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When Agreement and Binding Go Their Separate Ways: Generic Second Person Pronoun in Russian

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16.1 Introduction

The German *Mädchen* 'girl', a neuter noun denoting a female referent, is a common-place example of a linguistic item whose formal and semantic features are at odds with each other. Another example is the French *sentinelle* 'watchman', a feminine noun denoting a (traditionally) male referent. Such gender dissociations are common and well known (Corbett 1991: 225–60), and they shed light on possible mismatches between syntax and morphology, an area that has received quite a bit of coverage in linguistic research. But the dissociation between formal and semantic features is not limited to gender, nor is it limited to the syntax–morphology interface. This paper probes into an underexplored type of feature dissociation, this time between person agreement on the one hand and binding properties as well as agreement features other than person on the other. The case in point is the Russian second person singular (2sg) pronoun used as an arbitrary pronoun. When it occurs in the nominative-subject position (i.e. the only constituent that triggers verbal agreement in Russian), this pronoun determines regular verb agreement in second person singular, but its other properties are different from those of a regular 2sg pronoun. The resulting mismatch informs our understanding of the ways syntax and semantics interface, in particular with respect to binding.

To make the data below slightly more user-friendly, let me start with the basics of Russian agreement. Russian verbs agree with their nominative subjects in number and person in the non-past tenses and in number and gender, with no person distinctions, in the past tense. A partial paradigm for the verb *igrat'* 'to play (imperfective)' is shown in Table 16.1 and Table 16.2.

Russian is not a pro-drop language; its limited inventory of null pronouns includes the 3sg expletive, which appears in weather expressions and some other typical expletive contexts, as in (1), and a 3pl null pronominal with the generalised meaning 'people', shown in the impersonal constructions in (3) (see Mel'čuk 1974; McShane 2005). In both cases, the null pronominal cannot alternate with an overt one.

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Table 16.1 Russian agreement: non-past tense, stem *igraj-*

	SG	PL
1	igraj-u	igraj-em
2	igraj-eš'	igraj-ete
3	igraj-et	igraj-ut

Table 16.2 Russian agreement: past tense, stem *igra-*, tense suffix: *-l-*

	SG	PL
M	igra-l-∅	igra-l-i
F	igra-l-a	
N	igra-l-o	

(1)   a. *expl/*ono   stanovitsja   xolodno.
          it   become.3SG.PRS.REFL   cold.NEUTER
          'It is getting cold.'

      b. *expl*/*ono   bylo   pora   exat'.
          it   be.PST.NEUTER   time   go.INF
          'It was time to go.'

(2)   a. *pro*/*oni   cypljat   po   oseni   sčitajut.
          they   chickens.ACC   on   autumn   count.3PL.PRS
          'Don't count your chickens before they hatch.' (lit. 'They count chickens . . .')

      b. *pro/*oni   s   det'mi   tak   ne   razgovarivajut.
          they   with   children   so   not   speak.3PL.PRS
          'One doesn't speak to children like that.'

In addition to the two types of non-alternating null pronominals, a null second person subject is optional in the imperative; null subjects in all three persons are also optionally available in certain types of embedded clauses, the majority of them subjunctive (Avrtuin and Babyonyshev 1997; Livitz 2014). Finally, the overt and null variants of the 2SG pronoun (*ty/pro*) alternate in the subject position; this pronoun, which I will be referring to as 'arbitrary 2SG', is the focus of this paper.

The structure of the paper is as follows. In §16.2, I introduce clauses with arbitrary 2SG and show how this type of pronoun differs from the impersonal 3PL and the addressee 2SG. Differences between the two types of 2SG pronouns will be discussed in §16.3, which concludes with a summary of the puzzle that needs to be accounted for, namely the disconnect between the second person singular agreement with the arbitrary 2SG and all other properties of that pronoun, including binding. §16.3 presents arguments in support of a generic interpretation of clauses with the arbitrary 2SG. Based on the generic properties of these clauses, I propose an account of the structural properties of arbitrary 2SG subjects in §16.4.

16.2 Structural Properties of Sentences with Arbitrary 2sG

16.2.1 The Pattern

The most common function of the second person pronoun is to indicate the addressee of the clause in question. The addressee pronoun in Russian can be null in imperatives (3), in some embedded clauses, such as the finite complement clauses shown in (3), and in root questions in the spoken language, where its distribution is reminiscent of the English subject drop observed with topic subjects (Haegeman 1990; Haegeman and Ihsane 1999), as in (3).[1]

(3)   a. *pro_{addr}* sygraj!   Ty   že   obeščal   [čto (ty)
                    play.PFV.2SG.IMP 2SG.NOM EMPH promised.M that 2SG.NOM
          sygraješ'].
          play.2SG.FUT
          'Please play! You did promise that you were going to play.'
    b. *pro_{addr}* xočeš'   est'?
                    want.2SG.PRS eat.IPFV.INF
          'Are you hungry?' (lit. 'Do you want to eat?')

In these contexts, a null second person pronoun is equally possible for the singular *ty* and for the plural *vy*. The latter can be used either for a plurality of addressees or as a polite form for a single person; compare (3) and the example in (4) used as a polite address.

(4)   a. *pro_{addr}* sygrajte!   Vy   že   obeščali   [čto (vy)
                    play.PFV.2PL.IMP 2PL.NOM EMPH promised.PL that 2PL.NOM
          sygrajete].
          play.2SG.FUT
          'Please play! You did promise that you were going to play.'

The other use of the second person pronoun – the one that is at stake here – is to indicate an arbitrary referent, with a meaning close to English *you* and *one*, German *man*, or French *on*. Used with this arbitrary reading, the 2SG pronoun does not alternate with the 2PL pronoun. Moreover, the arbitrary 2SG pronoun can be easily omitted – much more easily than the addressee pronoun.

Arbitrary 2SG is common in proverbs and sayings, as shown in examples (5)–(7) (I will return to the common use of arbitrary 2SG in proverbs in the discussion of negation in §16.3.1 below).

(5)   *pro_{arb}* pospešiš',   *pro_{arb}* ljudej   nasmešiš'.   [2SG-ARB]
          hurry.2SG.FUT   people.ACC make.laugh.2SG.FUT
        'Haste makes waste.' (lit. 'If you hurry you will make people laugh.')

(6) Ljubov' zla, *pro*_{arb} poljubiš' i kozla. [2SG-ARB]
love.NOM bitter fall.in.love.2SG.FUT ADDITIVE billy.goat.ACC
'Love is blind.' (lit. 'Love is unfair; you will fall in love even with a billy goat.')

(7) Kašu maslom *pro*_{arb} ne isportiš'. [2SG-ARB]
gruel.ACC butter.INSTR not spoil.2SG.FUT
'You can never have too much of a good thing.' (lit. 'You will not ruin porridge with butter.')

