Nothing Wrong with Finite T: Non-Agreeing Accusative Impersonal Sentences[*]

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1 Introduction and Data

The purpose of the present article is to provide an analysis of different types of accusative impersonal sentences in Slavic languages (henceforth AIs) focusing on often so-called adversity impersonal sentences in Russian (cf. Babby 1994, 1998 among others) given in (1). The common property of AIs in Slavic is, that (i) they exhibit so-called default agreement, sometimes called "non-agreement" (in most cases singular, 3rd person and/or neuter), and that (ii) no overt NP bearing nominative is present—instead the NP bearing structural case (if present at all) is marked with accusative. I will sketch an extension of the presented analysis to other impersonal sentences in Slavic in section 3.2.

As often mentioned, AIs pose a problem for any theory of structural case linking the licensing of the accusative either to the presence of a clausemate NP_{NOM} or an overt external argument (the latter assumption known as *Burzio's Generalization*). In the recent literature on AIs in Slavic (esp. on Russian adversity impersonals), sentences as in (1) have been analyzed by employing notions like "defectiveness" or "ϕ-incompleteness" to account for the agreement data and the lack of an NP_{NOM} (cf. e.g. Lavine & Freidin 2002, Harves 2003, 2006).

Most authors following standard Chomskyan minimalism (cf. Chomsky 2000, 2001) take defectiveness as a category's lack of (the full range of) ϕ-features. ϕ-features (if uninterpretable), in turn, are taken to be responsible for the respective category's status as an item (probe) requiring a relation (AGREE) to an element with interpretable ϕ-features (goal). Ultimately, if all locality conditions are obeyed, uninterpretable features get valued by interpretable ones of the goal of AGREE.

In a number of recent analyses (cf. in addition also Tsedryk 2004), at least one of the categories involved in the derivation of AIs is analyzed as φ-incomplete or defective. In most analyses for obvious reasons the allegedly defective category is the non-agreeing T, since agreeing T is capable of licensing the nominative. The examples in (1) show that the verbs in Russian AIs do not agree with any of the overt NPs in the clause. They rather exhibit [-AGR]-morphology which Spells Out either as singular:neuter (in past tense as in (1)) or as singular:3rdperson (in present tense).

(1) a. Soldat-a   rani-l-o   pul-ej.   [Ru]
        soldier$_{M:SG:ACC}$ wound$_{PST-[-AGR]}$ bullet$_{F:SG:INST}$
        'A/the soldier was wounded by a bullet.'
    b. Det-ej   pridavi-l-o   igrušk-ami.
        child$_{M:PL:ACC}$ crush$_{PST-[-AGR]}$ toy$_{F:PL:INST}$
        'The children were crushed with a toy.'

Moreover, the aforementioned analyses assume a derivational relation between the sentences in (1) and the personal variants in (2). In this they follow Babby (1994, 1998) who assumes that the NP$_{INST}$ *pulej* 'bullet' in (1a) and the NP$_{NOM}$ *pulja* in (2a) are syntactic realizations of one and the same Θ-role of the verb's Θ-grid.

(2) a. Pul-ja   rani-l-a   soldat-a.   [Ru]
        bullet$_{F:SG:NOM}$ wound$_{PST-F:SG}$ soldier$_{M:SG:ACC}$
        'The bullet wounded a/the soldier.'
    b. Igrušk-i   pridavi-l-i   det-ej.
        toy$_{F:PL:NOM}$ crush$_{PST-PL}$ child$_{M:PL:ACC}$
        'The toy crushed the child.'

In this paper, I will show that positing defective categories for AIs and assuming a derivational relation between (1) and (2) is both theoretically and empirically problematic. In section 2, I will discuss analyses of AIs involving defective categories focusing on Lavine & Freidin (2002) (henceforth L&F). Most of the discussion in this section will address theoretical problems and wrong predictions. In section 3.1, I will present an alternative analysis of adversity impersonals supported by empirical data from Russian and German dialects (e.g. control into adjunct clauses). Moreover, I will extend the analysis to other AIs in Slavic (section 3.2) providing binding data in support of my analysis.

2 Defective T: Long Distance Evaluation of Arguments

2.1 Cross-classifying Defective and Complete Categories

As already mentioned, the verbs in (1) apparently do not agree with any of the overt NPs in the sentence. L&F and Harves (2003, 2006) take this lack of morphological agreement to indicate that T itself lacks agreement features altogether, i.e. T is a φ-incomplete head which does not have to establish an AGREE-relation with a goal with interpretable φ-features (which otherwise serves to value the φ-features of the former). Consequently, T also does not value Case features of any of the NPs which are part of the derivation at the stage T is introduced.[1]

