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LONG-DISTANCE BINDING IN THE FEATURE-MOVEMENT FRAMEWORK WITH REFERENCE TO RUSSIAN

by

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A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Linguistics in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

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Abstract

LONG-DISTANCE BINDING IN THE FEATURE-MOVEMENT FRAMEWORK WITH REFERENCE TO RUSSIAN

by

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The account of long-distance binding in Russian in this work is not logophoric but syntactic. It is based on the head movement framework, but I modify this framework and implement it in the Minimalist framework. I consider reflexive movement as [+R] feature movement: the [+R] feature of the reflexive moves to the T whose specifier is the reflexive's antecedent. Following the head movement approach and based on the derivation by phase approach, I have assumed that the [+R] reflexive feature cannot skip any C head on its way to the antecedent T, whereas its movement is otherwise unbounded. I have also assumed that this feature cannot adjoin directly to C if another feature is already adjoined to C. If C has an interpretable feature, [+R] cannot excorporate from C because it is too deeply embedded under this interpretable feature, and reflexive movement is blocked. This result shows that the distinction between interpretable and non-interpretable features is important. Cross-linguistically, differences in the distribution of long-distance reflexives imply differences in interpretable feature content of C in various syntactic constructions. My account proves that the [+wh] feature of C is non-interpretable and that the controlled PRO has non-interpretable phi-features. It also implies that Null (=Dative) Case in Russian is checked by an infinitive C but not by T,

that is, the [Dat] feature is base-generated in the C head of an infinitive. I have proposed a solution to the problem of complex reflexives and reciprocals (using the Russian **sam sebja** "self-N sebja-A" as an example). This account attributes the SELF-reflexive properties of **sam sebja** not to the fact that **sam sebja** is a complex reflexive (like **samogo sebja**, which can be long-distance), but to **sam sebja**'s small clausal internal structure in conjunction with the abstract incorporation of the head of this small clause into the matrix T. I have also considered other contexts of binding (adjectival noun modifiers, DP-s, infinitives with a PRO subject and with a wh-word or complementizer). When binding in these contexts is judged as deviant, I propose that non-syntactic (pragmatic or sentence-processing) factors affect the judgments.

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Chapter 1

Introduction: main concepts of the Binding Theory.

There are certain elements in all natural languages whose interpretation depends on their linguistic (and, sometimes, non-linguistic) environment. These elements are pronouns: pronominals and reflexives. The information associated with the lexical entry of the pronominal **she** or the reflexive **herself** is never sufficient to provide a unique interpretation for these elements. The environments in which these elements appear function as sources of information for establishing coreference. In particular, the reference of an anaphor such as **herself** depends on the reference of its antecedent. There are a number of ways of implementing the idea of referential dependence for anaphors. The standard Binding Theory of Chomsky (1981) says that anaphors obey Principle A, that is, they must be locally bound (see (2) and the discussion of local Domains below). The definition of binding is (1).

(1) **alpha** is bound by **beta** iff **alpha** and **beta** are coindexed and **beta** c-commands (or, in earlier versions, precedes and commands) **alpha**.

In the LGB framework, this local domain is the **governing category**:

(2) **alpha** is a governing category for **beta** iff **alpha** is the minimal category containing **beta** and the governor for **beta**, where **alpha** = NP or S.

The main Binding Principles are:

1) anaphors should be bound inside a local Domain (Principle A);

2) pronominals cannot be bound inside a local Domain (Principle B);

3) names cannot be bound (Principle C).

In the Minimalist Framework of Chomsky (1995, Ch. 3), Binding Principles are

formulated as principles of interpretation (coreferent interpretation of an anaphor with some c-commanding NP or disjoint interpretation of a pronominal (a name) with every c-commanding NP in its local domain). Under the disjoint interpretation formulation, no indexing is needed for Conditions B and C. Indexing is needed for Condition A in order for an anaphor not to be interpreted as coreferent to two c-commanding noun phrases. Chomsky (1995), using the idea of LF-movement of anaphors from Chomsky (1986), dispenses with indexing for Condition A as well. Binding Principles apply at LF, which is an Interface Level.

The original LGB claim that an anaphor must be locally bound (Principle A) gives a syntactic constraint on coindexation of anaphors. It does not address the question of how the coreferent interpretation of anaphors is achieved because indices themselves are meaningless, and because Principle A holds at Surface Structure[1]. Additional rules are needed to link coindexation to coreference. Lasnik (1976) proposed the following principles of interpretation:

(3) **a. If two NP-s have the same index, they are coreferential.**
b. If two NP-s have different indices, they are disjoint in reference.

There are other approaches to interpretation of anaphors in the literature. Reinhart (1983) proposes an alternative version of the Binding Theory. In Reinhart's version, only the relation of coindexing is defined: an antecedent may be coindexed with an NP which it c-

[1] There are some exceptions, such as sentences with topicalized reflexives (see Lasnik & Uriagereka (1988), as in (i)) which are problematic if it is assumed that Principle A holds at S-Structure. These sentences can be accounted for if it is assumed either that Principle A holds at D-Structure or that reconstruction of the topicalized reflexive takes place and Principle A holds at LF.

(i) Himself$_1$, John likes t_1

commands (and therefore binds). The fact that an NP is bound implies its interpretation as a bound variable. There are two types of bound variables: anaphors and pronominals. Anaphors must have their antecedent inside a certain Domain (cf. Principle A of the Standard Binding Theory). Pronominals may have their antecedent outside a certain Domain (cf. Principle B). However, pronominals are not required to be coindexed and bound unless their antecedent is a quantifier. Thus, only anaphor binding and binding by quantifiers are governed by grammatical principles. Reinhart claims that no syntactic mechanism is involved in establishing the coreference of two referential NP-s and the disjointness effects of Principles B (unless a quantifier is involved) and C. Reinhart proposes that these disjointness effects originate in pragmatic principles, in particular, the Gricean maxim of Manner. The speaker must be as explicit as possible. Therefore, he does not use **him** intended to be coreferential with **John** in the sentence **John washed him** because if he intended coreference, he would have used **himself**. To conclude, Reinhart proposes that only bound anaphora (as described above) involves grammatical mechanisms, but actual coreference is in the general case governed by another module, i.e. pragmatic principles. First Language Acquisition experiments support Reinhart's proposal (see Grodzinsky & Reinhart (1993) and references cited there). Children acquire Reinhart's bound anaphora principles very early, which suggests that these principles belong to Universal Grammar. However, children have problems with coreference and disjointness effects when Reinhart's bound anaphora is not involved. Therefore, the latter effects must be acquired in some way other than bound anaphora principles.

Fiengo & May (1994) argue that indexing is a procedure included in the grammar both in cases of Reinhart's bound anaphora and referential NP-s. In this respect, they

advocate the Standard Binding Theory approach. However, they restrict the role of indexing in establishing coreference: according to them, coindexing implies coreference, but contraindexing doesn't imply non-coreference. Following Evans (1980), Fiengo & May argue against Lasnik's grammatical rule (3) b. of **disjoint reference**.

Fiengo & May (1994) propose the following ways of coindexing. According to their Dependency Theory, an occurrence of an index on an NP may be dependent on (**beta**-occurrence) or independent of (**alpha**-occurrence) the identical index on the antecedent of this NP. The main test for identifying **alpha**- and **beta**-occurrences is the strict and sloppy interpretations of elided pronouns in VP-s. The **alpha**-occurrence of an index is established via context mechanisms, but an NP with a **beta**-occurrence of an index must be in a particular structural relation to its antecedent.

Fiengo & May's theory is different from Reinhart's theory in two important respects. First, non-coindexed expressions are non-coreferent according to Reinhart but they can be both coreferent and non-coreferent in Fiengo & May's view. Second, Reinhart claims that the only necessary and relevant structural relation between the antecedent and the variable is c-command. Even though certain structural relations are required between Fiengo & May's **beta**-occurrence and its antecedent, these relations need not include c-command.

Thus, the LGB approach to Binding Theory makes a distinction between syntactic constraints on coindexing and rules of interpretation. In later approaches (Chomsky 1986; 1995, Ch. 3), it is proposed that anaphors move to Infl at LF. In the Minimalist framework, LF is the Interface level. As already mentioned, Principles A-C are formulated as principles of coreferent or disjoint interpretation (which supposedly takes

place at LF). With the further development of the LF raising theory (Pica (1987, 1991), Avrutin (1994), Katada (1991)), different proposals were made which link the LF position of certain anaphors to their interpretation. For instance, Katada claims that long-distance (LD) anaphors undergo LD LF raising, whereas local anaphors undergo local LF raising. Such proposals suggest that it is the LF position of an anaphor, but not its index, that is responsible for the coreferent interpretation of the antecedent and the anaphor. Chomsky (1986, 1995) does not specify which structural LF configuration results in coreferent interpretation of an anaphor and its antecedent. For LD anaphors which are subject-oriented, such a configuration may be the Spec-Head relation between the antecedent and the anaphor.

The LF-raising approach also assumes that the overt syntactic position of the anaphor is not relevant for Principle A because Principle A applies to the LF configuration. Thus, the recent approach assumes that only LF structure and its configurations are relevant for the Binding Principles. The approach to LD anaphora is a good example of such a treatment.

In this work, I am primarily interested in Russian LD reflexives. I concentrate on their distribution and syntactic constraints for LD binding. I give alternative accounts for these constraints. In the process, I analyze various approaches to LD Binding.

Chapter 2

Problems connected with reflexives

2.1 Problems

2.1.1 The anaphor-pronominal distinction and long-distance anaphors: complementary distribution of anaphors and pronominals and domains for long-distance reflexives

The definition of **governing category** in (2) accounts for both Tensed Sentence Condition (TSC) and Specified Subject Condition (SSC) effects of Chomsky (1973) and captures the main facts of the distribution of anaphors and pronominals. It also accounts for the distribution of PRO. In order to get rid of the dual nature of the minimal category in (2) (**alpha** = NP or S), Chomsky (1981) modified the definition of GC: he included the requirement for GC to include a SUBJECT accessible to **beta**.

The Standard Binding Theory Principles say that an anaphor must be bound in its local Domain, whereas a pronominal must be free in its local Domain. Then, anaphors and pronominals must be in complementary distribution. However, English anaphors and pronominals are not always in complementary distribution. One position in which both of them can occur is **picture** NP-s, as, for instance, in (4):

(4) **John is glad that [$_S$ [$_{NPi}$ pictures of him/himself] Agr$_i$ are on sale]**

Therefore, if **himself** in (4) is a true anaphor, it is impossible to have the same local Domain (3) for Principles A and B. Huang (1983) proposed to drop the requirement that

the governing category of pronominals have an accessible SUBJECT (while preserving this requirement for anaphors). The resulting definitions capture the distribution of pronominals and anaphors in the following way.

According to Chomsky (1981), the governing category of **himself** in (4) is the matrix S but not the embedded S. This is because Agr_i of the embedded clause is coindexed with the subject NP_i which contains **himself**, so it cannot be the accessible SUBJECT for **himself** (that would violate the i-within-i condition, which says that no constituent can be coindexed with another constituent contained in it). Thus, **himself** is bound inside its governing category, which is the matrix clause.

The embedded S in (4) is, however, the governing category for **him** because it contains the governor of **him**. The governing category of **him**, which is a pronominal, need not contain the accessible SUBJECT. Thus, **him** is free in its governing category.

Chomsky's (1986) concept of "BT-compatibility" also captures the data in (4). Chomsky's (1986) the account for the contrast in (4) is again based in part on the i-within-i condition. The minimal Complete Functional Complex which renders the indexing I for **him** BT-compatible is the embedded S. This is because **him** is contained in the subject NP **pictures of him** of the embedded S. Inside this S, **him** cannot be potentially bound by any NP without an i-within-i condition violation. The minimal Complete Functional Complex that renders the indexing for **himself** BT-compatible is the matrix S. This is because any coindexing of **himself** with a c-commanding NP inside the embedded S yields an i-within-i condition violation.

The main problem for the Standard Binding Theory is connected with long-distance (LD) reflexives. In certain Scandinavian languages (see Hellan (1991)) and

Slavic languages such as Polish and Russian (see Reinders-Machovska (1991), Rappaport (1986)), a reflexive which is inside an object-control infinitive can be bound by the matrix subject. In Icelandic, a reflexive can be bound into a finite subjunctive embedded clause (see, for instance, Thráinsson (1991)); in Chinese (Huang & Tang (1991), Cole & Sung (1994), Cole & Wang (1996)) and other Asian languages, long-distance binding is possible into an indicative embedded clause. Examples (5) and (6) illustrate LD reflexives in Russian and Chinese (example (6) is from Huang & Tang (1991, p. 263)):

(5)	**Marija$_1$**	**ne**	**razrešaet**	**Anne$_2$**	**PRO$_2$**
	Mary$_1$-N	not	allows	Ann$_2$-D	PRO$_2$
	provodit'	**nad**	**soboj$_{1/2}$**	**eksperimenty**	
	to-perform	over	sebja$_{1/2}$-I	experiments-A	

"Mary$_1$ does not allow Ann$_2$ to perform experiments on her$_1$/herself$_2$"

(6)	**Zhangsan$_1$**	**renwei**	**[Lisi$_2$**	**hai-le**	**ziji$_{1/2}$]**	(Chinese)
	Zhangsan$_1$	thinks	[Lisi$_2$	hurt-ASP	self$_{1/2}$]	

"Zhangsan$_1$ thinks that Lisi hurt himself$_{1/2}$"

Examples (5)-(6) above suggest that LD reflexives are different from pronominals, that is, they do not have to be free in their governing categories. The Russian reflexive **sebja** in (5) and the Chinese reflexive **ziji** can be locally bound (cf. by PRO$_2$ in (5) and by **Lisi$_2$** in (6)). Also, LD reflexives, unlike pronominals, require an antecedent inside the sentence[2], but pronominals do not. Then, LD reflexives are anaphors, like local reflexives. In this case, a problem arises as to which domains various LD reflexives must be bound in.

In all languages with LD reflexives mentioned above, these reflexives are not in complementary distribution with pronominals. As the following example from Russian shows, the LD reflexive in the infinitive can be freely substituted for a pronominal.

(7) **Ivan$_1$** **poprisil** **Mariju$_2$** **PRO$_2$** **kupit'**
John$_1$-N asked Mary$_2$-A PRO$_2$ to-buy
sebe$_1$/emu$_1$ **čemodan**
sebja$_1$/he$_1$-D suitcase-A
"John$_1$ asked Mary to buy a suitcase for him$_1$"

To conclude, there are two major problems connected with LD reflexives. First, a unitary binding Domain does not exist, where pronominals must be free and reflexives must be bound. Second, the binding Domains for LD reflexives in various languages are different, and the issue is how to explain this variation in binding Domains.

2.1.2 Subject orientation

According to the definition of binding in (1), any c-commanding phrase inside its local Domain can be the anaphor's antecedent. The standard definition of the local domain (governing category) is given in (3).

The English reflexive **himself** falls under the definition of □bound□ in (1). For instance, there are two NP-s which c-command the reflexive **himself** in (8): **John** and **Bill**. Both of these NP-s can be antecedents of **himself**:

(8) **John$_1$ told Bill$_2$ about himself$_{1/2}$**

Crosslinguistically there are, however, a lot of reflexive types for which not just any c-commanding NP in their local domain can be the antecedent. The main additional requirement is that the antecedent of the reflexive be a subject (subject-orientation), or not a subject (anti-subject orientation). The Russian reflexive **sebja** is subject-oriented. (9) shows that even though both **Ivan** and **Marii** c-command **sebe**, only **Ivan** can bind it.

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[2] I put the problem of logophoricity aside for now, see section 6.2.3.

(9) **Ivan$_1$** **rasskazal** **Marii$_2$** **o** **sebe$_{1/*2}$**
Ivan$_1$-N told-a-story Marija$_2$-D about sebja$_{1/*2}$-P
"John told Mary a story about himself/ *herself"

The Danish reflexive **ham/hende selv** "him/herself" is anti-subject-oriented (Thráinsson (1991). p.68):

(10) **Susan$_1$** **fortalte** **Anne$_2$** **om** **hende selv$_{*1/2}$**
Susan told Anne about her self

As these examples show, the concept "bound" is not sufficient to account for the distribution of (anti)subject-oriented reflexives. Either the definition of "bound" or the application of Principle A must be modified somehow.

Another issue related to subject-orientation is that LD reflexives are always subject-oriented. For instance, the LD occurrences of **sebja** in Russian, **zibun** in Japanese, **sig** in Icelandic can only refer to subjects. If the mechanism of LD binding is regarded to be different from the mechanism of local binding, an independent account for the subject-orientation of LD reflexives is needed.

2.1.3 Complex vs. simplex reflexives

The established point of view (Pica (1991), Katada (1991)) is that there is the following correlation: only morphologically simplex (monomorphemic) reflexives can be LD; complex (bimorphemic) reflexives can only be local. Katada cites the following example from Japanese (p.289):

(11) **John$_1$-ga** **[Bill$_2$-ga** **Mike$_3$-ni** **[zibun$_{1/2/*3}$ /** **zibun-zisin$_{?*1/2/*3}$]-no**
John SB Bill SB Mike IO zibun / zibun-self GN
koto-o **hanasita** **to]** **itta**
matter DO told that said

"John said that Bill told Mike about self"

This example shows that the simplex reflexive **zibun** can refer to the LD subject **John**, but the complex reflexive **zibun-zisin** can only refer to the local subject **Bill**. According to Pica's and Katada's point of view, the same distinction is predicted to hold between **sebja** and **sebja samogo** "sebja self" in Russian, between **caki** and **caki-casin** in Korean, between **ziji** and **ta-ziji** in Chinese, between **seg** and **seg selv** in Norwegian, etc. Also, English **himself** is predicted to be local because it is a complex reflexive. This view suggests that there is a correlation between the morphological structure of the reflexive and its ability to be LD. The studies mentioned above propose to link the morphological status of simplex reflexives and this ability.

However, the data on LD binding in the languages mentioned above are not so straightforward. According to Jayaseelan (1996), complex reflexives can occur both locally and LD bound in Malayalam, Japanese, Korean and Chinese. I only give his example for Japanese (p.226):

(12)	**John$_i$-wa**	**[kono**	**koto-wa**	**tamin de**	**wa**	**naku**	**zibun-zisin$_i$-o**
	John-Topic	this	matter-Topic	other	person	not	zibun-self –acc
	dame ni		**su-ru**	**koto-ni]**	**ki-ga**	**tui-ta**	
	spoil–Nonpast			fact-dat	realize-Past		

"John realized (the fact) that this matter would harm himself and not others"

Non-animate NP-s cannot antecede either local or LD reflexives in Japanese. In (12), the local subject **kono koto** "this matter" is not a suitable antecedent for **zibun-zisin**, and LD interpretation is perfectly acceptable. If the local subject is a suitable antecedent, local interpretation of a complex reflexive is preferred but not forced. LD interpretation is not preferred, but possible. Jayaseelan points out that in examples with complex LD reflexives, "self" is a contrastive focus marker, and the LD occurrence of the complex

reflexive (**zibun-zisin** in (12)) is contrastively stressed. The relation between focusing and LD interpretation option is one more issue.

The Russian data on complex reflexives are similar to the Japanese data in the following way: the complex reflexive contains the focus marker **sam** "self" (**sebja samogo** "sebja-A self-A"), and **sebja samogo** can be LD bound into infinitives:

(13)	**Marija$_1$**	**ne**	**razrešaet**	**Anne$_2$**	**PRO$_2$**	**provodit'**
	Mary$_1$-N	not	allows	Ann$_2$-D	PRO$_2$	to-run
	nad	**soboj$_1$**	**samoj**	**eksperimenty**		
	over	sebja$_1$-I	self-I	experiments-A		

"Mary$_1$ does not allow Ann to run experiments on her$_1$"

Chomsky (1973) shows that English complex reflexives can have an antecedent outside their governing category if the governing category is an NP with a contrastive predicate. The following example is from Safir (1992, p.3):

(14) **These men$_1$ believe that Mary would never consider marrying a man less wealthy than themselves$_1$**

Examples such as (14) can be considered as evidence that English reflexives can be long-distance.

To conclude, there are data which challenge the established view on LD reflexives. Not only simplex reflexives, but also complex reflexives can be LD. It is an issue whether the simplex/complex distinction is related to the ability of a reflexive to be LD, and whether LD simplex and complex reflexives are to be accounted for in the same way. See section 3.1.1. for discussion.

2.2 Existing solutions for the problems of LD reflexives.

In this section, I will outline the following approaches to the problems of reflexives: Reinhart & Reuland's (1991, 1993) approach in section 2.2.1, Manzini & Wexler's (1987) Binding Domains Parametrization approach in section 2.2.2, Safir's (1996) approach in section 2.2.3. In section 2.3, I will present the main assumptions of the currently most widely accepted head-movement approach.

2.2.1 Reinhart & Reuland's alternative Binding Theory, its applicability to Russian

2.2.1.1 Reinhart & Reuland's Binding Theory

Reinhart & Reuland (R & R) (1993) propose an alternative Binding Theory. This theory is supposed to account for the distinction local vs. LD reflexives and for the distinction simplex vs. complex reflexives. R & R's approach is based on the concepts of *reflexive predicates* and *reflexive marking*. The element **self** of complex reflexives is regarded as having a *reflexivizing* function. Reflexives containing "self" (complex reflexives) are called "SELF-reflexives", whereas simplex reflexives (**sebja** in Russian, **zich** in Dutch, etc.) are called "SE-reflexives".

Reflexive predicates are predicates which have at least two coindexed arguments. Such predicates must be *reflexive-marked*: they are either marked as reflexive in the lexicon (intrinsically reflexive), or one of their arguments must be a SELF-reflexive. Thus, SELF-reflexives occur as arguments of reflexive predicates, whereas their

antecedents are the subjects of these predicates. SE-reflexives have no "self" component. Therefore, SE-reflexives do not mark predicates as reflexive, and a SE-reflexive and its antecedent usually cannot be coarguments (unless the verb is ditransitive, and its reflexivity is already marked by another argument which is a SELF-reflexive). The alternative Principles A and B are formulated as follows (p.670-671):

(15) **a. Principle A:** A reflexive-marked predicate is reflexive
b. Principle B A reflexive predicate is reflexive-marked

Principle A predicts that SELF-reflexives can be arguments of verbs when their antecedent is the same verb's argument (usually it is the subject). It follows that SELF-reflexives are always local. Principle B predicts that pronominals cannot occur in such positions. Thus, SELF-reflexives and pronominals are predicted to be in complementary distribution.

In the light of the distinction "clause-bound vs. LD reflexive", R & R's SELF-reflexives correlate with clause-bound reflexives, whereas SE-reflexives correlate with LD reflexives. Also, SELF-reflexives are complex, whereas SE-reflexives are simplex. The alternative Principle A explains why complex (SELF-) reflexives are clause-bound. If a SELF-reflexive were LD (as in (16)), it would reflexive-mark the embedded predicate, which is not reflexive.

(16) ***John$_i$ knows that Mary loves himself$_i$**

It is well-known that SELF-reflexives can occur in an adjunct PP or in a NP without a subject when their antecedent is a subject of the matrix verb (17)-(18)) (pp. 681, 686).

(17) **Lucie$_i$ saw a picture of herself$_i$**

(18) **Max$_i$ saw a ghost next to himself$_i$**

Since SELF-anaphors in these examples do not mark any predicate as reflexive, R & R propose that such occurrences of **himself** are logophoric, similar to occurrences as in (19) which have no c-commanding antecedent in the sentence (Zribi-Hertz (1989), p.707):

(19) **There were hours when Mrs. Wix$_1$ sighingly testified to the scruples she$_1$ surmounted (...) If the child$_2$ couldn't be worse it was a comfort to herself$_1$ that she$_1$ was bad...**[3]

R & R (1993) do not give an explicit definition of the concept "logophoric". In their 1991 paper, they adopt Fillmore's (1974) notion "centre[4]" (a *centre* consisting of the participants, the time and the place of the utterance is associated with an utterance or with a sentence in context). According to R & R (1991), logophoric pronouns refer to "some centre mentioned or assumed in a previous context" (p.317). This definition is, however, rather vague.

R & R's Principles say nothing about the distribution of SE-reflexives. Since SE-reflexives have no reflexivizing function, they cannot be coarguments of their antecedents (unless the verb is ditransitive; see above). SE-reflexives can occur in PP-adjuncts or as objects of ECM infinitives when the matrix subject is the antecedent. Examples from Dutch illustrate the distribution of SELF- and SE-reflexives (pp. 661, 665, 668):

(20)	**Max haat**	***zich/**	***hem/**	**zichzelf**	
	Max hates	SE /	him /	SE-SELF	
"Max hates himself"					
(21)	**Henk$_1$**	**wees**	**zichzelf$_1$**	**aan**	**zich$_1$ toe**
	Henk	assigned	himself	to	SE
"Henk assigned himself to himself"					

[3] Examples (18)-(19) are not accepted by all native English speakers (Richard Kayne, p.c.)

[4] The spelling "centre" instead of "center" follows Fillmore's spelling.

(22) **Jan zag [jou achter zich/ hem/ *zichzelf staan]**
Jan saw [you behind SE / him / SE-SELF stand
"Jan saw you stand behind him"

(23) **Max legt het boek achter zich**
Max puts the book behind SE
"Max put the books behind himself"

(20)-(21) show that only SELF-reflexives normally occur in coargument cases. (22) shows that only SE-reflexives can occur in cases of LD binding and that SE-reflexives are not in complementary distribution with pronominals. (23) shows that SE-reflexives can occur clause-bound when they are not coarguments with their antecedent (subject).

Thus, R & R do not give a satisfactory account of SE-reflexives (simplex reflexives). SE-reflexives have no reflexivizing function, they are not in complementary distribution with pronominals, and they are subject-oriented.

Example (22) shows that SE-reflexives can be LD. The conditions under which LD reflexives are possible are not spelled out. R&R's account for the binding Domain of SE-reflexives (the Chain Condition (24) from Reuland (1996)) is not satisfactory.

(24) a) $C = (\alpha_1, \ldots, \alpha_n)$ is a chain iff C is the maximal sequence such that for all j, $1 \leq j < n$, α_j governs α_{j+1}, and α_j and α_{j+1} are coindexed.

b) **Condition on chains:** A maximal A-chain $(\alpha_1, \ldots, \alpha_n)$ contains exactly one link - α_1 - which is fully specified for phi-features.

The Chain Condition cannot apply to Norwegian simplex reflexives, which can occur as objects of controlled infinitives (as in (25) - $\mathbf{Jon_1}$ does not govern $\mathbf{seg_1}$ in the chain $(\mathbf{Jon_1}, \mathbf{seg_1})$; the example is from (Hellan (1991: 29)).

(25) **Jon_1 ba meg_2 [PRO_2 a snakke om seg_1]**
John asked me to talk about SE

The Condition in (22) also does not account for Icelandic, Italian, Japanese, etc. simplex

reflexives which can be bound into finite clauses.

In order to explain subject-orientation of SE-reflexives, R & R propose that SE-reflexives are AGR-oriented (or move to AGR, cf. Pica's head movement approach below) because they lack phi-features and receive features of their antecedent subject from AGR. This solution is plausible from a theoretical point of view, but it does not always predict empirically correct results. Burzio (1991) showed that in Italian, the phi-feature content of a reflexive is relevant for the reflexive's distribution, as in (26a) from Burzio (1991: 88).

(26)	a.	**Qui**	**si$_i$**	**parla**	**sempere**	**dei**
		here	SI	talks	always	of-the
		propri$_i$ /	****suoi$_i$*** /	****loro$_i$***		**figli**
		own/	*his /	*their		children

"Here one always talks about one's own children"

In (26a), the antecedent of the reflexive/ pronominal is the impersonal SI. This element is not specified for phi-features, and therefore, it cannot antecede a third person pronoun ***suoi$_i$*** / ***loro*** but only the reflexive ***propri$_i$***, which has no phi-features either. Thus, the feature content of the reflexive is relevant for the distribution of Italian reflexives vs. pronouns. Burzio proposes the following reformulation of the concept of an Anaphor: A NP with no features is an Anaphor (p. 87).

Burzio's proposal can be applied to Russian: a PRO_{ARB} antecedent can only bind **sebja** but not a pronominal:

(26)	b.	**Nel'zja**	**[PRO$_i$**	**rasskazyvat'**	
		not-allowed	[PRO$_i$	to-tell-stories	
		o	**sebe$_i$** /	***nem$_i$** /	***nej$_i$** / ***nix$_i$]**
		about	sebja$_i$-P/	*he$_i$-P /	*she$_i$-P/ *they$_i$-P

"One is not allowed to tell anything about oneself"

However, the idea that a reflexive is not specified for phi-features does not hold cross-

linguistically. There are some languages in which LD simplex reflexives have morphological phi-features: for instance, Malayalam (Jayaseelan (1996)) and Tsakhur (Toldova & Testelec (1998)).

2.2.1.2 The applicability of Reinhart & Reuland's theory to Russian

Now let us see whether R & R's approach can apply to Russian, in particular, to the distribution of Russian simplex reflexive **sebja** vs. complex reflexives. Besides **sebja**, Russian has three complex reflexives: **samogo sebja** "self-A sebja-A", **sebja samogo** "sebja-A self-N" and **sam sebja** "self-N sebja-A" (all of them are subject-oriented). However, the distribution of Russian simplex vs. complex reflexives does not correlate with the distribution of SELF- vs. SE-reflexives. The simplex reflexive **sebja** is used both in the contexts of SELF-reflexives (ex. (27)) and SE-reflexives (ex. (5), repeated here).

(27) **Ivan$_1$** **nenavidit** **sebja$_1$**
John$_1$-N hates sebja$_1$-A
"John$_1$ hates himself$_1$"

(5) **Marija$_1$** **ne** **razrešaet** **Anne$_2$** **PRO$_2$**
Mary$_1$-N not allows Ann$_2$-D PRO$_2$
provodit' **nad** **soboj$_{1/2}$** **eksperimenty**
to-perform over sebja$_{1/2}$-I experiments-A
"Mary$_1$ does not allow Ann$_2$ to perform experiments on her$_1$/herself$_2$"

The evidence that **sebja** has a reflexivizing function when it occurs in a coargument position comes from contexts with intrinsically reflexive verbs. Similar to Dutch SELF-reflexives, **sebja** cannot be used as an object of intrinsically reflexive verbs. Such verbs

in Russian are inflected with the affix **-sja**[5]. The verb **myt'-sja** "wash oneself", which is unambiguously reflexive, is ungrammatical with **sebja**. If **sebja** is substituted for **-sja**, the meaning of the verb changes to "wash"; the verb is not reflexive any more:

(28)	**a.**	***Ivan$_i$**	**moet-sja**	**sebja$_i$**
		John$_i$-N	washes-oneself	sebja$_i$-G

"*John$_i$ washes-oneself **himself$_i$**"

	b.	**Ivan$_i$**	**moet**	**sebja$_i$**
		John$_i$-N	washes	sebja$_i$-A

"John$_i$ washes **himself$_i$**"

The distribution of **sebja** in Russian is similar to the distribution of the corresponding reflexive **siebie** in Polish. R & R (1991, p.310), following Reinders-Machovska (1991), claim that **siebie** is a case of ambiguity. In local contexts, **siebie** is a SELF-reflexive, but in LD contexts, it is a SE-reflexive. This will not work for Russian. First, the local **sebja** is subject-oriented, similar to SE-reflexives, and unlike SELF-reflexives given in R & R. Second, as already mentioned, Russian has complex reflexives with the element **sam** "self". In **samogo sebja** and **sebja samogo**, **sam** is a focus marker but not a reflexivizer

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[5] The relationship between **sebja** and the affix/ clitic **-sja** in Russian is the following: **-sja** can be affixed to a closed set of verbs, and these verbs with **-sja** are intrinsically reflexive (that is, they can only denote an action performed on oneself): **ukryvat'-sja** "cover oneself", **myt'-sja** "wash oneself", **odevat'-sja** "dress oneself". As (25a) and (i) show, no direct object can be added to a verb inflected with **-sja**:

(i)	***Ivan**	**moet-sja**	**Petra**
	John-N	washes-sja	Peter-A

-Sja is usually added to the class of verbs mentioned above, but when these verbs are not affixed **-sja**, they can take a direct object, in particular, a reflexive:

(ii)	**Ivan**	**moet**	**Petra**
	John-N	washes	Peter-A
(iii)	**Ivan**	**moet**	**sebja**
	John-N	washes	sebja-A

(similar to Malayalam, Japanese, Korean of Jayaseelan (1996)). The complex reflexive **samogo sebja** "self-A sebja-A" is used when **sebja** is focused; cf. (27) repeated here and (29):

(27)	**Ivan$_1$**	**nenavidit**	**sebja$_1$**
	John$_1$-N	hates	sebja$_1$-A

"John$_1$ hates himself$_1$"

(29)	**Ivan$_1$**	**nenavidit**	**samogo**	**sebja$_1$**
	John$_1$-N	hates	self-A	sebja$_1$-A

"John$_1$ hates himsélf$_1$"

We see in (27), (29) that **sam** (the Russian "self") has no reflexivizing function and, therefore, complex reflexives in Russian do not differ from simplex reflexives in having the reflexivizing function. Example (30) shows that **samogo sebja** can occur LD (the same holds for **sebja samogo**). That means that Russian complex reflexives are not always local.

(30)	**Marija$_1$**	**ne**	**razrešaet**	**Anne$_2$**		
	Mary$_1$-N	not	allows	Ann$_2$-D		
	PRO$_2$	**provodit'**	**nad**	**samoj**	**soboj$_{1/2}$**	**eksperimenty**
	PRO$_2$	to-run	over	self-I	sebja$_{1/2}$-I	experiments-A

"Mary$_1$ does not allow Ann to run experiments on her$_1$/herself$_2$"

The data above show that R & R's Principles do not capture the distribution of simplex vs. complex reflexives in Russian.

To conclude, the data do not allow us to claim that R & R's alternative Principles cannot account for the whole set of Russian reflexives, in particular, for the simplex reflexive **sebja** and the complex reflexives **samogo sebja** and **sebja samogo**. Also, the assumptions of R & R do not hold cross-linguistically.

"John washes himself"

2.2.2 The Binding Domains Parametrization approach.

As mentioned in 2.1.1, the major problem for the Standard Binding Theory is the fact that binding Domains for reflexives in different languages (including LD reflexives) do not coincide. One possible solution to this problem is to assume that the binding Domain of a reflexive is subject to parametric variation (Manzini & Wexler (M & W) (1987), Koster & Reuland (1991), Thráinsson (1991)). (Franks & Progovac (1992) propose the relativized SUBJECT approach, which is essentially similar to M & W's approach.) According to this approach (M & W (1987: 422)), the governing category β for an anaphor α is the minimal category that contains α and the governor for α and an opacity factor determined individually. The opacity factor is subject to variation. Each individual reflexive has its own binding domain delimited by a certain opacity factor. For instance, the opacity factor for the English reflexive **himself** is the (accessible) SUBJECT (putting aside the problem of **picture** NP-s). In Norwegian, the opacity factor for the complex reflexive **seg selv** is also the subject, whereas the opacity factor for the simplex reflexive **seg** is Tense. Thus, **seg selv** is clause-bound, but **seg** can be bound into an infinitive clause. The Icelandic reflexive **sig** must be bound in the minimal category containing indicative Tense (**sig** can be bound into a subjunctive clause). The Japanese reflexive **zibun** must be bound in the minimal category containing the "root" Tense (**zibun** can be bound into an indicative clause).

In general, the Binding Domain Parametrization approach proposes that a fixed set of different Binding Domains for anaphors can occur in natural language; the opacity factors of these Domains are subject to parametrization. In particular, a certain Domain

corresponds to each of the reflexives existing in the known languages. However, the opacity factor that determines a Domain for a given reflexive is not related to any stuctural (syntactic or morphological) properties of this reflexive or of the language. For instance, no structural explanation is given as to why the opacity factor for **seg** in Norwegian is Tense, whereas the opacity factor for **sig** in Icelandic is the Indicative Tense. Then, the theory runs into the following problem. Suppose a new reflexive R in a language L which is not studied yet is predicted to have one of the Binding Domains which occur in the languages already studied. However, we cannot tell what kind of the opacity factor the Domain of R has without experimental data even if we know the structural properties of both R and L. In addition, R may have a binding Domain which does not coincide with any of documented Binding Domains. Thus, the Binding Domain Parametrization theory is not able to make any predictions.

The Binding Domain parametrization approach is not straightforwardly consistent with the Minimalist Framework. This is because this framework assumes that language variation is accounted by certain universal parameters which must be stated in terms of features of functional categories. As it is, parametrization of Binding Domains is stated in the Binding Domain parametrization approach in terms of language specific and reflexive specific opacity factors. So a dramatic change in the parametrization formulation would be required in order for the Binding Domain approach to fit in the Minimalist framework.

Another problem emerges with respect to opacity factors. According to M & W (1987), there only exists a finite number of opacity factors (subject, Infl, Tense, "referential" Tense and "root" Tense), but it is not clear why other categories, nodes or elements of the sentence structure cannot be opacity factors. Empirically, there are some

data which it is difficult to account for given the list of the opacity factors above, in particular, the distribution of SELF-reflexives in Dutch and Norwegian. According to Hellan (1988), the Norwegian complex reflexive **seg selv** can only occur in argument positions as a coargument of its antecedent where it has the reflexivizing function (see section 2.2.1). Therefore, it is not entirely correct to say that **seg selv** is just clause-bound: some account must be given for the contrast between the grammatical (31) from Hellan (1991: 33), where **seg self** is in an argument PP, and (32) from Safir (1996: 580), where **seg selv** is clause-bound but is not an argument of the verb. In both (31) and (32), the binding Domain of **seg selv** is the minimal category with a subject (the matrix clause) - I assume that the quantifier **noen** "some" in (32) is not the subject of the noun phrase "some friends of his". Thus, the contrast between a clause-bound argument of the verb (SELF-reflexive) and a clause-bound non-argument of the verb (SE-reflexive) is not explained.

(31) **Jon$_i$ fortalte oss om seg selv$_i$**
Jon told us about SE-self
"John told us about himself"

(32) **Jon traff noen venner av seg/ *seg selv**
John met some friends of SE/ *SE-self
"John met some friends of his"

It is not clear which opacity factor can account for reflexives with vs. without the reflexivizing function.

One more empirical problem for the Parametrization approach is connected with M & W's claim that all the possible Binding Domains "are ordered with respect to one another by the set-theoretical relation of proper inclusion" (p.419) (in particular, the minimal category with a subject is always contained inside the minimal category with a

Tense, etc.). Such ordering implies that all LD reflexives can be local. However, this is not the case in all languages. For instance, the Malayalam LD anaphor **taan** cannot be locally bound, cf. (33) and (34) from Jayaseelan (1996: 213-214).

(33) ***raaman** **tan-ne** **aṭiccu**
Raman self-acc hit (Past)
"Raman hit himself"

(34) **raaman** **paraRaññu[siita** **tan-ne** **sneehik'k'unnu** **ennc**]
Raman said Sita self-acc loves COMP
"Raman$_i$ said that Sita$_j$ loves self$_{i/*j}$"

These examples show that the Malayalam reflexive **taan** can only be LD bound, but not locally bound. Thus, **taan** is a reflexive because it requires a subject antecedent (putting the problem of logophoricity aside for now), but at the same time it seems to obey the Standard Principle B. Jayaseelan proposes that the anaphor/ pronominal distinction of the Standard Binding Theory does not work for Malayalam. Instead, anaphors in Malayalam are a subclass of pronominals; that is, all anaphors are pronominals (simplex anaphors) or contain a pronominal (complex anaphors). The binding Domain of a clause-bound reflexive such as **himself** cannot be considered as properly included into the binding Domain of a LD reflexive such as **taan**. Crosslinguistically, a number of languages have LD reflexives which cannot be locally bound (or at least cannot be bound by coarguments): **zich** in Dutch (see ex. (15)-(16) in section 2.2.1.), **aapan** in Marathi (Dalrymple (1993)), **ʒiv** in Godobery (Toldova & Testelec (1998)). To conclude, M & W's proper inclusion of binding Domains is not supported by the crosslinguistic data.

Parametrization is also used by M & W (and by Thráinsson (1991), who follows Anderson (1986)) in solving the problem of subject-orientation. For instance, M & W

introduce the "**proper antecedent**" parameter: a reflexive must be bound by a subject β or by any element β in its binding Domain. Thus, the English **himself** can be bound by any element in its governing category; the Russian **sebja** can only be bound by a subject.

This solution allows us to account not only for subject-oriented reflexives, but also for anti-subject-oriented anaphoric expressions, such as **hende selv** "her self" in Danish (Thráinsson (1991)). As examples (10), (35) (p.68) show, **hende selv** must be locally bound, but free from the local subject:

(10)	**Susan**$_i$	**fortalte**	**Anne**$_j$	**om**	**hende**	**selv**$_{*i/j}$
	Susan	told	Ann	about	her	self

(35)	***Susan**$_i$	**bad**	**Anne**$_j$	**om**		
	Susan	asked	Ann			
	[PRO$_j$	**at**	**ringe**	**til**	**hende**	**selv**$_{i/j}$**]**
		to	ring	to	her	self

In the Parametrization framework, the data in (10), (35) is explained as follows. **Hende selv** is both an anaphor and a pronominal: it is subject to Principle A, so it must be bound by any element in its governing category, but it is also subject to Principle B (which must be not a standard but a revised Principle B), so it must be subject-free in its governing category. In this way, the anti-subject orientation of **hende selv** is derived.

M & W themselves point out one problem connected with the Parametrization approach to subject-orientation. Recall that all LD reflexives are subject-oriented (section 2.1.2). Local reflexives are not always subject-oriented. If a reflexive can be both local and LD, it is possible that this reflexive is subject-oriented only in its LD instances. M & W present the Icelandic reflexive **sig** as an example (p.437):

(37)	**Ég**	**sendi**	**Jóni**$_i$	**föt**	**a**	**sig**$_i$
	I	sent	John	clothes	for	Refl

(38) a. **Jón$_i$ segir að Maria elski sig$_i$**
Jon says that Maria loves (subjunctive) Refl

b. ***Ég sagði Jóni$_i$ að Maria hefði boðið sér$_i$**
I told Jon that Maria had (subjunctive) invited Refl

Example (37) shows that the clause-bound **sig** is not subject-oriented; (38a-b) show that the LD **sig** is subject-oriented. Thus, **sig** does not have unitary properties with respect to subject-orientation. This fact is not consistent with the "proper antecedent" parametrization approach because in this approach, exactly one value of the parameter must correspond to a certain reflexive: the reflexive must be subject-oriented or non-subject-oriented in all its occurrences.