All such statements have a generic interpretation, the details of which I will examine in §16.3 below. Before I do so, let me discuss how such sentences differ from those with null 3PL subjects and those with a (non-arbitrary) 2SG addressee.

16.2.2 2SG-ARB vs 3PL

Clauses with arbitrary 2SG and impersonal 3PL subjects both involve a null subject pronoun, but there are several differences. First, as I have already stated, arbitrary 2SG can alternate with an overt pronoun, while impersonal 3PL cannot (see also §16.1), as shown in (8) and (9).

(8) Kogda *pro*_{arb}/ty idjoš' po nočnoj Moskve . . . [2SG-ARB]
when 2SG.NOM go.2SG.PRS over nightly Moscow
'When one walks around Moscow at night . . .'

(9) Kogda *pro/**oni idut po nočnoj Moskve . . . [3PL]
when 3PL.NOM go.3PL.PRS over nightly Moscow
'When one walks around Moscow at night . . .'

Second, the two types of null subjects differ in their interpretation: arbitrary 2SG has to be interpreted as speaker-oriented, whereas impersonal 3PL excludes the speaker, and its use often implies a contrast (almost a face-off) between the speaker and the rest of the world (Peškovskij 1956: 330–4; Bulygina and Shmelev 1997: 347–51, and references therein). Compare the minimal pairs in (10) and (11).[2]

(10) a. V ètom dome *pro*_{arb} kuriš' ne perestavaja. [2SG-ARB]
in this home smoke.2SG.PRS not stopping
'At this house, you smoke nonstop.' (speaker included)
b. V ètom dome *pro* kurjat ne perestavaja. [3PL]
in this home smoke.3PL.PRS not stopping
'At this house, they smoke nonstop.' (distancing the speaker from everyone else)
(Bulygina and Shmelev 1997: 348)

(11) V každom igrajuščem detstve . . . četyre rojalja. Vo-pervyx, tot,
in each performing childhood four grand-pianos firstly that
za kotorym *pro*_{arb} sidiš'. Vo-vtoryx, tot, za kotorym
behind which sit.2SG.PRS secondly that behind which
pro sidjat. . .

sit.3PL.PRS

'In every childhood that had musical instruments in it, there are four grand pianos. First, the piano that one likes to play (lit.: the one that you sit behind). Second, the piano that people have to play (lit.: the one that they sit behind).'

(Marina Tsvetayeva, cited in Bulygina and Shmelev 1997: 349)

Although clauses with the arbitrary 2SG subject are generally speaker-oriented, these clauses can also include constituents expressed by a 1SG pronoun, indexing the speaker. For example, in (12a) the object is expressed by a 1SG pronoun, and in (12b) that pronoun occurs in a prepositional phrase.

(12) a. *pro*$_{arb}$ menja   tak   legko ne   ubediš'.   [2SG-ARB]
                  1SG.ACC   so   easily   not   convince.2SG.FUT

         'There is no convincing me so easily.'

      b. *pro*$_{arb}$ pogovoriš'   so   mnoj   o   global' nom poteplenii,   [2SG-ARB]
                  speak.2SG.PRS   with   1SG   about   global warming

          pro$_{arb}$ srazu   vsjo   uznaješ'.
                  right.away   all   find.out.2SG.FUT

         'Let anyone talk to me about global warming, I will set them straight.' (ironic, meant to express empathy with someone else)

In such instances, the pragmatic conditions call for the exclusion of the speaker (despite the general speaker-orientation of the arbitrary 2SG). The result is an impression that the focus of empathy is removed from the speaker (Bulygina and Shmelev 1997: 349–51), as in (13). However, this seems to be a mere pragmatic implicature, which is cancellable.

(13) *pro*$_{arb}$ menja   tak   legko ne   ubediš'.   Ja   i
              1SG.ACC   so   easily   not   convince.2SG.FUT   1SG.NOM   additive
      sama   ne   vsegda soglašajus'   so   svoimi   dokazatel'svami.
      by.self.F   not   always   agree.1SG.PRS   with   self's   arguments
      'There is no convincing me so easily. I myself don't always agree with my own arguments.'

In sum, the meaning of the arbitrary 2SG presupposes speaker-orientation, whereas the meaning of the 3PL impersonal excludes the speaker.

Sentences with arbitrary 2SG also differ from sentences with impersonal 3PL in their modal flavour. Arbitrary 2SG clauses express general statements concerning (im) possibility or the fact that something is being done (or not done) in a certain way; impersonal 3PL clauses, by contrast, have a strong deontic interpretation. Such modal differences are particularly apparent under negation. In (14), the sentence with arbitrary 2SG has a habitual reading, indicating general impossibility, while the sentence with the impersonal 3PL subject has a deontic reading.

(14) a. Zdes'   *pro*$_{arb}$ ne   pokuriš',   #no   Maša   vsjo   vremja   [2SG-ARB]
          here   not   smoke.PFV.2SG.PRS   but   Masha   all   time

narušaet.
break.rule.3SG.PRS
'There are obstacles to smoking here, #but Masha is constantly breaking the rule.'

    b. Zdes' *pro* ne kurjat,   no Maša vsjo vremja.   [3PL]
        here   not smoke.IMPFV.3PL.PRS but Masha all   time
narušaet.
break.rule.3SG.PRS
'It is not allowed to smoke here, but Masha is constantly breaking the rule.'

Assuming that the arbitrary 2SG subject imparts a generic interpretation, it is not surprising that clauses with this pronoun resist the deontic reading. Generics and the deontic interpretation are compatible only under a circumscribed, specific set of conditions (Krifka et al. 1995; Moltmann 2010; Zobel 2014). In (14b), the conditions are such that the place is designated as non-smoking, and the continuation refers to a violation of the rule imposed by someone.

16.2.3 *2SG-ARB vs 2SG-ADDR: Distributional Differences*

As mentioned above, the arbitrary 2SG pronoun differs from the addressee 2SG pronoun in that the former cannot alternate with the 2PL form. In addition, the addressee 2SG pronoun and the arbitrary 2SG pronoun can also *co-occur in the same clause* (see Bulygina and Shmelev 1997: 348ff. for similar observations and further examples). This co-occurrence is illustrated in (15a); note, however, that a co-referential use of the addressee 2SG within the same clause is impossible (15b), an issue that I will return to in the discussion of binding below.[3]

(15)   a. *pro*$_{arb}$ tebja   tak prosto   ne   ubediš'.   [2SG-ARB]
                2SG.ACC   so   simply   not   convince.2SG.FUT
        'There is no convincing you (addressee) so easily.'

      b. *Ty$_i$ tebja$_i$ tak   prosto   ne   ubediš'.
        2SG.NOM   2SG.ACC so   simply   not   convince.2SG.FUT
        ('You won't convince yourself so easily.')