This, however, doesn't mean that T with AIs lacks any agreement morphology, but its morphological Spell Out is not motivated by agreement with an overt NP equipped with interpretable φ-features. Besides, the morphological makeup of the verb does not differ in principle from any other finite verbal form, i.e. agreeing and non-agreeing verbal forms (= the morphological Spell Out of the lexical verbal categories plus the functional category T) share most (if not all) features of the feature bundle constituting the category T.
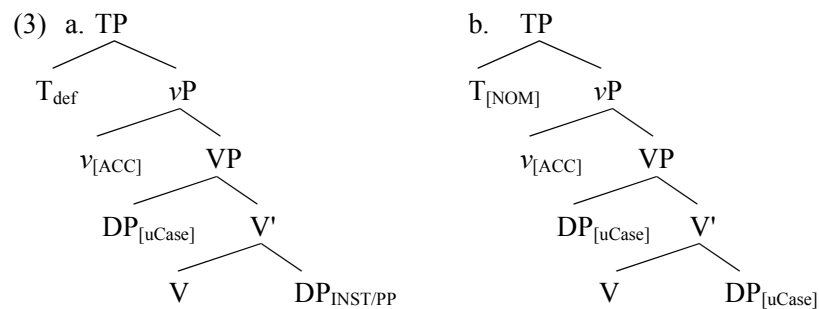
On the other hand, the category *v* of verbs with AIs (i.e. the category heading the projection of the higher VP-shell and responsible for selection of external arguments with ordinary transitives) is considered by L&F to be φ-complete valuing the unvalued Case feature of (one of) the internal argument(s) as structural accusative. But in contrast to "well-behaved" transitives, *v* of AIs does not select an external argument, which entails the separation of *v*'s ability to license Case from its selectional properties (contra Burzio's Generalization).[2]

In addition, L&F assume a derivation where both NPs in (1) and (2) are initially merged in the domain of the verbal root represented by V, cf. the slightly modified representations in (3). The structure in (3a) yields a

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[1] According to L&F, the category T, however, has an EPP feature which triggers EPP movement of an NP targeting TP (cf. also Bailyn 2004, Nevins & Anand 2003 among others).

[2] Tsedryk (2004) assumes that AIs lack the category selecting an external argument ("Voice" in his terms). However, they are equipped with a category licensing accusative (Cause). This move shifts incompleteness to the domain of the split *v*P (consisting of the categories Voice and Cause, cf. e.g. Pylkkänen 1999 for a detailed discussion of a split *v*P). In Tsedryk's analysis, T's unvalued φ-features are Spelled Out with default morphology.

derivation of AIs, where the verb's Theme argument in Spec-of-V has unvalued Case-features valued by φ-complete v (indicated by subscribed [ACC] in (3a)). T is defective and the second argument is assigned lexical Case in L&F's analysis (default instrumental in Tsedryk 2004). The representation in (3b) with a φ-complete T (cf. subscribed [NOM]) yields a 'personal' nominative-accusative sentence as in (2) where the unvalued Case-features of V's complement are valued by T as nominative (see the sections 2.3-2.5 for a critical discussion of these assumptions).

(3) a. TP

T_{def} vP

$v_{[ACC]}$ VP

$DP_{[uCase]}$ V'

V $DP_{INST/PP}$

b. TP

$T_{[NOM]}$ vP

$v_{[ACC]}$ VP

$DP_{[uCase]}$ V'

V $DP_{[uCase]}$

Thus, with respect to completeness and defectiveness, in L&F's system a sentence containing an unaccusative verbal root (i.e. verbs with a v not selecting for an external argument) in principle may have the combinations of the categories T and v as in (4). (4a) represents mono-argumental unaccusatives (V selects for one internal argument). (4b,c) are represented by (3b,a) respectively. The combination of defective T and defective v as in (4d) is ungrammatical—at least with verbal roots selecting for a Theme argument (but see Harves 2006 for arguments in favor of an analysis including both T_{def} and v_{def} for AIs involving the genitive of negation or distributive *po*-phrases). Also note that (4b), of course, is the specification for ordinary transitive verbs with a v selecting for an external argument which, according to L&F, differ from personal adversity verbs.

(4) a. T_{comp}/v_{def} (*Ivan izčez*. 'Ivan disappeared')
     b. T_{comp}/v_{comp} (*Pulja ranila soldata*. 'The bullet wounded a/the soldier')
     c. T_{def}/v_{comp} (*Soldata ranilo pulej*. 'A/the soldier was wounded by a bullet')
     d. *T_{def}/v_{def} (* if unaccusative, but *Temnelo*. 'It was getting dark')

At first glance, the system in (4) seems to work perfectly. But there are several serious problems with this analysis, especially if one assumes a

strictly derivational computational system (i.e. a crash-proof system in the sense of Frampton & Gutmann 2002).

2.2 Non-Local Relations and Derivational Dead Ends

The most serious theoretical problem for a cross-classification as in (4) is the problem of *derivational dead ends*, i.e. combining V with v_{comp} in AIs restricts the featural makeup of T. Moreover, the specification of the categories v and T with respect to ϕ-completeness heavily depends on lexical information, though there seems to be no principled connection between the property of having (the full range of) ϕ-features (thus, the ability to license case) and the type of the predicate merged with v, especially if one loosens the correlation between the selection of an external argument and the licensing of structural accusative. In the following, I will go into the problem in more detail.

L&F assume that any v combining with an unaccusative can potentially assign structural accusative to an argument of V. But those derivations can only survive under particular conditions: If mono-argumental unaccusative roots combine with a ϕ-complete v, the category T is not allowed to be ϕ-complete, though T is not introduced (not part of the derivation), yet. So, a ϕ-complete T with unaccusatives is allowed only if there is either a second internal argument or v is ϕ-defective, i.e. if mono-argumental unaccusatives "wanted" to combine with a ϕ-complete T, they had to assure that v stayed ϕ-incomplete.