To conclude, the Domain Parametrization approach is to a certain degree descriptively adequate. However, it faces both theoretical and empirical problems. First, all binding Domains introduced correspond to single reflexives, and consequently it is impossible to make any generalizations about similarity of binding Domains of reflexives which have similar morphological or syntactic properties. Second, the set of ordered binding Domains does not account for the Domain distinctions connected with argument/non-argument positions and for the Domains of the reflexives that cannot be clause-bound. The "proper antecedent" parameter solution also has some problems.

2.2.3 The Semantic Atoms of Anaphora approach

The main idea of Safir's (1996) Semantic Atoms of Anaphora approach is that the SELF element of a reflexive is a two-place predicate of identity. This identity relation allows the

antecedent and the reflexive to corefer. SAME, OTHER, OWN, etc. are also two-place predicates of identity, distinctness, possession. All of the above predicates have one unsaturated argument. This property accounts for the following fact: anaphors whose semantic structure is based on the above predicates (such anaphors are **himself**, **lui-même** ("him-same" in French), **each other**, **his own**) must be clause-bound, that is, they are subject to Principle A of the Standard Binding Theory.

Safir relates this fact to the presence of an unsaturated argument in the following way: "the unsaturated argument is uniquely what induces susceptibility of an anaphoric atom to Principle A". Then, only pronouns which are or contain predicates with an unsaturated argument are subject to Principle A. In particular, Safir claims that SE-reflexives, unlike SELF-reflexives, have no relational content but are just placeholders. Therefore, they are not associated with an unsaturated argument and are not subject to Principle A.

Thus, Safir proposes an account as to why reflexives containing SELF, OTHER, etc. are clause-bound but SE reflexives are not necessarily clause-bound. However, he does not provide any more detailed account of the distribution and properties of SE-reflexives, and he does not discuss the problems of LD reflexives. That means that Safir's approach does not solve the problems of LD reflexives stated in section 2.1.

2.2.4 The head movement approach

As mentioned in section 2.2.2, the Standard Binding Theory faces the problem of LD reflexives' Binding Domains. One possible solution for this problem is to assume that

the Binding Domain for Principle A is subject to parametrization; each reflexive in any language has an individual Binding Domain. In section 2.2.2, I discussed the problems with this approach. Another possible solution is to assume that the Standard Principle A is valid not only for local but also for LD reflexives. In order to be locally bound, LD reflexives undergo LF cyclic head-to-head movement from their base-generated position to the Infl (Agr) node of their antecedent's clause. Then, the reflexive is in the Spec-head agreement with the antecedent (recall that LD reflexives are subject-oriented). Thus, Principle A applies at LF, after LF reflexive movement, and at LF, LD reflexives are locally bound.

The head movement approach was proposed by Lebeaux (1983) and Pica (1987, 1991) and developed, for instance, in Bailyn (1992), Cole, Hermon & Sung (1990), Cole & Sung (1994), Cole & Wang (1996); Chomsky's (1986) idea of LF anaphor raising is based on this approach. Even though this analysis has a lot of theoretical and empirical problems, I will adopt and modify it and solve some of its problems. I will list the main assumptions of this approach and the solutions which are proposed for the problems in 2.1.

The head movement approach assumes that LD reflexives are heads and can undergo successive-cyclic Infl-to-Infl movement using the C position as an escape-hatch. According to Pica, only simplex reflexives (Norwegian **seg**, Icelandic **sig**, Russian **sebja**) can be LD.

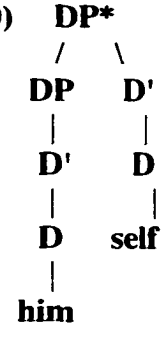
Note that simplex reflexives are not necessarily supposed to be morphologically simple (monomorphemic) cf. the following paradigm from Russian:

(ACCUSATIVE)	1-st person, sg.	**m-enja**
	2-nd person, sg.	**t-ebja**
	3-rd person, sg.	**s-ebja**

The second and third person pronouns are similar except for the first letter. Hence, Russian simplex reflexives consist of two morphemes, at least historically (cf. Kayne (1998)). Thus, the term "simplex" refers only to syntactic but not to morphological properties of reflexives.

Complex reflexives, such as English **himself**, Norwegian **seg selv**, Russian **sam sebja**, are, according to Pica, always clause-bound. He attributes the clause-bounded feature of complex reflexives to their internal structure. Simplex reflexives are just heads, whereas complex reflexives are XP-s with the **self**-like element in X and the **him**-like element in Spec (see (40), which is Katada's (1991) structure):

(40)



According to Pica (1987), complex reflexives cannot be LD because XP-s cannot undergo head movement (that would violate the structure preserving constraint). Pica (1991) notes that the structure preserving constraint (and thus the X' status of the reflexive) might not be relevant for the LF level where reflexive movement proceeds. He proposes instead that only the **him** part of the complex reflexive must undergo head movement. However, LD movement of the **him** part is impossible due to the adjunct-like status of the Specifier of the DP* in (40): if the LD movement proceeds, the trace of **him** will not be properly

antecedent governed[6,7].

According to section 2.1.3, example (13), complex reflexives can be LD in a number of languages including Russian. In chapter 4, I will propose a solution for the complex reflexives problem.

(13)	**Marija$_1$**	**ne**	**razrešaet**	**Anne$_2$**	**PRO$_2$**	**provodit'**
	Mary$_1$-N	not	allows	Ann$_2$-D	PRO$_2$	to-run
	nad	**soboj$_1$**	**samoj**	**eksperimenty**		
	over	sebja$_1$-I	self-I	experiments-A		

"Mary$_1$ does not allow Ann to run experiments on her$_1$"

The head movement of reflexives is similar to overt clitic movement, as in Kayne (1989). It proceeds through certain heads of the embedded and matrix clauses to the matrix Infl/Agr. These heads, however, do not behave uniformly with respect to reflexive movement. First, reflexives can adjoin to Tense and Agr, but they cannot adjoin to C: they can only substitute into the C position. If the C position is already filled, reflexive movement cannot proceed. Thus, the C filled at LF is a barrier for reflexive movement. Second, reflexives can skip the lexical head V and, crucially, the head Neg which blocks overt clitic movement (or adjoin to these heads and then move further). Thus, reflexive

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[6] If the line of Chomsky (1986) that all reflexives must raise at LF is to be pursued, the Spec DP of complex reflexives can be assumed to undergo a local raising, as in Katada (1991): it adjoins to the local VP whose segment created by adjunction is not a barrier for antecedent government of the trace. In chapter 4, I give a different account of complex reflexives in Russian.

[7] Note that the "self" part of the reflexive in (40) cannot undergo movement. This is because it is commonly assumed that the "him/SE" part of a complex reflexive but not the "self" bears the referential index and is responsible for the coreference relation with the antecedent (cf. Fiengo & May (1994)). Since indexing is dropped in the head movement framework and the result of LF reflexive movement is the Spec-Head relation with the antecedent is responsible for coreference, it is plausible to assume that it is the "him/SE" part of the reflexive that moves rather than the "self" part. In the feature movement framework, only the "him/SE" morpheme but not the "self" morpheme can

movement does not obey the Head Movement Constraint. For now, I will just adopt this scheme of reflexive movement. I will propose an explanation for it in chapter 3.

I will illustrate Pica's LF movement account using LD binding into infinitives in Russian. The LF structure of (5)[8] (repeated here) is (5'), the traces of **sebja** movement are t, t_1', t_1'', etc.

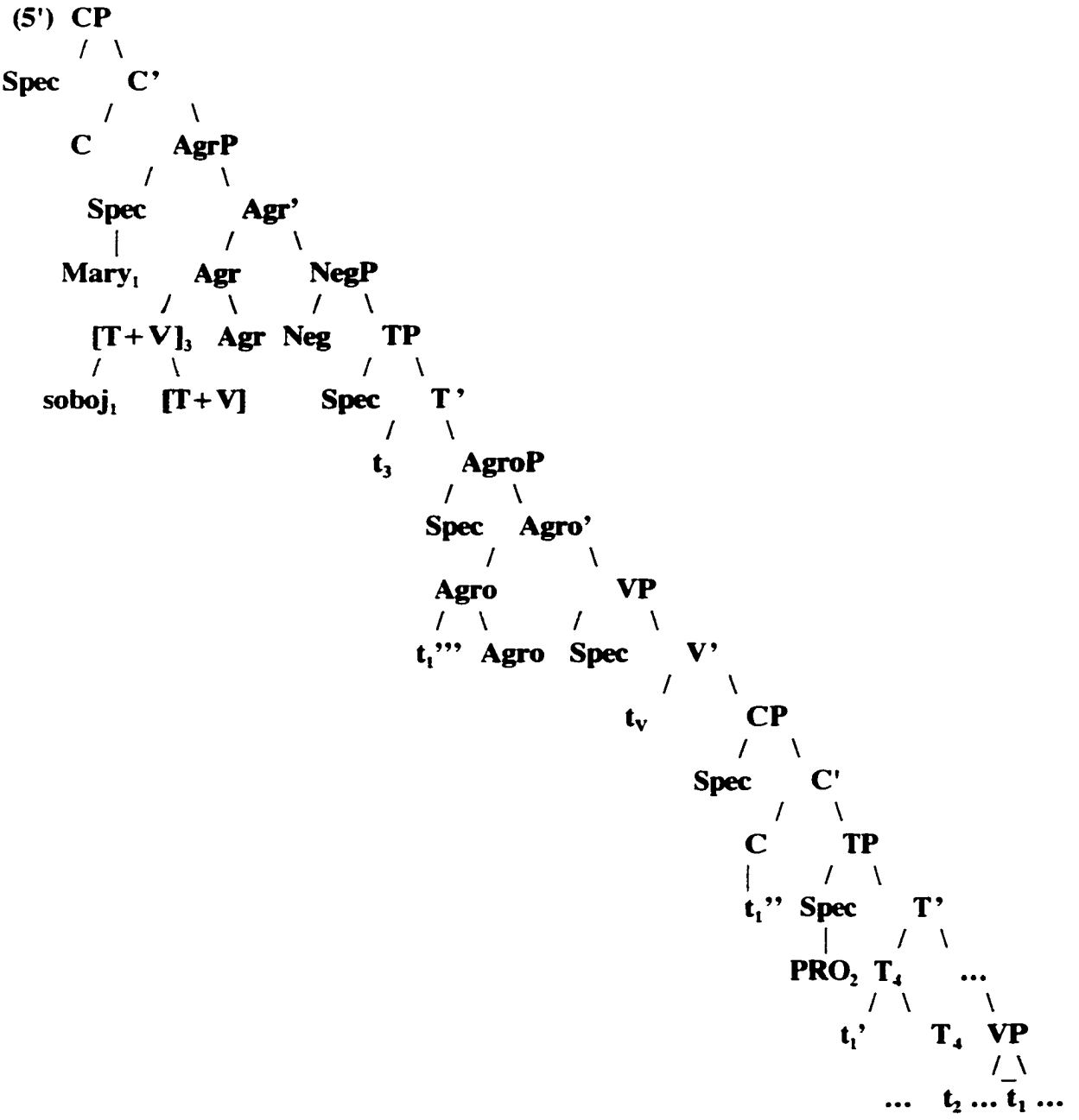
(5)	**Marija$_1$**	**ne**	**razrešaet**	**Anne$_2$**	**PRO$_2$**
	Mary$_1$-N	not	allows	Ann$_2$-D	PRO$_2$
	provodit'	**nad**	**soboj$_{1/2}$**	**eksperimenty**	
	to-perform	over	sebja$_{1/2}$-I	experiments-A	

"Mary$_1$ does not allow Ann$_2$ to perform experiments on her$_1$/herself$_2$"

---

be base-generated with the [+R] feature (see chapter 3).

[8] Henceforth, I only give the indexing of reflexives with LD interpretation (in (5), **sebja$_1$** instead of **sebja$_{1/2}$**).



(5') shows that **soboj$_1$** moves through the embedded T (via adjunction), embedded C (via substitution), matrix Agro (via adjunction) and ends up in the matrix T/AgrS. After its LF movement, the reflexive **sebe** is inside the same clause as its antecedent **Mary**. Assuming that Condition A applies at LF, Condition A is valid for LD reflexives similar to clause-bound reflexives. Thus, the head movement approach makes it possible to apply

the standard formulation of Condition A to LD reflexives at LF.

The head movement approach accounts for the fact that LD reflexives are subject-oriented in the following way. After the movement of the reflexive, only the subject, but not the object can c-command the reflexive, therefore objects cannot be antecedents for LD binding.

Note that this explanation of subject-orientation works only under the representational approach. Under the derivational approach, the reflexive can be bound by the matrix object because, as it is shown in (5'), the reflexive moves through Agro. Under the derivational approach, the reflexive will be bound by the object at this step of movement. In my approach, outlined in chapter 3, this problem does not arise at all: feature movement does not have to obey the Head Movement Constraint, and the reflexive feature will not have to stop in Agro.

To conclude, the head movement framework proposes a certain syntactic mechanism for LD binding. This framework allows us to preserve the original formulation of Condition A for LD reflexives: Condition A would hold at LF. The head movement mechanism, as originally stated, explains two important generalizations: that only simplex, but not complex reflexives can be LD (not an empirically adequate generalization), and that LD reflexives are subject-oriented. *2.2.4*

Chapter 3

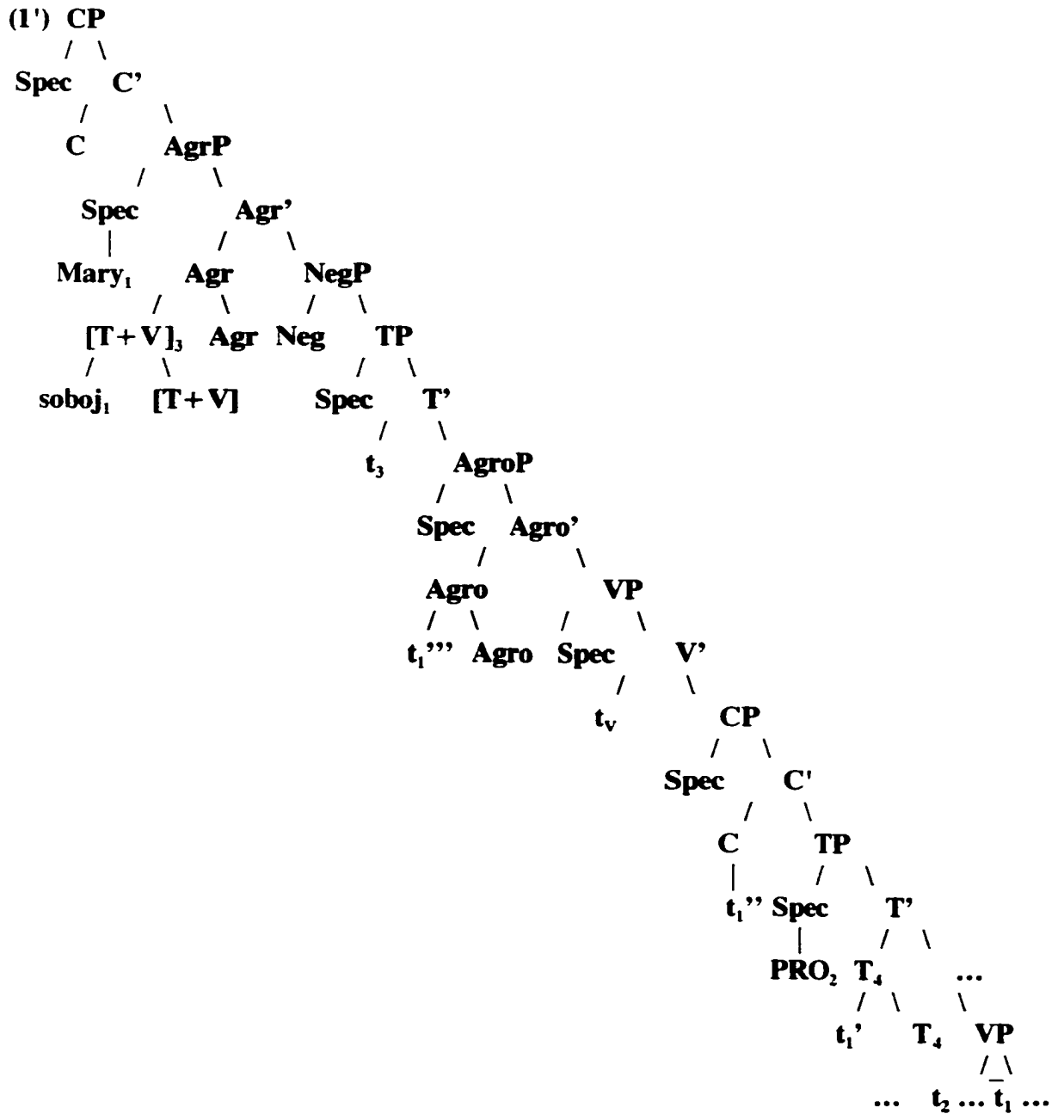
My framework and the proposal.

3.1 The head movement approach in the Minimalist Framework: my framework.

As the structure (5') of (5) in section 2.2.3. (repeated here as (1') and (1)) shows, the head movement framework is consistent with the Split-IP structure and V-to-I movement of Pollock (1989) and Chomsky (1995, Chapter 3). It is also consistent with the assumption that (syntactic vs. LF) movement can be driven by (strong vs. weak) features and the Case-checking mechanism (Chomsky (1995, Chapter 3)). However, this framework is not entirely consistent with the attract feature LF movement mechanism of Chomsky (1995, Chapter 4), which suggests that only feature-movement but not category movement can take place at LF.

(1)	**Marija$_1$**	**ne**	**razrešaet**	**Anne$_2$**	**PRO$_2$**
	Mary$_1$-N	not	allows	Ann$_2$-D	PRO$_2$
	provodit'	**nad**	**soboj$_{1/2}$**	**eksperimenty**	
	to-perform	over	sebja$_{1/2}$-I	experiments-A	

"Mary$_1$ does not allow Ann$_2$ to perform experiments on her$_1$/herself$_2$"

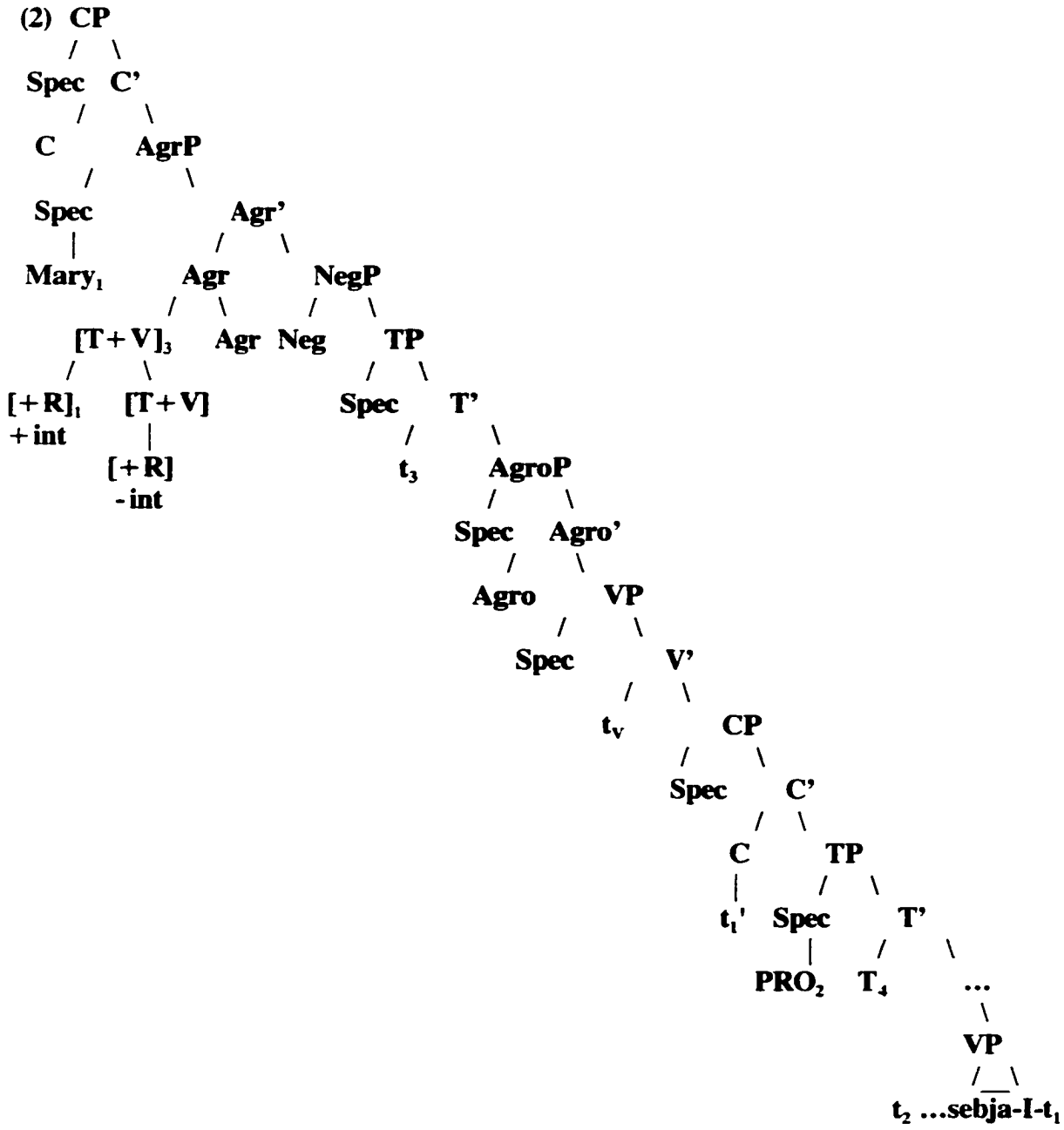


I adopt the Minimalist framework and therefore regard reflexive movement not as head movement (as Pica does) but as feature movement (movement of the feature [+R]). The [+R] feature (of the **sebja** reflexive, that is, the feature that moves) is interpretable. Its movement is driven by the weak non-interpretable [+R] feature of T whose Specifier is

the reflexive's antecedent.[1]

I assume that feature-adjunction to C is possible. That is, [+R] can adjoin to C. However, [+R] cannot excorporate from C under certain conditions (see section 3.2 below). Under these conditions, reflexive movement and LD binding is blocked. In my framework, the derivation of (1) is (2):

[1] It might seem surprising that [+R] movement is a movement of a single feature (which is not consistent with the Chomsky (1995: Ch.4) framework). Below (see structure (6)), I propose that **sebja** consists of two heads: H_{REFL} (**s-**) and H (**-ebja**), and all the features of **sebja** besides [+R] are hosted by the H **-ebja**. Then, the problem of a single feature movement does not arise.



There are several crucial differences between (1) and (2). First, in (1), the reflexive head **sebja** moves but in (2) only the reflexive feature of **sebja** [+R] moves (see my assumption about other features of **sebja** below). Second, whereas Pica claims that the reflexive head moves through all functional categories (Agr, T, etc.), [+R] does not have

to move through all functional projections. This is because feature movement, according to Chomsky (1995, Chapter 4), is unbounded. I propose that [+R] can move only to T and to C but not to any other projection. [+R] moves to T triggered by the non-interpretable [+R] feature of T.[2] Thus, [+R] movement is in no way like head movement: [+R] has to move just to the T that has the non-interpretable [+R] feature.[3]

In Pica's framework, the reflexive head has to move through C because C is an escape-hatch for LD reflexive movement. The derivation by phase framework of Chomsky (1999) provides an independent reason as to why [+R] has to move through C. According to Chomsky, a feature F is not visible for attraction from outside a domain of H (which, as I assume, is C[4] in the case of successive-cyclic movement) unless F is in H (C) or in SpecHP (SpecCP). Then, if in case of a LD movement the [+R] of the reflexive stays *in situ* (on **sebja**) without moving up to C it will not be visible for the attraction of [+R] by an upstairs T, as in (3a), as opposed to (3b). In the former derivation, the [+R] of **sebja** will not be able to be attracted, and the derivation will crash; in the latter, [+R] can be attracted, and

---

[2] A possible alternative is that the –int [+R] feature is base-generated not in T but in another head, say, Asp. I do not entertain this possibility here because even if [+R] were in Asp, the essentials of my account would not change.

[3] In principle, it is possible that more than one of the upstairs T-s have the –int [+R] feature. Then, the +int [+R] feature of **sebja** would be able to check both of these features. The structure will be the following:

(i) ... $[_{TP1}$ $[T_1$-[+R]] ... $[_{TP2}$ $[T_2$-[+R]] ... **sebja**-[+R]]]

(i) would converge with a gibberish interpretation: **sebja** would have two antecedents. This problem is identical to the problem of the [+wh] feature of a wh-word, pointed out by Chomsky (1995: 291).

[4] I do not consider *v* domains because I adopt Kayne's (1994) Antisymmetry

the derivation will converge.

(3) a. ... $[_{CP1}\ [_{TP1}\ [T_1\text{-}[+R]]\ ...[_{CP2}\ [C_2]$ ... sebja-[+R]]]]

b. ... $[_{CP1}\ [_{TP1}\ [T_1\text{-}[+R]]\ ...[_{CP2}\ [C_2\text{-}[+R]]$ ... sebja-t]]]

If [+R] moves to any other projection, besides T or C, it is are dragged by some other features to which [+R] has previously adjoined (e.g. to Agrs dragged by the features of T - see chapter 5). [+R] does not have to move to Agro at all since it is attracted only to the T that has the –int [+R] feature.

Thus, [+R] has to move to only one T, and this can be either the local T or the T of any higher clause (the T that has a [+R] feature]). Thus, in (4'), which is the structure of (4), [+R] moves to the local T but in (2), [+R] moves only to the matrix T but not to the embedded T.

(4) Ivan$_1$ ljubit sebja$_1$
John$_1$-N loves sebja$_1$-A
"John loves himself"

(4') CP
Spec C'
Ivan$_1$ C AgrsP
Spec Agrs'
Agrs$_1$ TP
FF-[T]$_2$ Agrs Spec T'
[+R]$_1$ FF-[T] T ...
+int [+R] t_2 VP
-int t_2 ...sebja-A-t_1

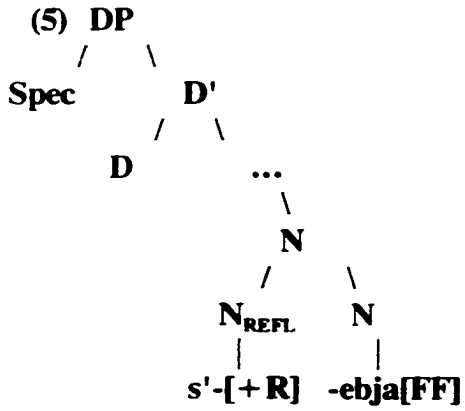
framework, which is not consistent with the *v*P clause structure.

In (4'), [+R] of the local **sebja** moves to T, and then the whole bunch of features on T moves to Agrs. In (2), [+R] does not move to the local T because only the matrix T has the -int [+R] feature. Since [+R] in the derivation by phase framework must move through any C that is on its way to T with a [+R] feature. Therefore, [+R] in (2) moves through the embedded C.

Feature-movement, unlike head movement, cannot obey the ban on adjunction to C exploited by Pica for cases in which LD reflexive movement is blocked. [+R] can adjoin to any head. I derive the constraint that [+R] cannot move through C in certain cases by invoking the ban on excorporation from C under certain conditions (see section 3.2 and chapter 5).

[+R] in (2) stands not for the entire bundle of features of the reflexive but just for the [+R] feature. My data (in particular, the fact that a reflexive Dative infinitive subject (**sebe** "sebja-D") cannot be LD bound, see section 5.3.1) together with the assumption that simplex reflexives are not morphologically simplex adopted from Kayne (1998), lead me to the proposal that **sebja** is a complex head consisting of two heads: **s'** and **ebja** (cf. the paradigm of Russian in section 2.2.3.1). The s' head carries just the [+R] feature, whereas the **-ebja** head carries all the other features of the **sebja** DP. Compare **s'[+R]-ebja[FF]** and the second person pronoun which allows the same morphological analysis: **t'[2ND]-ebja[FF-number]** "you-A". Thus, the structure of **sebja** is shown in (5):

(5)



Since [+R] and the other features of **sebja** [FF] belong to different heads they can move independently. This assumption is crucial for explaining the data on Dative reflexive infinitive subjects in section 5.3.

To conclude, I have proposed a feature movement account of LD binding based on Pica's head movement framework. The reflexive feature of **sebja** [+R], which is hosted by a separate head, is attracted by a non-interpretable [+R] feature of the T head of the clause whose subject is **sebja**'s antecedent. [+R] must move to the T of the sentence its antecedent is contained in (the local T or one of higher T-s - the one which has the [+R] feature). The [+R] feature must stop in every C head that intervenes between the clause with the antecedent and the clause with the reflexive. [+R] can always adjoin to C but cannot excorporate from C under certain conditions (see section 3.2). I propose to extend the feature reflexive movement proposed in this section to short distance binding of the simplex **sebja**.

3.2 Overview of the Russian data and the proposal

Russian allows LD binding into PRO infinitives (Rappaport (1986)). First, I will present the major environments in which LD binding into infinitives is possible and the environments in which LD binding is blocked. Then, I will give my proposal, which accounts for the cases in which binding is blocked. In chapters 5, 6 and 7, I will discuss binding in cases mentioned below and other cases in much more detail.

LD binding is allowed into obligatory control infinitives (6) and into other types of infinitives with a PRO subject (7a-b):

(6) **Marija$_1$** **ne** **razrešaet** **Anne$_2$** **PRO$_2$**
Mary$_1$-N not allows Ann$_2$-D PRO$_2$
provodit' **nad** **soboj$_{1/2}$** **eksperimenty**
to-perform over sebja$_{1/2}$-I experiments-A
"Mary$_1$ does not allow Ann$_2$ to perform experiments on her$_1$/herself$_2$"

(7) a. **(?)Andrej$_1$** **objasnil** **Petru$_2$,**
Andrew$_1$-N explained Peter$_2$-D
čego **PRO** **ne** **rasskazyvat'** **o** **sebe$_1$**
what-G PRO not to-tell about sebja$_1$-P
"Andrew$_1$ explained to Peter what not to tell about him$_1$"

b. **(?)Anna$_1$** **skazala** **medsestre$_2$,**
Anna$_1$-N told nurse$_2$-D
kuda **PRO** **ukolot'** **sebja$_1$**
where PRO to-inject sebja$_1$-A
"Ann$_1$ told the nurse where to give her$_1$ an injection"

The three major contexts in which LD binding is blocked are the following:

I. Binding into tensed clauses: subjunctives (8a) and indicatives (8b-c):

(8) a. ***Ivan$_1$** **ne** **velel** **Petru$_2$,**
John$_1$-N not told Peter$_2$-D
čto-by **on$_2$** **rasskazyval** **o** **sebe$_1$**
that-SUBJ he$_2$-N told about sebja$_1$-P

"John$_1$ did not allow it to Peter$_2$ that he$_2$ would tell anything about him$_1$"

b.	***Marija$_1$**	**znaet,**	**čto**	**Ivan**	**ljubil** **sebja$_1$**
	Mary$_1$-N	knows	that	John-N	loved sebja$_1$-A

"Mary$_1$ knows that John loved her$_1$"

c.	***Marija$_1$**	**znaet,**	**Ivan**	**ljubil**	**sebja$_1$**
	Mary$_1$-N	knows	John-N	loved	sebja$_1$-A

"Mary$_1$ knows that John loved her$_1$"

II. Binding into pre/postnominal participial clauses (9a-b):

(9) a.	**On$_1$**	**smotrel**	**na**	**obed**		
	he$_1$-N	looked	at	dinner-A		
	[$_{PartP}$ gotovivšijsja			**dlja**	***sebja$_1$]**	
	[$_{PartP}$ being-cooked-PART-PAST-A			for	sebja$_1$-G]	

b.	**On$_1$**	**smotrel**	**na**			
	he$_1$-N	looked	at			
	[$_{PartP}$ gotovivšijsja			**dlja**	***?sebja$_1$]**	**obed**
	[$_{PartP}$ being-cooked-PART-PAST-A			for	sebja$_1$-G]	dinner-A

"He$_1$ looked at the dinner that was being cooked for him$_1$"

III. Into infinitives with an overt Dative subject (cf. (7a-b) and (10a-b):

(10) a.	***Andrej$_1$**	**objasnil**	**Petru$_2$,**	
	Andrew$_1$-N	explained	Peter$_2$-D	
	čego emu$_2$	**ne**	**rasskazyvat'**	**o** **sebe$_1$**
	what-Ghe$_2$-D	not	to-tell	about sebja$_1$-P

"Andrew$_1$ explained to Peter$_2$ what he$_2$ must not tell about him$_1$"

b.	***Anna$_1$**	**skazala**	**medsestre$_2$,**	
	Anna$_1$-N	told	nurse$_2$-D	
	kuda ej$_2$	**ukolot'**	**sebja$_1$**	
	where she$_2$-D	to-inject	sebja$_1$-A	

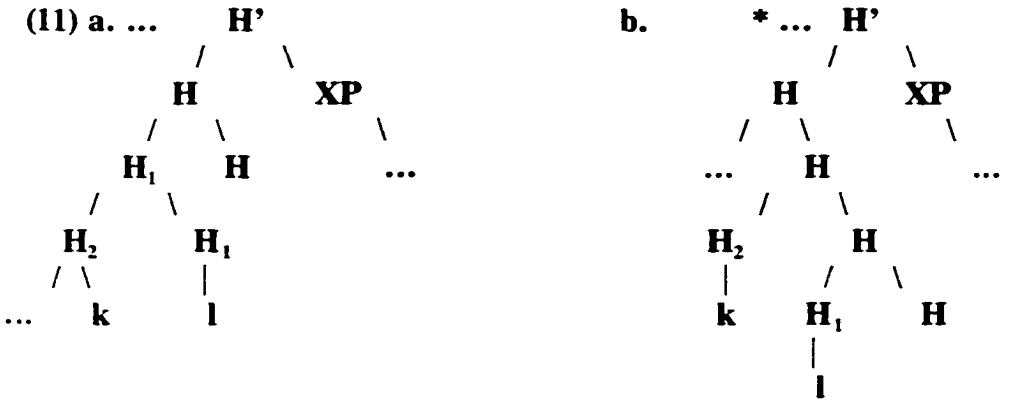
"Ann$_1$ told the nurse$_2$ where the she$_2$ must give make her$_1$ an injection"

The following table gives the distribution of LD reflexives in Russian:

Table 1:

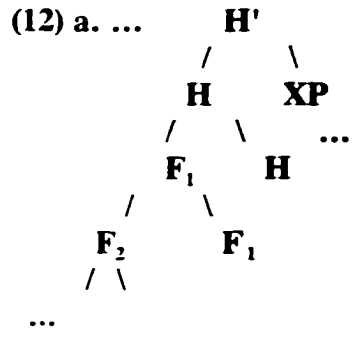
TYPE OF CONTEXT	LD BINDING ALLOWED/DISALLOWED	EXAMPLES
PRO infinitives	+	(6), (7a-b)
Finite clauses (I):	-	(8a-c)
Participial clauses (PC-s) (II):	-	(9a-b)
Infinitives with overt Dative subjects (III):	-	(10a-b)

First, I extend Kayne's (1994) constraint on head adjunction to LF feature adjunction. Kayne's constraint only allows us one type of head adjunction: if two heads H_1 and H_2 subsequently adjoin to the head H, the second adjoined head H_2 must adjoin to the first adjoined head H_1 (11a) but not directly to H (11b): in the latter case, not every pair of the terminal nodes will be in the relation of the antisymmetric c-command (neither **k** nor **l** c-command each other).

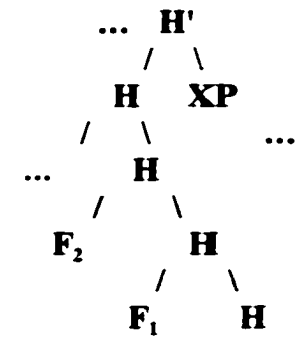


The counterpart of the head adjunction constraint for feature movement is shown in (12a-b): adjunction of F_2 to F_1 (as in (12a)) but not of F_2 to the head H (as in (12b)) is allowed.

(12) a. ...



b.



Based on the restriction on feature adjunction above, I propose a unified account of constraints on LD binding in the contexts of LD binding in (I)-(III) above. This account requires the following assumptions:

A. In order to be LD bound, [+R] must be able to move through the C position at LF (that is, adjoin to C and then excorporate from C). When this position is **"filled" at LF**, FF-[REFL] cannot move through it, and LD binding is blocked (cf. Pica's approach). **The C "filled" at LF is a C which contains an interpretable feature at LF.** This contrast is shown in (13) vs. (14).

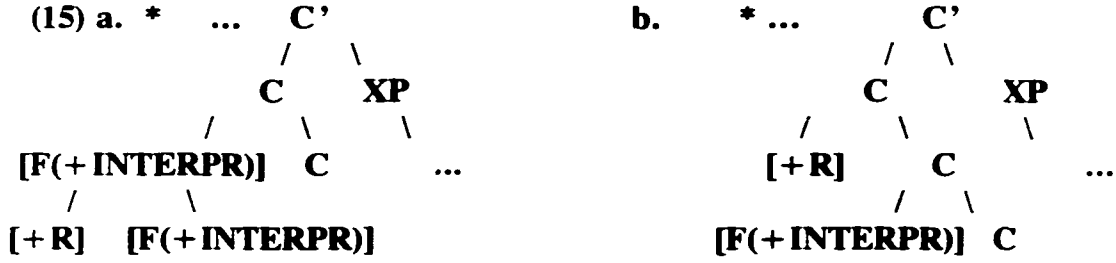
(13) $[_{CP(MATR)}$ **SUBJ$_1$ ...** $[_{CP(EMB)}$ $[_{C'}$ $[_C$]] ... **sebja$_1$]]]**

(14) ***$[_{CP(MATR)}$ SUBJ$_1$ ...** $[_{CP(EMB)}$ $[_{C'}$ $[_C$ [F(+INTERPR)]]] ... **sebja$_1$]]]**

[+R] movement is blocked when C is "filled" because excorporation of this feature out of a C which contains an interpretable feature is disallowed. I propose that when there is already another interpretable feature in C before [+R] moves to C ([F(+INTERPR)] in (14)), [+R] adjoins to [F(+INTERPR)] but not to C directly (cf. (12a-b). After [+R] adjoins to [F(+INTERPR)], only [F(+INTERPR)] is visible for further feature attraction: [+F] is too deeply embedded to be visible for feature attraction. [+R] can move further only if it is pied-piped by [F(+INTERPR)] but cannot

be attracted by the [+R] of a higher T; thus, it cannot move further to a higher T. [F(+INTERPR)] can be either moved or base-generated in C. The crucial condition is that [F(+INTERPR)] be in C before [+R].

In (15a-b), in which [F(+INTERPR)] is base-generated in C or adjoined to C, [+R] adjoins to [F(+INTERPR)], as in (10a), because it cannot adjoin to C directly, as in (15b) - that would violate the antisymmetric c-command condition. Then, [+R] is too deeply embedded under [F(+INTERPR)] to be visible for further movement:



If [+R] in (15a) cannot move further to the higher T, the non-interpretable [+R] feature of T will not be checked; that will result in a FI violation.

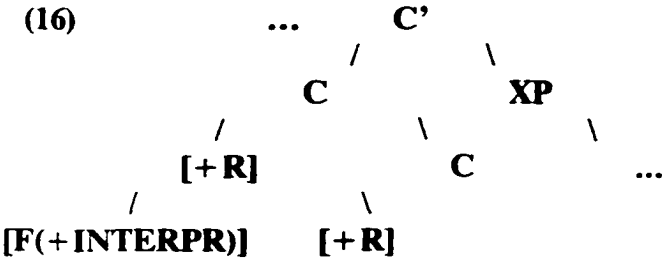
Now let us look at LD binding into infinitives in (6) through (10). I propose that in both obligatory control infinitives in (1) and wh-infinitives in (2), there are no interpretable features in C at LF (for details, see section 5.3.2 and chapter 7; for instance, I assume that the [+wh] feature on C is non-interpretable and deletes at LF). Thus, [+R] adjoins directly to C and is visible for further movement.

In all of (I)-(III), there is an interpretable feature in C which moves there before [+R]. [+R] adjoins to this feature, and this feature blocks excorporation of [+R] from C, as in (15a). In cases of finite embedded clauses (I, (8a-c)) and participial clauses (II, (9a-b)), the interpretable feature in C is the [+/-PAST] feature of T. I propose that the

[+/-PAST] T feature moves to C at LF and that Russian participles are specified for the [+/-PAST] feature, similar to Russian finite clauses and unlike Russian infinitives.

In the case of infinitives with overt Dative subjects (III, (10a) vs. (10b))), the phi-features of the Dative subject move to C pied-piped by the Dative Case feature. These phi-features are in C before [+R], and since [+R] adjoins to the interpretable phi-features, [+R] cannot excorporate.

My account has to take care of the issue as to why a certain interpretable feature ([+/-PAST], phi-features, etc) move to C before [+R]. If [+R] moves to C first, that yields structure (16), and [+R] can be attracted further up.



The following constraint yields (16) impossible. In all cases in which LD binding is impossible (table 1), C has a non-interpretable feature that must be checked either by [F(+INTERPR)] or by another feature which pied-pipes [F(+INTERPR)] (see chapter 5 for details). I propose that if a movement of a feature F_1 to a head H is driven by the need to check a non-interpretable feature (either F_1 is non-interpretable or the feature F_2, which is checked by F_1 and which is in H, is non-interpretable), F_1 moves to H before any other features. According to this constraint, [F(+INTERPR)] will move to C before [+R]: [+R] does not have to check off any feature in C but moves there just to become visible to further movement.

