

If there is no expletive, and the object in (1) is in spec TP as shown in (5) (Bailyn 2003; Lavine and Freidin 2002), then it should be able to bind a subject-oriented anaphor and show co-reference under conjunction elision. However, this is not possible, as shown in (6a,b).

(5) [TP Boat-acc(i) T ... [VP t(i) V carried-away...]]

(6) a. *Dimu(i) ubilo svojej(i) puljej
 Dima-acc killed-3rdSgNeut self's bullet
 Dima got killed by his own bullet

b. *Dim-u(i) ubilo i (i)_ upal
 Dima-acc killed and fell
 Dima got killed and fell down

So, the Adversity Impersonal construction (1) is a problem: it involves a seemingly unmotivated movement of the object that has neither A- nor A'-properties. We ask: (a) why is the object fronted in (1)? (b) where does it wind up? The answer to (a) and (b) should also explain the cause for object movement and its position in the OVS construction given in (7) (Bailyn 2003) that involves an overt subject:

(7) Dimu udaril Misha
 Dima-acc hit-3rdSgMsc Misha-Nom
 MISHA hit Dima (obligatory focus on 'Misha')

(7) poses an additional problem: there is a Minimality-violating movement of the object over the overt subject.

1.2 Previous proposals

1.2.1 Levine and Freidin (2002)

Levine and Freidin (2002) argue that the Adversity Impersonal construction involves a movement of the accusative object into spec TP (A-movement). There is default agreement on the T because the T lacks a complete set of phi-features. The fronted object checks the EPP on the T, while the phi-complete v checks accusative case on the object.

However, the claim that the fronted object is in spec TP is challenged by the fact that it is unable to bind a subject-oriented anaphor (cf6a). Furthermore, the proposal that in the Adversity Impersonal construction the T lacks a full set of phi-features, while the v has one, misses an important generalization: namely, Adversity Impersonal constructions are never agentive (see Section 3 below). The authors, on the other hand, predict that *anytime* we have a phi-defective T,

we should expect an Adversity Impersonal construction regardless of the agentivity of the verb.

1.2.2 Bailyn (2002, 2003)

As Levine and Freidin (2001), Bailyn (2001, 2003) argues that both Adversity Impersonal and OVS constructions (7) are instances of ‘Generalized Inversion’ whereby the object (or any other element) is fronted to spec TP to check the EPP. However, much like Levine and Freidin (2002), Bailyn predicts that the fronted object in the Adversity Impersonal and OVS construction should behave like a nominative or dative subject (9) with respect to binding, but this is not borne out, as seen from the contrast between (8) and (9):

- (8) Dimu(i) uneslo v *svojej(i) lodke
Dima-acc carried away in self’s boat
Dima was carried away in his own boat
- (9) Dime(i) strashno v svojej(i) kvartire
Dima-dat fears in self’s apartment
Dima feels scared in his own apartment

Furthermore, as Levine and Freidin (2002), Bailyn’s proposal does not exclude the appearance of agentive verbs in Adversity Impersonal constructions. Finally, Bailyn (2001, 2003) does not address the Relativized Minimality / MLC problem (Rizzi 1990, Chomsky 1995) posed by OVS constructions in (7) to which he offers the same analysis as to (1). In particular, he does not explain why the Minimality-violating movement of the object over the overt subject should be allowed in this construction. So, the challenge posed by the Adversity Impersonal construction and the even stronger challenge posed by the OVS construction remains: how and why does the object move over the subject and where does it wind up?