These assumptions apparently increase the number of derivational dead ends. Nothing prevents the system from combining a mono-argu-mental unaccusative V like *izčeznut'* 'disappear' with ϕ-complete v and ϕ-complete T leading into a crash as in (5). The ϕ-features of T would remain unvalued (in fact, the verb in (5b) shouldn't exhibit any morpho-logical output).

(5) a. $[_{TP} \dots T_{comp} \quad [_{vP} \quad v_{comp} \quad [_{VP} \quad$ izčez $\quad$ Ivan$_{[i\phi/uCase]}]]]$

no valuation possible $\qquad$ valuation of [uCase] as ACC

b. * (Ivan-a) $\qquad$ izčez-$\varnothing$(-l-o) $\qquad$ (Ivan-a)

Ivan$_{M:SG:ACC}$ $\quad$ disappear$_{PST-[+AGR/-AGR]}$ $\quad$ Ivan$_{M:SG:ACC}$

Even more problematic, the option (4c) is lexically very restricted. T_{def} does not combine with all vP_{comp}. Again, the verb *izčeznut'* combined with v_{comp} and, additionally, undoubtedly transitive verbs are ungramma-tical with a specification as in (4c), which is rather unexpected for the

category T. T's featural makeup (e.g. temporal features) is otherwise insensitive to the type of the verbal predicate it ultimately combines with.

In addition, a system as in (4) for finite clauses also entails a disjunction of the feature specification of T, i.e. the absence or presence of [uϕ] features on T is independent of the absence or presence of temporal features. For Slavic and other Indo-European languages this kind of disjunction is morphologically not motivated (at least for root infinitives, but see embedded inflected infinitives in European Portuguese).

2.3 Equidistance

The second problem involves equidistance of the two internal arguments of (1a) represented in (3a) with respect to functional categories. L&F themselves claim that both arguments are equidistant to T being merged in the domain of the same category, namely V. This assumption accounts for the possible displacement of both NPs to the sentence-initial position which according to L&F is not focus disrupting. L&F analyze this movement as solely driven by the EPP-features of the defective category T and they assume that EPP-features may cause A-movement without any AGREE-relation of features of the attracting category T which is not a probe in the strict sense and the attracted XP, cf. also Nevins & Anand (2004), Bailyn (2004). According to L&F, both sentences in (6) may be felicitously uttered in a context requiring maximal focus.

(6) a. Soldat-a rani-l-o pul-ej.   [Ru]
  soldier$_{\text{M:SG:ACC}}$ wound$_{\text{PST-[-AGR]}}$ bullet$_{\text{F:SG:INST}}$
 b. Pul-ej rani-l-o soldat-a.
  bullet$_{\text{F:SG:INST}}$ wound$_{\text{PST-[-AGR]}}$ soldier$_{\text{M:SG:ACC}}$

Moreover, in order to derive the personal sentence (2a) with a representation as in (3b), both arguments have to be equidistant. Otherwise the higher Theme argument would cause an intervention effect. Being closer to T, it would interrupt the AGREE-relation between the category T and the complement of V.

If it's true that the sentences in (1) and (2) are derivationally linked and provided that both arguments are equidistant to T, than the sentences with ϕ-complete T and ϕ-complete *v* under (7) should both be possible with the very same interpretation. This prediction, however, is obviously not borne out.

(7) a. Pul-ja rani-l-a soldat-a.   [Ru]
  bullet$_{\text{F:SG:NOM}}$ wound$_{\text{PST-F:SG}}$ soldier$_{\text{M:SG:ACC}}$

b. # Soldat-∅   rani-l-∅   pul-ju.
   soldier$_{M:SG:NOM}$ wound$_{PST-M:SG}$ bullet$_{F:SG:ACC}$

So, for L&F's assumption of a derivational connection between impersonal and personal versions to work, one has to assume equidistance between both arguments of di-unaccusatives. On the other hand, this leads to undesirable complications and wrong predictions which suggest that there is no such derivational link.

2.4 Instrumental Marking of the Second Argument of AIs

Another problem for L&F's analysis is the instrumental marking of the alleged second internal argument of AIs (the complement of V in (3a)). L&F take the instrumental to be lexical. The question arises, how lexical case can be overridden in the case of non-defective T (cf. (3b)) which licenses structural nominative on the complement of V.[3] The valuation of the NP's [uCase] has to be postponed until T's status concerning ϕ-completeness is clarified. L&F do not provide any principled account for this

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[3] It is true that there are instances in Russian where lexical instrumental seems to behave like structural accusative. (ib) shows passivization of the verb *upravljat'* 'manage' which assigns lexical instrumental to its complement, cf. (ia). This argument can be promoted with passives (the external argument may appear as an instrumental *by*-phrase NP). But this phenomenon is rather marginal (some informants find (ib) rather bad, some perfect, and the majority neither bad nor perfect [24 informants per item]). Besides, it is restricted to a small number of verbs (basically, it is restricted to *upravljat'*; even kindred verbs like *pravit'* 'reign', *rukovodit'* 'direct' are judged significantly worse), others are utterly ungrammatical, cf. (iib) (the same strict ungrammaticality holds for verbs like *bolet'* 'be ill', *dorožit'* 'value', etc.).