An alternative is to allow structure (16), that is, to give up the constraint we have proposed. Then, [+R] will be able to adjoin to C before [F(+INTERPR)] and move further up. However, the whole derivation will be still ruled out. This is because the [+R] feature will pied-pipe [F(+INTERPR)], and [F(+INTERPR)] will move to the upstairs T together with [+R]; the presence of [F(+INTERPR)] in the upstairs T will result in a FI violation (see chapter 5 for details).

My proposal can be summarized as follows. I have shown how to account for LD binding using the mechanism of the [+R] feature movement. The [+R] feature has to stop in every C head on its way in order to satisfy the phase constraint on derivations. The distribution of LD reflexives is captured by the blocking effect of a C with an interpretable feature: [+R] cannot pass through such C. The mechanism of the blocking effect of C is based on the constraint on feature adjunction along the lines of the antisymmetry framework.

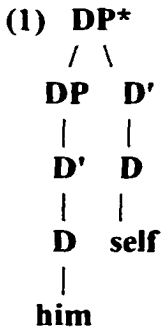
Chapter 4

The solution for the complex vs. simplex reflexives problem

In this chapter, I will deal with the issue of complex vs. simplex reflexives (pointed out in section 2.1.3). I will propose an analysis of different Russian complex reflexives which entails their distribution, in particular, the fact that certain complex reflexives can be LD whereas others cannot. The analysis concerns the internal structure of different complex reflexives which can account for their distribution. I consider two different types of complex reflexives in Russian: the small clausal reflexive **sam sebja** "self-N sebja-A", on one hand (section 4.1), and the "emphatic" reflexives **samogo sebja** "self-A sebja-A" and **sebja samogo** "sebja-A self-A" (section 4.2).

As mentioned in section 2.1.3, the established point of view (Pica (1991), Katada (1991)) is that there is the following correlation: only morphologically simplex (monomorphemic) reflexives can be LD, but complex (bimorphemic) reflexives can only be local. This correlation is explained by the proponents of the head movement framework in the following way. According to this framework, simplex reflexives are heads and can undergo LF head movement; whereas complex reflexives are XP-s with the **self** part as its head and the adjunct-like Specifier **him** as in (1) repeated here:

(1)



Pica (1987) and Katada (1991) give different explanations as to why the whole complex reflexive or the **him** head in (1) cannot undergo LD head movement. These explanations are based on the XP status of complex reflexives, their internal structure and the ECP (see section 2.1.3: the **him** part is an adjunct-like specifier, and its LD movement would cause an ECP violation).[1] I will not adopt these explanations but propose a different account based on the data of Russian.

Besides the simplex reflexive **sebja**, there are three complex reflexives in Russian. All of the Russian complex reflexives contain the **sebja** element and the **sam** "self" element. In the first reflexive, the **sam** element follows the **sebja** element, and both of these elements are checked for the same Case: **sebja sam-ogo** "sebja-A self-A", **sebe sam-omu** "sebja-D self-D", etc. This reflexive can be either locally or LD bound, as (2) and (13)=(3) show:

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[1] The other option might be that it is the **self** part but not the **him** part that undergoes head movement in a complex reflexive. Then, there would be no problem with the ECP mentioned above. That would imply, however, that the **self** part is responsible for the coreference relation with the antecedent (recall that head movement was substituted for coindexing of an anaphor and its antecedent). Then, the **self** part would have to have the [+R] feature base-generated on it. This assumption is not tenable for the following reason. The common assumption (cf., for instance, Fiengo & May (1994)) is that the **self** element of an anaphor cannot be responsible for the coreferent relation with the antecedent. Thus, **self** cannot bear the [+R] feature; the [+R] feature can (and must) be generated on the **sebja** part

(2) **Anna$_1$** **provodit** **eksperimenty** **nad** **soboj$_1$** **samoj**
Ann$_1$-N performs experiments-A over sebja$_1$-I self-I
"Ann$_1$ performs experiments on herself$_1$"

(3) **Marija$_1$** **ne** **razrešaet** **Anne$_2$**
Mary$_1$-N not allows Ann$_2$-D
PRO$_2$ **provodit'** **nad** **soboj$_1$** **samoj** **eksperimenty**
PRO$_2$ to-run over sebja$_1$-I self-I experiments-A
"Mary$_1$ does not allow Ann to run experiments on her$_1$"

The second reflexive is **sam-ogo sebja** "self-A sebja-A". Morphologically, it is similar to the **sebja sam-ogo** "sebja-A self-A" reflexive. There is no agreement between all the native speakers on whether or not **sam-ogo sebja** can be LD. (4a-b) with the local instance of **sam-ogo sebja** are judged as grammatical by all speakers, whereas (4c) with the LD instance is judged as grammatical only by some speakers, which is shown by the two possible judgments (I disagree with Ljutikova's (1997) judgments: Ljutikova claims that **samogo sebja** cannot be LD).

(4) a. **Anna$_1$** **provodit** **eksperimenty** **nad** **samoj** **soboj$_1$**
Ann$_1$-N performs experiments-A over self-I sebja$_1$-I
"Ann$_1$ performs experiments on herself$_1$"

b. **Anna$_1$** **nenavidit** **samu** **sebja$_1$**
Ann$_1$-N hates self-A sebja$_1$-A
"Ann$_1$ hates herself$_1$"

c. √/***Marija$_1$** **ne** **razrešaet** **Anne$_2$**
Mary$_1$-N not allows Ann$_2$-D
PRO$_2$ **provodit'** **nad** **samoj** **soboj$_1$** **eksperimenty**
PRO$_2$ to-perform over self-I sebja$_1$-I experiments-A
"Mary$_1$ does not allow Ann$_2$ to perform experiments on her$_1$"

The third complex reflexive is **sam sebja** "self-N sebja-A". In **sam sebja**, the **sam** "self" part precedes the **sebja** part, and **sam** has the subject Case-marker (for instance,

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(cf. note 7 in section 2.2.4).

Nominative, but cf. (6), where **samoj** is Dative because it agrees with PRO_2). In (5c), **sam** is Instrumental; it Case-agrees with the by-phrase **Ivanom** "John-I". **Sebja** has the Case-marker determined by the local linguistic context (for instance, Accusative in (4b)). The judgments on **sam sebja** are uniform for all native speakers. Examples (5a-b) demonstrate that **sam sebja** can be local. (6) shows that **sam sebja** cannot be LD bound.

(5) a. **Anna$_i$** **provodit** **eksperimenty** **sama** **nad** **soboj$_i$**
Ann$_i$-N performs experiments-A self-N over sebja$_i$-I
"Ann$_i$ performs experiments on herself$_i$"

b. **Anna$_i$** **nenavidit** **sama** **sebja$_i$**
Ann$_i$-N hates self-N sebja$_i$-A
"Ann$_i$ hates herself$_i$"

c. **Eta** **pjesa** **byla** **sygrana** **Ivanom$_i$**
this-N piece-N was played John$_i$-I
samim **dlja** **sebja$_i$**
self-I for sebja$_i$-G
"This piece was played by John by himself"

(6) **Marija$_1$** **ne** **razrešaet** **Anne$_2$**
Mary$_1$-N not allows Ann$_2$-D
PRO$_2$ **provodit'** **samoj/ sama** **nad** **soboj.$_{1/2}$** **eksperimenty**
PRO$_2$ to-perform self-D/ -N over sebja.$_{1/2}$-I experiments-A
"Mary$_1$ does not allow Ann$_2$ to perform experiments on her$_1$/herself$_2$"

Moreover, **sam sebja** is a SELF reflexive in the sense of Reinhart & Reuland (1993): it can only be an argument but not an adjunct: cf. (5a-b) and (7):

(7) **Ivan$_i$** **postavil** **palku** **(*sam)** **okolo** **sebja$_i$**
John$_i$-N stood stick-A(*self-N) near sebja$_i$-G
"John put the stick near himself"

Table 1 summarizes the options of complex reflexive usage in Russian.

Table 1

COMPLEX REFLEXIVE	LOCAL BINDING (ARGUMENT)	LOCAL BINDING (ADJUNCT)	LD BINDING
Sebja sam-ogo sebja-A self-A	+ (2)	+	+ (3)
Sam-ogo sebja Self-A sebja-A	+ (4a-b)	+/- (27)	+/- (4c)
Sam sebja Self-N sebja-A	+ (5a-c)	- (7)	- (6)

In section 4.1, I will consider the **sam sebja** "self-N sebja-A" reflexive; in section 4.2, I will discuss the **samogo sebja** "self-A sebja-A" and the **sebja samogo** "sebja-A self-A" reflexives.

4.1 The small clausal analysis of the sam sebja "self-N sebja-A" reflexive

Let us consider the **sam sebja** "self-N sebja-A" reflexive. Given the data above, the following questions arise: Why is the **sam sebja** "self-N sebja-A" reflexive, where "self" does not agree with **sebja** in Case, why is it strictly local, and why can it only be in an argument position?

Ljutikova (1997) proposes a functional explanation of the SELF-reflexive properties of **sam sebja**. She claims that **sam sebja** is used instead of **sebja** when the action is such that it is unusual to perform it on yourself. For instance, (8b) can be used instead of (8a) if the speaker wants to emphasize that it is unusual to talk to yourself.

(8) a. **Ivan razgovarivaet s soboj**
John-N talks with sebja-I
"John is talking to himself"

b. **Ivan razgovarivaet *sam* s soboj**
John-N talks *self-N* with sebja-I
"John is talking to himself"

Ljutikova proposes that **sam sebja**, unlike **sebja**, has an additional "unusual" meaning, and therefore **sam sebja**'s meaning is marked compared to **sebja**'s meaning. She further concludes that the reflexive with a marked meaning can only occur short-distance and in argument positions.

Apart from the fact that Ljutikova's explanation is not conceptually straightforward (it is not clear why the meaning of **sam sebja** affects its distribution and makes **sam sebja** a SELF-reflexive), I and my informants do not agree with Ljutikova's judgments. In my opinion, there is no semantic difference between **sam sebja** and **sebja**; these two reflexives differ only in their syntactic properties and distribution. My analysis derives the distribution of **sam sebja** formally, based on **sam sebja**'s syntactic structure. The major points of my analysis are the following (see structure (15) below):

1. **Sam sebja** has a small clausal structure embedded under a DP; it is a SC (αP) with the subject **sam**, the complement **sebja**, and the functional head α.

2. The SELF-reflexive properties of **sam sebja** can be derived given the SC structure of **sam sebja** in conjunction with the abstract incorporation of its head α into the local V+T.

3. **Sam** is a DP which contains a SC [PRO **sam**]. The coreference relation between **sam sebja** and its antecedent (subject or a by-phrase) is established via the control of PRO by the external argument.

My proposal of the clausal structure of **sam sebja** is based on the similarity of **sam**

sebja's structure to the structure of reciprocals (Russian **drug druga** "other-DFT(=N) other-A", English **each other**, French **l'un l'autre**), and on the clausal analysis of the French reciprocal **l'un l'autre** in Kayne (1975).

In order for my small clausal analysis of **sam sebja** to work, it is necessary to assume that **sam sebja** is a constituent.[2] This assumption is possible, as shown in (9): [**sama**

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[2] As Kayne (1975) points out, **l'un l'autre** in French has the reciprocal meaning only if **l'un** and **l'autre** are not separated by any material besides prepositions. If any other material intervenes, **l'un ... l'autre** is not a reciprocal but has another interpretation. Thus, **l'un l'autre** always forms a constituent. Belletti (1982) and Manzini (1991) point out that the Italian reciprocal **l'uno l'altro** does not always form a constituent. **L'uno** can be in the base-generated position of the subject (SpecVP). Therefore, **l'uno** is, according to Manzini (1991), a floationg quantifier:

(i)	**Quei**	**pittori**		**pensano**	**l'uno**	
	those	painters		think	each	
	che	**i**	**colori**	**dell'altro**	**siano**	**ammirevoli**
	that	the	colors	of-the-other	are	admirable

If **sam** and **sebja** in **sam sebja** are separated by any material except a preposition (cf. (5)-(6) above), **sam** is ambiguous: it can be interpreted as part of the **sam sebja** reflexive or as a secondary predicate with a "by oneself" meaning. These two interpretations are illustrated in (ii a-b).

(ii)	**a.**	**Anna$_i$**	**sama**	**provodit**	**eksperimenty nad**	**soboj$_i$**
		Ann$_i$-N	self-N	performs	experiments-A over	sebja$_i$-I

(A) Dispreferred: "Ann$_i$ performs experiments on herself$_i$";
(B) Preferred: "Ann$_i$ performs experiments on herself$_i$ by herself"

b.	**Anna$_i$**	**sama**	**nenavidit**	**sebja$_i$**
	Ann$_i$-N	self-N	hates	sebja$_i$-A

(A) Preferred: "Ann$_i$ hates herself$_i$";
(B) Dispreferred: "Ann$_i$ hates herself$_i$ by herself"

My analysis assumes that **sam** in **sam sebja** is not a floating quantifier, unlike **l'uno** in **l'uno l'altro**. Then, I have to claim that **sam** is base-generated in two different positions when it is part of **sam sebja** (intrepretations (A) in (ii a-b)), on one hand, and a secondary predicate (interpretations (B) in (ii a-b)), on the other hand. In the (A) cases, **sam** is base-generated in the object position, together with **sebja** (see my analysis below); in the (B)

nad soboj] in (9) can be fronted:

(9)	**[Sama nad**	**soboj$_1$]$_i$**		
	[self-N over	sebja$_1$-I]$_i$		
	Anna$_1$	**ne**	**provodit**	**eksperimenty t$_i$**
	Ann$_1$-N	not	performs	experiments-A t$_i$

"Ann$_1$ performs experiments on herself$_1$"

Before presenting the structure of **sam sebja**, I would like to discuss the internal structure of **sam** "self". I propose that in **sam sebja, sam** is a SC with a PRO subject: [$_{SC}$ PRO [$_{AP}$ **sam**]].

As I mentioned above, **sam** is the subject of the small clausal **sam sebja** in my analysis. However, normally **sam** is not a subject: it is a noun modifier (that is, a predicate) in **samogo sebja, sebja samogo** in (2), (4a) (or a secondary predicate - cf. note 16). In cases in which **sam** modifies a name/pronominal, as in (10), it can also be a noun modifier (10a-d) or a secondary predicate (10a-b). I am primarily interested in cases in which **sam** is a noun modifier.

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cases, **sam** is base-generated in an adjunct position (for instance, an adjunct small clause).

The analysis in which the instances of **sam** in both (A) and (B) cases are the same item (and **sam** in both these instances is a floating quantifier, similar to the Italian **l'uno**) cannot be an alternative to my analysis since the distribution of **sam**, on one hand, and of floating quantifiers (such as **każdyj** "each"), on the other hand, is different: the latter but not the former can intervene between the verb and the object (in case of floating quantifiers, we have a distributive object group with the preposition **po**, which has a distributive meaning and cannot be translated into English): cf. (iiia-b):

(iii)	a.	***?Anna$_1$**	**provodit**	**sama**	**eksperimenty nad**	**soboj$_1$**
		Ann$_1$-N	performs	self-N	experiments-A over	sebja$_1$-I
	b.	**Deti**	**sjeli**	**każdyj**	**po**	**jabloku**
		children-N	ate	each-N	po	apple-D

The floating quantifier analysis of **sam** in **sam sebja** cannot derive the difference in the distribution of **sam** and **każdyj** shown in (iii). My analysis of **sam** does not refer to seconary predicate uses of **sam**, so it does not have to face the problem as to how secondary

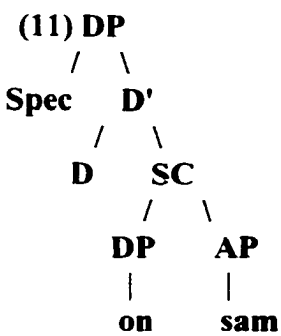
(10) a. **On sam priedet**
he-N self-N will-come
"He himself will come"
(or "He will come by himself")

b. **Ivan sam sdelaet eto**
John-N self-N will-do it-A
"John himself will do it"
(or "John will do it by himself")

c. **On priglasil samu Mariju**
he-N invited self-A Mary-A
"He invited Mary herself"

d. **Ja videl ego samogo**
I-N saw he-A self-A
"I saw him (but not anyone else)"

I propose that the structure of **on sam** in (10a) (in the noun modifier interpretation) is a SC with the subject **on** and predicate **sam**:

(11)


Generalizing this structure to **sam** in **sam sebja**, **sam** is a SC [PRO **sam**], its structure is (11):[3]

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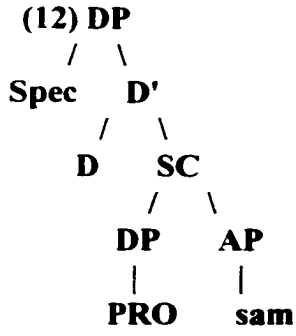
predicates must be analysed.

[3] I label **sam** as "AP" because of the morphological properties of **sam**. **Sam** agrees with the noun it modifies in Case and phi-features, similar to adjectives: **ego samogo** "he-A.SG.MASC self-A.SG.MASC" vs. **ix samix** "they-A.PL self-A.PL" vs. **im samim** "they-D.PL self-D.PL".

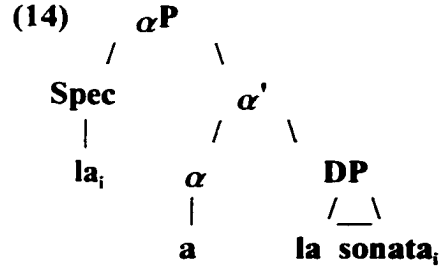
(12)



Now let us proceed to the structure of **sam sebja** I propose. This structure is based on Schmitt's (1998) analysis of clitic doubling with the dummy α marker as a small clause αP with a dummy head α. Schmitt's analysis of (13) is given in (14).

(13) **La$_i$ toqué [a la sonata$_i$]** [Cordoba Spanish]
(I) it$_i$ played [a the sonata$_i$]
"I played the sonata"

(14)



The structure of **sam sebja** I propose, which is given in (15), is the following:

1. **Sam sebja** is an αP embedded under a DP.

2. Its head α is always null and vacuous except for the non-interpretable [+R] feature.

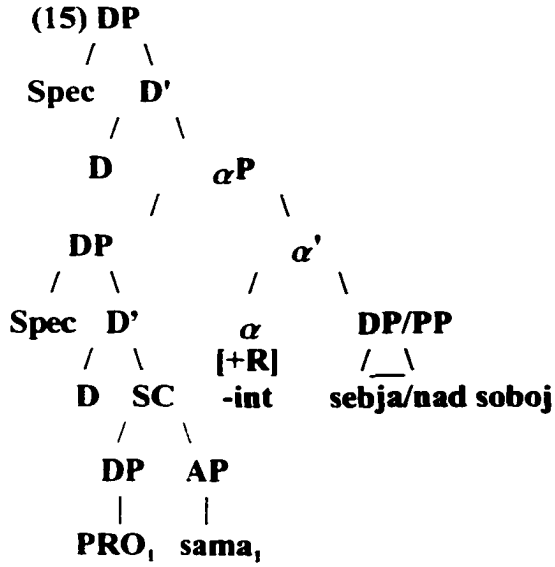
3. Its complement is a DP/PP.

4. The subject of the αP is a DP containing a SC (as in (11)) whose subject is PRO and whose predicate is **sam**.

5. The **sebja** element is the complement of α.[4]

The α head has to have the [+R] feature because the [+R] feature of **sebja** is frozen in **sam sebja**: this is because the relation with the antecedent is established not via **sebja**'s [+R] movement but via control of PRO (which is the subject of **sam sebja**, see below).

(15)



I propose that the α**P** in (15) is embedded under a DP because α**P** is a small clause, and, normally, a small clause cannot be a complement of just any transitive verb: cf. (16) and (17).

(16) I consider [$_{SC}$ John smart]

(17) *I hit [$_{SC}$ John smart]

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[4] As Richard Kayne noted (p.c), the fact that **sebja** is the complement of α in (15), causes a selectional problem for my analysis. The V head (whose complement the DP in (15) is) is separated from its complement DP/PP by α. Then, it is not clear how the verb will select the category of its complement (DP in **sam sebja** "self-N sebja-A" and PP in **sam nad soboj** "self-N over sebja-I". It might be argued, along the lines of Kayne (class lectures, Fall 1999) that whenver the complement of V is a PP, the P is outside of the DP in (15), and then the subject DP **[PRO sam]** raises to SpecPP.

Sam sebja can be a complement of any transitive verb. If **sam sebja** were just an α**P**, I would have to claim that this α**P** is a special kind of a small clause which has a distribution distinct from regular small clauses. If **sam sebja** is a small clause embedded under a DP, its distribution is similar to distribution of DP-s. Then, no problem arises with respect to **sam sebja**'s distribution.

Given (15), I propose that the head α of α**P** undergoes abstract incorporation (in the sense of Baker (1988)) into the matrix T. Structure (15) in conjunction with the incorporation analysis allows us to derive the SELF-reflexive properties of **sam sebja**.

First, **sam sebja** can be a complement but cannot be an adjunct (cf. (7) repeated here): Baker (1988, p. 60): only incorporation of complements but not of adjuncts is possible; thus, αP can be a complement but not an adjunct.

(7)	**Ivan$_i$**	**postavil**	**palku (*sam)**	**okolo**	**sebja$_i$**
	John$_i$-N	stood	stick-A(*self-N)	near	sebja$_i$-G

"John put the stick near himself"

Second, **sam sebja** is always local (cf. (6) repeated here) because α has the [+R] feature. The [+R] feature of the local T will get checked when α abstractly incorporates into this T. [+R] of α can only check the [+R] feature of the local T but not of a higher T. Thus, **sam sebja** can only be local. The [+R] feature of **sebja** which is interpretable, is frozen and does not move at all.[5]

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[5] The fact that **sebja** in **sam sebja** cannot undergo LF-movement is parallel to a similar phenomenon of Predicate Inversion constructions, pointed out in den Dikken (1998), in both clauses and N of a N DP-s, such as **the idiot of a doctor** (the subject of the Predicate Inversion construction is frozen and cannot move in overt syntax). The complete parallelism is, however, difficult to be pursued because the direct/indirect/prepositional object reflexive **sebja** cannot be regarded as the subject of the predicate **sebja** in **sam sebja** (cf. **sam** $[_{PP}$ **s**

(6)	**Marija$_1$**	**ne**	**razrešaet**	**Anne$_2$**		
	Mary$_1$-N	not	allows	Ann$_2$-D		
	PRO$_2$	**provodit'**	**samoj/ sama**	**nad**	**soboj-$_{1/2}$**	**eksperimenty**
	PRO$_2$	to-perform	self-D/ -N	over	sebja-$_{1/2}$-I	experiments-A

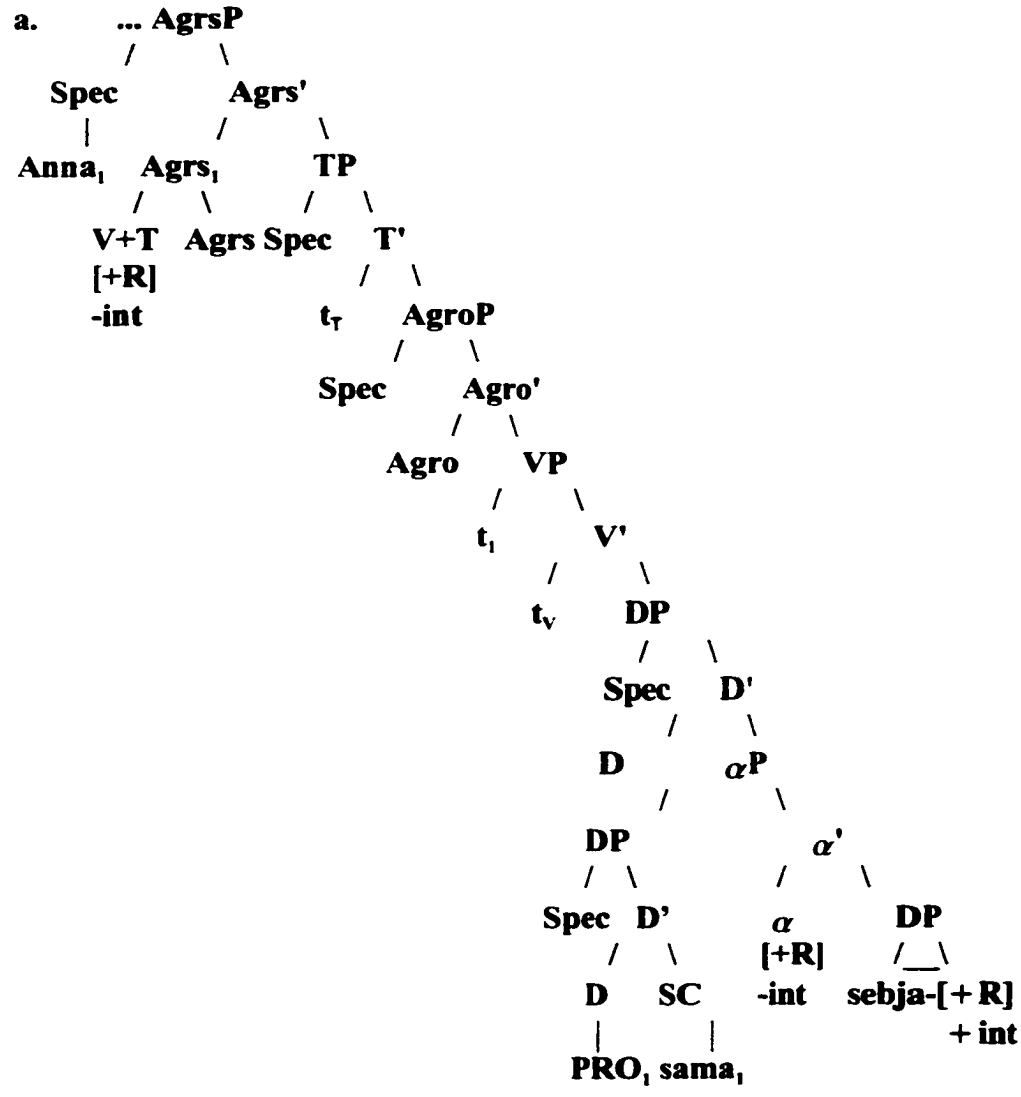
"Mary$_1$ does not allow Ann$_2$ to perform experiments on her$_1$/herself$_2$"

Given the proposals above, the derivation of (5b) will be (18a-b):

b.	**Anna$_1$**	**nenavidit**	**sama**	**sebja$_1$**
	Ann$_1$-N	hates	self-N	sebja$_1$-A

"Ann$_1$ hates herself$_1$"

(18) a.



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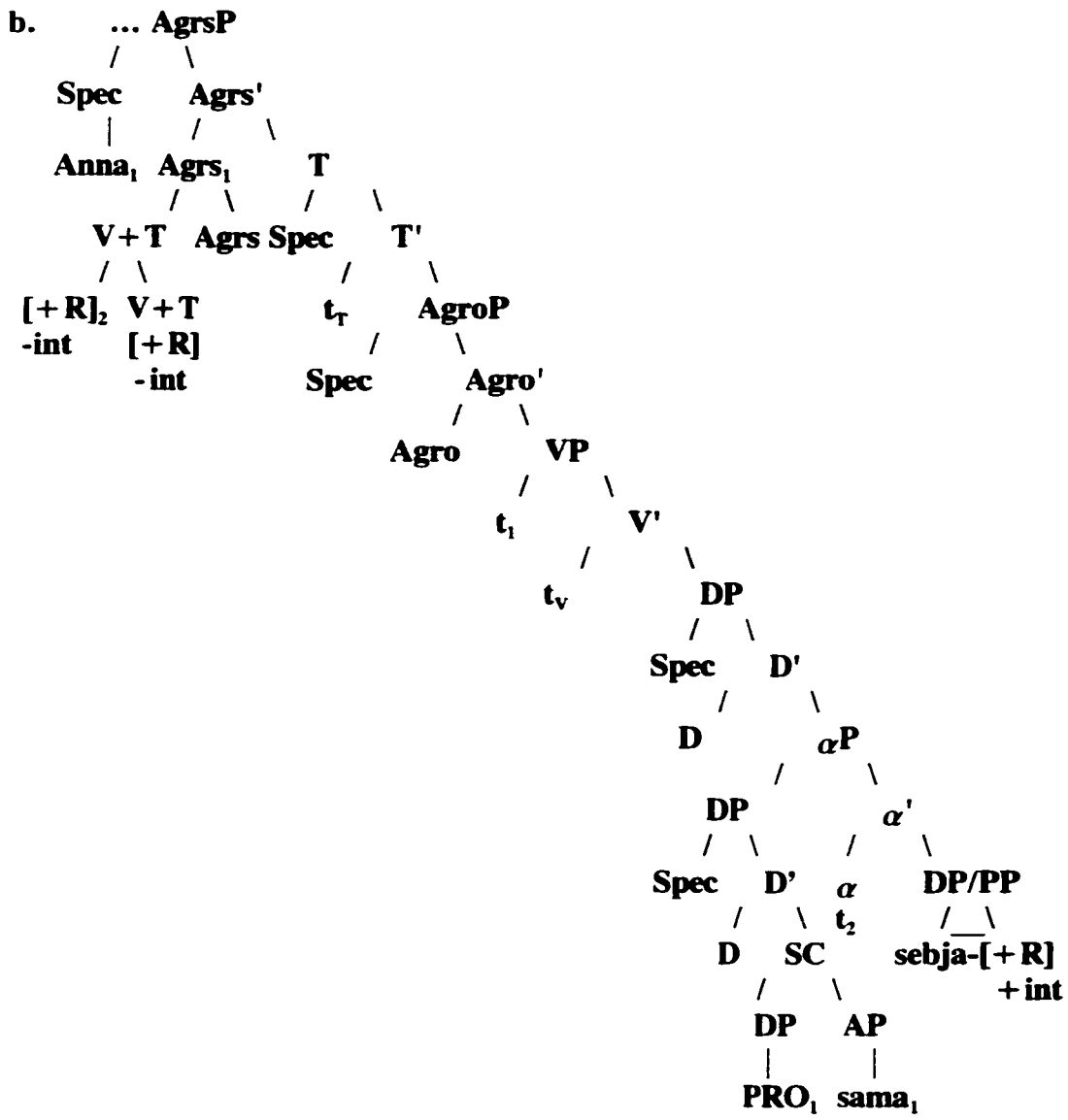
soboj] in (9a) above), unlike the N **doctor** in the N of a N construction **the idiot of a doctor**.



(18a) is the base-generated structure of (5b). The matrix T and the head of αP both have a non-interpretable [+R] feature; **sebja** has an interpretable [+R] feature. In (18b), α undergoes an abstract (feature) incorporation into T. That is, the [+R] feature of α incorporates into T. Both the [+F] features of T and α get checked and deleted. No non-interpretable features stay at LF after checking; thus, (18) is well-formed. The [+R] feature of **sebja** needs not delete because it is interpretable (see note 4).

Since the [+R] feature of **sebja** is frozen and does not undergo movement, **sebja** cannot be responsible for the coreference relation between **sam sebja** and its antecedent. Then, the question arises of how the relation between **sam sebja** and its antecedent is established.

I propose that the relation between **sam sebja** and the antecedent is achieved via control but not via the LF movement of [+R] of **sebja**. The antecedent of **sam sebja** controls the PRO subject of [$_{SC}$ PRO **sam**], which is the structure of **sam** (see (15)). Thus, this PRO is responsible for the coreference relation: the coreference relation is established in two entirely different ways in the case of **sebja**, on one hand, and in the case of **sam sebja**, on the other hand.

My proposal explains the fact that a by-phrase can be **sam sebja**'s antecedent, as in (5c), repeated here[6] (another example of control by an instrumental by-phrase is given in (19)).

(19)	**Passažir$_2$**	**byl**	**zaderžan**	**oficerom$_1$**	
	passanger$_2$-N	was	stopped	officer$_1$-I	
	čtoby	**PRO$_1$**	**proverit'**	**ego$_2$**	**dokumenty**
	in-order	PRO$_1$	check	his$_2$	documents

"The passanger was stopped by the officer in order to check his documents"

(5)	c.	**Eta**	**pjesa**	**byla**	**sygrana**	**Ivanom$_1$**
		this-N	piece-N	was	played	John$_1$-I
		samim	**dlja**	**sebja$_1$**		
		self-I	for	sebja$_1$-G		

"This piece was played by John by himself"

---

[6] **Sam sebja** cannot be anteceded by an object of a preposition. This fact is consistent with my assumptions about Case agreement of PRO. If **sam sebja** were anteceded by an object of a preposition, the PRO subject of **sam sebja** would not be c-commanded by the antecedent and would not be able to Case-agree with it.

If the coreference of **sam sebja** with the antecedent were established via the movement of [+R] to T, only a Nominative subject would be an appropriate antecedent but not the Instrumental by-phrase.[7] However, it is PRO but not **sebja** that is responsible for the coreference relation with the antecedent. Then, if we assume that any c-commanding phrase can control PRO in **sam sebja**, we get the result that a Nominative subject and a by-phrase (which is adjoined to IP) but not a complement can control **sam sebja**; therefore (5c) is possible.

The remaining question is the following: How does **sam** get Nominative/Dative/Instrumental Case? My answer to this question is based on Case-agreement between PRO and **sam** in the small clause [$_{SC}$ PRO **sam**]. I propose that PRO agrees in Case with its controller, and that there is a subject-predicate agreement in the [PRO **sam**] small clause.

First, I will present my assumptions about the Case of PRO in Russian:

1. PRO in object-control infinitives, which are CP-s, is Dative, as in (20); see Franks &

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[7] M. Schoorlemmer (lectures, summer 1996) claims that the antecedent of **sebja** can be an Instrumental by-phrase in Russian, as in (i):

(i)	**Deti**	**byli**	**otvezeny**	**Ivanom$_i$**
	to	sebja$_i$-POSS.D	uncle-D	John$_i$-I
	k	**svoemu$_i$**	**djade**	
	children-N	were	taken	

"The children were taken by John$_i$ to his$_i$ uncle"

In (i), the simplex reflexive **sebja** is anteceded by a by-phrase. The [+R] movement framework cannot account for examples such as (i). However, I and my informants consider (i) as very marginal and almost ungrammatical. The contrast in grammaticality between (5c) and (i) is strong enough to claim that only a Nominative subject but not a by-phrase can antecede **sebja**, whereas both a Nominative subject and a by-phrase can antecede **sam sebja**.

Greenberg (1988), Franks & Hornstein (1992), Laurençot (1997), Babby (1997)); also see section 5.3.2.

2. PRO in SC-s (which are structures smaller than IP) agrees with the controller in Case; cf. Babby's (1997) analysis of subject-control infinitives as bare VP-s.[8]

(20)	**Ivan$_1$**	**poprosil**	**Petra$_2$**			
	John$_1$-N	asked	Peter$_2$-A			
	[$_{CP}$ [$_{IP/AgrsP}$	**PRO$_2$**	**pojti**	**tuda**	**odnomu/**	***odnogo]]**
	[$_{CP}$ [$_{IP/AgrsP}$	PRO$_2$-D	to-go	there	alone-D/	*-A]]

"John asked Peter to go there alone"

In (20), "alone" is Dative-Case-marked, and the standard assumption (cf. Laurençot (1997), Babby (1997)) is that, since secondary predicates normally agree in Case with subjects (cf. (21)), and since the agreement of secondary predicates is clause-bound, the Dative of "alone comes from PRO. In section 5.3.2, I propose that PRO in object-control infinitives gets Dative from C, and that this Dative is structural.

(21)	**Ivan**	**pošel**	**tuda**	***odnomu/**	**odin]**
	John-N	went	there	alone-*D/	-N]

"John went there alone"

(22) shows that either subject-infinitives do not contain PRO at all (as in the original Babby's analysis), or they contain a VP-internal PRO that agrees with its controller and is Nominative. I adopt the latter assumption because I assume that PRO is necessary for the external theta-role assignment of the infinitive verb (cf. the Theta-Criterion). Another

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[8] Even though I claim that PRO is VP-internal in small clauses which are smaller than IP, I cannot present any data to support Baltin's (1995) conclusion that in controlled infinitives(which are CP-s, according to my analysis), PRO stays in SpecVP without raising to SpecIP. Baltin argues that the English PRO does not get the Null Case since it stays in VP. In Russian, PRO gets Dative from C (see section 5.3.1), so the locality of Case-checking requires PRO to raise to SpecIP.

instance of a small clause with PRO is adjunct small clauses, as in (23)-(24). The predicate of this small clause "tired"/"sick" in Nominative/Accusative, and I assume that "tired"/"sick" agrees in Case with PRO_1, which agrees in Case with $John_1$/$Peter_2$ in Nominative/Accusative (in (23)-(24), I adopt Schein's (1995) analysis of secondary predicates in Russian).

(22)	**Ivan$_1$**	**nadeetsja**				
	John$_1$-N	hopes				
	[$_{VP/SC}$ **PRO$_1$**		**pojtit**	**tuda**	***odnomu/**	**odin]**
	[$_{VP/SC}$ PRO$_1$-N		to-go	there	alone-*D/	-N]

"John hopes to go there alone"

(23)	**Ivan$_1$**	**prišel**	**[PRO$_1$**	**ustalyj]**
	John$_1$-N	came	[PRO$_1$-N	tired-N]

"John came tired"

(24)	**Ja**	**našel**	**Petra$_1$**	**[PRO$_1$**	**bol'nogo]**
	I-N	found	Peter-A	[PRO$_1$-A	sick-A]

"I found Peter sick"

I assume that the [$_{DP}$ [$_{SC}$ PRO **sam**]] small clause is of the adjunct small clauses type in (23)-(24), that is, that **sam** agrees in Case with PRO.

As I pointed out earlier, a PRO in small clauses, which are smaller than IP, agrees in Case with its controller. Then, PRO in [$_{SC}$ PRO **sam**] agrees with the external argument, which controls it, in Case (Nominative or Instrumental). **Sam** agrees in Case with PRO, getting Nominative or Instrumental. Thus, the question of how **sam** gets its Case in (5a-c) (modified and repeated below) is answered. (5a-c) below and (25) (with the Dative matrix external argument) show, first, how the coreference relation between **sam sebja** and its antecedent is established, and, second, how **sam** gets its Case.

(5)	**a.**	**Anna$_1$**	**provodit**	**eksperimenty**
		Ann$_1$-N	performs	experiments-A

[$_{\alpha P}$ [$_{SC}$ PRO$_i$ sama] nad soboj]
[$_{\alpha P}$ [$_{SC}$ PRO$_i$-N self-N] over sebja-I]
"Ann$_i$ performs experiments on herself$_i$"

b. Anna$_i$ nenavidit [$_{\alpha P}$ [$_{SC}$ PRO$_i$ sama] sebja]
Ann$_i$-N hates [$_{\alpha P}$ [$_{SC}$ PRO$_i$-N self-N] sebja-A]
"Ann$_i$ hates herself$_i$"

c. Eta pjesa byla sygrana Ivanom$_i$
this-N piece-N was played John$_i$-I
[$_{\alpha P}$ [$_{SC}$ PRO$_i$ samim] dlja sebja]
[$_{\alpha P}$ [$_{SC}$ PRO$_i$-I self-I] for sebja-G]
"This piece was played by John$_i$ by himself$_i$"

(25) Marii$_i$ nel'zja PRO$_i$ provodit'
Mary$_i$-D not-allowed PRO$_i$-D to-perform
[$_{\alpha P}$ [$_{SC}$ PRO$_i$ samoj] nad soboj eksperimenty]
[$_{\alpha P}$ [$_{SC}$ PRO$_i$-D self-D over sebja-I experiments-A]
"Mary$_i$ is not allowed to perform experiments on herself$_i$"

To conclude, I have presented the analysis of **sam sebja** which explains **sam sebja**'s syntactic properties and distribution:

1. **Sam sebja** is a SELF-reflexive

2. **Sam sebja** is a SC (αP) embedded under a DP. The SELF-status of **sam sebja** is accounted for by the incorporation analysis of α into the local V+T. α is a functional head
with a weak non-interpretable [+R] feature.

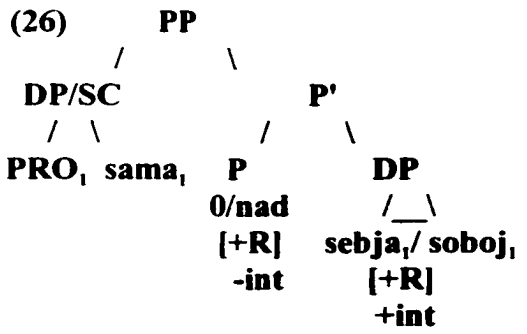
3. The relation between the antecedent and **sam sebja** is achieved via control of PRO but not via the movement of [+R] of **sebja** (unlike the case of the simplex **sebja**, in which this
relation is achieved via movement).

4. The fact that **sam** agrees in Case with the external argument is explained via the SC

analysis of **sam**. The PRO subject of this SC is controlled by the antecedent of **sam sebja**,

and **sam** gets the same Case as PRO.

I would like to point out one more important question concerning **sam sebja**. As (5a) shows, a preposition can interrupt **sam sebja** when **sam sebja** is the complement of a verb which subcategorizes for a PP. Then, a possible analysis is to claim that **sam sebja** is a PP, whose head is an overt (in (5a)) or null (in (5b)) preposition. **Soboj** in (5a) would get Instrumental from the overt P s "with"; **sebja** in (5b) would get Accusative from the [V+P] after the null P would incorporate into the matrix V. The rest of my proposal (concerning the small clause structure of **sam** and the further incorporation of P into the matrix T could be kept unchanged. The PP structure of **sam sebja** is shown in (26).



The problem with the analysis in (26) is the following: the P head would have to have the [+R] feature. The [+R] feature cannot be a feature of just any category; it can be a feature of nominals and T only. P is a [-N] category. The head α is a functional category. The assumption that α (whose category is not specified but it is definitely not lexical) has the [+R] feature is more plausible than the assumption that P has the [+R] feature. Thus, the

analysis in which **sam sebja** is a PP cannot be adopted.