2. The Proposal

2.1 Some background on the syntax of adversity impersonals

In order to explain the trigger for object-fronting in (1) and its ultimate position, we must first consider the initial syntax of (1) prior to object movement. Following Pytkannen (2002), I argue in Markman (2004) that (1) involves a head Caus that introduces a causing event, but lacks a v (Voice in the sense of Kratzer 1995) that assigns the ‘agent’ theta-role. Hence the Adversity Impersonal construction is obligatorily non-agentive. Below I review some evidence to that effect. First, the construction is incompatible with an agentive by-phrase (10b). Second, it disallows control into purpose clauses (10a). In this

regard, the Adversity Impersonal construction differs from what we see in the passive construction (11) that allows both control into purpose clauses and agentive by-phrases:

- (10) a. Lodk-u sozhglo (* Dim-oj) / molni-jej
 boat-acc burned-3rdNeutSg Dima-instr / lightning-instr
 The boat got incinerated by Dima / by lightening
- b. *Lodk-u sozhglo chtob poluchit' straxovku
 boat-acc burned-3rdNeutSg collect-inf insurance
 The boat got incinerated to collect the insurance
- (11)a. Lodka byla sozhena chtob poluchit' straxovku
 boat-nom was burned-3rdFemSeg in order to collect insurance
 The boat was burned to collect the insurance
- b. Lodka byla sozhena vladel'ts-ami / molni-jej
 boat-nom was burned-3rdFemSeg owners-instr / lightening-instr
 The boat was burned by the owners/ by lightening

Third, the Adversity Impersonal construction is also impossible with inherently agentive verbs (12b), again, unlike the passive construction (12a):

- (12) a. Knig-a byl-a prochitan-a b. * Knig-u prochital-o
 Book-nom was-fem read-fem * Book-acc read-neut
 The book was read The book got read

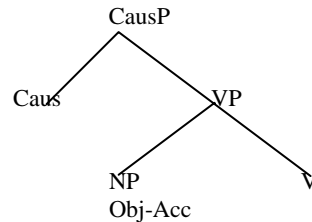
However, the presence of a causing event is supported by (13) – an expression such as “on its own” is not possible in the Adversity Impersonal construction:

- (13) Dim-u ubil-o a (* sam / sam-o po sebe) /b (mgnovenno)
 Dima-acc killed-neut (*alone-masc / alone-neut by self) / (instantaneously)
 Dima got killed (*on his own/on its own) / (instantaneously)

Thus, (1) involves a causing event introduced by a head Caus (Pylkannen 2002) that licenses accusative case, but lacks a theta-role. The structure of (1) is (14).

- (1) a. Lodk-u unesl-o b. Dim-u ubil-o
 boat-fem.acc carried3rdSgNeut Dima-masc.acc killed3rdSgNeut
 the boat got carried away Dima got killed

(14)



2.2 Cyclic spell-out and spell-out domains

To address the question of how the object goes from being in spec VP (14) to being fronted over the verb, I turn to the idea of cyclic spell-out and PF-linearization discussed in Fox and Pesetsky (2004) (F&P 2004). Fox and Pesetsky (2004) propose following Chomsky (2000, 2001) that spell-out applies to sub-parts of a derivation referred to as a Spell-out Domains (S-ODs). Once the S-OD is shipped to PF and linearized, the established relative linear order between elements must be preserved in subsequent spell-out domains (F&P 2004, p.5). If the order is undone by movement in the course of the derivation, it must be re-established before the CP is spelled-out. Otherwise, an ordering contradiction would arise, crashing the derivation. In addition, building on Fox and Pesetsky (2004), I argue that (a) the VP is the smallest spell-out domain¹, and (b) the VP is crucially linearized together with its spec. With this in mind, (15) is a linearization of the VP in (1) where c-command translates into linear precedence (F&P2004).

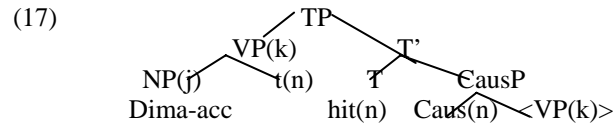
(15) [VP [NP(Dima-acc) V(killed)]]

However, when the V combines with Caus, the order is changed to VO (16).

