

Mysterious nature of the Russian EPP

Natalia Slioussar

Russian allows for low postverbal subjects with transitive verbs without an overt expletive, so the question arises how the EPP is satisfied in Russian. Two answers are available in the literature: first, Russian may belong to the Greek and Spanish group in Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou's typology (1998); second, several authors, John Bailyn (2003a, 2003b, 2004) in particular, proposed that the EPP can be satisfied by any argument in Russian. I will show that both approaches are incompatible with corpus data: with the absence of verb raising and with the distribution of postverbal subjects. To account for these data I will suggest an alternative solution: Russian patterns with English in Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou's typology. Thus, the subjects of transitive verbs always raise. However, they can be subsequently crossed by a bigger constituent containing the verb (and adverbs). Only internal Nominative arguments can remain *in situ*.

1 Introduction

This paper is dedicated to the nature of the Russian EPP. In Chomsky (1995), the EPP was related to checking of a categorical D feature in T (in other words, this feature was claimed to have an EPP property). It could be checked either by moving an XP (a subject) or by merging an XP (an expletive). Importantly, this EPP-feature was dissociated from the features related to Case and Agreement, which could be checked at LF. The languages that allow for low subjects without an overt expletive were always problematic with respect to the EPP requirement. The main options discussed in the literature were to introduce a covert expletive (Rizzi 1982; Chomsky 1995; Holmberg 2005, among others) or to propose a different way to satisfy the EPP (Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 1998; Manzini and Savoia 2002; Platzack 2004 etc.).

Russian has numerous examples of apparently low postverbal subjects and no overt expletive, so it is one of the languages where it is unclear how the EPP requirement is satisfied. There are two explanations in the literature that can be called upon to resolve this enigma. First, we can adopt Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou's parametric framework where subject raising or expletive insertion are not obligatory for every language. I will briefly summarize their proposal in the second section of the paper. They use Agr projections in their model, which were discarded in many recent works, but their insight is also compatible with raising to T, as Pesetsky and Torrego (2004) show. At first sight, Russian patterns with Spanish and Greek in Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou's typology – the only group where low subjects are possible with transitive verbs while no overt expletive is present. Second, we can turn to the theory of Russian

EPP developed by Babyonyshev (1996), Lavine (2000), Lavine and Freidin (2002) and most notably Bailyn (2003a, 2003b, 2004). Bailyn claims that “Russian differs from English and other languages in its ability to check the EPP by any argument and not just a Nominative subject or a Locative PP predicated of the Nominative subject” (2003a, p. 163). His model is presented in detail in the second section.

In this paper, I would like to show that neither explanation is compatible with a thorough analysis of the data. In brief, Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou’s account of the EPP can be reduced to the following generalization: if the EPP is not satisfied by an XP (a subject or an expletive), it is satisfied by a raising finite verb. In the third section, I will demonstrate that both existing corpus studies of Russian and my own corpus research indicate that the verb does not raise in Russian (there are a number of exceptions, but these constructions are not relevant here). Moreover, the constructions with Russian postverbal subjects differ in important ways from Spanish and Greek ones. John Bailyn’s model of Russian EPP is very elegant and becomes especially interesting in the typological perspective. However, unless we resort to rightward movement, verb raising is also crucial for it. I will take a direct object as an example of a non-Nominative DP that can satisfy the EPP. Consider an OVS sentence in (1) below. If the object satisfies the EPP, while the subject remains *in situ*, the verb has to raise to surface above the subject. Bailyn’s theory also predicts a different distribution of postverbal subjects than the one that is actually attested in the corpora.

- (1) Ètu malen'kuju peredaču ulovila odna očen' xudaja molodaja ženščina.
 [this small parcel](ACC) noticed [a very skinny young woman](NOM)
 ‘This small parcel was noticed by a very skinny young woman.’

