
WHAT'S IN A NOMINATIVE?

IMPLICATIONS OF RUSSIAN NON-NOMINATIVE SUBJECTS FOR A
CROSSLINGUISTIC APPROACH TO SUBJECTHOOD

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Abstract

This thesis investigates Russian non-Nominative Subjects to arrive at a new understanding of the universal primitives of subjecthood. The obligatory movement of non-Nominative elements to preverbal position has often been cited as evidence in support of the Extended Projection Principle (EPP). I challenge the standard analysis of obligatory Subjects in Russian and show that a purely structural EPP requirement cannot account for the unique behavior and interpretation of constituents in immediately preverbal position. Adopting recent developments in syntactic theory, I propose that Russian Subjects should be analyzed by analogy to Korean Major Subjects; they fulfill a discourse ‘aboutness’ function and are distinct from grammatical Subjects. I posit that Russian preverbal elements occupy the Specifier of MSubjP, a Subject projection above the IP domain. This analysis arrives at a Major-Subject typology that explains crosslinguistic variation with respect to Subject movement and agreement. Incorporating the effect of thematic hierarchy on both movement and agreement, I conclude that the notion of subjecthood is a reflex of three basic types of Subjects: Major, Grammatical, and Thematic.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

In traditional grammar, the notion of subjecthood is simple. When presented with the following sentence, few English speakers will hesitate to name ‘Dimitri’ as the Subject:

- (1) Dimitri eats chocolate eclairs.

The seemingly intuitive concept, however, remains one of the most elusive notions in modern syntactic theory. The classic definition dates back to Aristotle, who defines the Subject of a sentence as one of its two elements; in particular, it is the element about which the predicate asserts or denies something. Contemporary English dictionaries and grammars more or less adopt this approach with slight modifications; in addition to defining a Subject in terms of a predicate, the Oxford English Dictionary states that the Subject must be in Nominative Case in the presence of a finite verb. Strunk and White’s authoritative *Elements of Style* devotes a whole section to Subject-verb number agreement.

Each these characteristics is clearly expressed by ‘Dimitri’ in (1). The predicate ‘eats chocolate eclairs’ asserts that the individual ‘Dimitri’ has the property of ‘eat chocolate eclairs.’ The verb ‘eat’ carries a third person singular ending in agreement with ‘Dimitri’ (as opposed to ‘chocolate eclairs’). Moreover, it becomes clear that ‘Dimitri’ is assigned Nominative Case, when a pronoun replaces the name.

(2) He eats chocolate eclairs.

(3) *Him eats chocolate eclairs.

An Aristotelian approach to subjecthood, however, is inadequate to explain the following pattern:

(4) (a) It is raining.

(b) *Is raining.

(5) (a) There are angry bees in the room.

(b) *Are angry bees in the room.

Although in the verb in (4a) agrees with the expletive pronoun *it*, the predicate is hardly an assertion about its Subject. In (5a) the noun triggering subject-verb agreement follows the verb, and the expletive pronoun *there* is inserted in preverbal position. The pronoun does not carry independent meaning, so, similarly to (4a), the sentence cannot be construed as asserting something about the expletive. Since the verb agrees with the predicate-internal noun, agreement cannot explain the mandatory presence of *there* in preverbal position. When the expletives are removed in examples (4-5b), however, the sentences become unacceptable.

This observation about English expletive pronouns prompted a purely structural definition of subjecthood, separate from agreement, Case, or interpretation. Chomsky (1982) introduced the Extended Projection Principle (EPP), which requires that ‘all clauses have Subjects.’ The EPP was intended to supplement the Projection Principle, which states that all Thematic requirements of a verb (i.e. the number and type of arguments a verb selects) must be satisfied at each syntactic level; the EPP was able to explain the presence of an expletive pronoun in the absence of a Thematic requirement in a predicate, as in (4). The EPP was considered universal; languages differed only with respect to whether null elements could ever fulfill the requirement.

Other proposals have also argued for a purely structural Subject requirement. Perlmutter (1971) was, in fact, the first to suggest that sentences without Subjects are ungrammatical. Rothstein (1983, 2001) argues that predicates are best analyzed as open functions that need to be syntactically saturated by a Subject. More recent developments in syntactic theory proposed that the EPP is an uninterpretable feature, similar to Case or agreement, which must be checked throughout the derivation. Like other strong features, the EPP must be checked through a Spec-Head relationship and, therefore, triggers overt movement to SpecIP (Chomsky 1995). Later adaptations of the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 2000, 2001) distinguish between the EPP feature and regular ϕ -features, which drive agreement and Case assignment. Uninterpretable ϕ -features are eliminated through the operation Agree, which does not involve movement. The EPP feature, on the other hand, is the requirement of a functional projection (CP, IP, v P) to have an overt specifier; the Subject of a sentence fulfills the EPP requirement of the IP projection. The implicit prediction is that a language without an available expletive may only fulfill the EPP through the raising of an internal argument.

All of these approaches have established the Specifier of IP as the canonical Subject position. SpecIP, however, is also the position associated with uninterpretable ϕ -features, which drive Case assignment and agreement. Since Nominative Case is assigned in SpecIP (triggering agreement on the verb), many have claimed that the EPP is redundant (Lasnik 1988, Martin 1999, among others). Another criticism of the EPP is that it lacks explanatory power; in some ways it is simply a restatement of the original problem, accounting for obligatory movement to preverbal position by a requirement for an overtly-filled preverbal position.

The EPP was formulated largely to explain English data, and much of the subsequent theoretical literature on subjecthood has focused on English. Creating a cross-linguistic account has proved more difficult because a universal definition of

subjecthood runs the risk of being too vague and lacking predictive power. One of the first attempts to define Subjecthood cross-linguistically lists approximately thirty properties of subjects, including anaphor binding and definiteness (Keenan 1976). Keenan admits, however, that no specific combination of properties can be both necessary and sufficient for a subject. Universally, whichever element in a given sentence has most of the enumerated properties can be said to be the Subject. Although most agree that subjecthood is not a primitive notion, the notion should be composed of other primitives. Therefore while Keenan's descriptive approach has informed countless future investigations of subjects, it has failed to establish the primitives that define subjecthood, perhaps because the characteristics he observes are too specific.

Part of the difficulty in defining subjecthood crosslinguistically is precisely in the disparity of the characteristics displayed by subjects in different languages. In *Predicates and their Subjects*, Rothstein (2001) uses almost exclusively English data for her analysis. Her main motivation is that the same principles can be expressed very differently in different languages, making it difficult to draw generalizations because the underlying mechanisms are concealed. The interaction between a variety of factors may obscure the operation of separate primitive forces. It would be difficult, for example, to study the importance of agreement to subjecthood in a language that does not have agreement. Therefore, before making crosslinguistic comparisons it is important to understand the interaction between various primitives within a specific language.

This thesis investigates the primitives of subjecthood through the lens of Russian non-Nominative Subjects. Russian is central to the EPP debate because it combines a relatively free word order with a strict requirement for an element in directly preverbal position. Russian does not employ overt expletives, but it does require non-Nominative 'Subjects,' which do not trigger agreement, to move to preverbal position. In contrast to English, the element that triggers Subject-verb agreement often

occurs postverbally. The interpretation of the preverbal non-Nominative Subject is unmarked and differs from that of a regular Topic position. As a result, Russian is ideal for separating the interpretation of subjects from the effects of Case and agreement on the one hand, and the EPP position on the other. Drawing a parallel between such disparate non-Nominative-Subject constructions will allow for a more unified understanding of Russian subjecthood. The work is organized as follows:

Chapter 2 of this thesis provides an overview of the rich variation in Russian non-Nominative subjects. The construction is most common with unaccusative predicates, but there are several exceptions in the form of transitive inversion and third person plural impersonal predicates. The goal of the chapter is to categorize systematically the movement of a non-Nominative element to preverbal position with respect to agreement, Case, and interpretation. Chapter 3 contains a language-internal analysis of the data in Chapter 2, based on previous accounts of Russian subjects developed by Lavine (2000) and Bailyn (2004). I will contrast the EPP-analysis with a different, discourse-driven approach, developed by King (1995). I will demonstrate that Russian is not a convincing argument neither for the EPP nor for Topic movement because non-Nominative Subjects, in fact, behave as though they were between the IP and CP domains. I argue that the Subject position is unique because it is both obligatory and discourse-related.

Chapter 4 places Russian in the context of the cross-linguistic subjecthood literature. I adopt Yoon's (2004) analysis of Korean Major (discourse) Subjects and Rizzi's (2004) proposal for a Subject Criterion, in order to explain the behavior of Russian non-Nominative Subjects. Following Rizzi, I propose that the projection associated with a Subject requirement is not SpecIP, but a separate Subject projection, MSubjP, between the IP (feature-checking) and CP (discourse-movement) domains. I analyze Russian by analogy to Korean and propose that Russian has a requirement for preverbal Major Subjects, the Major-Subject Criterion. Grammatical Subjects,

under my analysis, are separate from Major Subjects and can check their ϕ -features in situ. This theory argues that Russian obligatory Subject raising is independent from Case and agreement, but related to a referential interpretation.

Chapter 5 extends the analysis developed for Russian in chapter 4 and proposes a crosslinguistic Major-Subject typology. I demonstrate that languages vary along three parameters: First, the MSubjP is optionally combined with the Grammatical Subject projection (AgrP). When a language has two Subject projections, it may either require Major Subjects, like Russian, or have optional Major Subjects, like Korean. When Grammatical- and Major-Subject features are realized on the same projection, parametric variation determines whether that projection is in the IP domain (English) or higher, in MSubjP (Kinande).

I end this thesis by demonstrating that a third type of Subject completes the set of subjecthood ‘building blocks.’ The interaction between the three basic types of Subjects—Thematic, Grammatical, Major—makes ‘subjecthood’ a viable notion for speakers and linguists alike.

Chapter 2

Overview of Russian Non-Nominative Subjects

2.1 Introduction

The prototypical Russian Subject is similar to its English counterpart: it occurs in preverbal position, receives an Agent Thematic role and Nominative Case, and triggers agreement on the verb.¹

- (6) *Sasha* *ispekla* *shokoladnyj tort*
Sasha.NOM.FEM baked.SG.FEM chocolate cake.ACC.MASC
'Sasha baked a chocolate cake.'

Unlike English, however, Russian provides the opportunity to examine separately the individual characteristics of a prototypical Subject. Russian is considered a free-word-order language, but it nevertheless appears to require an overt element in preverbal position. While in English this element is almost always be a Nominative NP, Russian allows for more freedom with respect to constituents in canonical Subject position.

An investigation of Russian non-Nominative Subjects can compare whether Subject-like behavior is triggered by Nominative Case and Subject-verb agreement or place-

¹All examples are in Russian unless otherwise marked

ment in immediately preverbal position.² The purpose of this chapter is to provide an exhaustive survey of Russian non-Nominative Subjects, which will fuel the subsequent analysis in Chapters 2 and 3. While many prior studies of Russian non-Nominative Subjects have focused on a single construction (Babyonyshev 1996, Lavine 2000), a complete inventory of non-Nominative Subjects is critical for an analysis of subjecthood in Russian.

Section 2.2 examines the precise nature of the Subject requirement in Russian. The second part of this chapter contains an inventory of non-Nominative Subjects, grouped into three categories: non-agreeing predicates, impersonals, and inversion constructions.³

2.2 Russian as a non-Null-Subject Language

The EPP was originally assumed to be universal, and the pro-drop, or null-Subject, parameter was introduced to account for the grammaticality of null-Subject pronouns in languages like Italian (Chomsky 1982, Rizzi 1982, Rizzi 1986, among others). Italian, Spanish, and Greek are null-Subject languages, since the use of overt Subject pronouns in these languages is necessarily emphatic. By contrast non-null-Subject languages, including English and French, always require an overt Subject and employ overt expletives when no thematic Subject is available. Early theories observe that the null-Subject parameter correlates with free Subject-verb inversion, a lack of overt

²‘Non-Nominative Subject’ is the standard term used to refer to non-Nominative elements occupying—at least superficially—the canonical Subject position. Although a definition of subjecthood is the eventual goal of this thesis, at present I adopt the term ‘non-Nominative Subject’ for the sake of consistency with the literature.

³This chapter addresses only non-Nominative Subjects of finite verbs. Infinitives in Russian require Dative Subjects, but Perlmutter and Moore (2002) argue that the Subjects of infinitives are inherently different from Dative Subjects of finite verbs.

- (i) *Ja ne znayu, chto mne delat.*
 I.NOM NEG know what I.DAT do.INF
 ‘I don’t know what to do.’

expletives, and the absence of Subject-object extraction asymmetries (Rizzi 1982).

The possibility of null-Subject pronouns corresponds in part to rich agreement morphology. Languages where the person and number of the null subject pronoun can be determined from the inflection on the verb are more likely to allow null Subjects than those with an impoverished Subject-verb agreement paradigm. Although the correlation holds for many languages, it is unclear exactly how much agreement morphology is necessary to license null Subjects. Moreover, there are countless exceptions to this generalization, one of the most dramatic being Chinese, which lacks Subject-verb agreement altogether but nevertheless allows null-Subject pronouns.

Russian is another exception to the correlation between morphology and null Subjects because it has relatively rich verbal inflection but requires overt Subject pronouns (7a), unlike Polish (7b) or Serbian (7c). Polish and Serbian, however, use a copula auxiliary with past-tense constructions, which inflects for both person and number. In Russian, on the other hand, the past participle agrees in gender and number with the Subject, but does not inflect for person. The marginally richer morphology in Polish and Serbian may account for the null-Subject status of West- and South-Slavic languages (Franks 1995).

Franks (1995)

- (7) (a) **(My) čitali knigu.*
 we read.PAST.PL book.ACC
 ‘We read the book.’
- (b) e *Czytaly-smy książkę.*
 e read.PAST.PL.AUX.1PL book.ACC
- (c) e *Čitali-smo knjigu*
 e read.PAST.PL.AUX.1PL book.ACC

Russian, therefore, has been traditionally analyzed as a non-null-Subject language, but it would be more accurate to characterize it as a partial null-Subject language. The requirement for an overt Subject in Russian can be best described as a strict

restriction on verb-initial sentences. With few exceptions, the only acceptable use of verb-first constructions is in a story-telling context. Such constructions often occur at the beginnings of jokes or narratives. Occasionally, entire stories are told using verb-first sentences, resulting in an exaggerated story-telling tone.

- (8) (a) *Sobralis' kak-to tri kollegi...*
 Got-together.3PL once three colleagues.NOM
 'Once three colleagues got together...'
- (b) *Zhili-byli ded i baba. I byla u nix kurochka*
 lived-was old-man and old-woman and was to them hen
rjaba. Snesla kurochka jaichko.
 speckled lay hen egg
 'There once lived an old man and an old woman. And they had a speckled hen. The hen laid an egg.'

This Russian construction is similar to a subset of German verb-first constructions. German, like English, is a non-null-Subject language and uses overt expletives in clauses without thematic Subjects, including weather predicates. Like Russian, however, it allows verb-first inversion constructions in narrative contexts.

German

- (9) *Gehen zwei Kanibalen-Männer auf einen Berg...*
 Walk two cannibals up a mountain
 'Two cannibals are walking up a mountain'

As in German, the Russian verb-first narrative construction is very marked, and its interpretation is unmistakable.⁴An exception to the general restriction against

⁴ The constructions discussed in this chapter involve neutral intonation. Intonational emphasis on the final element of a sentence produces a narrow, contrastive focus reading on that element. A verb-initial sentence is possible when the speaker contrastively focuses the element that usually occurs in preverbal position, such as the Subject of a transitive verb. Note that this word order is different from a narrative word order, where the Subject appears postverbally in front of the direct object.

- (i) *Kupil knigu Petja.*
 bought book.ACC Petja.NOM
 'PETJA (and not Masha) bought a book.'

verb-initial sentences is discourse-bound pro-drop. While most languages allow some form of pro-drop (e.g. English imperatives), null Subjects are significantly more common in Russian than they are in English. Franks (1995) analyzes Russian pro-drop as discourse-motivated, proposing that null Subjects agree with the discourse Topic. Although he does not propose an exact formula, Franks presents grammatical examples of discourse-bound first- and third-person null-Subject pronouns.

Adapted from Franks (1995)

- (10) (a) *Ivan думает, что я/е пойдю.*
 Ivan thinks that I/e will-come
 ‘Ivan thinks that I will come’
- (b) *Я не пойдю, но Иван думает, что я/е пойдю.*
 I not will-come, but Ivan thinks that I/e will-come
 ‘I am not coming, but Ivan thinks that I will come.’
- (11) (a) *В комнате вошел Иван. Он/е сказал “Рад вас видеть.”*
 in room entered Ivan he/e said glad you see
 ‘Ivan entered the room. He said “Glad to see you.”’
- (b) *В комнате вошел Иван. ‘Рад вас видеть,’ сказал он/е.*
 in room entered Ivan glad you see said he/e
 ‘Ivan entered the room. “Glad to see you,” he said.’

Although Franks does not provide an example of null, second-person Subject pronouns, they are also allowed in similar contexts.

- (12) *Ты не пойдешь, но Лиза думает, что ты/е пойдешь*
 You not will-come, but Liza thinks that you/e will-come
 ‘You are not coming, but Liza thinks that you are.’

Russian null Subjects, however, are restricted to discourse-bound contexts, unlike null-Subject pronouns in Italian or Spanish.

-
- (ii) *Купил Петя книгу.*
 bought Petja book
 ‘Once Petja bought a book.’

Russian differs from many non-null-Subject languages because it does not use overt expletives when a predicate lacks a Thematic Subject, as in (13).

- (13) *Vechereet.*
 approach-evening.3SG
 ‘It approaches evening-time.’

