our observations about the high syntactic position of these NOM arguments as evidenced by the binding, control, and scope evidence in §2.

- Very plausible for transitive and unergative postverbal subjects (Sekerina, 1997; Slioussar, 2011); why not for arguments of unaccusatives too?

We present two arguments against this analysis.

6.1 The NOM argument is a sister to V for the purposes of VP ellipsis

- We assume here the prevalent theory of constituent ellipsis, in which a piece of syntax is targeted for non-pronunciation (Merchant, 2001).

- We also take it that *budet* 'will' is an auxiliary that takes *v*P/VP as its complement.

- Finally, we adopt the usual understanding of constituent ellipsis, in which *budet* is stranded — namely, that this is ellipsis of something *v*P/VP-sized (Kazenin, 2006, *inter alia*).

- The logic of the argument:

  - Given our assumptions, ellipsis will target a derived structure (e.g. the result of movement etc).

  - According to our view, VP ellipsis should be able to target an unaccusative verb and its nominative argument if, as we claim, that argument stays low and does not extrapose.

(41) U kogo budut   pojavljat′sja složnye   voprosy?
      At who will.PL occur.3PL   complex.NOM questions.NOM
      'Who will have complex questions?'

      U menja   budut.
      at me.ACC will.PL

      'I will.'

→ postverbal NOM arguments of unaccusatives remain low.

6.2 Extraposed vs. non-extraposed NOM postverbal arguments

- Postverbal NOM arguments of unaccusatives *can* extrapose.

- Evidence comes from cases in which these arguments are pronounced after a depictive (42b).

- We assume, along the lines of Bailyn and Rubin (1991), that depictives adjoin to *v*P/PredP.

(42) a. Na večerinke pojavilsja   Ivan pjanym.
         at party   appeared.3SG.M Ivan drunk.3SG.M
         'Ivan appeared at the party drunk.'

b. Na večerinke pojavilsja   pjanym   IVAN.
   at party   appeared.3SG.M drunk.3SG.M Ivan
   'It was Ivan who appeared at the party drunk.'

- Importantly, both the extraposed (42a) and non-extraposed (42b) orders are possible.

- As (42b) indicates, when the NOM argument comes last, it gets something like a narrow focus reading.

- Key for us: the non-extraposed order (42a) still permits binding of a high anaphor by the low NOM argument (43).

(43) Na svoej$_i$ večerinke pojavilsja   Ivan$_i$ pjanym.
      at self's party   appeared.3SG.M Ivan drunk.3SG.M
      'Ivan appeared at his own party drunk.'

- (43) tells us that the NOM argument must be moving to a high position.

- It's probably not 'covert extraposition' that is accomplishing this:

  – We know of no attested cases of covert extraposition; the top copy always seems to be pronounced.

  – Binding of this kind of anaphor would presumably need to take place from an A-position; extraposition is not A-movement.

- Rather, the evidence is consistent with our proposal that NOM arguments AGREE with T and raise to [Spec, TP] even if the pronounced copy is in the lowest position in the movement chain.

7   Appendix B: Analogous Evidence from Raising

CLAIMS:

- *Dolžen* 'should' and *moč'* 'can' are raising predicates, not control or restructuring predicates.[13]

- The apparently embedded preverbal subject of a raising predicate truly sits in the embedded clause

- NOM preverbal embedded subjects of raising predicates behave as though they have moved in the syntax, according to diagnostics from binding, control, and scope.

- This is what we expect on our analysis—AGREE-based A-chains of all types should allow the NOM argument to move in the syntax but nevertheless be pronounced in its low position.

7.1   Diagnosing Raising

7.1.1   Against a control analysis

- We claim *dolžen* 'must/ought/should' and *moč'* 'can' are raising predicates, not control predicates.

- Supporting evidence comes from active-passive synonymy, semantic role assignment possibilities, and idiom-chunk interpretation.

- An active clause embedded under the control predicate *xotet'* 'want' (44a) gives rise to a different interpretation from a passive clause embedded under *xotet'* 'want' (44b).