4.2 The emphatic reflexives samogo sebja "self-A sebja-A" and sebja samogo "sebja-A self-A"

Now let us consider the **sam-ogo sebja** "self-A sebja-A" and **sebja sam-ogo** "sebja-A self-A" reflexives. As we saw in (2) and (4a-b), both of these reflexives can be local. The data on the **sebja sam-ogo** reflexive with respect to LD binding are uncontroversial, as (3) repeated below shows: **sebja sam-ogo** can be LD bound.

(3)	**Marija$_1$**	**ne**	**razrešaet**	**Anne$_2$**		
	Mary$_1$-N	not	allows	Ann$_2$-D		
	PRO$_2$	**provodit'**	**nad**	**soboj$_1$**	**samoj**	**eksperimenty**
	PRO$_2$	to-run	over	sebja$_1$-I	self-I	experiments-A

"Mary$_1$ does not allow Ann to run experiments on her$_1$"

The data on LD binding of **sam-ogo sebja** is not uncontraversial: some speakers reject its LD binding but others accept it:

(4) c.	√/***Marija$_1$**	**ne**	**razrešaet**	**Anne$_2$**		
	Mary$_1$-N	not	allows	Ann$_2$-D		
	PRO$_2$	**provodit'**	**nad**	**samoj**	**soboj$_1$**	**eksperimenty**
	PRO$_2$	to-perform	over	self-I	sebja$_1$-I	experiments-A

"Mary$_1$ does not allow Ann$_2$ to perform experiments on her$_1$"

There is one more problem with **sam-ogo sebja** in local contexts. Whereas all speakers accept **sam-ogo sebja** in argument positions, not all speakers accept it in adjunct positions.

(27)	√/***Ivan$_1$**	**postavil**	**palku**	**okolo**	**samogo**	**sebja$_1$**
	John$_1$-N	stood	stick-A	near	self-G	sebja$_1$-G

"John put the stick near himself"

Crucially, the same speakers who accept LD binding of **sam-ogo sebja** in (4c) also accept **sam-ogo sebja** in adjunct positions in (27); the other group of speakers rejects both LD binding and adjunct positions of **sam-ogo sebja**. Interestingly, the second group of speakers regards **sam-ogo sebja** as a SELF reflexive similar to **sam sebja**, as its distribution according to their judgments shows.

First, let us consider the first group of speakers (the ones that accept LD binding of both **sam-ogo sebja** and **sebja sam-ogo**). Based on this pattern of judgments, **sam-ogo** is an emphatic element in both **sebja sam-ogo** and **sam-ogo sebja**, similar to expressions such as **on sam** "he himself" and **samu Mariju** in (10a), (10c), repeated here (cf. the proposal of Jayaseelan (1996)).

(10) a. **On** **sam** **priedet**
he-N self-N will-come
"He himself will come"

c. **On** **priglasil** **samu** **Mariju**
he-N invited self-A Mary-A
"He invited Mary herself"

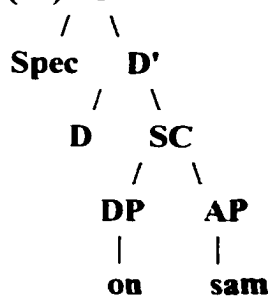
Example (28) shows that **sam** can be not only preceded but also followed by a pronominal. That requires, however, a contrastive stress on the pronominal: the intonation pattern of the **sam X** complex requires phrasal stress on the second word, but pronominal usually do not bear the phrasal stress in Russian. Crucially, (28) allows me to assume that the structures of **on sam** in (10a) and **sam ón** in (28) are identical. Then, if the structure of expressions with both pre- and postnominal **sam** is the same, my claim below (that the structures of **sebja samogo** and **samogo sebja** are identical) follows.

(28) Sam ón priexal
Self-N hé-N arrived

"Even hé arrived"

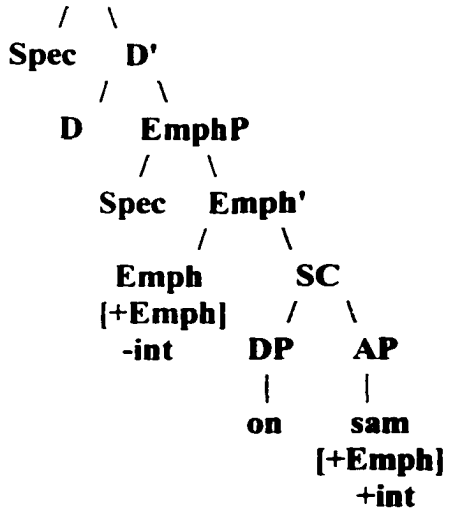
(11), repeated here, is the structure of (10a) (cf. the discussion in section 4.1; briefly, I propose that **sam** is a modifier of a DP it follows or precedes).

(11)



Since **sam** is an *emphatic* modifier, I would like to modify (11) and include an emphatic Emph projection under DP, as in (29).

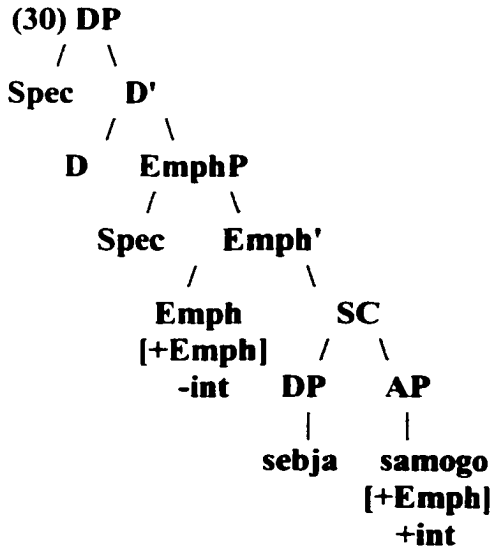
(29)



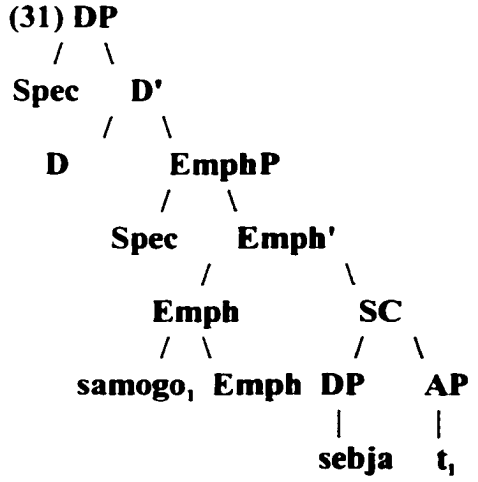
Sam must check its [+Emph] feature with the Emph head. Suppose that this checking can be done either in overt or in covert syntax. In the former case, we derive the prenominal position of **sam**, as in (10c); in the latter case, we derive the postnominal position of **sam**,

as in (10a).[9] Then, the overt structures of **sebja samogo** "sebja-A self-A" and **samogo sebja** "self-A sebja-A" will be (30) and (31) respectively. The covert structures of both reflexive corresponds to (31).

(30)



(31)



The structure of **sam-ogo sebja** in (31) is only consistent with the first group of speakers, which consider **sam-ogo sebja** to have the same syntactic properties as **sebja sam-ogo** (that is, they accept LD and adjunct occurrences of **sam-ogo sebja**). According to the second

[9] I leave the question open as to why the variation between overt and covert checking of

group of speakers, **sam-ogo sebja** can only be local and cannot occur in adjunct positions: then, **sam-ogo sebja** has the properties of **sam sebja** "self-N sebja-A", which is a SELF reflexive.

Based on the judgments of the second group of speakers, (31) cannot be adopted for **sam-ogo sebja**, and another structure similar to (15) in section 4.1 (which is the structure of **sam sebja** "self-N senja-A") might be adopted. However, (15) would have to be modified since **sam** in **samogo sebja** gets the same Case as **sebja**, and **sam-ogo sebja** has no properties of a phrasal entity.

I propose that the syntactic structure of **sam-ogo sebja** is unitary, and that it is (31). I explain the judgments of the second group in the following way. Since **sam-ogo** precedes **sebja** in **sam-ogo sebja** similar to the word order in **sam sebja**, the speakers of the second group conceive of **sam-ogo sebja** as analogous to **sam sebja** in other respects, in particular with respect to distribution. Therefore, the distribution of **sam-ogo sebja** is for them analogous to the distribution of **sam sebja**: they do not allow LD or adjunct **sam-ogo sebja** occurrences. That means that these speakers regard **sam-ogo** in **sam-ogo sebja** as a reflexive marker (similar to **sam** in **sam sebja**) but not as an emphatic marker.

My explanation based on analogy is supported by (32). In (32), the LD **sam-ogo sebja** is additionally emphasized by an emphatic adverb, such as **daže** "even"; ALL the speakers accept the LD instance of **sam-ogo sebja** in (32), even the speakers of the second group, who normally reject LD occurrences of **sam-ogo sebja**.

(32)	**Ivan$_1$**	**razrešil**	**Petru$_2$**	**PRO$_2$**	**provodit'**
	John$_1$-N	allowed	Peter$_2$-D	PRO$_2$	to-perform

[+Emph] is possible.

eksperimenty	**daže**	**nad**	**samim**	**soboj$_i$**
experiments-A	even	on	self-I	sebja$_i$-I

"John$_i$ allowed Peter to perform experiments even on him$_i$"

I assume that double marking of emphasis, as in (32) (by "even" and by **sam**) is possible. I propose that **sam** in the context of "even" is interpreted as an emphatic marker but not as a reflexive marker for the following reason. Usually the group following "even" is focal (cf., among others, Boguslavsky (1985)). Since the emphatic interpretation is more consistent with the focal position than the reflexive marker interpretation, **sam** receives in the focal position the former interpretation but not the latter.

I regard (32) as evidence that in the second group of speakers, the ban on LD and adjunct occurrences of **sam-ogo sebja** is caused by the analogy with **sam sebja** but not by any syntactic reason.

To conclude, I proposed a DP structure with a functional Emph head for **sebja sam-ogo** and **sam-ogo sebja**. In this structure, **sam** is an emphatic marker and an AP predicate of a small clause, in which the noun it modifies is subject (the small clause is embedded under DP and EmphP). The structure of **sam-ogo sebja** and **sebja sam-ogo** is unitary; the different word order is derived via overt vs. covert raising of **sam** to the Emph head to check its [+Emph] feature. The variation in judgments on LD and adjunct occurrences of **sam-ogo sebja** is caused by the analogy between **sam-ogo sebja** and **sam sebja** but not by any syntactic properties of **sam-ogo sebja** which distinguish it from **sebja sam-ogo**.

Chapter 5

Long-distance binding in Russian: the data

In this chapter, I will present data on LD binding in Russian in different environments and give my account of these data according to my proposal in section 3.2. My proposals are summarized as follows:

1) C is a barrier for reflexive movement when it contains an interpretable feature [F(+INTERPR)] (see section 3.2) [+R] of the reflexive cannot excorporate out of a C containing [F(+INTERPR)] because (A) [+R] can only adjoin to [F(+INTERPR)] but not to C directly (based on the constraints of the Anitisymmetry theory); (B) When adjoined to [F(+INTERPR)], [+R] cannot excorporate and move further because it is too deeply embedded and not visible for further movement. This excorporation constraint is relevant for all the data presented below.

2) A T with a [+/-PAST] feature raises to C at LF but a T without such a feature does not raise to C. The raising of T is driven by the non-interpretable [+F] feature in C; this feature is present when T has a [+/-PAST] feature. My approach is similar to Watanabe's (1993) approach in that a finite T raises to C at LF; however, the reason for this raising is not related to Nominative Case checking (as it is in Watanabe's framework) but rather to the feature content of T. In my framework, T raises to C not only in finite clauses (see section 5.1) but also in participial clauses, which have no Nominative subjects.

3) A participial clause (PC), that is, a reduced relative clause in Russian always has the CP projection, even though it is never filled; the T of a PC is similar to a T of a finite

clause in that it has a [+/-PAST] feature that raises to C (section 5.2.)

4) The null or overt C checks Dative for the overt Dative infinitive subject. The C which checks Dative for the overt Dative subject blocks LF reflexive movement because it contains the phi-features of the Dative subject at LF (section 5.3.1.) C also checks Dative for PRO, but the C which checks Dative for PRO does not block reflexive movement because PRO inherently has non-interpretable phi-features. This is true only for a controlled PRO (I only consider controlled PRO), whose phi-features are needed only for agreement. The interpretation of a controlled PRO (besides its theta-role) is entirely dependent on the interpretation of PRO's antecedent (section 5.3.2).

5.1 Finite clauses vs. infinitives

As already mentioned above, LD binding into infinitives with no wh-phrase or complementizer is grammatical (Rappoport (1986), Pica (1987), Franks & Progovac (1992), Bailyn (1992), Progovac (1993)). (1)=(5) from section 2.1.1; a number of other examples are repeated from section 3.2:

(1) **Marija$_1$** **ne** **razrešaet** **Anne$_2$**
Mary$_1$-N not allows Ann$_2$-D
PRO$_2$ **proizvodit'** **nad** **soboj$_1$** **eksperimenty**
PRO$_2$ to-conduct over sebja$_1$-I experiments-A
"Mary$_1$ does not allow Ann to conduct experiments on her$_1$"

(2) a. **Ivan$_1$** **nanjal** **povara$_2$**
John$_1$-N hired cook$_2$-A
PRO$_2$ **gotovit'** **sebe$_1$** **obed**
PRO$_2$ to-prepare sebja$_1$-D dinner-A
"John$_1$ hired a cook to prepare dinner for him$_1$"

b. **Odinokij** **starik$_1$** **priglasil** **medsestru$_2$**
lonely-N old-man$_1$-N invited nurse$_2$-A
PRO **uxaživat'** **za** **soboj$_1$**
PRO to-take-care after sebja$_1$-I
"The lonely man$_1$ invited a nurse to take care of him$_1$"

(3) **Marija$_1$** **velela** **Anne$_2$**
Mary$_1$-N told Ann$_2$-D
PRO$_2$ **prigotovit'** **sebe$_1$** **obed**
PRO$_2$ to-prepare sebja$_1$-D dinner-A
"Mary$_1$ told Ann to cook dinner for her$_1$"

(4) **Ivan$_1$** **poprosil** **Mariju$_2$**
John$_1$-N asked Mary$_2$-A
PRO$_2$ **kupit'** **sebe$_1$** **čemodan**
PRO$_2$ to-buy sebja$_1$-D suitcase-A
"John$_1$ asked Mary to buy a suitcase for him$_1$"

LD binding into subjunctives and indicatives (any finite clauses) is ungrammatical:

(5) ***Ivan$_1$** **ne** **velel** **Petru$_2$,**
John$_1$-N not told Peter$_2$-D
čto-by **on$_2$** **rasskazyval** **o** **sebe$_1$**
that-SUBJ he$_2$-N told about sebja$_1$-P
"John$_1$ did not allow it to Peter$_2$ that he$_2$ would tell anything about him$_1$"

(6) ***Marija$_1$** **znaet,** **čto** **Ivan** **ljubil** **sebja$_1$**
Mary$_1$-N knows that John-N loved sebja$_1$-A
"Mary$_1$ knows that John loved her$_1$"

Bailyn (1992) proposes that in Russian, a finite T head (but not C) blocks LD binding into finite clauses in (5)-(6)[1].

I cannot just stick to Bailyn's account without any modifications and assume that the head T blocks reflexive movement *in situ* (or in Agrs) because this account predicts that **sebja** can be LD bound into a subject position of a finite clause. This is because if **sebja** is

[1] Bailyn (1992) proposes that non-empty Tense blocks LD binding in Russian into all finite clauses: both subjunctive (5) and indicative (6) clauses. His account is based on conditions on the head excorporation constraint proposed by Roberts (1991) (excorporation is

the subject, it is in SpecAgrsP in overt syntax, so it does not have to cross T, which cannot be higher than Agrs in overt syntax. This prediction is incorrect:

(7) ***Ivan$_i$ znaet, čto sebja$_i$ ljubit Mariju**
John$_i$-N knows that sebja$_i$-A loves Mary-A
"John$_i$ knows that he$_i$ loves Mary"

(8) ***Ivan$_i$ znaet,**
John$_i$-N knows
čto [rasskazy o sebe$_i$] imejut uspex
that [stories-N about sebja$_i$-P] have success-A
"John$_i$ knows that the stories about him$_i$ have success"

I essentially adopt Bailyn's approach, but I assume that a finite T LF moves to C, attracted by the weak non-interpretable [+/-PAST] feature in C (this feature is present in C if T has a [+/-PAST] feature). Then, the features of T are in C at LF, and [+R] has to adjoin to these features; as a result, further movement of [+R] is blocked.

My account of T-to-C LF movement is different from Watanabe's (1993) account. Watanabe proposes that both a finite and a non-finite T moves to C at LF, and in his account, T-to-C movement is related to Nominative/Null Case-checking. T-to-C movement proceeds in both finite and non-finite clauses. This is because T moves to C in order to check off a non-interpretable feature [F] which is generated in C after checking the Nominative Case or the Null Case (for PRO). If I adopt the assumption that a non-finite T (a T without a [+/-PAST] feature) raises to C at LF, I will predict that binding into infinitives is blocked. This is because a non-finite T has an interpretable feature [+UNREALIZED] (see Martin (1992), who basically follows Stowell (1981)). If a non-finite T raised to C, the movement of [+R] would be blocked by the [+UNREALIZED]

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disallowed when the head is in a subcategorized (in his system, in I^{-1}) position).

feature.

In my account, T-to-C raising is contingent on the presence vs. absence of the [+/-PAST] feature in T. Only if this feature is present, the –int [+/-PAST] feature in C is base-generated. T-to-C raising is not related to Case-checking at all.

The above assumption that only a finite but not an infinitive T moves to C at LF allows us to account for the contrast between LD binding into infinitives in (1)-(4) and the ban on binding into finite clauses in (5)-(6).

An important question arises as to why the features of a finite T move to C before [+R]. Both of these features move at LF, and in principle, it is possible that [+R] moves to C first, and then [+R] will adjoin directly to C; it will not be too deeply embedded and visible for further movement.

I propose the following constraint on LF movement: if a movement of a feature F_1 to a head H is driven by the need to check a non-interpretable feature (either F_1 is non-interpretable or the feature F_2, which is checked by F_1 and which is in H, is non-interpretable), F_1 moves to H before any other features. According to this constraint, the features of a finite T will move to C before [+R] because the features of T must check off the non-interpretable [+/-PAST] in C but [+R] does not have to check off any feature in C. Then, [+R] will move to C when the features of T are already in C, and the excorporation of [+R] will be blocked.

There is an alternative way to block the derivation with the [+R] movement in a finite clause, without stipulating that the T_{EMB} features have to move to C first. Suppose, there is no such requirement that the T_{EMB} features move to C before [+R]. If [+R] moves

to C after T_{EMB} occurs, the derivation will crash because [+R] will not be attracted to a higher T_{MATR}, and the –int [+R] feature of the higher T_{MART} will not be checked. If [+R] moves to C before the T_{EMB} features, [+R] will be visible for further movement. It will be attracted to a higher T_{MATR} and check off its –int [+R] feature. However, the [+/-PAST] feature of T_{EMB}, which is adjoined to [+R], will be pied-piped to T_{MATR}. Since T_{MATR} has its own [+/-PAST] specification, T_{MATR} will have two tense specifications: $[+/-PAST]_{EMB}$ and $[+/-PAST]_{MATR}$. This is shown in (9).

(9) $[_{CP\text{-}MATR}\ [_{TP\text{-}MATR}\ [T_{MATR}\text{-}[+/-PAST]_{EMB}\text{-}\ldots\text{-}[+/-PAST]_{MATR}]\ \ldots$
$[_{CP\text{-}EMB}\ [C_{EMB}\text{-}t]\ \ldots$ sebja-t]]]

If the matrix and the embedded tense specifications in (9) are different, the derivation will face an interpretation problem. If these two tense specifications are the same, the problem of "too much tense semantics" will arise. Thus, in both cases, the derivation will crash.

To conclude, I have proposed that LD binding into finite clauses in Russian is blocked by the interpretable features of a finite T which move to C at LF. These features move to C to check the non-interpretable feature [F] generated after the checking of Nominative. Non-finite T does not move to C at LF because the mechanism of the infinitive subject Dative checking is different from the mechanism of Nominative checking; therefore, no [F] feature is generated in C, and there is no motivation for the movement of T to C.

5.1.1 Pica's account of the blocking effect of C in infinitives vs. finite subjunctive/indicative clauses

As mentioned in section 3.1, in the original Pica's (1987, 1991) approach, the C position is an escape-hatch for reflexive movement (similar to SpecCP as an escape-hatch for wh-movement). The reflexive must move directly into the C position but it cannot adjoin to it. Thus, the movement can only proceed if the embedded C position is empty at LF. Pica proposes that C is empty at LF if there is no material in C at any syntactic level or if C contains some LF-deletable material in overt syntax. For instance, an "LF-deletable" complementizer may be present in the overt syntax if it is deletable at LF.

The notion of "LF-deletability" involved in the head movement framework is not in any way straightforward. The constraints on "LF-deletability" of complementizers in various languages are supposed to explain cross-linguistic differences in LD binding. Generally, it is not clear what the criteria of LF deletability are. Progovac (1993), for instance, proposes the principle of "recoverability" (p. 38): "Subjunctive Infl/Comp projection becomes invisible (deletes) at LF up to recoverability". The notion of "recoverability" is not defined clearly. It is relevant that Progovac considers the LF deletion of the complementizer as contingent on the LF deletability of Infl/ Tense.

It is generally assumed that "that"-type complementizers can delete at LF because they are meaningless (in terms of the Minimalist framework, these complementizers have no interpretable features). Pica, however, proposes that this complementizer cannot be deleted if the Tense of the clause is indicative. First, he contrasts Icelandic subjunctives as

in (10) where LD binding is possible and Russian subjunctives as in (11) where LD binding is impossible.

(10) **Jón$_1$ sagði þiem [að María elski sig$_1$]**
John$_1$ told them [that Maria love-3SG(SUBJ) sig$_1$]
"John$_1$ told them that Mary loves him$_1$"

(11) ***Ivan$_1$ ne velel Petru$_2$,**
John$_1$-N not told Peter$_2$-D
čto-by on$_2$ rasskazyval o sebe$_1$[2]
that-SUBJ he$_2$-N told about sebja$_1$-P
"John$_1$ did not allow it to Peter$_2$ that he$_2$ would tell anything about him$_1$"

The complementizer **að** "that" in (11), which is used in Icelandic subjunctives, is deletable because it has no interpretable features. The subjunctive Tense (which is itself deletable) does not prevent its deletion. **Að** is deleted at LF, and the C position is empty. Therefore, reflexive movement is allowed in (10). The complementizer **čto-by** "that-SUBJ" in (11) contains the subjunctive modal **by** cliticized to **čto** "that". Even though the Tense in (11) is meaningless, the **by** modal, which indicates subjunctive mood in Russian, cannot delete at LF, and the complementizer position is not empty.

It is well-known that binding into indicative clauses is impossible in certain languages (in particular, in Icelandic). Compare (10)-(11) above and (12)-(13) with indicative embedded clauses:

(12) ***Jón$_1$ veit [að María elskar sig$_1$]**
John$_1$ knows that Mary loves-3SG-IND sig$_1$
"John$_1$ knows that Mary loves him$_1$"

[2] Note that in Russian, the verb inflection in subjunctive clauses is the same as the past tense inflection in indicative clauses (cf. the inflection **-al/-il** in (5)=(11) and (6)=(13)). Thus, the only difference between subjunctive and indicative clauses is the difference between the complementizers: we have the complementizer **čto-by** "that-SUBJ" in the subjunctive clause (11), but the complementizer **čto** "that" in the indicative clause (13).

(13) *Marija$_i$ znaet, čto Ivan ljubit sebja$_i$
Mary$_i$-N knows that John-N loves sebja$_i$-A
"Mary$_i$ knows that John loves her$_i$"

According to Pica, even though **að** and **čto** in (12)-(13) are LF-deletable by themselves, they cannot be deleted in the presence of the indicative Tense. This stipulation for indicative clauses implies that the conditions of "LF deletability" of the complementizer" are not trivial: not only the features of the complementizer but also features of other categories such as Tense of the clause matter. This would be consistent with Stowell's (1982) claim that I and C of a clause are interrelated and certain properties of I can determine properties of C. Stowell illustrates this claim by saying that some complementizers are possible only in finite or only in non-finite clauses, that is, the finiteness of I determines possible lexical complementizers that can occur in C.

The crucial role of Tense for binding into finite clauses in Russian can be implemented via LF T-to-C movement, as in section 5.1 above. The mechanism of T-to-C movement, however, cannot be straightforwardly extended to Icelandic. In order to account for the contrast in (9) vs. (11), we have to assume that only indicative but not subjunctive T moves to C in Icelandic.

Pica (1987) mentions another property of **að** in subjunctive vs. indicative clauses: the subjunctive complementizer **að** can be omitted in a subjunctive but not in an indicative clause. These data can be interpreted as follows: the subjunctive I allows the complementizer in C of the clause to be omitted, but the indicative I does not allow that.

However, Pica wants to directly correlate the conditions on LF deletability and the possibility to be omitted (that is, deleted in PF). This correlation is theoretically

implausible, and it is not supported by the Russian data. Even though the indicative **čto** complementizer can be omitted in colloquial speech (as in (14)), its omission does not affect the LD binding of reflexives. That is, binding is still impossible if **čto** is omitted, as in (15).

(14) **Ivan skazal, 0 Marija priexala**
John-N said 0 Mary-N came
"John said Mary came"

(15) ***Marija$_i$ znaet, 0 Ivan ljubit sebja$_i$**
Mary$_i$-N knows 0 John-N loves sebja$_i$-A
"Mary$_i$ knows that John loves her$_i$"

This example shows that **čto** cannot block reflexive movement by virtue of its being present in overt syntax or at PF. Only a certain feature in the C position at LF can block this movement.

To conclude, Pica's original account of LD binding into finite clauses, which is based on LF deletability, can be applied to Russian: it can be implemented in the feature movement framework via exploiting T-to-C movement at LF in Finite clauses (but not in infinitives). Pica'a idea of correlating LF deletability and PF deletability of complementizers is not tenable for Russian. The T-to-C movement account cannot be straightforwardly extended to Icelandic, in which LD binding into finite subjunctive clauses is allowed.

5.2 Binding into participial clauses

In this section, I would like to show how my account works with participial clauses (PC-s). I do not consider tensed relative clauses because binding into tensed clauses is impossible in Russian. I propose to extend the account for finite clauses presented in section 5.1 to PC-s.

Examples of a Russian PC are in (16a-b).

(16) a. **Kartina,** **[$_{PartP}$** **visjašč̣aja** **na** **stene]**
picture-N [$_{PartP}$ hanging-N on wall-P]
"picture hanging on the wall"

b. **Kartina,** **[$_{PartP}$** **povešennaja** **na** **stenu]**
picture-N [$_{PartP}$ hung-N on wall-A]
"picture [which is] hung on the wall"

Russian PC-s have an option of preceding the head noun, as in (16c-d):

(16) c. **[$_{PartP}$** **Visjašč̣aja** **na** **stene]** **kartina**
[$_{PartP}$ hanging-N on wall-P] picture-N
"picture hanging on the wall"

d. **[$_{PartP}$** **Povešennaja** **na** **stenu]** **kartina**
[$_{PartP}$ hung-N on wall-A] picture-N
"picture [which is] hung on the wall"

PC-s cannot have any wh-word or Nominative/ Dative subject but only the null subject PRO, as shown in (17); they cannot have an overt complementizer either.

(17) ***Kartina,** **kotoraja/** **ona/** **ee**
picture-N which-N/ she-N/ she-D
visjašč̣aja **(ona/ee)** **na stene**
hanging-PART(ACT)-N (she-N/she-D) on wall-P

Note that the participle agrees with the head noun in Case and phi-features:

(18) a. **o** **[$_{PC}$** **povešenn-oj** **na** **stenu]**
"about [$_{PC}$ hung-PREP-SG,FEM on wall-A]
kartine
picture-PREP-SG,FEM"

b. **[$_{PC}$** **povešenn-uju** **na** **stenu]** **kartinu**
"[$_{PC}$ hung-ACC-SG,FEM on wall-A] picture-ACC-SG,FEM"

(19) a. **o** **[$_{PC}$** **povešenn-om** **na** **stenu]**
"about [$_{PC}$ hung-PREP-SG,MASC on wall-A]
portrete
portrait-PREP-SG,MASC"

b.	**o**	**[$_{PC}$**	**poveʂenn-yx**	**na**	**stenu]**
	"about	[$_{PC}$	hung-PREP-PL	on	wall-A]
	portretax				
	portrait-PREP-PL".				

In order to explain the facts of agreement in (18)-(19), it has to be assumed, following Cinque (1994), that the DP of the head noun contains an AgrP projection in which Case and phi-feature agreement between the head noun and the participle takes place (cf. the structure of DP proposed in section 6.2.)

As already mentioned in section 3.3, LD binding into either postnominal or prenominal PC-s is ungrammatical:

(20)	**a.**	**On$_i$**	**smotrel**	**na**	**obed**		
		he$_i$-N	looked	at	dinner-A		
		[$_{PartP}$	**gotovivʂijsja**			**dlja**	***sebja$_i$]**
		[$_{PartP}$	being-cooked-PART-PAST-A			for	sebja$_i$-G]

	b.	**On$_i$**	**smotrel**	**na**	**[$_{PartP}$**	**gotovivʂijsja**	
		he$_i$-N	looked	at	[$_{PartP}$	being-cooked-PART-PAST-A	
		dlja	***sebja$_i$]**	**obed**			
		for	*sebja$_i$-G]	dinner-A			

"He$_i$ looked at the dinner that was being cooked for him$_i$"

(21)	**a.**	**On$_i$**	**boitsja**	**ljudej**		
		he$_i$-N	is-afraid	people-G		
		[$_{PartP}$	**projavljajušč̆ix**	**k**	***sebe$_i$**	**vnimanie]**
		[$_{PartP}$	showing-PART-G	to	*sebja$_i$-D	attention-A]

	b.	**On$_i$**	**boitsja**	**[$_{PartP}$**	**projavljajušč̆ix**	
		he$_i$-N	is-afraid	[$_{PartP}$	showing-PART-G	
		k	***sebe$_i$**	**vnimanie]**	**ljudej**	
		to	*?sebja$_i$-D	attention-A]	people-G	

"He$_i$ is afraid of people who show attention to him$_i$"

(22)	**a.**	**On$_i$**	**obyč̆no**	**zlitsja**	**na**	**ljudej**
		he-N	usually	gets-angry	on	people-A
		[$_{PartP}$	**ne**	**soglašajušč̆ixsja**	**s**	***soboj$_i$]**
		[$_{PartP}$	not	agreeing-PART-A	with	*sebja$_i$-I]

b.	**On$_1$**	**obyčno**	**zlitsja**	**na**	**[$_{PartP}$**	**ne**
	he-N	usually	gets-angry	on	[$_{PartP}$	not
	soglašajuščixsja		**s**	***soboj$_1$]**	**ljudej**	
	agreeing-PART-A		with	*sebja$_1$-I]	people-A	

"He usually gets angry about people who do not agree with him"

(23) a.	**On$_1$**	**izdevaetsja**	**nad**	**ljud'mi**	
	he$_1$-N	makes-fun	over	people-I	
	[$_{PartP}$	**zavisjaščimi**	**ot**	***sebja$_1$]**	
	[$_{PartP}$	depending-PART-I	of	*sebja$_1$-G]	

b.	**On$_1$**	**izdevaetsja**	**nad**	**[$_{PartP}$**	**zavisjaščimi**
	he$_1$-N	makes-fun	over	[$_{PartP}$	depending-PART-I
	ot	***sebja$_1$]**	**ljud'mi**		
	of	*sebja$_1$-G]	people-I		

"He$_1$ makes fun of people depending on him$_1$"

The data above show that no binding into prenominal or postnominal PC-s is possible. Even though PC-s, which are adjectival modifiers, are adjuncts in the Chomsky (1981) framework, we cannot resort to any movement constraints, such as the Complex NP Island constraint, in order to explain the ban on LD binding into PC-s. This is because reflexive movement is feature movement, which, according to Chomsky (1995, Chapter 4), is unbounded and thus does not in any obvious way obey any movement constraints.

There are two types of independent evidence against treating the ban on binding into PC-s as related to island effects. First, postnominal PC-s are islands for wh-extraction, whereas prenominal PC-s are not islands; yet all PC-s resist LD binding:

(24) a.	***[Dlja**	**kogo]$_2$**	**on$_1$**	**sjel**		
	[for	who-G]$_2$	he$_1$-N	ate		
	obed	**[$_{PartP}$**	**prigotovlennyj**		**t$_2$]?**	
	dinner-A	[$_{PartP}$	cooked-PART-A		t$_2$]	

"For who was the dinner that he ate prepared?"

b.	**[Dlja**	**kogo]$_2$**	**on$_1$**	**sjel**	
	[for	who-G]$_2$	he$_1$-N	ate	
	[$_{PartP}$	**prigotovlennyj**		**t$_2$]**	**obed?**
	[$_{PartP}$	cooked-PART-A		t$_2$]	dinner-A

Second, the data on Adjective Phrases (AP-s) embedded into NP-s show that neither prenominal nor postnominal AP-s are islands for reflexive movement.

(25) a. **?On$_i$ ne ljubit veščej,**
he$_i$-N not likes things-G
[$_{AP}$ nedostupnyx sebe$_i$]
[$_{AP}$ unavailable-ADJ-G sebja$_i$-D]
"He$_i$ does not like things which are not available for him$_i$"

b. **?On$_i$ ne ljubit [$_{AP}$ nedostupnyx**
he$_i$-N not likes [$_{AP}$ unavailable-ADJ-G
sebe$_i$] veščej
sebja$_i$-D] things-G

(26) a. **?On$_i$ otobral materialy,**
he$_i$-N picked materials-A
[$_{AP}$ nužnye sebe$_i$]
[$_{AP}$ needed-ADJ-A sebja$_i$-D]
"He$_i$ picked the materials that he$_i$ needed"

b. **?On$_i$ otobral [$_{AP}$ nužnye**
he$_i$-N picked [$_{AP}$ needed-ADJ-A
sebe$_i$] materialy
sebja$_i$-D] materials-A

Examples (a) of (25)-(26) show that reflexive movement is not blocked by a Complex NP Island. The structure of PC-s is discussed in section 5.2.2.

I propose that the reason for the ban on LD binding into PC-s is the same as for the ban on binding into finite clauses in section 5.1. That is, features of the participial T raise to C and block reflexive movement.

Suppose that the "filled" C (that is, a C which contains an interpretable feature moved to it) blocks reflexive movement. I assume that the C of PC-s has no interpretable features.

Let us consider the option of the T-to-C LF movement in PC-s. There is a

considerable difference between features of an infinitive T and a participial T. The former has at most the "unrealized" feature, as in Martin (1992), whereas the latter is specified for [+/-PAST]:

(27) a. **kric-ašč-ij**
"crying-PART,PRES-SG,MASC,N"
b. **kric-avš-ij**
"crying-PART,PAST-SG,MASC,N"

(28) a. **gotovj-ašč-ij-sja**
"being-cooked-PART,PRES-SG,MASC,N"
b. **gotovj-ivš-ij-sja**
"being-cooked-PART,PAST-SG,MASC,N".

The data in (27)-(28) allows us to conclude that the T of PC-s is similar to the T of finite clauses rather than to an infinitive T. I propose that the participial T moves to C at LF (as the finite T does) and the [+/-PAST] feature in C blocks reflexive movement. Then, for instance, the derivation of (20a-b)) repeated here will be (29)-(30) and (31)-(32) respectively:

(20) a. **On$_1$ smotrel na obed**
he$_1$-N looked at dinner-A
[$_{PartP}$ gotovivšijsja dlja *sebja$_1$]
[$_{PartP}$ being-cooked-PART-PAST-A for sebja$_1$-G]
"He$_1$ looked at the dinner that was being cooked for him$_1$"

(29) **On$_1$ smotrelel na [$_{DP}$ [$_{D'}$ [$_{NP}$ [$_{NP}$ obed]**
[$_{CP2=PC}$ [$_{C'}$ [$_{IP}$ [gotovivšijsja+T[+PAST]] dlja sebja$_1$]]]]]]

(30) **On$_1$ smotrel na [$_{DP}$ [$_{D'}$ [$_{NP}$ [$_{NP}$ obed]**
[$_{CP2=PC}$ [$_{C'}$ C+[gotovivšijsja+T[+PAST]]$_3$ [$_{IP}$ t$_3$ dlja sebja$_1$]]]]]]

(20) **b. On$_1$ smotrel na [$_{PartP}$ gotovivšijsja**
he$_1$-N looked at [$_{PartP}$ being-cooked-PART-PAST-A
dlja *sebja$_1$] obed
for *sebja$_1$-G] dinner-A
"He$_1$ looked at the dinner that was being cooked for him$_1$"

(31) **On$_1$ smotrel na [$_{DP}$ [$_{D'}$ [$_{CP2=PC}$ [$_{C'}$ [$_{IP}$ [gotovivšijsja+T[+PAST]] dlja sebja$_1$]] [$_{NP}$ obed]]]]**

(32) **On$_1$ smotrel na [$_{DP}$ [$_{CP2=PC}$ [$_{C'}$ [gotovivšijsja+T[+PAST]]$_3$] [$_{IP}$ t$_3$ dlja sebja$_1$]] [$_{D'}$ [$_{NP}$ obed]]]]]**

In (29)-(30), PC (=CP) is right-adjoined to the NP of the head noun **obed** (see the discussion in 5.2.2); in (31)-(32), PC=CP is in SpecDP of the N **obed**. The movement of [Part+T] (**[gotovivšijsja+T[+PAST]]$_3$**) to C is covert. As a result, C contains the interpretable feature [+/-PAST], and this feature blocks reflexive movement.

My claim that a participial T moves to C at LF (as a finite T does) is primarily based on the similarity of feature content of a participial T and a finite T (and the fact that the feature content of an infinitive T is different). The movement of T to C at LF in PC-s, however, cannot be attracted by the [F] feature of Watanabe (1993) because his [F] feature is related to subject Case-checking; it cannot be checked whether PRO in participial clauses gets any Case, or, in particular, Nominative. When secondary predicates **odin** "alone" and **sam** "himself" (see section 5.3.2, example (60a-d) with these predicates in infinitives, in which they bear Dative) occur in participial clauses they always agree in Case with the head noun.

(33) a. **Mal'čik, resajušč-ij zadač-I sam**
boy-N solve-PART(ACT)-N problems-A himself-N
"A boy solving problems himself"

b. **Mal'čika, samogo/ *sam/ *samomu**
boy-A himself-A/ -*N/ -*D
resajušč-ego zadači
solve-PART(ACT)-A problems-A

c. **Mal'čikom, samim/ *sam/ *samomu**
boy-I himself-I/ -*N/ -*D

resajušč̣im	**zadač̣i**
solve-PART(ACT)-I	problems-A

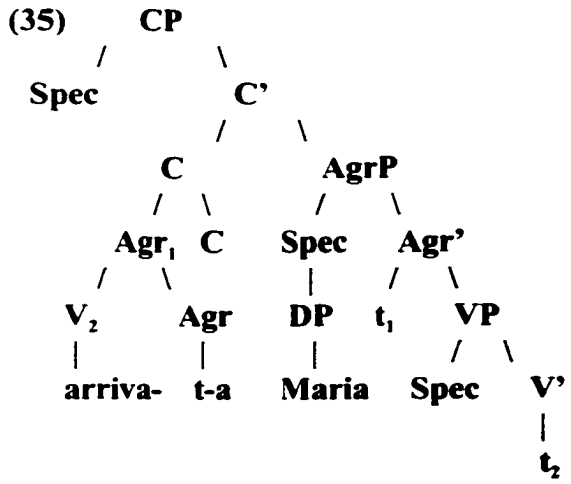
Thus, we cannot claim that PRO in a participial clause has any Case at all: if it had a certain Case, the secondary predicate would agree in Case with PRO, as it does in infinitives, and **sam** would bear a unitary Case of PRO but not different Cases in (33)-(35).

I propose that the T-to-C movement in both the case of finite clauses and the case of PC-s is driven by a special non-interpretable feature [+/-PAST] which only occurs in C when the corresponding T has a [+/-PAST] feature. Then, we get a unitary account for T raising to C in finite clauses and PC, and predict no T raising in infinitives.

Note that I cannot extend Belletti's (1990) account of Italian participial clauses to Russian, In Italian participial clauses, overt Nominative subjects are possible, and Belletti proposes that since a participial clause in Italian does not have any T projection, Nominative is assigned by the complex [C+Agr] (but not by [Agr+T], as it is in finite clauses). The participial V, according to Belletti, moves to Agr in order to get agreement and then moves to C with Agr in order to check Nominative for the subject. The structure of the participial clause **Arrivata Maria** in (34) (Belletti (1990: 89)) is (35):

(34)	**Arrivata**	**Maria, Gianni**	**tirò**	**un**	**sospiro**	**di**	**sollievo**
	arrived	Maria, Gianni	was relieved				

(35)



I cannot take advantage of Belletti's analysis because, first, Russian PC-s have no overt subjects, and, second, as we saw in (33a-c), there is no evidence that the participial PRO gets any Case at all, in particular Nominative. Thus, I have to stick to the assumption that the [+/-PAST] feature which is base-generated in a C of a clause whose T has a [+/-PAST] feature attracts T raising to C at LF.

To conclude, I have proposed that a participial T, which has the [+/-PAST] interpretable feature, similar to a finite T, moves to C at LF and blocks the movement of [+R]. This proposal based on the similarity of a participial T and a finite T with respect to feature content (whereas an infinitive T, which does not move to C, has a different content). The movement of T to C is driven by a special [+F] feature. This feature is non-interpretable, and it is inherently generated on a participial C.

5.2.1 Applying Kayne's (1994) analysis of reduced relative clauses to Russian PC-s

In this section, I will consider the issue of implementing my account of the ban on binding into PC-s in Kayne's (1994) Antisymmetry framework. The reason for going into this issue

is that in my structure of postnominal modifiers, right-adjunction is involved.

I assume the NP right-adjoined structure for postnominal PC-s, shown in (36a).

