

Unergativity: New Insights from Ditransitives

Unergative Predicates: Architecture and Variation

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Main Claims

- QP scope distribution data suggest that Russian ditransitives subdivide into 3 distinct Groups
- The syntactic differences between the 3 Groups of Russian ditransitives suggest the notion of unergativity is more general than is generally believed
 - Russian Group 2 ditransitives behave as unergatives whereas Groups 1 and 3 behave as transitives
 - Group 2 Accusative-marked “direct objects” behave as oblique arguments, showing almost none of the properties expected of a true direct object. This suggests Group 2 ditransitives do not subcategorize for a direct object but take two oblique arguments
 - Accusative Case in Group 2 predicates is assigned by a silent preposition
- The Russian data suggest the notion of unergativity is not a surface-level phenomenon, possibly reflecting an inherent property of roots.
- The data also provide evidence against transitive accounts of unergatives.

Summary of Results

Diagnostic Test	Group 1	Group 3	Group 2
Distributive <i>po</i>	√	√	*
GenNeg	√	√	*
Resultative Construction	√	√	*
Russian Intensive Resultatives (Tatevos 2010)	*	*	√
Adverbial Middles	√	√	*
Nominalizations	√	√	*

Introduction

The 3 Groups of Russian ditransitives (Antonyuk 2015):

Group 1

- (1) a. Maša našla [kakuju-to knigu] (každyj studentu)
Masha found [some book]ACC [every student]DAT
‘Masha found some book for every student’ ($\exists > \forall$), ($\forall > \exists$)
- b. Maša našla (kakomu-to studentu) [každyju knigu]
Masha found [some student]DAT [every book]ACC
‘Masha found some student every book’ ($\exists > \forall$), $*(\forall > \exists)$

Group 2

- (2) a. Maša obesкураžila (kakim-to postupkom) [každygo opponentu]
Masha discouraged [some act]INSTR [every opponent]ACC
‘Masha discouraged with some act every opponent’ ($\exists > \forall$), ($\forall > \exists$)
- b. Maša obesкураžila [kakogo-to opponentu] (každyj postupkom)
Masha discouraged [some opponent]ACC [every act]INSTR
‘Masha discouraged some opponent with every act’ ($\exists > \forall$), $*(\forall > \exists)$

Group 3

- (3) a. Maša napisala [kakoj-to slogan] [na [každyj stene]]
Masha wrote [some slogan]ACC [PP on [every wall]PREP]
‘Masha wrote some slogan on every wall’ ($\exists > \forall$), ($\forall > \exists$)
- b. Maša napisala [na [kakoj-to stene]] [každyj slogan]
Masha wrote [PP on [some wall]PREP] [every slogan]ACC
‘Masha wrote on some wall every slogan’ ($\exists > \forall$), ($\forall > \exists$)

Differences between the 3 Groups

(based on Pesetsky 1982)

(see also Harves 2002, Irvin 2012)

Group 1

- (4) ✓ Maša našla [**po** knige] [každому studentu]
Masha found [**po** document]DAT [each student]DAT
‘Masha found one book (each) for every student’ **Distr po**
- (5) ✓ Maša **ne** našla fotografii/slужanki
Masha not find photograph**GEN**/maid**GEN**
‘Masha did not find a photograph/a maid’ **GenNeg**

Group 2:

- (6) *Maša obesкураžila [**po** opponentu] [každym postupkom]
Masha discouraged [**po** opponent]DAT [every act]INSTR
‘Masha called each boy by a nickname’ **Distr po**
- (7) *Maša **ne** obesкураžila služanki/opponenta
Masha **not** discouragePST maid**GEN**/opponent**GEN**
‘Masha did not discourage a maid/an opponent’ **GenNeg**

Perlmutter and Moore (2002): “An underlying direct object that is not the surface subject may be genitive under the scope of negation”

Differences between the 3 Groups (based on Pesetsky 1982)