---

[13]Other predicates, among them *načat'* 'begin', *perestat'* 'stop', *prodolžat'* 'continue', *prekratit'* 'stop/quit' may also be raising predicates, but many of them double as control predicates and so we focus quite narrowly here on the two which we are sure to do not have control uses.

(44) a. Ja   xotel   proverit′ otvety k èkzamenu.
          1SG.NOM wanted.SG.M check.INF answers to exam
          'I wanted to check the answers to the exam.'

      b. #Otvety k ekzamenu xoteli   proverjat′sja   mnoju.
          answers to exam   wanted.3PL checked.INF.REFL me.INST
          'The answers to the exam wanted to be checked by me.'

- In contrast, our putative raising predicates display active-passive synonymy. This indicates that only one semantic role is associated with the matrix predicates.

(45) DOLŽEN 'must/ought/should'[14]

      a. Pri nesootvetstvii   vy   dolžny   vvesti   otvet   povtorno.
          At non-correspondence you.PL should.PL enter.INF answer.NOM again
          'In case of non-correspondence, you will have to enter the answer again.'

      b. Pri nesootvetstvii   otvet   dolžen   byt′   vveden   (vami)   povtorno.
          At non-correspondence answer.NOM should.3SG.M be.INF entered.3SG.M (you.INSTR) again
          'In case of non-correspondence, the answer should be entered again.'

(46) MOČ′ 'can'[15]

      a. Vy   možete neskol′ko ego   ispravit′   učeniem   i   opytom,   no často
          you.PL can.2PL a-bit   3SG.ACC correct.INF learning.INSTR and experience.INSTR but often
          znanija   portjat ego.
          knowledge.PL ruin.3PL 3SG
          'You can correct it a bit with study and experience but often knowledge ruins it.'

      b. On   možet byt′ neskol′ko ispravlen   (vami)   učeniem   i
          3SG.NOM can.3SG be.INF a-bit   corrected.3SG.M (you.INSTR) learning.INSTR and
          opytom,   no často znanija   portjat ego.
          experience.INSTR but often knowledge.PL ruin.3PL 3SG
          'It can be corrected a bit (by you) with study and experience, but often knowledge ruins it.'

- Further evidence that our putative raising predicates are not control predicates comes from contrasting semantic role assignment possibilities.

- Raising predicates must have coreferential subjects. In contrast, because control predicates can assign a semantic role to the matrix subject, they can have non-coreferential subjects.

(47) *Ona dolžna   (čtoby) Maks stavil   otmetki.
       she should.3SG.F that   Max put.3SG.M marks.ACC

(48) Ona xočet,   čtoby Maks stavil   otmetki.
      she wants.3SG that Max put.3SG.M marks.ACC
      'She wants for Max to assign the grades.'

- Finally, evidence from idiom chunks suggests that our putative raising predicates are not control predicates.

- Idiomatic interpretation is preserved under our putative raising predicates, but it is not preserved under control predicates.

---

[14]The (slightly manipulated) passive example comes from: Raspredelёnnaja komponentnaja model′ testov v sisteme distancionnogo obrazovanija GIPERTEST. Informacionnye texnologii, 2004.

[15]The (slightly manipulated) passive example comes from: Recepty nacional′nyx kuxon′: Francija, 2000-2005.

(49)   U Ivana   ruki češutsja.
            at Ivan.GEN arms itch.3PL

            lit: 'Ivan's arms are itching.'
            idiomatic: 'Ivan can't wait.'

(50)   U Ivana   xotjat   ruki česat′sja.
            at Ivan.GEN want.3PL arms itch.INF

            lit: # 'Ivan's arms want to itch.'
            idiomatic: * 'Ivan wants to not be able to wait.'

(51)   U Ivana   dolžny   ruki   česat′sja.
            at Ivan.GEN should.PL arms.NOM itch.INF

            lit: 'Ivan's arms should be itching.'
            idiomatic: 'Ivan should not to be able to wait.'