As we shall see from the data in the third section, Russian appears not to fit into Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou’s typology because low subjects are possible with transitive verbs without verb raising or expletive insertion. Moreover, the example in (1) and similar constructions seem to involve a syntactic paradox. It is unclear how the subject surfaced to the right of the verb if the verb did not raise and if we do not assume rightward movement. In the fourth section, I will try to resolve the problems indicated above. According to my solution, Russian patterns with English in Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou’s typology rather than with Spanish and Greek. Thus, I will argue that the subjects of transitive verbs always raise in Russian and satisfy the EPP. When a subject surfaces below the verb it means that a big chunk of structure containing the verb (and potentially arguments and adverbs) crossed the subject after it raised. This is an instance of discourse-related movement deriving narrow focus on the subject, which is prohibited in English. As in English, the only *internal* Nominative arguments can stay *in situ*. Unlike English, Russian does not have an overt expletive. However, there is strong evidence that covert expletives exist in Russian (e.g. Perlmutter and Moore 2002).

2 The EPP theories

2.1 Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou's EPP typology

Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (1998) adopt a framework where the EPP is associated with a D feature in Agr and argue that this EPP-feature can be checked not only by move/merge XP, but also by move/merge X^0 . In the second case, the EPP is satisfied via V-raising, because the verbal agreement morphology is asserted to have the requisite nominal feature (as first suggested in Taraldsen 1978). The [Spec; Agr_SP] is not projected because no strong feature forces movement or merging into this position. A further division within these two groups is explained by the parametric availability of [Spec; TP] for subjects – a parameter originally proposed by Bobaljik and Jonas (1996). The languages Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou analyze are Germanic, Celtic, Arabic, Romance and Greek. In Table 1, I present the final typology according to these two parameters.

	EPP (XP)	[Spec; TP] for subjects
English and Mainland Scandinavian	+	-
Icelandic, German, Dutch etc.	+	+
Greek and Spanish	-	-
Celtic and Arabic	-	+

Table 1: EPP and [Spec; TP] parameters

The authors show that some Germanic languages (Icelandic, German, Dutch etc.), Celtic languages and Arabic have VP-external postverbal subjects, while Mainland Scandinavian and English, Romance languages and Greek have VP-internal postverbal subjects. In Greek, the order of constituents is: *auxiliary/finite verb*, *aspectual adverb*, *participle*, *light manner adverb* and *subject*, as in (2a-b) (Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 1998, n. 9a and n. ia):

- (2) a. An ehi idhi diavasi_j [_{VP} kala [_{VP} o Petros t_j to mathima]]
 if has already read well Peter the lesson
 'If Peter has already read the lesson well.'
- b. An diavaze_j sinithos [_{VP} kala [_{VP} o Petros t_j to mathima]]
 if read usually well Peter the lesson
 'If Peter usually read the lesson well.'

The participle precedes the light manner adverb, which marks the left edge of the VP, so it is argued to raise to Asp, while the auxiliary moves to Agr. The subject is

below the light manner adverb, therefore it remains *in situ* inside the VP. Other constituents that do not move out of the VP, like the object in (2), follow the subject, as expected. Example (3) (Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 1998, n. 10) demonstrates that in Icelandic, postverbal subjects precede low adverbs and the participle, which does not move out of the VP, unlike in Greek. Hence postverbal subjects are VP-external. However, VP-internal subjects are possible with intransitives and marginally possible in Expletive-VOS word order.

- (3) Pað hefur sennilega einhver [VP aleg [VP lokið verkefninu]].
 there has probably someone completely finished the assignment
 ‘Someone has probably completely finished the assignment.’

In Arabic and Celtic languages, VS sequences in VSO orders cannot be interrupted by an adverb. The adverbs follows the finite verb and the subject, consequently, the subject is VP-external. English examples are not specifically discussed in the paper. It is well known from other studies that in English, the verb does not move out of the VP (or out of the *vP*, in more recent terminology). The subjects of transitive verbs always raise: they precede the verb and (low) adverbs. Only the subjects of intransitive verbs can be postverbal. In this case they are *vP*-internal (they follow all adverbs and all verb forms) and an expletive is inserted, as example (4) illustrates. Other VP-internal constituents, in this case a locative PP, can follow the subject. Although both the verb and the Nominative DP are assumed to be *vP*-internal in (4), the question why the former precedes the latter does not arise, unlike in (1). English postverbal subjects are the arguments of unaccusative verbs. Hence they are merged in the object position and surface below the verb that is in *v*⁰.