Predicates that select thematic arguments, however, adhere to the strict restriction on verb-first constructions. Section 2.3 examines the elements that may move to preverbal position to prevent a marked narrative interpretation.

2.3 Non-Agreeing and Impersonal Predicates

Nominative Case and agreement are always related in Russian: a Nominative NP must trigger agreement on the verb. In Russian, as well as in English, Nominative Case and agreement in Russian can be seen as a reflex of the same feature-checking relationship between the verb and one of its arguments. Non-agreeing constructions are only possible with predicates that lack external arguments because external arguments always receive Nominative Case. In a standard unaccusative construction, the internal argument surfaces bearing Nominative Case in preverbal position. In a non-agreeing predicate, however, an internal non-Nominative argument raises to preverbal position but does not trigger agreement on the verb. The verb carries the default non-Agreement suffix—third person singular neuter.⁵ Non-agreeing predicates with non-Nominative Subjects include adversity impersonals, Dative Experiencers, and Genitive-of-Negation constructions.

Non-agreeing predicates have often been incorrectly equated with impersonal constructions. Franks (1995) defines impersonal constructions as sentences without an

⁵When a sentence contains no overt element that triggers the third person singular suffix, I will gloss the morpheme as [-AGR]. When the suffix is a result of agreement with an overt element, I will use 3SG or SG to translate the morpheme.

overt Nominative Subject and thus without Subject-verb agreement. Weather predicates constitute a classic example of Russian impersonal constructions, because the verb lacks an argument that could trigger agreement.

- (14) *Letom pozdno temneet.*
 summer.INST late get-dark.3SG
 ‘It gets dark late in the summer.’

Instead of defining impersonals with respect to agreement, I adopt a semantic definition of impersonal constructions similar to the one D’Alessandro (2004) uses for her analysis of Italian impersonal *si*-constructions. According to D’Alessandro, the purpose of an impersonal construction is to remain vague about the precise identity of the Subject. The interpretation of the impersonal *si*-construction can be either generic, as in (15a), or existential, as in (15b).

D’Alessandro (2004), *Italian*

- (15) (a) *In quel ristorante si mangia bene.*
 in that restaurant si ate well
 ‘People used to eat well in that restaurant.’
- (b) *Mi si raccontata una storia falsa.*
 me.DAT si is told a story false
 ‘Somebody told me a false story.’

The weather predicate in (14) and the *si*-constructions in (15) represent two very different types of impersonal constructions, but what they have in common is that the volitional Agent remains unspecified or is absent altogether. An unspecified Agent gives the sentence a somewhat passive interpretation. Impersonal non-Nominative Subjects discussed in this chapter include adversity impersonals, Dative Experiencers, and third person plural impersonals.

2.3.1 Adversity Impersonals

Adversity-impersonal constructions occur with unaccusative predicates and describe—as their name suggests—adverse events without volitional Agents. The Theme of an unaccusative predicate receives Accusative Case in its original position and raises to a position immediately preceding the verb. The non-volitional Agent may appear in Instrumental Case.

- (16) *Aleshu udarilo molniej.*
 Alesha.ACC hit.SG.NEUT lightning.INST
 ‘Alesha was hit by lightning.’

Adversity impersonals have a passive interpretation, seen in the English gloss. In passive constructions, however, the Agent can surface as an adjunct, while the Instrumental NP of an adversity impersonal construction cannot be a potential volitional Agent (i.e. it cannot be animate).

- (17) (a) * *Aleshu ubilo vragom.*
 Alesha.ACC killed[-AGR] enemy.INST
 ‘Alesha was killed by the enemy.’
- (b) *Alesha byl ubit vragom*
 Alesha.NOM was.SG.MASC killed.PASS enemy.INST
 ‘Alesha was killed by the enemy.’

No animate Agent is allowed to surface in adversity impersonal constructions even when Agency is implied (e.g. when a person is run over by a tractor, the driver of the tractor is the implied Agent).

Although the Accusative object generally raises to preverbal position, the Instrumental object may raise there instead if it is more specific or referential than the Theme.

- (18) *Vcherashnim uraganom sneslo tri doma.*
 yesterday hurricane.INST knock-down[-AGR] three.ACC houses
 ‘Yesterday’s hurricane knocked down three houses.’

2.3.2 Dative-Experiencer Subjects

Another non-agreeing impersonal construction involves certain Dative-Experiencer predicates. These constructions have a Dative Experiencer and an Accusative Theme, with the Dative constituent generally in preverbal position. The predicate *zhal* ‘to feel sorry for,’ similar to certain adverbs, does not inflect at all in the present tense and takes the default-agreement form of the copula (*bylo*) in the past tense. *Xotelos* ‘to want to have’ is a reflexive verb, which makes the construction reminiscent of the impersonal *si*-construction in Italian described by D’Alessandro (2004), because the impersonal pronoun *si* is homophonous with the third-person reflexive pronoun.

- (19) (a) *Ksenie zhal brata.*
 Ksenia.DAT feel-sorry[-AGR] brother.ACC
 ‘Ksenia is feeling sorry for her brother.’
- (b) *Aleshe xotelos mashinu.*
 Alesha.DAT wanted.REFL[-AGR] car.ACC
 ‘Alesha wanted a car.’

The sentences in (19) have an involuntary interpretation, somewhat similar to a passive interpretation. The predicates *zhal* and *xotelos* both have personal counterparts, where a Nominative Subject triggers agreement. The interpretative difference is not striking, but the personal verbs have a slight Agentive meaning.

- (20) (a) *Devochka zhaleet koshku.*
 girl.NOM feel-sorry.3SG cat.ACC
 ‘The girl is feeling sorry for/comforting the the cat.’
- (b) *Alesha xochet koshku.*
 Alesha.NOM wants.3SG cat.ACC
 ‘Alesha wants a cat.’

2.3.3 Genitive Subjects

The final non-agreeing construction is the Genitive of Negation. The Genitive of Negation is possible with objects of transitive verbs and Subjects of unaccusative

verbs. The Subject of an unaccusative verb that would normally occur in Nominative Case, as in (21a), may surface in Genitive Case under Negation, as in (21b). As expected, when the Subject occurs in Genitive Case, it does not trigger Subject-verb agreement. A slight interpretational difference results as well: as shown in (21c), Genitive Subjects cannot be referential or universal.

- (21) (a) *Petja ne prishel na vecherinku.*
 Petja.NOM NEG came.SG.MASC to party
 ‘Petja did not come to the party.’
- (b) *Ni odnoj devushki ne prishlo na vecherinku.*
 Not single girl.GEN NEG came[-AGR] to party
 ‘Not a single girl came to the party.’
- (c) * *Petji ne prishlo na vecherinku.*
 Petja.GEN not came[-AGR] to party
 ‘Peter did not come to the party.’

The Genitive-of-Negation construction is not impersonal; it does not have a passive interpretation and, moreover, the Genitive Subject is identical to the Nominative Subject in an affirmative sentence.

2.3.4 Third-Person-Plural Impersonals

The arbitrary third-person-plural construction in Russian is not usually discussed alongside other non-Nominative Subjects, even though it shares many similarities with them: third-person-plural impersonals lack an overt external argument or Nominative constituent, and the preverbal element can be anything from an Accusative NP to a Locative phrase. The construction is possible only with transitive predicates; the verb bears third-person-plural agreement.⁶

⁶The third-person-plural impersonals are possible with unaccusative verbs in a limited set of colloquial constructions, where certain unaccusative verbs acquire a causative interpretation.

- (i) *Ejo ushli s raboty.*
 She.ACC left.PL from work
 ‘She was intentionally forced to leave her job.’

- (22) (a) *Dimu uvolili s raboty.*
 Dima.ACC fired.PL from work
 ‘Dima was fired.’
- (b) *Dime pomogli donesti chemodany.*
 Dima.DAT helped.PL carry suitcases
 ‘Dima was helped in carrying the suitcases.’
- (c) *V Garvard ne berut glupykh.*
 to Harvard NEG take stupid.GEN
 ‘They don’t accept stupid people to Harvard.’

As demonstrated by the gloss for (22c), this construction is common crosslinguistically. The third-person-plural construction also provides an interesting comparison to adversity impersonals. Although the sentences exhibit no overt external argument, there is an implied plural Agent, which has to be animate, similar to the interpretation of Italian *si*-constructions. No Agent is not allowed to surface as an Instrumental adjunct, however, because its interpretation would conflict with the null Agent triggering agreement. The literal interpretation of (23) is ‘They fired Dima by his bosses.’

- (23) * *Dimu uvolili nachalnikami.*
 Dima.ACC fired.PL bosses.INST
 ‘Dima was fired by his bosses.’

As in Italian, the construction can be interpreted as either generic or existential. Verbal aspect in part determines the interpretation: the perfective verb in (24a) is more easily interpreted existentially, while the imperfective verb in (24b) is interpreted generically.

- (24) (a) *Molodykh ljudej/Petju zabrali v armiju.*
 young people.ACC/Petja.ACC took.PER.PL in army
 ‘The young people/Petja was/were drafted into the army.’
- (b) *Molodykh ljudej/?Petju zabirali v armiju.*
 Young people.ACC/Petja.ACC took.IMP.PL in army
 ‘They were drafting young people/Petja into the army.’

In cases where the construction is interpreted existentially, the implied Agent is not semantically specified for number: the event can be carried out by a group of people or by a single person.

- (25) *Petju ubili na vojne.*
 Petja.ACC killed.PL on war
 ‘Petja was killed in the war.’

Example (25) does not imply that necessarily a group of people killed Petja; the perpetrator could have been any one person involved in the war.

Franks (1995) claims that Russian, similarly English, allows the overt pronoun *oni* ‘they’ to appear in third-person-plural impersonal construction. While the pronoun may sometimes appear in generic constructions, it must refer to a specific group of people in existential constructions.

- (26) (a) *V Italii oni edjat ochen’ mnogo makaron.*
 in Italy they.NOM eat.3PL very much pasta.
 ‘In Italy they eat a lot of pasta.’
- (b) # *Na vojne oni ubili Petju.*
 on war they.NOM killed.PL Petja.ACC
 ‘They (a specific group of people) killed Petja during the war.’

These constructions have been largely ignored in the literature, and I argue that they should be analyzed as non-Nominative Subjects. Such an analysis is supported by the marked narrative interpretation that results when the internal object appears postverbally. The marked interpretation in (27b) is unexpected because third-person-plural impersonals have null-Subject pronouns, but other pro-drop constructions, as in (27a)—repeated from (90)—do not trigger a narrative interpretation.

- (27) (a) *Ja ne pojdu, no Ivan думаet, что ja/e pojdu.*
 I not will-come, but Ivan thinks that I/e will-come
 ‘I am not coming, but Ivan thinks that I will come.’
- (b) # *Uvolili Sashu s raboty.*
 fired.PL Sasha.ACC from work
 ‘And then Sasha was fired from work.’

2.4 Inversion Constructions

Inversion constructions form the final type of Russian non-Nominative Subjects. In these constructions, the Nominative NP triggering verb agreement follows the verb, while a non-Nominative constituent moves to preverbal position. There are three different types of inversion constructions: Dative inversion, Locative inversion, and Accusative (OVS) inversion with transitive verbs.

2.4.1 Dative Inversion

The Dative-inversion construction is similar to the non-agreeing Experiencer predicates discussed in Section 2.3.2, but it is possible with a wider range of verbs. In the Dative-inversion construction, the Nominative and the Dative elements are both internal arguments, but the thematically higher Dative NP usually appears in preverbal position. The internal Nominative argument in (28b) acquires a definite interpretation in (28c) when it raises preverbal position.

- (28) (a) *Sashe_i vspomnilas ego_i komnata.*
 Sasha.DAT remembered.REFL.SG.FEM his room.NOM
 ‘Sasha_i thought of his_i room’
- (b) *Sashe nra^vjatsia izvestnyj pisatel.*
 Sasha.DAT likes.REFL.SG.MASC famous writer.NOM
 ‘Sasha likes a famous writer.’
- (c) *Izvestnyj pisatel nra^vitsia Sashe.*
 famous writer.NOM likes.REFL.SG.MASC Sasha.DAT
 ‘Sasha likes the famous writer.’

2.4.2 OVS Inversion

Another inversion construction occurs with transitive verbs, where the external argument occurs post-verbally and the internal argument surfaces in canonical Subject position. Some prior analyses have claimed that the only discourse-neutral word

order for a transitive verb is SVO (Lavine 2000, Bailyn 2004). For some constructions, it is true that an OVS order is only possible with intonational emphasis and contrastive Focus on the postverbal external argument (see footnote 4). As with adversity impersonals, however, when the object is more specific than the Subject, an OVS construction is allowed without emphatic intonation.

- (29) (a) # *Devochku poceloval malchik*
 Girl.ACC kissed.sg.masc boy.NOM(FOC)
 ‘It was a boy who kissed a girl.’
- (b) *Devochku s krasnym bantikom poceloval malchik*
 girl.ACC in red bow kissed boy
 ‘A boy kissed the girl with the red bow.’

The sentence in (29a) is only possible if the postverbal Subject is contrastively focused, for example if in this particular situation it was uncommon for boys to kiss girls. By contrast, (29b) is grammatical with neutral intonation.

2.4.3 Locative Inversion

Locative Inversion is only possible with unaccusative predicates and serves as a diagnostic for unaccusative verbs (Babyonyshev 1996). In the typical Locative-inversion construction in (30), the Nominative NP is an internal argument, and a Locative PP is raised to preverbal position.

- (30) *V Sashinoj komnate zavelis tarakany.*
 in Sasha’s room begin-exist.REFL.PL cockroaches.NOM
 ‘Sasha got cockroaches in his room.’

Babyonyshev (1996) demonstrates that interpretation determines whether the Nominative NP will raise to preverbal position. Similar to preverbal elements in OVS inversion and adversity impersonals, preverbal NPs in Locative inversion constructions are interpreted as definite and specific, even though postverbally the NP can be interpreted as indefinite or existential.

Babyonyshev (1996)

- (31) (a) *V klasse pojavilsja novenkij.*
 In class appeared.SG.MASC new-boy.NOM
 ‘A new boy entered our class’
- (b) *Novenkij pojavilsja v klasse.*
 New-boy.NOM appeared.SG.MASC in class
 ‘The new boy entered the class.’

2.4.4 Verb-Initial Unaccusative Predicates

A final exception to the prohibition against verb-first constructions involves unaccusative verbs. With unaccusative predicates, verb-first constructions lack a marked story-telling interpretation. Although Subject-verb inversion is relatively free in unaccusative constructions, there is a restriction on the interpretation of postverbal and preverbal subjects. Similar to the Locative-inversion constructions in (31), an existential or indefinite reading of the Subject is only possible when it follows the verb (Babyonyshev 1996). In weather predicates, including (32c) the Subject occurs post-verbally unless it is emphatic.

- (32) (a) *Prishel malchik.*
 Arrived boy
 ‘A boy arrived.’
- (b) *Malchik prishel.*
 Boy arrived
 ‘The boy arrived.’
- (c) *Idet dozhd.*
 go rain
 ‘It is raining.’

Babyonyshev (1996) draws the parallel between Russian Subject-verb inversion construction and Locative inversion. She claims that the Subject-inversion construction in (32a) is deictic, i.e. the location of the event is already known from discourse.

Babyonyshev posits that the unaccusative verb-first construction actually contains a null preverbal Locative phrase, which gives the clause its deictic interpretation.

Babyonyshev (1996)

(33) (a) *Zashli gosti.*
 entered.PL guests.NOM
 ‘Guests dropped by (my place).’

(b) *Gosti zashli.*
 guests.NOM entered.PL
 ‘The guests came in.’

Babyonyshev’s hypothesis that verb-first unaccusative constructions are an example of Locative pro-drop is supported by the fact that adding a Locative phrase postverbally in the Subject-verb inversion construction in (34a) results in the marked narrative reading. By contrast, in the inversion construction in (33a) and in (34b), a Locative phrase moves to preverbal position to prevent the marked reading.

(34) (a) # *Prishel malchik v shkolu.*
 arrived.SG boy.NOM to school
 ‘There once arrived a boy at school’

(b) *V shkolu prishel malchik.*
 to school arrived.SG boy.NOM
 ‘A boy arrived at school.’

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter began with a discussion of the null-Subject parameter with respect to Russian. It established that Russian has a general restriction on verb-initial constructions; apart from pro-drop contexts, all verb-first sentences have a marked narrative interpretation. I proposed that movement of non-Nominative Subjects to preverbal position serves to prevent a marked reading.

The second half of this chapter presented the inventory of Russian non-Nominative-Subject constructions and examined their interaction with Case, agreement, and interpretation. These constructions can be separated into three general categories: impersonals, non-agreeing predicates, and inversion constructions.

Non-Nominative Subjects—with the notable exception of the Genitive of Negation⁷—bear a definite or specific interpretation. While the Thematically highest element naturally occurs in preverbal position, Thematically-lower elements with a specific or referential interpretation can raise to preverbal position in unmarked constructions.

Russian non-Nominative Subjects make possible a critical analysis of location as a potential primitive of subjecthood. The remainder of this thesis will address the extent to which non-Nominative Subjects behave as ‘true’ Subjects and the subsequent implications of their Subject status for a crosslinguistic approach to subjecthood. I will explore the precise nature of the canonical Subject position and determine the overall importance of placement, as opposed to Case or agreement, for a notion of subjecthood. I will, furthermore, propose an analysis to reconcile Russian pro-drop constructions with the requirement for an overt element in preverbal position.

⁷Because of the unique interpretation restriction on Genitive-of-Negation constructions, the theory proposed in this thesis does not directly account for the raising of Genitive Subjects. In order to explain the features that drive the fronting of Genitive constituents more research, which is beyond the scope of this thesis, is required on the nature of Negation and Negative Polarity Items in Russian.