(16) [CausP [V_k-Caus(killed) [NP (Dima-acc) t(k)]]]

If the OV order is not re-established, the derivation will crash due to an ordering contradiction (F&P2004). Order Preservation, thus, triggers the movement in (1). (See also Mueller (2001, 2006) for arguments that Shape Conservation (Williams 1999) can serve as a possible trigger for movement). This answers the question in (a) – why is the object fronted in the Adversity Impersonal construction. Once we have established that the object has to be moved higher than the verb, we are still left with the question of where it moves to. (This is the question in (b)). Here we have a number of options: (a) the object moves to spec TP – nothing prevents this in principle, but we have empirical evidence against this option (binding). (b) the object moves to some TP-adjoined or a CP position (A'- movement) - there is evidence against that too (scope). (c) another phrase containing just the object, and nothing else, moves to spec TP.

The option in (c) is the right and only choice: what moves to spec TP is the remnant VP that contains nothing else but the object in its spec (17).



In the representation above, the EPP is satisfied by the VP; no null expletive is needed. Crucially, subject-anaphor binding is not possible because the NP in the spec of VP is too deeply embedded to bind the anaphor. The scope facts in (6) are also explained: the VP containing the object can reconstruct. That depth of embedding affects binding is independently seen in (18a) where the NP inside a CP cannot bind the anaphor and the pronoun must be used instead (18b).

- (18)a.* [Chto Dima(i) ubil Mash-u] stalo izvestno na svojem(i) dne rozhden'ji
 [That Dima killed Masha-acc] became known at self's birthday
 That Dima killed Masha became known at his (Dima's) birthday
- b. [Chto Dima(i) ubil Mash-u] stalo izvestno na ego(i) dne rozhden'ji
 [That Dima killed Masha-acc] became known at his birthday
 That Dima killed Masha became known at his (Dima's) birthday

The answer to question (b) – where the object winds up – is, thus, surprising: the object actually remains in situ. It is the VP containing the object that moves to spect TP!

3. Remnant movement and the OVS orders

3.1 OVS constructions

We can now extend the account of (1) to explain object fronting in the OVS construction in (7), repeated below:

- (7) Dimu udaril Misha
 Dima-acc hit-3rdSgMsc Misha-Nom
 MISHA hit Dima (obligatory focus on 'Misha')

The object in (7) is not in spec TP (contrary to Bailyn 2003). Recall, it cannot bind the anaphor (19), which is bound from a subject position: spec TP, vP, or PredP (cf Harley 1995,2006 on multiple subject positions).

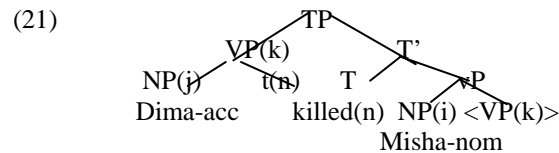
- (19) Dimu(j) ubil Misha(i) v svojej(i/* j) kvartire

Dima-acc killed Misha-nom in self's apartment
 Misha(i) killed Dima(j) in his(i) apartment

In addition, moving the object to spec TP in (7) should be ruled out by Minimality. Yet, the fronted object is not adjoined: it does not show frozen scope (20).

(20) Odnogo / kakogo-to mal'chika videla kazhdaja devochka
 One / some boy-acc saw every girl-nom
 Every girl saw some boy (Every > Some; Some > Every)

To account for (7), I modify Fox and Pesetsky's proposal and argue that some languages can spell-out either the VP or vP even in the presence of v². While choosing the vP as an S-OD yields SVO orders, spelling-out the VP yields OV(S) orders. Arguably, having this choice is what allows a language to have certain short-scrambled orders³. In (7), the remnant VP moves to spec TP (21) to preserve the OV order, which explains the binding and the scope facts in (19) and (20). Unlike (17), in (21) the VP 'smuggles' the object over the subject in the sense of Collins (2005a,b).



To explain how a Minimality violation is avoided in (21), we must take a brief look at how 'smuggling' (defined (22)) works.