- (4) In the spectrum, there always appeared two bright lines in the place of the two dark lines ‘D’.

2.2 Baily's model of the Russian EPP

Several authors (Babyonyshev 1996; Baily 2003a, 2003b, 2004; Lavine 2000; Lavine and Freidin 2002) have recently developed a new model of Russian EPP. I will concentrate on its most detailed version presented in Baily's papers. Baily argues that Russian scrambling does not exist as a uniform phenomenon and postulates two distinct reordering processes instead: Generalized Inversion and Dislocation. Generalized Inversion is an EPP-driven A'-movement, while Dislocation is a discourse-driven A'-movement. Baily argues that the EPP is satisfied by XP raising in Russian, but Russian differs from other languages because this XP can be any argument (not just a Nominative subject or a Locative PP). Thus, Generalized Inversion involves two steps: a non-Nominative XP goes to

the [Spec, IP] and satisfies the EPP, and the verb raises to I^0 over the subject (unlike in the canonical SVO sentences where it goes only as far as v^0). Let me illustrate this framework by looking at two examples, an OVS sentence and an OSV sentence, like the ones in (5):

- (5) a. Kašu s"el Petja.
 porridge(ACC) ate Peter(NOM)
 ‘The porridge was eaten by Peter.’
- b. Kašu Petja s"el.
 porridge(ACC) Peter(NOM) ate
 ‘As for the porridge, Peter ate it.’

According to Bailyn, the objects in (5a) and (5b) are in different positions. In (5a), the object is in the [Spec; IP], an A position. Bailyn does not specify what position the object occupies in (5b), but it is a higher A' position targeted by topicalization. The verbs are not in the same position either: in (5a), the verb moves to I^0 over the subject, while in (5b), it is in v^0 . Finally, the subjects are also in different positions, *in situ* in (5a) and in the [Spec; IP] in (5b). Consequently, to validate the theory empirically, A vs. A' distinctions between the objects should be confirmed and evidence for verb movement in (5a) and its absence in (5b) should be found.

In his papers, Bailyn concentrates on the former argument, providing numerous examples with different binding patterns and weak crossover effects. As for the latter, he claims that the matter cannot be resolved empirically in Russian. Adverb placement tests for verb movement “are mostly indecisive, and speaker intuition provides a confusing picture of slight preferences but little pure ungrammaticality” (Bailyn 2004, p. 6). I discussed Bailyn’s scrambling model in a previous paper (Slioussar 2005), where I argued at length that the assumed A vs. A' distinctions disappear when a wider range of data is taken into account. I also analyzed the discourse effects of Bailyn’s two types of movement and did not find any difference between them. Thus, the objects in (5a) and (5b) are both interpreted as topics. In addition, I mentioned the lack of evidence for verb movement in Russian, but did not go into any details. I will return to this question in the present paper and will try to prove that the Russian verb is in v^0 both in (5a) and (5b), because it is crucial for the EPP problem.

Before I introduce another piece of evidence that I will examine in this paper I should note that Generalized Inversion is not the only means to derive postverbal subjects in Bailyn’s model – some sentences are assumed to involve right-dislocation. Postverbal subjects that result from Generalized Inversion are argued to be vP -internal. Consequently, other vP -internal constituents that remain *in situ* should be able to follow them. The examples in (2) demonstrate that this is indeed the case for vP -internal subjects in Greek. It is also true for the sentences with

unaccusative verbs in English, where the Nominative DP remains vP -internal in the object position, as in example (4). Unfortunately, Bailyn does not discuss any analogous grammatical examples from Russian. The only relevant example (Bailyn 2003a, n. 18b) is ungrammatical, either due to a binding theory violation, or to other problems indicated in (Slioussar 2005, p. 91).

As we will see below, in the overwhelming majority of cases no vP -internal constituents follow postverbal subjects in Russian: they are sentence-final. Unlike inverted subjects, right-dislocated ones are expected to be sentence-final. Let me put the objections against right-dislocation *per se* aside for the moment. If postverbal subjects are believed to be right-dislocated, now we may expect that vP -internal constituents will regularly *intervene* between the verb and the subject. However, this is again not the case in Russian: almost all postverbal subjects immediately follow the verb. I would like to stress that this distribution of postverbal subjects cannot be used to refute Bailyn's theory. However, the theory has no means to explain it, leaving it as a coincidence.