Group 3

- (8) a. $\sqrt{\text{Maša}}$ napisala [po sloganu] [na [každyj stene]]
Masha wrote [po slogan]**DAT** [PP on [every wall]**PREP**]
‘Masha wrote some slogan on each wall’ **Distr** *po*
- b. $\sqrt{\text{Maša}}$ ne napisala zapiski/slogana
Masha not write**PST.FEM** note**GEN.FEM**/slogan**GEN.MSC**
‘Masha didn’t write a note/a slogan’ **GenNeg**

Further Differences: Resultatives

Resultative Construction as a (deep) unaccusativity test in English
(Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995; Irvin 2012. cf. Rappaport Hovav and Levin 2001; Wechsler 1997; Kratzer 2005)

Resultative construction test applied to Russian ditransitives:

The required form of the construction:

SUBJECT DO-stem-REFL OBJECT do togo, čto RESULT STATE

Prediction: if this construction is sensitive to the nature of the internal argument, only the predicates belonging to Groups 1 and 3 will participate in the formation of a resultative construction. If the “direct object” of Group 2 predicates is indeed not a true direct object, it will not be possible to form grammatical resultatives on the basis of Group 2 predicates.

Further Differences: Resultatives

Group 1

(10) Maša dotrebovalas' povyšeniya
Masha DO-demand-REFL promotionGEN

(do togo, što ee uvolili s raboty)

(until that her fired from work)

‘Masha demanded a promotion to the point of getting herself fired’

Group 2

(11) *Maša doobzivalas' mal'chikov
Masha DO-call.nicknames-REFL boysGEN

(do togo, što proslyla zljukoj)

(until that became.known [shrew]INSTR)

‘Masha kept calling boys nicknames to the point of becoming known as a shrew’

Further Differences: Resultatives

Group 3

- (12) Maša dopisalas' sloganov
Masha DO-write-REFL slogansGEN
(do togo, čto ee stil' načali uznavat')
(until that her style became recognizable)
'Masha wrote so many slogans that her
style became recognizable'

Further Differences: Adverbial Middles

see Jones and Lavine (2010) for a discussion of Russian adverbial middles (type I, Ackema and Schoorlemmer (2006))

Jones and Lavine (2010): being a “change-of-state” predicate is a “fair approximation of the general nature of the verbs that allow middle” in Russian.

- (13) Kapusta narezalas’ legko (Jones & Lavine 2010)
‘The cabbage [VP cut easily].’

Characteristic property of RAM: can be built on a perfective verb, thus it does not express a generic statement but is clearly temporally anchored.

Further Differences: Adverbial Middles

Group 1

- (14) a. Maša potrebovala [kakie-to dokumenty]
Masha demanded [some documents]**ACC**

(s každygo posetitelja)

[PP from every visitor]**GEN**

‘Masha demanded some documents from every visitor’ (**ambiguous**)

- b. Maša potrebovala (s kakogo-to posetitelja)

Masha demanded [PP from some visitor]**GEN**

[každyj document]

[every document]**ACC**

‘Masha demanded every document from some visitor’ (**surface frozen**)

Adverbial Middle:

- c. Dokumenty potrebovalis’ ??legko/nemedlenno
Documents demanded-REFL easily/immediately

- d. Dokumenty trebujutsja legko/nemedlenno
Documents demand-REFL easily/immediately

Further Differences: Adverbial Middles

Group 1

- (15) a. Maša prostila [kakoe-to predatel'stvo] (každyj podruge)
Masha forgave [some betrayal]**ACC** [every girlfriend]**DAT**
'Masha forgave some betrayal to every girlfriend' (**ambiguous**)
- b. Maša prostila (kakoj-to podruge) [každye predatel'stvo]
Masha forgave [some girlfriend]**DAT** [every betrayal]**ACC**
'Masha forgave some girlfriend every betrayal' (**frozen**)