(36) a. $[_{DP}\ [_{D'}\ [_{NP}\ [_{NP}\ [_{N'}$ **head noun]] [$_{PC/AP}$ postnominal modifier]]]]**

In prenominal modifiers, the PC/ AP is base-generated in SpecDP of the head noun, as in (36b).

(36) b. $[_{DP}\ [_{PC/AP}$ **prenominal modifier]$_i$** $[_{D'}\ [_{NP}\ [_{NP}\ [_{N'}$ **head noun** || t_i]]]]

In the Antisymmetry framework, which I have adopted (see section 3.2), right-adjunction, as in (36a), is not allowed. Kayne (1994) proposes a structure for a postnominal relative clause which does not involve right-adjunction. I will show that my account of LD binding into Russian PC-s cannot be implemented in Kayne's framework because Kayne's analysis of prenominal reduced relative clauses implies that these reduced relative clauses are IP-s (they strand their CP when they front). My account, however, can only hold if it is assumed that both prenominal and postnominal PC-s in Russian are CP-s (because it is the C head that blocks reflexive movement).

Kayne proposes the following structure of a postnominal (37a) and prenominal (37b) relative clause (p.94):

(37) a. $[_{DP}\ [_{D'}$ **the** $[_{CP}\ [_{NP}$ **picture]** $[_{C'}$ **that** $[_{IP}$ **Bill saw [e]]]]]**

b. $[_{DP}$ **IP$_j$** $[_{D'}$ **the** $[_{CP}\ [_{NP}$ **picture]** $[_{C'}$ **0** $[e]_j]]]]]$

In (37a), the head noun "picture" raises from its base position inside IP to SpecCP of the relative clause, yielding the N-initial order. In (37b), besides the raising of the head noun, the relative clause IP_j raises from C' to SpecDP yielding the N-final order.

Let us assume that PC-s are reduced relative clauses. Then, adopting Kayne's structure of relative clauses, the structures of (20a-b) will be (38a) and (38b) respectively:

(20) a. **On$_1$ smotrel na obed**
he$_1$-N looked at dinner-A
[$_{PartP}$ gotovivšijsja dlja *sebja$_1$]
[$_{PartP}$ being-cooked-PART-PAST-A for sebja$_1$-G]
"He$_1$ looked at the dinner that was being cooked for him$_1$"

(38) a. **On$_1$ smotrel na [$_{DP}$ [$_{D'}$**
[$_{CP}$ [$_{NP3}$ obed] [$_{C'}$ [C] [$_{PartP=IP2}$ [e]$_3$ gotovivšijsja dlja sebja$_1$]]]]]

(20) b. **On$_1$ smotrel na [$_{PartP}$ gotovivšijsja**
he$_1$-N looked at [$_{PartP}$ being-cooked-PART-PAST-A
dlja *sebja$_1$] obed
for *sebja$_1$-G] dinner-A
"He$_1$ looked at the dinner that was being cooked for him$_1$"

(38) b. **On$_1$ smotrel na [$_{DP}$ [$_{PartP2=IP2}$ [e]$_3$ gotovivšijsja dlja sebja$_1$]**
[$_{D'}$[$_{CP}$[$_{NP3}$ obed] [$_{C'}$ [C] [e]$_2$]]]]

As (38a-b) show, the subject of a PC [e]$_3$ is a trace rather than PRO.

Kayne notes that, according to crosslinguistic data, the prenominal modifier in (37b) can have no overt complementizer, that is, "that" in (38b) is prohibited. This crosslinguistic fact is consistent with the data on Russian PC-s: these PC-s can be prenominal and can have no overt complementizer. Also, in (38b), the IP which moves to SpecDP strands the complementizer in CP.

Recall that postnominal PC-s in Russian are Islands for overt movement (see (24a) in section 5.2.1.) According to Kayne's analysis, structure (38a) disallows extraction out of the IP because the DP **obed** "dinner" stays in SpecCP yielding a wh-Island configuration. Thus, the CNP Island violation, which would emerge in the right-adjunction structure of postnominal PC, is substituted in Kayne's framework for the wh-Island violation. Structure (38b) with a prenominal PC is not an Island and allows extraction out of IP$_2$ because no filled SpecCP intervenes any more after IP$_2$ has moved to SpecDP, which is higher than

SpecCP.

Recall that whereas postnominal PC-s in Russian do not allow either overt (wh-) or covert (reflexive) extraction, prenominal PC-s allow overt extraction and disallow reflexive extraction, as in (24a-b) in section 5.2 and in (20a-b) repeated here. In section 5.2, I proposed that in both prenominal and postnominal PC-s, the [+/-PAST] feature of the participial T, which raises to C, blocks reflexive movement. My account is not consistent with the derivation of (reduced) prenominal relative clauses in (38b) because only IP_2, which was embedded under CP, undergoes fronting but the C head of CP is stranded in CP. Thus, C is lower in the structure than the T of IP_2, and the [+/-PAST] feature of T cannot raise to C at LF and block reflexive movement.

Thus, the whole CP must undergo fronting in (38b), in order that my account works. However, SpecCP contains the head noun **obed** "dinner" in (38a-b), so **obed** would be fronted together with the IP_2, and the resulting word order would correspond to a postnominal (N-initial) but not to a prenominal (N-final) configuration.

(20)	**b.**	**On$_1$**	**smotrel**	**na**	**[$_{PartP}$**	**gotovivšijsja**
	he$_1$-N	looked		at	[$_{PartP}$	being-cooked-PART-PAST-A
	dlja	***sebja$_1$]**		**obed**		
	for	*sebja$_1$-G]		dinner-A		

"He$_1$ looked at the dinner that was being cooked for him$_1$"

(39) On$_1$ smotrel na [$_{DP}$
[$_{CP2=PC}$ [$_{NP3}$ obed] [$_{C'}$ [C] [$_{IP}$ [e]$_3$ gotovivšijsja dlja sebja$_1$] [$_{D'}$ [e]$_2$]]]]]

There is potentially a way to modify Kayne's structure for prenominal relative clauses in order to make this structure consistent with the Russian reflexive movement data. The head noun **obed** "dinner" in (38a-b) might front not to SpecCP but to SpecXP, XP being between

DP and CP:[3]

(20) a. **On$_i$ smotrel na obed**
he$_i$-N looked at dinner-A
[$_{PartP}$ gotovivšijsja dlja *sebja$_i$]
[$_{PartP}$ being-cooked-PART-PAST-A for sebja$_i$-G]
"He$_i$ looked at the dinner that was being cooked for him$_i$"

(40) a. **On$_i$ smotrel na [$_{DP}$ [$_{D'}$ [$_{XP}$ [$_{NP3}$ obed] [$_{X'}$ [$_{CP}$ [$_{C'}$ [C]**
[$_{PartP=IP2}$ [e]$_3$ T[+/-PAST] gotovivšijsja dlja sebja$_i$]]]]]]]

(20) b. **On$_i$ smotrel na [$_{PartP}$ gotovivšijsja**
he$_i$-N looked at [$_{PartP}$ being-cooked-PART-PAST-A
dlja *sebja$_i$] obed
for *sebja$_i$-G] dinner-A
"He$_i$ looked at the dinner that was being cooked for him$_i$"

(40) b. **On$_i$ smotrel na [$_{DP}$ [$_{CP}$ [$_{C'}$ [C] [$_{PartP2=IP2}$ [e]$_3$ T[+/-PAST]**
gotovivšijsja dlja sebja$_i$] [$_{D'}$ [$_{XP}$ [$_{NP3}$ obed] [$_{X'}$ [e]$_2$]]]]]

In (40b), T [+/-PAST] can raise to C at LF and yield the "filled" C blocking effect. However, this solution is not tenable because if the head noun **obed** "dinner" moves to SpecXP instead of SpecCP, extraction out of a postnominal PC is predicted to be grammatical (SpecCP would be empty, and no wh-Island violation would emerge). Recall that postnominal PC-s are Islands for wh-extraction (cf. (24a)).

To conclude, I have shown that, given the Russian data, it is difficult to implement Kayne's structure of relative clauses in the analysis of PC-s in Russian. That leaves room, however, for other non-adjunction alternatives to Kayne's analysis.

Kayne's (1994) structure is not consistent with my account because in Kayne's account of prenominal relative clauses, only the IP of the relative clause overtly raises, whereas the C head of the relative clause is stranded. In my account, the [+/-PAST] feature

[3] The introduction of an empty head X is implied by Bianchi's (2000) modification of Kayne's analysis of relative clauses, in which she introduced an empty D which allows

of the PC (reduced relative clause) blocks LF reflexive movement via T-to-C raising at LF. In Kayne's structure, this raising is, however, impossible because the C head is lower than the relative clause in the overt structure.

5.3 Infinitives with overt Dative subjects

In this section, I will give an account of LD binding into infinitives with overt Dative subjects. In section 5.1.3, I will concentrate on infinitives with overt Dative subjects and the derivation of these infinitives. In section 5.3.2, I will extend the account of overt Dative subject infinitives to PRO wh-/yes-no infinitives, which allow LD binding.

5.3.1 The blocking effect of overt Dative subjects

As we saw in section 5.1, examples (1)-(4), binding into control infinitives is allowed. However, if the infinitive has an overt Dative subject, LD binding is ungrammatical. The contrast between the (a) and the (b) examples of (43)-(50) below.

Note that (43a)-(50a) are not entirely identical to (1)-(4) from section 5.1. Infinitives in the former examples are "simple" control infinitives in that they do not have any wh-word or complementizer. Infinitives in (43a)-(46a) are wh-infinitives; infinitives in (47a)-(50a) are yes-no infinitives. I use wh-/yes-no infinitives with overt subjects instead of infinitives without any wh-word or complementizer but with an overt subject because the latter are very rare in Russian. (41a-b) show that overt Dative subjects are possible in wh-

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the head noun to undergo raising from its base position to SpecDP.

/yes-no infinitives, and (42) is an example of a sentence-initial infinitive which has no wh-word or complementizer and has a Dative subject. (42) is marginal; infinitives without a wh-word or complementizer but with an overt subject are very rare, even though they are possible (cf. the discussion in Babby (1991)).

(41)	a.	**Andrej$_1$**	**objasnil**	**Petru$_2$,**		
		Andrew$_1$-N	explained	Peter$_2$-D		
		čego **Marii$_3$**	**ne**	**rasskazyvat'**	**o**	**sebe$_1$**
		what-GMary$_3$-D	not	to-tell	about	sebja$_1$-P

"Andrew$_1$ explained to Peter$_2$ what Mary$_3$ must not tell about him$_1$"

	b.	**Petr$_1$**	**skazal**	**tebe$_2$,**			
		Peter$_1$-N	told	you$_2$-D			
		zapisyvat'	**li**	**Marii$_3$**	**sebja$_1$**	**v**	**spisok?**
		to-put	li	Mary$_3$	sebja$_1$-A	in	list-A

"Did Peter$_1$ let you$_2$ know whether Mary$_3$ has to put him$_1$ on the list?"

(42)	(?)	**[Ivanu$_1$**	**sidet'**	**na**	**zemle]**
		[John$_1$-D	to-sit	on	ground-P]
		0 **vredno**		**dlja**	**nego$_1$**
		0_{COP} dangerous		for	he$_1$-G

"It is dangerous for John$_1$ when he$_1$ sits on the ground"

LD binding into wh-/yes-no infinitives is judged as a little degraded by most speakers. However, the contrast in grammaticality between wh-/yes-no infinitives with a PRO subject, on one hand, and wh-/yes-no infinitives with an overt subject, on the other hand, is very strong. Thus, I consider LD binding into wh-/yes-no infinitives with a PRO subject to be grammatical (see the "(?)" grammaticality mark on these examples). In section 7.1, I attribute the judgments of LD binding into wh-/yes-no infinitives by native speakers as

degraded to non-syntactic factors.[4]

(43) a. **(?)Andrej$_1$ objasnil Petru$_2$,**
Andrew$_1$-N explained Peter$_2$-D
čego PRO$_2$ ne rasskazyvat' o sebe$_1$
what-G PRO$_2$ not to-tell about sebja$_1$-P
"Andrew$_1$ explained to Peter what not to tell about him$_1$"

b. ***Andrej$_1$ objasnil Petru$_2$,**
Andrew$_1$-N explained Peter$_2$-D
čego emu$_2$ ne rasskazyvat' o sebe$_1$
what-G he$_2$-D not to-tell about sebja$_1$-P
"Andrew$_1$ explained to Peter$_2$ what he$_2$ must not tell about him$_1$"

(44) a. **(?)Anna$_1$ skazala medsestre$_2$,**
Anna$_1$-N told nurse$_2$-D
kuda PRO$_2$ ukolot' sebja$_1$
where PRO$_2$ to-inject sebja$_1$-A
"Ann$_1$ told the nurse where to give her$_1$ an injection"

b. ***Anna$_1$ skazala medsestre$_2$,**
Anna$_1$-N told nurse$_2$-D
kuda ej$_2$ ukolot' sebja$_1$
where she$_2$-D to-inject sebja$_1$-A
"Ann$_1$ told the nurse$_2$ where the she$_2$ must give make her$_1$ an injection"

(45) a. **(?)Andrej$_1$ soobščil Petru$_2$,**
Andrew$_1$-N let-know Peter$_2$-D
kogda PRO$_2$ zaexat' za soboj$_1$
when PRO$_2$ to-drop after sebja$_1$-P
"Andrew$_1$ let Peter know when to pick him$_1$"

b. ***Andrej$_1$ soobščil Petru$_2$,**
Andrew$_1$-N let-know Peter$_2$-D
kogda emu$_2$ zaexat' za soboj$_1$
when he$_2$-D to-drop after sebja$_1$-P
"Andrew$_1$ let Peter$_2$ know when he$_2$ must pick him$_1$"

[4] Some of the following examples are repeated from section 3.2.

(46) a. **(?)Anna$_1$ objasnila parixmaxeru$_2$,**
Anna$_1$-N explained hairdresser$_2$-D
kak PRO$_2$ postrič' sebja$_1$
how PRO$_2$ to-trim sebja$_1$-A
"Ann$_1$ explained to the hairdresser how to trim her$_1$"

b. ***Anna$_1$ objasnila parixmaxeru$_2$,**
Anna$_1$-N explained hairdresser$_2$-D
kak emu$_2$ postrič' sebja$_1$
how he$_2$-D to-trim sebja$_1$-A
"Ann$_1$ explained to the hairdresser how he must trim her$_1$"

(47) a. **(?)Petr$_1$ skazal tebe$_2$,**
Peter$_1$-N told you$_2$-D
zapisyvat' li PRO$_2$ sebja$_1$ v spisok?
to-put li PRO$_2$ sebja$_1$-A in list-A
"Did Peter$_1$ let you know whether or not to put him$_1$ on the list?"

b. ***Petr$_1$ skazal tebe$_2$,**
Peter$_1$-N told you$_2$-D
zapisyvat' li tebe$_2$ sebja$_1$ v spisok?
to-put li you$_2$-D sebja$_1$-A in list-A
"Did Peter$_1$ let you$_2$ know whether you$_2$ have to put him$_1$ on the list?"

(48) a. **(?)Ivan$_1$ ne napisal Marii$_2$,**
John$_1$-N not wrote Mary$_2$-D
snimat' li PRO$_2$ sebe$_1$ kvartiru
to-rent li PRO$_2$ sebja$_1$-D apartment-A
"John$_1$ did not write Mary whether to rent an apartment for him$_1$"

b. ***Ivan$_1$ ne napisal Marii$_2$,**
John$_1$-N not wrote Mary$_2$-D
snimat' li ej$_2$ sebe$_1$ kvartiru
to-rent li she$_2$-D sebja$_1$-D apartment-A
"John$_1$ did not write Mary$_2$ whether she$_2$ has to rent an apartment for him$_1$"

(49) a. **(?)Ivan$_1$ ne skazal Marii$_2$, razbudit'**
John$_1$-N not told Mary$_2$-D to-wake-up
PRO$_2$ sebja$_1$ ili ne razbudit',
PRO$_2$ sebja$_1$-A or not to-wake-up

	kogda	**načnetsja**	**obsuždenie**		
	when	will-begin	discussion-N		

"John$_1$ did not tell Mary whether or not to wake him$_1$ up when the discussion begins"

b.	***Ivan$_1$**	**ne**	**skazal**	**Marii$_2$,**	**razbudit'**
	John$_1$-N	not	told	Mary$_2$-D	to-wake-up
	ej$_2$	**sebja$_1$**	**ili**	**ne**	**razbudit',**
	she$_2$-D	sebja$_1$-A	or	not	to-wake-up
	kogda	**načnetsja**	**obsuždenie**		
	when	will-begin	discussion-N		

"John$_1$ did not tell Mary$_2$ whether or not she$_2$ must wake him$_1$ up when the discussion begins"

(50) a.	**(?)Petr$_1$**	**soobščil**	**tebe$_2$,**			
	Peter$_1$-N	let-know	you$_2$-D			
	vstreča t'	**PRO$_2$**	**sebja$_1$**	**na**	**vokzale**	
	to-see	PRO$_2$	sebja$_1$-A	on	railroad-station-P	
	ili	**ne**	**vstreča t'?**			
	or	not	to-see			

"Did Peter$_1$ let you know whether or not to see him$_1$ at the railroad station?"

b.	***Petr$_1$**	**soobščil**	**tebe$_2$,**			
	Peter$_1$-N	let-know	you$_2$-D			
	vstreča t'	**tebe$_2$**	**sebja$_1$**	**na**	**vokzale**	
	to-see	you$_2$-D	sebja$_1$-A	on	railroad-station-P	
	ili	**ne**	**vstreča t'?**			
	or	not	to-see			

"Did Peter$_1$ let you$_2$ know whether or not you$_2$ have to see him$_1$ at the railroad station?"

The above examples show that overt infinitive subjects block LD binding. Assuming the head movement framework, the subject DP cannot block reflexive movement because this DP is in a Spec position, but not in a head position. Thus, some head X must block reflexive movement in Dative subject infinitives, and the reason as to why this head X is a barrier must be a certain relation of X to the Dative subject DP. Since so far it was always the C head that blocks reflexive movement in the head movement framework, I propose that the C

head also blocks reflexive movement in case of Dative infinitive subjects. I propose that the null or overt infinitive C checks Dative for the subject DP.[5] Hence, the movement of **sebja** in the (b) of (43)-(50) is in fact blocked by the Dative-checking C. My proposal implies that Russian overt Dative subjects are at least to some extent similar to English infinitive subjects (cf. the idea that overt subjects in English "for-to" infinitives are licensed by the head C, Chomsky (1981)).

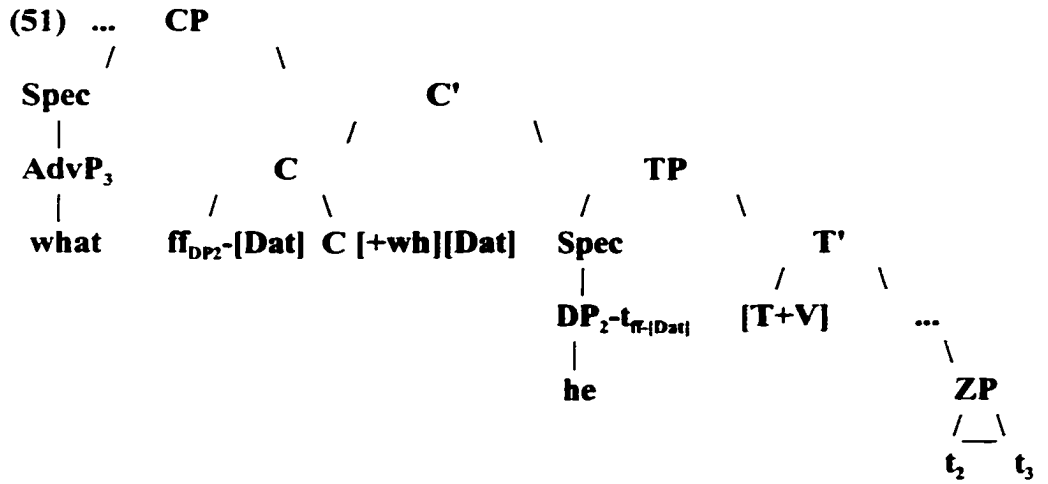
If C checks a Dative subject for Case, it has a Case feature. However, Case-features are not interpretable and hence cannot block reflexive movement. I propose such a mechanism of Dative Case checking that there are interpretable features in C at LF as a result of checking - in particular, the phi-features of the Dative subject. This mechanism is shown in (51)-(52), which is the derivation if (43b).

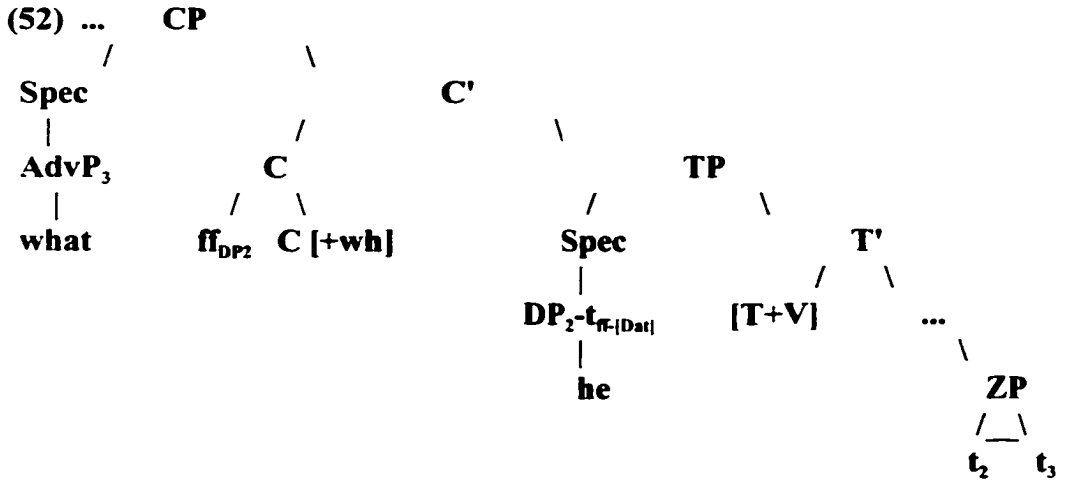
Based on the word order facts (the complementizer always precedes the Dative subject), I propose that the Dative DP stays in SpecTP of the infinitive. I adopt the Case-Checking mechanism of Chomsky (1995, Chapter 4) with feature-movement at LF. Then, the [Dat] feature of the subject raises to C to get checked off by the [Dat] feature of C. The subsequent representations of (43b) are (51) and (52). In (51), the features of the subject move and adjoin to C; in (52), the [Dat] features of C and of the subject get checked off.

(43)	b.	***Andrej$_1$**	**objasnil**	**Petru$_2$,**		
		Andrew$_1$-N	explained	Peter$_2$-D		
		čego emu$_2$	**ne**	**rasskazyvat'**	**o**	**sebe$_1$**
		what-Ghe$_2$-D	not	to-tell	about	sebja$_1$-P

"Andrew$_1$ explained to Peter$_2$ what he$_2$ must not tell about him$_1$"

[5] My proposal implies that the Dative of infinitive subjects is structural (see section 8.2.)





Now compare the LF structure of (43a), which is (53), and the LF structure of (43b) in (52).

(53) Andrej$_1$ objasnil Petru$_2$, [$_{CP}$ čego [$_{C'}$ [$_C$]] PRO$_2$ ne rasskazyvat' o sebe$_1$]

I assume that the [+wh] feature of C is not interpretable and deletes at LF. This assumption (contra Chomsky (1995)) is based, first, on the data on binding in Russian (if the [+wh] feature of C were interpretable, the contrast between [+wh] infinitives with and without overt subjects could not be explained). Second, a [+wh] C is not always selected by the matrix verb: for instance, verbs such as "know" can subcategorize both for [+wh] and for [-

wh] C heads: **I know why/that he came**. So the [+wh] feature is not needed for subcaregorization and need not be interpretable.

Thus, the C head in (53) is not "filled" at LF. (52) contains phi-features of **emu** "he-D" because the complementizer which checks Dative for the subject. Therefore, reflexive movement is allowed in (53), but blocked in (52). In yes-no infinitives with a PRO subject, such as (47a), I propose (Rudnitskaya (2000)) that the question operator Q_{OP} is located in SpecCP but there are no interpretable features in C: I assume that the [+Q] feature in C is strong and non-interpretable. Therefore, the C head has no interpretable features at LF, and [+R] can move through C. The LF structures of (47a-b) are given in (54)-(55). In (54), [+R] is the only interpretable feature in C but in (55), [+REFL] is adjoined to the features of **emu** (ff_2). Therefore, [+R] cannot excorporate out of C.

(54) **Petr$_1$ skazal tebe$_2$, [$_{CP}$ Q$_{OP}$ [$_{C'}$ [$_C$ [+R]$_4$]]**
[$_{FocP}$ [$_{Foc'}$ [$_{Foc}$ [$_{V3}$ zapisyvat'] [$_{Foc}$ li]]] PRO$_2$ t$_3$ s-t$_4$-ebja$_1$ v spisok]

(55) **Petr$_1$ skazal tebe$_2$, [$_{CP}$ Q$_{OP}$ [$_{C'}$ [$_C$ [ff$_2$ [+R]$_4$ [ff$_2$]]]]**
[$_{FocP}$ [$_{Foc'}$ [$_{Foc}$ [$_{V3}$ zapisyvat'] [$_{Foc}$ li]]] emu-t$_2$ t$_3$ s-t$_4$-ebja$_1$ v spisok]

Note that the features of the Dative subject move to C before [+R] because the subject's features' movement is driven by the need to check Case, that is, to check off the non-interpretable Case-feature. As I proposed in section 5.1, LF movement caused by the need to check non-interpretable features proceeds before any other LF movement. [+R] does not need to check any feature in C, therefore [+R] moves to C after the features of the subject[6].

[6] If [+R] moved to C before the phi-features of the Dative subject, the phi-features would be pied-piped to the matrix T and then to Agrs together with [+R]. That would result in a

Recall that I proposed in section 3.2 that **sebja** is not a single head but that it consists of two heads: **s'-** and **ebja**. The former head has the [+R] feature, and the latter head has all the other features typical for a DP, that is, phi-, Case, etc. features. This assumption is crucial for cases in which the reflexive **sebja** occurs in the Dative subject position of infinitives. LD binding is impossible in such an environment:

(56)	***Ivan$_1$**	**eščе**	**ne**	**rešil,**		
	John$_1$-N	yet	not	decided		
	kuda$_2$ **s-ebe$_1$**		**exat'**	**na**	**kanikuly**	**t$_2$**
	where$_2$ s-ebja$_1$-D		to-go	on	vacations-A	t$_2$

"John has not decided yet where he will go for his vacations"

The derivation of (56) is given in (57a-c) (I omit the part which corresponds to the matrix clause).

(57) a. ... [$_{CP}$ **kuda$_2$** [$_{C'}$ [$_C$ **[Dat]]] s-[+R]-ebe-ff-[Dat] exat' na kanikuly t$_2$]**

b. ... [$_{CP}$ **kuda$_2$** [$_{C'}$ [$_C$ **[Phi-ff$_{-ebe(3)}$-[Dat]** [$_C$ **[Dat]]]]] s-[+R]-ebe-t$_3$**
exat' na kanikuly t$_2$]

c. ... [$_{CP}$ **kuda$_2$** [$_{C'}$ [$_C$ **[Phi-ff$_{-ebe(3)}$ [+R]$_4$] [Phi-ff$_{-ebe(3)}$]]** [$_C$]] **s-t$_4$-ebe-t$_3$**

exat' na kanikuly t$_2$]

In (57a), the **s'-** head of the branching node **s-ebe** "sebja-D" has the [+R] features, and the **-ebe** head has the [Dat] feature and all the nominal features ff. In (57b), all the features of **-ebe** ([Dat] and ff) move to C. Then the [Dat] feature is checked off, whereas ff remain in C. In (57c), [+R] moves to C and adjoins to ff. Then, [+R] is too deeply embedded in order to be visible for further movement.

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double phi-features specification of the matrix Ags, and the derivation will be ruled out

A reflexive cannot occur inside an infinitive Dative subject phrase either:

(58)	***Ivan$_1$**	**ne**	**imeet**	**ni**	**malejšego**
	John$_1$-N	not	has	NPI	smallest-G
	ponjatija,	**[v**	**kakoj**		**institut]$_2$**
	idea-G	[in	which-A		college-A]$_2$
	[s-voej$_1$	**dočke]**		**postupat'**	**t$_2$**
	[s-voj$_1$-D	daughter-D]		to-apply	t$_2$

"John$_1$ has no slightest idea about to which college his$_1$ daughter should apply"

Cases such as (58) are not a problem for my account. The LF structure of (56) is given in (59); [+R] in C is embedded under the phi-features of **dočke**, and no further movement of [+R] can take place.

(59) **...[$_{CP}$ [v kakoj institut]$_2$ [$_{C'}$ [$_C$ [Phi-ff$_{dočke(3)}$ [+R] [Phi-ff$_{dočke(3)}$]] [$_C$]]]**
[s-t$_4$-voej dočke-t$_3$] postupat' t$_2$]

To conclude, I proposed to account for the barrierhood of Dative infinitive subjects by claiming that the subject's phi-features in C block LF movement. Thus, C is a barrier for reflexive movement not only when it contains phi-features of a DP at LF. The generalization is that the features in C must be interpretable in order to block reflexive movement. Non-interpretable features such as [+wh] do not block reflexive movement (cf. wh-/yes-no infinitives without Dative subjects in the (a) examples of (43)-(50), in which LD binding is possible). If the reflexive is a Dative subject of an infinitive, the Case and phi-features of the **-ebja** part of the reflexive move to C first to check the Dative Case feature in C. Then, the [+REFL] feature, which is in the independent head **s'**, also moves to C, and further movement of [+REFL] is blocked by the phi-features of **-ebja**.

(cf. section 5.1.1).

5.3.2 The analysis of wh-/yes-no PRO infinitives

So far, I have proposed a mechanism for overt infinitive subject Case checking which accounts for LD binding into infinitives. I have not considered the questions of which Case PRO receives in infinitives with PRO and how the Case of PRO is checked.

Chomsky & Lasnik (1993) proposed that the infinitive T assigns the Null Case to PRO (cf. also Martin (1992), Bošković (1996)). It is assumed in studies on Russian that the Null Case in Russian is Dative (see Comrie (1974), Neidle (1988), Laurençot (1997), Babby (1998)). This conclusion follows from the data on secondary predicates **odin** "alone", **sam** "himself", **ves'** "entire" agreement. In most infinitive constructions, these predicates show Dative (but not Nominative or Accusative) case. (60a) exemplifies a PRO-ARB infinitive, (60b) - an infinitive with an overt wh-word, (60c) - an infinitive with an overt complementizer, (60d) - an infinitive which is a complement of a noun:

(60) a. **Bylo opasno**
was dangerous
PRO_{ARB} xodit' tam odnomu/ *odin
PRO_{ARB} to-walk there alone-D/ *-N
"It was dangerous to walk alone there"

b. **Viktor ne znaet, kakuju mebel'**
Victor-N not knows which-A furniture-A
PRO pokupat' samomu/ *sam
PRO to-buy himself-D/ *-N
"Victor does not know, which furniture to buy himself"

c. **Viktor** **priexal,** **čtoby** **PRO**
Victor-N came in-order PRO
sdelat' pokupki **samomu/** ***sam**
to-do shopping-A himself-D/ *-N
"Victor came in order to do shopping himself"

d. **Želanie** **Igorja** **PRO** **xodit'**
wish-N Igor-G PRO to-go
v **teatr** **odnomu/** ***odin/** ***odnogo**
in theater-A alone-D/ *-N/ *-G
"Igor's wish to go to the theater alone"

I assume (following Franks & Hornstein (1992) and others) that the agreement of secondary predicates is clause-bound, and that secondary predicates agree in case with the c-commanding subject (see section 5.2 for the discussion of the Case of PRO in participial clauses). Then, these predicates agree with PRO. Therefore, PRO is checked for Dative.[7]

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[7] Object-control and especially subject-control infinitives create a problem for the claim that PRO is always Dative. In an object-control infinitive where PRO is controlled by an Accusative object, secondary predicates may be both Accusative and Dative:

(i) **Marija** **ubedila** **Ivana$_2$**
Mary-N persuaded John$_2$-A
PRO$_2$ pojti **tuda** **odnogo/** **odnomu**
PRO$_2$ to-go there alone-A/ -D
"Mary persuaded John to go there alone"

In subject-control infinitives, secondary predicates can be Nominative but not Dative:

(ii) **Marija$_1$** **xočet** **PRO$_1$** **žit'** **odna/** ***odnoj**
Mary$_1$-N wants PRO$_1$ to-live alone-N/ *-D
"Mary wants to live alone"

It can be claimed that in (i), "alone" can agree either with PRO (Dative) or with the controlling object "John" (Accusative) because both c-command "alone". This claim, however, cannot be extended to (ii) because "alone" in (ii) cannot be Dative.

If overt subjects and PRO are checked for the same Case (Dative), I propose that the same head checks this Case. This proposal is based on the principle of Case Uniformity: in a certain configuration, one Case must always be assigned to (checked for) a DP by one and the same head, no matter what kind of DP gets Case during each instance of Case-assignment. Based on this principle, I cannot claim, following Laurençot (1997), that PRO is checked for Dative by the infinitive Tense. This claim would imply that Dative Case of infinitive subjects can be checked by two different heads: by C for overt Dative subjects and by Tense for PRO. Hence, my proposal is that a null or overt C (but not infinitive T) checks Dative for PRO similar to overt subjects.

The proposal must capture the fact that the null C that checks Dative for overt subjects blocks reflexive movement, but the null C that checks Dative for PRO does not block it. Compare again (43a-b):

(43) a. **(?)Andrej$_1$ objasnil Petru$_2$,**
Andrew$_1$-N explained Peter$_2$-D
čego PRO$_2$ ne rasskazyvat' o sebe$_1$
what-G PRO$_2$ not to-tell about sebja$_1$-P
"Andrew$_1$ explained to Peter what not to tell about him$_1$"

b. ***Andrej$_1$ objasnil Petru$_2$,**
Andrew$_1$-N explained Peter$_2$-D
čego emu$_2$ ne rasskazyvat' o sebe$_1$
what-G he$_2$-D not to-tell about sebja$_1$-P

Babby (1997) proposes that sentences in which secondary predicates are not Dative do not contain infinitives, but the so-called infinitives are actually small-clauses whose subject is the matrix accusative object (for object-control); or they are directly predicated VP-s (for subject-control). These structures do not contain PRO at all, and the question about its Case does not arise. I adopt Babby's analysis without discussing its problems.

"Andrew$_1$ explained to Peter$_2$ what he$_2$ must not tell about him$_1$"

As we saw in (51)-(52), which are the derivation of (43b), the C position is not empty in the LF structure of (43b), but it contains phi-features of the infinitive subject. Since the C position is not empty, reflexive movement is blocked. I propose to stipulate that phi-features of a controlled PRO are **inherently non-interpretable**. That is, these features are only needed for agreement but not for interpretation. Thus, phi-features of a controlled PRO delete at LF after checking. Hence, no features remain in C after all the checking operations in PRO infinitives, and reflexive movement is not blocked.

It is necessary to mention that, first, my stipulation only concerns a controlled PRO but not an arbitrary PRO. I assume that all features of a controlled PRO, including phi-features, are copied from PRO's controller (but PRO has a theta-role independent from its controller). The phi-features of a controlled PRO can delete at LF because they are recovered under the control relation with the PRO controller.[8] Second, my claim that phi-features of PRO are non-interptretable does not imply that no features of PRO are interpretable. In Chomsky (1995), features that can move are defined as morphosyntactic features. The phi-features of PRO are undoubtedly morphosyntactic, therefore they can be pied-piped by the Dative Case feature. However, a controlled PRO has a number of semantic features which are not morphosyntactic. These interpretable features cannot move

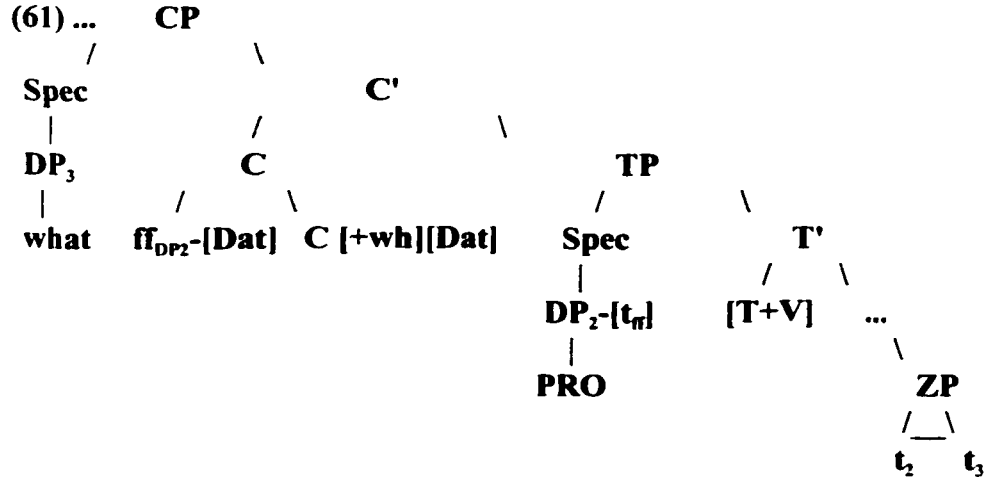
[8] I assume that a control relation is different from a binding relation. In a binding relation, the phi-features of the bindee (overt pronoun/reflexive or pro) are interpretable because a binding relation, unlike a control relation, does not have any mechanism of recovering the phi-features of the bindee.

and thus the Case feature cannot pied-pipe these features when it moves to C. At LF, these features stay *in situ*, in SpecIP, and they cannot block reflexive movement through C.

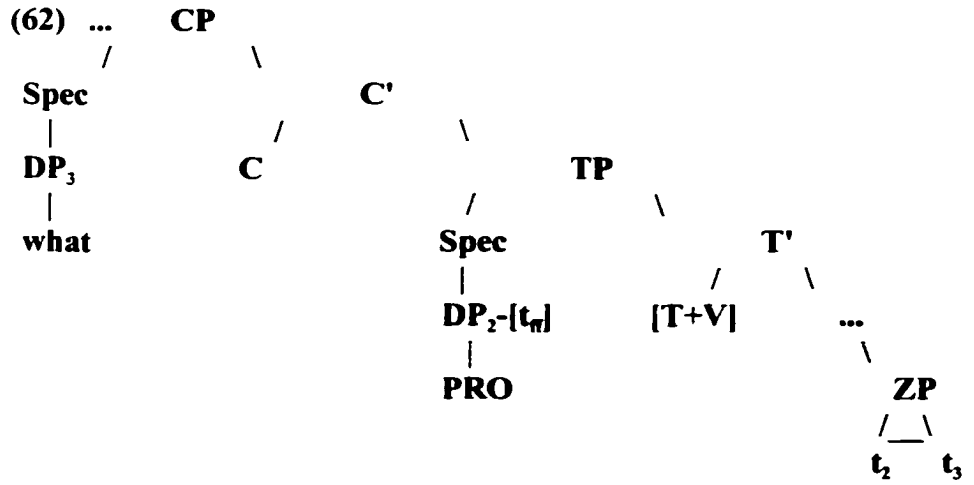
Thus, a null complementizer that checks Dative for an overt DP blocks reflexive movement (because an overt DP has interpretable phi-features), but a null complementizer that checks Dative for a covert DP does not block reflexive movement (because a covert DP has non-interpretable phi-features). The LF structure of (43a) before Case checking is (61):

(43) a.	**(?)Andrej$_1$**	**objasnil**	**Petru$_2$,**		
	Andrew$_1$-N	explained	Peter$_2$-D		
	čego PRO$_2$	**ne**	**rasskazyvat'**	**o**	**sebe$_1$**
	what-G PRO$_2$	not	to-tell	about	sebja$_1$-P

"Andrew$_1$ explained to Peter what not to tell about him$_1$"



During feature-checking, the following operations take place. The [Dat] features of the subject DP and of C delete because they are [-interpretable]. The [+wh] feature also deletes because it is a feature of a functional head (see section 5.3.1.) PRO has non-interpretable phi-features, so no features are left which are not deleted. After feature checking, the structure of (43a) will be (62):



To conclude, I propose that PRO is checked for Dative by a null or overt C similar to overt infinitive subjects. There is a significant difference between a null C which checks Dative for overt subjects and a null C that checks Dative for PRO: the former blocks reflexive movement but the latter does not block the movement. I propose that a controlled PRO inherently has non-interpretable phi-features since these features can be recovered for interpretation under control. Then, in the case of overt subjects, C contains the subject's phi-features after case checking, hence C is not empty and blocks movement. In case of PRO, C is empty after case checking, and the movement is not blocked. That is, I can preserve both the uniformity of Dative Case checking and the blocking effect related to overt but not to PRO subjects.

Chapter 6

Additional issues and contexts of LD binding

In this chapter, I will concentrate on some special cases and contexts of LD binding. In section 6.1, I will look into the issue of multiple LD reflexives; in sections 6.2-6.3, I will discuss certain contexts for which the issue of LD binding is relevant: complement DP-s (section 6.2) and adjectival noun modifiers (AP-s, section 6.3). In section 6.2, I will mention the issue of logophoricity; the data allow us to conclude that logophoricity is not involved in constraints on LD binding in Russian.

6.1 Multiple LD reflexives

Rappaport (1986) mentions that in Russian, LD binding across any number of infinitives is possible. For instance, when **sebja** is embedded into the second (more deeply embedded) infinitive in a sentence with two infinitives, its LD antecedent can be either the subject of the first embedded infinitive (1a), or the subject of the matrix clause (1b).