Crucially, for the two 2SG pronouns to co-occur, the arbitrary 2SG must be in the subject position, as in (15a); the opposite relationship between the two 2SG pronouns, where the subject denotes the addressee and the pronominal in the object position, be it overt or null, is interpreted arbitrarily, is impossible.

(16)   a. *Ty$_{addr-i}$ tebja$_{arb-j}$ tak prosto   ne   ubediš'.
          2SG.NOM   2SG.ACC   so   simply   not   convince.2SG.FUT
        ('You (= addressee) won't convince one so easily.')

      b. *pro*$_{addr}$ tebja$_{arb-j}$ tak prosto   ne   ubediš'.
                 2SG.ACC   so   simply   not   convince.2SG.FUT
        ('You (= addressee) won't convince one so easily.')

      c. *Ty$_{addr-i}$ *pro*$_{arb-j}$ tak prosto   ne   ubediš'.
          2SG.NOM   so   simply   not   convince.2SG.FUT

('You (= addressee) won't convince one so easily.')

   d. *pro_{addr} $pro_{arb\text{-}j}$ tak   prosto   ne   ubediš'.[4]

                           so   simply   not   convince.2SG.FUT

     ('You (= addressee) won't convince one so easily.')

The co-occurrence data indicate that the addressee 2SG and arbitrary 2SG have very different properties. Clauses with the addressee 2SG differ from those with the arbitrary 2SG in other respects. The differences include binding, number specification, gender specification and animacy of the subject. I will discuss these in turn.

16.2.3.1 Binding properties

The addressee 2SG and arbitrary 2SG differ in their binding properties. In order to examine these properties, we need to consider the binding of non-possessive forms (i.e. the accusative reflexive form *sebja*), possessive binding forms (i.e. the possessive reflexive s*voj*) and reciprocal binding forms.

Both addressee and arbitrary 2SG pronouns occurring in the subject position can bind a clause-mate reflexive, either in the position of a noun phrase or in the position of a prepositional phrase. Compare (15) and the pair of sentences in (17), in which the anaphor appears in the object position.

(17)   a. $pro_{arb\text{-}i}$ sebja$_i$ tak   legko   ne   ubediš'.   [2SG-ARB]

                    self.ACC   so   easily   not   convince.2SG.FUT

      'There is no convincing oneself so easily.'

     b.   Ty$_i$ sebja$_i$ tak   legko   ne   ubediš'.   [2SG-ARB/2SG-ADDR]

        2SG.NOM   self.ACC   so   easily   not   convince.2SG.FUT

      'There is no convincing oneself so easily.'

      'You (= addressee) won't convince yourself so easily.'

In the pair of examples in (18), the 2SG pronoun in the subject position binds a prepositional phrase.

(18)   a. $pro_{arb\text{-}i}$ v   sebe$_i$ vsegda   somnevaješ'sja.   [2SG-ARB]

                    in   self   always   doubt.2SG.PRS

      'One always has doubts about oneself.'

     b.   Ty$_i$ v   sebe$_i$ vsegda   somnevaješ'sja.   [2SG-ARB/2SG-ADDR]

        2SG.NOM   in   self   always   doubt.2SG.PRS

      'One always has doubts about oneself.'

      'You (= addressee) always have doubts about yourself.'

When the 2SG pronoun in the subject position binds a possessive reflexive, there is a clear contrast between the arbitrary type and the addressee type. The arbitrary 2SG can only bind a reflexive possessive, whereas the addressee 2SG can bind either a reflexive or a pronominal possessive, as shown in (19).

(19)   a.   Čego   tol'ko $pro_{arb\text{-}i}$ ne   sdelaeš'   dlja svoix$_i$/*tvoix$_i$ druzej!   [2SG-ARB]

        what.PART only   not do.2SG.PRS for self's/2SG.POSS friends

'The things one does for one's friends!' (lit. 'What wouldn't you do for self's friends!')

b. Čego   tol'ko ty$_i$ ne sdelaeš'   dlja   svoix$_i$/tvoix$_i$ [2SG-ADDR]
   what.PART only   2SG.NOM not do.2SG.PRS for   self's/2SG.POSS
   druzej
   friends
   'The things you (= addressee) do for your friends!' (lit. 'What wouldn't you do for self's/your friends!')

Turning to reciprocal binding, the addressee 2SG cannot bind a reciprocal, but the arbitrary 2SG can (Knyazev 2015), as shown in (20).

(20) a. Esli   *pro*$_{arb-i}$ ljubiš'   drug druga$_i$,   vsjo legko.   [2SG-ARB]
         if   love.2SG.PRS each other.ACC all   easy
         'If people love each other everything is easy.'

      b. *Esli ty$_i$ ljubiš'   drug druga$_i$ . . .   [2SG-ADDR]
         if   2SG.NOM   love.2SG.PRS each other.ACC
         'If you are in love with one another . . .'

To summarise, the binding properties of the addressee 2SG and arbitrary 2SG pronoun in the subject position are shown in Table 16.3.

These results suggest that the arbitrary 2SG pronoun is not specified for the property [+participant] or at least does not have to be specified for it exclusively. In particular, this pronoun cannot bind a possessive pronoun specifically marked as [+participant] (cf. (19)). Furthermore, it is not semantically singular, as we can see from its ability to bind reciprocal anaphors.

16.2.3.2 Number specification

The addressee 2SG and arbitrary 2SG differ in their number specification. If the arbitrary 2SG pronoun is not semantically specified as [+singular], we predict that it should be compatible with other contexts where the singular interpretation is not required. This prediction is confirmed: arbitrary 2SG pronouns can occur with collective or distributive predicates, i.e. predicates that range over a plurality of individuals in the subject position. The same use is absolutely unacceptable for addressee 2SG pronouns. Consider the symmetrical predicate *deržat'sja za ruki*, which entails a

Table 16.3 Binding properties

	2SG addressee	2SG arbitrary
Binds reflexive in an argument position	✓	✓
Binds reciprocal in an argument position	X	✓
Binds possessive reflexive	✓	✓
Binds possessive 2SG pronoun	✓	X

plural subject, as shown independently by (21). This predicate can co-occur with the arbitrary 2sg subject.

(21) a. Deti   deržalis'   za   ruki.
         children.NOM hold.PL.PST   at   hands
         'The children held hands.'
     b. *Rebenok   deržalsja   za   ruki.[5]
         child.NOM   hold.PST.M   at   hands
         ('The child held hands with others.')