Adverbial Middle:

- c. Predatel'sto prostilos' legko
Betrayal forgave-REFL easily
- d. Predatel'stvo prošaetsja legko
Betrayal forgives-REFL easily

Further Differences: Adverbial Middles

Group 2

- (16) a. Maša obidela (kakim-to priznaniem) [každogo druga]
Masha insulted [some confession]**INSTR** [every friend]**ACC**
‘Masha insulted every friend with some confession’ (**amb**)
- b. Maša obidela [kakogo-to druga] (každym priznaniem)
Masha insulted [some friend]**ACC** [every confession]**INSTR**
‘Masha insulted some friend with every confession’ (**frozen**)

Adverbial Middle:

- c. *Drug obidelsja legko
Friend insulted-REFL easily
- d. *Drug obižaetsja legko
Friend insults-REFL easily

Further Differences: Adverbial Middles

Group 2

- (17) a. Maša pobryzgala ?/*(kakimi-to duxami) [každyju klientku]
Masha sprayed [some perfume]INSTR [every client]ACC
‘Masha sprayed some perfume over every client’ (**ambiguous**)
- b. Maša pobryzgala [kakuju-to klientku] ?/*(každymi duxami)
Masha sprayed [some client] [every perfume]INSTR
‘Masha sprayed some client with every perfume’ (**frozen**)

Adverbial Middle:

- c. *Klientka pobryzgalas’ legko
Client sprayed-REFL easily
- d. *Klientka bryzgaetsja legko
Client sprays-REFL easily

Further Differences: Adverbial Middles

Group 3:

- (18) a. Maša napisala [kakoј-to slogan] (na každyj stene)
Masha wrote [some slogan]**ACC** [on every wall]**DAT**
‘Masha wrote some slogan on every wall’ (**ambiguous**)
- b. Maša napisala (na kakoј-to stene) [každyj slogan]
Masha wrote [on some wall]**DAT** [every slogan]**ACC**
‘Masha wrote every slogan on some wall’ (**frozen**)

Adverbial Middle:

- c. Slogan napisalsja legko
Slogan wrote-REFL easily
- d. Slogan pišetsja legko
Slogan writes-REFL easily

Further Differences: Adverbial Middles

Group 3

- (19) a. Maša razmestila [kakoje-to soobšenie] *(v každoj gazete)
Masha posted [some message]**ACC** [in everynewspaper]**PREP**
'Masha posted some message in every newspaper' (ambiguous)
- b. Maša razmestila *(v kakoj-to gazete) [každoe soobšenie]
Masha posted [in some newspaper]**PREP** [every message]**ACC**
'Masha posted every message in some newspaper' (ambiguous)

Adverbial Middle:

- c. Soobšenie razmestilos' legko
Message posted-REFL easily
- d. Soobšenie razmešaetsja legko
Message posts-REFL easily

Further Differences: Nominalizations

English:

- (20) a. Mary gave the book to the boy =>
b. Mary's gift of the book to the boy
- a. Mary gave the boy the book =>
b. *Mary's gift of the boy (of) the book

In most attested cases the object that undergoes nominalization is the direct object (Malchukov, Haspelmath and Comrie 2010)

Further Differences: Nominalizations

Group 1

- (21) a. Maša potrebovala [kakie-to dokumenty]
Masha demanded [some documents]**ACC**
(s každogo posetitelja)
[PP from every visitor]**GEN**
‘Masha demanded some documents from every visitor’ (**ambiguous**)
- b. Maša potrebovala (s kakogo-to posetitelja)
Masha demanded [PP from some visitor]**GEN**
[každyj document]
[every document]**ACC**
‘Masha demanded every document from some visitor’ (**surface frozen**)

Nominalization:

- c. Mašino trebovanie dokumentov s každogo posetitelja
Masha**GEN** demand documents**GEN** from every visitor