- Based on this evidence, we conclude that these predicates are not control predicates.

7.1.2 Against a restructuring analysis

- Restructuring predicates take complements the size of vP/VP (see Wurmbrand, 2001; Grano, 2015).

- We argue that our putative raising predicates select complements that are at least the size of TP, and that they are therefore best analyzed as raising predicates.

- First, in the putative raising construction, the lower clause can be modified by subject-oriented adverbials that are generally analyzed as adjoining to TP.

(52)   Ivan dolžen   čitat′   knigu   naročno.
            Ivan should.3SG.M read.INF book.ACC on.purpose

            'Ivan should read the book on purpose.'

(53)   Ivan možet   neoxotno ubirat′   kvartiru
            Ivan can.3SG.M reluctantly clean.INF apartment.ACC

            'Ivan can clean the apartment reluctantly.'

- Second, overt negation may appear in the embedded clause. This indicates that the complement of the putative raising predicate is at least as large as NegP.[16]

(54)   Ivan možet ničego ne delat′.
            Ivan can.3SG nothing NEG do.INF

            'Ivan can not do anything.'

---

[16]It is important for us that the low negation in (54) is not an instance of constituent negation, but is instead clausal negation. Support for this comes from the observation that constituent negation cannot license Genitive of Negation (1) or NPIs (2), but clausal negation can. We assume, following Bailyn (1995), *inter alia*, that *budet* 'will' is a genuine auxiliary. If so, an instance of negation after *budet* is constituent negation. Notice that in such cases, NPIs and the Genitive of Negation are not licensed.

(1)   * Maks budet   ne   čitat′ knig.
           Max will.3SG NEG read books.GEN

(2)   * Maks budet   ne   čitat′   ničego.
           Maks will.3SG NEG read.INF nothing

We thus take the presence of the NPI in (54) to be evidence of clausal negation.

- Third, if the putative raising construction is monoclausal, we would expect the low object to be able to move into the high subject position under passivization, as is typical with restructuring predicates (Wurmbrand, 2001).

- Instead, it cannot do so, which is consistent with a biclausal analysis of the putative raising construction.

(55) * Kniga   budet   dolžna   čitat′   (Ivanom).
      book.NOM will.3SG should.3SG.F read.INF Ivan.INSTR

- Finally, on a restructuring analysis, we expect an NPI in the high subject position to be licensed by negation that appears to be in the lower clause.

- This is because in genuine monoclausal structures, subject NPIs are licensed by negation.

(56) Nikto ne sdal   èkzamen.
      no one NEG pass.3SG.M exam
      'No one passed the exam.'

- Instead, the matrix subject NPI in putative raising constructions is not licensed.

(57) * Nikto možet   ne sdat′   èkzamen.
      no one can.3SG NEG pass.INF exam
      'No one could pass the exam.'

- We understand this evidence to indicate that our putative raising predicates take TP-sized complements, consistent with a raising analysis.

7.1.3 In-situ embedded subject

- Raising constructions allow the embedded subject to appear in first position (58a) or in apparent embedded preverbal position following the raising predicate (58b).

(58) a. **Yaša**   dolžen   stroit′   dom.
        Yaša.NOM should.3SG.M build.INF house.ACC
        'Yasha should build the house.'
      b. Včera   dolžen   **Yaša**   stroit′   dom.
        yesterday should.3SG.M Yaša.NOM build.INF house.ACC
        'Yasha should build the house yesterday.'

- We argue the apparently embedded preverbal subject in raising constructions is truly inside the embedded clause. Alternative analyses might include raising to object, right-adjunction, or extrapostion (Potsdam & Polinsky, 2008).

- A subject-oriented TP-adjoining adverb, placed just after the raising predicate and before the preverbal embedded subject, gets a matrix interpretation (59).

(59) Ruki   dolžen   [oxotno **on**   myt′].
      hands.ACC should.3SG.M willingly he.NOM wash.INF
      'He should wash his hands willingly.'

