**A Structure Removal Approach to Restructuring in Russian**

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**Claim:** In this talk, I will argue for three claims. Firstly, Russian shows evidence for restructuring. Transparency effects indicate that apparent biclausal structures, namely certain embedded infintives, should be analysed as monoclausal. Secondly, for the same structures and verbs, arguments for biclausality can be derived. This results in conflicting evidence and poses a challenge for approaches to restructuring that either assume monoclausality or biclausality. However, my third claim is that an approach to restructuring where clausal structure is removed in the course of the derivation can account for the conflicting evidence straightforwardly (see Müller (2016, 2017), Pesetsky (2016)) since it involves both a full CP-complement (before Remove) and a vP-structure (after Remove).

**Background:** Restructuring in Russian infinitives has not been dealt with as extensively as e.g. restructuring in Germanic and Romance languages. Bailyn (2012) leaves this issue open, though he mentions that especially the question whether a CP is present in infinitives is subject to debate. Arylova (2006) tests different infinitive-embedding predicates for their (in)compatibility with embedded negation, independent tense and partial control reading. She comes to the conclusion that Russian exhibits functional restructuring only and states a few reduced non-restructuring verbs (in the terminology of (Wurmbrand 2001)), namely *try*-verbs, *pomoč'* and *pomešat'* that maximally select vPs or NegPs.

**Evidence for Monoclausality:** Evidence for monoclausality is based on the following three transparency effects: • *Pronoun fronting:* movement of a pronoun out of the embedded clause to the matrix clause seems to be more restricted than long distance scrambling. Whether movement is permitted across *čto* or *čtoby* complements seems also be due to speaker variation (cf. Meyer 1997). Out of my consulted speakers who judged extraction out of a *čto* or *čtoby* complement as ungrammatical, movement out of an infinitive was perfectly fine:

(1) Ego$_1$ my rešili vstretit' t$_1$
him we decided meet.INF t
'We decided to meet him'

• *Long genitive of negation:* In Russian, accusative may alternate with genitive case in the scope of sentential negation. With restructuring verbs, it is possible for matrix negation to trigger genitive on the embedded object:

(2) Ja ne pytajus' najti sčast'ja
I NEG try.1SG.PRES find.INF luck.GEN
'I'm not trying to find luck'

• *Interclausal negative concord:* a similar argument can be made for the licensing of negative indefinites. In restructuring contexts, an embedded negative indefinite can be licensed by matrix negation, which is ungrammatical with an overt CP present.

(3) On ne uspel vstretit' nikogo
he not managed meet.INF anybody
'He didn't manage to meet anybody'

**Evidence for Biclausality:** Despite the arguments for restructuring presented above, restructuring verbs also show evidence for a biclausal structure. This conflict has already been observed for German (Stechow & Sternefeld 1988, Müller 2016):

• *PRO*: PRO is the non-overt embedded subject in a control configuration. It makes sure that the embedded predicate discharges its $\theta$-role and has to be coreferent with one of the matrix arguments. Theories like Adger (2003) assume that PRO needs to be licensed by C, from which it also gets assigned null case.

• *Narrow scope of negation:* almost all control verbs allow embedded negation (Arylova 2006). However, unlike e.g. in German, even restructuring verbs do not permit a wide scope reading of embedded negation:

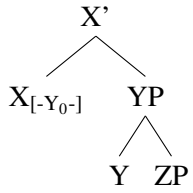
(4) Dina pytaetsja ne plakat'
Dina tries not cry.INF
'Dina tries not to cry'
Impossible reading: 'It is not the case that Dina tries to cry'

**Structure Removal:** The main idea of the proposal pursued here is that high projections get deleted,

while lower projections stay intact. This idea can already be found in some older proposals that have been made by Ross (1967) on Tree Pruning, Chomsky (1981) on S-bar deletion and Chomsky (2015) an removal of CP-shells. A more recent account is Pesetsky (2016) on Exfoliation, a repair mechanism removing shells in order to allow e.g. long subject movement without violating the PIC or Anti-Locality. Another approach has been introduced by Müller (2016, 2017) and unlike Exfoliation, the deletion of structure in Müller's approach is triggered by a feature-driven operation called *Remove*. Remove is defined as the mirror-operation to Merge. By assumption, it has the same properties: it is feature driven (triggered by [-F-] features), it may apply to heads or phrases ([-$F_0$-], [-$F_2$-]), it may be external or internal and obeys the same constraints (e.g. Strict Cycle Condition).

(5) *Removal of heads:*

(a) Merge ($X_{[\bullet\sout{Y}\bullet]}$ ... [-$Y_o$-], YP):




(b) Remove ($X_{[\sout{-Y_o-}]}$, Y):


What will be crucial for the analysis of restructuring is that between Merge and Remove, some other operation is allowed to take place. Structure Removal is empirically well motivated and several phenomena have already been analysed in terms of structure removal, e.g. complex prefields (Müller 2017), *though*-movement constructions in German and English (Schwarzer 2016), and restructuring in German (Müller 2016b).

**Analysis:** a structure removal analysis of restructuring literally involves *restructuring*. By assumption, all control verbs select for a CP. However, restructuring verbs subsequently remove both CP and TP shells, yielding a vP-complement. Evidence for mono- and biclausality can be accounted for by saying whether the relevant processes take place before or after structure removal. Since at some point of the derivation a biclausal structure was present, evidence for biclausality can be explained straightforwardly: the relevant operations take place before structure removal and are therefore counter-fed and counter-bled by Remove. Operations that seem to point towards monoclausality are possible because structure removal gives rise to a monoclausal structure. Remove feeds and bleeds these operations.

*Deriving evidence for biclausality:* • PRO licensing: as soon as C is merged, it licenses PRO and assigns null case. When the matrix verb merges and removes the C head it is already too late to block PRO licensing • Narrow scope of negation: unlike e.g. German, in Russian interpretation of negation and determination of its scope takes place at every CP level. Thus, embedded negation is interpreted as taking scope over the embedded CP only. Removal of CP and TP after matrix V has merged comes too late to enable wide scope of negation

*Deriving evidence for monoclausality:* • Pronoun fronting: pronoun fronting is blocked by a CP. But at the point pronoun fronting takes place, the CP has already been removed • Long genitive of negation: GoN is blocked by TP. Remove feeds long GoN by removing the TP • Interclausal negative concord: licensing of negative concord items is by assumption blocked by TP. As with GoN, it becomes possible because Remove creates a monoclausal structure which has lost its embedded TP by Remove.

**Conclusion:** (i) Russian exhibits restructuring with certain infinitives, in the sense that the embedded clause seems to be smaller than a CP and TP. (ii) On the other hand, the same infinitives show evidence for a biclausal structure, e.g. narrow scope of embedded negation. (iii) This contradictory evidence for both mono- and biclausality can be resolved by a structure removal analysis which involves biclausality in the beginning and gives rise to a monoclausal structure by removing CP and TP-shells during the course of derivation.

**Selected References:** • Arylova, Aysa. 2006. *Infinitival Complementation in Russian*. MA Thesis, University of Tromsø. • Bailyn, John. 2012. *The syntax of Russian*. Cambridge University Press. • Meyer, Roland. 1997. Extraction from čto- and čtoby-Complement Clauses in Russian. In: Junghanns, U. & Zybatow, G. (eds): *Formale Slavistik*. • Müller, Gereon. 2017.

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