(22) a. V   ètom   tance   ty/*pro*_{arb}   deržiš'sja   za   ruki.   [2SG-ARB]
         in   this   dance2SG.NOM   hold.2SG.PRS   at   hands
         'In this dance, dancers hold hands.'
     b. *V   ètom   tance   ty   deržiš'sja   za   ruki.   [2SG-ADDR]
         in   this   dance   2SG.NOM   hold.2SG.PRS   at   hands
         ('In this dance, you (= addressee) hold at other's hands.')

Example (23) illustrates a symmetrical predicate with a reciprocal anaphor bound by the arbitrary 2sg subject (as in (20) above).

(23) a. *pro*_{arb-i}   nagovoriš'   drug   drugu_{i}   obidnogo,   a   potom   [2SG-ARB]
                         say.2SG.PRS   each   other   hurtful.GEN   and   then
         rassaživaeš'sja   po   svoim   uglam   i   molčiš'
         spread.out.in.sitting.2SG.PRS   over   self's   corners   and   keep.silent.2SG.PRS
         po   očeredi.
         in   turn
         'First, people say hurtful things to each other, and then they spread out in their
         own spaces and take turns not saying anything.'
     b. *Ty_{i}   nagovoriš'   drug   drugu_{i}   obidnogo,   a   potom   [2SG-ADDR]
         2SG.NOM   say.2SG.PRS   each   other   hurtful.GEN   and   then
         rassaživaeš'sja   po   svoim   uglam   i   molčiš'
         spread.out.in.sitting.2SG.PRS   over   self's   corners   and   keep.silent.2SG.PRS
         po   očeredi.
         in   turn
         ('First, people say hurtful things to each other . . .')

Turning now to collective predicates, their meaning presupposes a plurality of subjects and is incompatible with a singular subject: the English *collide* or *disperse* are good examples. The [+participant/+singular] *ty* is impossible with such predicates, but the arbitrary 2sg subject is fully acceptable, as in (24).

(24) a. Esli   ty/*pro*_{arb}   prevosxodiš'   po   čislennosti   sosednie   [2SG-ARB]
         if   2SG.NOM   surpass.2SG.PRS   over   number   neighbouring
         narody,   vsjo ravno   ne   stoit   ix   obižat'.
         peoples   nevertheless   not   necessary   them   hurt.INF
         'If you outnumber your neighbour nations there is no need to insult them.'

b. *Esli   ty   prevosxodiš'   po   čislennosti   sosednie   [2SG-ADDR]
   if   2SG.NOM   surpass.2SG.PRS over   number   neighbouring
   narody, . . .
   peoples
   ('If you (= addressee) outnumber your neighbour nations . . .')

The resulting picture is that the arbitrary 2SG is not specified as semantically singular but all the while the morphological agreement with this pronoun must be in second singular.

16.2.3.3 Gender specification

The addressee 2SG and arbitrary 2SG differ in their gender specification. If the arbitrary 2SG is not semantically specified for singular, what about its gender? So far all the examples have been in the present tense, where morphological agreement is in person and number. Gender agreement in Russian verbs appears in the past tense, as was shown in Table 16.2, and in the subjunctive (whose forms are homophonous with past tense forms). Outside verb forms, gender agreement is visible on adjectival/ participial secondary predicates.

In all these contexts, the gender of the addressee 2SG is determined by the natural gender of the speech participant. This is easy to show using predicates whose denotation specifies a particular gender; the Russian equivalents for 'get married' are a well-known example of this, with *ženit'sja* applying to males and *vyxodit' zamuž* to females, as shown in (25).

(25) a. V   Japonii   ty   by   zamuž   ne   vyšla.   [2SG-ADDR]
         in   Japan   2SG.NOM   SBJV   married not   go.F
         'In Japan you would not have got married.' (speaking to a woman)
      b. V   Japonii   ty   by   ne   ženilsja.   [2SG-ADDR]
         in   Japan   2SG.NOM   SBJV   not   married.M
         'In Japan you would not have got married.' (speaking to a man)

The gender on secondary predicates (depictives) and resultatives must also match the natural gender of the addressee. Thus, (26a) has to be used when addressing a male hearer, and (26b) when addressing a female.[6]

(26) a. Ty   vsegda   prixodiš'   ustalyj/ustalym.   [2SG-ADDR]
         2SG.NOM   always   come.back.2SG.PRS   tired.NOM.M/tired.INS.M
      b. Ty   vsegda   prixodiš'   ustalaja/ustaloj.
         2SG.NOM   always   come.back.2SG.PRS   tired.NOM.F/tired.INS.F
         'You always come back tired.'

With that in mind, let us now turn to the arbitrary 2SG. It appears that the gender of this pronoun is set as masculine, as shown in (27) for verbal predicates and in (28) for depictives.

(27) V   srednie veka esli ty   rodilsja   rabom,   [2SG-ARB]
      in   middle ages if   2SG.NOM   was.born.M   slave.INS
      to   rabom   i   umiral.
      then slave.INS and died.M
      'In the Middle Ages, if one was born a slave, one died a slave.'

(28) S   raboty *pro*_{arb} vsegda prixodiš'   [2SG-ARB]
      from work   always come.back.2SG.PRS
      ustalyj/ustalym.
      tired.NOM.M/tired.INS.M
      'One always comes back tired after work.'

With human referents, the masculine is the default gender in Russian; if a noun phrase is not specified as [+FEMININE], then it should be treated as masculine (Corbett and Fraser 2000: 83; Corbett 2007: 266–8; Doleschal and Schmid 2001: 264). This requirement overrides world knowledge. For example, all the native speakers I consulted accept examples such as (29a) or (30a) where the referent clearly has to be female, and only a subset of speakers also allowed agreement in the feminine in (29b) and (30b).

(29) a. V   srednie veka   esli ty   zaboleval   sepsisom   [2SG-ARB]
         in   middle ages if   2SG.NOM   got.sick.M   sepsis.INS
         posle rodov, to   ty   navernjaka umiral.
         after childbirth then 2SG.NOM   for.sure   died.M
      b. %V   srednie veka   esli ty   zabolevala   sepsisom   [2SG-ARB]
         in   middle ages if   2SG.NOM   got.sick.F   sepsis.INS
         posle rodov, to   ty   navernjaka umirala.
         after childbirth then 2SG.NOM   for.sure   died.F
         'In the Middle Ages, if one developed sepsis after childbirth, one was doomed to die.'

(30) a. V   starye vremena esli ty   rožal   rebenka   [2SG-ARB]
         in   old   times if   2SG.NOM   gave.birth.M   child.ACC
         bez   muža,   ty   podvergalsja ostrakizmu.
         without husband 2SG.NOM   underwent.M   ostracism.DAT
      b. %V   starye vremena esli ty   rožala   rebenka   [2SG-ARB]
         in   old   times if   2SG.NOM   gave.birth.F   child.ACC
         bez   muža,   ty   podvergalas' ostrakizmu.
         without husband 2SG.NOM   underwent.F   ostracism.DAT
         'In the old days, if one had a child out of wedlock, one was ostracised.'