(22) "Suppose a constituent YP contains XP. Suppose XP is inaccessible to Z because of the presence of W (a barrier). If YP moves to a position c-commanding W, we say that YP smuggles XP past W."

Collins (2005a,b)

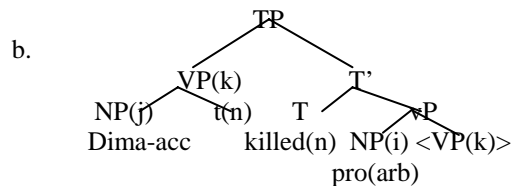
In our case, the YP is the VP; the XP is the NP(object); the Z is spec TP; the W (barrier) is the NP(subject). By moving the VP to spec TP, we smuggle the object NP past the barrier– the subject⁴. Since the VP and the NP are not the same categories, there is no Relativized Minimality violation.

3.2 The impersonal "they" construction and OVS

The account of OV(S) constructions can be extended to the agentive impersonal "they" construction, where the object is also fronted over the obligatorily present null subject. The construction in (23a) is different from the Adversity

Impersonal in that it is necessarily agentive, not just causative. The agent is arguably a *pro*(arb) that occupies the same syntactic position as any agent argument – spec vP. (For extensive discussion on the semantics and pragmatics of arbitrary *pros* see Malamud 2006). Unlike the Adversity Impersonal construction, (23a) is incompatible with any *by*-phrase; agreement is 3rdPL, triggered by the *pro*(arb) subject, not default. The structure for (23a) is (23b)

- (23)a. Dimu ubili (chtob poluchit' straxovku) / (*molni-jej)
 Dima-acc killed-3rdPL to collect insurance lightning-instr
 They killed Dima in order to collect insurance / by a lightning



The impersonal “they” construction receives the same analysis as the other OV(S) constructions: the VP containing nothing but the object is fronted to spec TP in order to restore the initial OV order created by spelling out the VP. As a result, the object cannot bind a subject oriented anaphor, as shown in (24a):

- (24) a. Dimu(i) ubili v *svojej(i) / ego(i) kvartire
 Dima-acc killed-3rdPL in self's his apartment
 They killed Dima in his own apartment

- b. Dima(i) byl ubit v svojej(i) /*ego(i) kvartire
 Dima-nom was killed in self's his apartment
 Dima was killed in his own apartment

(24a) contrasts sharply with the passive construction in (24b), indicating that while the object *is* in spec TP in the passive construction (24b), it is not in the impersonal “they” construction (24a).

3.3 Pragmatic effects in OV(S) constructions – a pragmatic interlude

An important consequence of choosing the VP as an S-OD in the presence of *v* is that the post-verbal subject receives primary nuclear stress due to being the right-most visible element in the tree. Hence, the subject gets obligatorily focused (Chomsky and Halle 1968; Zubizarreta and Vergnaud 2000).

Unlike the Adversity Impersonal and the agentive impersonal ‘they’ constructions which involve no overt subject, or a subject-initial SVO order

achieved by spelling-out the vP, (7) / (25) is pragmatically marked. The OVS construction (25) cannot be used to answer a question such as “what happened?” The primary nuclear stress that falls on the post-verbal subject in (25), causing it to be focused results in infelicity in this case. The construction is acceptable if there is a prior mention of the boat being stolen by someone.

(25)# Lodku ukral Dima
 Boat-acc stole Dima
 DIMA stole the boat (it was Dima who stole the boat)

In contrast, the inverted order in the Adversity Impersonal and impersonal “they” constructions (26a,b) is actually pragmatically neutral and can be used to answer the question “what happened?” In fact, it is the VO order in (26) that is pragmatically marked.

- (26) a. Lodk-u uneslo /#uneslo lodk-u [AVERS. IMPERSNL]
 Boat-acc carried away carried-away boat-acc
 The boat got carried away
- b. Lodk-u ukrali /# ukrali lodk-u [IMPERSNL ‘THEY’]
 Boat-acc stole-3rdPIPast / stole-3rdPIPast boat-acc
 They stole the boat / they stole the boat

Thus, the absence of an overt subject in the post-verbal position in Adversity Impersonal constructions (26a) and impersonal “they” constructions (26b) makes the OV order pragmatically neutral, unlike what we see in OVS constructions with overt subjects (25).