(2) a. **Advokat$_1$** **posovetoval** **Ivanu$_2$**
lawyer$_1$-N advised John$_2$-D
PRO$_2$ **zapretit'** **svidetelju$_3$**
PRO$_2$ to-disallow witness$_3$-D
PRO$_3$ **rasskazyvat'** **čto-libo** **o** **sebe$_2$**
PRO$_3$ to-tell anything-A about sebja$_2$-P
"The lawyer$_1$ advised John$_2$ to disallow the witness$_3$ to tell anything about him$_2$"

b. **Ivan$_1$** **poprosil** **advokata$_2$**
John$_1$-N asked lawyer$_2$-A

PRO_2	**zapretit'**	**svidetelju$_3$**		
PRO_2	to-disallow	witness$_3$-D		
PRO_3	**rasskazyvat'**	**čto-libo**	**o**	**sebe$_1$**
PRO_3	to-tell	anything-A	about	sebja$_1$-P

"John$_1$ asked the lawyer$_2$ to disallow the witness$_3$ to tell anything about him$_1$"

Cases with more than one LD reflexive in the same clause, such as in (2a-b) and (4a-b)-(5a-b), are relevant for the following reason. If there are two reflexives in one infinitive, first, it is possible that one of the reflexives is local, whereas the other is LD, as in (2a-b). In this case, the mechanism of reflexive movement must explain how the two reflexives move at LF so that one stays in the infinitive whereas the other moves out of this infinitive into the upper clause. Second, if both of the reflexives are LD, they must refer to the same antecedent, as in (4a-b), but they cannot refer to different LD antecedents, as in (5a-b); so they raise as a block - cf. the same generalization on LD binding in Korean in Fiengo & Kim (1971). The mechanism of reflexive movement must allow LF movement of several LD reflexives but constrain this movement so that all the LD reflexives move to the same clause and thus have the same antecedent.

Let us first consider (2a-b), in which there are two reflexives in an infinitive, and one of them is LD, whereas the other reflexive is local. In (2a), sebja-I is LD, whereas sebja-P is local. In (2b), sebja-P is LD, whereas sebja-I is local.

(2) a.

Barynja$_1$	**zapretila**	**služanke$_2$**			
mistress$_2$-N	disallowed	servant$_2$-D.FEM			
PRO_2	**razgovarivat'**	**s**	**soboj$_1$**	**o**	**sebe$_2$**
PRO_2	to-talk	with	sebja$_1$-I	about	sebja$_2$-P

"The mistress$_1$ disallowed the servant$_2$ to talk with her$_1$ about herself$_2$"

b.

Medsestra$_1$	**zapretila**	**bol'nomu$_2$**			
nurse$_2$-N	disallowed	patient$_2$-D			
PRO_2	**vslux**	**razgovarivat'**	**s**	**soboj$_2$**	**o**	**sebe$_1$**
PRO_2	aloud	to-talk	with	sebja$_2$-I	about	sebja$_1$-P

"The nurse$_1$ disallowed the patient$_2$ to talk aloud with himself$_2$ about her$_1$."

Examples (2a-b) show that no superiority effects are involved in licensing LD vs. local binding: whichever of sebja-I and sebja-P is more deeply embedded, either can move up to the matrix clause, whereas the other stays in the infinitive.

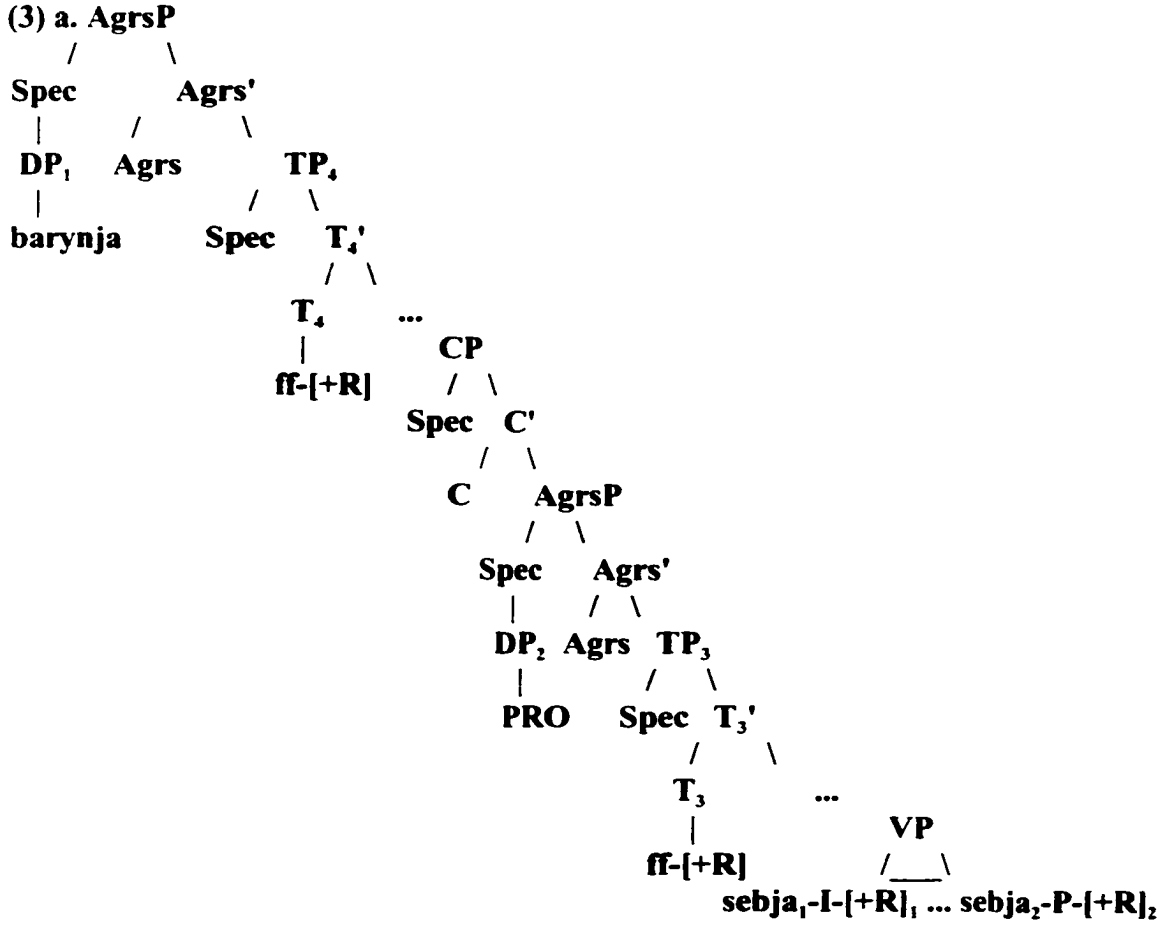
According to Chomsky (1995, chapter 4), when a feature moves, it pied-pipes with it other features of the same head. Suppose, one of the reflexives in (2a-b) has the feature $[+R]_1$, whereas the other reflexive has the feature $[+R]_2$. $[+R]_1$ has to move up to the matrix clause, and $[+R]_2$ has to stay in the infinitive. In order to achieve that, $[+R]_1$ and $[+R]_2$ must move to different heads inside the infinitive. If $[+R]_1$ and $[+R]_2$ move to the same head H=T, one of them has to adjoin to the other but each of them cannot adjoin to T directly (this is prohibited by the Antisymmetry theory that I adopt in section 3.2) Suppose, $[+R]_1$ adjoins to T first. Then, both of $[+R]_1$ and $[+R]_2$ will have to move up to the matrix clause. This is because the subject of the matrix clause has a [+R] feature which will attract $[+R]_1$, and $[+R]_1$ will move up to the matrix clause and pied-pipe $[+R]_2$.

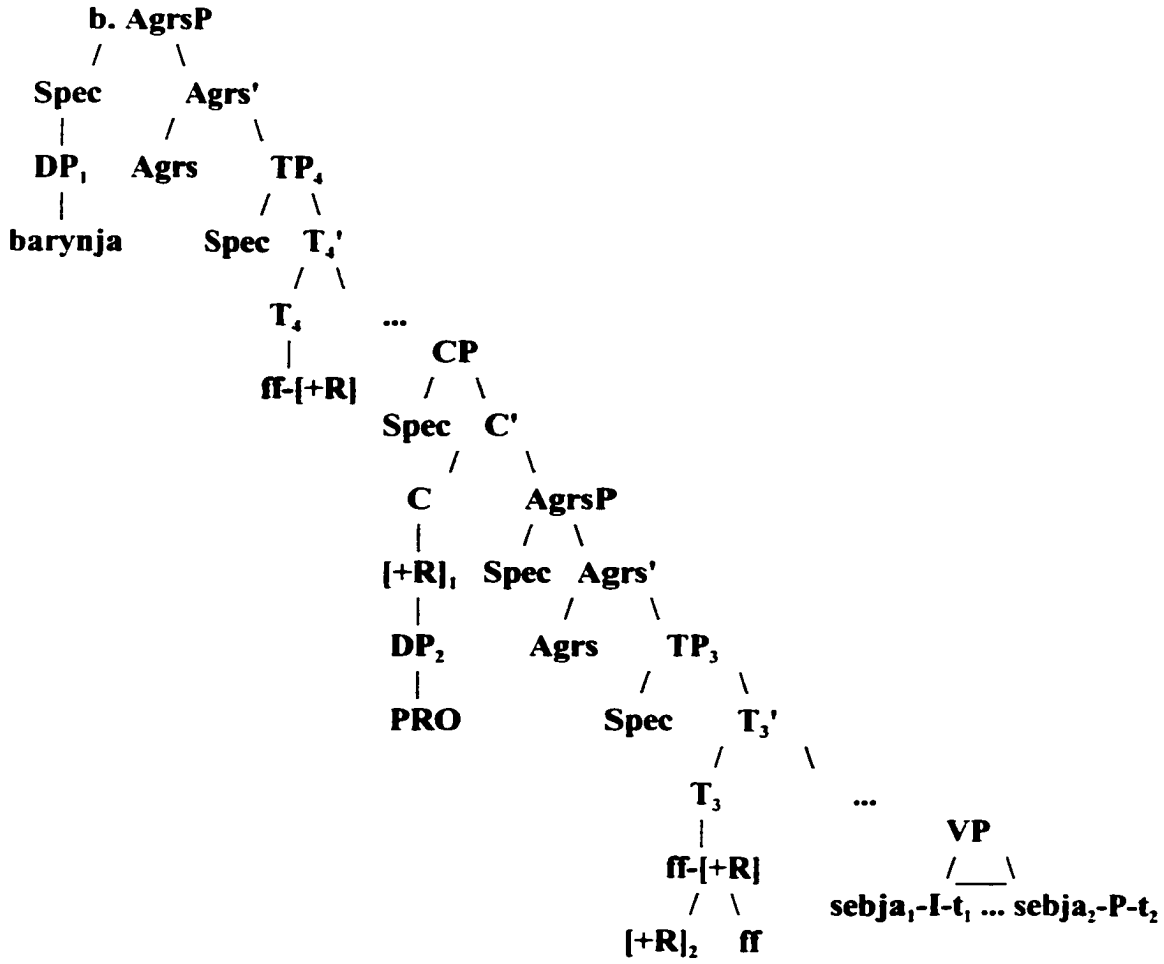
Recall that I propose in section 3.2 that [+R] does not have to move through all the T heads on its way to its antecedent. [+R] has to move through all the C heads which are between the reflexive and its antecedent (this is the escape-hatch for reflexive movement in Pica's (1987, 1991) theory). However, [+R] has moves to only one T, that is the T of the clause in which the reflexive's antecedent is the subject.

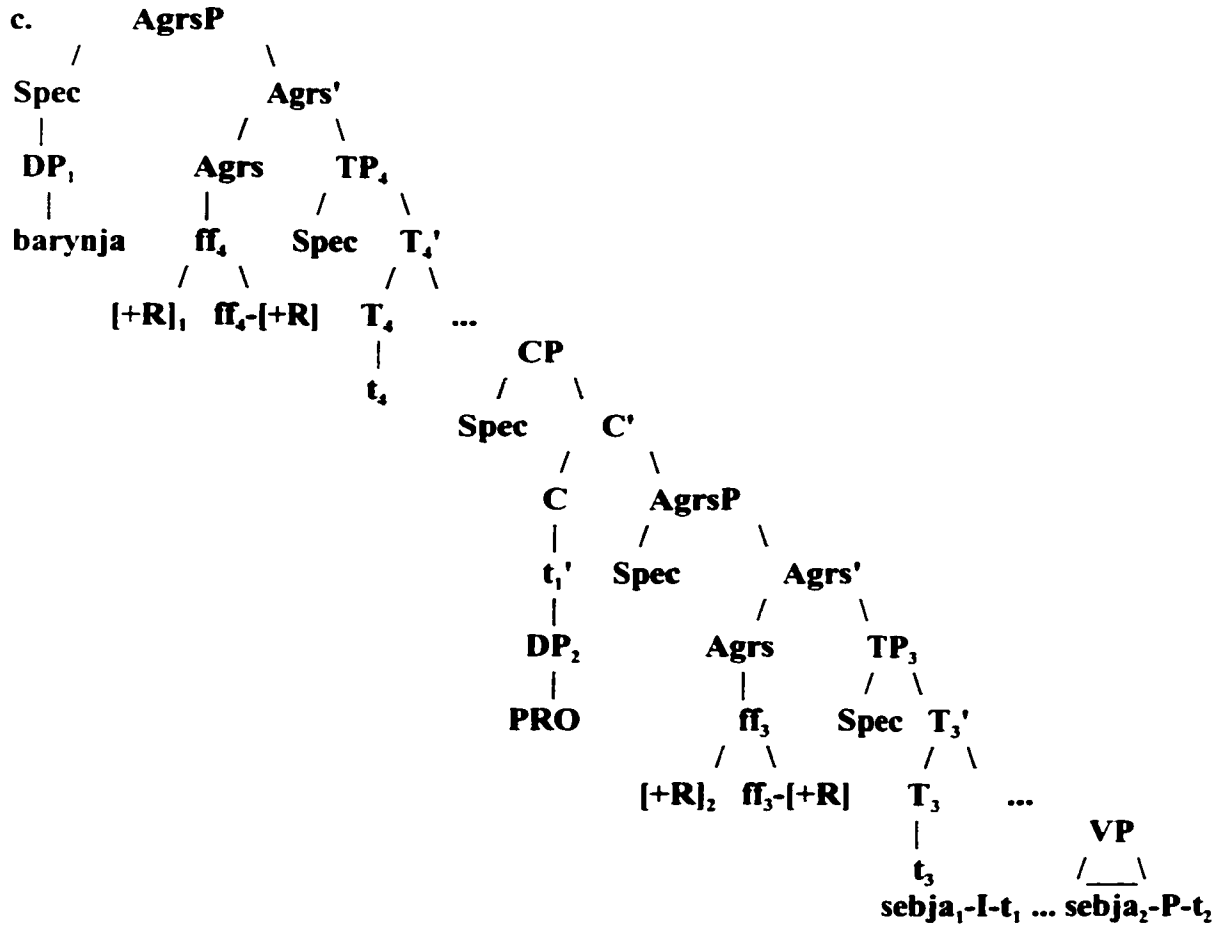
This proposal accounts for the data in (2a-b). Suppose, sebja-I has the feature $[+R]_1$ (it is LD), and sebja-P has the feature $[+R]_2$ (it is local), as in (2a). Then, $[+R]_1$ does not have to move to the T_3 head of the infinitive but it will move directly to the C head of the

infinitive; then, $[+R]_1$ will move to the matrix T_4. $[+R]_2$ will move to the T_3 of the infinitive and stay in the infinitive. The derivation of (2a) is (3a-c).

(3) a.







Structure (3a) is the structure of (2a) before feature movement. In (3b) $[+R]_1$ moves to the embedded C, whereas $[+R]_2$ moves to the embedded T_3. In (3c), $[+R]_1$ moves to the matrix T_4, and the features ff_4 of T_4 move to the matrix Agrs. The ff_4 features of T_4 pied-pipe $[+R]_1$, and, as a result, $[+R]_1$ can be checked with the [+R] feature of the matrix T_4. $[+R]_2$ moves to the embedded Agrs; it is pied-piped by the ff_3 fetures of T_3. $[+R]_2$ can be checked with the [+R] feature of the embedded T_3.

Now let us consider examples with multiple LD reflexives. In (4a-b), the reflexives sebja-I and sebja-P have the same antecedent: the subject of the first embedded infinitive in (4a) and the matrix subject in (4b).

(4) a. **Advokat$_1$** **posovetoval** **Ivanu$_2$**
lawyer$_1$-N advised John$_2$-D
PRO$_2$ **zapretit'** **svidetelju$_3$**
PRO$_2$ to-disallow witness$_3$-D
PRO$_3$ **razgovarivat'** **s** **soboj$_2$** **o** **sebe$_2$**
PRO$_3$ to-talk with sebja$_2$-I about sebja$_2$-P
"The lawyer$_1$ advised John$_2$ to disallow the witness$_3$ to talk to him$_2$ about him$_2$"

b. **Ivan$_1$** **poprosil** **advokata$_2$**
John$_1$-N asked lawyer$_2$-A
PRO$_2$ **zapretit'** **svidetelju$_3$**
PRO$_2$ to-disallow witness$_3$-D
PRO$_3$ **razgovarivat'** **s** **soboj$_1$** **o** **sebe$_1$**
PRO$_3$ to-talk with sebja$_1$-I about sebja$_1$-P
"John$_1$ asked the lawyer$_2$ to disallow the witness$_3$ to talk to him$_1$ about him$_1$"

As (5a-b) show, however, sebja-I and soboj-I cannot refer to different LD antecedents: in (5a), sebja-I cannot refer to the matrix subject, wheras sebja-P refers to the subject of the first embedded infinitive; in (5b), sebja-I cannot refer to the subject of the first embedded infinitive, whereas sebja-P refers to the matrix subject.[1]

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[1] The constraint mentioned above does not arise in case of two pronominals bound by a long-distance antecedent or in case of one LD bound reflexive and one LD bound pronominal. In both cases, the pronominals or the pronominal and the reflexive can refer to different LD antecedents:

(i) a. **Advokat$_1$** **posovetoval** **Ivanu$_2$**
lawyer$_1$-N advised John$_2$-D
PRO$_2$ **zapretit'** **svidetelju$_3$**
PRO$_2$ to-disallow witness$_3$-D
PRO$_3$ **razgovarivat'** **s** **nim** **o** **nem**
PRO$_3$ to-talk with he-I about he-P
"The lawyer$_1$ advised John$_2$ to disallow the witness$_3$ to talk to him about him"

b. **Advokat$_1$** **posovetoval** **Ivanu$_2$**
lawyer$_1$-N advised John$_2$-D
PRO$_2$ **zapretit'** **svidetelju$_3$**
PRO$_2$ to-disallow witness$_3$-D
PRO$_3$ **razgovarivat'** **s** **soboj** **o** **nem**
PRO$_3$ to-talk with sebja-I about he-P
"The lawyer$_1$ advised John$_2$ to disallow the witness$_3$ to talk to him about him"

(5) a. ***Advokat$_1$ posovetoval Ivanu$_2$**
lawyer$_1$-N advised John$_2$-D
PRO$_2$ zapretit' svidetelju$_3$
PRO$_2$ to-disallow witness$_3$-D
PRO$_3$ razgovarivat' s soboj$_1$ o sebe$_2$
PRO$_3$ to-talk with sebja$_1$-Iabout sebja$_2$-P
"The lawyer$_1$ advised John$_2$ to disallow the witness$_3$ to talk to him$_1$ about him$_2$"

b. ***Ivan$_1$ poprosil advokata$_2$**
John$_1$-N asked lawyer$_2$-A
PRO$_2$ zapretit' svidetelju$_3$
PRO$_2$ to-disallow witness$_3$-D
PRO$_3$ razgovarivat' s soboj$_2$ o sebe$_1$
PRO$_3$ to-talk with sebja$_2$-Iabout sebja$_1$-P
"John$_1$ asked the lawyer$_2$ to disallow the witness$_3$ to talk to him$_2$ about him$_1$"

The contrast between (4a-b) and (5a-b) can be captured by the mechanism of feature movement proposed in section 3.2. If sebja-I and sebja-P must refer to the same LD antecedent, it means that their reflexive features [+R]$_1$ and [+R]$_2$ must get to one head before they move out of the second embedded infinitive. Since [+R] must move through all the C heads between the reflexive and its LD antecedent, both of [+R]$_1$ and [+R]$_2$ will have to move to the C head of the second embedded infinitive. No matter whether [+R]$_1$ or [+R]$_2$ moves to C first, [+R]$_1$ and [+R]$_2$ will form a feature bundle since they have to adjoin to each other. Then, the [+R] feature which adjoined to C first will always pied-pipe the other [+R] feature during its further movement. Thus, after [+R]$_1$ and [+R]$_2$ adjoin to the second embedded C, they cannot split. Suppose, [+R]$_1$ adjoined to C first, and then [+R]$_2$ adjoined to [+R]$_2$. When the [+R]$_1$-[+R]$_2$ bundle reaches some T (for instance, the matrix T$_4$ in (4b)), [+R]$_1$ gets checked with the [+R] feature of this T. Since [+R]$_1$ is interpretable, it will not

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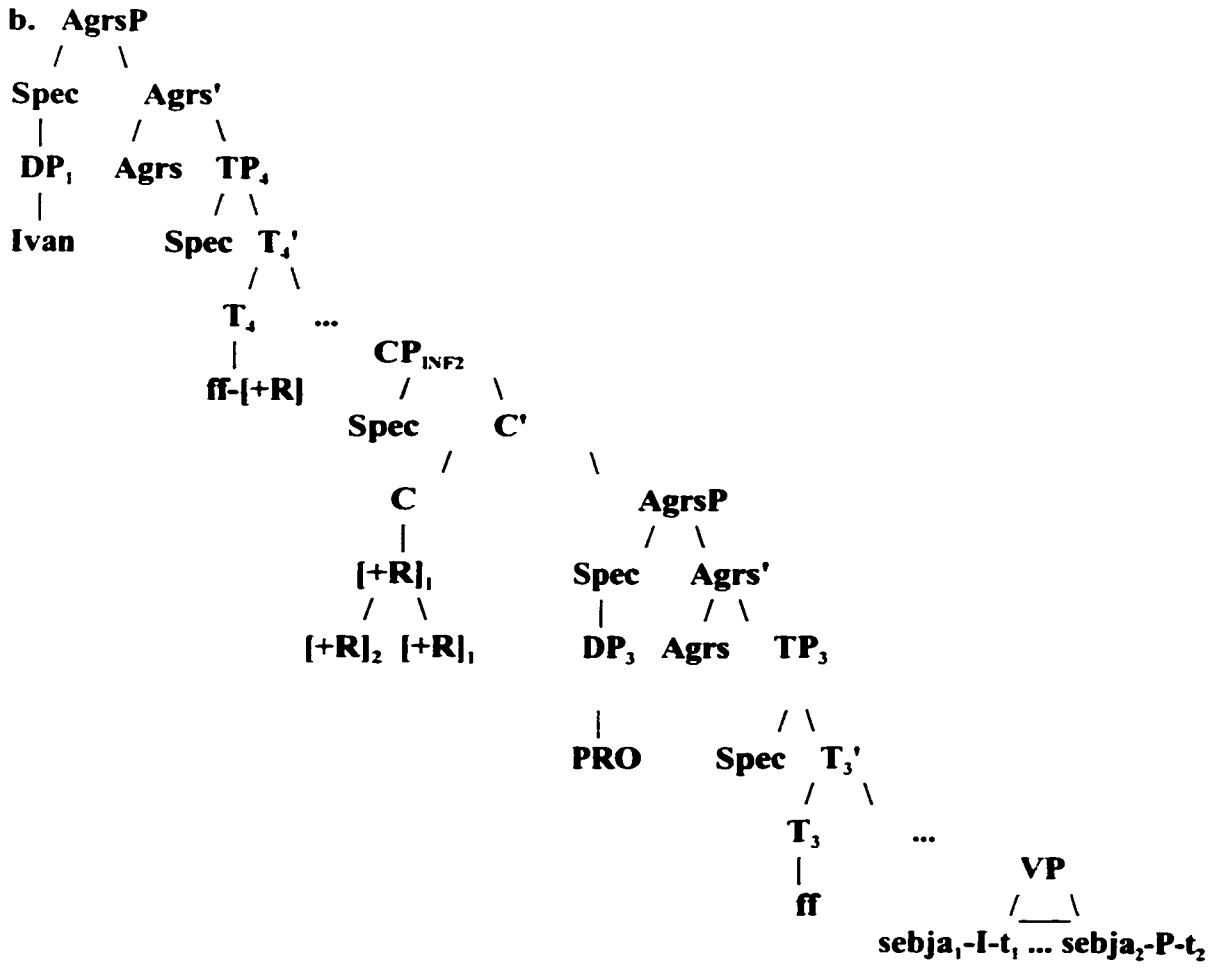
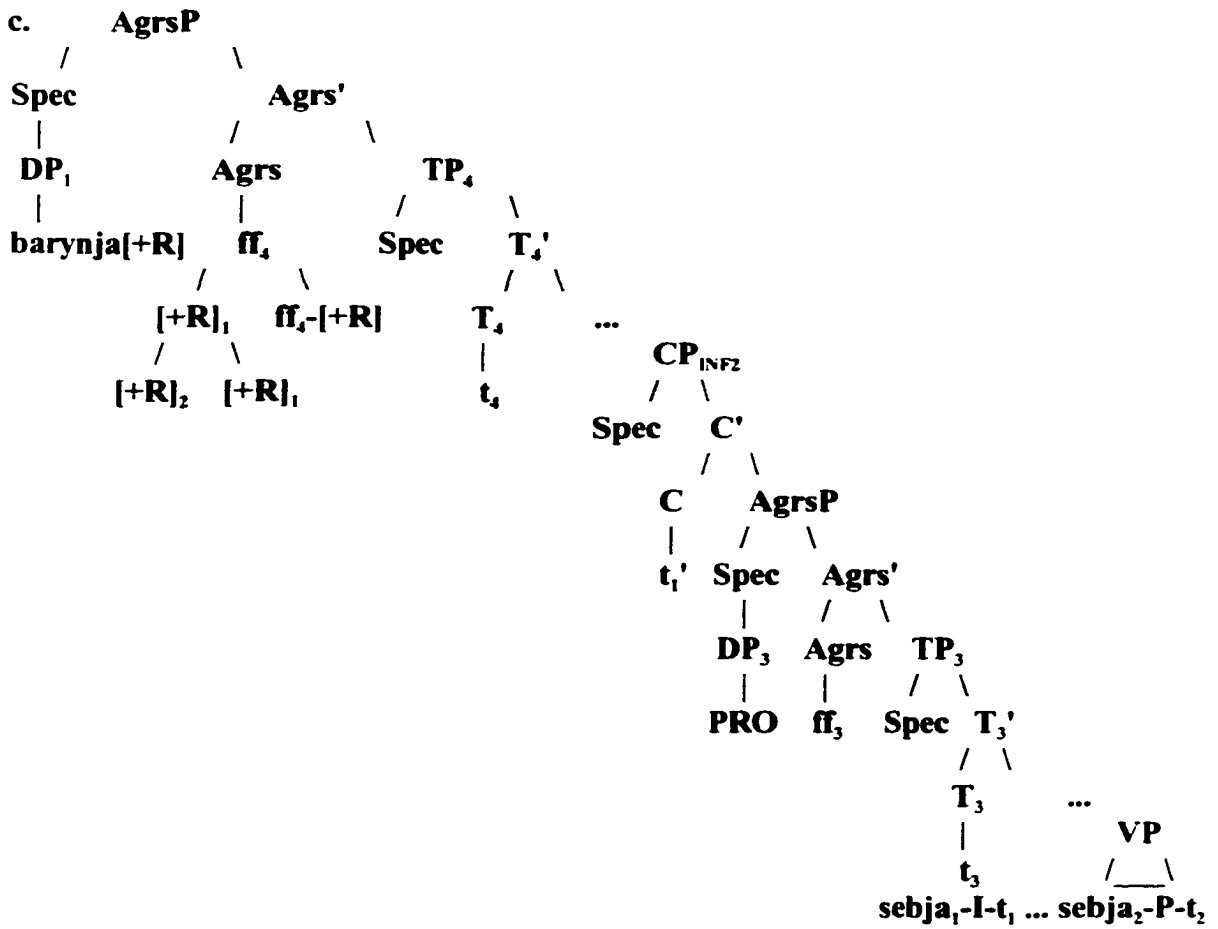
In (i a), either of the instances of "he" in the second embedded clause can be bound both by **advokat$_1$** or by **PRO$_2$** , they do not have to have the same antecedent. The same holds about **sebja** and "he" in (i b).

delete after checking. $[+R]_2$ will not be able to move further: it will be too deeply embedded under $[+R]_1$ and not visible for further movement. Hence, $[+R]_2$ has to be checked with the same T as $[+R]_1$, or the derivation will crash. The derivation for (4b) is (6a-c).

(6) a.





Structure (6a) is the structure of (4b) before feature movement. In (6b), $[+R]_1$ moves to C of CP_{INF2} (the second embedded infinitive), and then $[+R]_2$ adjoins to $[+R]_1$. I skip the next step, in which $[+R]_1$ and $[+R]_2$ move to C of CP_{INF1} (the first embedded infinitive). In (6c), $[+R]_1$ and $[+R]_2$ move to T_4 of the matrix clause and move to Agrs of the matrix clause pied-piped by ff_4 of T_4. Then, $[+R]_1$ and $[+R]_2$ get checked with the [+R] feature of T_4.

A problem for the above analysis arises when we consider cases in which there are two embedded clauses and two LD reflexives in each of these clauses. These reflexives can refer to the same antecedent, that is, to the matrix subject:

(7) **Ivan$_1$** **poprosil** **Mariju$_2$**
John$_1$-N asked Mary$_2$-A
PRO$_2$ **nanjat'** **dlja** **sebja$_1$** **povara$_3$**
PRO$_2$ to-hire for sebja$_1$-G cook$_3$-A
PRO$_3$ **gotovit'** **sebe$_1$** **obed**
PRO$_3$ to-cook sebja$_1$-D dinner-A
"John$_1$ asked Mary$_2$ to hire for him$_1$ a cook to cook dinner for him$_1$"

This result is predicted by my account: the [+R] feature of the most embedded **sebe$_1$** moves through the second embedded C and then through the first embedded C. The [+R] feature of the first embedded **sebja$_1$** has to move through the first embedded C as well. Then, these two [+R] features adjoin to each other in this C and move further together.

The interpretation in which the sebja-D (embedded in the second embedded infinitive) refers to the subject of the first embedded infinitive PRO$_2$, whereas sebja-G (embedded in the first infinitive) refers to the matrix subject **Ivan$_1$**, as in (8), is impossible.

(8) ***Ivan$_1$** **poprosil** **Mariju$_2$**
John$_1$-N asked Mary$_2$-A
PRO$_2$ **nanjat'** **dlja** **sebja$_1$** **povara$_3$**
PRO$_2$ to-hire for sebja$_1$-G cook$_3$-A
PRO$_3$ **gotovit'** **sebe$_2$** **obed**
PRO$_3$ to-cook sebja$_2$-D dinner-A
"John$_1$ asked Mary$_2$ to hire for him$_1$ a cook to cook dinner for her$_2$"

Theoretically, the interpretation in (8) must be allowed. That is, The [+R] feature of **sebe$_2$** must pass through the second embedded C, whereas the [+R] feature of **sebja$_1$** must pass through the first embedded C. Then, these two features never adjoin to each other, and they can have different final landing sites: the first embedded T and the matrix T. Then, (8) is predicted to be grammatical. I leave this problem open.

To conclude, I have shown how my account of LF feature movement accounts for cases with multiple LD reflexives. If two reflexives occur in the same embedded clause, one

of them can be local and the other LD for the following reason. The LD reflexive will skip the local T and move directly to the local C; the local reflexive will move to the local T. So the two reflexives will not get to the same head and form a feature bundle. Hence, they do not pied-pipe each other, and they can have different antecedents.

If two LD reflexives occur in the same embedded clause, they form a feature bundle in the C head of this clause and can move further only together as a feature bundle. Thus, these LD reflexive can have only the same LD antecedent but not different LD antecedents. If two LD reflexives are in different clauses (in the first and in the second embedded clause) and have the same LD antecedent, the one which is deeper embedded moves one clause up and adjoin to the other one; then, they move up further as a cluster.

6.2 Binding inside complement DP-s

It is well-known that in Russian, not only clause subjects but also DP-subjects can bind reflexives (see Rappaport (1986), (1992), Progovac (1993a, 1993b), Franks & Progovac (1992)). (Ia-b) show this option:

(9) a. **moi$_i$** **rasskazy** **o** **sebe$_i$**
my$_i$-N-PL stories-N about sebja$_i$-P
"my stories about myself"

b. **ego$_i$** **vnimanie** **k** **sebe$_i$**
his$_i$ attention-N to sebja$_i$-D
"his attention to himself"

Following Picallo (1994), the possessive pronouns which are DP subjects in (18a-b) are located in SpecAgrP/ NumP to which their stem raises from SpecNP (cf. a similar approach

to Russian possessive pronouns by Babyonyshev (1996)). Rappaport (1992) points out that the Genitive complement of the noun which denotes the agent can also bind **sebja**:

(10)	a.	**rasskazy**	**Ivana$_i$**	**o**	**sebe$_i$**
		stories-N	John$_i$-G	about	sebja$_i$-P

"John's stories about himself"

	b.	**vnimanie**	**Marii$_i$**	**k**	**sebe$_i$**
		attention-N	Mary$_i$-G	to	sebja$_i$-D

"Mary's attention to herself"

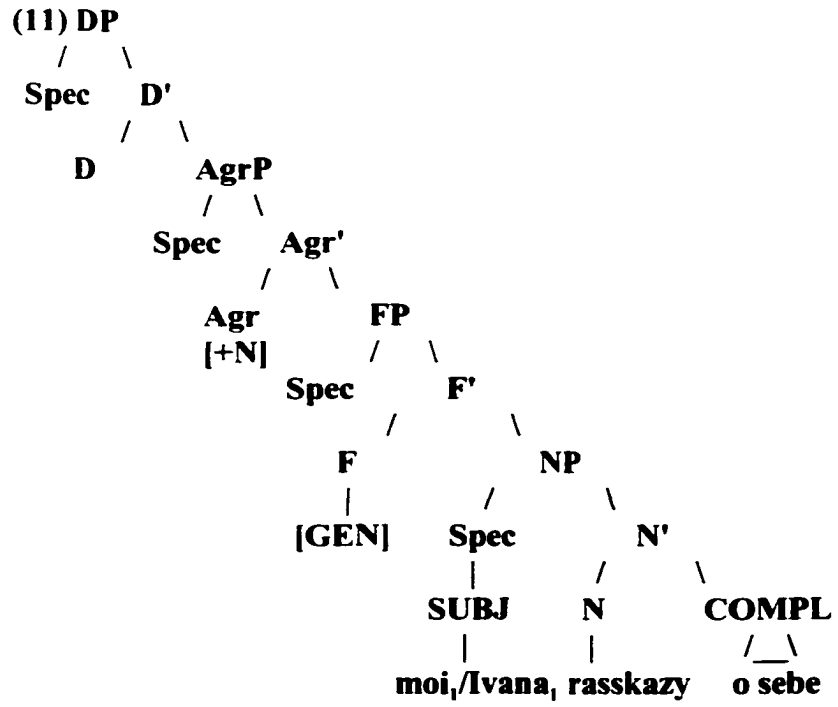
I assume that binding by a subject inside a nominal is similar to binding by a subject inside a clause in that reflexives bound by the subject of the DP raise at LF. If the projection in a DP which most closely corresponds to TP is NumP (Kayne, class lectures, Fall 1998), reflexives bound inside a DP as in (18a-b) and (19a-b), are supposed to raise to Num (or, if Number and Gender are included into Agr, to Agr).

In section 6.2.1, I will propose my structure of a DP based on the data on binding; in section 6.2.2, I will compare binding inside a DP and binding in clauses, and in section 6.2.3, I will discuss the issue of whether logophoricity is involved in LD binding in Russian.

6.2.1 The structure of DP in Russian based on the data on binding

I will present the structure of DP I assume which is consistent with LF reflexive raising. I basically follow Cinque (1994) (and Picallo (1994); Bosque & Picallo (1996)) in assuming the structure of DP as in (20) (which represents the base-generated structure of (9)-(10)). First, I assume only one projection AgrP instead of multiple projections GenP, NumP, etc. for the purposes of simplicity. Multiple projections are not needed for my purposes. Then,

[+R] undergoes movement to Agr, which has a [+R] feature, instead of movement to Num.



I assume that Genitive of the subject DP is structural, and propose that it is checked by a functional head F. The head noun **rasskazy** undergoes overt movement to F and then to Agr. Both the possessive adjective **moi** in (18a) and the genitive agent **Ivana** in (19a) are generated in SpecNP. However, these two undergo overt movement to different landing sites. The possessive **moi** moves to SpecAgrP where it agrees with the head noun in Case and phi-features[2,3]. The genitive agent **Ivana** raises to SpecFP and checks Genitive there.

---

[2] I do not introduce an independent projection KP for Case-agreement. This is, first, because we already have the special Case projection FP for genitive Case checking of **Ivan**, and, second, because I believe that Case agreement proceeds together with phi-feature agreement (it is not an independent operation, unlike Case-checking).

[3] Since only the head of the possessive **moi** moves to SpecAgrP but not the maximal projection of the possessive, we face the HMC problem of crossing the F head. The possessive cannot stop in F because it would acquire Genitive there, but actually it agrees in Case with the head noun. Even though the possessive gets Case in SpecAgrP (that is, it somehow checks or acquires Case-features via agreement), the possessive cannot land in

Rappaport (1992) presents the following data on binding in Russian and the account of these data. According to his informants' judgments, agentive vs. thematic properties of Genitive complements influence their ability to bind reflexives. Whereas both agentive and thematic possessive pronouns can bind reflexives, only Genitive complements which are agents but not themes can do so. Cf. (12), where both binding by the clause subject and local binding (by the Genitive agent) are possible, and (13), in which only binding by the clause subject is possible.

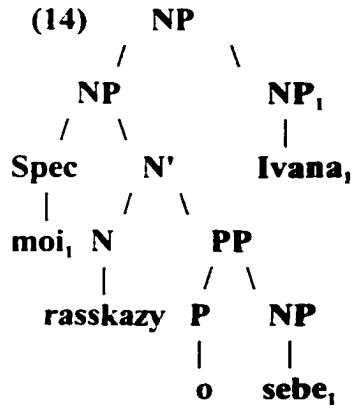
(12) **Petr$_1$** **ljubit** **[rasskazy**
Peter$_1$-N likes [stories-A
Ivana$_2$ **o** **sebe$_{1/2}$]**
John$_1$-G about sebja$_{1/2}$-P]
"Peter$_1$ likes John$_2$'s stories about him$_1$/himself$_2$"

(13) **Oni$_1$** **soprotivljalis'** **[nakazaniju**
they$_1$-N resisted [punishment-D
Ivana$_2$ **svoim$_{1/*2}$** **otcom]**
John$_2$-G sebja$_{1/*2}$-I-POSS father-I]
"They resisted the punishment of John by their/*his father"

Rappaport (1992) proposes that the Genitive agent DP-s (**Ivana** and **Marii** in (10a-b) and **Ivana** in (12)) are right-adjuncts to the NP/DP. Genitive themes (**Ivana** in (13)) do not raise to the right-adjoined to NP/DP position but stays in the complement of N position. Then, the structure of (9a)/(10a) is (14).

SpecFP because its Case features would not match the Case-features of F - in the examples above, Nominative vs. Genitive).

(14)



Structure (14) implies that the agent Genitive DP is not lower in the DP structure than the possessive pronoun (which is in SpecNP). Rappoport proposes his structure for the following reason. According to Rappaport's structure (14), the agentive "John" in (12) raises to the right-adjoined to NP position NP_1, but the theme "John" in (13) is unable to raise to that position.

My judgments and the judgments of my informants differ from judgments presented by Rappaport. According to my judgments, there is no difference between agents and themes in terms of binding: both agent and theme can bind a reflexive either from a possessive pronoun position or from the Genitive complement position. Then, the binding of **svoim** (with the index "2") by **Ivan** in (13) is grammatical. The following example also illustrate my point:

(15) a. **Telefonnyj zvonok Ivana$_1$**
telephone-ADJ call-N John$_1$-G
k svoej$_1$ materi
to sebja$_1$-D-POSS mother-D
"John$_1$'s telephone call to his$_1$ mother"

b. (?) **Ubijstvo Ivana$_1$ Petrom**
assassination-N John$_1$-G Peter-I
v svoej$_1$ krovati
in sebja$_1$-P-POSS bed-P
"John$_1$'s assassination by Peter in his$_1$ bed"

c.	**Smert'**	**Ivana$_i$**	**v**	**svoej$_i$**	**krovati**
	death-N	John$_i$-G	in	sebja$_i$-P-POSS	bed-P

"John$_i$'s death in his$_i$ bed"

In (15a-c), "John" is in the Genitive complement position. Only in (15a) "John" is an agent; in (15b) "John" is a theme; in (15c) with an unaccusative verb "John" is also a theme. Thus, the theta-role does not influence binding properties of Genitive complements: any Genitive complement can bind a reflexive.

The same holds for possessive pronouns: both agent and theme pronouns can bind a reflexive:

(16)	**a.**	**moj$_i$**	**rasskaz**	**o**	**svoej$_i$**	**materi**
		my$_i$-N-POSS	story-N	about	sebja$_i$-P-POSS	mother-P

"my$_i$ story about my$_i$ mother"

b.	**moe$_i$**	**presledovanie**		**svoej$_i$**	**materju**
	my$_i$-N-POSS	persecution-N		sebja$_i$-I-POSS	mother-I

"my$_i$ persecution by my$_i$ mother"

c.	**moja$_i$**	**smert'**	**v**	**svoej$_i$**	**krovati**
	my$_i$-N-POSS	death-N	in	sebja$_i$-P-POSS	bed-P

"my$_i$ death in my$_i$ bed"

In (16a), **svoej** is bound by an agent possessive pronoun; in (16b), it is bound by a theme possessive pronoun; in (16c), it is also bound by a theme ("death" is an unaccusative predicate). Thus, any prenominal possessive pronoun and any postnominal Genitive complement can bind a reflexive.

This conclusion is captured by my structure (11), proposed above. Any prenominal possessive pronoun raises to SpecAgrP (either from the subject or from the object position); any postnominal Genitive complement raises to SpecFP (also from either position). The N head raises overtly to Agr (attracted by the strong [+N] feature of Agr), and then the surface

word order is captured.

