What's Inside VP?   New Evidence on VP Internal Structure in Russian
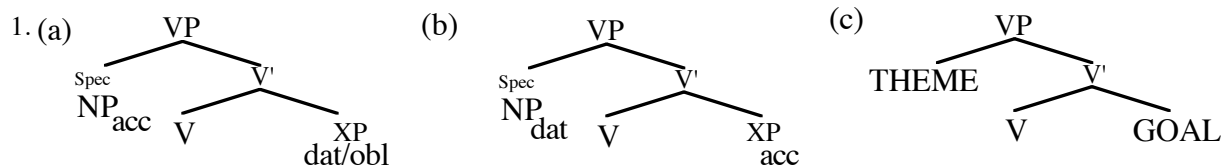## John Frederick Bailyn
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Dyakonova (2005), following Junghanns & Zybatow (1997) and others, argues against my account of Russian VP internal structure (Bailyn 1995) in which Accusative (ACC) arguments occupy SpecVP and Datives (DAT) are generated as the complement to V, as in (1a). Dyakanova provides additional evidence from Information Structure (IS), idiom formation and Topicalization (TOP) for the opposite conclusion, namely that DAT has hierarchical prominence over ACC in Russian VPs, as in (1b). In this paper, I examine the two accounts, and present new data, arriving at two conclusions: (i) There is substantially more *syntactic* evidence in favor of my original proposal in (1a) than against it, but (ii) the proper characterization of VP-internal hierarchies must be stated in terms of *thematic roles* (Theme > Goal), as in (1c), rather than *Case* (ACC >DAT), which is consistent with Baker 1988, 1995, but contra (1a).

The paper has 3 sections. In Part 1, I critically review the original evidence in favor of ACC > DAT and present Dyakanova's (2005) contra-arguments, especially facts from Control and Binding. With regard to control of Instrumental (INSTR) small clauses, where Bailyn showed only ACC controllers are possible, as in (2), I show that Dyakanova's counter-evidence (cases of DAT controlling infinitival adjuncts in (3)) are a distinct case from small clause control and thus not evidence against (1a). An account of control is given allowing DAT control in (3) and (4), but which still handle the contrast in (2) and many others like it. For Binding, additional evidence of ACC > DAT asymmetries is provided in (5) from Testelets (2001) (with reciprocals), and with pronouns in (6) from Asarina 2005, who shows that on a theory whereby pronouns raise to T at LF (Hestvik 1994, Avrutin 1994), "while the raised direct object c-commands the raised indirect object at LF, the indirect object does not c-command the raised direct object at LF". This is an expected result if we assume (A) the original VP internal structure in (1a) and (B) a theory of LF order preservation, in the spirit of Fox & Pesetsky (2005). Finally, new evidence from Weak Crossover shows that a DAT WH cannot cross a pronoun inside ACC (7b), confirming the underlying c-command prominence of ACC over DAT of (7a),

Part 2 discusses Dyakanova's other arguments, especially those from IS and idioms. We show that her IS data is insufficient, and provide evidence, based on traditional work (Sirotinina 1961) that IS cannot determine anything definitive about underlying structure, as not only DAT > ACC (see Dyakanova) but also ACC > DAT orders can lead to Focus spreading (see (8)). Idioms certainly do display a preference for V+Theme clusters, but I argue that assuming V raising to *v*, this restriction supports (1a) and not (1b). Similarly, I show that TOP does not predict the possibility of fronting V+Dat any more than V+Acc (9).