Chapter 3

Approaches to Obligatory Subjects in Russian

3.1 Introduction

Russian non-Nominative Subjects are central to the debate surrounding the Extended Projection Principle (EPP). Following a theoretical framework consistent with Chomsky (2000, 2001), Case assignment and Subject-verb agreement take place through the operation Agree rather than through overt movement. According to this analysis, a canonical Subject receives Nominative Case and triggers verbal agreement in situ. The EPP, on the other hand, requires an overt element—regardless of Case or agreement—to raise into SpecIP. This theory predicts, therefore, that the effects of agreement and Case assignment should be act independently from those of movement to preverbal position.

Russian non-Nominative Subjects have served as support for the hypothesis that the EPP acts separately from the feature-checking mechanisms of Case and agreement. Chapter 2 demonstrated that Russian requires an overtly filled preverbal position, but any constituent can fulfill this requirement, regardless of Case or nominal status. The purpose of this chapter is to determine the precise nature of the preverbal position by comparing the behavior of non-Nominative Subjects with canonical-Subject behavior. I will also investigate whether preverbal placement or Case and

agreement determine subjecthood status in Russian.

Sections 3.2 and 3.3 of this chapter present the arguments of Lavine and Freidin (2001) and Bailyn (2004) in favor of a Russian EPP-requirement, which forces movement of non-Nominative Subjects to SpecIP. Section 3.4 reviews King's (1995) discourse-driven approach to the mandatory nature of preverbal elements in Russian. The EPP-based theories argue that non-Nominative Subjects raise to an Argument (A-) position, while King proposes that all Subject movement is non-Argument (A'-) movement. In the discussion that follows in Section 3.5, I demonstrate that the position of non-Nominative Subjects is ambiguous between A- and A'-movement, using evidence from Binding Principles A and B. I close with a discussion of other traditional Russian Subject properties and conclude that movement to preverbal position is not enough to trigger behavior associated with Grammatical (Nominative) Subjects.

3.2 Adversity Impersonals: Lavine and Freidin (2001)

Lavine (2000) and Lavine and Freidin (2001) use Russian adversity impersonals to argue that the effects of the EPP are separate from Case-assignment. As discussed in Chapter 2, adversity impersonals are unaccusative predicates with a structurally Case-marked Accusative argument in preverbal position. They refer to adverse situations that lack a volitional Agent. Lavine and Freidin argue that the raising of the Accusative constituent is A-movement driven by the EPP, the selectional requirement of the Head of IP for an overt specifier.

Lavine and Freidin contend that the Accusative constituent is in the canonical Subject position, SpecIP. As evidence they cite traditional Subject properties exhibited by adversity-impersonal constructions with respect to weak-crossover effects, anaphor binding, and adverb placement.

Weak-crossover effects are triggered by the overt or covert movement of a quantifier

over a co-indexed pronoun (Huang 1994).

(35) His_i mother loves John_i.

(36) *His_i mother loves everyone_i.

In the Russian weak-crossover construction below, covert movement (QR) of the universal quantifier *kazhdym* ‘every’ results in a weak-crossover violation in (37a), while the overt movement of *kazhdym pistoletom* ‘every gun’ over a co-indexed pronoun fails to trigger a violation in (37b).

Lavine and Freidin (2001)

(37) (a) * *Rano ili pozdno [ego_i vladelca]_k ub’et t_k kazhdym*
 soon or late its owner.ACC will-kill[-AGR] t_k every
pistoletom_i.
 gun.INST

‘Sooner or later its_i owner will be killed by every gun_i.’

(b) *Rano ili pozdno [kazhdym pistoletom_i]_k ub’et ego*
 soon or late each gun.INST will-kill[-AGR] its
vadel’ca t_k.
 owner.ACC t_k

‘Sooner or later every gun_i will kill its_i owner.’

Lavine and Freidin’s analysis rests on the assumption that Russian A’-movement reconstructs with respect to all three Binding Principles, while A-movement never reconstructs. Therefore, an element is interpreted in its surface position following A-movement but in its base position following A’-movement. The grammaticality of (37b) demonstrates that the Instrumental object does not reconstruct to its base position but is interpreted in its surface position. Lavine and Freidin conclude that the Instrumental object, like a true Subject, undergoes A-movement.

Again assuming that A’-, but not A-movement results in reconstruction effects, Lavine and Freidin use anaphor binding to argue that the landing site for non-Nominative Subjects is an A-position.

Lavine and Freidin (2001)

- (38) (a) *Milicionerov_i ranilo puljami prinadlezascimi*
 policemen.ACC wounded[-AGR] bullets.INST belonging
drug drugu_i.
 to each other
 ‘Policemen_i were wounded by bullets belonging to each other_i.’
- (b) * *Puljami prinadležaščimi drug drugu_i ranilo*
 bullets.INST belonging to each other policemen.ACC
milicionerov_i.
 wounded[-AGR]
 ‘Policemen_i were wounded by bullets belonging to each other_i.’

If the preverbal non-Nominative constituent were not in A-position, reconstruction would result in the grammaticality of binding in (38b). Co-reference is impossible, however, which leads Lavine and Freidin to conclude that the Instrumental NP must be in A-position.

Lavine and Freidin use reciprocal anaphors because they do not have to be bound by a Nominative NP. As Rappaport (1986) demonstrates, the reciprocal *drug druga* ‘each other’ can have either a Subject or an object as its antecedent. By contrast, reflexives are ‘Subject-oriented.’ According to Rappaport, only the Subject of a clause—but not an object—can serve as the antecedent for a reflexive.

Rappaport (1986)

- (39) (a) *Milicionery rassprashivali ikh drug o druge.*
 policemen.NOM questioned them.ACC each about other
 ‘The policemen_i questioned them_j about each other_{i/j}.’
- (a) *Milicioner rassprashival arestovannogo o sebe.*
 policeman.NOM questioned suspect.ACC about self
 ‘The policeman_i questioned the suspect_j about himself_{i/*j}.’

Weak-crossover and anaphor-binding tests suggest that non-Nominative Subjects are indeed in A-position. Using adverb-placement tests, Lavine and Freidin establish that the non-Nominative Subject must occur in an A-position above *vP*. Since *vP* adverbs are merged at the left periphery of the *vP* projection, the observation that they

must occur after the non-Nominative Subject suggests that the Accusative Subject has raised above the *vP* projection.

Lavine and Freidin (2001)

- (40) (a) *Rabocego silno udarilo oskolkom plity*
 worker.ACC strongly hit[-AGR] shard.INST of-concrete-slab
 ‘A worker was hit hard by a shard of concrete slab.’
- (b) ?? *Silno rabocego udarilo oskolkom plity*
 worker.ACC strongly hit[-AGR] shard.INST of-concrete-slab
 ‘A worker was hit hard by a shard of concrete slab.’

Unfortunately *vP* adverb placement does not establish the precise landing site of non-Nominative Subjects above *vP*. However, since Lavine and Freidin in their framework posit only IP and CP above *vP*, they conclude that non-Nominative Subjects are required to move to SpecIP.

Lavine and Freidin propose the following derivation for adversity impersonals. They claim that the Head of IP (TP in their account) is defective and therefore lacks uninterpretable ϕ -features that would drive Nominative Case assignment and verb agreement. According to Lavine and Freidin, the verb first merges with the oblique object, which receives Instrumental Case. Then the direct object merges with the predicate and is assigned a Theme Theta-role. Thereafter, *v* is merged, and it assigns Accusative Case to the direct object. Defective I is merged; it does not have any ϕ -features to check, but it has an EPP requirement, and one of the internal arguments raises to fulfill that requirement. This analysis separates the effects of the EPP from feature-checking: a defective I which does not enter into a feature-checking relationship still triggers EPP movement.

Lavine and Freidin make a point of distinguishing adversity impersonals from OVS inversion. According to Lavine and Freidin, the latter is discourse movement, not explicable by the EPP. They base their argument on the claim made in Lavine (2000) that there is a particular discourse-neutral word order despite the apparent

freedom in Russian. In a discourse-neutral sentence, Focus projects from the most embedded element to the entire VP, which is the reason it can be uttered in an out-of-the-blue context. Lavine tests the discourse-neutral status of a construction by examining whether it can be uttered in response to the question ‘What happened?’ which demands a maximally focused, non-discourse-linked (non-D-linked) answer. Lavine and Freidin maintain that, in discourse-neutral adversity impersonals, either the Instrumental or the Accusative object may move to preverbal position. Preverbal OVS constructions, on the other hand, necessarily involve a D-linked interpretation.

As discussed in Chapter 2, however, the Instrumental object is allowed in preverbal position only with intonational emphasis on the postverbal Accusative object, which results in a contrastive-focus reading. When the Instrumental object becomes more specific or referential than the Accusative NP, it can raise to preverbal position without requiring intonational emphasis.

- (41) (a) *Vetrom sbilo Petju.*
 wind.INST knocked-down[-AGR] Petja.ACC
 ‘The wind knocked down PETJA (not Misha).’
- (b) *Silnom severnym vetrom sbilo pjat detej.*
 strong northern wind.INST knocked-down[-AGR] five
 children.ACC
 ‘The strong northern wind knocked down five children.’

This example suggests, contrary to Lavine and Freiding, that movement to preverbal position in adversity impersonals is related to a certain discourse interpretation. While the preverbal element does not have to be discourse-linked, it must receive a referential or specific reading.

One of the main weaknesses of Lavine and Freidin’s analysis is precisely its focus on what they claim are discourse-neutral non-Nominative subjects. As a result, they overlook the similarities between adversity impersonals and other non-Nominative Subjects.

3.3 Generalized Inversion: Bailyn (2004)

Bailyn (2004) expands Lavine and Freidin’s analysis, however, to unite several constructions with a non-Nominative element in preverbal position under the effects of EPP movement. Bailyn erases the distinction between A-movement and what Lavine and Freidin call A-scrambling (OVS inversion) by arguing that the EPP requirement on I can be satisfied by any XP in SpecIP.

Bailyn coins the term ‘Generalized Inversion’ to describe non-Nominative Subject constructions, in which he includes transitive OVS inversion, adversity impersonals, Locative inversion, Dative-Experiencer Subjects, and possessive PP inversion. Bailyn argues that non-Nominative Subjects share several properties with canonical Subjects, with a focus on Binding Theory and weak crossover. First, Bailyn argues that Binding Principle A violations are erased completely, or at least weakened, when a non-Nominative constituent raises to preverbal position.

Bailyn (2004)

- (42) (a) * *Svoj_i staryj mer vernulsja v razrushenyj rodnoj gorod_i.*
 self old mayor.NOM returned.SG to destroyed native city

‘Its_i former mayor returned to the destroyed native city_i.’

- (b) ?? *V razrushenyj rodnoj gorod_i vernulsja svoj_i staryj mer.*
 to destroyed native city returned.SG self old mayor.NOM

‘Its_i former mayor returned to the destroyed native city_i.’

- (43) (a) ??? *Sebja zhal Mashe.*
 self.ACC feel-sorry[-AGR] Masha.DAT
 ‘Masha feels sorry for herself.’

- (b) *Mashe zhal sebja.*
 Masha.DAT feel-sorry[-AGR] self.ACC
 ‘Masha feels sorry for herself.’

Bailyn also claims—at least for OVS constructions—that A'-movement does not remove binding violations. Precedence, therefore, cannot be the explanation for an improvement in binding judgements. Bailyn, like Lavine and Freidin, assumes that A'-movement, but not A-movement, reconstructs with respect to Binding Theory. Bailyn focuses specifically on OVS constructions because Lavine and Freidin consistently contrast OVS A-scrambling with adversity impersonals. In (44a-b) Bailyn shows that reflexive binding by Accusative objects in OVS constructions, while not completely acceptable, is significantly improved over unbound reflexives in preverbal position.

Bailyn (2004)

- (44) (a) * *Svoi_i podchinennye volnujut Ivana_i.*
 self's subordinates.NOM worry.3PL Ivan.ACC
 'Ivan_i is worried by his_i subordinates.'
- (b) ? *Ivana_i volnujut svoi_i podchinnenye.*
 Ivan.ACC worry.3PL self's subordinates.NOM
 'Ivan_i is worried by his_i subordinates.'
- (c) * *Ivana_i my xotim, chtoby svoi_i podchinnenye volnovali.*
 Ivan.ACC we want that self's subordinates.NOM worry.3PL
 'Ivan_i, we want his_i subordinates to worry.'

Bailyn specifically tests the possibility of reflexive-binding by non-Nominative Subjects because this ability has been traditionally reserved for 'true' Subjects (see Section 3.2).

Bailyn likewise uses Binding Principle B to argue the A-movement properties of non-Nominative Subjects. Binding Principle B requires pronouns to be free in their binding domain. In non-Nominative-Subject constructions, Principle B violations are rescued when a non-Nominative bound pronoun moves to preverbal position. Bailyn uses these data to argue that the preverbal position must be an A-position; otherwise the non-Nominative Subject would reconstruct and thus trigger a Principle B violation.

Bailyn (2004)

(45) (a) * *Ivan_i ljubit ego_i druzej*
 Ivan.NOM likes.3SG his friends.ACC
 ‘Ivan likes his friends.’

(b) ?? *Ego_i druzej ljubit Ivan_i*
 his friends.ACC likes.3SG Ivan.NOM
 ‘Ivan likes his friends.’

Bailyn also uses Binding Principle C as evidence for the A-movement of non-Nominative Subjects. In (46a) a noun embedded in a Nominative Subject can be co-indexed with a lower pronoun. The acceptability of this sentence is expected because at no point in the derivation does the pronoun c-command the co-indexed NP. The sentence does not incur a Principle B violation, either, because *Ivana* does not c-command the pronoun. When the Accusative pronoun *ego* ‘him’ is raised to preverbal position instead of the Nominative NP, the construction triggers a Principle C violation. Bailyn uses the ungrammaticality of (46b) to argue that the non-Nominative Subject does not reconstruct to its base position, where it could not trigger a Principle C violation. Movement of the c-commanding pronoun to A’-position in (46c) does not result in a Principle C violation because reconstruction takes place.

Bailyn (2004)

(46) (a) [*Novye znakomye Ivana_i]_j predstavili t_j ego_i*
 new friends.NOM of-Ivan introduced *t* him.ACC
predsedatelju.
 chairman.DAT

‘Ivan’s_i new friends introduced him_i to the chairman.’

(b) * [*Ego_i]_j predstavili novye znakomye Ivana_i t_j*
 him.ACC introduced new friends.NOM of-Ivan *t*
predsedatelju.
 chairman.DAT

‘He_i was introduced to the chairman by Ivan’s_i new friends.’

(c) [*Ego_i]_j my xotim, chtoby novye znakomye Ivana_i predstavili*
 he.ACC we want that new friends.NOM of-Ivan introduced

t_j *predsedatelju*.
 t chairman.DAT

‘We want Ivan_{*i*}’s new friends to introduce him_{*i*} to the chairman.’

Bailyn’s final argument involves weak-crossover tests. Bailyn generalizes the conclusion reached by Lavine and Freidin to include OVS inversion and Dative constructions. Bailyn demonstrates that overt movement of a quantifier over its antecedent does not trigger a weak-crossover violation when non-Nominative phrases move to preverbal position. By contrast, the covert raising of *kazhduju* ‘every’ over a co-indexed pronoun in (47a) results in a weak-crossover effect.

Bailyn (2004)

(47) (a) * *Ee_i sobaka ljubit kazhduju devochku_i*.
 her dog.NOM loves.3SG each girl.ACC
 ‘Her_{*i*} dog loves every girl_{*i*}.’

(b) *Kazhduju devochku_i ljubit ejo_i sobaka t_i*.
 every girl.ACC loves her dog.NOM t_i
 ‘Every girl_{*i*}, her_{*i*} dog loves.’

Furthermore, Bailyn points out that when a quantifier undergoes A’-movement, a weak-crossover violation is incurred, suggesting that the moved constituent reconstructs.

Bailyn (2004)

(48) * *Kazhduju devochku_i ja khochu, chtoby ejo_i sobaka poljubila*.
 Every girl.ACC I want that her dog.NOM loves.3SG t_i
 ‘Every girl_{*i*}, I want her_{*i*} dog to love.’

Based on data from binding and weak crossover, Bailyn argues that non-Nominative Subjects move to an A-position, just like Nominative Subjects. Since Bailyn assumes that the only A-position above *vP* is SpecIP, he concludes that the landing site for all non-Nominative constituents is SpecIP. Like Lavine and Freidin (2001), Bailyn ascribes the raising of non-Nominative elements to an EPP requirement.

3.4 Discourse Movement: King (1995)

In contrast to Lavine and Freidin (2001) and Bailyn (2004), King (1995) argues for a discourse-driven approach to obligatory Subjects. She proposes that Subject movement to preverbal position, contrary to appearance, is not actually obligatory but the result of a tendency for Subjects to serve as Topics of discourse.

Unlike either Bailyn or Lavine and Freidin, King assumes an underlying VSO structure in Russian, as demonstrated by the acceptability of VSO constructions. VSO constructions, according to King, are maximally-focused and therefore discourse neutral.

King (1995)

- (49) *Prislal muzh dengi.*
 sent.SG husband.NOM money.ACC
 ‘My husband sent (me) money.’

I have argued in Chapter 2, however, that VSO constructions like the one in (49) are only possible with a marked narrative interpretation. While VSO constructions are indeed used discourse-initially (and therefore have a maximally-focused reading), they are not discourse-neutral.

King finds further support for an underlying VSO order in *wh*-questions, in which the Subject naturally appears post-verbally in questions, where a constituent other than the subject is questioned.

King (1995)

- (50) *Chto videli deti?*
 what.ACC saw.PL children.NOM
 ‘What did the children see?’