Then, the following question arises: is there [+R] feature raising when binding inside a DP takes place; and if it does, to which head does the [+R] of the reflexive move: to Agr or to F? I propose that Agr of a DP has the weak non-interpretable [+R] feature, and the [+R] of the reflexive always moves to Agr (both when the binder is in SpecAgrP and in SpecFP).

My proposal has the following two reasons. First, my null hypothesis is that binding of **sebja** in a DP has the same mechanism as binding of **sebja** in a clause. Second, LD binding inside an infinitive by a DP possessive or complement is possible (see section 6.2.3, examples (28a-b)). I would like to maintain a unitary account of LD binding by clause subjects and DP possessives/complements. Thus, if both local binding inside a DP and LD binding by an antecedent inside a DP is possible, it is plausible to adopt a clause-like movement account of binding inside DP.

This solution runs into the following problem. In all the cases I considered above, at LF, the **sebja**'s antecedent is in the Spec-Head relation with the head which has the [+R] feature. For instance, in finite clauses, the subjects, which is the antecedent, is in SpecAgrsP, whereas the [+R] feature moves to Agrs together with the features of T at LF. If **sebja**'s antecedency relaion can be structurally implemented, the configuration will be the following: the antecedent of **sebja** is in Spec-Head relations with the [+R] feature at LF. If at LF, the Genitive complement is in SpecFP, whereas the [+R] feature is in Agr, this configuration will not hold.

I propose that the relation between the antecedent and **sebja** can also be established if at LF, the antecedent is either in Spec of a head X immediately dominated by a projection

of a head Y with the [+R] feature or in a Spec of a head Z (or in the head Z itself) immediately dominating this projection.[4] Besides the cases of binding by Genitive complements in a DP presented above, that would account for the distribution of reflexive vs. pronominal possessives discussed in section 6.2.2.

To conclude, I have shown that binding inside DP is possible from two positions: SpecAgrP (by a possessive pronoun) and SpecFP (by a Genitive complement). The theta role of the DP in either of these positions does not influence the binding possibilities of this DP.

6.2.2 Binding inside a DP compared with binding inside a clause

An important question is the relation of the structure of DP proposed in (11) in section 6.2.1 with the structure of a clause. As I mentioned in section 6.2.1, Num in Agr of a DP can be related to T in a clause. I would like to look at the data on distributions of reflexives vs. pronominals in DP-s and in Russian clauses base on Kazenin's (2000) study. That would allow us to make correlations between the structure of a DP and the structure of certain types of clauses.

Kazenin's (2000) study concerns possessive reflexives, such as **svoj** "sebja-POSS.NOM.SG.MASC". Such reflexives are always embedded into a DP. According to the LGB version of Binding Theory, an NP/DP is a governing category, and thus the complementary distribution between anaphors and pronominals breaks down in these

[4] The second conjunct of my proposal is based on Schoollemmer's (1995) proposal that matrix Dative subjects are in SpecTopP, which dominates AgrsP.

environments, such as in the English examples (17a-b) (see the discussion of such examples in chapter 1):

(17) a. **John$_1$ likes [$_{NP}$ pictures of him$_1$/himself$_1$]**

b. **The children$_1$ like [$_{NP}$ pictures of each other$_1$]**

In Russian, prenominal possessive reflexive pronouns or postnominal complement reflexive pronouns are used in contexts such as (17a):

(18) a. **svoi** **kartiny**
sebja-POSS.N.PL pictures-N
"pictures of oneself/pictures by oneself/oneself's pictures"

b. **kartiny** **sebja**
pictures-N sebja-POSS.N.PL.
"pictures of oneself"

Russian differs from English in that in a configuration like the one in (18a), only a reflexive but not a pronominal can be used if the reflexive's binder is a Nominative subject (either active or passive):

(19) a. **Ivan$_1$** **ljubit**
John$_1$-N loves
[svoju$_1$/ ***ego$_1$** **sestru]**
[sebja$_1$-POSS.A.SG.FEM/ *his$_1$-DFT sister-A]
"John$_1$ loves his$_1$ sister"

b. **Ivan$_1$** **byl** **ubit**
John$_1$-N was killed
[svoej$_1$/ ***ego$_1$** **plemjannicej]**
[sebja$_1$-POSS.I.SG.FEM/ *his$_1$-DFT niece-A]
"John$_1$ was killed by his$_1$ niece"

However, in case when the binder is not a Nominative subject, both the possessive reflexive and the possessive pronominal are possible:

(20) a. **Ivanu$_1$** **bylo** **tesno**
John$_1$-D was-DFT not-enough-room-ADV

	v	**[svoej$_1$/**	**ego$_1$**	**kvartire]**
	in	[sebja$_1$-POSS.P.SG.FEM/	his$_1$-DFT	apartment-P]

"John$_1$ did not have enough room in his$_1$ apartment"

b.	**U**	**Ivana$_1$**	**ne**	**bylo**	**very**
	at	John$_1$-G	not	was-DFT	belief-G
	v	**[svoj$_1$/**		**ego$_1$**	**uspex]**
	in	[sebja$_1$-POSS.A.SG.FEM/		his$_1$-DFT	success-A]

"John$_1$ did not have any belief in his$_1$ success"

c.	**Ivan$_1$**	**zapretil**	**Petru$_2$**	
	John$_1$-N	disallowed	Peter$_2$-D	
	[PRO$_2$	**provodit'**	**eksperimenty**	
	[PRO$_2$-D	to-conduct	experiments-A	
	nad	**[svoim$_2$/**	**ego$_2$**	**otcom]]**
	over	[sebja$_2$-POSS.I.SG.MASC/	his$_2$-DFT	father-I]]

"John$_1$ disallowed Peter$_2$ to conduct experiments on his$_2$ father"

In (20a), the local binder of the reflexive is a Dative "subject"; in (20b) it is a Genitive complement of a topicalized PP; in (20c), it is a Dative PRO. None of the binders in (20a-c) is in SpecAgrsP at LF. According to a common view (cf. Schoollemmer (1994) and the discussion in section 8.2), a clause-initial DP in a matrix clause is not a structural subject but rather a topic. Thus, **Ivan** in (20a) cannot be on SpecAgrsP at LF; it is rather in the Spec of a TopP projection above AgrsP. The same holds for (20b): the topicalized PP cannot be in the SpecAgrsP but only in the Spec of the TopP at LF. In (20c), as proposed in section 5.3.2, the features of PRO are in C at LF (but not in SpecAgrsP or SpecTP). As a whole, the condition that the antecedent is in the Spec of a head which has the [+R] feature at LF is not obeyed in any of (20a-c).

Binding by a possessive reflexive or a Genitive comlement inside a DP has the same property as binding in a clause by a non-Nominative subject: there is no complementary distribution between reflexives and pronominals embedded into a DP:

(21) a. **telefonnyj** **zvonok** **Ivana$_i$**
telephone-ADJ call-N John$_i$-G
k **svoej$_i$/** **ego$_i$** **materi**
to sebja$_i$-D-POSS/ his$_i$-DFT mother-D
"John$_i$'s telephone call to his$_i$ mother"

b. **ego$_i$** **rasskaz**
his$_i$-N-POSS story-N
o **svoej$_i$/** **ego$_i$** **materi**
about sebja$_i$-P-POSS/ his$_i$-DFT mother-P
"his$_i$ story about his$_i$ mother"

Kazenin (1999) proposes the following explanation for the contrast between Nominative antecedents in a clause vs. non-Nominative antecedents in a clause and antecedents inside a DP: the former trigger verb-agreement by raising to SpecAgrsP, whereas the latter do not do that. I adopt Kazenin's explanation. As I pointed out above, the binder is not in SpecAgrsP at LF in any of (20a-c). In a DP, there is no AgrsP at all because none of DP-internal DP-s trigger verb agreement (cases in which the reflexive binder is a Nominative possessive, as in (9a) and (16a-c), are not counterexamples because the possessive agrees in phi-features with the head noun but does not impose phi-features on the head noun, unlike Nominative clause subjects). Thus, the restriction on pronominals bound out of a DP depends on whether the binder is a Nominative subject which triggers agreement.

Note that in most cases of the second type (non-Nominative subject of a clause binder) there is no Spec-Head relation between the (features of) the antecedent and the head with the [+R] feature at LF. The only exception is binding by a possessive (in (9a) and (16a-c). However, the Case of the possessive depends on the Case of the head noun: whatever Case the head noun has, the Case of the possessive is the same (22a-c). That proves that the possessive gets Nominative (or another Case) rather via agreement with the head noun than structurally or inherently.

(22) a. **moj** **drug**
my-N friend-N
b. **moego** **druga**
my-G/A friend-G/A
c. **moemu** **drugu**
my-D friend-D

So the AgrP in a DP is not similar to AgrsP in that a different checking process (checking of the Spec DP only for Case agreement and phi-feature agreement with the head) takes place in the AgrP of a DP that in the AgrsP of a clause. Since the nominal AgrP is not at all similar to AgrsP, binding by a possessive is not an exception to Kazenin's generalization: the possessive does not appear in a Spec of any projection similar to AgrsP.

To conclude, I have shown that there are two positions in a DP from which reflexives can be bound: SpecAgrP and SpecFP. I have also shown that binding from these positions is similar to binding by a PRO/Dative subject in that a short-distance bindee can be not only a reflexive but also a pronominal. By contrast, only a reflexive but not a pronominal can be a short-distance bindee of a Nominative subject. This is because only a Nominative subject raises to SpecAgrsP and imposes phi-feature agreement on the verb.

6.2.3 Is logophoricity involved in LD binding in Russian?

If the structure in (11) is correct, it follows that no logophoricity is involved in LD binding in Russian. The idea that the use of reflexive pronouns is sensitive not only to syntactic factors but also to pragmatic/ semantic factors such as point of view was first developed by Cantrall (1969, 1974), Kuno (1972a, 1972b), Kuroda (1973); Kuno proposed the term logophoric. The main studies on logophoricity in the Government and Binding framework

are Sells (1987), Zribi-Hertz (1989), Hellan (1991), Reinhart & Reuland (1991, 1993).

From the point of view of logophoricity, the difference between LD reflexives and pronominals is not syntactic (that is, LD reflexives do not move at LF, similar to pronominals). The theory of logophoricity assumes that reflexives are not related to their antecedents via any syntactic mechanism, but they are coreferent to an entity having certain discourse properties. There are two main ideas about the properties of the antecedent. The first idea (for instance, Sells (1987)) is that the antecedent of a reflexive is the person from whose point of view the sentence containing the reflexive is uttered (for instance, the source of the utterance containing the reflexive, the subject of the feelings conveyed in this sentence). The second idea is that the antecedent is somehow prominent in the discourse: focus of empathy according to Kuno or centre (of discourse) according to Reinhart & Reuland, who follow Fillmore (1974). "Prominence in discourse" is a rather vague concept, the degree of prominence depends on a number of properties, such as animacy, theta-role (cf. Everaert & Anagnostopoulou (1997)), topichood, being the participant of the speech act, etc.

If logophoricity were involved in LD binding in Russian, there should be cases in which antecedents of LD reflexives are clearly not subjects. Let us consider the issue of subject-orientation of LD reflexives. Since Russian does not allow LD binding into finite clauses, there are not much data which allow us to check whether or not LD reflexives are subject-oriented. In Russian, LD reflexives can only refer to the Nominative subject, but not to any other "subject"/topic or complement. However, this restriction follows from the facts that, first, matrix verbs which license object-control infinitives can have only Nominative

but not Dative/PP subjects[5] (cf. (23) and (24)), and, second, if the reflexive in an object-control infinitive is coreferent to the matrix object, this reflexive is clause-bound (its antecedent is the infinitive PRO subject) - cf. (25) and (26).

(23)	**Ivan$_1$/**	***Ivanu/**	***U**	**Ivana**	**poprosil**	**Mariju$_2$**
	John$_1$-N/	*John-D/	*at	John-G	asked	Mary$_2$-A
	PRO$_2$	**kupit' sebe$_1$**		**čemodan**		
	PRO$_2$	to-buy sebja$_1$-D		suitcase-A		

"John$_1$ asked Mary to buy a suitcase for him$_1$"

---

[5] It is necessary to note that clause-bound reflexives are subject-oriented in Russian similar to LD reflexives. However, the problems of subject-orientation of LD vs. clause-bound reflexives are two different problems because grammatical requirements of LD vs. clause-bound antecedents are different. Clause-bound reflexives' antecedents in Russian can be a Dative / PP topic (as in (i a-b), but such antecedents cannot be objects or Nominative subjects' complements, as in (ii a-b) - cf. Padučeva (1983).

(i)	a.	**Ivanu bylo žalko**	**sebja**
		John-D was sorry-about-DFT	sebja-A

"John was sorry about himself"

	b.	**U Ivana byla svoja**	**mašina**
		at John-G was sebja-POSS-N	car-N

"John had his own car"

(ii)	a.	**Ivan$_1$**	**rasskazal**	**Marii$_2$**	**o**	**sebe$_{1/*2}$**
		John$_1$-N	told-a-story	Marija$_2$-D	about	sebja$_{1/*2}$-P

"John$_1$ told Mary$_2$ a story about himself$_1$/*herself$_2$"

	b.	***Rasskaz**	**Ivana$_1$**	**ponravilsja**	**sebe$_1$**
		story-N	John$_1$-G	was-pleasant	sebja$_1$-D

"John$_1$'s story was pleasant to himself$_1$"

The data in (i)-(ii), show that the restrictions on the antecedent of a LD reflexive are different from the restrictions on the antecedent of a clause-bound reflexive. Since a Dative DP can antecede a clause-bound reflexives when it is sentence initial (i a) but not when it follows the verb (ii a), and since the Genitive complement of a Nominative subject cannot antecede a clause-bound reflexive (ii b), there exists the correlation that the antecedent of a clause-bound reflexive is the grammatical subject /topic in Russian. Thus, whereas the "point of view" approach is suitable for Russian LD reflexives antecedents, the "focus of empathy" approach is suitable for Russian clause-bound reflexives antecedents. Most probably, the mechanisms of LD vs. clause-bound binding are different. For more discussion about clause-bound reflexives antecedents in Russian, see Padučeva (1983, 1985).

(24) **Ivanu$_1$** **xočetsja**
John$_1$-D there-is-a-desire-DFT
PRO$_1$ **kupit'** **sebe$_1$** **čemodan**
PRO$_1$ to-buy sebja$_1$-D suitcase-A
"John$_1$ has a desire to buy a suitcase for himself$_1$"

(25) **Marija$_1$** **velela** **Anne$_2$**
Mary$_1$-N told Ann$_2$-D
PRO$_2$ **prigotovit'** **sebe$_1$** **obed**
PRO$_2$ to-prepare sebja$_1$-D dinner-A
"Mary$_1$ told Ann to cook dinner for her$_1$"

(26) **Marija$_1$** **velela** **Anne$_2$**
Mary$_1$-N told Ann$_2$-D
PRO$_2$ **prigotovit'** **sebe$_2$** **obed**
PRO$_2$ to-prepare sebja$_2$-D dinner-A
"Mary$_1$ told Ann to cook dinner for herself$_2$"

The data above show that LD reflexives in Russian are strictly Nominative/Dative PRO subject oriented: antecedents such as Dative/PP topic or object are impossible.

The only context in Russian in which a LD reflexive refers to a complement is binding by a Genitive complement of a DP into an infinitive. Example (28a-b), which is similar to (27) from Icelandic, shows this.

(27) **Icelandic:** (from Sells (1987: 451))
Skoðun **Siggu$_1$** **er**
Opinion Sigga$_1$'s is
[að **sig$_1$** **vanti** **hæfileika]**
[that self$_1$ lacks(subj) ability]
"Sigga$_1$'s opinion is that she$_1$ lacks ability"

(28) a. **Razrešenie** **Marii$_1$** **Ivanu$_2$**
permission-N Mary$_1$-G John$_2$-D
PRO$_2$ **okazyvat'** **sebe$_{1/2}$** **znaki** **vnimanija**
PRO$_2$ to-show sebja$_{1/2}$-D signs-A attention-G
"The permission of Mary$_1$ to John$_2$ to show signs of attention to her$_1$/ himself$_2$"

b. **Pros'ba** **Petra$_1$** **k** **Anne$_2$**
request-N Peter$_1$-G to Ann$_2$-D
PRO$_2$ **prigotovit'** **sebe$_{1/2}$** **obed**
PRO$_2$ to-prepare sebja$_{1/2}$-D dinner-A

"The request of Peter$_i$ to Ann to cook dinner for her$_i$"

In (28a), **sebja** can have either PRO or Mary as antecedents (the clause-bound interpretation is less plausible for pragmatic reasons). In the LD interpretation where the antecedent is Mary, the antecedent - reflexive configuration in (28a) is entirely similar to the configuration in the Icelandic example (27); (28b) is similar to (28a).

Even though the antecedent of the reflexive in (28a-b) is not a Nominative/Dative subject, it is in a position from which binding inside a DP is allowed (cf. sections 6.2.1-6.2.2). It occupies the Genitive complement position (SpecFP) in the DP (cf. (11), which is the structure of (10a-b) and the DP in (28a-b)). As I proposed in section 6.2.1, [+R] raises to Agr in a DP. In (28a-b), [+R] raise to the infinitive C and then to Agr inside the DP, and thus we get a purely syntactic mechanism of LD binding; no logophoricity is involved in (28a-b).

To conclude, I have proposed the structure of a DP which assumes [+R] LF raising to Agr and checking this [+R] with the [+R] feature Agr. This derivation allows us to explain the facts of binding inside a DP: any DP which is in SpecAgr or in SpecFP can bind a reflexive. Based on such a derivation, we can also account for LD binding into infinitives with a Genitive complement antecedent in a purely syntactic way, without resorting to constraints of logophoricity. The syntactic mechanism which regulates binding inside a DP is, however, rather loose: cf. my conclusion about possible positions of the reflexive's binder with respect to Agr (the landing site of [+R]) in section 6.2.2.

6.3 Binding into complement DP-s

Now let us consider binding into a DP examples, as in (29a-b) ((29b)=(13).)

(29) a. **Petr$_1$** **ljubit**
Peter$_1$-N likes
[moi$_2$ **rasskazy** **o** **sebe$_1$]**
[my$_2$-N-PL stories-A about sebja$_1$-P]
"Peter$_1$ likes my stories about him$_1$"

b. **Petr$_1$** **ljubit** **[rasskazy** **Ivana$_2$** **o** **sebe$_1$]**
Peter$_1$-N likes [stories-A John$_1$-G about sebja$_1$-P]
"Peter$_1$ likes John's stories about him$_1$"

Binding into DP-s is always allowed, no matter whether or not the DP is definite or indefinite (cf. (30) vs. (31)), or whether or not there is a demonstrative in the DP (cf. (30)-(31) vs. (32)):

(39) a. **Ivan$_1$** **ljubit** **[moi$_2$** **rasskazy** **o** **sebe$_1$]**
John$_1$-N likes [my$_2$-A-POSS stories-A about sebja$_1$-P]
"John$_1$ likes stories of mine about him$_1$"

b. **Ivan$_1$** **ljubit** **[rasskazy** **Marii$_2$** **o** **sebe$_1$]**
John$_1$-N likes [stories-A Mary$_2$-G about sebja$_1$-P]
"John$_1$ likes stories by Mary about him$_1$"

(40) a. **Ivan$_1$** **ljubit** **[moj$_2$** **rasskaz** **o** **sebe$_1$,**
John$_1$-N likes [my$_2$-A-POSS story-A about sebja$_1$-P
v **kotorom** **my** **edem** **na** **rybalku]**
in which-P we-N go on fishing-A]
"John$_1$ likes the story of mine about him$_1$ in which we go fishing"

b. **Ivan$_1$** **ljubit** **[rasskaz** **Marii$_2$** **o** **sebe$_1$**
John$_1$-N likes [story-A Mary$_2$-G about sebja$_1$-P
v **kotorom** **oni** **edut** **na** **rybalku]**
in which-P they-N go on fishing-A]
"John$_1$ likes the story by Mary about him$_1$ in which they go fishing"

(41) a. **Ivan$_1$** **ljubit**
John$_1$-N likes

[etot moj$_2$ rasskaz o sebe$_1$]
[this-A my$_2$-A-POSS story-A about sebja$_1$-P]
"John$_1$ likes this story of mine about him$_1$"

b. **Ivan$_1$ ljubit**
John$_1$-N likes
[etot rasskaz Marii$_2$ o sebe$_1$]
[this-A story-A Mary$_2$-G about sebja$_1$-P]
"John$_1$ likes this story by Mary about him$_1$"

It is commonly assumed (at least for English) that the [+DEF] and arguably the [+DEMONSTR] features are located in D (cf. Abney (1987)). The data above allow us to conclude that even when these features are present in D, binding into a DP is possible. That means that [+R] does not have to use the D head as an escape-hatch. Thus, D in Russian, unlike Hungarian (cf. Szabolcsi (1994)) is not similar to C, at least with respect to reflexive movement. In the framework of Chomsky (1999), it has to be assumed that DP, unlike CP (cf. my assumptions in section 3.1), is not a phase in Russian, so [+R] does not have to stop in D when it is attracted from outside a DP.

It is necessary to mention that the distribution of complex reflexives inside a DP is similar to the distribution of complex reflexives with respect to LD binding (cf. chapter 4). **Sam-ogo sebja** "self-A sebja-A" and **sebja sam-ogo** "sebja-A self-A" (the reflexives in which both the "self" and the "sebja" part are inflected for the same Case) can be bound into a DP but the **sam sebja** "self-N sebja-A" reflexive (in which "self" bears the Case of the subject and "sebja" bears the Case of the object) cannot be bound into a DP; there is no speaker variation for **sam-ogo sebja**, unlike clausal cases. The **sam sebja** reflexive can be only bound inside a DP. This is shown in (33)-(35):

(33) a. **Ivan$_1$ ljubit**
John$_1$-N likes

	[moi$_2$	**rasskazy**	**o**	**samom**	**sebe$_1$]**
	[my$_2$-A-POSS	stories-A	about	self-P	sebja$_1$-P]

"John$_1$ likes stories of mine about him$_1$ himself"

b.	**Ivan$_1$**	**ljubit**			
	John$_1$-N	likes			
	[rasskazy	**Marii$_2$**	**o**	**samom**	**sebe$_1$]**
	[stories-A	Mary$_2$-G	about	self-P	sebja$_1$-P]

"John$_1$ likes stories by Mary about him$_1$ himself"

(34) a.	**Ivan$_1$**	**ljubit**				
	John$_1$-N	likes				
	[moi$_2$	**rasskazy**	**o**	**sebe$_1$**	**samom]**
	[my$_2$-A-POSS	stories-A	about	sebja$_1$-P	self-P]

"John$_1$ likes stories of mine about him$_1$ himself"

b.	**Ivan$_1$**	**ljubit**				
	John$_1$-N	likes				
	[rasskazy	**Marii$_2$**	**o**	**sebe$_1$**	**samom]**
	[stories-A	Mary$_2$-G	about	sebja$_1$-P	self-P]

"John$_1$ likes stories by Mary about him$_1$ himself"

(35) a.	**Ivan$_1$**	**ljubit**	**[moi$_2$**	**rasskazy**		
	John$_1$-N	likes	[my$_2$-A-POSS	stories-A		
	***sam/**	**samogo**	**o**	**sebe.$_{1/2}$]**	
	self*-N/	-G	about	sebja.$_{1/2}$-P]	

"John$_1$ likes stories of mine about him$_1$/himself$_2$"

b.	**Ivan$_1$**	**ljubit**	**[rasskazy**	**Marii$_2$**		
	John$_1$-N	likes	[stories-A	Mary$_2$-G		
	***sam/**	**samoj**	**o**	**sebe.$_{1/2}$]**	
	self*-MASC.N/	-FEM.G	about	sebja.$_{1/2}$-P]	

"John$_1$ likes stories by Mary about him$_1$/herself$_2$"

The data above are accounted by the mechanism of binding in the following way. In (33)-(34), binding into a DP is possible. It is established via movement, that is, [+R] moves directly to the T head of the clause and then to Agrs (similar to (30)-(32) above). In (35a-b), neither binding by the clause subject nor binding by the DP subject is possible. The analysis of **sam sebja** as a small clause whose vacuous head incorporates into the local T (section

4.1) explains the locality requirement on **sam sebja** (**sam sebja** can be bound only by the local subject of the infinitive but not by a binder from the higher DP because **sam sebja**'s head undergoes incorporation to the head with the [+R] feature, and this incorporation is strictly local).

To conclude, I have shown that binding into a DP proceeds via movement of [+R] directly to the T head of a clause, skipping the D head of the DP. The Russian data show that the D head of a DP in Russian, unlike the C head of a clause, is not an escape-hatch for reflexive movement (or that DP is not a phase in Russian). All complex reflexive except **sam sebja** can be bound into a DP.

6.4 Binding into adjective noun modifiers

In section 5.2, in which I considered binding into participial clauses (PC-s), I mentioned the contrast between binding into PC-s and adjective noun modifiers (AP-s). Whereas binding into both prenominal and postnominal PC-s is ungrammatical, binding into both prenominal and postnominal AP-s is grammatical. This is shown in (9a-b) vs. (10a-b)-(11a-b) ((9)=(20) from 5.2; (36)=(21); (37)-(38)=(25)-(26) from 5.2.)

(36) a. **On$_i$ smotrel na obed**
he$_i$-N looked at dinner-A
[$_{PartP}$ gotovivšijsja dlja *sebja$_i$]
[$_{PartP}$ being-cooked-PART-PAST-A for sebja$_i$-G]

b. **On$_i$ smotrel na [$_{PartP}$ gotovivšijsja**
he$_i$-N looked at [$_{PartP}$ being-cooked-PART-PAST-A
dlja *sebja$_i$] obed
for *sebja$_i$-G] dinner-A
"He$_i$ looked at the dinner that was being cooked for him$_i$"

(37) a. **?On$_i$ ne ljubit veščej,**
he$_i$-N not likes things-G
[$_{AP}$ nedostupnyx sebe$_i$]
[$_{AP}$ unavailable-ADJ-G sebja$_i$-D]
"He$_i$ does not like things which are not available for him$_i$"

b. **?On$_i$ ne ljubit [$_{AP}$ nedostupnyx**
he$_i$-N not likes [$_{AP}$ unavailable-ADJ-G
sebe$_i$] veščej
sebja$_i$-D] things-G

(38) a. **?On$_i$ otobral materialy,**
he$_i$-N picked materials-A
[$_{AP}$ nužnye sebe$_i$]
[$_{AP}$ needed-ADJ-A sebja$_i$-D]
"He$_i$ picked the materials that he$_i$ needed"

b. **?On$_i$ otobral [$_{AP}$ nužnye**
he$_i$-N picked [$_{AP}$ needed-ADJ-A
sebe$_i$] materialy
sebja$_i$-D] materials-A

I assume that binding into AP-s in (37)-(38) is licensed via movement of the reflexive out of the AP to the T head of the clause. Then, the contrast between PC-s and AP-s follows from the difference in their structure. PC-s, as in (36), are CP-s, and they have a [+/-PAST] feature in the T head. [+/-PAST] moves to C at LF and blocks reflexive movement. AP-s, as in (37)-(38), are, first, not CP-s, and they have no C projection, and, second, they do not have any T projection with a [+/-PAST] feature. [+R] moves directly to T (in one step, without landing in any heads of either the AP or the head noun CP. The LF-structure of (37a) is (39):

(39) **[$_{AgrsP}$ On$_i$ [$_{Agrs'}$ [$_{Agrs}$ [$_{T2}$ [+R]$_i$ [$_{T2}$ [+/-PAST]]] ne [$_{TP}$ [$_{T'}$ ljubit-t$_2$]]**
[$_{DP}$ [$_{DP}$ veščej] [$_{AP}$ nedostupnyx sebe$_i$-t$_i$]]]]]

In structure (39), [+R] does not move to D. That is, I assume that D is not an escape-hatch for reflexive movement in Russian and that [+R] does not have to stop in D. The similarity

between the C head of a clause and the D head of a DP proposed by Szabolcsi (1994) does not hold in Russian with respect to reflexive movement. This is confirmed by the data on binding into complement DP-s in section 6.3 above - binding into complement DP-s is possible even if the D head of the DP contains interpretable features, such as [+DEF] or [+DEMONSTR].

It is necessary to mention that not all native speakers evaluate all the examples of binding into AP-s in (37)-(38) as perfectly acceptable. Most speakers evaluate examples with prenominal AP-s, as in the (b) of (37)-(38), as more acceptable than examples with postnominal AP-s, as in the (a) of (37)-(38). However, the (a) examples are usually considered as awkward but grammatical. I assume that binding into postnominal AP-s is grammatical but sensitive to certain sentence processing factors, that is, the distance between the antecedent and the reflexive. In prenominal AP-s, the reflexive is closer to the clause subject than in postnominal AP-s; therefore the former examples are more acceptable than the latter.

An additional evidence for my proposal comes from the fact that the acceptability of binding into postnominal AP-s depends on pragmatic factors, such as whether or not the head noun is a suitable antecedent for the reflexive. For instance, in case of (40a-b), the head noun **ljudej** is a suitable antecedent for the reflexive, and (40a) with a postnominal AP is judged as much less acceptable than (40b) with a prenominal AP. However, the contrast between the (a) and the (b) examples of (37)-(38) is not as strong as the contrast between (40a) and (40b).

(40)	**a.**	**??**	**Jeva$_i$ ne**	**zamečaet**
			Eva$_i$-N not	notices

	[$_{DP}$ [$_{DP}$ ljudej$_2$],		**[$_{AP}$**	**uvleč̣ennyx**	**soboj$_1$]]**
	[$_{DP}$ [$_{DP}$ people$_2$-G]		[$_{AP}$	fascinated-with	sebja$_1$-I]]

"Eva$_1$ does not notice people$_2$ that are fascinated with her$_1$"

b.	**Jeva$_1$**	**ne**	**zameč̣aet**			
	Eva$_1$-N	not	notices			
	[$_{DP}$ [$_{AP}$	**uvleč̣ennyx**	**soboj$_1$]**	**[$_{D'}$**	**ljudej$_2$]]**
	[$_{DP}$ [$_{AP}$	fascinated-with	sebja$_2$-I]	[$_{D'}$	people$_2$-G]]

If the predicate of the AP is **contrastive** in the sense of Chomsky (1973) and Safir (1992)[6], if the head noun cannot be the antecedent of the reflexive for pragmatic reasons, there is no

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[6] In Russian, AP-s in which **sebja** is the complement of the preposition **dlja** "for" behave similar to AP-s with contrastive predicates in that binding into such AP-s is perfect for both prenominal and postnominal AP-s (noticed by Paduč̣eva (1985)). This is shown in (i)-(iii).

(i)	**a.**	**On$_1$**	**stolknulsja**	**s**	**javleniem,**	
		he$_1$-N	faced	with	phenomenon-I	
		novym	**dlja**	**sebja$_1$**		
		new-ADJ-I	for	sebja$_1$-G		
	b.	**On$_1$**	**stolknulsja**	**s**	**novym**	
		he$_1$-N	faced	with	new-ADJ-I	
		dlja	**sebja$_1$**	**javleniem**		
		for	sebja$_1$-G	phenomenon-I		

"He$_1$ faced the phenomenon new for him$_1$"

(ii)	**a.**	**Ivan$_1$**	**vsegda**	**stavit**	**zadač̣i,**	
		John$_1$-N	always	raises	problems-A	
		slišk̇om	**sloẓ̌nye**	**dlja**	**sebja$_1$**	
		too	hard-A	for	sebja$_1$-G	
	b.	**Ivan$_1$**	**vsegda**	**stavit**	**slišk̇om**	
		John$_1$-N	always	raises	too	
		sloẓ̌nye	**dlja**	**sebja$_1$**	**zadač̣i**	
		hard-A	for	sebja$_1$-G	problems-A	

"John$_1$ always raises problems too hard for him$_1$"

(iii)	**a.**	**Ivan$_1$**	**prišel**	**k**	**vyvodam,**	
		John$_1$-N	came	to	conclusions-A	
		peč̣al'nym	**dlja**	**sebja$_1$**		
		sad-D	for	sebja$_1$-G		
	b.	**Ivan$_1$**	**prišel**	**k**	**peč̣al'nym**	
		John$_1$-N	came	to	sad-D	
		dlja	**sebja$_1$**		**vyvodam**	
		for	sebja$_1$-G		conclusions-A	

contrast between prenominal and postnominal AP-s: both of them are considered as perfect - see (41a-b)-(42a-b).

(41) a. **Ivan$_i$** **ljubit** **ljudej,**
John$_i$-N likes people-A
soveršenno **nepoxožix** **na** **sebja$_i$**
completely dissimilar-ADJ-A on sebja$_i$-A
"John likes people completely dissimilar to himself"

b. **Ivan$_i$** **ljubit** **soveršenno**
John$_i$-N likes completely
nepoxožix **na** **sebja$_i$** **ljudej**
dissimilar-ADJ-A on sebja$_i$-A people-A
"John likes people showing similarity with himself"

(42) a. **Ivan$_i$** **nenavidit** **vsex** **krome sebja$_i$**
John$_i$-N hates all-A except sebja$_i$-G
"John hates everybody except himself"

b. **Ivan$_i$** **nenavidit** **krome sebja$_i$** **vsex**
John$_i$-N hates except sebja$_i$-G all-A

English reflexives can have an antecedent outside their governing category if the governing category is an DP with a contrastive predicate. Example (43) is (1)c from Safir (1992). Safir argues that such reflexives are not instances of long-distance binding, but that their governing category gets expanded because the Specified Subject Condition (SSC) can be avoided by way of pragmatic implication.

(43) **John$_i$ said that he would never allow his daughter to even consider marrying a man similar to/completely unlike himself$_i$**

I cannot adopt the account proposed by Safir. This is because, first, I have adopted the movement framework but not the domain extension framework. Second, I assume that pragmatic factors such as implication cannot determine syntactic structure such as a governing category of a reflexive. Instead, I conclude that since pragmatic factors (whether

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"John$_i$ came to conclusions [which are] sad for him$_i$"

or not the head noun is a suitable antecedent for the reflexive) and the type of the predicate in the AP (whether or not it is contrastive) can affect the degree of acceptability of binding into postnominal AP-s in (37)-(38) and (40a), this binding is always grammatical. There is an independent question as to which sentence processing factors (e.g. distance between the reflexive and the potential antecedent) cause the contrast between the (a) and the (b) examples of (37)-(38).

To conclude, I have proposed that binding into noun modifier AP-s is grammatical both for prenominal and postnominal AP-s. This is because AP-s, unlike PC-s, do not have the CP projection, and [+R] does not have to move through any C head. Also, the D head of DP-s in Russian is not an escape-hatch for reflexive movement; therefore, [+R] does not have to move through D of the AP's head noun. Thus, [+R] moves directly to the T head of the clause, and its appropriate relation with the antecedent is achieved.

Chapter 7

Infinitives with an overt wh-word or complementizer

In section 5.3 (examples (a) of (43)-(50)), we saw that LD binding into wh-/yes-no infinitives with a PRO subject is possible, unlike binding into infinitives with an overt Dative subject. However, LD binding into such infinitives is considered as not perfectly acceptable or deviant. The same holds for "in order" infinitives. In section 7.1, I will consider the data on wh-yes-no infinitives again and propose that binding into wh-/yes-no infinitives is grammatical but that such examples are judged as deviant because of some non-syntactic factors. In section 7.2, I will look into "in order" infinitives, which have the "in order" complementizer (and thus their C position is not empty at least in the overt syntax). I will argue that the reason of the deviant judgments on LD binding into "in order" infinitives is a Control theory constraint rather that any constraint on reflexive movement.

7.1 Wh- and yes-no infinitives

The (a) examples of (43)-(50) are repeated here as (1)-(4), (5)-(6) and (11)-(12); in (7)-(8) and (9)-(10), I give additional examples of yes-no infinitives.

(1) **(?)Andrej$_1$ objasnil Petru$_2$,**
Andrew$_1$-N explained Peter$_2$-D
čego PRO$_2$ ne rasskazyvat' o sebe$_1$
what-G PRO$_2$ not to-tell about sebja$_1$-P
"Andrew$_1$ explained to Peter what not to tell about him$_1$"

(2) **(?)Anna$_1$ skazala medsestre$_2$,**
Anna$_1$-N told nurse$_2$-D
kuda PRO$_2$ ukolot' sebja$_1$
where PRO$_2$ to-inject sebja$_1$-A
"Ann$_1$ told the nurse where to give her$_1$ an injection"

(3) a. **(?)Andrej$_1$ soobščhil Petru$_2$,**
Andrew$_1$-N let-know Peter$_2$-D
kogda PRO$_2$ zaexat' za soboj$_1$
when PRO$_2$ to-drop after sebja$_1$-P
"Andrew$_1$ let Peter know when to pick him$_1$"

(4) **(?)Anna$_1$ objasnila parixmaxeru$_2$,**
Anna$_1$-N explained hairdresser$_2$-D
kak PRO$_2$ postrič' sebja$_1$
how PRO$_2$ to-trim sebja$_1$-A
"Ann$_1$ explained to the hairdresser how to trim her$_1$"

(5) **(?)Petr$_1$ skazal tebe$_2$,**
Peter$_1$-N told you$_2$-D
zapisyvat' li PRO$_2$ sebja$_1$ v spisok?
to-put li PRO$_2$ sebja$_1$-A in list-A
"Did Peter$_1$ let you know whether or not to put him$_1$ on the list?"

(6) **(?)Ivan$_1$ ne napisal Marii$_2$,**
John$_1$-N not wrote Mary$_2$-D
snimat' li PRO$_2$ sebe$_1$ kvartiru
to-rent li PRO$_2$ sebja$_1$-D apartment-A
"John$_1$ did not write Mary whether to rent an apartment for him$_1$"

(7) **(?)Ivan$_1$ ne skazal Marii$_2$,**
John$_1$-N not told Mary$_2$-D
razbudit' li PRO$_2$ sebja$_1$,
to-wake-up li PRO$_2$ sebja$_1$-A
kogda načnetsja obsuždenie
when will-begin discussion-N
"John$_1$ did not tell Mary$_2$ whether to wake him$_1$ up when the discussion begins"

(8) **(?)Petr$_1$ soobščil tebe$_2$,**
Peter$_1$-N let-know you$_2$-D
vstrečat' li PRO$_2$ sebja$_1$ na vokzale?
to-see li PRO$_2$ sebja$_1$-A on railroad-station-P

"Did Peter$_1$ let you$_2$ know whether to see him$_1$ at the railroad station?"

(9) **(?)Petr$_1$ skazal tebe$_2$,**
Peter$_1$-N told you$_2$-D
zapisyvat' PRO sebja$_1$ v spisok
to-put PRO sebja$_1$-A in list-A
ili ne zapisyvat'?
or not to-put
"Did Peter$_1$ let you know whether or not to put him$_1$ on the list?"[1]

(10) **(?)Ivan$_1$ ne napisalMarii$_2$,**
John$_1$-N not wrote Mary$_2$-D
snimat' PRO$_2$ sebe$_1$ kvartiru
to-rent PRO$_2$ sebja$_1$-D apartment-A
ili ne snimat'
or not to-rent
"John$_1$ did not write Mary$_2$ [in a letter] whether or not to rent an apartment for him$_1$"

(11) **(?)Ivan$_1$ ne skazal Marii$_2$, razbudit'**
John$_1$-N not told Mary$_2$-D to-wake-up
PRO$_2$ sebja$_1$ ili ne razbudit',
PRO$_2$ sebja$_1$-A or not to-wake-up
kogda načnetsja obsuždenie
when will-begin discussion-N
"John$_1$ did not tell Mary whether or not to wake him$_1$ up when the discussion begins"

(12) **(?)Petr$_1$ soobščil tebe$_2$,**
Peter$_1$-N let-know you$_2$-D
vstrečat' PRO$_2$ sebja$_1$ na vokzale
to-see PRO$_2$ sebja$_1$-A on railroad-station-P

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[1] This sentence is ambiguous in English: in the English translation, the members of the disjunction can be, on one hand, "let you know" and "did not let you know"; and, on the other hand, "to put him on the list" and "not to put him on the list". In the first case, the sentence would be synonymous to "Did John let you know or did he not let you know whether to put him on the list or not?" In the second case, it would be synonymous to "Did John let you know whether to put him on the list or not to put him on the list?" Russian allows only in the second interpretation, in which I am interested. In case of the second interpretation we have an **ili**-question in Russian. In case of the first interpretation the Russian sentence would contain an embedded "yes-no" question **vključat' sebja v spisok** "whether to put him on the list" which has no **li**-particle and no **ili**-conjunction (**ili** would conjoin "let you know" and "not let you know"). Such a "yes-no" question is ungrammatical. That is why the first interpretation is unavailable.

ili **ne** **vstrečat'?**
or not to-see
"Did Peter$_i$ let you know whether or not to see him$_i$ at the railroad station?"

Examples (1)-(4) are cases of wh-infinitives. Examples (5)-(8) are cases of yes-no infinitives with the **li** "if" question particle; examples (9)-(12) are cases of yes-no infinitives without the **li** particle but with the **ili** "or" conjunction instead. None of the above examples is ungrammatical because neither wh- nor yes-no infinitives contain any interpretable features in the C head at LF. Wh-infinitives in (1)-(4) contain a [+WH] feature in C. As I pointed out in section 5.3.2, I assume that the [+ wh] feature is non-interpretable. This feature deletes at LF and C is empty at LF (see (61)-(62) in section 5.3.2.)

Yes-no infinitives with **li** contain a [+Q] feature in C (see Rudnitskaya, in press). This feature attracts the movement of **li**, which is base-generated in Foc. I assume that both the [+Q] feature of C and the [+Q] feature of **li** are non-interpretable. A null operator Q_{OP} is base-generated in SpecCP (as in (54) in 5.3.1), and this Q_{OP} carries the meaning of the yes-no question. Thus, C is empty at LF in **li** yes-no infinitives.