Further Differences: Nominalizations

Group 1

- (22) a. Maša prostila [kakoe-to predatel'stvo] (každyj podruge)
Masha forgave [some betrayal]**ACC** [every girlfriend]**DAT**
'Masha forgave some betrayal to every girlfriend' (**ambiguous**)
- b. Maša prostila (kakoj-to podruge) [každye predatel'stvo]
Masha forgave [some girlfriend]**DAT** [every betrayal]**ACC**
'Masha forgave some girlfriend every betrayal' (**frozen**)

Nominalization:

- c. Mašino prošenie predatelstva každyj podruge
Masha**GEN** forgivenes betrayal**GEN** every friend

Further Differences: Nominalizations

Group 2

- (23) a. Maša obidela (kakim-to priznaniem) [každogo druga]
Masha insulted [some confession]**INSTR** [every friend]**ACC**
‘Masha insulted every friend with some confession’ (**amb**)
- b. Maša obidela [kakogo-to druga] (každym priznaniem)
Masha insulted [some friend]**ACC** [every confession]**INSTR**
‘Masha insulted some friend with every confession’ (**frozen**)

Nominalization:

- c. *Mašino obizhanie každogo druga priznaniem
Masha**GEN** insult every friend**GEN** confession**INSTR**

Further Differences: Nominalizations

Group 2

- (24) a. Maša pobryzgala ?/*(kakimi-to duxami) [každyju klientku]
Masha sprayed [some perfume]INSTR [every client]ACC
‘Masha sprayed some perfume over every client’ (**ambiguous**)
- b. Maša pobryzgala [kakuju-to klientku] ?/*(každymi duxami)
Masha sprayed [some client] [every perfume]INSTR
‘Masha sprayed some client with every perfume’ (**frozen**)

Nominalization:

- c. ??/Mašino pobryzgivanje klientok duxami
Masha**GEN**sprinkling clients**GEN** perfume**INSTR**

Further Differences: Nominalizations

Group 2

- (25) a. Maša zaščitila [ot kakoj-to sobaki] [každogo rebenka]
Masha protected [from some dog]**GEN** [every child]**ACC**
‘Masha protected from some dog every child’ (**ambiguous**)
- b. Maša zaščitila [kakogo-to rebenka] [ot každoj sobaki]
Masha protected [some child]**ACC** [from every dog]**GEN**
‘Masha protected some child from every dog’ (**frozen**)

Nominalization:

- c. *Mašiščanije rebenka ot kakoj-to sobaki
Masha**GEN** protection child**GEN** from some dog

Further Differences: Nominalizations

Group 3:

- (26) a. Maša napisala [kakoј-to slogan] (na každoј stene)
Masha wrote [some slogan]**ACC** [on every wall]**DAT**
‘Masha wrote some slogan on every wall’ (**ambiguous**)
- b. Maša napisala (na kakoј-to stene) [každyj slogan]
Masha wrote [on some wall]**DAT** [every slogan]**ACC**
‘Masha wrote every slogan on some wall’ (**frozen**)

Nominalization:

- c. ?Mašino (na)pisanie slogana na každoј stene
Masha**GEN** writing slogan**GEN** on every wall

Further Differences: Nominalizations

Group 3

- (27)a. Maša razmestila [kakoje-to soobšenie] *(v každoj gazete)
Masha posted [some message]**ACC** [in everynewspaper]**PREP**
‘Masha posted some message in every newspaper’ (ambiguous)
- b. Maša razmestila *(v kakoj-to gazete) [každoe soobšenie]
Masha posted [in some newspaper]**PREP** [every message]**ACC**
‘Masha posted every message in some newspaper’ (ambiguous)

Nominalization:

- c. Mašino razmešenie soobšenija v každoj gazete
Masha**GEN** placement message**GEN** in every newspaper

Interim Conclusions

The 3 Groups of Russian ditransitives show consistent differences in terms of QP scope ambiguity and scope freezing distribution patterns