King claims that the Subject remains VP-internally unless it fulfills a discourse function. She attributes Subject movement in particular, to the Topic function. According to King, a clause is not required to have a Topic; while Subject movement

to preverbal position is extremely common, it is by no means mandatory. Grammatical (Nominative) Subjects are most likely to appear preverbally because they more naturally serve as Topics of discourse.

King defines Topic as the intersection of the speaker's and the hearer's current matter of concern. The current matter of concern includes anything mentioned in previous discourse, while in discourse-initial contexts the current matter of concern consists of deictic material (i.e. pronouns whose reference is fixed through discourse context), such as first and second person pronouns as well as the Locative *here*. King further subdivides the Topic discourse function into internal and external Topics. External Topics are not arguments of the predicate; they are merged above CP but can be co-indexed with a resumptive pronoun inside the predicate. External Topics can always occur in Nominative Case as in (51) and are not possible in embedded clauses.

King (1995)

- (51) *Boris(a), ja ego ne ljublju.*
 Boris.NOM(ACC) I he.ACC not like
 'As for Boris, I don't like him.'

Semantically, external Topics are an assertion about the Topic: they either introduce a new Topic or shift the Topic of the present discourse.

By contrast, internal Topics are arguments of the predicate that adjoin to IP. They are not associated with resumptive pronouns and may appear in embedded clauses. King explains Subject movement to preverbal position through the common use of Subjects as internal Topics.

King devotes part of her analysis to non-Nominative Subjects. There is no unique position reserved for grammatical Subjects, and all constituents between the complementizer and the verb are interpreted as internal Topics regardless of Case. Furthermore, she points out that the Grammatical (Nominative) Subject does not need to

appear preverbally. Other constituents often move to preverbal position to serve as an internal Topics.

King (1995)

- (52) *Ivan skazal, chto emu nuzhna kniga*
 Ivan.NOM said that he.DAT.TOP needs book.NOM
 ‘Ivan said that he needs the book.’

Similar to Babyonyshev (1996) King explains Locative inversion through discourse-movement as well.

King (1995)

- (53) (a) *Na stole stojala lampa.*
 on table stood.SG lamp.NOM
 ‘On the table there stood a lamp.’
 (b) *Lampa stojala na stole.*
 lamp.NOM stood.SG on table
 ‘A lamp stood on the table.’

King claims that grammatical Subjects are more likely to appear preverbally because there is a tendency for thematically higher elements to serve as Topics of discourse. In Dative-Experiencer constructions like (54), it is the thematically higher Dative object, and not the Nominative internal object, that moves to Topic position.

King (1995)

- (54) *Ej ochen nraivilas eta kniga*
 She.DAT really liked that book.NOM
 ‘She really liked that book.’

In her analysis, King addresses the difference between Grammatical Subjects and non-Nominative elements in canonical Subject position. She concludes that there is no position reserved for Subjects separate from the internal-Topic position. Thus King demonstrates that the EPP is not the only theory that dissociates agreement and Case from movement to preverbal position. King highlights the importance of

information structure for the notion of subjecthood, an issue left largely ignored by Lavine and Freidin (2001) and Bailyn (2004).

3.5 Ambiguity of Preverbal Subject Position

The three approaches presented in this chapter analyze Subject movement to preverbal position as always A-movement or always A'-movement, regardless of Case or agreement. Most of the arguments for the A-status of non-Nominative Subjects have involved Binding Theory; therefore, this section contains an in-depth analysis of the behavior of non-Nominative Subjects with respect to Binding Principles A and B. Evidence from binding tests demonstrates that the preverbal position is ambiguous between A- and A'-status, and that position alone is not sufficient to determine binding relations.

The ability to bind reflexives (Binding Principle A) and the prohibition against binding pronouns (Binding Principle B) are characteristics of preverbal Nominative Subjects.

- (55) (a) *Liza_i ljubit svoju_i koshku.*
 Liza.NOM likes.3SG self's cat.ACC
 'Liza_i likes her_i cat.'
- (b) * *Liza_i ljubit ejo_i koshku.*
 Lize.NOM likes.3SG her cat.ACC
 'Liza_i likes her_i cat.'

The following discussion demonstrates that, contrary to the evidence presented in Bailyn (2004), non-Nominative Subjects do not consistently behave like Nominative Subjects with respect to binding. In particular, non-Nominative Subjects may bind both reflexives and pronouns (to varying degrees) from preverbal position. Binding tests suggest that the landing site of non-Nominative Subjects is neither fully an A- nor an A'-position.¹

¹I will limit this discussion of binding facts to Binding Principles A and B because it has been

One of the assumptions underlying the arguments of Bailyn (2004) and Lavine and Freidin (2001) is that A'-movement always results in reconstruction with respect to all binding rules, while that A-movement never triggers reconstruction effects. Non-Nominative Subjects are analyzed as moving into A-position because they exhibit no reconstruction effects.

The evidence used by Bailyn to demonstrate that non-Nominative Subjects may bind reflexives is repeated below. Movement of the Accusative NP *Ivana* to preverbal position in (56b) saves the Principle A violation in (56a). These judgements suggest that no reconstruction is taking place in (56b) and that *Ivana* binds *svoi* from its surface position.

Bailyn (2004)

- (56) (a) * *Svoi_i podchinennye volnujut Ivana_i.*
 self's subordinates.NOM worry.PL Ivan.ACC
 'Ivan's_i subordinates worry him_i.'
- (b) ? *Ivana_i volnujut svoi_i podchinnenye.*
 Ivan.ACC worry.PL self's subordinates.NOM
 'Ivan_i is worried by his_i subordinates.'

For many speakers, however, (56b) is far from acceptable. As in many similar examples, the binding violations, while weakened, remain relatively strong when reflexives are bound by non-Nominative Subjects. In fact, there is a rather strong contrast between the awkwardness of using a reflexive and the grammaticality of using a pronoun.

- (57) *Ivana_i volnujut ego_i podchinnenye.*
 Ivan.ACC worry.PL his subordinates.NOM
 'Ivan_i is worried by his_i subordinates.'

shown in the literature, at least for English, that Binding Principle C behaves differently with respect to reconstruction because it must be satisfied at every level of the derivation (Lebeaux 1991, Huang 1993).

The contrast is even more pronounced for other non-Nominative Subjects, including the weak-crossover constructions Bailyn (2004) uses to argue the A-status of non-Nominative Subjects.

- (58) *Posle evakuacii v Moskvu_i vernulis ?*svoi_i/ ejo_i zhiteli.*
 after evacuation to Moscow returned self her residents.NOM
 ‘After the evacuation Moscow’s residents returned there.’

- (59) *Petju ubilo pulej izgotovlennoj na ??svoem_i/ ego_i*
 Petja killed[-AGR] bullet.INST produced at self his
zavode.
 factory
 ‘Petja_i was killed by a bullet produced in his_i factory.’

- (60) *Kazhduju devochku_i ljubit ??svoja_i/ ejo_i sobaka t_i.*
 Every girl.ACC loves self/ her dog.NOM t_i
 ‘Every girl_i her_i dog loves.’

The grammaticality of bound pronouns as opposed to reflexives raises an interesting question with respect to Principle B. Bailyn (2004) argues, that since non-Nominative subjects are in subject position, they do not reconstruct with respect to Principle B. Example (45) is repeated below as (61):

Bailyn (2004)

- (61) (a) * *Ivan_i ljubit ego_i druzej*
 Ivan.NOM likes.3SG his friends.ACC
 ‘Ivan_i likes his_i friends.’
- (b) ?? *Ego_i druzej ljubit Ivan_i*
 His friends.ACC likes.3SG Ivan.NOM
 ‘Ivan_i likes his_i friends.’

Bailyn (2004) argues that (61b) demonstrates the absence of reconstruction with respect to Principle B; otherwise, (61b) would be as ungrammatical as (61a). Adopting Bailyn’s analysis, we would expect (57) to be as ungrammatical as (61a) because

the non-Nominative subject should bind the pronoun from its surface position. Example (57), however, is perfectly grammatical, in fact more grammatical than in the presence of an anaphor.

These data are surprising because they demonstrate that pronouns and anaphors are not in complementary distribution within the same clause. These data suggest that the preverbal non-Nominative Subject is neither definitively in A- or A'-position because, as (55) demonstrates, canonical Subjects may bind reflexives, but they cannot bind anaphors. It appears, therefore, that non-Nominative Subjects license co-indexation with both anaphors and pronouns. While one kind of binding is more acceptable in previous examples, in the following example both anaphors and pronouns are equally grammatical but have slightly different meanings.

- (62) (a) *Mne khotelos moju sobaku.*
 I.DAT want[-AGR] my dog.ACC
 'I wanted my dog (to be here).'
- (b) *Mne khotelos svoju sobaku.*
 I.DAT want[-AGR] self's dog.ACC
 'I wanted my own dog. (I had to share one with my brother before).'
- (63) (a) *Mashe_i nuzhna ejo_i sobaka.*
 Masha.DAT want[-AGR] her dog.ACC
 'Masha needs her dog (to be here).'
- (b) *Mashe_i nuzhna svoja_i sobaku.*
 Masha.DAT want[-AGR] self's dog.ACC
 'Masha_i wanted her_i own dog (She had to share one with her brother before).'

Thus, it appears that non-Nominative Subjects land in a position which allows them to bind both predicate-internal anaphors and pronouns. This behavior contrasts with the behavior of Grammatical Subjects in (55), which by all accounts raise to SpecIP. There are two possible explanations for the difference in binding possibilities. One possibility is that non-Nominative Subjects raise to a higher position than

Nominative Subjects, from where both pronouns and Principle B, but not Principle A, reconstructs. On the other hand, it is also plausible that grammatical Subjects raise to the same position as non-Nominative Subjects; the impossibility of pronoun binding can thus be explained by Case and Agreement. Example (64) is an OSV construction that tests whether binding of both anaphors and pronouns is still possible when the non-Nominative Subject is raised to a Topic position above the Subject. The OSV construction demonstrates, however, that when the non-Nominative Subject moves in front of the Grammatical Subject, reconstruction necessarily occurs with respect to both Principle A and B.

- (64) *Svoju_i/ ego_{*i/j} sestru, Petja ljubit.*
 self's his sister.ACC Petja.NOM loves.3SG
 ‘As for his—*i* sister, Petja_i loves her.’

In (64) the Accusative reflexive *svoju* is perfectly grammatical in preverbal—and even in sentence-initial—position. This example demonstrates that the reflexive is clearly in A'-position. In contrast, the pronoun *ego* ‘his’ is unambiguously ungrammatical in preverbal position; its ungrammaticality cannot be due to a Principle C violation because *ego* does not c-command *Petja*. Therefore, (64) necessarily involves A'-movement to a position higher than the usual position of non-Nominative Subjects.

These data suggest that non-Nominative Subjects do not raise higher than Grammatical Subjects. There is something unique about placement immediately in front of the verb because the raised element may bind both anaphors and pronouns. It appears that this position is higher than SpecIP (an A-position) but lower than the CP domain (A'-positions).²

²King (1995) posits that all material between the verb and the CP domain can be interpreted as an internal Topic. In (64), however, both elements are below the CP domain in King's terms because they occur between the verb and the complementizer:

- (i) *Ja znaju, chto svoju sestru Petja ljubit.*
 I know that self sister.ACC Petja.NOM loves.3SG
 ‘As for his sister, I know that Petja loves her.’

The special status of grammatical Subjects with respect to Principles A and B can be explained by Thematic hierarchies. Thematic structure appears to have an effect on binding relations in the case of the the non-agreeing predicate *zhal*, whose arguments behaves asymmetrically with respect to reflexive binding.

- (65) (a) *Pete_i zhal sebya/ ego_{*i/j}.*
 Peter.DAT feel-sorry[-AGR] self.ACC him.ACC
 ‘Peter feels sorry for himself.’
- (b) *Mashu zhal sebe/ ej_{*i/?*j}.*
 Mary.ACC feel-sorry[-AGR] self.DAT her.DAT
 ‘Mary feels sorry for herself.’

Thematic hierarchies also seem to be important for pronoun binding. In contrast to the canonical Subjects in (55), Nominative Subjects in Dative-Experiencer constructions are able to bind pronouns from preverbal position, just like non-Nominative Subjects. Nominative Subjects of unaccusative verbs, however, are not able to bind pronouns. The difference between (66) and (67) is that the Nominative NP is the thematically lower argument in (66a) but the thematically higher argument in (67b).

- (66) (a) ? *Petja–i vspomnilsja ego_i uchitelnitse.*
 Petja.NOM remembered.REFL his teacher.DAT
 ‘Petja_i was remembered by his_i teacher.’
- (b) *Petja_i vspomnilsja svoej_i uchitelnitse.*
 Petja.NOM remembered self teacher.DAT
 ‘Petja was remembered by his teacher.’
- (67) (a) * *Petja_i prishel k nemu_i domoj.*
 Petja.NOM came to his house
 ‘Petja came to his own house.’
- (b) *Petja prishel k sebe domoj.*
 Petja.NOM came to self house
 ‘Petja came to his own house.’

This is further evidence that preverbal Grammatical Subjects are in the same position as non-Nominative Subjects, but it is difficult for thematically lower constituents to bind thematically higher constituents. Since binding appears to be a result of the interaction of thematic hierarchies and preverbal placement, more research is required on the interaction between the two characteristics for a conclusive analysis of binding and subjecthood.

For the moment, I conclude that preverbal Nominative and non-Nominative Subjects are in the same position, which is ambiguous between an A- and an A'-position.

3.6 Conclusion

Russian non-Nominative Subjects allow syntacticians to examine obligatory Subject movement into preverbal position separately from the effects agreement or Case. This chapter has analyzed the nature of the overt Subject requirement in Russian and has presented two different approaches to account for the obligatory movement of non-Nominative Subjects into preverbal position. Bailyn (2004) and Lavine and Freidin (2001) explain obligatory Subject raising through an EPP approach, claiming that movement of non-Nominative Subjects into preverbal position is due to an overt specifier (EPP) feature on I. Bailyn and Lavine and Freidin argue that the preverbal position is an Argument-position, using data from binding and weak crossover. While the EPP approach captures the similarity between Grammatical Subjects and non-Nominative Subjects in preverbal position, it fails to account for the effect of referentiality and specificity on the movement of non-Nominative Subjects into preverbal position. The EPP requirement is indifferent to the Case or interpretation of the element that fulfills it. Therefore, the EPP cannot explain why more referential or thematically higher elements are more likely to move to preverbal position.

King (1995) argues for a different approach to obligatory preverbal elements. She

claims that the movement of Subjects to preverbal position is not, in fact, a requirement but simply a tendency that sentences have internal discourse Topics. Grammatical and non-Nominative Subjects alike adjoin to IP when they are the Topic of discourse. This approach is consistent with the evidence presented in Chapter 1, which shows that preverbal subjects have a certain discourse interpretation. We also saw in Chapter 1, however, that Russian avoids verb-initial sentences, which demonstrates that movement to preverbal position is not optional.

Combining both approaches, I have argued in this chapter that Subject movement to preverbal position is driven neither by a Topic function nor by an EPP requirement. Tests of Binding Principles A and B revealed that non-Nominative Subjects may bind both anaphors and pronouns from preverbal position. These data suggest that non-Nominative Subject are located between an Argument and a non-Argument position. I further argue that non-Nominative and Nominative Subjects move to the same projection. In order to have the features of both an A- and an A'-position, the Subject landing site must be between the IP and the CP domains.

Thus, we are left with several unresolved questions, which will be addressed in the next two chapters. Neither approach to Russian obligatory Subjects has addressed the issue of pro-drop: How is it possible that the requirement for an overtly filled preverbal position can be fulfilled by a null element? Another unresolved question concerns the nature of the preverbal Subject position. The position is unique because it is both obligatory and related to a specific discourse interpretation. Topic positions are generally not obligatory, while obligatory positions are generally discourse-neutral. Theories developed for Russian, however, have been insufficient to account for the unique status of the Subject position. Chapter 4 turns to analyses developed for other languages in order to investigate the precise nature of the preverbal Subject requirement in Russian.

Chapter 4

Russian in Crosslinguistic Perspective

4.1 Introduction

The preceding investigation of non-Nominative subjects in Russian has shown that the preverbal Subject position has unique properties distinct from Case and Agreement. This position is associated with a certain discourse requirement, loosely described as specificity or referentiality. All elements in preverbal position behave as though they were between an A- and an A'-position with respect to Binding Theory. Prior approaches to Russian Subjects, however, have been unable to account for the obligatory nature of the Subject projection and its discourse interpretation.

This chapter will analyze recent crosslinguistic approaches to the interpretation and obligatory raising of Subjects. The proposal for a Subject Criterion is discussed in Section 4.2. Rizzi (2004, 2005) posits a projection—SubjP—reserved especially for Subjects and located precisely between the IP and the CP domain. Section 4.3 presents an analysis of Korean Major Subjects which demonstrate characteristics separate from those of Topics or Grammatical Subjects (Yoon, 2004).

In Section 4.4 I will show that obligatory Subject movement in Russian is a requirement for Major Subjects. I propose that Rizzi's Subject Criterion is essentially a Major-Subject Criterion. Unlike Rizzi, I do not posit the Subject Criterion to be

universal; Major Subjects can be obligatory, as in Russian, or optional, as in Korean. I take the syntactic position of Major Subjects to be SubjP—the projection directly dominating AgrP, the final projection in the IP domain.

At the end of this chapter I discuss the issue of pro-drop in light of the Subject Criterion. I adopt Holmberg's (2005) explanation of Finnish null Subjects to argue that certain null elements, because of their deictic interpretation, are allowed to fulfill the Subject Criterion in Russian.