(i) a. Nov-yj direktor   upravlja-et   fabrik-oj.
         new director$_{M:SGNOM}$ manage$_{PRS:3:SG}$ factory$_{F:SG:INST}$
         'A/the new director manages the factory.'
     b. ? Fabrik-a   upravlja-et-sja   nov-ym direktor-om.
         factory$_{F:SGNOM}$ manage$_{PRS:3:SG:SJA}$ new director$_{M:SG:INST}$
         'The factory is managed by a/the new director.'
(ii) a. Ivan   torgova-l-∅   cvet-ami.
         Ivan$_{M:SG:NOM}$ trade$_{PST:M:SG}$ flowers$_{M:PL:INST}$
         'Ivan was selling flowers.'
     b. * Cvet-y   torgova-l-i-s'   Ivan-om.
         flowers$_{M:PLNOM}$ trade$_{PST:PL:SJA}$ Ivan$_{M:SG:INST}$
         'Flowers were being sold by Ivan.'

shift from lexical instrumental to structural nominative.[4] In addition, there are also a lot of verbs appearing with PPs in the impersonal version and with structural nominative in the personal one (verbs with experiencer arguments; cf. Tsedryk 2004 for a detailed discussion). It is even more problematic to account for a shift from PPs to structurally case marked NPs in a principled way. This problem also suggests that such personal and impersonal sentences are not derivationally related.

2.5 Passivization with Personal Adversity Sentences
A last problem for the assumption of a derivational relation between personal and impersonal versions of AIs concerns passivization. If one—following Babby (1994, 1998)—assumed such a relation, one would probably also want to follow him in assuming that those sentences do not passivize. This would be a desirable outcome, in fact a necessary consequence of the theoretical assumptions, since (according to the aforementioned accounts) the personal variants lack an external argument and the operation of passivization absorbs only external arguments, i.e. arguments introduced by the category *v*. Babby (1994) provides the following example to corroborate his analysis.

(8) a. Ėt-i slov-a   vzorva-l-i   ego.   [Ru]
         these words$_{N:PL:NOM}$ explode$_{PST-PL}$ him$_{ACC}$
         'These words enraged him.'
     b. *On   (byl-∅)   vzorva-n-∅   ėt-imi slov-ami.
         he$_{NOM}$ AUX$_{M:SG}$ explode$_{PPART-M:SG}$ these words$_{N:PL:INST}$
         'He was enraged by these words.'

But the data are far from being clear cut. First, the sentences significantly improve, if the NP$_{INST}$ is replaced by a PP with the P *ot* 'from', cf. footnote 5. This picture is not surprising, if one takes into account that the impersonal versions of these sentences also rather occur with *ot*-PPs than with instrumental NPs, e.g. the verbs *vzbesit'* 'enrage' and *napugat'*

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[4] Tsedryk (2004) also discusses this problem rejecting L&F's lexical case account. He proposes a default licensing mechanism for NPs whose uninterpretable Case features are not valued by Spell Out of a phase containing this NP ("If a nominal has an active Case feature by the time of Spell-Out, it is marked as INSTR." Tsedryk 2004: 420). A default mechanism for morphological markings is a powerful tool. If the instrumental marking is a global default mechanism for active, unvalued Case features, the question arises, why this mechanism is not available in other contexts, e.g. for external arguments of infinitivals.

'frighten' (cf. Tsedryk 2004 for discussion). Second, the judgments seem to be less harsh than reported by Babby (1994, 1998).[5] Third, the tendency to reject passives of personal adversity sentences with instrumental *by*-phrases seems to hold only for a subpart of the mentioned verbs. The grammaticality judgments for (9b) and (10b) are rather consistent.

(9) a. Molni-ja oslepi-l-a Ivan-a. [Ru]
   lightning$_{F:SG:NOM}$ blind$_{PST-F:SG}$ Ivan$_{M:SG:ACC}$
   'The lightning blinded Ivan.'

   b. Ivan byl-∅ oslepl-en-∅ molni-ej.
   Ivan$_{M:SG:NOM}$ AUX$_{M:SG}$ blind$_{PPART-M:SG}$ lightning$_{F:SG:INST}$
   'Ivan was blinded by the lightning.'

   c. Ivan-a. oslepi-l-o molni-ej.
   Ivan$_{M:SG:ACC}$ blind$_{PST-[-AGR]}$ lightning$_{F:SG:INST}$

(10) a. Vozdušnyj potok oprokinu-l-∅ ženščin-u. [Ru]
   air stream$_{M:SG:NOM}$ overturn$_{PST-M:SG}$ woman$_{F:SG:ACC}$
   'The air stream knocked the woman over.'

   b. Ženščin-a byl-a oprokinu-t-a vozdušnym potokom.
   woman$_{F:SG:NOM}$ AUX$_{F:SG}$ overturn$_{PPART-F:SG}$ air stream$_{M:SG:INST}$
   'The woman was knocked over by the air stream.'

   c. Ženščin-u oprokinu-l-o vozdušnym potokom.
   woman$_{F:SG:ACC}$ overturn$_{PST-[-AGR]}$ air stream$_{M:SG:INST}$

Thus, it is obvious that the reported restriction concerning passivization does not extend to all personal counterparts of adversity impersonals. Descriptively, it concerns verbs with experiencer arguments and it does not produce strict ungrammaticality (for the time being, I have no explanation for the phenomenon). But crucially, the sentences in (9) and (10) reveal that personal adversity sentences *do* involve external arguments.