The 3 Groups also differ in terms of their internal argument structure:

- predicates belonging to Groups 1&3 clearly select for a true direct object and pattern together on a number of unaccusativity tests
- Accusative objects of Group 2 predicates behave as oblique arguments wrt unaccusativity tests, suggesting Group 2 predicates do not subcategorize for a direct object, taking two oblique arguments

Back to the Main Claim

Claim: The notion of unergativity is relevant to ditransitive predicates as well, with some Russian ditransitives behaving as transitives while others behave as unergatives

BUT

The inability of ‘unergative ditransitives’ to take a direct object is only suggestive of unergativity if they also differ from the corresponding ‘transitives’ wrt their external arguments:

- (28) a. John passed the plate to Mary/
b. The plate passed ___ to Mary

Supporting Evidence: O-to-S Advancement

Group 1

- (29) a. Maša našla [kakuju-to knigu] (každomu studentu)
Masha found [some book]**ACC** [every student]**DAT**
‘Masha found some book for every student’ ($\exists > \forall$), ($\forall > \exists$)
- b. Maša našla (kakomu-to studentu) [každuju knigu]
Masha found [some student]**DAT** [every book]**ACC**
‘Masha found some student every book’ ($\exists > \forall$), $*(\forall > \exists)$
- (11)

S-to-O Adv:

- c. $\sqrt{\text{Kakaja-to kniga našlas' každomu studentu}}$

Supporting Evidence: O-to-S Advancement

Group 2

- (30) a. Maša obeskuražila (kakim-to postupkom)[každogo opponenta]
Masha discouraged [some act]**INSTR** [every opponent]**ACC**
'Masha discouraged with some act every opponent' ($\exists > \forall$), ($\forall > \exists$)
- b. Maša obeskuražila [kakogo-to opponenta] (každym postupkom)
Masha discouraged [some opponent]**ACC** [every act]**INSTR**
'Masha discouraged some opponent with every act' ($\exists > \forall$), $*(\forall > \exists)$

S-to-O Adv:

- c. *Kakoj-to opponent obeskuražilsja každym postupkom
Some opponent discouraged-REFL every act**INSTR**

Supporting Evidence: O-to-S Advancement

Group 2

- (31) a. Maša pobryzgala ?/*(kakimi-to duxami) [každyju klientku]
Masha sprayed [some perfume]INSTR [every client]ACC
‘Masha sprayed some perfume over every client’ (**ambiguous**)
- b. Maša pobryzgala [kakuju-to klientku] [každymi duxami]
MashaNOM sprayed [some client]ACC [every perfume]INSTR
‘Masha sprayed some client with every perfume’ (**frozen**)

S-to-O Adv:

- c. [Kakaja-to klientka] pobryzgalas’ duxami
[Some client]NOM sprayedREFL perfume.
‘Some client sprayed herself with perfume’

Note: advancing the “direct object” of Group 2 verbs to subject position sometimes results in regular subject reading for this phrase

Supporting Evidence: O-to-S Advancement

Group 3

- (32) a. Maša napisala [kakoј-to slogan] [na [každoј stene]]
Masha wrote [some slogan]**ACC** [PP on [every wall]**PREP**]
'Masha wrote some slogan on every wall' ($\exists > \forall$), ($\forall > \exists$)
- b. Maša napisala [na [kakoј-to stene]] [každyj slogan]
Masha wrote [PP on [some wall]**PREP**] [every slogan]**ACC**
'Masha wrote on some wall every slogan' ($\exists > \forall$), ($\forall > \exists$)

S-to-O Adv:

- c. $\sqrt{\text{Kakoј-to slogan}}$ napisalsja na každoј stene
Some slogan**NOM** wrote-**REFL** on every wall

Supporting Evidence: Resultatives

Group 2 Resultatives:

