

## Modification of a Syntactic Structure of Russian Event Nominal Phrases and Some Consequences

Takuya Miyauchi (Tokyo University of Foreign Studies)

**Introduction:** Miyauchi (to appear) proposed the structure of Russian event nominals but it has some problems: the right-side specifiers and the predicted word order of arguments. The aim of this paper is to modify the structure to avoid the right-side specifiers undesirable for syntactic theory of Russian and to make the structure predict the underlying word order of external and internal arguments pointed out by Pereltsvaig (to appear).

**Miyauchi's (to appear) Structure:** According to Miyauchi (to appear), the phrases (1a, 2a) have the structure shown in (3). Here, the smaller boxed part represents the complement domain of the *nP* phase and the bigger one stands for that of VoiceP. In this research, genitive Case of each argument is realized through Agree by being c-commanded by X. The root ( $\sqrt{\quad}$ ) moves to the nominalizer *-nie/-tie*, located at the head of VoiceP, to derive its form of the event nominal. Thus, a phase expands from *nP* to VoiceP because of Phase-Sliding (Gallego 2010), which makes it possible for X to Agree with the internal arguments (*arii* in 1a and *goroda* in 2a) without violating PIC (Chomsky 2000: 108).

To avoid wrong predictions, Miyauchi (to appear) assumes that external arguments in (1b, 2b) actually bear different  $\theta$ -roles: Possessor, the specifier of *nP*, and Agent, the specifier of VoiceP, as illustrated in (4a, 4b). Here, the oval-boxed part indicates X's c-commanding domain. *Šaljapina* in (1b) is c-commanded by X but *vraga* in (2b) is not. Therefore, *vraga* in (2b) cannot appear in a genitive as an external argument at the postnominal position.

However, in this structure, the specifiers (external arguments) must be located at the right side to predict the correct linear order. The right-side specifiers are not desirable from the perspectives of syntactic theory, considering that the specifiers are usually located at the left side in Russian.

**Pereltsvaig's (to appear) Claim:** External arguments in event nominal phrases can be expressed not only as genitive but also as instrumental, as shown in (5). In this construction, both "GEN > INS" (as in 5a) and "INS > GEN" (as in 5b) orders are possible (Babby 1997). Pereltsvaig (to appear), however, concluded that the underlying order is "INS > GEN" and that "GEN > INS" order is the derived one.

To diagnose which of the two orders represents the underlying order, Pereltsvaig (to appear) applies the Scope Freezing Generalization (6), according to which the derived order of arguments allows for scope ambiguity. Applying SFG to arguments in event nominal phrases as shown in (7), Pereltsvaig (to appear) concluded that the underlying order is "INS > GEN."

In addition, Pereltsvaig (to appear) presents binding data as shown in (8). The phrase (8a) is grammatical since the instrumental external argument binds the anaphor but (8b) is ungrammatical since the genitive internal argument does not bind the anaphor, causing Condition A violation. This contrast is straightforwardly captured under the assumption that the underlying order is "INS > GEN" and that the genitive internal argument A'-moves to a surface position.

Miyauchi (to appear) suppose that instrumental external arguments are located at the Agent-position, namely the specifier of VoiceP, in the same way as *vraga* in (4b). Thus, the underlying order is incorrectly predicted to be "GEN > INS" as illustrated in (9).

**Modified Structure:** Kaufman (2009) proposed the structure in (10), which is structurally similar to Miyauchi's (to appear) one, to explain what is called the "subjects-only" restriction on extraction in the symmetrical voice system in Tagalog. To solve the problems mentioned above, I posit Num(ber)P above VoiceP following Kaufman (2009) but not AspectP in Russian according to MacDonald (2006) (CaseP and DemP are not discussed in this paper). Consequently, the structures (4, 9) are revised to be (11, 12), respectively.

The modified version of the structure avoids the undesirable right-side specifiers and it can yield the underlying order ("INS > GEN") as Pereltsvaig (to appear) pointed out, which means that the structure correctly predicts the binding phenomena and scope interpretation shown in (7, 8). What is better still, the modified structure is more similar to the Tagalog sentence structure proposed by Kaufman (2009), which involves increasing cross-linguistic universality.