In Part 3, I turn to evidence that *case* is not the determining factor of VP internal structure, but rather that it must be handled in terms of *thematic roles*.   Evidence for this conclusion is the following: (i) there is a class of ACC arguments that *cannot* control into INSTR small clauses, namely ACC *Experiencers* (10). (ii) Conversely, there are non-Accusative Themes that can control: DAT can in (3)-(4), and obliques can into small clauses (*ʔizbegali ego-Gen p'janym$_i$-Instr* ('they avoided him drunk')), as originally shown in Fowler (1996). (iii) Other morphological manifestations of non-Theme internal arguments, such as standard obliques and PPs systematically pattern with DAT Goals in terms of word order, control and binding (11). (iv) Examination of DAT experience constructions with NOM Themes (or GEN under negation) support the claim that thematic role is the determining factor (12). The picture of VP internal structure that emerges (1c) is a particular version of Baker's 1988 claim of a Unified Thematic Assignment Hierarchy (UTAH): Themes c-command Goals in underlying structure. However, Experiencers are generated in a higher (VP-external) position, consistent with what Dyakanova proposes for all Datives.

1. (a)

(b)

(c)

2.　(a) **Boris**　　　našel　　**Sašu**　　　　**golym**.
　　　Boris$_i$-Nom　found　　Sasha$_k$-Acc　[PRO$_{a/k}$ nude$_{i/k}$-Instr]
　　　'Boris found Sasha nude.' (Boris or Sasha = nude) (Bailyn 1995)

2. (b) **Boris** sovetoval Saše **golym**.
   Boris_i-Nom advised Sasha_k-Dat [PRO_i nude_{I/*K}-Instr]
   'Boris advised Sasha nude.' (only Boris = nude) (Bailyn 1995)

3. Ona prinesla mne rabotu [(čtoby) proverit']
   she brought me_k-Dat work-Acc in order to PRO_k check
   'She brought me the work in order to check (it).' (Dyakonova 2005)

4. Saša prikazal Borisu napisat' novuju pesnju
   Sasha-Nom ordered Borisu_k-Dat [PRO_k to check-Infin [new bag]-Acc
   "Sasha ordered Boris to write a new song."

5. (a) Sud'ba prednaznačala **nas drug drugu** (b)… ***nam drug druga**
   Fate-Nom predestined us_i-**Acc** [each other]_i-**Dat** us_i-**Dat** [each other]_i-**Acc**
   "Fate predestined us for each other." (Testelets 2001)

6. (a) ?Petya pokazal [**ee** soseda] **ej** (b)… *[**ee** sosedu] **ee**
   Petya showed [her_i neighbor]-**Acc** her_i-**Dat** [her_i neighbor]-**Dat** her_i-**Acc**
   'Petya showed her neighbor (to) her.' (Asarina 2005)

7. (a) **Kogo_i** ty xočeš', čtoby Maša predstavila [_{VP} __i [**ego_i** novym sosedjam]]
   who-Acc you want that Masha introduce [his new neighbors]-Dat
   'Who do you want Masha to introduce to his new neighbors?'

   (b) ??/***Komu_i** ty xočeš', čtoby Maša predstavila [_{VP} [**ego_i** novyx sosedej] __i]
   who-Dat you want that Masha introduce [his new neighbors]-Acc
   'Who do you want Masha to introduce to his new neighbors?' (speaker variation explained in the talk)

8. Nastya predstavila Sergeja prepodavateljam
   Nastya-Nom introduced Sergei-Acc teachers-Dat
   'Nastya introduced Sergei to the teachers.' (acceptable as wide Focus, answering 'What happened?')

9. [_{vP}V_i [_{VP} XP t_i YP]] TOP can move [V+XP+YP] or [XP+YP] but not [V+XP] or [V+YP] alone

10. *Mirovaya ekonomika volnuet **Ivana p'janym**
    [world economy]-Nom worries Ivan_i-Acc drunk_i-Instr
    *'The world economy worries Ivan drunk.' (cf. (2a)) NB: equally bad in English (non-resultative)

11. **Boris** smotrit na Sašu **golym**.
    Boris_i-Nom looks at Sasha_k-Acc [PRO_{a/k} nude_{i/*k}-Inst r]
    'Boris looks at Sasha nude.' (only Boris = nude)

12. Saše ne nužno **vrača p'janym**
    Sasha_i-DAT neg needs doctor_k-GEN drunk_{k/*i}-INSTR
    'Sasha needs a doctor drunk.' (only doctor=drunk)

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