4.2 The Subject Criterion: Rizzi (2004, 2005)

Rizzi (2004) formulates an approach to the EPP, in which he separates subjecthood into grammatical and discourse properties. Rizzi proposes that a different projection is associated with each type of properties. AgrP is the highest projection in the IP domain and values Nominative Case on the Grammatical Subject. Rizzi also adds a new category, SubjP, which is above AgrP, between the IP and CP domains and with properties of both. Unlike IP projections but similar to other projections in the CP domain, SubjP does not operate through uninterpretable ϕ -features. Instead, similar to FocP and TopP, SubjP is related to discourse semantics and matches its interpretable features with an appropriate constituent. A subject in Spec-SubjP must be 'Topic-like.' Rizzi defines Topics as elements that are Discourse- (D-)linked and have an 'aboutness' property. 'Aboutness' is not well-defined but similar to the Aristotelian notion discussed in the Introduction to this thesis. Subjects are different from Topics, however, because Subjects are not obligatorily D-linked. This loose definition allows for non-Nominative, and even non-nominal, elements to match features with the Head of SubjP.

On the other hand, SubjP does share some similarities with the IP domain because, similarly to uninterpretable features on Head of I, the Subject feature must be

obligatorily checked during the derivation. The fact that SubjP exhibits characteristics of both IP and CP means that movement to SubjP may seem ambiguous between A and A' movement. When applied to Russian, this ambiguity may help explain why non-Nominative Subjects tend to behave as though they were simultaneously in both A- and A'-position with respect to binding.

Rizzi reformulates the EPP as the Subject Criterion. He defines 'Criterion' as the final target of movement. When a constituent satisfies a Criterion, it is frozen in place and cannot move further. Other discourse functions can be similarly restated as Criteria, e.g. the Focus Criterion.

Rizzi separates a derivation into three parts: First Merge, which satisfies the s-selectional (Thematic) requirement of the predicate (i.e. the Theta Criterion); Final Merge, which satisfies Criteria in the CP domain; and intermediate positions between the two, where uninterpretable features are eliminated. AgrP is an intermediate projection, whose ϕ -features can be checked in passing by the Subject on the way to Spec-SubjP. Alternatively, the uninterpretable features on Agr can be checked by a different constituent from the one that fulfills the Subject Criterion. Non-Nominative Subjects result when one constituent raises to Spec-SubjP to fulfill the Subject Criterion, while a different element receives Nominative Case in situ via feature-checking with AgrP.

This approach has more explanatory power than the EPP because Rizzi explains the obligatory nature of the EPP through a discourse requirement. Discourse functions are fulfilled by overt movement in a number of languages; therefore Rizzi does not need to posit a different type of feature that drives movement. Furthermore, the reformulation of the EPP as the Subject Criterion helps explain why the EPP must be satisfied by movement: it is driven by a discourse requirement, not by uninterpretable features like Case, which can be valued in situ.

Rizzi similarly offers a new account of expletives. Since the Subject position is

associated with an ‘aboutness’ requirement, a speaker can use an expletive to signal that he does not intend for a predicate to be ‘about’ any one argument in particular.

A final consequence of Rizzi’s reformulation is the connection between the ECP and the EPP, two constraints that affect Subjects. The Subject Criterion can explain ECP effects, because a constituent used to satisfy the Subject Criterion cannot move further, making Subject Extraction impossible. Since Rizzi assumes that *pro* can fulfill the Subject Criterion, he is able to explain why *pro*-drop languages like Italian do not exhibit that-trace effects. With a *pro* expletive fulfilling the Subject Criterion, the Subject of an intransitive verb is free to extract from its First-Merge position into the matrix clause. Since English does not have null expletives to fulfill the Subject Criterion, Subject extraction is ungrammatical in English, demonstrated by the English glosses.

Rizzi (2005), *Italian*

(68) (a) *Chi credi che vincerà?*
 who think.2SG that win.3SG
 ‘Who do you think that will win’

(b) *Chi credi che*[*pro* [_{SUBJ} *vincer t_{chi}*]]

In Section 4.4 I apply Rizzi’s analysis to Russian Subjects. Using evidence from Chapter 3 that non-Nominative Subjects are ambiguous between A- and A’-position, I argue that Russian Subjects move to Spec-SubjP to fulfill the Subject Criterion. First, however, I turn to an analysis of Korean Major Subjects which also provide an interesting counterpoint to Russian non-Nominative Subjects.

4.3 Korean Major Subjects: Yoon (2004)

Yoon (2004) uses Korean non-Nominative-Subject Constructions to address subjecthood in Korean. In Korean, a Dative or Locative element may sometimes raise above

the Nominative constituent as in (69) and behave like a Subject in certain tests, including reflexive binding, shown in (70).

Yoon (2004), *Korean*

- (69) *Changmwun-ey seli-ka kkin-ta.*
 window.LOC frost.NOM collect.DECL
 ‘Frost builds on the window.’

- (70) *Cheli_k-eykey-nun [casin_k-uy chinkwutul]-i mwusep-ta.*
 Cheli.DAT.TOP self friends.NOM fearsome
 ‘Cheli_i is afraid of his_i friends.’

Korean non-Nominative Subjects also exhibit some unique characteristics. Unlike their Russian counterparts, Korean non-Nominative Subjects preferentially trigger honorific agreement on the verb.

Yoon (2004), *Korean*

- (71) (a) *Kim-sensayngnim-kkey Swuni-ka philyoha-si-ta.*
 Kim-teacher.DAT.HON Swuni.NOM necessary.HON.DECL
 ‘Professor Kim needs Swuni.’
- (b) **? Swuni-eykey Kim-sensayngnim-kkeyse philyoha-si-ta.*
 Swuni.DAT Kim-teacher.NOM.HON necessary.HON.DECL
 ‘Swuni needs Professor Kim.’

Some non-Nominative Subjects optionally appear in Nominative Case, resulting in a construction that contains two Nominative constituents in a sentence. This phenomenon is known as Case alternation.

Yoon (2004), *Korean*

- (72) *Cheli-eykey/ka toni-i issta.*
 Cheli.DAT/NOM money exist
 ‘Cheli has money.’

A final peculiar phenomenon associated with Korean non-Nominative Subjects is Case Stacking, which occurs when the non-Nominative element bears two Case markers, one structural (Nominative) and one inherent (Dative or Locative).

Yoon (2004), *Korean*

- (73) *Cheli-eykey-ka toni-i mahnta.*
 Cheli.DAT.NOM money a-lot

‘It is Cheli who has a lot of money.’

- (74) *Austin-eyse-ka Cheli-ka kongpwu-lul cal hayssessta*
 Austin.LOC.NOM Cheli.NOM study.ACC well do

‘It was while he was in Austin that Cheli did well in his studies.’

Yoon diverges from previous analyses of Korean non-Nominative Subjects, which maintain that grammatical Subjects bear Nominative Case and that Case stacking on a non-Nominative Subject is an indication of its ability to become a grammatical Subject (Case Alternation). Yoon demonstrates, however, that Case Alternation does not always correlate with Case Stacking: there are certain contexts in which Case Stacking, but not Case Alternation, is allowed.

Yoon (2004), *Korean*

- (75) *Austin-eyse/*?i/eyse-ka Cheli-ka kongpwu-lul cal hayssessta.*
 Austin.LOC/NOM/LOC.NOM Cheli.NOM study.ACC well do

‘It was while he was in Austin that Cheli did well in his studies.’

Yoon argues that sentences do not necessarily contain a unique Grammatical Subject. Subjects can be separated into two types: Grammatical Subjects and Major Subjects, and each type of Subject is associated with a set of behaviors. Major Subjects are associated with a specific discourse interpretation: the Subject must have an ‘aboutness’ relationship with the predicate.

Yoon (2004), *Korean*

- (76) (a) *Phayngki-ka 747-i khuta*
 airplane.NOM 747.NOM big

‘As for airplanes, the 747 is big.’

- (b) * *747-i pihayngki-ka khuta*
 747.NOM airplane.NOM big

As for the 747, the airplane is big.

Yoon argues that Major Subjects, but not Grammatical Subjects obligatorily receive Nominative-Case. Case Stacking, therefore, is a property of non-Nominative Major Subjects; when a non-Nominative element becomes a Major Subject, it is required to receive Nominative Case. Case Alternation, however, results from the optional status of Major Subjects—Dative Subjects, for example, are only Major Subjects when they bear Nominative Case.

Yoon defines Grammatical Subjects as elements that can trigger honorific agreement, regardless of Case. Thus the Dative Subject in (71) is actually a Grammatical Subject.¹ The Major Subject (MS) can be either separate from or co-indexed with the Grammatical Subject (GS). In the latter case, the Major Subject both surfaces with Nominative Case and triggers honorific agreement.

Yoon (2004), *Korean*

- (77) (a) *Cip-eyse-ka_i(MS) Kim-kyoswunim-kkey(GS) il-ul*
house.LOC.NOM Kim-professor.HON.DAT work.ACC
ha-si-ki-ka elyew-usi-ta
do.HON.NML.NOM difficult.HON.DECL
‘It is at home that it is difficult for Professor Kim to do work.’
- (b) *Kyoswunim-kkey-ka_i(MS) e_i(GS) ton-i*
professor.HON.DAT.NOM *e* money.NOM
philyoha-si-ta.
necessary.HON.DECL
‘It is the professor who needs money.’

In (77a) and in other sentences containing both types of Subjects, Major Subjects always precede Grammatical Subjects. Yoon, therefore, associates Major Subjects with the Specifier of IP. By contrast, Grammatical Subjects remain in the *v*P domain. Yoon claims that Major subjects are base-generated in SpecIP and that they take a Thematically saturated predicate as its complement and are assigned Nominative Case in their base position. Major Subjects are, therefore, not arguments of the

¹Grammatical Subjects nevertheless surface most often in Nominative Case. For some speakers, in fact, agreement is impossible with non-Nominative constituents (Yoon 2004).

predicate, but can be co-indexed with an argument as in (77b).

Korean Major Subjects bear similarities to Russian non-Nominative Subjects. In Section 4.4 I analyze Russian preverbal Subjects as Major Subjects. I argue that the main parametric difference between Korean and Russian is that Russian requires a sentence to have a Major Subject, while in Korean, Major Subjects are optional.

4.4 The Major-Subject Criterion

Yoon's account of Korean Major Subjects suggests a new analysis of Russian non-Nominative Subjects. I propose that Russian has a Major-Subject projection directly above AgrP in the IP domain. Like other CP projections, MSubjP is associated with a discourse interpretation and requires a Specifier-Head relationship to check its [+MSUBJ] feature. What distinguishes the Major-Subject position from other Criterial projections in the CP domain is that it is obligatorily expressed, unlike Focus or Topic projections.

Chapter 2 demonstrated that Russian places a referential discourse requirement on the element in preverbal position. This requirement is similar to those proposed for Subjects in other languages (Yoon 2004, Holmberg 2005). Following Rizzi (2004), I assume that the discourse interpretation of Subjects differs from that of Topics. While Subjects and Topics share an 'aboutness' feature, Topics have an additional D-linking requirement. Major Subjects, however, do not need to be D-linked to move to preverbal position. The thematically highest element does not have to adhere to discourse restrictions and can always raise to MSubjP. For thematically lower elements it appears that referentiality or specificity is a prerequisite for the 'aboutness' feature.

In transitive constructions it is most natural for the Agent to appear preverbally, but the object may move to preverbal position without D-linking if it is more specific than the Subject:

- (78) (a) # *Devochku poceloval malchik*
 girl.ACC kissed.SG.MASC boy.NOM
 ‘A boy kissed a girl.’
- (b) *Devochku s krasnym bantikom poceloval malchik*
 girl.ACC in red bow kissed.SG.MASC boy.NOM
 ‘A boy kissed the girl in the red bow.’
- (c) *Odnu devochku s krasnym bantikom poceloval*
 one girl.ACC with red bow kissed.SG.MASC
malchik
 boy.NOM
 ‘A boy kissed a certain girl with a red bow.’

As discussed in Chapter 2, the sentence in (78a) is possible only with narrow, contrastive focus on the postverbal Subject (for example, if in the particular context it was uncommon for boys to kiss girls). The sentence in (78b), however, does not require intonational emphasis because the thematic object is more specific and referential. Example (78c) establishes that the preverbal Subject has no D-linking requirement. This example shows that referentiality and specificity are the discourse function of Russian Major Subjects.

As discussed in Chapter 3, Binding Theory provides further evidence that movement to Spec MSubjP falls neither under A- nor A'-movement. Reconstruction does not always take place with OVS constructions, but it does occur with topicalized OSV constructions.

- (79) (a) *Svoju_i doch, Petja_i obnjal.*
 self daughter.ACC, Petja.NOM embraced.SG.MASC
 ‘His_i own daughter, Petja_i embraced.’
- (b) ?* *Svoju_i doch obnjal Petja_i.*²
 self daughter.ACC embraced.SG.MASC Petja.NOM
 ‘His_i own daughter, Petja_i embraced.’

²As discussed in Chapter 2, this example is possible if Petja is contrastively focused by intonational emphasis.

- (80) (a) ?? *Devochku obnjal svoj otec.*
 girl.ACC embraced.SG.MASC self father.NOM
 ‘Her_i father embraced the girl_i.’
- (b) * *Devochu, svoj otec obnjal.*
 girl.ACC self father.NOM embraced.SG.MASC
 ‘Her_i father embraced the girl_i.’

While the Accusative object undergoes reconstruction with respect to Binding Principle A in (79 & 80), the fronted object in OVS constructions behaves as if it were in A-position. These data demonstrate that Major Subjects behave differently from Topics, contrary to the claim in King (1995).

A similarity between Russian and Korean is that the same element may act simultaneously as the Major and Grammatical Subject.

- (81) *Petja nraivitsia uchitelnitse*
 Petja.NOM like.REFL.SG.MASC teacher.DAT
 ‘The teacher likes Petja.’

Non-Nominative Subjects, however, demonstrate that separate constituents may also serve as the two types of Subjects.

Grammatical Subjects behave differently in Korean and Russian. In Russian, Subject-verb agreement and Nominative-Case assignment are as reflexes of the same feature-checking operation. In Korean, on the other hand, Nominative Case does not presuppose the possibility of agreement. In both languages, however, the Grammatical Subject is the element that triggers agreement on the verb.

Another difference between Russian and Korean is that the Major Subject projection is not mandatory in Korean, so it behaves more like canonical projections in the CP domain. In Russian, however, the SubjP projection is mandatory and exhibits more properties of the IP domain.³

³Korean Major Subjects also appear to have a stronger ‘aboutness’ requirement (see (76)). In Korean, unlike in Russian, the Major Subject is not an argument of the predicate, making it similar to Russian external Topics (King 1995). The presence of a separate Topic marker in Korean

I propose that the relevant parametric difference between Russian and Korean is the obligatory nature of MSubjP. In this respect, I diverge from Rizzi (2004, 2005) because he posits that the Subject Criterion is universal, while I maintain that MSubjP can be either obligatory or optional. This approach raises a question about the status of pro-drop: Rizzi analyzes null pronouns and expletives as elements that can fulfill the Subject Criterion. In a framework where the Subject Criterion is not universal, it is difficult to distinguish between languages that can fulfill the Subject Criterion with null elements and languages without a Subject Criterion. The following section addresses the issue of Russian pro-drop by adopting Holmberg's (2005) analysis for Finnish null Subjects.

4.5 Russian pro-Drop and Null Subjects in Finnish: Holmberg (2005)

Holmberg's (2005) approach to Finnish null Subjects sheds light on pro-drop in Russian. Holmberg argues that certain null categories are referential, while others are ϕ Ps, and not DPs, making them not referential enough to fulfill the Subject requirement of Finnish. I adopt his analysis to explain why some null categories are allowed to satisfy the Subject Criterion.

Finnish, like Russian, is a partial null-Subject language, though it is slightly more permissive than Russian with respect to the environments where null Subjects are allowed. Finnish first- and second-person pronouns can be optionally null in any environment, while third-person pronouns can be null in certain contexts where the

demonstrates, however, that Major Subjects are distinct from the Topic discourse function (Yoon 2004).

Yoon (2004), *Korean*

- (i) *Cheli_k-eykey-(nun) [casin_k-uy chinkwutul]-i mwusep-ta.*
 Cheli.DAT.(TOP) SELF friends.NOM fearsome
 'Cheli is afraid of his friends.'

antecedent is bound by an element in the previous clause.

Holmberg (2005), *Finnish*

- (82) (a) (*Minä*) *puhun englantia.*
 (I) speak.1SG English
 ‘I speak English.’
- (b) (*Sinä*) *puhun englantia.*
 (you) speak.2SG English
 ‘You speak English.’
- (83) (a) *Pekka_i vitt ett hn_{i/j}/e_{i/*j} puhuu englantia hyvin.*
 Pekka claims that he/e speaks English well
 ‘Pekka claims that he speaks English well.’
- (b) *Polkien_i mielest oli noloa kun he_{i/j}/e_{i/*j} jivät*
 boys.GEN opinion.ABL was embarrassing when they/e came
kilpailussa viimeiseksi.
 race.INE last
 ‘The boys found it embarrassing when they came last in the race.’

Otherwise, Finnish requires an overt element to move to SpecIP. While any Nominative elements can move to SpecIP, non-Nominative elements must have a certain discourse interpretation, loosely understood as ‘potential Topic’. In order to be a potential Topic a non-Nominative constituent must be referential. Holmberg claims that the relevant referentiality feature amounts to the presence or absence of a D-node. Thus, in order to serve as a Subject, a constituent must be either a DP or a different type of referential category: Locative, Temporal, Instrumental, but not manner or reason.

Holmberg (2005), *Finnish*

- (84) (a) * *Meni nyt hullusti*
 went now wrong
 ‘Now things went wrong.’
- (b) *Nyt meni hullusti*
 now went wrong
 ‘Now things went wrong.’