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[5] In the course of a questionnaire study carried out in Moscow, 24 informants judged passivized personal versions of adversity impersonals on a scale from 7 (= perfectly grammatical) to 1 (= totally ungrammatical). Sentences with NP$_{INST}$ were inconsistently judged by the informants (three informants judged it even with 7, four with 1), cf. (i) in contrast to the perfectly grammatical (ii).

(i) $^{??}$Nikolaj byl-∅ vzbeščën-∅ Borisov-ymi slov-ami.
   Nikolaj$_{M:SG:NOM}$ AUX$_{M:SG}$ enrage$_{PPART-M:SG}$ Boris' words$_{N:PL:INST}$
(ii) Nikolaj byl-∅ vzbeščën-∅ ot Borisov-yx slov-∅.
   Nikolaj$_{M:SG:NOM}$ AUX$_{M:SG}$ enrage$_{PPART-M:SG}$ from Boris' words$_{N:PL:GEN}$
   'Nikolaj was enraged by Boris' words.'

The source for the unacceptability of (8b) for some speakers is apparently a different one. This phenomenon, again, makes a derivational relation between personal and impersonal adversity sentences unlikely.

3 A Non-Defective Alternative for Accusative Impersonal Sentences

3.1 Adversity Impersonals, Covert Subjects, and Control into Adjuncts
In this section, I will show that none of the categories of AIs is defective (or absent). T being finite has unvalued φ-features which, however, in the absence of matching φ-features of a goal have to be valued as [default]. A morphological [default] corresponds to the least marked form depending on some sort of feature geometry, e.g. as for person, 1st and 2nd person contain the feature [participant] and 2nd, additionally, the feature [addressee]. 3rd person does not contain any of those. The least obvious case with respect to feature geometry is gender (a discussion of feature geometries is beyond the scope of this paper). In any case, in Russian, the [default] for φ-features is 3rd person (= no person, i.e. neither [participant] nor [addressee]), singular (= no number), and neuter (= no gender) (for technical details and extended discussion of morphological default mechanisms for unvalued φ-features cf. López 2004).[6]

In the following, I will present a strictly derivational procedure for adversity impersonals in the course of which the uninterpretable φ-features of T cannot be valued. Consequently, they are spelled out with a default marking. I assume that the category *v* in adversity impersonals (and other AIs) selects for a semantically bleached nominal expression without φ-features[7] and with low referentiality. I will show below that this category, however, does not lack any referentiality. This makes *v* a licenser of the unvalued structural Case feature of the internal argument. Consequently, this feature is valued as accusative. So, *v*'s ability to value

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[6] This default mechanism does not preclude the option that the default value may correspond to a separate morphological marker. This is the case with Polish and Ukrainian -*no*/-*to*-forms. Historically, these forms evolved from short forms of the participle, i.e. from the nominal declension in predicative contexts. In these contexts adjectives did not inflect for case, thus, had no morphological paradigm and became a frozen marker. In this sense the predicative neuter marker was an unmarked form gradually changing into a separate default-form for participles.
[7] This assumption accounts for the possibility of separate morphological default markers which do not correspond to any [iφ] of nominal expressions, cf. the previous footnote.

Case is motivated by its selectional properties which is in line with the descriptive generalization known as Burzio's Generalization, i.e. *external select* (satisfied in (11b)) is the prerequisite for [ACC] to be active (11a).

As a consequence, for AIs neither T's nor *v*'s defectiveness has to be stipulated (cf. also Tsedryk 2004). With respect to category T, this has the desirable effect for Slavic and most other Indo-European languages that defectiveness does not cut across the finite/non-finite distinction. As soon as T is finite, it contains unvalued ϕ-features. Only a non-finite category T is ϕ-incomplete, never exhibiting agreement morphology.

Besides, this analysis ensures that the derivation can proceed in strictly local steps without derivational dead ends. Finite T is always ϕ-complete and its ϕ-featural makeup is not determined by lexical information, cf. (11) (features of a category are specified below its symbol; features irrelevant for our discussion, e.g. EPP, are omitted).

(11) a.
$$[_{vP} \quad v \quad [_{VP} \text{ V } DP_{intern} \quad]] \qquad 1^{st} \text{ step}$$
$$[\text{ext.sel/u}\phi\text{/ACC}] \qquad [\text{i}\phi\text{/uCase}]$$
AGREE

b.
$$[_{vP} \text{ D} \qquad v \quad [_{VP} \text{ V } DP_{intern} \quad]] \qquad 2^{nd} \text{ step}$$
$$[\text{-}\phi] \quad [\text{ext.sel/}\overline{\text{u}\phi}\text{/ACC}] \qquad [\text{i}\phi\text{/}\overline{\text{uCase}}\text{(= ACC)}]$$
SELECT

c.
$$[_{TP} \ldots \text{T } [_{vP} \text{ D} \qquad v \quad [_{VP} \text{ V } DP_{intern} \quad]]] \qquad 3^{rd} \text{ step}$$
$$[\text{u}\phi\text{/NOM}] \quad [\text{-}\phi] \quad [\overline{\text{u}\phi}\text{/ACC}] \qquad [\text{i}\phi\text{/ACC}]$$
NO AGREE

