John Frederick Bailyn. *The syntax of Russian.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012. xvii + 373 pp.

Reviewed by Egor Tsedryk

Rich case morphology and word order flexibility are two interrelated properties of Russian that have long intrigued syntacticians from various schools and traditions. In *The syntax of Russian*, Bailyn dismisses anything that could potentially be qualified as "optional" or "non-configurational" in Russian. In a nutshell, he claims that: (i) Russian has the same major constituents as English, including verb phrase (VP) and determiner phrase (DP); (ii) case marking is a by-product of syntactic configurations, and it is attributed to a limited number of categories; (iii) basic word order is Subject-Verb-Object (SVO), while other patterns are derived by movement; (iv) discourse-related movement occurs at the level of Functional Form,[1] which is "a point of interface between linguistic and non-linguistic [discursive] systems" (320).

As Bailyn notes in the preface, his general goal is to describe the main structural properties of modern Russian. Thus, he targets a large readership, including anyone interested in Russian or in syntax more generally. At the same time he has a narrower goal of highlighting those aspects of Russian that represent a particular interest in current syntactic theory. In my opinion, this book is more successful in achieving its narrower goal. A reader who does not have a background in minimalism, or more generally in generative syntax, may find it difficult to follow, especially parts two and three.

The book contains seven chapters organized into three parts. The first part (Basic configurations, chapters 1–3) follows the logic of an introductory textbook in syntax: it outlines the internal structure of phrases, describes constituency tests applicable to Russian, and presents the minimal structure of main and subordinate clauses. The second two parts (Case, chapters 4–5, and Word order, chapters 6–7) reveal the syntactic nature of core cases (Nominative, Accusative, Da-

[1] I follow Bailyn in his use of capitalization for certain terms and concepts.

tive, Genitive, and Instrumental) and uncover movement processes deriving various word order patterns in Russian.

In the remainder of this review I will first go through each chapter, highlighting the key ideas, claims, and assumptions. Then I will provide my comments, focusing on specific issues that caught my attention, and I will finish with a general assessment of the book.

## 1. Chapter Summary

Chapter 1 (Verb phrases, 3–33) presents Bailyn's assumptions about phrase structure, focusing on selectional properties of verbs and their extended projections. Bailyn follows Adger (2003) in assuming that the basic syntactic operation Merge is triggered by the necessity to eliminate an uninterpretable categorial feature. This chapter also presents classical constituency tests, such as coordination, fronting, and ellipsis, which motivate the existence of VP. Binding tests further support a constituent structure, in which the subject asymmetrically c-commands the object. In addition, Bailyn illustrates the difference between arguments and adjuncts and at the end of the chapter provides the minimal sentence structure for Russian.

Chapter 2 (Nominal phrases, 34–72) extends the idea of a hierarchical structure to the nominal domain. Special attention is paid to adnominal complements expressing possession, identification, and event participants, such as Agent and Theme. As expected, nominalizations, featuring a variety of adnominal Genitives and Obliques, constitute the bulk of the discussion on argument structure. Another important theme of this chapter is the DP-hypothesis. Even though Russian is an article-less language, Bailyn supports this hypothesis by analyzing a variety of prenominal elements such as demonstratives, possessives, numerals, and quantifiers. He also discusses the data that could potentially refute it (e.g., left-branch extraction, following Bošković 2005), and suggests an account in terms of an enriched functional structure of Russian DPs (65). Finally, Bailyn presents his analysis of adjectival modification, focusing on long and short form adjectives.

Chapter 3 (Types of clauses, 73–119) closes the first part of the book, offering a detailed overview of Russian clauses. It is subdivided into five parts: (i) independent declarative, interrogative, and imperative clauses; (ii) subordinate indicative and subjunctive clauses, (iii) *wh*-structures, (iv) small clauses, infinitives, and gerunds, and (v) im-

personals. Bailyn starts with a presentation of the Russian tense system and shows that Russian is not a verb-raising language. He further discusses the properties associated with the structural subject position (SpecTP), providing evidence that it can be filled by non-Nominative constituents. One of the most interesting parts in this chapter is the discussion of *wh*-movement in Russian. Bailyn argues that it cannot be reduced to Focus movement. It is true that the latter is not sensitive to superiority (Bošković 1998), which seems also to be the case with multiple *wh*-fronting in Russian (Stepanov 1998); nevertheless, Bailyn notes that superiority is more perceptible in embedded clauses and in sluicing constructions (105).