3 Corpus materials

In this paper, I rely on two sources of data apart from native speaker judgments. First, Russian word order was extensively studied by linguists working in the Prague school tradition (Sirotinina 1965; Kovtunova 1976; Shvedova 1980, among others). I will mainly refer to the work by Sirotinina (1965) who conducted major corpus studies of written and colloquial Russian. Second, I will draw data from my own corpus research. The projects mentioned in this paper were done in collaboration with two students of St. Petersburg State University, Tatiana Maljavko and Ekaterina Ershova. Afterwards, Pavel Slioussar helped to eliminate mistakes. The corpus that we worked with was created at the Department of Computational Linguistics of St. Petersburg State University. It is called *Bokrjonok* (a nonsense word famous in Russian linguistics) and contains over 21 million words. The corpus mainly contains periodical press (about 60%), but also some fiction (about 20%), scientific monographs (about 10%) and other genres. All texts were written between 1985 and 2004.

3.1 Verb movement

Although John Bailyn claims that adverb placement tests for verb movement are indecisive in Russian, both corpus data and native speaker judgments that I collected appear to give a clear picture. Let me turn to Sirotinina's (1965) corpus study first. Sirotinina discusses the placement of different modifiers (of time, place, cause etc.) with respect to the verb. According to her data, adverbial modifiers of

comparison. The results are presented in Table 2.

	Adv V		V Adv		Total
	N	Percentage	N	Percentage	
<i>xorošo</i> ('well')	1368	99,8%	3	0,2%	1371
<i>medlenno</i> ('slowly')	564	99,5%	3	0,5%	567
<i>polnost'ju</i> ('completely')	796	97,1%	24	2,9%	820

Table 2: Positions of different adverbs with respect to the verb

The overall results fully confirm the generalizations presented above. However, several exceptions were found. Importantly, there are more exceptions with *polnost'ju* ('completely') than with *xorošo* ('well') and *medlenno* ('slowly'). In Cinque's (1999) universal hierarchy, *completely* is lower than *well* and *slowly* (to be precise, there are two types of *completely* in Cinque's hierarchy, but Russian *polnost'ju* appears to be the lower one, thus being the lowest adverb in the hierarchy). In most exceptional cases (19 out of 30), postverbal adverbs are followed by an object, as in (7a). There are also several sentences with argument PPs, temporal and locative PP modifiers. In this corpus study, we found only two examples where a postverbal adverb was followed by a subject. One of them is given in (7b). In the other 267 sentences with postverbal subjects the adverb was above the verb and the subject immediately followed it, as in (6b).

- (7) a. (Esli vy polnost'ju doverjaete rebenku) i znaete xorošo
and know(2PERS.PL) well
ego družej, sverstnikov i staršix,
[his friends](ACC) [of-the-same-age and older](ACC)
'(If you trust your child) and know his friends, both of the same age and
older, well enough (it will not hurt to check...)'.
- b. ... no ego faktičeski perepisali polnost'ju
but it(ACC) practically rewrote completely
brat'ja Strugackie, sdelač perevod.
[brothers Strugatsky](NOM) having made translation(ACC)
'... but it (a book) was practically completely rewritten by the Strugatsky
brothers when they translated it.'

Although most linguists accept the validity of adverb placement tests for verb movement, there is no general agreement on what place the adverbs occupy in the syntactic tree: whether they are adjuncts, or specifiers of functional projections etc. (Cinque 1999, Ernst 2001, Nilsen 2003, among others). The position of the lowest

completely provokes additional questions (e.g. Nilsen 2003). For this reason I will not present any speculations on where the verb is when it is just above *polnost'ju*. I only wanted to point to these cases as the sole evidence for any verb raising that I could find. The example in (8), taken from *The Naulahka, a story of West and East* by Rudyard Kipling and Wolcott Balestier, shows that similar exceptions can also be found in English (their acceptability depends on many factors, like in Russian: the heaviness and the discourse status of the object, on the type of the adverb etc.).

