

## Word Order and the Structure of Eventive Nominalizations in Russian

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Russian “free word order” has been extensively studied in the syntactic literature, yet one pattern of word order variation has been overlooked so far: the order of internal and external arguments in eventive nominalizations. It has been noted (cf. Babby 1997) that both Internal-External and External-Internal orders are possible, as in (1). However, three questions remain to be addressed in this paper:

1. Are the two orders derivationally related?
2. If so, which of the two orders reflects the way that the arguments are merged?
3. What type of movement produces the derived order and where does the moved DP land?

**1. Merger of arguments.** An examination of several properties of eventive nominalizations, such as aspectual possibilities, the possibility of adverbial modification (as in (2)), and the possibility of pluralization, reveals that the two argument orders behave alike and so a unified analysis that derives both orders from the same underlying structure is preferable. Moreover, we can diagnose which of the two orders represents the merged order and which is derived by applying the Scope Freezing Generalization (proposed by Antonyuk 2015: 53): the merged order of arguments allows for scope ambiguity, whereas scope freezing “always results from overt raising of one QP over another to a c-commanding position as a result of a single instance of movement”. Applying this diagnostic to arguments in nominalizations (cf. (3)), we conclude that the External-Internal order (3a) is the merged order and the Internal-External order (3b) is derived via overt raising of the Internal argument over the External one. Note that this conclusion challenges claims in the previous literature that nominalizations are derived through passivization (cf. Babby 1997, Engelhardt & Trugman 1998, *inter alia*).

**2. Derivation of the Internal-External order.** Is the movement that raises the Internal argument over the External one an instance of A-movement or A'-movement? As discussed in Bailyn (2012), word order permutations in Russian, descriptively known as “scrambling”, come in two kinds: (a) shorter distance Inversion (A-movement), which occurs both at vP level and TP level (the latter is also known as “Generalized Inversion”; cf. Bailyn 2004) and (b) “Movement-to-the-Far-Left” (A'-movement), which can cross clausal boundaries. Given the short-distance nature of the raising of the Internal argument over the External one, one might expect it to pattern with the A-movement/Inversion cases. However, as shown in this paper, the movement in question is rather an instance of A'-movement. In particular, it raises the Internal argument into a position from which it cannot bind into the External argument, as shown by Principle A violations in (4a-b) and Principle C violation in (4c). Furthermore, the grammaticality of backward binding from the External into Internal argument in the Internal-External order, illustrated in (5), shows that the raised Internal argument reconstructs for binding. (The External argument needs to be structurally heavy/informationally new to allow for the acceptability of the Internal-External order, hence the PP modifier ‘in the first row’.) To recap, the Internal argument can raise over the External argument by A'-movement. But what position does it land in? There are two possibilities entertained in this paper: an adjoined position or the Spec-AspP. (The AspP here refers to the projection hosting the Secondary Imperfective -yva, which is argued by Tatevosov 2008 to be part of the verbal structure embedded in eventive nominalizations in Russian.) In either scenario, the movement is not feature-driven: it is neither EPP- nor Case-driven. Instead, we follow Bailyn (2012) in considering A'-Scrambling (or Bailyn’s “Movement-to-the-Far-Left”) as driven by Information Structure or Functional Form (FF) interface. This leads us to a conclusion that Information Structure-based considerations are applicable not only at the clausal level, but within DPs as well.

- (1) a. nanesenije sledujuščego udara očerednym igrokom **INT-EXT**  
 applying [next strike].GEN [subsequent player].INSTR  
 ‘applying the next strike by the next player’ [from *National Corpus of Russian*]
- b. nanesenije amerikanskoj aviaciej pervogo udara **EXT-INT**  
 applying [American aviation].INSTR [first strike].GEN  
 ‘applying a first strike by US aircraft’ [from *National Corpus of Russian*]
- (2) a. polučenie vami licenzii bystro i udobno  
 receiving you.INSTR license.GEN quickly and conveniently  
 ‘receiving a license by you quickly and conveniently’ [Google hit]
- b. vskrytie dveri professionalom bystro i bez šuma  
 breaking.open door.GEN professional.INSTR quickly and without noise  
 ‘breaking the door open by a professional quickly and without noise’ [Google hit]
- (3) a. otkryvanie kakim-to gostem každoj dveri  
 opening [some guest].INSTR [every door].GEN  
 ‘opening by some guest of every door’:  $\exists\forall, \forall\exists$
- b. otkryvanie kakoj-to dveri každyd gostem  
 opening [some door].GEN [every guest].INSTR  
 ‘opening by some guest of every door’:  $\exists\forall, *\forall\exists$
- (4) a. \*priglašenje dam svoimi partnerami na tanec  
 inviting ladies.GEN [self’s partners].INSTR to dance  
 intended: ‘inviting of ladies to a dance by their own partners’
- cf. priglašenje partnerami svoix dam na tanec
- b. \*podderživanie partnerov drug drugom  
 supporting partners.GEN [each other].INSTR  
 intended: ‘the partners’ supporting each other’
- cf. podderživanie partnerami drug druga
- c. \*podderživanie Vaninoj, partnerši im, samim  
 supporting [Vanya’s female.partner].GEN [him self].INSTR  
 intended: ‘Vanya’s supporting his own partner’
- (5) povoračivanie partnerš drug druga partnerami v pervom rjadu  
 turning [female.partners each other].GEN [male.partners].INSTR in first row  
 ‘turning of each other’s female partners by male partners in the first row’

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