4. Extensions: OVS in Bantu

4.1 OVS in Bantu

The proposal can be further extended to account for the properties of the OVS construction in Kirundi⁵ (27) discussed extensively in Ndayiragije (1996). In (27), the post-verbal subject is also obligatorily focused, much like what we see in Russian:

(27) Ivyo bitabo bi-a-somye Yohani
 Those books 3pl-pst-read-perf John
 JOHN read those books (KIRUNDI; Ndayiragije 1996)

Yet, the OVS construction in Kirundi involves an additional problem: not only does it have a minimality-violating movement of the object over the overt

subject, it has agreement with the fronted object, unlike Russian, suggesting that the object is actually in spec TP (Ndayiragije 1996, Baker 2003). Ndayiragije (1996) argues that the object in (27) moves to spec TP over the subject without violating Relativized Minimality because the subject first moves to the spec of a TP-internal focus position, FocP, which is an A-bar position. However, this claim is problematic on several grounds. First, moving the subject to a spec of a TP-internal focus position prior to moving the object to spec TP is counter-cyclic and should be blocked. Second, positing a TP-internal focus position is not necessary: the obligatory focus of the subject can be explained by its clause-final position.

The current proposal explains (27) by minimally amending the account of (7): to preserve the order established by spelling-out the VP, the VP-remnant moves to a vP-adjoined position, smuggling the object past the subject. The object subsequently moves out of the VP to spec TP as shown in (28).

(28) [TP Ob_k(j) T [vP [VP(k) t(j)] [vP Subj(i) <VP(k)>]]]

Clearly, (28) raises the question why the object is allowed to be fronted to spec TP in Bantu, but not in Russian. I turn to this question in the next section.

4.2 Russian vs. Bantu

OVS constructions of the Bantu type are quite rare. To answer this question I would like to invoke an Agreement Parameter (29) proposed in Baker (2003).

(29) **An Agreement Parameter:** In Indo-European languages, the T agrees with the nominative XP. In Bantu, the T agrees with the XP in its specifier (Baker 2003, p.121).

The reason for this, Baker argues, is that the agreement features (phi-features) on T are bundled with the EPP feature in Bantu, but not in Indo-European languages. In the latter, the phi-features are bundled with the nominative case feature. So, an XP can merged /moved into spec TP in Bantu iff XP checks phi-features on T. If so, then a VP cannot appear in spec TP in Bantu because it lacks phi-features⁶. Combining what was said above with Baker's Agreement Parameter, the following picture emerges. Bantu OVS constructions require two movements: (1) the VP must move to a vP-adjoined position, smuggling the object past the subject. (2)The object has to be moved out to spec TP for agreement⁷. Russian, on the other hand, tolerates non-agreeing XPs in spec TP, hence moving the VP to spec TP is enough. Two movements would be counter-economical. Hence, the object itself never moves to spec TP in Russian. Importantly, the T can't agree downward with the object (before the VP is

moved) because the subject is a closer target for agreement. This explains subject agreement in Russian OVS constructions.

5. Conclusion

In sum, I have argued that OV(S) constructions involve a remnant movement of the VP to spec TP, triggered by the need to preserve the OV order established by spelling out the VP. The proposal explains the properties of OV(S) orders in the Adversity Impersonal and impersonal “they” constructions as well as in the OVS construction with an overt subject in Russian. I have then extended the account to Bantu with minor modifications. In particular, I have shown that the differences between Russian and Bantu OVS constructions are derivable from the independently motivated Agreement Parameter proposed in Baker (2003). The parameter requires any XP in the spec of TP in Bantu to agree with the verb. As a result, the VP cannot be fronted to the spec TP; the subject has to be smuggled out of the VP (in the sense of Collins 2003) and into spec TP. Since Russian (along with other Indo-European languages) does not require that only agreeing XPs appear in spec TP, such a smuggling operation would be counter-economical and hence blocked. The following typology of OV(S) constructions, thus, emerges from the proposal (30):