(8) The fire ate slowly the crown of the dam.

Taking this into account, I can conclude that the verb is in v^0 in Russian, although some highly infrequent exceptions might exist. This conclusion is valid for the sentences with both preverbal and postverbal subjects. Consequently, Russian cannot belong to the Greek and Spanish group in Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou's typology. The fact that only two sentences with a postverbal subject out of 269 might exhibit verb raising undermines Bailyn's Generalized Inversion.

3.2 Postverbal subjects

Postverbal subjects are not very frequent in Russian. Sirotinina (1965) provides the percentages of 'direct' and 'inverted' word orders calculated for different parts of several belles-lettres and scientific texts (p. 99-100). Thus, Tolstoy's *War and Peace* has 70-84% of direct orders, P.F. Zdorovsky's monograph *Problems of infections and immunity* has 78-84% etc. Sirotinina's materials indicate that almost all postverbal subjects are focused (the exceptions are special constructions with verb raising). Therefore, in those parts of texts where a lot of new objects, sights and people are described, the inverted word order might prevail (like in the beginning of *The steppe* by Chekhov). In colloquial Russian, the inverted word order is even more rare: about 7% of sentences in Sirotinina's records (p. 103).

In our own corpus study, we investigated constructions with postverbal subjects more closely. We wanted to see whether any constituents intervene between the verb and the subject and whether any constituents follow the subject. Unfortunately, we had the following problem with making corpus samples. The *Bokrjonok* corpus has grammatical tags, but the tagging was done automatically and the disambiguation is still in progress. Nominative forms of Russian inanimate nouns coincide with Accusative forms in all declensions in Plural and in two out of three declensions in Singular. Since postverbal Accusatives are dramatically more frequent than postverbal Nominatives, we decided to limit the samples to unambiguous cases. Analyzing only animate nouns could bias the results in an unpredictable way, so we decided to restrict ourselves to Singular forms of the 1st declension instead. This declension is highly frequent and contains most Feminine

gender nouns with no bias towards animate or inanimate ones, so we believe that the resulting samples are representative. The results are summarized in Table 3.

	N of cases	Percentage
XP V S	382	76,4%
V S	78	15,6%
XP V XP S	16	3,2%
V XP S	4	0,8%
XP V S XP	9	1,8%
V S XP	11	2,2%
(XP) V XP S XP	0	0%
Total	500	100%

Table 3: Types of constructions with postverbal subjects and their frequency

The results indicate that when the subject is postverbal in Russian, it directly follows the verb and is sentence-final in the absolute majority of sentences (92%: 382 ‘XP V S’ cases and 78 ‘V S’ cases). Out of 78 ‘V S’ sentences, 8 were special constructions with obligatory verb raising, while in the other 70 the Nominative DP was generated *internally* (the notion of unaccusativity is controversial and problematic in Russian, so I will avoid this term and will only indicate whether the Nominative argument is internal or external). The same is true for the 20 sentences where some constituent follows the postverbal subject: 12 of them contain internal Nominative arguments (an example is given in (9)), and the other 8 are constructions with obligatory verb-raising. As I demonstrated by the example in (4), the same picture can be found in English, except for the presence of an overt expletive. As for those cases where a constituent intervenes between the verb and the postverbal subject, in some of them the verb and this constituent form a set expression, and in the others this constituent is a reflexive (a form of *sebja*) or a part of the predicate (an infinitive, an adjective).

- (9) Inogda razvivaetsja polnaja gluxota
 sometimes develops [complete deafness](NOM)
 v tečenie neskol'kix dnej ili daže časov.
 in several days or even hours
 ‘Sometimes there develops a complete deafness in several days or even hours.’

I can conclude that Russian postverbal subjects of transitive verbs exhibit a distribution pattern that is different from the Greek and Spanish group in Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou’s typology and that cannot be predicted by Bailyn’s theory.