(c) * *hullusti meni*
 wrong went
 ‘Now things went wrong.’

(d) *Meni hullusti*
 went wrong
 ‘Things went wrong.’

Thus it appears that Finnish, like Russian, has a Major Subject requirement separate from the requirement for Subject-verb agreement. The similarity between Russian and Finnish extends to expletive use with predicates that do not select Thematic arguments. Finnish allows verb-first sentences only when the verb is focused or when no element is available to move to SpecIP. As in Russian, certain weather predicates must remain null, even though quasi-referential expletives are allowed in constructions with clausal complements (Franks, 1995).

Holmberg (2005), *Finnish*

(85) (a) (*Se*) *oli hauskaa että tulit käymä:an.*
 it was nice that came.2SG visiting
 ‘It was nice that you came to visit.’

(b) (**Se*) *Sataa vettä.*
 (it) Rains water.PAR
 ‘It’s raining.’

(86) (a) (*eto*) *priyatno, chto my guljajem v parke.*
 it pleasant that we walk in park
 ‘It is nice that we are walking in the park.’

(b) (**eto*) *temneet.*
 it get-dark
 ‘It is getting dark.’

There are certain contexts, however, in which Finnish employs an overt expletive, unlike Russian. In fact, what makes Finnish particularly interesting is the interaction between overt expletives and null subjects. The expletive *sitä* is mandatory in

sentences where an element that could potentially move to SpecIP remains in its original position. For example, when an overt first- or second-person pronoun occurs postverbally, an expletive must merge with IP. When the pronouns are null, however, expletives are disallowed.

Holmberg (2005), *Finnish*

- (87) (a) *Sitä olen minkin kynyt Pariisissa.*
 EXP be.1SG I-too visited Paris
 ‘I have been to Paris, too.’
- (b) * *Sitä puhun englantia.*
 EXP speak.1SG English
 ‘I speak English.’
- (c) * *Sitä minä puhun englantia.*
 EXP I speak.1SG English
 ‘I speak English.’

Holmberg uses these data to argue that null first- and second-person pronouns fulfill the EPP. He, therefore, analyzes null first- and second-person pronouns as full referential DPs that get deleted.⁴

Finally, Holmberg demonstrates that null generic pronouns do not satisfy the EPP.

Holmberg(2005), *Finnish*

- (88) (a) *Tässä istuu mukavasti.*
 here sit.3SG comfortably
 ‘One can sit comfortably here.’
- (b) (*Sitä*) *istuu mukavasti tässä.*
 EXP here sit.3SG comfortably here
 ‘One can sit comfortably here.’

He concludes that the generic null pronoun and the null third-person pronoun are the same category: ϕ P. This category has interpretable ϕ -features, but it cannot be

⁴Holmberg claims that there is no significant difference in interpretation between constructions that have an expletive Subject and constructions where the referential Subject raises to SpecIP. He does, however, concede that a fronted constituent has a more specific interpretation.

a referential category without the head D. In order to be referential, the null third person pronoun must be either a variable bound by a DP in a higher clause (as in the case of Finnish null third person pronouns) or interpreted as generic.

The same bound and generic third-person pronoun can be seen to an extent in Russian. The inability of a null generic to serve as a Major Subject can be observed in Russian with third-person plural impersonal construction, discussed in Chapter 2. The null generic Subject receives an Agentive interpretation and triggers agreement, but the Accusative object must still raise to preverbal position.⁵ A third person pronoun can also be null when bound by prior discourse, although, unlike Finnish, the same is true of first and second person pronouns. Examples from Chapter 2 are repeated below.

Adapted from Franks (1995)

- (89) (a) *V komnatu voshel Ivan. On/e skazal "Rad vas videt."*
 in room entered Ivan he/e said glad you see
 'Ivan entered the room. He said "Glad to see you."'
- (b) *V komnatu voshel Ivan. 'Rad vas videt,' skazal on/*e.*
 in room entered Ivan glad you see said he/e
 'Ivan entered the room. "Glad to see you," he said.'
- (90) (a) *Ivan думает, что ja/?e pojdu*
 Ivan thinks that I/e will-come
 'Ivan thinks that I will come'
- (b) *Ja ne pojdu, no Ivan думает, что ja/e pojdu.*
 I not will-come, but Ivan thinks that I/e will-come
 'I am not coming, but Ivan thinks that I will come'

The main difference between Russian and Finnish is that Russian does not allow null first- and second-person pronouns. Holmberg claims that first- and second-person pronouns are full DPs in Finnish and not subject to the same discourse binding

⁵In Russian the third person plural construction can be existential as well as generic, which suggests that the relevant interpretation is 'arbitrary', rather than 'generic'.

requirements as null third-person pronouns. I propose that in Russian they are not full DPs, but only ϕ Ps, and thus require discourse binding to serve as Major Subjects. More languages allow first- and second-person null Subject pronouns than third-person null Subject pronouns, due to the deictic nature of the former. Yokoyama (1986) claims that for Russian Topics are the intersection between the speaker's and hearer's matter of concern. She proposes that, in a discourse-initial context, deictic material can serve as the discourse Topic. The deictic material includes first- and second-person pronouns, as well as referents to the place and time of the speech event (*here, now*). Just as first- and second-person pronouns are given special Topic status in Russian, they are more likely to be referential null Subjects than third-person pronouns.

Similar to first- and second-person pronouns, *here* is deictic material shared by both speaker and hearer. As discussed in Chapter 2, Babyonyshev (1996) proposes that postverbal Subjects of unaccusative predicates are preceded by a null deictic Locative phrase.

Babyonyshev (1996)

- (91) (a) *Zashli gosti.*
 entered guests
 ‘Guests dropped by (my place).’
- (b) *Gosti zashli.*
 guests entered
 ‘The guests came in.’

This approach allows me to analyze unaccusative predicates with postverbal Subjects as always having preverbal deictic material. The reason Russian and Finnish weather predicates do not allow overt expletives is because there is already a null deictic Locative phrase in preverbal position.

Applying Homberg's analysis of Finnish to Russian null Subjects, I conclude that the existence of null Subjects does not contradict a Major Subject Criterion. By virtue

of their implied reference to a previous Topic of discourse, certain null elements are allowed to serve as Major Subjects.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter has resolved several issues left open at the end of Chapter 3. One challenge was how to explain the ambiguous nature of the preverbal Subject position in Russian. Non-Nominative Subjects behaved as if between an A- and A'-position with respect to Binding Theory. A related issue was the discourse function of preverbal Subjects. I observed that referential Subjects are more likely to move to preverbal position—a behavior inconsistent with the purely formal approach to obligatory Subjects advocated by proponents of the EPP. Positing a requirement for mandatory discourse Subjects—the Major-Subject Criterion—resolves both issues.

Following Rizzi (2004, 2005), I have posited a Subject projection (MSubjP) directly above AgrP in the IP domain. This position serves a discourse function, best understood as ‘aboutness’ or ‘referentiality.’ Adopting an analysis of Korean Major Subjects (Yoon 2004), I have proposed that Russian has two types of Subjects: Grammatical Subjects, which trigger agreement on the verb, and Major Subjects, which serve a discourse function and obligatorily move to a MSubjP projection.

Consistent with Rizzi (2004, 2005) I argue that the Major Subject Criterion does not involve ϕ -feature checking and is fulfilled through Final Merge. In order to account for the optional nature of Major Subjects in Korean, I propose, contra Rizzi, that the mandatory projection of MSubjP is not a principle, but a parameter.

The final section of this chapter has addressed the issue of pro-drop, left open at the end of Chapters 2 and 3, namely how can an overt preverbal Subject requirement be fulfilled by a null element. Using Holmberg’s (2005) analysis of Finnish, I allow for the possibility of null elements fulfilling the Major Subject Criterion, but only if

they are referential through being bound by previous discourse (or by being inherently deictic, such as the locative *there*). I conclude that all verb-initial unaccusative constructions have a deictic referential element in Spec-MSubjP.

In the following chapter, I will apply the theory presented here to explain crosslinguistic variation with respect to Major Subjects. In particular, it appears that a language like English has a purely formal Subject requirement: with few exceptions only a Nominative Subject is allowed to move to preverbal position. The final chapter of this thesis takes into account parametric variation and proposes a crosslinguistic typology with respect to Major Subjects.

The analysis presented in this chapter has brought us closer to a break-down of subjecthood into certain primitives. So far, we have seen that there are two distinct notions of subjecthood, one determined by Subject-verb agreement, and the other determined by movement to preverbal position. Chapter 5 will propose a third type of Subject, completing my analysis of the primitives of subjecthood.

Chapter 5

Towards a Universal Subject Typology

5.1 Introduction

Chapter 1 discussed the challenges of drawing crosslinguistic generalizations about subjecthood. It argued that understanding the basic mechanisms of subjecthood first for a single language will shed light on an approach to a more universal definition of Subjects. Chapters 2 and 3 focused on a language-internal analysis of Russian non-Nominative Subjects and examined the importance of location alone for Subject-like behavior and interpretation. Russian preverbal non-Nominative Subjects were found to have a certain discourse interpretation and to behave as though they were between the CP and IP domains with respect to Binding Theory. Chapter 4 applied recent theoretical advances developed for languages other than Russian to explain the behavior of Russian non-Nominative Subjects. Adopting an analysis of Korean Major Subjects, I proposed that Russian has a Major-Subject Criterion, a requirement for some element to fulfill the ‘aboutness’ discourse function by moving to Spec-MSubjP.

This chapter expands the mechanisms developed for Russian in Chapter 4 to provide a more universal definition of subjecthood. The first part of my analysis proposes three parameters to account for the crosslinguistic variation in the interaction of grammatical and Major Subjects. The two types of Subjects can be associated with

a single projection or two separate projections. In the latter case, major Subjects can be either optional or obligatory. If the features responsible for the two types of Subjects are on the same projection, this projection can be either IP-internal (on AgrP) or IP-external (or MSubjP). Four languages that fit the parametric specifications are Korean, Russian, English, and Kinande.

The second half of my proposal for a universal theory of subjecthood addresses whether two types of Subjects are enough to explain the existence of prototypical Subjects. I propose that another type of Subject is needed to explain the special status of Subjects of transitive verbs: in addition to Major and Grammatical Subjects, I posit Thematic Subjects. Using the terminology of Rizzi (2004), I argue that each type of Subject corresponds to a specific level in the derivation: First Merge, ϕ -feature checking, and Final Merge. Although many languages obscure the distinction between these three types of Subjects, Russian allows us to observe the full variation.

This chapter ends with a discussion of some issues that I have not directly addressed in my analysis; I demonstrate that my theory provides a framework for the future research of these issues.

5.2 Parametric Variation

In Chapter 4, I proposed that the landing site of Major Subjects, including Russian non-Nominative Subjects, is Spec-MSubjP. Following Rizzi (2004, 2005), I assume that MSubjP is merged directly above the highest projection of the IP domain, AgrP.¹ When MSubjP is projected, it must check its [+MSUBJ] feature through overt movement (and thus fulfill the Major Subject Criterion), similarly to other projections in the CP domain. Major Subjects contrast with Grammatical Subjects, which check their uninterpretable ϕ -features with AgrP in situ through the operation

¹Bailyn (2004) and Lavine and Freidin (2001) do not allow for multiple projections within the IP and CP domain in Russian. I maintain that such an approach does not fully account for the behavior of Russian non-Nominative Subjects.

Agree. Grammatical Subjects trigger Subject-verb agreement, while Major Subjects are associated with a certain referential discourse interpretation.²

5.2.1 Optionality

The Major-Subject Criterion is not universal, demonstrated by the optionality of major Subjects in Korean (Yoon 2004). This is a parametric difference between Korean and Russian Subjects: while Russian obligatorily projects MSubjP, in Korean MSubjP is optional, similar to TopP or FocP. The optionality parameter is summarized in Table 5.1.

	RUSSIAN	KOREAN
MSubjP OBLIGATORY	+	-

Table 5.1: Optionality Parameter

5.2.2 Number of Projections

Russian and Korean allow two separate constituents to serve as Major and Grammatical Subjects. In (92) and (93) the Grammatical Subject (GS) picks out a different referent from the Major Subject (MS). Example (93) is repeated from Chapter 4.

- (92) *Dima*(MS) *nравjatsia* *arbuzy*(GS).
 Dima.DAT likes.REFL.PL watermelons.PL
 ‘Dima likes watermelons.’

Yoon (2004), *Korean*

- (93) *cip-eyse-ka_i*(MS) *Kim-kyoswunim-kkey*(GS) *il-ul*
 house.LOC.NOM Kim-professor.HON.DAT work.ACC
ha-si-ki-ka *elyew-usi-ta*
 do.HON.NML.NOM difficult.HON.DECL
 ‘It is at home that it is difficult for Professor Kim to do work.’

²As discussed in Chapter 4, while the verb consistently agrees with the Nominative element in Russian, in Korean, agreement is independent of Case. For this reason, I define Grammatical Subjects by their ability to trigger agreement on the verb.

This dissociation between Grammatical and Major Subjects follows straightforwardly from the existence of two separate projections, each associated with a different type of Subject. In both Korean and Russian, the Grammatical Subject may check its ϕ -features with Agr while remaining vP -internally.

English, however, does not seem to allow internal arguments to raise to preverbal position, while the Nominative NP remains inside vP . A referential interpretation does not make inversion more grammatical, so only one element in a sentence is eligible to move to preverbal position. (I use an indirect object in preverbal position in (94) in order to control for the lack of a rich agreement paradigm in English.)

- (94) (a) * To a girl talked a boy.
 (b) * To the girl in the red hat talked a boy.

On top of requiring an overtly filled preverbal position, English places more severe restrictions on the nature of the preverbal element than Russian. Moreover, English appears to associate no specific discourse interpretation with the preverbal position.³

It appears at first glance that the landing site of English preverbal Subjects is inherently different from that of their Russian counterparts. In English, movement to preverbal position is inextricably connected to Subject-verb agreement and Nominative-Case assignment. Assuming that uninterpretable ϕ -features on Agr drive Subject-verb agreement, the only available preverbal Subject position in English must be Spec-AgrP (or SpecIP for theories that do not posit multiple projection within the IP domain). This has been the traditional assumption in syntactic theory and has led to the postulation of the EPP as an overt Specifier requirement on I (Chomsky 1995). The Major-Subject Criterion proposed for Russian seems to be a Grammatical-Subject Criterion in English, which is problematic for a universal account of Subject movement to preverbal position.

³The observation that English places no discourse requirements on its Major Subjects is inconclusive, because the highest Thematic elements also do not require a specific discourse interpretation in Russian or Finnish in order to fulfill the Major-Subject Criterion.

The obligatory nature of Subject movement to SpecIP is surprising, however, given the widely accepted hypothesis that ϕ -feature-checking may occur in situ via Agree. Postulating a Grammatical Subject Criterion would require additional machinery to explain why movement is necessary to check ϕ -features in English.

A Major-Subject approach to English, however, is able to account for obligatory movement without extra machinery. Instead of having two different projections associated with Major and Grammatical Subjects, English checks both the [+MSUBJ] feature and uninterpretable ϕ -features on the same projection. English, therefore, does not project a separate MSubjP, but places the features of Agr and MSubj onto the Head of just one of the two projections: AgrP.

Therefore, despite first impressions the Major Subject Criterion is able to explain the seemingly obligatory nature of Grammatical Subjects. In order to check its ϕ -features with Agr, a constituent must simultaneously check the [+MSUBJ] feature. Since the only way to check the [+MSUBJ] feature is through overt movement (Final Merge), the Grammatical Subject must raise to Spec-AgrP.

A Major-Subject analysis of English faces a challenge in explaining the use of expletive pronouns with postverbal Subjects.

(95) There arrived three men at the door.

The verb agrees with the predicate-internal Subject, while the Major Subject requirement in AgrP is fulfilled by the expletive pronoun *there*. A contradiction emerges: If Grammatical Subjects must always raise to preverbal position to check uninterpretable ϕ -features, how can the Subject remain inside the predicate in (95)? The explanation lies in a well-known restriction on the postverbal Subject in English: it must be existential and indefinite.

(96) There arrived a/*every/*the ship into the harbor.

Following Rizzi (2004), I argue that the presence of a *there*-type expletive reflects the choice of the speaker not to present the predicate as being ‘about’ one particular argument. The expletive *there*, moreover, does not have the structure to check ϕ -features (it is not a ϕ P, in Homberg’s (2005) terms). Therefore, after the expletive has merged to check the [+MSUBJ] feature, Agr must still eliminate its uninterpretable ϕ -features through the operation Agree. Inversion is, therefore, possible in English, only when the preverbal element lacks a ϕ P structure.⁴

The English data have helped establish a second crosslinguistic parameter associated with the interaction of Grammatical and Major Subjects, summarized in Table 5.2. The parametric difference between English, on the one hand, and Russian and Korean, on the other hand, is that Korean and Russian project both a MSubjP and an AgrP, while English combines the features of Agr and MSubj on the same projection—AgrP—and both types of the features must be checked by a single element.

	RUSSIAN	KOREAN	ENGLISH
NUMBER OF PROJECTIONS	2	2	1

Table 5.2: Number-of-Projections Parameter

5.2.3 A Mysterious Gap

In English uninterpretable ϕ -features and the [+MSUBJ] feature must be checked in AgrP. English, Korean, and Russian represent three language-types with respect to Grammatical and Major Subjects. There is a fourth possible language-type, however, which is so far missing from the typology: a language which combines [+MSUBJ] feature and ϕ -features in MSubjP, rather than in AgrP.