With secondary predicates, however, the masculine agreement is overridden in contexts where the generic statement specifically targets female participants, as in (31).

(31) Poka   ty/*pro*$_{arb}$ xodiš'   beremennaja/*beremennyj,   [2SG-ARB]
     want.2SG.PRS 2SG.NOM go.2SG.PRS pregnant.F/pregnant.M
     ty/*pro*$_{arb}$ vsjo vremja xočeš'   est'.
     2SG.NOM all   time   want.2SG.PRS eat.INF
     'While pregnant, one is always hungry.'

Crucially, such semantic overrides are only possible with the gender feature, not the number feature. Compare (28), and the ungrammatical plural depictive in (32).[7]

(32) S   raboty *pro*$_{arb}$ vsegda prixodiš'   ustalymi.   [2SG-ARB]
     from work   always come.back.2SG.PRS tired.INS.PL
     ('One always comes back tired after work.')

The semantic agreement in gender presents an interesting challenge to the well-known hierarchy of agreement targets (Corbett 1979, 1983). Following Corbett, there is a hierarchy of agreement targets (probes) with respect to whether they can show semantically motivated agreement, as opposed to solely formal (syntactic, in Corbett's terms) agreement. For targets on the scale in (33), if some element is able to show semantic agreement, then all positions to the right on the scale will also be able to show semantic agreement. Conversely, if a position can show formal agreement, then all positions to the left will also be able to show morphological agreement.

(33)   attributive > predicate > relative pronoun > personal pronoun
      ← formal agreement   semantic agreement →

If we now compare the formal agreement in (29) with the semantic agreement in (31), we find that these data do not follow the predictions of the Agreement Hierarchy. I leave the question of how to reconcile the hierarchy in (33) with these particular results for future research.

Leaving the borderline examples aside, we can conclude that the arbitrary 2SG is not semantically specified for number or gender. Its morphological number is set as singular, and its morphological gender is set as masculine; both these feature specifications constitute the morphological defaults in Russian. This morphological default for gender (but not for number) can be 'overridden' by semantic information, as shown in (31).

16.2.3.4 Animacy requirements

The addressee 2SG and arbitrary 2SG differ in the animacy requirements on the subject. The 2SG addressee pronoun can index personified inanimate or non-human participants, as in (34).

(34) Kogda že   ty   zakolosiš'sja,   pšenica?   [2SG-ADDR]
     when   indeed 2SG.NOM become.eared.2SG.FUT wheat
     'Oh wheat, when will you finally plump up (lit. "form ears")?'

No such interpretation is ever available for the arbitrary reading; the verb *kolosit'sja* 'form ears, spire', whose subject must be inanimate, is impossible with the arbitrary pronoun.[8]

(35) *V   xolodnoe   leto   *pro_arb*   ne   zakolosiš'sja.   [2SG-ARB]
       in   cold   summer   not   become.eared.2SG.FUT
       'Ears won't form on wheat when the summer is cold.'

The arbitrary 2SG is conceptualised as indexing a human, sentient referent, which explains the ungrammaticality of (28). In this property, the Russian arbitrary 2SG resembles English *one* and *you*, German *man* and French *on*, which also require a [+human] denotation (Wiltschko 2016).

Two additional observations provide further support for the generalisation that the arbitrary 2SG requires a [+human] referent. First, if the participant indexed by the arbitrary 2SG must be interpreted as sentient via coercion, then the use of the arbitrary form becomes acceptable. Such coercion can be provided by the set phrase *xočeš' ne xočeš'* 'whether you like it or not; willy-nilly', which presupposes a sentient referent.[9] The expression itself is the frozen form of the verb 'want' in 2SG, but it is currently used more broadly and is not limited to second persons. Compare the ungrammatical (35) with the felicitous sentence in (36).

(36) Xočeš'   ne   xočeš',   a   *pro_arb*   zakolosiš'sja.   [2SG-ARB]
       like   not   like   but   become.eared.2SG.FUT
       'Whether you like it or not you will have to form ears.'

Likewise, in the sentence in (37), the referent is a personified animal, whose sentience is established via pragmatic coercion.

(37) Xočeš'   ne   xočeš',   a   *pro_arb*   staneš'   lajat'   [2SG-ARB]
       like   not   like   but   get.2SG.FUT   bark.INF
       za   ugoščenie.
       for   treat
       'Whether you like it or not you will bark to get a treat.'

The second observation supporting the [+sentient] or [+human] feature of the arbitrary 2SG comes from verbs whose meaning varies depending on the humanness or animacy of the subject. For example, the verb *ržat'* has the meaning 'neigh' but can also be used figuratively in the meaning 'snicker', with a human subject. Only this latter meaning is possible with the arbitrary 2SG. Compare the literal meaning of (38), where the addressee is a horse, and the figurative meaning (the only one available) in (39).

(38) Čto   ty   ržoš',   moj   kon'   retivyj?   [2SG-ADDR]
       what 2SG.NOM   neigh.2SG.PRS my   steed   proud
       'Why are you neighing, oh my proud steed?'
       (Pushkin)

Table 16.4 Addressee 2sG subject vs arbitrary 2sG subject

	2sG addressee	2sG arbitrary
Determines obligatory 2sG agreement on verbs in non-past tense (nominative subjects)	✓	✓
Binds 2sG possessive pronouns	✓	X
Is semantically specified as singular (cf. binding of reciprocals, occurrence with collective/distributive predicates)	✓	X
Is specified as morphologically masculine	X	✓
Must be interpreted as [+HUMAN]	X	✓

(39) Ot   takix   krikov   byvalo   ty/*pro*_{arb}   tol'ko   ržoš'.   [2sG-ARB]
     from   such   yells   usually   2SG.NOM   only   snicker.2SG.PRS
     'One would only snicker/*neigh upon hearing such yells.'

Table 16.4 summarises the differences between the arbitrary and addressee 2sG pronouns.

Throughout this section, I have concentrated on arbitrary 2sG in the nominative subject position. However, similar properties also hold of arbitrary 2sG in non-nominative forms when such forms encode an external argument (dative or accusative experiencer subjects; PP possessive subjects). Such external arguments do not determine verbal agreement, so it is harder to tell if the overt form of the pronoun can alternate with the null form, but the overt form has the same binding properties as the arbitrary 2sG in the nominative. Contrast the sentences in (19) with the pair in (40), where the arbitrary 2sG in the experiencer subject position can bind only the possessive reflexive.