Let me analyze this phenomenon in more detail. Simplifying the picture a little bit, I can say that in Spanish and Greek the subjects are preverbal when they are topical and postverbal when they are part of focus or backgrounded (Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 1998; Costa 2000, among others). Our data indicate that in Russian, the postverbal subjects of transitive verbs are necessarily in narrow focus (i.e. they are the only focused constituents in the sentence). All other subjects, even if they make part of a wide focus, are preverbal. Thus, new subjects (including nonspecific ones, as in (10)) can precede the verb. The same is true for the subjects of unergative verbs. There were no ‘V S’ sentences with unergative verbs in our corpus – both when the subject is topical and when it is new these constructions have ‘S V’ word order (although ‘V S’ order is possible under certain conditions).

- (10) Kakoj-nibud' očen' ser'eznyj turist-inostranec objazatel'no podaet
 [Some very serious foreign tourist](NOM) necessarily gives
 v mestnyj sud žalobu...
 to the local court [complaint](ACC)
 ‘A very serious foreign tourist always lodges a complaint to the local
 court’... (the text discusses what usually happens during the Carnival in
 Germany)

Internal Nominative arguments exhibit a different pattern. They are preverbal only when they are topical, otherwise they follow the verb. There were 70 ‘V S’ sentences with such DPs in our corpus, and many cases from the ‘XP V S’ group also contained them. In 12 sentences, some VP-internal constituent followed the postverbal Nominative DP. Therefore only for the internal Nominative arguments (i.e. underlying objects) do we have clear evidence of the v P-internal position – these constructions resemble Greek sentences in (2a-b) and the English sentence with unaccusative verb in (4). Externally generated postverbal subjects in Russian appear to be different – their distribution still needs to be explained.

4 The Russian EPP

Building on the data discussed in the previous section I propose a new understanding of the Russian EPP and a new derivation for Russian postverbal subjects. I believe that Russian patterns with English in Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou’s typology rather than with Spanish and Greek. I have already noted several similarities between these two apparently different languages. English is the only language in Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou’s study where the verb does not move further than v^0 (Mainland Scandinavian languages that are in the same group are verb second). In the subsection 3.1 I demonstrated that the Russian verb also normally remains in v^0 . Two groups of languages in the typology

allow for vP -internal postverbal subjects: Spanish and Greek (with all types of verbs) and English (only with unaccusatives). In the subsection 3.2 I tried to show that only internally generated postverbal Nominative arguments display the properties characteristic of vP -internal constituents in Russian.

If I suggest that Russian resembles English with respect to the EPP satisfaction, I will have to conclude that the subjects of transitive verbs always raise in Russian. As I noted in the previous section, they are always preverbal except for those cases when they are in narrow focus. These postverbal subjects are the only ones that appear not to raise. I might note that, from a discourse perspective, they bear some resemblance to sentence-final adverbs: the adverbs also appear at the end of the sentence only when they are in narrow focus (and not just a part of a wide focus). In the frameworks that do not allow for right-adjunction and take adverb hierarchy seriously (Cinque 1999; Nilsen 2003, among others) sentence-final adverbs are derived by moving the lower chunk of syntactic structure around them. Inspired by these derivations, I propose that Russian subjects of transitive verbs always raise for EPP reasons, like in English, but can be subsequently crossed by a lower chunk of syntactic structure when in narrow focus (an instance of discourse-related movement, independent from the EPP).

This proposal allows us to account for the data presented in the previous section, to find a proper place for Russian in Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou's EPP typology and to resolve the syntactic paradox that I pointed to in the introduction (how the verb surfaces to the left of the subject if none of them leave the vP). Now let me illustrate how the derivation proceeds. I will take the 'DO Adv V S' sentence in (6b) as an example. I will refrain from using Top and Foc projections in the syntactic tree, because I am in favor of configurational interpretation of discourse notions (as it is suggested by Neeleman and Reinhart (1998), among others). Thus, discourse-related movement will target multiple specifiers in the C domain and the resulting configurations will be interpreted at the syntax-discourse interface, as it is illustrated below. This approach is compatible with Chomsky's most recent (2005) work. Since I cannot afford to get into a debate about the syntactic nature of adverbs and do not find it possible to ignore it, I will indicate the projection whose specifier the adverb occupies as ZP (it might be a vP , an AdvP or a functional projection in the cartographic hierarchy, depending on the framework). The derivation is shown in Figure 1.