Chapter 4 (Core cases of Russian case, 123–73) is devoted to three Russian cases, Nominative, Accusative, and Dative, including a discussion of non-transitive Accusatives, Dative Experiencers, and Dative subjects of infinitives. Generally, Bailyn's approach to case consists in defining syntactic configurations in which it is assigned or checked. Thus, he relates each occurrence of case to a particular syntactic head. In this chapter, Bailyn is mostly concerned with cases assigned under a c-command (top-down) relation; the inventory of case-assigning heads includes Complementizer (C), Tense (T), causative head ($v$), and lexical verb (V).

As already anticipated in chapter 3, Nominative case is not linked to the SpecTP position in Russian; rather, it is "assigned/ checked by independent finite Tense under c-command" (127). Bailyn's main point is that Nominative case arguments (Agents, Themes, and Experiencers) can stay inside the verb phrase (VP or $v$P), and if they move to SpecTP, this movement is not triggered by case or agreement but by an independent requirement to project the structural subject position. This requirement, known as the Extended Projection Principle (EPP), plays a major role in Bailyn's analysis of Russian word order in Chapter 7.

As for the Accusative and Dative cases, Bailyn says they are opposed both semantically and structurally. Following Richardson (2007), he assumes that Accusative case is assigned whenever the base verb has a compositional event structure. In his terms, "compositionality is defined as the possibility that the verb's event structure can be affected by further prefixation" (132). Dative and other lexical cases surface when the event structure is not compositional—that is, it cannot be altered by prefixation. Thus according to Bailyn, "Accusative

case is assigned/checked by [V+*v*] (when V is compositional) under c-command" (138). Dative, on the other hand, is assigned by a non-compositional V to its complement. In fact, a Dative case assigner can be either V or a low applicative head, c-commanded by V (152, fn. 27). Bailyn then uses a battery of syntactic tests (binding, control of adjunct small clauses, weak cross-over) to show that Accusative is structurally higher than Dative. Nevertheless, Russian also has a high (non-lexical) Dative case, assigned by a modal C to the subjects of infinitives (170).

Chapter 5 (More cases of Russian case: Predicate Instrumental, Quantificational Genitive, and others…, 174–234) completes the inventory of case-assigning heads in Russian, covering Instrumental and Genitive and formalizing the process of case-assignment to predicates and adjuncts. In this chapter, Bailyn mostly focuses on Case-at-Merge patterns, as opposed to top-down case assignment under c-command. He begins by considering the syntax of small clauses, analyzed as predication phrases (PredP). Instrumental is said to be assigned by the null Pred head. When this head is absent (i.e., there is no PredP layer), the adjunct receives the same case as the main argument under c-command ("Sameness of case" in Bailyn's terms). Moreover, Pred does not assign Instrumental if it is filled by an overt predicator, since the latter would absorb case in Pred (193). As for Genitive, Bailyn proposes that it is uniformly assigned by a null Q (quantification) head. First, he shows how his Q-account applies to the Genitive of Negation. Then he extends his proposal to other instances of Genitive in Russian, such as Partitive, Quantificational, Adnominal, Intensional, and Comparative. Finally, Bailyn analyzes Accusative adverbials, proposing that they receive case assignment from a null preposition (P). He thus differentiates structural case, assigned by Pred or Q, from lexical case, assigned by P or V. Both are assigned at Merge, and their difference is attributed to the nature of the case-assigning head, which can be either functional or lexical.

Chapter 6 (A descriptive overview of Russian word order, 237–91) prepares the reader for a theoretical discussion of Russian word order in the final chapter of the book. Providing typological, statistical, syntactic, and prosodic evidence, Bailyn shows that SVO and VS are basic, communicatively neutral word orders in Russian transitive and intransitive sentences, respectively. Thus, from the point of view of Functional Sentence Perspective (i.e., bipartition of the sentence into Theme and Rheme, or given and new information), both VS and SVO

orders are compatible with "thetic" (null-Theme) sentences. Such sentences answer the question "what happened?" and convey all new, non-presupposed information.