(33) a. *Maša doobzivalas' mal'chikov

Masha DO-call.nicknames-REFL boysGEN

(do togo, čto proslyla zljukoj)

(until that became.known [shrew]INSTR)

‘Masha kept calling boys nicknames to the point of becoming known as a shrew’

BUT:

b. √ Maša doobzivalas' =**RIR** in Tatevosov (2010)

Masha DO-call.nicknames-REFL

=‘Masha finally got herself in trouble because of name-calling’

Supporting Evidence: Resultatives

Tatevosov (2010) dubs this a Russian Intensive Resultative (RIR), which in turn is very similar to the English Reflexive Resultative (ERR).

(34) a. Turisty gulja-l-i. (Tatevosov 2010)

The tourists walked.

b. Turisty na-gulja-l-i-s'.

Tourists NAwalkPST-PL-REFL

‘By walking, the tourists achieved a state of being satisfied.’

ERR:

(28) a. The tourists walked.

b. The tourists walked themselves tired.

Supporting Evidence: Resultatives

Tatevosov (2010): “RIRs and ERRs both refer to events in which a certain property of the participant undergoes a gradual change. This change leads the participant to the result state whose descriptive properties are fully specified in English and underspecified in Russian. In English, the participant undergoing change can and in Russian must be identical to the subject.”

“RIRs and ERRs exhibit parallel lexical restrictions. Both tend to be licensed for the same classes of non-derived verbs, intransitive activity verbs or transitive activity verbs, **but not unaccusatives**”.

(35) Group 1:

- a. *Maša dotrebovalas’
- b. *Vania doprinosilsja

(36) Group 2: = RIR

- a. Maša doobzivalas’
- b. Maša doobižalas’

(37) Group 3:

- a. *Maša dopisalas’
- b. *Vania dozagružalsja

Supporting Evidence: Middles

Group 2 Adverbial Middles:

- (38) a. *Drug obidelsja legko
Friend insulted-REFL easily

BUT:

- b. Drug obidelsja
Friend insulted-REFL
'A friend became insulted' = reflexive

Conclusion: verbs belonging to Group 2 always project the external argument, but no true direct object as far as unaccusativity diagnostics are concerned, thus they are indeed unergative in the relevant sense.

General Conclusions

- Different Groups of Russian ditransitives show different behavior with respect to QP scope which is tracked almost perfectly by differences wrt a number of unaccusativity tests
 - Group 1&3 predicates pattern together on most unaccusativity tests (there are some differences), suggesting their Accusative-marked objects are true direct objects
 - Group 2 predicates fail all unaccusativity tests, suggesting their Accusative marked objects are not true direct objects but concealed Obliques
 - The data support the proposal that Group 2 ditransitives are unergative predicates while Group 1 and Group 3 ditransitives are transitive predicates
 - Questions regarding semantic properties of roots
 - Possibly evidence against transitive analyses of unergatives

THANK YOU!

Contact info for questions and additional data requests: syudina@gmail.com

This PPT presentation as well as related papers can soon be downloaded at my web page:
www.lingoscope.org

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Going Back to “Ditransitive Unaccusatives”...

Is there really no difference between Group 1 and Group 3 objects?

Group 1 Adverbial Middles:

(39) a. Dokumenty potrebovalis' ??legko/nemedlenno
Documents demanded-REFL easily/immediately

(40) a. Predatel'sto prostilos' legko
Betrayal forgave-REFL easily

Implicit Agent position in Middles??

(39) b. Dokumenty potrebovalis' Mašej/u Maši nemedlenno
Documents demanded-REFL MashaINSTR/at Masha immediately

INSTR = The documents were demanded by Masha immediately

=> **Masha is the Agent**

u-PP = The documents were demanded **from** Masha => **Masha is the Patient**

(that is, it a different kind of u-PP, not the possessor one)

(40) b. Predatel'sto prostilos' Mašej/*u Maši legko

INSTR = The betrayal was easily forgiven by Masha

=> **Masha is the Experiencer**

***u-PP**

Going Back to “Ditransitive Unaccusatives”...