d.
$$[_{TP} \ldots \text{T } [_{vP} \text{ D} \qquad v \quad [_{VP} \text{ V } DP_{intern} \quad]]] \text{ (after valuation)}$$
$$[\text{def-}\phi\text{/NOM}] \quad [\text{-}\phi] \quad [\overline{\text{u}\phi}\text{/ACC}] \qquad [\text{i}\phi\text{/ACC}]$$
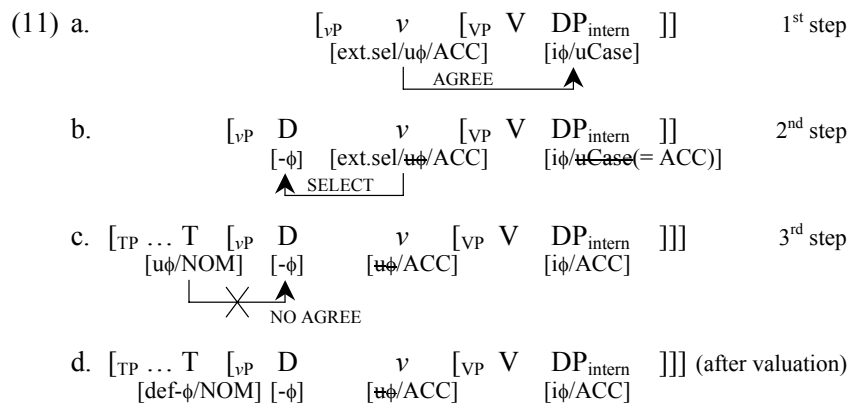
Strict locality also accounts for the restrictions concerning the range of the phenomenon. This can be explained by selectional properties of neighboring categories. Some VPs may combine with a *v* licensing semantically bleached Ds others not (similar to unaccusative verbal roots which combine only with a non-selecting *v*, i.e. which do not have a causative counterpart, e.g. *rasti* 'grow' in Russian, but not in English).

Non-local accounts involving defective categories which are rather remote from the verbal root category cannot explain, why AIs are lexically restricted. One would expect that at least defective T would not "care" about the lexical properties of verbal roots. (12) shows that this expectation is not borne out.

(12) * Xleb   reza-l-o   nož-om.   [Ru]
   bread$_{M:SG:ACC}$ cut$_{PST-[-AGR]}$ knife$_{M:SG:INST}$

Moreover, there is also independent empirical evidence for the null D showing that the presented account is not an ad hoc solution. One such evidence is the ability of semantically bleached null external arguments to control into adjunct clauses (gerundial clauses[8]). This fact was already mentioned by Mel'čuk (1995). He takes examples as in (13) (without any overt argument in the matrix clause) to be evidence for his "force" null lexeme ($\varnothing_{ELEMENTS}$), though I agree with Babby 1994 that the semantic role of the semantically bleached element is not necessarily 'natural force'. Similar examples can be found in Testelec (2001), cf. (14). Although control into adjunct clauses with AIs is rather unproductive, native speakers at least marginally accept similar sentences, cf. (15).

(13)   Iz ėlektrorevol'ver-a   xlopnu-l-o   osveti-v   [Ru]
       from electric.revolver$_{M:SG:GEN}$ crack$_{PST-[-AGR]}$ lighting$_{GER}$
       vsë   vokrug   zelën-ym svet-om.
       all$_{ACC}$ around   green light$_{M:SG:INST}$
       'From the electric revolver (it) cracked, throwing green light on everything around.'   (Mel'čuk 1995: 185; his translation)

(14)   Mašin-u   zanes-l-o   na povorot-e   PRO razvernu-v
       car$_{F:SG:ACC}$ swerve$_{PST-[-AGR]}$ on turn$_{M:SG:PREP}$ PRO turn$_{GER}$
       vopreki   šosse.
       against   highway$_{N:SG:DAT}$
       'At the turn, the car swerved turning against the direction of traffic.'
                                                      (Testelec 2001: 312)

(15) $^?$ Lodk-u   oprokinu-l-o   PRO ne   pričini-v vred-a.
       boat$_{F:SG:ACC}$ overturn$_{PST-[-AGR]}$ PRO NEG cause$_{GER}$ harm$_{M:SG:GEN}$
       'The boat was overturned without being damaged.'

There is also cross-linguistic evidence for semantically bleached null Ds. Bavarian (and other German dialects) also exhibits AIs, cf. (16). The D-

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[8] Gerundial clauses in Russian require their PRO subject to be obligatorily controlled. In most cases, it is the matrix subjects that controls PRO. Only marginally experiencer datives, oblique agentive NPs, possessor PPs and expletive *pro*-s are allowed as controllers of so-called "detached" gerundial clauses (cf. Rappaport 1984 for a detailed discussion). Crucially, internal theme arguments are never allowed to control the PRO subject of gerundial clauses.

element *es* with AIs is obligatory (in contrast to other instances of expletive *es*, cf. below).

(16) a. Es   z'reißt   mi   voa Loch'n.   [Bavar]
        it$_{EXPL}$ tears$_{[-AGR]}$ me$_{ACC}$ for (of) laughter
        'I'm ripping with laughter.'
    b. Es   hot   mi   um-g'-wand'l-t.
        it$_{EXPL}$ AUX$_{[-AGR]}$ me$_{ACC}$ over-turn$_{PPART}$
        'I fell.'