It is well known that constituents can be displaced depending on their specific discursive functions, such as Topic and Focus (i.e., Information Structure). However, Russian is particularly puzzling with regard to the structural position of these functional elements, making it a challenge for cartographic approaches to Information Structure. As Bailyn points out, "Although Russian word order encodes aspects of Topic/Focus structure, there is no one-to-one relationship between word order (alone) and Information Structure" (267). For example, Focus can appear on the right edge of the sentence, coinciding thus with Rheme, or it can be moved to the left edge of a phrase, adjoining to $v$P or TP. Displaced focal constituents are marked by a special intonation contour (hence the term "Intonation Focus"). According to Bailyn, Topics target the same left-edge positions, except for non-movement cases of so-called "Left Dislocation" (i.e., CP-adjoined Topics with a resumptive pronoun in situ). Finally, Bailyn shows that only neutral word orders manifest scope ambiguity in Russian.

Chapter 7 (Theoretical issues in Russian word order, 292–345) discusses the issues related to optional movement known as Scrambling, describes the mechanisms deriving it, and explains its motivation. While discussing previous accounts of Scrambling, Bailyn argues against base-generation analyses and provides evidence for movement. In fact, he differentiates two types of Scrambling: "Inversion" and "Movement-to-the-Far-Left" (293). The first is driven by EPP. It targets the SpecTP position, which can be filled by a variety of non-Nominative phrases in Russian. The second occurs at the level of Functional Form (FF), proposed in addition to PF (Phonetic Form) and LF (Logical Form). This level of representation encodes Theme-Rheme structure and reorders constituents in conformity with Focus and Theme identification rules (327–30). Crucially, FF-movement is not feature-driven, according to Bailyn. He notes that "…the purely feature-driven account does little to help us understand the *motivation* of Scrambling, since most other feature-driven processes are related, in one way or another, to LF-relevant features" (316). Finally, Bailyn shows how all possible word orders are derived for intransitive and transitive constructions and depicts a schematic picture of grammar

incorporating FF in relation to the lexicon, computational system, and PF.

## 2. Comments

Now I would like to shift from a linear presentation of the book to my comments, which will not follow the order of ideas set out in this book. My intention is rather to oversee the continuity of certain assumptions across more than one chapter and to frame them within a larger context.

## 2.1. Extended Verb Phrase of Unaccusatives

In chapter 4 Bailyn states:

> Crucially, and contrary to standard X-bar Theory, I assume there is no little $v$ projected in other instances (standard Unaccusatives, passives, etc.). In its absence, V cannot raise out of VP, and Accusative case is unavailable. (139)

Nevertheless, in chapter 7 he provides a $v$P structure for the verb *ostanovit'sja* 'to stop', as in (1) (332, ex. (66))

(1)  a.  Ostanovilis'      turisty.
         stopped$_{[+AGR]}$    tourists$_{NOM}$

         '(Some) tourists stopped.'

     b.  Turisty        ostanovilis'.
         tourists$_{NOM}$    stopped$_{[+AGR]}$

         'The tourists stopped.'

According to Bailyn V raises to $v$ in both (1a) and (1b), while the argument is right-adjoined to $v$P in (1a) and it moves to Spec$v$P in (1b) (333).

It is not difficult to show that the verb in (1) is Unaccusative. Thus, its only argument can be affected by the Genitive of Negation, as shown in (2).[2]

(2) Turistov      zdes' ne      ostanavlivalos'.
    tourists$_{GEN}$  here  NEG    stopped$_{[–AGR]}$

    'No tourists have ever stopped here.'

In fact, it is not clear why Bailyn needs a *v*P layer in his analysis of the word orders in (1). Both sentences can easily be accounted for with a single VP projection. Thus, the argument in (1a) stays in situ (as a Complement of V), whereas it moves to SpecTP in (1b), and no extra operations (or structural layers) are needed to derive VS and SV orders with Unaccusatives.

## 2.2. Double Adnominal Genitives and D as a Case Assigner

Double adnominal genitives, as in (3) (55, ex. (44b)), are among those constructions that indicate multilayered NP structure.