Group 3 Adverbial Middles:

- (41) a. Slogan napisalsja legko
Slogan wrote-REFL easily
- (42) a. Soobšenie razmestilos' legko
Message posted-REFL easily

Implicit Agent?

- (41) b. Slogan napisalsja Mašej/u Maši legko
Slogan wrote-REFL MashaINSTR/at Masha easily
INSTR = Slogan was easily written by Masha => **Masha is the Agent**
u-PP = Slogan wrote easily for Masha => **Masha is the Agent**

- (42) b. Soobšenie razmestilos' Mašej/u Maši legko
Message posted-REFL MashaINSTR/at Masha easily
INSTR = Message was posted easily by Masha => **Masha is the Agent**
u-PP = Message posted easily for Masha => **Masha is the Agent**
(this is the possessive u-PP, see Johns and Lavine 2010)

Going Back to “Ditransitive Unaccusatives”...

Pere-prefixation:

Group 1: **perepisat'** (to rewrite), **perezakliuchit'** pari (to re-make the bet), **perepročitat'** (to reread), **peredelat'** (to redo)

Group 3:

perečitat' (to reread), **pereverbovat'** (to re-draft), **perezagruzit'** (to reload, to download again), **peretaščit'** (to drag over), **perebit'** (to beat all of, to kill all), **perederžat'** (to overexpose, to keep somewhere for too long), **pereprisoedenit'** (to re- annex, to reattach), **perepoobeščat'** (to promise again), **perepravit'** (to forward, to take across, to carry over)

Conclusions:

- (1) it looks like Group 1 predicates really form impersonal passives, not middles, while Group 3 predicates can form both; differences wrt ability to take *pere-* = there are indeed differences b/w Group 1&3
- (2) There really seems to be an implicit Agent position projected in Middles, as argued by Stroik (1999, 2006 i.a; cf. Jones and Lavine 2010)

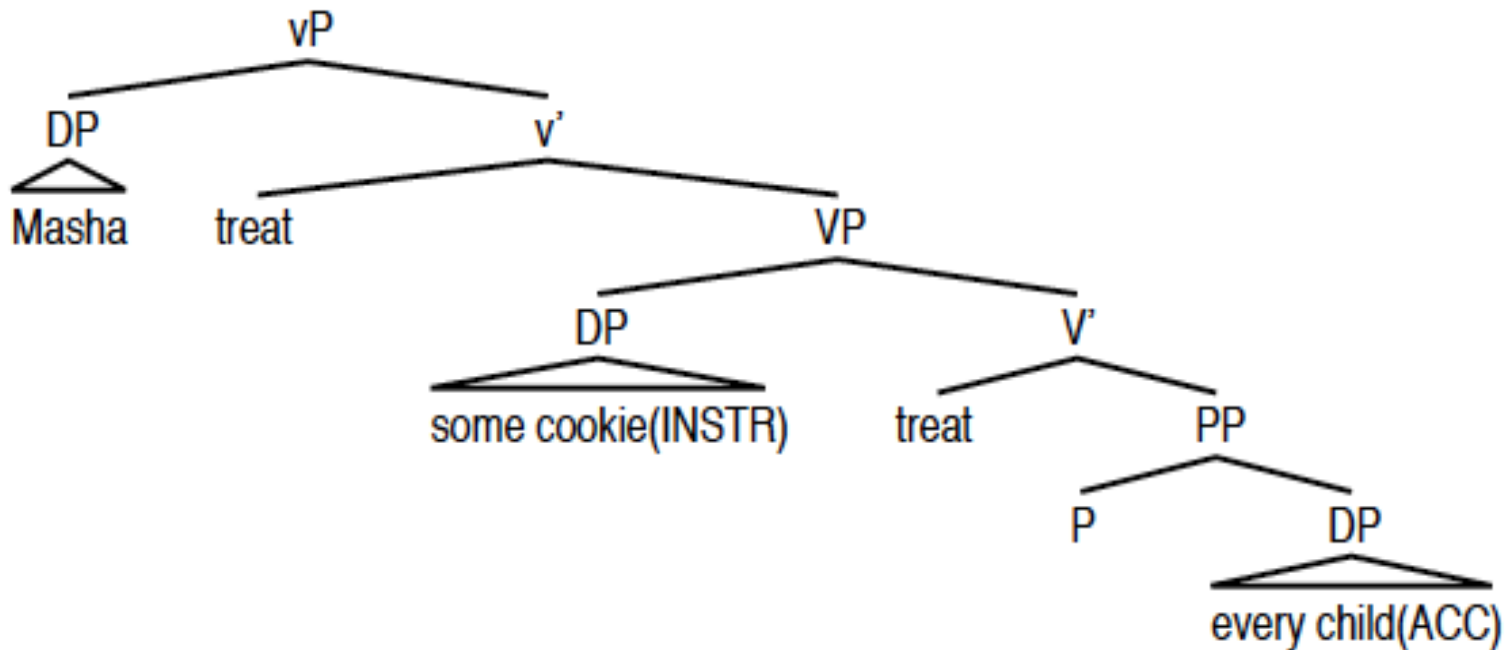
Support for the Null Preposition Idea...