(40) a. V   xorošej   kompanii   tebe/?*pro*_{arb}   veselo   daže   [2sG-ARB]
       in   good   company   2SG.DAT   merry   even
       ot   svoix/*tvoix   durackix   šutok.
       from   self's/2SG.POSS   silly   jokes
       'In good company, one gets merry even from one's own silly jokes.'

     b. V   xorošej   kompanii   tebe   veselo   daže   [2sG-ADDR]
       in   good   company   2SG.DAT   merry   even
       ot   svoix/tvoix   šutok.
       from   self's/2SG.POSS   jokes
       'In good company, you get merry even from your own jokes.'

Likewise, the arbitrary 2sG in the locative-possessor position (*u*-XP) can serve as the antecedent of a reciprocal; compare the minimal pair in (20) with the pair in (41).

(41) a. Kogda u tebja/*pro_{arb}* voznikaet obida drug na druga . . . [2SG-ARB]
          when by 2SG occurs grievance on.each.other
          'When people are upset with each other . . .'

      b. *Kogda u tebja voznikaet obida drug na druga . . . [2SG-ADDR]
          when by 2SG occurs grievance on.each.other
          'When you are upset with each other . . .'

Thus, the arbitrary 2SG in the external argument position is not limited to the nominative.

In the next section, I will consider the semantic import of sentences with the arbitrary 2SG subject. Strictly speaking, the [+HUMAN] requirement and [+MASCULINE] preference should also be counted among the interpretive properties of the arbitrary 2SG subject, but since they have an effect on morphosyntactic agreement, I have included them in the tally of their structural properties.

16.3 Interpretive Properties of Sentences with Arbitrary 2SG

16.3.1 2SG-ARB Sentences vs 2SG-ADDR Sentences: Differences in Interpretation

Sentences with arbitrary 2SG have a number of interpretive restrictions, some of which are particularly vivid when compared with the use of addressee-2SG sentences. Addressee-2SG sentences can be episodic, express isolated facts, or denote repeated habitual events. They are also contextually free, in that they can occur in isolation and do not require special anchoring in terms of time or location. Meanwhile, as will be elaborated upon below, arbitrary-2SG sentences cannot have episodic readings and must be anchored in time or space (a typical property of generic sentences generally). I have already noted their generic flavour in the discussion above. The generic interpretation was particularly apparent in the comparison between (14a) and (14b), partially repeated in (42), where the former had the reading of impossibility, and the latter, a deontic interpretation.

(42) a. Zdes' *pro_{arb}* ne pokuriš'. [2SG-ARB]
          here not smoke.PFV.2SG.PRS
          'It is impossible to smoke here.' (= (14a))

      b. Zdes' *pro* ne kurjat. [3PL]
          here not smoke.IMPFV.3PL.PRS
          'It is not allowed to smoke here.' (= (14b))

As I already mentioned, deontic readings are not easily compatible with genericity, so this contrast is understandable.

Following up on the generic interpretation, the distribution of individual-level predicates differs with addressee 2SG vs arbitrary 2SG. When the sentence in (43) is uttered out of the blue, the subject can only be interpreted as an addressee.

(43) Ty   prinadležiš'   k   izbrannomu   obščestvu.   [2SG-ADDR]
     2SG.NOM   belong.2SG.PRS to   select   society
     'You (= addressee) belong to an elite circle.'

In order for the subject of this sentence to be interpreted as arbitrary, it needs to be explicitly anchored to a set of events or locations, as in (44); again, this is a typical condition on the felicity of individual-level predicates in generic contexts (Krifka et al. 1995; Chierchia 1995).

(44) V   takix   universitetax   *pro*$_{arb}$/*ty*   neredko   prinadležiš'   [2SG-ARB]
     in   such   universities   2SG.NOM   frequently belong.2SG.PRS
     k   izbrannomu   obščestvu.
     to   select   society
     'In such universities, one often belongs to an elite circle.'

The anchoring of clauses with arbitrary 2SG can be achieved in two major ways. First, two (or more) clauses, all under the scope of a generic quantifier, may co-occur in an utterance, with one clause serving as the conditional antecedent for the other. In such utterances, the arbitrary 2SG can appear in either of the clauses (or both). Crucial for their interpretation, the two clauses must be interpreted as forming a contrast. Example (45) illustrates the patterns. In (45a), the arbitrary 2SG appears in the first coordinate clause; in (45b), it occurs in both clauses; in (45c), it occurs in the second coordinate.

(45) a. Ty/*pro*$_{arb}$ prixodiš'   domoj,   a   tam   nikogo   net.   [2SG-ARB]
        2SG.NOM   come.2SG.PRS   home   but   there   nobody   be.NEG
        'One comes home to find nobody there.'
     b. Ty/*pro*$_{arb}$ prixodiš'   domoj   i   nikogo   tam   ne   naxodiš'
        2SG.NOM   come.2SG.PRS   home   and   nobody   there not   find.2SG.PRS
        'One comes home but does not find anybody there.'
     c. Doma   nikogo   net,   a   ty/*pro*$_{arb}$ vsjo ravno   ždjoš'   kogo-to.
        home   nobody   be.NEG   but   2SG.NOM   still   wait.2SG.PRS   someone
        'There is nobody home, but one still waits for someone.'

Although I have used coordinate clauses here for illustrative purposes, the same anchoring effect can be achieved if one of the clauses occurs as an adjunct or if (all) the clauses appear as root clauses.

We have seen above several other examples in which two or more clauses occur in the utterance and an arbitrary-2SG clause served as the antecedent: see (5), (6), (12) and (20). The antecedent clauses in these sentences often co-occur with the adverbial *byvalo* 'habitually, occasionally' (a fossilised habitual form of the verb 'be'); for instance, (46).

(46) a. Byvalo   na   nedelju   ujedeš',   i
        habitually   on   week   go.away.PFV.2SG.FUT   and
        to   zvoniš'.

still   call.IMPFV.2SG.PRS
(Russian National Corpus)

b. Byvalo   na   nedelju   ujezžaješ',   i   to   pozvoniš'.
   habitually on   week   go.away.IMPFV.2SG.PRS   and   still   call.2PFV.2SG.FUT
   'One would go away for just a week but would still call.'

In all these cases, there are no aspectual restrictions on the predicate of the 2SG-ARB sentence; the sentence can appear in the perfective or imperfective, as shown by the examples in (46).

The second way of anchoring clauses with the arbitrary 2SG involves the use of a temporary or locative adjunct, as already shown in (43) above. Such anchoring can also be implicit. Implicit anchoring is particularly common if the clause with the arbitrary 2SG is under the scope of negation; compare (7), (12), (14), (15), or the example in (47).[10]

(47) Vyše   golovy   *pro*$_{arb}$ ne   prygneš'.   [2SG-ARB]
      higher   head.GEN   not   jump.2SG.PRS
      'A man can do no more than he can.' (lit. 'You can't jump higher than your head.')