(30)

OV(S) Adversity Impersonal	OV(S) Impersonal “they”	OVS Russian (with overt subj.)	OVS Bantu (with overt subj.)
Move VP to spec TP (re-establish the OV order)	Move VP to spec TP (re-establish the OV order); the object is smuggled past the pro(arb) subject	Move VP to spec TP (re-establish the OV order); the object is smuggled past the overt subject	Move VP to a vP-adjoined position (re-establish the OV order); move the object out of the VP to spec TP for agreement
No “pragmatic” effect	No “pragmatic” effect	The overt subject is focused	The overt subject is focused

Finally, the data presented here indicates that OV(S) constructions, and by hypothesis other short-scrambled orders, cannot be instances of PF-movement that happen post-spell-out. There are clear syntactic and interpretational consequences of these movements. The same conclusion is independently reached in Holmberg (2000) regarding stylistic fronting in Scandinavian.

Notes

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¹ Though the object may be merged as a complement of V, it moves to spec VP for theta-assignment, crucially prior to spell-out. Hence, the resulting initial order of the VP is OV, not VO. Also, Fox and Pesetsky (2004) distinguish between spell-out domains and phases in the sense of Chomsky (2001), but this distinction is not relevant for my purposes. I will simply adopt the terminology Fox and Pesetsky (2004) use.

² The assumption that VPs can be SO-Ds is needed for the treatment of unaccusative constructions, unless we want to say that they are always spelled-out as CPs. (Though see Mueller 2006 for an argument against treating a VP as a phase/spell-out domain)

³ While deriving other short-scrambled orders extends beyond the scope of the current discussion, I would like to note that we can get a variety of short-scrambled word orders by manipulating the relative timing of spell-out, merge, and XP-movement. For example, if we choose to spell-out the VP, not the vP, we can get: OVS and SOV orders, since the relative position of the subject does not matter. What matters crucially is that the relative ordering between the object and the verb remain the same (OV) throughout the derivation. Furthermore, the object can move out of the VP prior to spell-out, e.g. [VP [NP(obj) V]] becomes [NP(i) [VP [t(i) V]]]. When the VP is spelled-out, the output visible at PF contains just the V. Hence, at the end of the derivation when the CP is spelled-out (after the subject is merged) we can get the order: [O [S [..V..]]]. The logic of permuting the ordering of spell-out and move operations is a powerful tool and yields a wide range of word orders. Clearly, allowing such permutations raises an important question, such as how do we constrain them. Finally, the proposal that the VP moves leaving its head below raises a question whether such headless phrasal movement should be allowed. At this point I am not aware of any specific principles of grammar that would disallow it, but such movement may raise conceptual issues at a closer investigation. I leave these questions as important open issues for future research.

⁴ Briefly returning to the Adversity Impersonal construction (1), the above analysis can be applied to it as well if we assume that spec CausP actually has some kind of an inanimate argument over which the object is moved. There are reasons not to adopt this alternative: the construction involves an optional 'by-phrase' which is never allowed with agentive transitive constructions. This indicates that there is a deeper difference between the syntax of (1) and that of a transitive agentive construction that cannot be reduced to a difference in the v/caus head involved.

⁵ For discussion of OVS constructions in other Bantu languages see Ura (2000) references therein.

⁶ In this regard the VP is unlike a locative PP that can appear in spec TP in locative inversion. See Bresnan and Kanerva (1989) for arguments that locative phrases do have phi-features.

⁷ This argument presupposes that agreement is spec-head at least in some languages. I refer the reader to Koopman (2001) and Baker (2006) for arguments in favor of spec-head agreement in Bantu.

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