(3) kafedra       [anglijskoj   filologii]    Zelenščikova
    department    English$_{GEN}$  philology$_{GEN}$  Zelenščikov$_{GEN}$

    'the department of English Philology of Zelenščikov'

Bailyn suggests that there are two nominal heads in (3): one of them is N, projecting an NP shell with both genitives, and the other is a little *n* (by analogy with the little *v*); N moves to *n*, thus deriving the surface word order (see the structure on page 58).
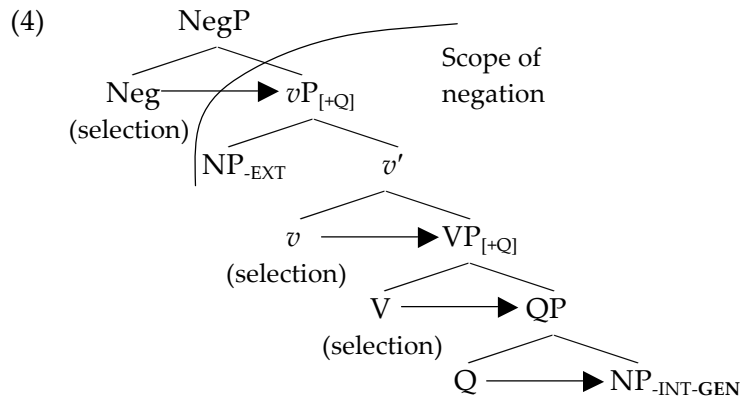
What is particularly puzzling in (3) is case. If the first (identificational) Genitive is assigned by the N-*n* complex (*kafedra*), where would the second (possessive) Genitive come from? In chapter 2 Bailyn assumes that its source is the null determiner (D): "[T]he presence of two Genitive phrases within the nominal does imply the presence of a Genitive-assigning D head in the nominal syntax" (58). However, in chapter 5 he revisits adnominal genitive case assignment, proposing

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[2] I use the imperfective form *ostanavlivat'sja*, which seems to me more natural, but the grammatical aspect is irrelevant here.

that it is related to a null quantificational category (Q): "[T]here is a QP present in Adnominal Genitives that results directly from the selectional property of N" (214). Is it still implied that D assigns one of two genitives in (3)? Or should there be two QPs instead? What would a double QP structure look like? These questions remain open as Bailyn does not return to double Genitives in chapter 5.

### 2.3. The Q-Account of the Genitive of Negation (GEN-NEG)

Consider now the diagram in (4) schematizing Bailyn's [Q] approach to GEN-NEG from chapter 5 (207, ex. (65)). NP$_{-EXT}$ stands for 'external argument' and NP$_{-INT-GEN}$ for 'internal Genitive argument'.

(4) NegP

Neg → $v$P$_{[+Q]}$ Scope of
(selection) negation

NP$_{-EXT}$ $v'$

$v$ → VP$_{[+Q]}$
(selection)

V → QP
(selection)

Q → NP$_{-INT\text{-}\textbf{GEN}}$

Bailyn describes his approach as follows (emphasis mine):

The account, which I will refer to as the [Q] approach, works in quite a simple fashion: the high Neg head in the structure has a particular selectional property, namely that it allows the selection of a VP (shell) with a [Q] feature associated with it. This feature in turn is responsible for GEN-NEG. *In the absence of negation, the VP (shell) lacks this feature and Genitive on the object is impossible* (unless the verb itself has a different instance of [Q] associated with it, which we will see below is in fact exactly what happens with Partitive and Intensional Genitive). *This feature is transferred to the the verb from NEG by a chain of selection….* Thus, through this kind of "selection chain," we move from the

presence of the functional category of negation high to Genitive case marking low. (204)

Two pages later, he writes that

> the V complex with inherited [Q] feature *selects* a QP object rather than an NP object, and it is the head of that QP that provides for Genitive case on its NP complement, as is shown in (65).[3] (207)

In other words, if there is no Neg, V would not have a [Q] feature and, therefore it would be unable to select QP.

Bailyn's Q-analysis of GEN-NEG is an elegant solution to a long-standing problem, but it works only if the structure is built from the top down. In fact, V cannot be merged with QP before Neg appears in the structure, since V is not inherently endowed with a [Q] feature (this feature comes from Neg). Top-down structure building could be an option (see, e.g., Phillips 2003 and Chesi 2007); however, this is not what Bailyn assumes in chapter 1: "The underlying assumption is that syntactic objects are built in 'bottom-up' fashion (Chomsky 1995, Adger 2003)" (13, fn. 17).

## 2.4. Structural Position of Dative Experiencers (DAT-EXP)

Bailyn assumes that Dative Experiencers (DAT-EXP) are merged lower than Nominative Themes (NOM-THM). More precisely, NOM-THM is in SpecVP, and DAT-EXP is the complement of V. This is compatible with his general approach to double-object constructions and to Dative case, which is assigned in a head-complement relation. The only empirical argument that Bailyn provides for a low position of DAT-EXP comes from control of small-clauses, as shown in (5a) and its partial structure in (5b) (164–65, ex. (76–77)).