- The possibility of the embedded interpretation suggests that (one copy of the) subject remains in the embedded preverbal position in a raising construction.

7.2 AGREE-based A-movement with low-copy pronunciation

- Confounds involving oblique arguments prevent us from showing that the GEN and DAT subjects of raising predicates do not move to the high subject position.

- However, we show that the NOM arguments behave the way our analysis predicts; embedded preverbal NOM arguments show evidence of movement to a higher position, followed by pronunciation of the low copy.

- The raising subject can appear in the NOM case preverbally in the embedded clause (60b,c).

(60) RAISING PREDICATE WITH NOM SUBJECT

    a. **Yaša** dolžen stroit′ dom.
       Yaša.NOM should.3SG.M build.INF house.ACC
       'Yasha should build the house.'

    b. Zavtra dolžen **Yaša** stroit′ dom.
       tomorrow should.3SG.M Yaša.NOM build.INF house.ACC
       'Yasha should build the house tomorrow.'

    c. Dom dolžen **Yaša** stroit′.
       house.ACC should.3SG.M Yaša.NOM build.INF
       'Yasha should build the house.'

- We argue that in such configurations, the NOM argument undergoes movement to the matrix clause and is nevertheless pronounced low.

7.2.1 Binding

- Embedded preverbal NOM subjects of raising predicates can bind the possessive anaphor *svoj* in the matrix clause (61).

(61) So svoego$_i$ podnosa ne možet on$_i$ ugosčat′ gostej
    from self's tray NEG can.3SG.M he.NOM treat.INF guests
    'From his tray he cannot offer food to guests.'

- We take this as indicating that it binds the anaphor from its high position.

7.2.2 Control

- Embedded preverbal NOM subjects of raising predicates can control into a gerundive clause that is adjoined to the matrix clause (62).

(62) PRO$_i$ buduči očen′ slabym posle operacii, ne dolžen on$_i$ podnimat′ tjažesti.
    PRO being very weak.3SG.M after operation NEG should.3SG.M he.NOM lift.INF heavy-objects
    'Being very weak after his operation, he should not lift heavy objects.'

- This suggests that the NOM argument is in a high position, from which it can bind PRO.

7.2.3 Scope

- Embedded preverbal NOM subjects of raising predicates that are quantified can take scope under or over negation in the higher clause (63).

20

(63) (Nu konechno) ne mogut **vse** rešit′ zadaču iz ètogo učebnika.
well of.course NEG can.3PL all solve.INF problem from this.GEN textbook.GEN
'(Well of course) it is not possible for everyone to solve a problem from this textbook.'

(NEG≫ALL, ALL≫NEG)

- The possibility of wide scope suggests that the NOM argument moves to a position structurally higher than negation.

7.3 Summary

- We argued that our putative raising predicates are in fact raising predicates, as opposed to control or restructuring predicates, and that the preverbal embedded NOM subject is inside the embedded clause.

- On our analysis, AGREE-based A-chains of all types should allow the NOM argument to move to subject position followed by pronunciation of a low copy.

- Evidence from binding, control, and scope presented here suggests that the NOM argument of raising constructions does exactly this, moving to the high subject position while being pronounced in the embedded subject position.

Acknowledgements

References

Babby, Leonard. (1980). *Existential sentences and negation in Russian*. Ann Arbor, MI: Karoma.

Babby, Leonard. (2001). The genitive of negation: A unified analysis. In Steven Franks, Tracy Holloway King, & Michael Yadroff (Eds.), *Formal Approaches to Slavic Linguistics, the Bloomington meeting 2000* (pp. 39–55). Ann Arbor, MI: Michigan Slavic Publications.

Babyonyshev, Maria, Ganger, Jennifer, Pesetsky, David, & Wexler, Kenneth. (2001). The maturation of grammatical principles: Evidence from Russian unaccusatives. *Linguistic Inquiry*, *32*, 1–43.