Informally, it appears that negation may be one of the ways of marking focus; the presupposed contrast is between *p* and ¬*p*, and negation serves to exclude a range of possibilities. The association between focus and the matrix material in generic sentences is well established (Krifka 1995; Rooth 1995). Assuming that the generic interpretation of sentences with the arbitrary 2SG subject is on the right track, negation can serve as a formal means of identifying the matrix material in arbitrary 2SG clauses.

This hypothesis leads us to expect that other means of identifying focus should also play a role in arbitrary 2SG clauses. At least two observations confirm this expectation. First, I have already mentioned a number of examples where two clauses with the arbitrary 2SG subject are juxtaposed, and the propositions in these clauses are interpreted contrastively: one of the clauses serves as the presupposition against which the material in the other clause is asserted. Second, generic sentences with the arbitrary 2SG subject often occur with the additive particle *i* 'also; even' (see Gast and van der Auwera 2011 for the functions of this particle; a saying with this particle appeared in (6) above in a set expression). Outside set expressions, a constituent with the additive particle *i* precedes the verb and bears a clear focus intonation, with the high–low boundary tone (HL*). Compare (48).

(48) I   ljagušek^{HL*} ty/*pro*$_{arb}$ budeš'   est'.   [2SG-ARB]
      ADDITIVE   frogs.ACC   2SG.NOM   AUX.2SG   eat.INF
      'One would even eat frogs.'

These observations on focus associations in generic clauses are preliminary. The overall picture is complicated by the rampant scrambling that seems to be a hallmark of Russian syntax; the interaction between the prosodic, information-structural and

propositional-semantic effects of scrambling is not fully understood, and more work needs to be done in this area.

To conclude, this section has suggested that the interpretive properties of clauses with the arbitrary 2SG subject follow from the generic interpretation of these clauses; focusing on the generic interpretation allows us to account for the differences between arbitrary 2SG subjects and addressee 2SG subjects.

16.3.2 Null vs Overt ty in 2**SG**-ARB Sentences: Differences in Interpretation

One of the issues that I have not yet addressed has to do with interpretive differences between overt and null arbitrary 2SG subjects. As shown by examples throughout this paper, both the overt and covert variants of this pronoun are generally possible, with the exception of sentences where the addressee 2SG also appears, such as (15). In set expressions, the null form predominates. Likewise, in sentences with the nominative form of the arbitrary 2SG subject, there is a preference for the null form appearing in that position; in 300 sentences with such subjects culled from the Russian National Corpus, 210 (about 70 per cent) had the null form. By contrast, when arbitrary 2SG is used in non-nominative position (as an experiencer dative, as a PP, etc.), there seems to be a preference for the overt form.

Null forms are independently known in the literature to correspond to bound forms (Landau 2004, 2015), and this expectation is confirmed by the null arbitrary 2SG data. The examples in (49) show the contrast between overt vs silent 2SG in an embedded *whether*-clause ((49a) vs (49b) respectively). In (49b), the only available reading for *pro* is that of a bound variable. The interpretation of the overt form of arbitrary 2SG in the minimal pair, (49a), is less clear; some speakers allow both readings, while others insist on the strict reading only.[11]

(49)   a.   Tol'ko   ty$_i$ odin   znaeš',   smožeš'   li   ty$_{i/\%}$
            only   2SG.NOM   alone.M   know.2SG.PRS   be.able.2SG.FUT   COMP   2SG.NOM
            preodolet'   takoe   prepjatstvie.
            overcome.INF   [such   obstacle].ACC
            'Only the person himself$_i$ knows whether he$_{i/k}$ can overcome such an obstacle.'
       b.   Tol'ko   ty$_i$ odin   znaeš',   smožeš'   li   *pro*$_{i/*k}$
            only   2SG.NOM   alone.M   know.2SG.PRS   be.able.2SG.FUT   COMP
            preodolet'   takoe   prepjatstvie.
            overcome.INF   [such   obstacle].ACC
            'Only the person himself knows whether he/*one can overcome such an obstacle.'

The contrast between the overt and null arbitrary 2SG pronouns needs to be explored further, but since these differences do not play a critical role in the present discussion, I leave them for further research.

16.4 Putting It All Together

Now that we have observed structural and interpretive differences between clauses with the arbitrary 2SG subject and clauses with the addressee 2SG subject, it is time to

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Table 16.5 Addressee 2SG subject vs arbitrary 2SG subject/highest external argument

	2SG addressee	2SG arbitrary
Determines obligatory 2SG agreement on verbs in non-past tense (nominative subjects)	✓	✓
Binds 2SG possessive pronouns	✓	X
Is semantically specified as singular (cf. binding of reciprocals, occurrence with collective/distributive predicates)	✓	X
Is specified as morphologically masculine	X	✓
Must be interpreted as [+HUMAN]	X	✓

examine where these differences come from. In a nutshell, clauses with the arbitrary 2SG subject are unusual in that their subject shares its agreement pattern with the addressee 2SG subject, but differs in its binding properties, plural interpretation, depictive/resultative agreement and obligatory human interpretation. The relevant properties are repeated in Table 16.5.

In §16.3, I showed that sentences with arbitrary 2SG have a generic interpretation. The literature on the semantics of generics is enormous, and I will not be able to do it justice here. For my purposes, the crucial ingredients of the analysis of generics are shown in (50): a covert quantifier, possibly adverbial in nature (Lewis 1975; Krifka et al. 1995), a restrictor and the matrix material (whose association with focus further supports the tripartite generic structure).

(50)   **GEN** [x; y] (**Restrictor** [x]; ∃y **Matrix** [x y])

In the sentences considered in this paper, arbitrary 2SG is always in the subject position (or in some external argument position; for example, when it corresponds to the experiencer subject or to an external argument in the form of a PP, as in (40) and (41)). Assuming that universal (generic) quantification targets the highest structural position (Diesing 1992), the generic quantifier has scope over this arbitrary 2SG. The generalised form of arbitrary 2SG sentences is therefore as shown in (51).

(51)   **GEN** [x; y; s] (x is in *s* & x is 2SG; ∃y & x V y)

Scoping over the arbitrary 2SG, GEN unselectively binds this pronoun, causing it to acquire all the indices associated with the situation variable *s*.[12] The arbitrary 2SG is no longer interpreted as uniquely associated with the addressee (although this association is still available, if only as an implicature). Example (52) repeated from (15a) shows that such an implicature can be cancelled: the sentence contains the overt addressee pronoun in the object position and the null arbitrary 2SG pronoun is interpreted as excluding the addressee.