One of the diagnostics for the obligatory status of German *es* in different contexts provided by Czinglar (2002) is its obligatory presence when it does not occupy the so-called "prefield" which precedes the finite V in V2 sentences (for a discussion of different types of *es* cf. Czinglar 2002). As (17) shows, *es* in its clitic variant is obligatory with AIs in Bavarian.

(17) a. Mi   z'-reißt   *('s)   voa Loch'n.   [Bavar]
        me$_{ACC}$ tears$_{[-AGR]}$ it$_{EXPL:CL}$ for (of) laughter
        'I'm ripping with laughter.'
    b. Mi   hot   *('s)   um-g'-wand'l-t.
        me$_{ACC}$ AUX$_{[-AGR]}$ it$_{EXPL:CL}$ over-turn$_{PPART}$
        'I fell.'

Similar to Russian, Bavarian AIs allow for control into adjunct clauses, cf. (18). The covert subject of these infinitival adjunct clauses has to be obligatorily controlled by the subject of the matrix clause.

(18) a. Es   hot   mi   g'-wand'l-t, ohne   PRO [Bavar]
        it$_{EXPL}$ AUX$_{[-AGR]}$ me$_{ACC}$ turn$_{PPART}$ without PRO
        mi   um-z'-wand'l-n.
        me$_{ACC}$ over-to-turn$_{INF}$
        'I staggered/stumbled without falling.'
    b. $^?$ Den Peda   hot   's   g'-strā-t,   ohne   PRO
        the Peter$_{ACC}$ AUX$_{[-AGR]}$ it$_{EXPL}$ scatter$_{PPART}$ without PRO
        eam   z' valetz'-n.
        him$_{ACC}$ to hurt$_{INF}$
        'Peter fell (had an accident) without being hurt.'

Hence, assuming a semantically bleached nominal category selected by *v* does not only provide a solution for the problems discussed in 2.2-2.5, but also accounts for control into adjunct clauses attached to AIs. Besides, the obligatory presence of an expletive element with AIs in

German dialects shows that this type of *es* is not just an empty filler for the prefield position to satisfy the V2 requirement in German (dialects).

3.2 Reflexive AIs, -no/-to-constructions in Polish, and Binding

The presented analysis for adversity impersonals can be extended to other instances of AIs in Slavic. As we will see below, those AIs provide additional empirical evidence supporting the analysis advocated in this paper. The first type of AIs discussed in this section are *reflexive AIs* which can be found in several Slavic languages (e.g. Polish, Slovenian and Serbo-Croatian). Rivero (2001) and Rivero & Milojević Sheppard (2001, 2003) observed that reflexive AIs in some Slavic and Romance languages allow for anaphor binding, though there is no overt antecedent, cf. the Polish examples in (19).

(19) a. Teraz się myśl-i tylko o sobie. [Pol]
      now REFL think$_{PRS:[-AGR]}$ only of self$_{LOC}$
      'Nowadays one thinks only of oneself.'

b. Swo-ich przyjaciół tak się nie traktuj-e.
      REFL:POSS$_{ACC}$ friends$_{M:PL:ACC}$ only REFL NEG treat$_{PRS:[-AGR]}$
      'One does not treat one's friends like that.'

c. Myśl-i się, że swoj-e błędy są
      think$_{PRS:[-AGR]}$ REFL that REFL:POSS$_{NOM}$ errors$_{M:PL:NOM}$ COP$_{3:PL}$
      bardziej usprawiedliwia-n-e niż inn-ych.
      more justify$_{PPART-PL:NOM}$ than others$_{PL:GEN}$
      'People (often) think that their own mistakes are more justified than those of the others.'(Rivero 2001: 175-176; her translation)

The contrast in (21) from B(urgenland)-Croatian goes even a bit further (similar contrasts hold for Slovenian and Polish). In B-Croatian certain reflexive sentences may occur both with nominative (personals) and ac-cusative internal arguments (impersonals), cf. (20) (with restrictions for internal accusative NPs concerning their semantic class; due to space limits, I cannot discuss these semantic restrictions here). Crucially, only the reflexive AI may felicitously contain a reflexive possessive.

(20) a. Starj-i se posluš-a-ju. [B-Cro]
      parents$_{M:PL:NOM}$ REFL obey$_{PRS:3:PL}$
      'One obeys parents.'

b. Starj-e se posluš-a-∅.
      parents$_{M:PL:ACC}$ REFL obey$_{PRS:[-AGR]}$
      'One obeys (has to obey) parents.'

(21) a. $^{??(*)}$ Svoj-i   starj-i   se   posluš-a-ju.
           REFL:POSS$_{NOM}$ parents$_{M:PL:NOM}$ REFL obey$_{PRS:3:PL}$
      b. Svoj-e   starj-e   se   posluš-a-$\varnothing$.
           REFL:POSS$_{ACC}$ parents$_{M:PL:ACC}$ REFL obey$_{PRS:[-AGR]}$
           'One obeys (has to obey) his own parents.'

The data in (19) and (21) can be accounted for by assuming a covert external argument lacking ϕ-features (with reflexive impersonals restricted to a [+animate] interpretation) binding the reflexive possessive of the internal argument (or the anaphor in (19a)).