⁴English Locative inversion, however, remains unexplained under this analysis. It is plausible that the Locative element moves higher than Spec-AgrP or that a Locative phrase lacks a ϕ P structure, but such approaches would fail to capture the crosslinguistic similarities of Locative inversion constructions. I leave the analysis of English Locative inversion to future research.

What Subject properties should such a language exhibit? Since the elements raising to MSubjP would be fulfilling a discourse function, different constituents within the predicate should be able to raise to Spec-MSubjP, not just the argument that would normally check its ϕ -features with Agr. A Major-Subject discourse function would determine which element raises to Spec-MSubjP, but any element in MSubjP would have to trigger Subject-verb agreement, because the same element must check both [+MSubj] and ϕ -features. Below I argue that Kinande fits this description exactly.

5.2.4 Kinande: Baker (2003)

Kinande, is a Bantu language, and it has the peculiar property that dislocated constituents trigger Subject-verb agreement (Baker 2003). I argue that Kinande forms a minimal pair with English with respect to the projection where all Subject features are checked, summarized in Table 5.3.

	ENGLISH	KINANDE
‘SUBJECT’ PROJECTION	AgrP	MSubjP

Table 5.3: Projection-Type Parameter

In Kinande preverbal Subjects are mandatory, and they trigger noun-class Subject agreement on the verb. In (97a) the verb agrees with the noun class of *abakali* ‘woman’(2). Baker (2003), *Kinande*

- (97) (a) *Abakali ba-[a]-gul-a eritunda.*
 woman.2 2.S-T-buy-FV fruit.5
 ‘The woman bought the fruit.’
- (b) * *ba-[a]-gul-a Abakali eritunda.*
 2.S-T-buy-FV woman.2 fruit.5
 ‘The woman bought the fruit.’

Preverbal Subjects, however, are not restricted to the Thematically highest element, or even to an argument of the verb. Similar to Korean and Russian, Kinande often al-

lows Locative constituents to move to preverbal position. Unlike Korean and Russian, however, these preverbal elements trigger noun-class Subject agreement on the verb regardless of their Thematic role or argument status. Kinande has several inversion constructions. One is Locative inversion in (98a); the other is similar to OVS inversion in Russian—the object of a transitive verb raises to preverbal position, while the Thematic Subject remains inside the predicate.

Baker (2003), *Kinande*

- (98) (a) ? *Omo-mulongo mw-a-hik-a omukali.*
 LOC.18-village.3 18.S-T-arrive-FV woman.1
 ‘At the village arrived a woman.’
- (b) *Olukwi si-lu-li-seny-a bakali.*
 wood.11 NEG-11.S-PRES-chop-FV women.2
 ‘Women do not chop wood.’

This agreement pattern behaves exactly as predicted for a language where ϕ -features and the [+MSUBJ] feature are combined on the Head of MSubjP. Kinande preverbal Subjects are, moreover, associated with a specific discourse interpretation; a constituent must be referential in order to move to preverbal position. Subjects of existential constructions, for example, can neither appear preverbally nor trigger agreement. In Kinande existential constructions, there a locative affix *-ha* appears in place of the Subject-agreement affix. This affix is reminiscent of the English expletive *there*; thus it fulfills the Major-Subject Criterion by signaling that the predicate is not ‘about’ a single argument.

Baker (2003), *Kinande*

- (99) *Mo-ha-teta-sat-a mukali omo-soko*
 AFF-there-NEG/PAST-dance-FV woman.1 LOC.18-market
 ‘No woman danced in the market.’

Kinande has a special morphological form for non-referential nouns. Nouns in existential constructions drop their initial vowel and assume a special ‘augmentless’

form: *o-mu-kali* ‘woman[+AUG]’ in contrast to *mu-kali* ‘woman[-AUG]’. As expected, augmentless nouns may not move to preverbal position to trigger agreement. Moreover, OVS constructions are ungrammatical when the postverbal Subject has an augment. The grammaticality of Locative inversion constructions is also improved with augmentless nouns.

Baker (2003), *Kinande*

- (100) (a) * *Mu-kali mo-a-teta-gul-a eritunda*
 CL1-woman AFF-1.S/T-NEG/PAST-buy-FV fruit.5
 ‘No woman bought a fruit.’
- (b) *Olukwi si-lu-li-seny-a (*a)-bakali.*
 Wood.11 NEG-11.S-PRES-chop-FV (AUG)-women.2
 ‘Women do not chop wood.’
- (c) *Omo-mulongo mw-a-hik-a (?o)-mukali.*
 LOC.18-village.3 18.S-T-arrive-FV (AUG)-woman.1
 ‘At the village arrived a woman.’

Although he analyzes Subject dislocation as discourse-driven, Baker notes that the landing site of preverbal Kinande Subjects is relatively close to the IP-domain (in fact, he analyzes Subject movement as adjunction to IP). He demonstrates that Subjects must always follow dislocated objects.

Baker (2003), *Kinande*

- (101) (a) *Eritunda, omukali a-ri-gul-a.*
 fruit.5 woman.1 1S/T-OM-buy-FV
 ‘The fruit, the woman bought it.’
- (b) * *Omukali, eritunda, a-ri-gul-a*
 woman.1 fruit.5 1-S/T-OM5-buy-FV
 ‘The woman, the fruit, she bought it.’

It is now possible to account for Kinande Subjects through a major-Subject approach. On the one hand, Kinande differs from Russian and Korean, because it only has one projection, which checks both [+MSUBJ] and uninterpretable ϕ -features. On

the other hand, in contrast to English, Kinande combines these features on MSubjP instead of on AgrP. Consequentially, Major-Subject status determines agreement in Kinande, whereas agreement determines Major-Subject status in English. These data demonstrate that Kinande represents the final language-type in the Major-Subject typology, filling an otherwise mysterious gap.⁵

5.2.5 A Major Subject Typology

Table 5.4 summarizes the parametric variation associated with the interaction between Grammatical and Major Subjects. The four language types are represented by Russian, Korean, English, and Kinande.

	2 PROJECTIONS	1 PROJECTION	
OBLIGATORY	Russian	English	AGRP
OPTIONAL	Korean	Kinande	MSUBJP

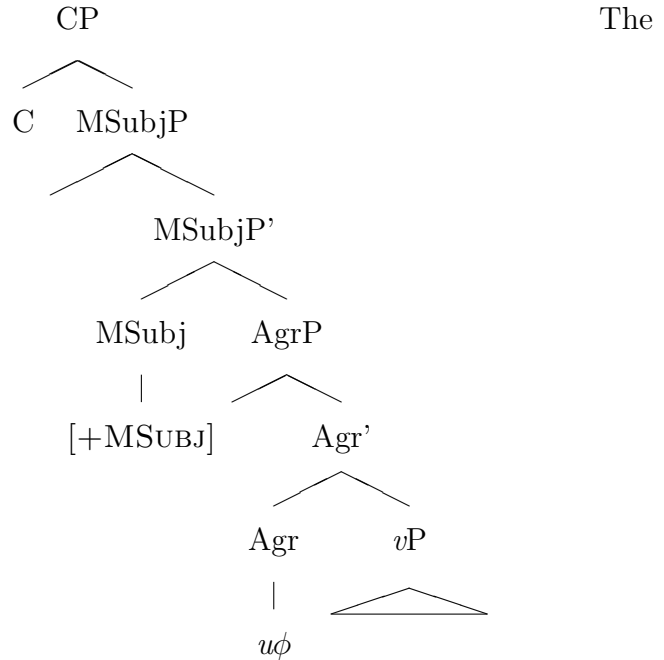
Table 5.4: Major Subject Parameters

Languages vary with along three parameters. The first parameter determines whether Major Subjects and Grammatical Subjects are realized on two separate projections, as in Korean and Russian, or on a single projection, as in English and Kinande. Russian and Korean have a [+MSUBJ] feature on the Head of MSubjP, and uninterpretable ϕ -features on the Head of AgrP. I assume that ϕ features can be checked in situ via Agree, while the [+MSUBJ] feature, like other discourse features, must be checked by overt movement to Spec-MSubjP. The structure of Russian and

⁵This phenomenon is not unique to Kinande. Most Bantu languages exhibit noun-class Subject-verb agreement with dislocated Subjects. In languages, such as Kilega, even wh-phrases trigger subject agreement (Castens, 2005).

- (i) *Bik bi--ks-l- bbo bkulu mwm mu-mwlo?*
 8what 8CA-A-give-PERF-FV 2that 2woman 1chief 18-3village
 What did those women give the chief in the village?

Korean is depicted below. (102)

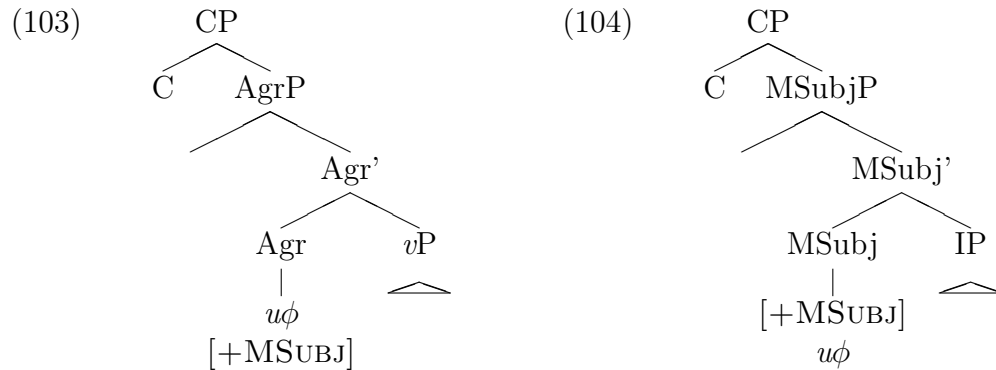


optionality parameter separates otherwise similar Korean and Russian. In Korean, major Subjects are optional, while in Russian they are obligatory.

Languages like Kinande and English combine ϕ -features and the [+MSUBJ] feature on a single projection. English and Kinande do not vary along the optionality parameter—agreeing Subjects must raise to preverbal position. This gap, however, is no accident. Languages with ϕ -features and [+MSUBJ] on the same projection do not have the option to check ϕ -features through Agree, because the element that triggers Subject-verb agreement must simultaneously fulfill the Major-Subject Criterion, which can only be fulfilled by overt movement.

The relevant parametric difference between English and Kinande determines the projection, on which the two types of features are grouped: AgrP or SubjP. If the features are on AgrP as in English, Subject-verb agreement is primary to discourse function. In this case, the elements that may raise to preverbal position are limited to the one constituent that enters into an Agree relation with Agr. By contrast, if the features are grouped on MSubjP, discourse interpretation is primary, and ϕ -feature-checking is secondary. In that case, a number of different constituents may raise to

preverbal position, but all must trigger Subject-verb agreement. The structure of English is shown in (103) and the structure of Kinande is shown in (104); a contrast that emerges as a result of this parameter is that Subjects are internal to IP in English, but external to IP in Kinande.



The proposed typology is able to account for crosslinguistic variation with respect to Grammatical and Major Subjects. In the following section I propose that a third type of Subject contributes to the definition of subjecthood; Thematic Subjects complete the set of subjecthood primitives.

5.3 Three Primitives of Subjecthood

This thesis began by positing that there is something unique about the Subject of a transitive verb; it is in a sense ‘prototypical,’ understood by every educated speaker to be a Subject. So far, we have identified two characteristics that contribute to the notion of Subject: Subject-verb agreement (Grammatical subjecthood) and movement to Spec-MSubjP (Major subjecthood). It appears, however, that Thematic relations strongly influence which constituent becomes a Grammatical or Major Subject.

In every language discussed in this thesis the Thematically highest element is the most likely constituent to become the Major or Grammatical Subject. For example, in Korean, Grammatical Subjects are equivalent to the Thematically highest argument of the predicate (Yoon 2004). In Russian, external arguments must always

become Grammatical Subjects, and the Thematically highest constituent raises to preverbal position most naturally even in the absence of agreement as in (experiencer thematic4a).

- (105) (a) *Pete zhal Vasju.*
 Petja.DAT feel-sorry[-AGR] Vasja.ACC
 ‘Petja feels sorry for Vasja.’
- (b) # *Vasju zhal Pete.*
 Vasja.ACC feel-sorry[-AGR] Petja.DAT
 ‘Petja feels sorry for Vasja.’

Similarly, in Kinande, it is most common for a Thematic Subject to become the Grammatical Subject (Baker, 2003). Non-Thematic preverbal Subjects are allowed in very specific contexts, including Subject-object reversal—associated with contrastive focus on the Thematic Subject—and Locative inversion, which is only possible with unaccusative predicates. Although my thesis has addressed Nominative-Accusative languages, Subjects of transitive verbs have an even more marked status in ergative languages, because they are treated separately from the internal Subjects with respect to Case-marking. It appears, therefore, that the notion of subjecthood must encompass an understanding of the argument structure of the verb. I propose that Thematic prominence is one of the three primitives, which, combined, produce the prototypical Subject. Section 5.3.1 proposes an explanation for the importance of Thematic hierarchies.

5.3.1 A Derivational Approach

I have argued that there are three types of Subjects: Thematic, Grammatical, and Discourse (major). I now propose that each of these Subjects corresponds to a different stage of the derivation: lexical (semantic), syntactic, and pragmatic, respectively. At each stage of the derivation, there is an argument that is most ‘prominent.’ In

other words, each stage in the derivation has its own Subject. A prototypical Subject is prominent at each level in the derivation. Another way to express the connection between the three types of Subjects is by reference to clausal functional domains: the Thematic Subject is the most prominent argument in the vP-domain, the Grammatical Subject is most prominent in the IP domain, and Major Subjects are most prominent in the CP domain. In the following discussion I will address what makes an argument prominent at each stage in the derivation.

This approach to subjecthood is consistent with Rizzi's (2004, 2005) analysis of the Subject Criterion. As discussed in Chapter 4, Rizzi identifies three distinct stages of a derivation: First Merge, feature-checking, and Final Merge. He claims that the Theta Criterion is satisfied by First Merge, while the Subject Criterion is satisfied by Final Merge. Between First and Final Merge, ϕ -feature checking takes place by means of the operation Agree. I apply Rizzi's terminology to the derivation of a Subject. I propose that Thematic subjecthood is determined by First Merge and discourse subjecthood is determined by Final Merge. Syntactic subjecthood is determined through ϕ -feature checking in between the two Criterion positions. A closer analysis of each stage of subjecthood is presented below.

5.3.2 Thematic Subjecthood

Thematic Subjecthood is determined early in the derivation, at First Merge, when constituents are merged to fulfill the s-selectional requirements of the predicate. The Thematic Subject is the argument that receives the highest Thematic role from the predicate, according to the traditional Theta-role hierarchy (Belletti & Rizzi 1988, assumed in Franks 1995):

(106) Agent > Experiencer > Theme > Goal/Source/Location > Manner/Time

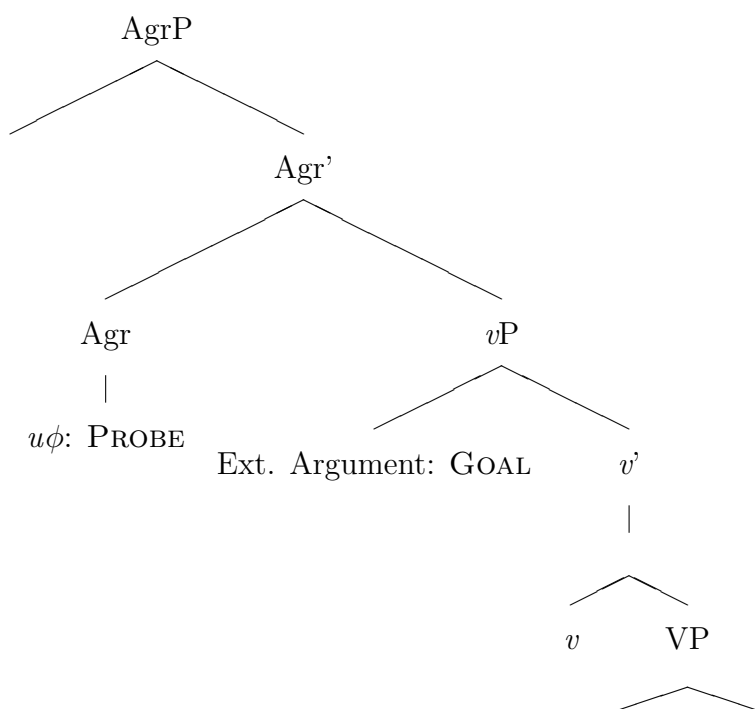
Thematic subjecthood significantly shapes our notion of a prototypical Subject, not least because Thematic Subjects are most likely to become both Grammatical

and Major Subjects.

5.3.3 Grammatical Subjecthood

Subject-verb agreement determines syntactic subjecthood and results from feature-checking of uninterpretable ϕ -features on AgrP. Crucially, grammatical subjecthood does not involve movement, but is instead assigned through the operation Agree, as defined by Chomsky (2000). The uninterpretable ϕ -features on T (Agr in my analysis) acts as a Probe to match features with a Goal. One of the conditions on the operation Agree is locality, defined as ‘closest c-command’ (Chomsky 2000). The locality restriction can help explain why Thematic Subjects are more likely to become Grammatical Subjects. In the following derivation the external argument will necessarily enter into an Agree relation with the Probe, simply because it is the closest element with matching features.

(107)



Critically, however, Grammatical subjecthood is not identical to Thematic subjecthood. Although external arguments tend to become Grammatical Subjects, it

is not always the case for unaccusative constructions that the Thematically highest internal argument will trigger Subject-verb agreement. In Russian Dative inversion constructions, for example, the Theme becomes the Grammatical Subject, instead of the Experiencer. The dissociation between the Thematic hierarchy and Grammatical subjecthood supports the theory that Subject-verb agreement is a primitive of subjecthood.