(5) a. Saše$_i$        nužen          vrač$_j$          p'janym$_{*i/j}$.
        Saša$_{DAT}$   needs$_{[+AGR]}$   doctor$_{NOM}$   drunk$_{INST}$
        'Sasha needs a doctor drunk.' (doctor = drunk)

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[3] I.e., the diagram (4) above.

(5)  b.  [$_{TP}$ *Saše*$_i$ [$_V$ *nužen*] [$_{VP}$ [$_{VP}$ *vrač*$_j$ t$_V$ t$_i$] [$_{PredP}$ PRO$_{*i/j}$ [$_{Pred'}$ Pred
         *p'janym*]]]]

Since DAT-EXP (*Saše*) is unable to control PredP (adjoined to VP), Bai-
lyn concludes that it is merged lower than NOM-THM (*vrač*), as shown
in (5b). That is, NOM-THM is in SpecVP, and DAT-EXP is the comple-
ment of V. DAT-EXP then moves to SpecTP, and V moves to a higher
position.[4]

  Note, however, that NOM-THM does not have to be merged lower
than DAT-EXP to be able to control PredP. What counts here is the
Agree relation with T, rather than base-generation position. For the
sake of discussion, consider the structure in (6), where NOM-THM is
the complement of V and DAT-EXP is in SpecVP (following Landau
2010); PredP is adjoined to VP. DAT-EXP raises to SpecTP to satisfy
EPP, and T enters into a Multiple Agree relation with PRO and NOM-
THM. This relation is triggered by agreement features or φ-features in
T.[5]

(6)



*Multiple Agree*

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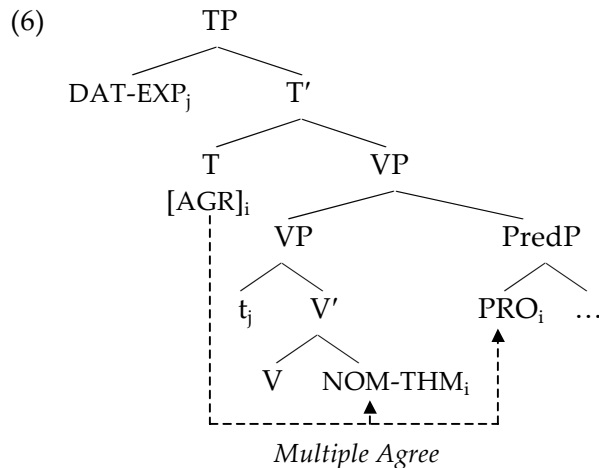
[4] *Nužen* is a short form adjective rather than a verb. Nevertheless, Bailyn labels it as V
(I use his labeling to avoid confusion).

[5] Bailyn assumes Multiple Agree in his account of "Sameness of case" in chapter 5
(188–89), even though he does not mention φ-features in his account. For an Agree-
based approach to control, see Landau 2000.

Multiple Agree thus results in an indirect control relation between NOM-THM and PredP, without NOM-THM being higher than PredP or DAT-EXP. The latter cannot in fact control PredP since $T_{[+AGR]}$ is structurally closer to PredP, thus preventing DAT-EXP from being a controller. Note: when there is no $T_{[+AGR]}$, DAT-EXP can control PredP, as shown in (7) (166, ex. (81b)).

(7)  Borisu$_i$      veselo          golym$_i$.
     Boris$_{DAT}$   happy$_{[-AGR]}$   nude$_{INST}$

     'Boris is happy nude.'

If this analysis is on the right track, there is no empirical evidence that DAT-EXP has to be merged lower than NOM-THM. As far as I can see, there is also a conceptual advantage of having DAT-EXP merged higher than NOM-THM, since EPP is usually satisfied by the phrase that is structurally the closest to T. Indeed, Bailyn assumes that DAT-EXP is prominent with regard to T, but he does not intend a higher structural position at Merge:

> We will return in Part III of the book to the details of the thematic nature of "prominence" with respect to SpecT. In all DAT-EXP constructions, the DAT-EXP will be forced to raise to [fill SpecTP]. (167, chapter 5)

What he means by "prominence" becomes clear in chapter 7, where he introduces the following hierarchy (329, ex. (63)):