Bailyn, John. (1995). *A configurational approach to Russian "free" word order*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY.

Bailyn, John. (2004). Generalized inversion. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*, *22*(1), 1–49.

Bailyn, John. (2007). A derivational approach to micro-variation in Slavic binding. In Richard Compton, Magdalena Goledzinowska, & Ulyana Savchenko (Eds.), *Annual workshop on formal approaches to Slavic linguistics 15* (pp. 25–41). Ann Arbor, MI: Michigan Slavic Publications.

Bailyn, John, & Rubin, Edward J. (1991). The unification of instrumental case assignment in Russian. In Almeida J. Toribio & Wayne E. Harbert (Eds.), *Cornell working papers in linguistics 9* (p. 99-126). Ithaca, NY: Department of Modern Languages and Linguistics, Cornell University.

Chomsky, Noam. (1993). A Minimalist Program for linguistic theory. In Ken Hale & Jay Keyser (Eds.), *The view from building 20* (pp. 1–52). Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.

Chvany, Catherine V. (1975). *On the syntax of BE-sentences in Russian*. Bloomington, IN: Slavica.

Grano, Thomas. (2015). *Control and restructuring*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Harves, Stephanie. (2003). *Unaccusative syntax in Russian*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, MA.

Kazenin, Konstantin. (2006). *Polarity in Russian and typology of predicate ellipsis*. (Moscow State University)

Kozinskij, Isaac. (1983). *O kategorii "podležaščee" v Russkom jazyke [The category of "subject" in Russian].* Moscow: Institute of the the Russian Language. (Project on Experimental and Applied Linguistics, Preprint 156)

Lavine, James E., & Freidin, Robert. (2002). The subject of defective T(ense) in Slavic. *Journal of Slavic Linguistics*, *10*, 253–289.

Merchant, Jason. (2001). *The Syntax of Silence: Sluicing, islands, and the theory of ellipsis.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Moore, John, & Perlmutter, David. (2000). What does it take to be a dative subject? *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*, *18*(2), 373–416.

Pereltsvaig, Asya. (2006). Small nominals. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*, *24*, 433-500.

Pesetsky, David Michael. (1982). *Paths and categories.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, MA.

Peškovskij, Alexandr M. (1956). *Russkij sintaksis v naučnom osveščenii* (7th ed.). Moscow: Gos. Učebno-Pedagogičeskoe Izdatel'stvo Ministerstva Prosveščenija RSFSR.

Polinsky, Maria, Gallo, Carlos G., Graff, Peter, Kravtchenko, Ekaterina, Morgan, Adam Milton, & Sturgeon, Anne. (2013). Subject islands are different. In Jon Sprouse & Norbert Hornstein (Eds.), *Experimental syntax and island effects* (pp. 286–309). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Polinsky, Maria, & Potsdam, Eric. (2013). Diagnosing covert A-movement. In Lisa Lai-Shen Cheng & Norbert Corver (Eds.), *Diagnosing syntax* (pp. 210–234). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Potsdam, Eric, & Polinsky, Maria. (2008). *Real and apparent long-distance agreement in subject-to-subject raising constructions.* Paper presented at the Workshop on Local Modeling of Non-Local Dependencies in Syntax at the Meeting of the German Linguistic Society. Bamberg, Germany.

Potsdam, Eric, & Polinsky, Maria. (2011). Against covert A-movement in Russian unaccusatives. *Linguistic Inquiry*, *42*(2), 345–355.

Preminger, Omer. (2014). *Agreement and its failures.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Rappaport, Gilbert C. (1986). On anaphor binding in Russian. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*, *4*(1), 97–120.

Sekerina, Irina A. (1997). *The syntax and processing of scrambling constructions in Russian.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation, The City University of New York, New York.

Slioussar, Natalia. (2011). Russian and the EPP requirement in the Tense domain. *Lingua*, *121*, 2048–2068.

Wurmbrand, Susanne. (2001). *Infinitives: Restructuring and clause structure* (No. 55). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.