5.3.4 Major Subjecthood

Major Subjects are the third basic type of Subject. The element that surfaces in Spec-MSubjP becomes the discourse Subject. Following Rizzi (2004), I propose that Major Subjects are merged to satisfy the Major-Subject Criterion, and that Criterial positions are satisfied by Final Merge. Yoon (2004) argues for Korean that Major Subjects are not arguments of the predicate; instead they are merged in their surface position. This suggests that Final Merge can occur either through merging a new element (as in the case of English expletives) or through movement of an element that has already been merged once (and thereby assigned a Theta role).⁶

There is a certain asymmetry with respect to the elements that can serve as Major Subjects. As we saw in Chapter 4, Finnish external arguments can become Major Subjects regardless of interpretation. Other arguments, however, must be referential in order to move to preverbal position. A potential explanation lies in the merging of the external argument in Spec v P: the external argument takes the rest of the predicate as its complement, which may give it an inherent ‘aboutness’ feature necessary for becoming a Major Subject. This approach also explains why the expletive use of *there* is only possible with unaccusative predicates in English. External arguments take the predicate as their argument, giving them an inherent ‘aboutness’ quality. As a result,

⁶In the same way, Topics can originate either predicate externally or internally. King (1995) claims that Russian external topics are merged in their surface position external to the predicate. This similarity between Russian Topics and Korean Major Subjects highlights the overall similarity between Major Subjects and projections in the CP domain.

they cannot be interpreted non-referentially and are thus prohibited from appearing postverbally.

It would be incorrect to equate discourse interpretation with Thematic hierarchy completely. A prototypical Subject combines all three primitives: it is an external argument in preverbal position triggering Subject agreement on the predicate. The three primitives do act independently of each other, however, producing Subjects that are ‘prototypical’ to a certain degree. In Section 5.3.5, I show the interaction between the three primitives of subjecthood in Russian.

5.3.5 Russian: A Case Study

Not all languages consistently distinguish between the three types of Subjects. Most commonly, at least two of the primitives, and often all three, are combined in one Subject. For example in English and Kinande there is no distinction between Major and Grammatical Subjects, while in Korean there is no distinction between Grammatical and Thematic Subjects. Russian, however, justifies the three-way distinction, because it demonstrates the separate effects of each primitive. While there is no construction where a different overt element serves as each of the Subject types, Russian exhibits all possible combinations of two Subject roles fulfilled by the same element.

When the same element fulfills all three Subject roles (Thematic, Grammatical, Major), the result is a transitive sentence with an external argument in preverbal position, the prototypical Subject.

- (108) *Petja pochistil apelsin.*
 Petja.NOM peeled.SG orange.ACC
 ‘Petja peeled an orange.’

Non-Nominative Subjects demonstrate that ϕ -feature-checking (and thus Grammatical subjecthood) is separate from both discourse subjecthood and Thematic subjecthood. Grammatical Subjects can overlap with either Major or Thematic Subjects.

In (109a), the null third-person-plural pronoun is both the Grammatical Subject and the Thematic Subject. In the (109b) the Grammatical Subject is paired with a discourse subject, while the Thematic subject occurs postverbally in Dative Case.

- (109) (a) *Petju uvolili s raboty.*
 Petja.ACC fired.3.pl from work
 ‘They fired Peter.’
- (b) *Petja vspomnilsja svoej byvshej nachalnitse.*
 Petja.NOM remembered.SG.MASC self former boss.DAT.FEM
 ‘Petja’s former boss thought of him.’

When Agr is defective, such as in adversity-impersonal constructions, there are no ϕ -features to check, and therefore the sentence has no gGrammatical Subject. A preverbal element nevertheless occurs in Spec-MSubjP, however, because of the Major-Subject Criterion.

- (110) *Petju smylo navodneniem.*
 Petja.ACC washed-away.3SG[-AGR] flood.INST
 ‘Petja was washed away by the flood.’

It is impossible, however, for an external argument to avoid being a Grammatical Subject, because of the locality restrictions on Agree, as discussed above.

Major Subjects in Russian can be dissociated from both grammatical Subjects and Thematic Subjects. In (111a), similar to (109b) the discourse Subject overlaps with the Grammatical Subjects; in (111b) it overlaps with the Thematic Subject; and in (111c), repeated from (109a) it overlaps with neither.

- (111) (a) *Petja nraivilsia uchitelnitse.*
 Petja.NOM likes.REFL.SG.MASC teacher.DAT
 ‘The teacher likes Petja.’
- (b) *Petje vspomnilas ego staraja rabota.*
 Petja.DAT remembered.REFL.SG.FEM his old job.NOM
 ‘Petja remembered his old job.’

- (c) *Petju uvolili s raboty.*
 Petja.ACC fired.3PL from work
 ‘They fired Peter.’

These examples demonstrate that in Russian each of the three primitives of subjecthood acts independently of the other two. Therefore, the three primitives I propose are not redundant; instead their interaction results in a certain Subject hierarchy. On one end are Subjects of transitive verbs and on the other hand are postverbal Dative Subjects or postverbal internal Nominative arguments. This theory explains why non-Nominative Subjects display both Subject and Object properties.

5.4 Implications and Residual Issues

This chapter has proposed a new approach to a universal definition of subjecthood. I have not, however, directly addressed all language types in my analysis. In particular, by positing Subject-verb agreement as a primitive of subjecthood, this chapter leaves open the analysis of languages like Chinese, which exhibit no inflectional morphology on the verb or noun and are traditionally analyzed as lacking an AgrP. It appears that the notion of subjecthood in Agr-less languages consists of only two primitives: Major and Thematic subjecthood. This thesis does not address the precise nature of the interaction between the two types of Subjects, but the theory presented in this chapter can direct a future investigation of subjecthood in Agr-less languages.

The theory of three primitives also predicts the existence of languages lacking a definitive Subject. If the three primitives never overlap then there cannot be a prototypical Subject. Subjectless languages are predicted to lack agreement and to dissociate the preverbal position from the Thematic hierarchy. However, such a language would still be sensitive to discourse and thematic prominence.

In the following sections I discuss two other issues left open in this analysis—topicality and pro-drop—and propose an approach for future research.

5.4.1 The Role of Topics

In Chapter 4 I established the difference between Topics and Major Subjects; adopting Rizzi's (2004) definition, I contend that unlike Major Subjects, Topics are necessarily discourse-linked. Both in Korean and in Russian there exists a separation between topicality and subjecthood. In Russian, topicalized elements undergo reconstruction with respect to Binding Theory, and in Korean, Topics bear a special Topic-marker.

Some languages, however, do not appear to distinguish Topics from Major Subjects. One such language is German, which has a Verb-second (V2) requirement and necessarily raises a topicalized element to preverbal position. German behaves very similarly to Russian, with the exception that German requires a Topic instead of a Major Subject. German, however, also employs overt expletives in preverbal position (Safir 1985). This suggests that there is no requirement for the preverbal element to be D-linked and, therefore, that a Major-Subject analysis of German is possible. I have demonstrated that MSubjP shares properties of both the CP and IP domains; it is plausible that some languages, including German, associate discourse Subjects with a higher projection in the CP domain. More research, however, is needed on the specifics of interaction between Topics and Major Subjects.

5.4.2 Null-Subject Languages

At the end of Chapter 4, I investigated the Russian pro-drop and its relation to the Major-Subject Criterion. Null-Subject languages have been traditionally analyzed as allowing null pronouns to fulfill the EPP. I argue that discourse-bound pronouns are allowed to fulfill the Major-Subject Criterion in Russian. Languages vary with respect to which discourse-bound null elements can be interpreted as Major Subjects. Finnish, for example, allows null first and second person pronouns, while English is significantly more restricted, licensing pro-drop only in specific contexts (e.g. imperatives). Crucially, however, both Finnish and English have a Major-Subject Criterion.

Therefore, the parameter that determines whether a certain language has a Major Subject requirement is separate from the parameter that determines whether null elements are allowed to serve as Major Subjects.

As discussed in Chapter 4, Holmberg posits that the ability of a null pronoun to fulfill the EPP depends on a ‘referentiality’ feature, which translates to a DP structure. He claims that first- and second-person pronouns are full DPs in Finnish, and not subject to the same discourse binding requirements as null third-person pronouns, which are bare ϕ Ps. By contrast, I argued that in Russian, first- and second-person pronouns are also ϕ Ps, bound by the same restrictions as third-person pronouns. Languages like Italian, however, freely allow null third-person pronouns in addition to null first- and second-person pronouns. Holmberg posits that Spanish and Italian have a D-feature in I, which allows third person pronouns to be interpreted referentially and thus fulfill the EPP. Given the difference between Finnish and Russian—first and second pronouns are DPs in Finnish but ϕ Ps in Russian—I instead propose that in Spanish and Italian all null pronouns are full referential DPs and can fulfill the Major-Subject Criterion. I adopt Rizzi’s analysis that Italian, like Russian and Finnish, has a mandatory Major-Subject projection, separate from AgrP.

This analysis is further supported by the presence of null deictic Locatives in Italian, similar to Russian unaccusative inversion constructions. In Italian subject-object inversion is allowed only with verbs that select Locative complements (Benincà 1988, in Babyonyshev 1996), which basically correspond to all unaccusative predicates.

Bayonyshev (1996), *Italian*

- (112) (a) *E arrivato un bambino.*
 is arrived a child
 ‘A child has arrived.’
- (b) * *Ha telefonato un bambino.*
 has called a child
 ‘A child has called.’

In Chapter 4, I posit that inversion with unaccusative verbs always contains a null Locative phrase in preverbal position. This hypothesis is supported crosslinguistically by the possibility of Locative Inversion only with unaccusative predicates.

Greek, on the other hand, allows Subject-verb inversion even with transitive verbs. The Grammatical Subject in postverbal position checks its ϕ -features with AgrP, and preverbal subject have been traditionally analyzed as occurring in A'-position (Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou, 1998).

- (113) *Diavase'ena pedi/ kathe pedi to vivilio*
 read a child/ every child book
 'A/every child read the book.'

I conclude, therefore, that Greek, unlike Italian but similar to Korean, has optional Major Subjects; Italian, however, is subject to the Major-Subject Criterion.

While I do not propose an analysis of all null-Subject phenomena, I maintain that the possibility of verb-first sentences cannot be equated with the absence of a Major-Subject Criterion.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter applied the analysis developed for Russian in Chapter 4 to explain crosslinguistic variation with respect to agreement and Subject fronting. The theory motivated a comprehensive typology of the interaction between Grammatical and Major Subjects. Languages were shown to vary along three parameters: the optionality parameter, the projection-number parameter, and the projection-type parameter; and four language types were identified, represented by: English, Kinande, Korean, and Russian.

The subsequent discussion determined that two types of Subjects do not fully account for the effect of Thematic hierarchies on Subject movement and agreement. I

posited that Thematic Subjects must be added to the primitives of subjecthood. Each of the three types of Subjects corresponds to a different stage in the derivation: First Merge, ϕ -feature-checking, and Final Merge. A prototypical Subject—the Agent of a transitive verb—is a Subject at all three levels.

At the end of this chapter, I addressed some unresolved issues with respect to crosslinguistic variation and Agr-less languages. While the theory leaves some questions open, it provides a framework for future research of a universal notion of subjecthood.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

The concept of ‘Subject’ is a paradox for syntactic theory. Although most linguists agree that subjecthood is not a universal primitive, languages appear to have a class of behaviors specific to Subjects. Whatever its definition in a given language, subjecthood is a driving force for certain syntactic operations. This thesis has addressed the age-old question of what makes subjecthood a viable notion for speakers. I conclude that the property known as ‘subjecthood’ is a reflex of the overlap between three primitive elements of subjecthood: Thematic, Grammatical, and Discourse prominence.

I approached the subjecthood puzzle through a detailed analysis of Russian non-Nominative Subjects. Two traditional Subject properties in Russian include Subject-verb agreement and location in preverbal position. Recent developments in the Minimalist Program have shown that obligatory movement to preverbal position involves an inherently different mechanism from agreement or Case assignment. A noun can receive its Case without movement, through the operation Agree, while obligatory placement in preverbal position is associated with the EPP requirement of the IP projection. This theory predicts that elements other than grammatical Subjects should have the option to surface in SpecIP. Obligatory fronting of Russian non-Nominative Subjects provides the perfect opportunity to observe the independent functioning of Subject movement and Case assignment.

Chapter 2 established that Russian requires an overt element to appear in preverbal position. The only exceptions to this restriction are narrative inversion and discourse pro-drop constructions. The preverbal position may be filled by either a Nominative or a non-Nominative element, but the internal constituent must receive a referential interpretation to raise over a thematically higher argument. Chapter 3 critically examined two different approaches to the obligatory fronting of Russian non-Nominative Subjects. Under one approach, a purely structural EPP requirement forces movement of internal constituents to a preverbal Argument (A-) position in SpecIP (Bailyn 2004, Lavine & Freidin 2001). A different approach analyzes Subject fronting as optional, driven by the Topic discourse function. While both theories distinguish between grammatical Subjects and preverbal elements, neither is able to account for both the interpretation and obligatory nature of the preverbal position. Moreover, non-Nominative Subjects are used as evidence to support each of the mutually exclusive theories.

The existence of such contradictory analyses of Russian non-Nominative Subjects suggests that several factors are at work in Russian Subject fronting. I demonstrated that neither approach accounts for both the obligatory nature and discourse function of preverbal Subjects. I analyzed the behavior of non-Nominative Subjects with respect to Binding Theory and concluded that the Subject undergoes dislocation ambiguous between A- and A'-movement to a landing site between the IP and CP domains.

Finding prior accounts of subjecthood in Russian insufficient to account for non-Nominative Subject constructions, I looked beyond this literature in Chapter 4 to theories developed for other languages. Russian preverbal elements are similar to Korean Major Subjects because of their discourse 'aboutness' function and their dissociation from grammatical Subjects. Adapting Rizzi's (2004) analysis of obligatory Subjects, I proposed that Russian has a requirement for preverbal referential Subjects.

To distinguish these Subjects from grammatical Subjects, I titled this requirement the Major Subject Criterion. I proposed that Russian Major Subjects fulfill their discourse function by raising to the Specifier of the MSubjP projections, merged directly above AgrP of the IP domain. By contrast, Grammatical Subjects check their uninterpretable ϕ -features with Agr in situ. This theory intuitively accounts for the obligatory nature of movement and the dissociation between Subject agreement and fronting.

The analysis of Russian Subjects offers a new approach to the universal notion of subjecthood. Chapter 5 addressed crosslinguistic variation with respect to Subject fronting and agreement and proposes a typology that reflects the data. The typology consists of three parameters and predicts four language types: Korean, Russian, English, and Kinande. The parametric difference between Korean and Russian is the optionality of Major Subjects. While Russian requires some element to move to Spec-MSubjP, in Korean Major Subjects are optional. Russian and Korean differ from both Kinande and English in their separation of Grammatical and Major Subjects. English and Kinande have a single projection which carries the features of both Agr and MSubj; in English this projection is AgrP, in Kinande it is MSubj. Consequently, in both Kinande and English Subject-verb agreement is always correlated with movement to preverbal position. In Kinande, however, the discourse interpretation of an element determines agreement, while in English agreement determines interpretation.

A Major-Subject analysis of Russian and its subsequent application to crosslinguistic variation established two basic types of Subjects: Grammatical and Major. The theory could not account, however, for the heightened probability that external arguments will raise to preverbal position or trigger agreement. A third basic type of subjecthood was required to complete the analysis: Thematic subjecthood. Thematic Subjects are elements that receive the highest Thematic role when s-selected by the

verb. I argued, therefore, that subjecthood consists of three basic elements: Thematic prominence, agreement, and a discourse ‘aboutness’ function. ‘Subjecthood’ can be understood as prominence on three different linguistic levels: the lexical, the syntactic, and the pragmatic. The three components of subjecthood can be similarly understood to fulfill the Subject requirement of the three stages of a derivation: First Merge (Theta-criterion fulfillment), feature-checking, and Final Merge (Subject-criterion fulfillment).

The interaction between the three basic notions of subjecthood determines Subject-specific behavior in a given language. Often the effects of two of types of subjecthood are indistinguishable; in English and Kinande the discourse Subject is always the Grammatical Subject, while in Korean, Thematic Subjects are always Grammatical Subjects. Russian, however, demonstrates that the three primitives are not redundant. In Russian we saw a dissociation between all three types of Subjects with the possibility of the same element to serve as any two types of Subjects. Moreover, the prototypical Subject in each language (Agent of a transitive verb) combines all three notions of subjecthood.

When the EPP was first proposed, it was understood to be universal. The pro-drop parameter identified languages which allowed null elements to fulfill the EPP requirement. The Major-Subject analysis suggests that the possibility of null Subjects is separate from the Major-Subject Criterion. Most languages allow certain null elements to fulfill the Major-Subject requirement, as long as these elements are discourse bound and therefore carry an ‘aboutness’ feature. Null generic pronouns, for example, cannot fulfill this requirement because they are not referential. The extent to which a certain language allows null discourse-bound elements to serve as Major Subjects varies crosslinguistically, however, and requires more in-depth research.

The variety of behaviors associated with Subjects crosslinguistically has prevented linguists from establishing a universal definition of subjecthood. Under the definition

proposed in this thesis, Subjects per se do not exist. Instead prominent arguments are determined at each of the three levels of a derivation, which for the sake of convenience can be called Subjects. When an element serves as a Subject on more than one level, it behaves as a more prototypical Subject.

This thesis has demonstrated the value of an in-depth language-internal analysis for explaining crosslinguistic phenomena. Understanding Russian non-Nominative Subjects has led to the development of a cohesive analysis of the primitives of subjecthood that can be used as a research framework for languages outside the scope of this thesis.

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