(8)  **Prominence Hierarchy in Russian**

     DAT/OBL Arg[ument] > ACC Arg > Verbal Head > External Arg > Adjunct(s)

This hierarchy is almost the mirror image of the Thematic Hierarchy, introduced in chapter 1 (8, ex. (10)):

(9)  **Thematic Hierarchy**

     Θ AGENT > Θ THEME > Θ GOAL > Θ OBLIQUE (manner, location, time, …)

It is important to understand that these hierarchies cannot be part of the Computational System, which builds its own hierarchical structure using a limited number of computations. Examples (8) and (9) are redundant in narrow syntax and can only be used at the interfaces. For example, (9) can be applied when the arguments are selected from a numeration before entering the Computational System. Thus, if there are two arguments, Theme and Goal, the latter will be selected first, as it appears lower in (9). As for (8), it is applied at the level of Functional Form for the purpose of the Phrasal Focus Rule (see p. 329). The EPP, on the other hand, is part of narrow syntax (unless we stipulate otherwise), and therefore it should be satisfied on the basis of purely structural relations (closest c-command) resulting from a recursive application of Merge and not on the basis of other hierarchies stipulated in addition to the syntactic structure.

### 2.5. Accusative Experiencer (ACC-EXP) Verbs and Impersonal Constructions

In Tsedryk 2004 I observed that regardless of a striking similarity between Accusative Experiencer (ACC-EXP) verbs and their non-psych counterparts, as in (10–11), the former, but not the latter, cannot be impersonalized, as in (12).[6]

(10)  a.  Ona       udarila     rebenka    igruškoj.
          $she_{NOM}$   $hit_{[+AGR]}$   $child_{ACC}$   $toy_{INST}$

          'She hit the child with a toy.'

      b.  Ona       napugala              rebenka    igruškoj.
          $she_{NOM}$   $frightened_{[+AGR]}$   $child_{ACC}$   $toy_{INST}$

          'She frightened the child with a toy.'

(11)  a.  Rebenka      udarila     igruška   (upavšaja  s       polki).
          $child_{ACC}$    $hit_{[+AGR]}$   $toy_{NOM}$   fallen    from    shelf

          'The child was hit by the toy (fallen from the shelf).'

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[6] Interestingly, there are verbs that have both psych and non-psych usage, such as *strike* in English and *frapper* in French (see Bouchard 1995: ch. 4 for discussion).

(11) b. Rebenka napugala igruška (upavšaja s polki).
      child$_{ACC}$ frighten$_{[+AGR]}$ toy$_{NOM}$ fallen from shelf

      'The child was frightened by the toy (fallen from the shelf).'

(12) a. Rebenka udarilo igruškoj.
       child$_{ACC}$ hit$_{[-AGR]}$ toy$_{INST}$

       'The child was hit by the toy.'

    b. *Rebenka napugalo igruškoj.
       child$_{ACC}$ frightened$_{[-AGR]}$ toy$_{INST}$

       'The child was frightened by the toy.'

While discussing impersonal constructions in chapter 4, Bailyn does not consider the full paradigm presented in (10–12) and focuses exclusively on structures (11b) and (12b). According to him ACC-EXP verbs cannot be impersonalized for the following reason:

> The distinction here has exactly to do with the event structure of the predicate, as reflected in the Thematic relation of the non-Experiencer argument to the event. In particular, 'toy' in (28) [= (11b)] is a Theme and crucially, not in a causal relationship to the event.… (137)

However, the same could be true of (11a). What is the difference between (11a) and (11b), except that in (11a) the toy affects the child in a physical space while in (11b) it does so in a mental space?

As a matter of fact, adversity impersonal constructions, as in (12a), are essentially thetic; that is, the emphasis is on the event itself and not on its participants. In Tsedryk 2004 I suggest that psych-verbs, on the other hand, involve a categorical predication form, in which the individual (i.e., Experiencer) takes scope over the causing event (little $v$). The thetic/categorical distinction can be formalized in terms of an EPP requirement at the $v$P level: $v$ is EPP-less in (12a), while it has to project a specifier in (12b). This is incompatible with the thetic nature of impersonal constructions: there is no Spec$v$P in these constructions. Bailyn actually assumes a Spec-less structure for $v$P, borrowed from Lavine 2010 (see (29) on page 138), but he does not offer a principled account of the psych vs. non-psych difference in (12) above.