Group 2:

(43)

- a. Maša ugostila (kakim-to pečenjem) každogo rebenka
Masha treated [some cookie]INSTR [every child]ACC
'Masha treated every child to some cookie' $\exists \forall / \forall \exists$
- b. Maša ugostila [kakogo-to rebenka](každym pečenjem)
Masha treated [some child]ACC [every cookie]INSTR
'Masha treated some child to every cookie' $\exists \forall / * \forall \exists$

Support for the Null Preposition Idea...



Support for the Null Preposition Idea...

(44)

- a. Maša pobesedovala (na kakuju-to temu) [s každydym drugom]
 Masha talked [PP on [some topic]ACC][PP with [every friend]INSTR]
 'Masha had a conversation on some topic with every friend' $\exists \forall /$
 $\forall \exists$
- b. Maša pobesedovala [s kakim-to drugom] (na každydu-to temu)
 Masha talked [PP with [some friend]INSTR] [PP on [every topic]ACC]
 'Masha had a conversation with some friend on every topic' $\exists \forall /$
 $*\forall \exists$

Support for the Null Preposition Idea...

(45)

- a. Maša otrugala (za kakuju-to ošibku) [každoga druga]
 Masha scolded [_{PP} for [some mistake]ACC] [every friend]ACC
 ‘Masha scolded every friend for some mistake’ $\exists \forall / \forall$
- b. Maša otrugala [kakoga-to druga] (za každyju ošibku)
 Masha scolded [some friend]ACC [_{PP} for [every mistake]ACC]
 ‘Masha scolded some friend for every mistake’ $\exists \forall /$
 $* \forall \exists$

Support for the Null Preposition Idea...

Distributive *po* test:

- a. *Maša otrugala po drugu za každyju ošibku
Masha scolded **po** friend-DAT [_{PP} for [every mistake]ACC

Genitive of Negation:

- b. ??Maša ne otrugala podrug
Masha NEG scolded girlfriend-GEN

Resultative test:

- c. *Maša dorugalas' druga do togo, što on ušel
Masha DO-scold-REFL friend to that that he left
'Masha scolded her friend into leaving'

RIR (Tatevosov 2010):

- d. Maša dorugalas'
Masha DO-scold-REFL
'Masha scolded her way to some negative result'

Support for the Null Preposition Idea...

Emonds (1993):

Max awarded Bill [the prize]

Max awarded Bill [P the prize]

Max awarded Bill [with the prize]