I do not show the VP stage of the derivation in Figure 1, and the vP stage is fairly standard: the verb moves to v^0 , the subject is merged as its first specifier and the direct object that is going to be topicalized moves to the second specifier. Then adverbs and functional heads are merged – the part of the tree that I do not expand on here. When the T head is merged it attracts the subject to its specifier to satisfy the EPP. This is the part of the derivation where Russian and English coincide, with the absence of V-to-T movement and obligatory subject raising being crucial for their place in the EPP typology. The following two movements, shown on

Figure 1 as step 1 and 2, are instances of discourse-related scrambling. First, the piece of structure below the subject, which contains ‘...Adv...DO...V...’ sequence at that point, moves to the [Spec; CP]. As a result the subject becomes the most embedded constituent in the sentence, receives the main sentential stress and is interpreted as focused at the interface, while the other constituents scope above it. Then the object is attracted to a higher specifier in the C domain. Although the object is inside a moved constituent, it is at the edge of the phase and therefore is still visible for computation (like in many recent works, I do not assume freezing). The interpretation of this step at the interface is that the object is topical and all other constituents scope below it. This is the part of the tree where English and Russian are different: discourse-related movement is more restricted in English.

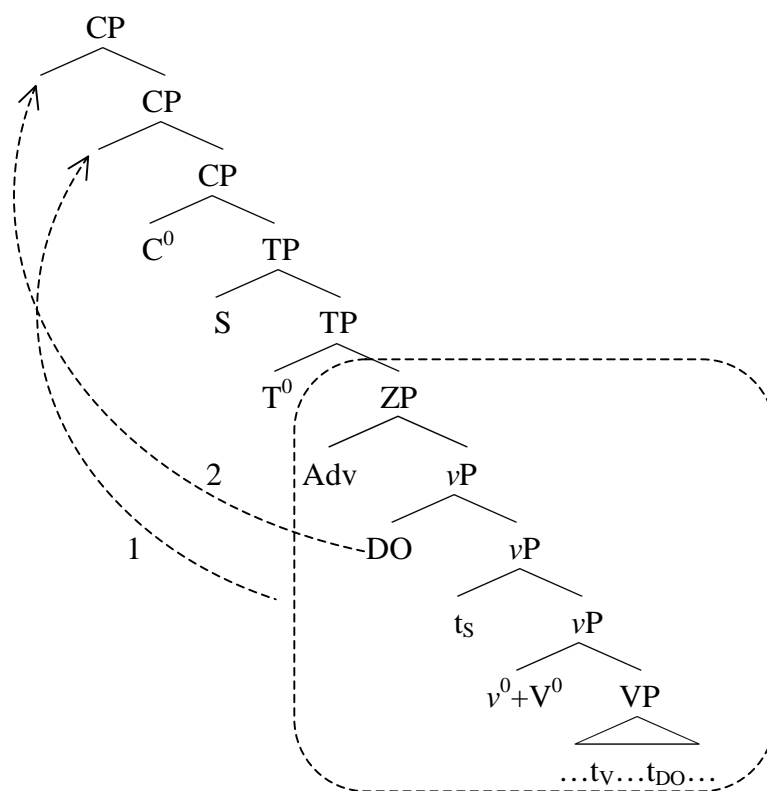


Figure 1: Derivation of a ‘DO Adv V S’ sentence

The last unresolved problem is the lack of overt expletives in Russian. In the sentences with unaccusative verbs, the EPP is satisfied by the Nominative DP if this DP, an underlying object, raises (and is interpreted as a topic). But how is the EPP satisfied when this DP remains *in situ*, like in (9)? There are also numerous verbs in Russian that do not have a Nominative argument: weather verbs with no overt arguments, like in (11), health verbs and other verbs with a sole Accusative

argument, like in (12a-b) etc.

- (11) Temneet.
gets darker
'It is getting darker'.
- (12) a. Uši založilo.
ears(ACC) clogged
'[My] ears got clogged'.
- b. Založilo uši.
clogged ears(ACC)
'[My] ears got clogged'.