Russian has other instances of asymmetry with regard to impersonalization. Observe, for example, the locative (*spray*/*load*) alternation in (13).

(13)  a.  Ona       zalila        jamu      vodoj.
          she$_{NOM}$  filled$_{[+AGR]}$  pit$_{ACC}$  water$_{INST}$

          'She filled the pit with water.'

     b.  Ona       zalila        vodu       v   jamu.
          she$_{NOM}$  poured$_{[+AGR]}$  water$_{ACC}$  in  pit$_{ACC}$

          'She poured water into the pit.'

Surprisingly, only (13a) can be impersonalized:

(14)  a.  Jamu      zalilo        vodoj.
          pit$_{ACC}$  filled$_{[-AGR]}$  water$_{INST}$

          'The pit was filled with water.'

     b.  *Vodu      zalilo        v   jamu.
          water$_{ACC}$  poured$_{[-AGR]}$  in  pit$_{ACC}$

          'Water was poured into the pit.'

In a similar fashion, when *v* (above the VP shell) does not introduce an external argument, it can remain Spec-less in (14a), but not in (14b). In other words, Accusative stays in SpecVP in (14a), but it has to raise to Spec*v*P in (14b).[7]

Bailyn does not discuss the locative alternation in his book, but if we try to apply his analysis of impersonalization, mostly inspired by Lavine's (2010) insights, the impossibility of impersonalization in (14b) could be attributed to the lack of the external causer. The latter is expressed by the Instrumental argument in (14a), which roughly has the

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[7] Basilico (1998) offers a similar account for English, assuming that in the (b)-type sentences of the locative alternation, the direct object moves to the specifier of Transitivity Phrase (TransP) above the VP shell (TransP corresponds to *v*P here). Interestingly, according to Basilico, (13a) would correspond to a categorical predication form, whereas (13b) would be of thetic type, which seems to contradict what we observe in Russian. However, this contradiction is purely terminological. It depends on the definition of such labels as "thetic" and "categorical" at the *v*P level. I define thetic in terms of Spec-less *v*P (i.e., *v* takes scope over the whole VP shell and its constituents).

meaning 'X caused Y to be full' (X is 'water' and Y is 'pit'). Thus, Bailyn points out: "[W]hen a causal source is provided in the Instrumental case…, the Accusative impersonal construction becomes possible" (136–37). He adds further that "with the right kind of verb, the external source can be implied and not stated" (137). Why, then, can the causal source not be implied in (14b)? And even if the external cause is stated, as in (15), why is impersonalization still impossible?

(15) *Vodu      zalilo          v    jamu  doždem/posle doždja/
     water$_{ACC}$   poured$_{[-AGR]}$  into  pit$_{ACC}$ rain$_{INST}$/ after    rain/

     ot    doždja.
     from  rain

     Intended: 'Water was poured into the pit by the rain / after the rain / because of rain.'

On the other hand, a structurally similar (16) is perfectly fine (compare with (14b)).

(16) Mašinu    zaneslo          v    kjuvet.
     car$_{ACC}$    skidded$_{[-AGR]}$  into  ditch$_{ACC}$

     'The car skidded into a ditch.'

Any further discussion of the Russian impersonal construction is beyond the scope of this review.

## 3. General Assessment

This book leaves a very good impression overall. It is a fascinating and thought-provoking read which carefully synthesizes Bailyn's twenty years of research and impresses by its depth and breadth. I recommend it to anybody interested in Russian syntax and especially to those who look for inspiring research questions. The following areas are possible directions, identified as open questions or cases left for further research:

(17) a.  Complementary distribution between question particle *li* and the tag *ili net* 'or not' in indirect questions (82–83).

     b.  Russian echo questions (93, fn. 23).

    c. Superiority effects and lack thereof in main and embedded multiple questions, as well as multiple sluice contexts (105–06).

    d. Russian relative clauses (108).

    e. Q-account of Adnominal Genitives (214); see also discussion in section 2.2 above.

    f. The status of the Instrumental case in nominalizations (227–28).

    g. Derivation of neutral VS order with Unergative intransitives (257, fn. 17).

Needless to say, this to-do list is not even close to being exhaustive. There are, of course, many other puzzling areas that require further inquiry. In any case, this book is a milestone in Russian linguistics, and I am sure that it will guide and inspire many scholars working on Russian from a generative perspective.

### References

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