Similar observations can be made for *-no/-to*-impersonals in Polish which may contain an accusative internal argument. They allow for binding of reflexive possessives (22a) and for control into gerundial adjunct clauses (22b).

(22) a. Bi-to$_i$ strażnik-ów$_j$ swo-imi$_{i/*j}$ (ich$_{*i/j}$) łańcuch-ami. [Pol]
          beat$_{TO}$ guards$_{M:PL:ACC}$ REFL:POSS their   chains$_{M:PL:INST}$
          'They$_i$ beat the guards$_j$ with their$_{i/*j}$ chains.'
      b. Wracają-c   do domu, śpiewa-no piosenk-i.
          return$_{GER}$ to home   sing$_{NO}$ songs$_{F:PL:ACC}$
          'They sang songs returning home.'   (Lavine 2005)

Again, these data can be accounted for by assuming a covert, ϕ-feature-less external argument which may serve as a controller/binder. So, there is empirical evidence that the assumption of null external arguments is *not* vacuous. Thus, beside the mentioned theoretical problems with defective T, empirical evidence speaks in favor of an analysis of AIs along the lines of the derivation in (11) where *v* and T are ϕ-complete and *v* selects a covert category D.

3.3 The Second Participant of Adversity Personals and Impersonals
The discussion in section 2.5 showed that the personal versions of AIs in principle may passivize. This can be hardly accounted for, if the NP$_{NOM}$ is considered to be a complement of the verbal root which then enters into an AGREE-relation with ϕ-complete T. Instead, I take this evidence to suggest that personal adversity sentences are ordinary transitive sentences with the NP$_{NOM}$ being the external argument selected by *v*. The unvalued Case feature of the external argument is licensed by T which probes the closest item with interpretable ϕ-features to value its unvalued ϕ-features. These assumptions also avoid the problem of equidistance discussed in section 2.3.

Agreeing transitive adversity sentences often allow for an independent NP$_{INST}$, cf. (23). I assume that all further restrictions (like inalienability) are not specific for adversity personals (contra Tsedryk 2004). There is always a close relation between agents/causers and instruments being participants of the same event. So, in a situation expressed by a sentence as in (24) a physical relation holds between the agent and the instrument. This relation is closer (inalienable) if the causer is [-animate] as in (23), i.e. incapable of using "other people's things", and if the instrument NP expresses parts or properties construable as those of the causer.

(23) Perekladin-a   pridavi-l-a rebënk-a   svo-im ves-om. [Ru]
      cross-beam$_{F:SG:NOM}$ crush$_{PST-F:SG}$ child$_{M:SG:ACC}$ his weight$_{M:SG:INST}$
      'The cross-beam crushed the child with his weight.'

(24) Ivan   reže-t   xleb   nož-om.
      Ivan$_{M:SG:NOM}$ cuts$_{PRS:3:SG}$ bread$_{M:SG:ACC}$ knife$_{M:SG:INST}$
      'Ivan is cutting the bread with a knife.'

Further, I claim that the NP$_{INST}$ and the *ot*-PP of AIs are adjuncts which are also less obligatory than the structurally case marked NPs in AIs and their personal counterparts, i.e. the sentence in (1a) without the NP$_{INST}$ may be felicitously uttered out of the blue.

4 Conclusions

The aim of the paper was to show that defectiveness of a category should be restricted to apparent cases. For the category T in Slavic, this means that only non-finite versions are φ-incomplete never showing morphology interpretable as agreement. Constructions like AIs which superficially look like counterexamples to this claim still prove to be best analyzed as involving T$_{comp}$. To assume a defective T for AIs is incompatible with a strictly derivational system with maximally local computational steps.

I have further shown that it is reasonable and empirically adequate to assume that the category *v* of AIs selects for an external argument lacking φ-features and exhibiting low referentiality. Cross-linguistic evidence shows that this pronoun may control into adjuncts and (with reflexive AIs) bind anaphors and reflexive possessors.

There remain several problems though, especially empirical ones. So, Ukrainian -*no*/-*to*-impersonals do not fit easily into the analysis presented here. In contrast to Polish, in Ukrainian, -*no*/-*to* constructions do not allow for anaphoric binding and control into gerund clauses, cf. (25).

(25) a. Storož-iv$_j$ bul-o   poby-to$_i$ * svoj-imy$_{i/j}$ [Ukr]
         guards$_{M:PL:ACC}$ AUX$_{[-AGR]}$ beat$_{TO}$ REFL:POSS$_{PL:INST}$
         (jixn-imy$_{*i/j}$)   lancjuh-ami.
          their$_{PL:INST}$ chains$_{M:PL:INST}$
         'Guards$_j$ were beaten$_i$ with their$_{*i/j}$ chains.'
     b. * Povernu-všy-s' dodomu, hroš-i   bul-o   znajde-no.
         return$_{GER-REFL}$ home   money$_{M:PL:ACC}$ AUX$_{[-AGR]}$ find$_{NO}$
         'Having returned home, the money was found.'   (Lavine 2005)

A unified analysis of all kinds of AIs across languages (reserved for future research) has to be powerful enough to integrate the problematic *-no*/*-to*-construction in Ukrainian and other problematic data, e.g. from Germanic languages, cf. Svenonius (2002) among others. This paper represents only a first step towards this goal.

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