The same holds for **ili** "or" infinitives in (9)-(12). The analysis of **ili** infinitives is essentially similar to **li** infinitives. At least, there is a null Q_{OP} in SpecCP in both **li** and **ili** cases. Tentatively, there is no [+Q] feature in the C head of **ili** infinitives at all (tentatively, **(i)li** moves to Foc at LF in order to check its [+FOC] feature with the focus of the question). Thus, there are no interpretable features in C at LF, and reflexive movement is not blocked.

Most speakers evaluate (1)-(12) as not fully acceptable and a little degraded.

However, I propose to explain these judgments by non-syntactic factors. The reason for that is that the degree of deviance of such examples depends on the concrete context of a particular sentence (this is a pragmatic factor) rather that on the type of syntactic construction. For instance, (2) and (3) are judged as more acceptable than (1) and (4). Since there are no relevant syntactic differences between (2)-(3) and (1), (4), I attribute this difference to pragmatic factors. First, (3) is more acceptable than (1) and (4) because you cannot pick yourself; thus, the local antecedent in (3) yields a pragmatically deviant sentence, and the only possible antecedent is the LD antecedent. The LD reading is imposed by pragmatic factors. In (1) and (4), you can tell something about yourself or trim yourself; the situation of local binding is not excluded. That somehow makes the LD reading less preferred. Second, (2) is more acceptable than (1), (4) because it is natural for X to explain the nurse (but not a physician) where to make X an injection. However, it is not a natural situation when somebody teaches the nurse where the nurse must make herself an injection. Thus, the LD reading is pragmatically more preferred than the local reading.

Similarly (5)-(6) and (9)-(10) are judged as less acceptable than (7)-(8) and (11)-(12). This is because in (5), for instance, local binding is pragmatically fine, that is, you can put yourself on a list; in (7), local binding is excluded for pragmatic reasons: you cannot wake yourself up. The availability of local reading makes the LD reading in (5) less preferred, but the LD reading is fully acceptable when the local reading is not available.

The above factors, which influence the degree of acceptability of LD binding into

wh- and yes-no infinitives, that is, the availability of the local reading and contextual factors, are pragmatic. If there were a syntactic ban on LD binding into wh-/yes-no infinitives, these factors would not be able to influence the degree of acceptability, since syntactic constraints cannot be sensitive to pragmatic factors. Therefore, I conclude that LD binding into wh-/yes-no infinitives is grammatical but it is sometimes judged as deviant because of non-syntactic factors (perhaps, sentence processing factors).

7.2 Purpose (*čtoby* "in order") infinitives

In this section, I will consider infinitives which contain the complementizer **čtoby** "in order" in the C position. Native speakers' judgments on these infinitives vary (there are two patterns of judgments among native speakers): speakers from one group reject LD binding into **čtoby** infinitives, whereas speakers from the other group accept it, albeit somewhat marginally. Examples (13)-(15) are given with two alternative grammaticality judgments: "*" and "?".

(13) */? **Ivan$_1$** **nanjal** **povara$_2$,**
John$_1$-N hired cook$_2$-A
čtoby **PRO** **gotovit'** **sebe$_1$** **obed**
in-order PRO to-cook sebja$_1$-D dinner-A
"John$_1$ hired a cook in order to cook dinner for him$_1$"

(14) */? **Odinokij** **starik$_1$** **priglasil** **medsestru$_2$,**
lonely-N old-man$_1$-N invited nurse$_2$-A
čtoby **PRO** **uxaživat'** **za** **soboj$_1$**
in-order PRO to-take-care after sebja$_1$-I
"The lonely man$_1$ invited a nurse in order to take care of him$_1$"

(15) */? **Poet$_1$** **našel** **žurnalista$_2$,**
poet$_1$-N found journalist$_2$-A

čtoby	**pisat'**	**o**	**sebe$_1$**	**v**	**gazetax**
in-order	to-write	about	sebja$_1$-P	in	newspapers-P

"The poet$_1$ found a journalist in order to write newspaper articles about him$_1$"

Compare examples (13)-(15) and similar examples without **čtoby** (16)-(17).

(16)

Ivan$_1$	**nanjal**	**povara$_2$**	
John$_1$-N	hired	cook$_2$-A	
PRO$_2$	**gotovit'**	**sebe$_1$**	**obed**
PRO$_2$	to-prepare	sebja$_1$-D	dinner-A

"John$_1$ hired a cook to prepare dinner for him$_1$"

(17)

Odinokij	**starik$_1$**	**priglasil**	**medsestru$_2$**	
lonely-N	old-man$_1$-N	invited	nurse$_2$-A	
PRO	**uxaživat'**	**za**	**soboj$_1$**	
PRO	to-take-care	after	sebja$_1$-I	

"The lonely man$_1$ invited a nurse to take care of him$_1$"

Taking only the judgements of the first group of speakers into account, we might come to the conclusion that it is some interpretable feature of the complementizer **čtoby** in C that blocks reflexive movement (for instance, the feature [+INTENTION]).

However, this conclusion is not satisfactory. The "[+INTENTION] interpretable feature in C" solution does not explain the existence of the second (grammatical but deviant) pattern of judgments ("?").

It is necessary to note that it is arguable that **čtoby** "in order" has any features which are needed for interpretation. This is because the "purpose" meaning of the infinitive (as in (13)-(15)) is retained in a "purpose" infinitive without any complementizer (as in (16)-(17)). The infinitives in (16)-(17) are interpreted as infinitive of purpose even though no "in order" complementizer is present. This evidence allows us to claim that the features of the "purpose" complementizer **čtoby** (if there are any) are

irrelevant for the interpretation of the infinitive, and čtoby can be deleted at LF[2].

The claim that čtoby has an interpretable feature [+INTENTION] that blocks reflexive movement is not tenable (because bare "purpose" infinitives are possible and because of two patterns of judgments). As an alternative, I will consider the explanation of the data on čtoby infinitives which follows Kozinsky's (1985) Control theory conception.

According to Kozinsky's (1985) approach, the data on binding into čtoby infinitives can be explained without appealing to the blocking effect of a feature in C. Kozinsky attributes the variable judgments of (13)-(15) to a violation of Control Theory. Kozinsky performed an experiment on whether the PRO subject of a čtoby "in order" infinitive is obligatorily coreferent to the matrix subject or this PRO cannot be coreferent to the embedded object. His informants are divided into two groups. For one group of informants, the PRO in such infinitives can be coreferent only to the matrix subject but not to the matrix object. For the second group, the PRO in such infinitives can be

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[2] This argument is not entirely convincing because the set of all possible čtoby infinitives and the set of all possible "purpose" infinitives without any complementizer are not the same. In particular, čtoby infinitives can be negative, whereas complementizerless negative infinitives are ungrammatical:

(i)	**On**	**ušel,**	**čtoby**	**ne**	**vstrečat'sja**	**s**	**Ivanom**
	he-N	left	in-order	not	to-meet	with	John-I

"He left in order not to see John"

(ii)	***On**	**ušel**	**ne**	**vstrečat'sja**	**s**	**Ivanom**
	he-N	left	not	to-meet	with	John-I

These examles show that the solution that there are no interpretable features at LF related to čtoby is not tenable.

coreferent both to the matrix subject and (marginally) to the matrix object.

Infinitives with **čtoby** are to be contrasted with complementizerless "purpose" infinitives in which PRO can be coreferent to both the matrix subject and the matrix object (for all native speakers). This contrast is shown in (18) and (19). In (18), I give two patterns of judgments; in (19) all judgments are the same.[3]

(18)	**Ivan$_1$**	**pozval**	**medsestru$_2$,**	
	John$_1$-N	called	nurse$_2$-A	
	čtoby	**PRO$_{1/*/(?)2}$**	**sdelat'**	**ukol**
	in-order	PRO$_{1/*/(?)2}$	to-do	injection-A

"John called the nurse in order to give [her] an injection"

(19)	**Ivan$_1$**	**pozval**	**medsestru,**
	John$_1$-N	called	nurse-A
	PRO$_{1/2}$	**sdelat'**	**ukol**
	PRO$_{1/2}$	to-do	injection-A

"John called the nurse in order to give [her] an injeection / [for her] to give [him] an injection"

Given the judgments in (18), it follows that **čtoby** infinitives can be only subject-control but not object-control for the first group of speakers, and both subject- and object-control for the second group of speakers. In order for LD binding to be possible into an infinitive, the infinitive must be object-control. If, for the first group of speakers, an infinitive is subject-control, PRO is coreferent to the matrix subject, so that a reflexive in the infinitive which is coreferent to the matrix subject be bound by PRO, that is, locally bound.

Now let us consider (13)-(15) with LD binding into a **čtoby** infinitive. The above

[3] Infinitives WITHOUT **čtoby** allow LD binding for ALL native speakers.

line of reasoning implies that (13)-(15) are predicted to be ungrammatical but only for the first group of speakers because PRO in these examples is not coreferent to the matrix subject, that is, for Control Theory reasons but not because the C position of the infinitive has any interpretable features. Thus, following Kozinsky, there is no Binding Theory violation in these examples.

Crucially, the same speakers reject LD binding into čtoby infinitives in (13)-(15) and reject object-control čtoby infinitives in (18). This correlation allows us to conclude that if a native speaker rejects LD binding into a čtoby infinitive, this is because he rejects any čtoby object-control infinitives: for these speakers, PRO in a čtoby infinitive cannot be coreferent to the matrix object, as it is in (13)-(15). The speakers who accept (13)-(15) do not respect this Control Theory violation of (18). (13)-(15) are grammatical for these speakers because PRO in (13)-(15), similar to (18), can be coreferent to the matrix object for them. Thus, no barrier for reflexive movement is involved in čtoby infinitives with LD binding either for the first or for the second group of informants.

It is necessary to mention that the čtoby "in-order" complementizer can be also used in another context: it can be a subjunctive complementizer čtoby. The subjunctive čtoby has a complex structure: it consists of the "that" complementizer čto and the subjunctive particle by, which is independently used as a subjunctive marker with the meaning "would": čto-by. The čto part has no interpretable features because "that"-type complementizers are vacuous. The by part, however, has the interpretable [+SUBJUNCTIVE] feature.

There are theoretically two options: either to claim that the two instances of čtoby

mentioned above are two homonyms and thus have a different morphological structure (the "in order" **čtoby** is morphologically simplex) or to assume that there is only one instance of **čto-by** with the complex morphological structure. The binding facts presented above allow me to conclude that the morphological structure and of the "in order" **čtoby** is not identical to the bimorphemic structure of the subjunctive **čto-by**. If the "in order" **čtoby** consisted of the "that" complementizer **čto** and the subjunctive particle **by**, which has the interpretable [+SUBJUNCTIVE] feature. Then, the C head of "in order" infinitives would have an interpretable feature at LF, and the [+R] movement would be blocked. In actual fact, this movement is not blocked at least for one group of native speakers.

If I assume that the "in order" and the subjunctive **čtoby** are the same item, I will not be able to account for the Russian binding data. Therefore, I assume that the two instances of **čtoby** are homonyms. The "in order" **čtoby** either is morphologically simplex or it consists of two morphemes **čto** and **by**, both of which are vacuous. Then, the "in order" **čtoby** has no interpretable features and it cannot block the LF [+R] movement.[4]

I propose that **čtoby** infinitives have a null operator INT_{OP} in SpecCP, and this operator is involved in interpretation of a **čtoby** infinitive and allow the "purpose" interpretation both in non-negative and negative contexts (unlike "bare" infinitives, which allow the "purpose" interpretation only in non-negative contexts). The LF structure of

[4] I assume that **čtoby** in Russian is a complementizer but not a preposition.

(13) is (20).[5]

(20) Ivan$_1$ nanjal povara$_2$, [$_{CP}$ INT$_{OP}$-[+INTENTION] [$_{C'}$ [$_C$ čtoby]] PRO gotovit' sebe$_1$ obed]

Even though **čtoby** has no interpretable features, the null operator INT$_{OP}$ has the interpretable [+INTENTION] feature (this feature checks off a non-interpretable feature [+F] of **čtoby**). INT$_{OP}$ is present only in **čtoby** infinitives but not in bare "purpose" infinitives. Therefore, **čtoby** infinitives can be both non-negative and negative. Bare "purpose" infinitives can only be non-negative because in non-negative contexts, the "purpose" meaning can be derived pragmatically. In negative contexts, the "purpose" meaning is not derivable pragmatically because it is pragmatically ill-formed to perform some action in order not to achieve some purpose. Thus, the contrast between bare "purpose" and **čtoby** infinitives is derived based on pragmatics and the presence of INT$_{OP}$ in SpecCP of **čtoby** infinitives.

To conclude, I have explained the variable judgments on **čtoby** infinitives based on the fact that **čtoby** infinitives can be object-control only for some informants. LD binding into **čtoby** infinitives is only possible for the informants that accept object-control **čtoby** infinitives. Thus, **čtoby** infinitives have no interpretable features in their C head.

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[5] My proposal implies that wh-extraction out of purpose infinitives is ruled out (since they have an operator in SpecCP). Actually, this prediction does not work, at least for bare purpose infinitives:

(i)	**Čto$_1$**	**on**	**poprosil**	**tebja$_2$**
	what$_1$-A	he-N	asked	you$_2$-A
	[PRO$_2$ mne	**skazat'**	**t$_1$]?**	
	[PRO$_2$ I-D	to-tell	t$_1$]	

"What did he ask you to tell me?"

The ban on LD binding into these infinitives (only for some speakers) follows from the ban of any object-control ¿**toby** infinitives (which holds for the same speakers).

Chapter 8

Related problems

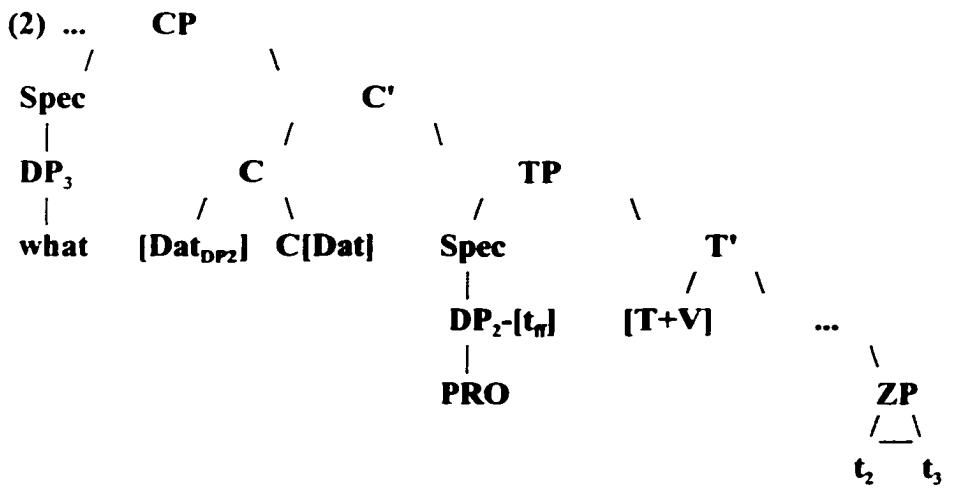
8.1 Dative as the Null Case of PRO: which head checks the Null Case for PRO?

In section 5.3.2, it was mentioned that the Null Case of PRO in Russian is Dative (examples (60a-d)). Extending my account of Dative Case checking for overt DP-s by C from section 5.3.2, I claimed in section 4.2.2 that the Null Case (Dative) is checked for PRO by C. This proposal was based on the Principle of Uniformity of Case-assignment: since both overt DP-s and PRO receive the same Case, this Case must be checked by the same head.

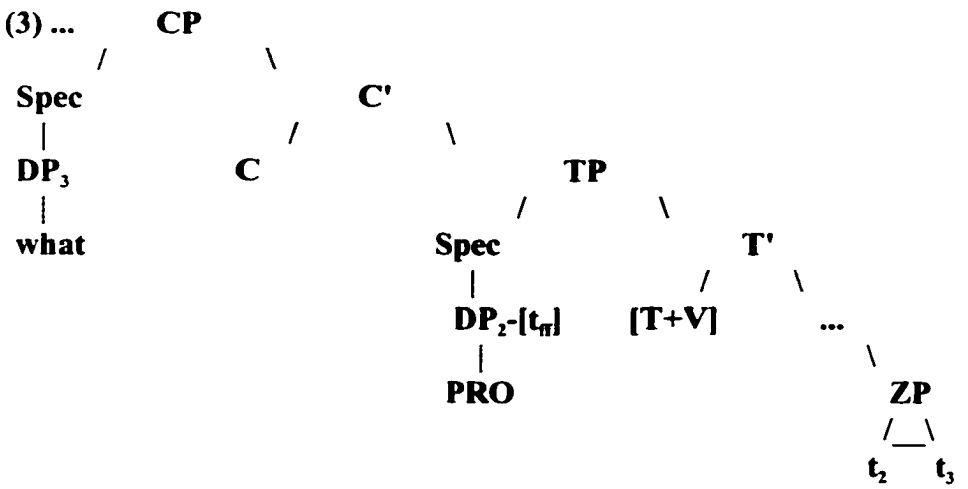
I mentioned in section 5.3.2 that certain studies (for instance, Laurençot (1997)) assume that Dative is checked for PRO by the infinitive Infl (T) rather than by C. Then, the structure of feature checking in the wh-infinitive (1) (=(43a) from section 5.3.2) will be rather (2)-(3) than (61)-(62) from section 5.3.2 (repeated below). Dative of PRO will be checked with [T+V] in the Spec-head configuration in (2), and the resulting structure will be (3).

(43) **(?)Andrej$_1$** **objasnil** **Petru$_2$,**
Andrew$_1$-N explained Peter$_2$-D
čego **PRO$_2$** **ne** **rasskazyvat'** **o** **sebe$_1$**
what-G PRO$_2$ not to-tell about sebja$_1$-P
"Andrew$_1$ explained to Peter what not to tell about him$_1$"

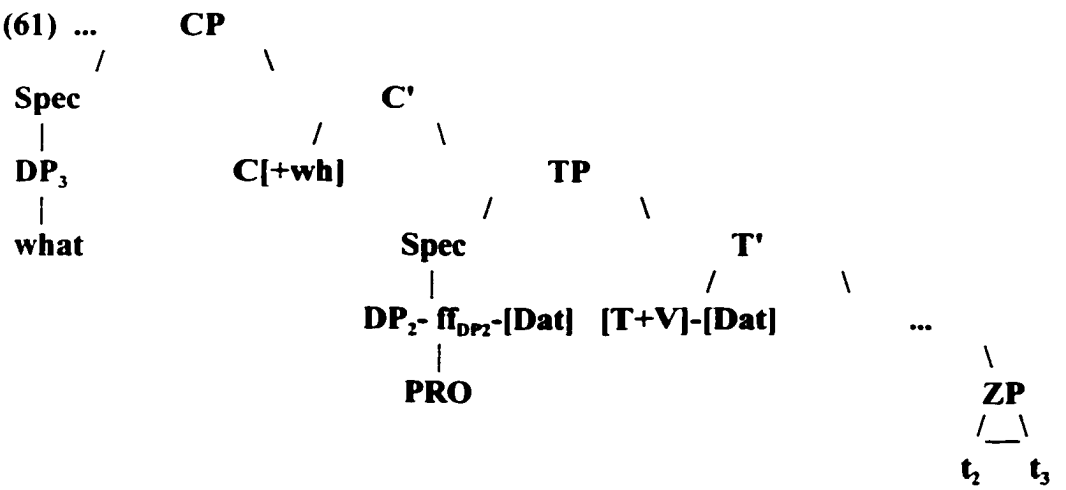
(2) ...

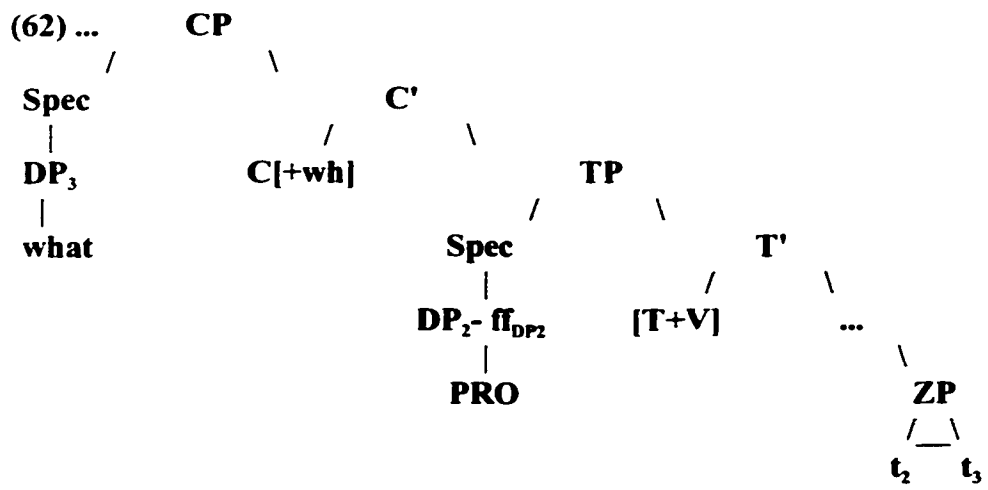


(3) ...



(61) ...





Let us compare the two structures (2)-(3) and (61)-(62) (the "Null Case checking by C" and the "Null Case checking by T") and their implications. I will show here that the derivation where the Null Case is checked by T is less plausible than the situation when the Null Case is checked by C.

The "Null Case checking by C" approach preserves the Uniformity Case hypothesis, and no problems for my proposal in section 5 emerge. This is because phi-features of an overt Dative DP are interpretable, whereas phi-features of a controlled PRO are non-interpretable (see section 5.3.2 for discussion). Thus, there are interpretable phi-features in C at LF in an infinitive with an overt subject, but there are no interpretable features in C of an infinitive with a PRO subject. As a result, reflexive movement is allowed into infinitives with a PRO subject but disallowed into infinitives with an overt subject.

Since the "Null Case checking by T" solution does not preserve the Uniformity of Case Assignment (Dative for overt subjects is checked by C but Dative for PRO is checked by T), there is the following problem with this solution: the Dative feature can be generated in C or in T independently. Structures where both C and T have the Dative feature will

crash because only one of these features will be checked off. Structures where neither of them has the Dative feature will also crash because the infinitive subject's Case feature will not be checked off.

However, when C or T (but not both) has the Dative feature, the derivation is supposed to converge. Then, the Dative feature of the subject will be checked off, no matter whether the subject is PRO or an overt DP. That is, nothing rules out the situations where the Dative of PRO is checked by C or the Dative of an overt DP is checked by T. In the former case, C will have phi-features of PRO at LF, and reflexive movement will be predicted to be blocked in a sentence with a PRO (this is a false prediction). In the latter case, C will not be "filled" at LF, and reflexive movement will be predicted to be possible in a sentence with an overt Dative subject (also a false prediction).

Either of these two situations has to be avoided in order for my account of LD binding to work. The only way to avoid such a situation is to somehow distinguish the Dative of PRO and the Dative of an overt DP and to regard these two Datives as two distinct Cases (for instance, "$Dative_1$" and "$Dative_2$"="Null Dative" in the sense of Chomsky & Lasnik (1991)). Then, C and overt Dative DP-s will only be able to have the feature "$Dative_1$", whereas T and PRO will only be able to have the feature "$Dative_2$". This will exclude both checking Dative for an overt subject ($Dative_1$) by T and checking Dative for PRO ($Dative_2$) by C.

Distinguishing "$Dative_1$" and "$Dative_2$" implies, as mentioned above, that the Dative of an overt DP and the Dative of PRO are two different Cases but not one Case. These two Cases have the same morphology but are checked by different heads. This situation is not

plausible from the point of view of the Occam's Razor.

To conclude, the "two Datives" approach raises problems mentioned above which make it an unlikely competitor. Thus, I stick to the "unitary Dative checked by C" approach.

8.2 Is the infinitive Dative structural or inherent? Why don't matrix subjects get Dative instead of Nominative?

In this section, I will discuss the characteristics of the overt infinitive subjects Dative. My analysis in section 5.3.1 implies that this Dative is structural. If the Dative were inherent, it would have to be selected and assigned by the infinitive verb. The contrast between structural and inherent Case is introduced in Chomsky (1981) and discussed in Babby (1991), Freidin & Sprouse (1991), etc. A well-known example is the pair Accusative vs. Dative. Accusative is normally assumed to be the structural case of the object, whereas Dative is considered to be inherent Case of the object. First, a Dative object is selected only by certain verbs but the choice of Accusative does not depend on the verb. Second, Accusative object sentences allow certain transformations, such as passivization, whereas Dative objects do not allow these transformations[1]. The contrast between Accusative and

[1] The passive transformation constraint is valid for Russian but not for some other languages with Dative objects, such as Icelandic - see Zaenen, Maling & Thráinsson (1985). One more distinction between Accusative and Dative objects in Russian is that the Accusative is changed to Genitive when the verb nominalization takes place (whereas Dative of the object does not change). Cf. **Vstretit' syna** "to-meet son-A" [in the airport] - **vstreča syna** "meeting-N son-G" vs. **otomstit' synu** "to-revenge son-D" – **mest' synu** "vengeance-N son-D".

Dative in Russian with respect to the passive transformation is given in (4a-b) and (5a-b).

(4) a. **Ivan vstretil syna**
John-N met son-A
"John met the son"

b. **Syn byl vstrečen Ivanom**
son-N was met John-I
"The son was met by John"

(5) a. **Ivan otomstil synu**
John-N revenged son-D
"John revenged the son"

b. ***Syn byl otomščen Ivanom**
son-N was revenged John-I
"The son was revenged by John"

We see that Dative of the object is inherent in Russian. As for the Dative of the subject, there are two points of view in the literature. Franks & Greenberg (1988) and Kondrašova (1993) argue that this Dative is structural, while Schoorlemmer (1994) and Moore & Perlmutter (1996) claim that it is inherent. Moore & Perlmutter (1996) also distinguish between subject Dative in matrix clauses and in infinitives. They give evidence that whereas the Dative "subject" in tensed clauses is a fronted object, the Dative "subject" of infinitives is a real subject. Thus, the Dative of the matrix "subject" is inherent (because it is a fronted object) but the Dative of the infinitive subject is structural.

I follow Moore & Perlmutter and present evidence (mostly taken from their study) that the infinitive Dative is structural.

First, the infinitive subject is Dative independently of verb selection, and no other Case is possible on the subject DP.

Second, the infinitive verb with a Dative subject can be in the passive form and a

Dative subject can co-occur with an instrumental (by-) phrase. (6b) contains the infinitive which is the passive of the infinitive in (6a):

(6)	a.	**My**	**ne**	**znaem,**	**ubit'**	**li**
		we-N	not	know	**to-kill**	li
		užasnomu		**drakonu**	**Ivana**	
		terrible-D		dragon-D	**John-A**	

"We do not know whether the terrible dragon is supposed to kill John"

	b.	**My**	**ne**	**znaem,**	**byt'**	**li**	**Ivanu**
		we-N	not	know	**to-be**	li	John-D
		ubitym		**užasnym**	**drakonom**		
		killed-I(nstr)		**terrible-I**	**dragon-I**		

"We do not know whether John is supposed to be killed by the terrible dragon"

Third, besides the Dative subject, an infinitive may contain another Dative DP which is the complement of the infinitive verb. I assume that no clause can contain two complement Dative DP-s, hence the Dative subject cannot be a fronted complement, cf. (7).

(7)	**Ivan$_i$**	**ne**	**znaet,**	**kogda**
	John$_i$-N	not	knows	when
	ego$_i$	**synu**	**zvonit'**	**prezidentu**
	his$_i$	son-D	to-call	president-D

"John does not know when his son can call the president"

These facts allow us to conclude that the Dative of infinitive subjects is structural[2].

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[2] Note that we cannot use the That-trace effect to test whether infinitive subjects are structural: this test was proposed by Kayne (1984). Dative subjects extraction shows no contrast comparing with object extraction: both are grammatical. But this is not an argument that Dative infinitive subjects are not "real" subjects because Russian lacks the That-trace effect (both in finite clauses and infinitives). Compare (i a-c) with an infinitive subject and (ii a-c) with a nominative subject in a tensed clause.

(i)	a.	**Ja**	**ne**	**znaju,**	
		I-N	not	know	
		kak	**Ivanu**	**obmanut'**	**Mariju**
		how	John-D	to-deceive	Mary-A

"I do not know how John can deceive Mary"

	b.	**Mariju**	**ja**	**ne**	**znaju,**

I have presented the evidence that the Dative of infinitive subjects is structural. The alternative view (that the Dative of infinitive subjects is inherent) is advocated by Babby (1991). Babby argues that historically, the Dative of infinitive subject is inherent. In Old Russian, thematic objects in infinitives (but not in finite clauses) could be assigned Nominative (example from p. 40):

(8) **Zemlja** **paxat'**
earth-N to-plow
"It is necessary to plow the land"

Babby argues on independent grounds (using facts of Modern Icelandic) that Nominative is

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Mary-A I-N not know
kak **Ivanu** **obmanut'** **t**
how John-D to-deceive t

c. **Ivanu** **ja** **ne** **znaju,**
John-D I-N not know
kak **t** **obmanut'** **Mariju**
how t to-deceive Mary-A

(ii) **a.** **Ja** **ne** **xoču,**
I-N not want
čtoby **Ivan** **ljubil** **Mariju**
that-SUBJ John-N loved Mary-A
"I do not want John to love Mary"

b. **Mariju** **ja** **ne** **xoču,**
Mary-A I-N not want
čtoby **Ivan** **ljubil** **t**
that-SUBJ John-N loved t

c. **Ivan** **ja** **ne** **xoču,**
John-N I-N not want
čtoby **t** **ljubil** **Mariju**
that-SUBJ t loved Mary-A

The (b) examples are the (a) sentences with a fronted embedded object; the (c) examples are the instances of (a) with a fronted subject. Both types of fronted sentences are grammatical with an embedded infinitive (i) and with an embedded tensed subjunctive (ii). Thus, Russian has no That-trace effect in any embedded clauses, and therefore we cannot use the That-trace test to reveal subjecthood.

assigned to the highest DP in the overt Structure if this DP has not been assigned an inherent Case yet (inherent Case is assigned before structural Case). In the infinitive in (8), the highest DP is the subject PRO. If the Case of PRO were not lexical, PRO would be assigned Nominative, and the object **zemlja** "earth" would be able to get Accusative but not Nominative. Since **zemlja** "earth" is Nominative in (8), and since there is independent evidence from secondary predicates agreement that PRO in infinitives is Dative, Babby concludes that PRO is Dative, and this Dative is inherent but not structural. In finite clauses, where the subject (which is the highest DP in the overt syntax) always gets a structural Nominative but not any inherent Case[3], the object cannot be the assigned Nominative.

In Modern Russian, Nominative thematic objects in infinitives are impossible ((I) would be ungrammatical). That does not allow us to conclude either that the Dative of PRO is inherent or that it is structural: both options are possible. If the Dative of PRO is inherent, infinitive objects cannot be Nominative because the rule of Nominative assignment has changed. If the Dative of PRO is structural, infinitive objects cannot be Nominative because both structural Dative and structural Nominative are for some reason disallowed in the same clause. Since Babby's data do not constitute sufficient evidence that the Dative of PRO in Modern Russian is inherent, I stick to the claim advocated above that this Dative is structural.

As for Dative subjects in matrix clauses, I consider their Dative as inherent, following Schoorlemmer (1994) and Moore & Perlmutter (1996); see the arguments in

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[3] This reasoning implies that all finite sentences with "matrix Dative subjects" contain Nominative null expletives, whereas Dative DP-s are not true subjects.

these studies.

Two more questions emerge. First, if C can check a structural Dative for an infinitive subject, why do finite clause subjects get Nominative rather than Dative? Assuming that C can have Dative Case features and that a finite Tense always has Nominative Case features, these subjects must be allowed to have two Cases which are checked subsequently: first Nominative and then Dative.

The situation where a subject gets two structural Cases (Nominative and Dative) shows up in Hungarian, according to Szabolcsi (1994). Szabolcsi shows that a Hungarian DP has a structure similar to IP with the category I' (similar to the I of a clause). The possessor subject of the DP can be Nominative or Dative. Szabolcsi's explanation is the following: every possessor DP moves to the SpecI'P position and gets Nominative from I' there. Then, a possessor DP can optionally move to Spec DP (DP is the counterpart of the CP in a clause). If this second movement takes place, the DP receives the second Case (Dative) from D. Note that having both Nominative and Dative is morphologically possible in Hungarian because Nominative has no inflection: the inflections of other Cases are added to the unmarked form which is Nominative. In Russian, however, DP-s cannot have two Cases, unlike Hungarian. This is because Russian DP-s can have at most one Case morpheme, for instance **korov-a** "cow-NOM", **korov-y** "cow-GEN", **korov-e** "cow-DAT", etc. If Russian DP-s have at most one Case morpheme, it is plausible to assume that they can have at most one Case feature; they cannot check Case twice.

I propose that the explanation for the fact that finite clauses always have Nominative but not Dative subjects is the following. First, Russian DP-s can have only one Case feature.

Second, Russian has a hierarchy of Case features where Nominative features are higher than Dative features. When a DP can be checked both for Nominative and Dative by T and C respectively, the Nominative features take precedence over the Dative features, and therefore only Nominative features get checked.[4]

The second question concerns so called "tensed infinitives". These structures are sometimes considered infinitives because they are very similar to embedded infinitives with Dative subjects above, except that they have a finite copula. Compare (9) vs. (10) and (11) vs. (12). (9) and (11) contain embedded infinitives which cannot be finite, whereas (10) and (12) represent their "tensed" counterparts.

(9)	**Ivan**	**sprosil,**	**kuda**	**emu**	**(*bylo)**	**sest'**
	John-N	asked	where	he-D	(*was)	to-sit-down

"John asked where to sit down"

(10)	**Kuda**	**emu**	**bylo**	**sest'?**
	where	he-D	was	to-sit-down

"There is no place for him to sit down" [this is a rhetorical question]

(11)	**Ivan**	**ne**	**znal,**	**idti**	**li**	**emu**	**(*bylo)v**	**školu**
	John-N	not	knew	to-go	li	he-D	(*was) in	school-A

"John did not know whether to go to school or not"

(12)	**Emu**	**bylo**	**ne**	**idti**	**v**	**školu**
	he-D	was	not	to-go	in	school-A

"It was impossible for him to go to school"

The question which arises with respect to "tensed" infinitives (10) and (12) is whether the

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[4] An alternative account of the ban on a double Case on matrix subjects (proposed by Marcel den Dikken, p.c.) cannot be adopted. This explanation is the following: two Case features on Agrs would require multiple specifiers to check these two features; multiple specifiers are prohibited in the Antisymmetry framework, which I have adopted.

However, Nominative and Dative can be checked without using the second ("Dative") specifier because in my framework, Dative is checked by C at LF, and only

Dative of their subjects is structural, similar to regular infinitive subjects, or inherent, similar to most matrix Dative "subjects".

The tests I used to prove that the Dative of embedded infinitives is structural give the same result with "tensed" infinitives as with embedded infinitives. First, the infinitive subject is Dative independently of verb selection, no other Case is possible on the subject DP.

Second, the infinitive verb with a Dative subject can be in the passive form and a Dative subject can co-occur with an instrumental (by-) phrase. (13b) contains the infinitive which is the passive of the infinitive in (13a):

(13)	**a.**	**Užasnomu**	**drakonu**	**bylo**	**ne**	**ubit'**	**Ivana**
		terrible-D	dragon-D	was	not	**to-kill**	John-A

"It was impossible for the terrible dragon to kill John"

b.	**Ivanu bylo**	**ne**	**byt'**	**ubitym**	**užasnym**	**drakonom**
	John-D was	not	**to-be**	**killed-I(nstr)**	terrible-I	dragon-I

"It was impossible for John to be killed by the terrible dragon"

Third, besides the Dative subject, an infinitive may contain another Dative DP which is the complement of the infinitive verb. I assume that no clause can contain two complement Dative DP-s, hence the Dative subject cannot be a fronted complement, cf. (14).

(14)	**Synu**	**Ivana**	**bylo**	**ne**	**zvonit'**	**prezidentu**
	son-D	$John_i$-G	was	not	to-call	president-D

"It is impossible for John's son to call the president"

The results of these three tests are completely similar to the results for embedded infinitives. It seems that it must follow that the Dative of "tensed" infinitives subjects is structural. However, I propose that the opposite solution (that this Dative is inherent) is correct, and I

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the features of the subject must raise to C covertly to check Dative.

will give evidence for my proposal.

Compare the translations of (9) and (11), on one hand, and of (10) and (12), on the other hand. The English translations of the infinitives in the former are just infinitives but the translations of the latter contain an additional matrix predicate: the predicate of existence in (52) and the predicate "impossible" in (12). On the basis of these translations, I propose that "tensed" infinitives are in fact compound sentences. A regular infinitive in such a sentence is embedded into the matrix predicate which consists of a null modal and a finite copula (cf. a similar solution in Komar (1999)). The structure of (52) and (12) will be (15) and (16).

(15) Kuda$_2$ emu$_1$ 0$_{EXIST}$ bylo [$_{CP}$ e$_1$ sest' t$_2$]?

(16) Emu$_1$ 0$_{POSSIB}$ bylo [$_{CP}$ e$_1$ ne idti v skolu]

If the structures in (15) and (16) are correct, we get an explanation for the Dative in these examples. It is inherent, and it is selected and checked by the null modal head. Then, these sentences are completely similar to the following sentences with an overt modal:

(17)	**Kuda$_2$**		**emu$_1$**	**možno**	**bylo**
	where$_2$		he-D	possible-DFT	was
	[$_{CP}$	**e$_1$**	**sest'**	**t$_2$]?**[5]	
	[CP	e$_1$	to-sit-down	t$_2$]	

"Where could he sit down?"

(18)	**Emu$_1$**	**nužno**	**bylo**			
	he$_1$-D	necessary-DFT	was			
	[CP	**e$_1$**	**ne**	**idti**	**v**	**školu]**
	[CP	e$_1$	not	to-go	in	school-A]

"It was necessary for John not to go to school"

[5] One more question arises about the structures (15) and (16): are they control or raising structures, that is, is e$_1$ a trace or PRO? I assume that e$_1$ is PRO since I consider (15)-(16) to be similar to structures with overt modals (17)-(18), and the latter structures involve control.

In (17)-(18), the inherent Dative of **emu** is selected by the default modals **mo**ż**no** "possible" and **nu**ż**no** "necessary". The parallelism of (10) and (12), on one hand, and (17)-(18), on the other hand, allows us to claim that the null modal in the former examples is the counterpart of the overt modal in the latter examples which checks the inherent Dative of **emu**.

Similar results of the structural Case tests in both cases are explained as follows. In the case of embedded infinitives, the Dative is in fact structural. In case of the "tensed" infinitives, first, the infinitive subject Dative does not depend on the infinitive verb selection because it is selected by the null modal but not by the infinitive verb.

Second, passivization in (14a-b) is possible because the embedded infinitive clause is passivized, but not the matrix modal clause. Third, two Dative phrases are possible in (56) because one of the Datives (the subject) is selected by the matrix null modal but the other one (the object) is selected by the embedded infinitive verb.

The solution that the Dative in "tensed" infinitives is inherent is consistent with the fact that Dative of matrix (tensed) clauses subjects is normally inherent (these three tests show opposite results in case of all other matrix Datives).

To conclude, I have given the structure and the analysis of "tensed" infinitives based on the postulation of a matrix null modal making tensed infinitives similar to certain overt modals which select inherent Dative. Thus, all Dative subjects in all finite clauses are inherent, whereas the subjects of embedded non-finite infinitives are structural.

Chapter 9

Conclusions

In this work, I concentrated on long-distance binding in Russian. My account is based on the head movement framework of Pica (1987, 1991), but I modify this framework and implement it in the Minimalist framework.

I consider reflexive movement as [+R] feature movement: the [+R] feature of the reflexive moves to the T whose specifier is the reflexive's antecedent. Following the head movement approach and based on the derivation by phase Chomsky's (1999) approach, I have assumed that the [+R] reflexive feature cannot skip any C head on its way to the antecedent T, whereas its movement is otherwise unbounded. I have also assumed that this feature cannot adjoin directly to C if another feature is already adjoined to C. If C has an interpretable feature, [+R] cannot excorporate from C because it is too deeply embedded under this interpretable feature, and reflexive movement is blocked.

This result is based on important facts of feature content of C in different environments in Russian. My account partially supports the T-to-C movement at LF proposal of Watanabe (1993); my account implies that Null (=Dative) Case in Russian is checked by an infinitive C but not by T, that is, the [Dat] feature is base-generated in the C head of an infinitive. Cross-linguistically, differences in the distribution of long-distance reflexives imply differences in feature content of C in various syntactic constructions.

Besides the three main environments in which long-distance binding is blocked (finite clauses, participial clauses, infinitives with an overt Dative subjects), I have

considered other contexts of binding. Binding into adjectival noun modifiers, DP-s, infinitives with a PRO subject and with a wh-word or complementizer is grammatical. I have analyzed the informants' judgments on long-distance binding in these environments. My hypothesis is that in cases in which long-distance binding is judged as deviant, non-syntactic (pragmatic or sentence-processing) factors affect the judgments.

I have proposed a solution to the problem of complex reflexives and reciprocals (using the Russian **sam sebja** "self-N sebja-A" as an example). **Sam sebja** involves a small clause with a subject small clause [$_{SC}$ PRO **sam**] and the object **sebja**. The vacuous (except for the [+R] feature) head of the **sam sebja** small clause has a non-interpretable feature [+R]; this head undergoes abstract incorporation into T of the matrix clause. This abstract incorporation explains the facts that the complex reflexive can only be local and cannot be an adjunct (that is, they are SELF-reflexives in the sense of Reinhart & Reuland (1993)). **Sam sebja** does not get its relation to the antecedent via LF movement of **sebja**'s [+R]. This relation is established via control of PRO (the subject of [$_{SC}$ PRO **sam**]) by the agentive antecedent. **Sam** recieves its Case (the Case of the external argument) via agreement with the PRO of [$_{SC}$ PRO **sam**], and this PRO gets the Case from its controller via agreement. Thus, I have proposed a solution to a very impotrant problem of the head movement framework, whereas the solution for this problem in the head movement framework is not satisfactory.

I have also investigated some related problems of Russian syntax, such as the issue of whether the Dative in infinitives is structural or inherent; the issue of the Dative subjects in "matrix" infinitives.

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