In English, the EPP is satisfied by an expletive in similar cases. I believe that Russian also has expletives, but they are covert. EPP-independent arguments in favor of covert expletives in Russian are most famously developed in Perlmutter and Moore (2002). These authors also discuss several examples of covert expletives crosslinguistically and show that their (potential) absence in some languages, like Greek or Irish, does not entail that they are universally non-existent. Now let me turn to the EPP-related arguments. The data presented in the third section demonstrate that Russian has no verb raising and consequently the EPP is satisfied by an XP in Russian. If we assume that the EPP universally holds in this language, it is *inevitable* to postulate a covert expletive at least in the sentences like (11) or (12b), where no argument precedes the verb. Bailyn's EPP model can provide an expletive-free account for the sentences like (12a) or (9), suggesting that the EPP is satisfied by the object and the PP in these cases. However, postulating a covert expletive in these sentences as well seems to be more elegant because fronted constituents exhibit no subject properties, while the postverbal Nominative DP in (9) is a proper subject (with respect to agreement, binding etc.). Bailyn (2003a, 2003b, 2004) argues that certain non-Nominative DPs have the same binding properties as the subject, but I tried to show that his arguments are very problematic in Slioussar (2005). In any case, there are problematic EPP-related phenomena in many languages including English (e.g. the famous Locative Inversion), so I will leave the question of Russian expletives for further research.

5 Conclusions

In this paper, I examined the nature of the EPP in Russian. Russian apparently allows for low postverbal subjects with transitive verbs and has no overt expletives, so, as in many other languages, the question arises how the EPP is satisfied. I

presented two explanations that were put forward in the literature for this or similar phenomena: Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou's EPP typology (1998) and Bailyn's (2003a, 2003b, 2004) theory of the Russian EPP. In the EPP typology, there is only one group of languages that allow for low postverbal subjects with transitive verbs – the Greek and Spanish group. The authors argue that the EPP is satisfied by move/merge X^0 , namely by verb raising in these languages because their verbal agreement morphology contains the necessary feature. Bailyn suggests that in Russian, the EPP is satisfied by move/merge XP, but this XP can be any argument and not just a Nominative subject or a Locative PP. When a non-Nominative XP is argued to satisfy the EPP Bailyn postulates verb raising and claims that the subject remains *in situ*. Relying on several corpus studies, I tried to show that both explanations are incompatible with linguistic data. First, adverb placement tests indicate that normally the verb does not move further than v^0 in Russian, and the sentences with postverbal subjects are no exception. Second, Russian postverbal subjects of transitive verbs have a different distribution than Greek and Spanish *in situ* subjects (e.g. no vP -internal material can follow them). Only for postverbal arguments of unaccusative verbs is there a clear evidence of *in situ* position.

To account for these generalizations I suggested that Russian patterns with English rather than with Spanish and Greek in Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou's typology. English is the only language in this study where the verb does not move further than v^0 . Two groups of languages allow for vP -internal postverbal subjects: Spanish and Greek (with all types of verbs) and English (only with unaccusatives). Russian appears to have *in situ* subjects only with unaccusative verbs. Thus I concluded that Russian subjects of transitive verbs always raise, like in English. When they surface below the verb, they are subsequently crossed by a bigger constituent containing the verb and potentially adverbs. Similar derivations were proposed for sentence-final narrow-focused adverbs. Russian postverbal subjects of transitive verbs resemble such adverbs in being obligatorily narrow-focused and sentence-final (unlike Greek and Spanish subjects which can be followed by vP -internal material and can be a part of wide focus or backgrounded information). At the end of the paper, I presented some speculations concerning the lack of overt expletives in Russian. I conjectured that expletives exist in Russian, but are covert, leaving a detailed discussion of this problem for further research. Let me conclude with a casual remark. In Russia, where the generative framework is not widely accepted, its opponents often claim that generativists try to turn every language into English, although many of them are so dissimilar to it, like Russian. I find it noteworthy and amusing that even when carried to such an extreme, this framework might be useful to explain some Russian data.

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