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(52) *pro^{arb}* tebja   tak   prosto   ne   ubediš'.
              2SG.ACC   so   simply   not   convince.2SG.FUT
      'There is no convincing you (addressee) so easily.' (= (15a))

The binding and argument structure properties of the arbitrary 2SG subject follow
from its being in the scope of GEN; the indices are passed down to the pronoun
from all the possible situations *s* where the proposition denoted in the sentence holds
true. The semantic representation is in (53). (The syntactic representation, where the
generic quantifier is base-generated as an adjoined adverbial in the TP domain, is
shown in Figure 16.1 below.)

(53)   **GEN** $[s_1, s_2, \ldots s_n]$ $(x_1, x_2, \ldots x_n) \ldots$

Binding by the generic quantifier forces a non-singular semantic interpretation
on arbitrary 2SG as well as a gender-neutral interpretation, realised as the masculine.
As a result, this pronoun in the subject/external argument position can fill the subject
position of collective or distributive predicates and can bind reciprocal anaphors; in
both of these contexts, the set of referents is two or more. Furthermore, the arbitrary
2SG *cannot* bind a 2SG possessive: to do so would require exclusion of all the other
indices inherited from the quantifier above, leading to an interpretive clash.

We can now approach the mechanism of agreement in generic clauses with
an arbitrary 2SG nominative in the subject position. In such clauses, the probing T
head reaches the 2SG pronoun and values its phi-features [PERSON] and [NUMBER] in a
straightforward way. In the past tense/conditional, agreement is in the masculine, as
the default morphosyntactic feature. The structure illustrated in Figure 16.1 reflects
a regular clause with a nominative subject and transitive verb in non-past tenses
(irrelevant details are not shown).

verb in non-past tenses
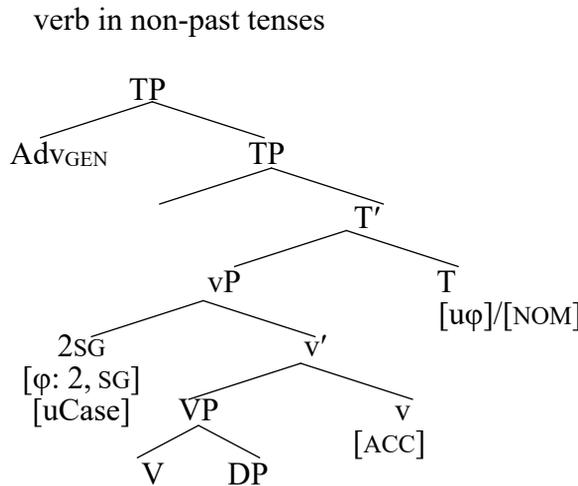
Figure 16.1 Structure of regular clause with a nominative subject and transitive verb in
non-past tenses

Agreement is not sensitive to variable binding, so the end result of this derivation is that agreement in finite clauses with the arbitrary 2sG is the same as in clauses with the addressee 2sG. The presence of the generic quantifier is responsible for the binding properties and plural/masculine interpretation of the arbitrary 2sG subject, while agreement is established in the standard way without influence from the generic quantifier, which is adjoined to the T as shown in Figure 16.1.

The analysis presented here accounts for the bulk of the properties of generic sentences with an arbitrary 2sG subject listed in Table 16.5. However, the obligatory [+human] interpretation of the arbitrary 2sG subject remains unexplained. I do not have a solid account of this property at this time, but I expect that the connection between the clear speaker-orientation of generic sentences with the arbitrary 2sG and humanness is not accidental.

16.5 Conclusions

In this paper I have examined the dissociation between person agreement and binding properties of the Russian second person singular (2sG) pronoun *ty*, in those contexts where it has an arbitrary interpretation (*ty_arb/pro_arb*). Regardless of the interpretation, this pronoun controls regular verb agreement appropriate for the second singular, but its binding properties and its semantic properties (number, gender) are different from those of a regular 2sG pronoun. I proposed that the binding and number/gender properties of the arbitrary 2sG follow from its being in the scope of a generic operator; this is where these properties are no longer synchronised with agreement, thus offering a tantalising example of Janus-like behaviour so familiar from work on gender but explored much less in other domains of grammar.

In clauses without arbitrary interpretation, no generic operator is observed, and the binding properties of the pronoun are not dissociated from its agreement properties; it is well behaved and does everything that is expected of it. Of course, my main point in this paper was to illustrate the divergence between binding and agreement using empirical data from just one language, but the facts concerning the arbitrary 2sG in Russian can also inform our understanding of binding as a diagnostic of properties outside of narrow syntax. This result reiterates the proposal by Eric Reuland:

> [T]he conditions on anaphoric dependencies are the result of the interaction of many factors, some independent of language . . ., others irreducibly linguistic. Small differences in structure, entirely independent of binding, may give rise to what appear to be major differences in the way anaphoric dependencies manifest themselves. The following conclusion is unavoidable: . . . the superficial constraints on anaphoric dependencies tell us very little in isolation of other properties of a language. This means that in order to understand patterns of anaphora in one language – or language in general – one has to take into account a great many factors from different parts of the grammar. (Reuland 2011: xv)

Some of the properties of the arbitrary 2sG remain unaccounted for. In particular, why does it have to be animate? This puzzle leads us to a larger outstanding question

of why it is the second person singular that is selected for using generic statements. How do the semantics of person, number and gender get co-opted for the generic reading: is there wholesale overriding of the normal semantics, or should we assume that Russian has two separate pronouns *ty*, each with its own set of properties? Nothing in the material presented here allows me to answer this question definitively; both options (overrides on a single lexical item and two lexical items) are available. Furthermore, the choice between these two options is not unique to the pronoun *ty* discussed here; it arises with respect to other lexical items, for instance control verbs (Perlmutter 1970; Polinsky 2000) or the English *climb* (Jackendoff 1985). In other words, the dilemma concerning the representations for the Russian *ty* goes well beyond that particular lexical item, but that does not make the problem go away.

Acknowledgements

Notes

1. The comparison is not quite as exact. English diary drop is most commonly found in root declaratives; in Russian, similar pronoun drop is most common in questions, as in (3b).
2. In (11), the contrastive forms of the verb 'sit' occur in the same utterance.
3. The grammatical and ungrammatical versions with the overt pronoun are string-identical and differ only in their indices/interpretation. Therefore, the difference between (15a) and (15b) cannot be reduced to the difference between null and overt pronouns, consider example (i).

   (i) ?Ty$_i$ tebja$_k$ tak   prosto   ne   ubediš'.
        2SG.NOM   2SG.ACC   so   simply   not   convince.2SG.FUT
        'There is no convincing you so easily.'

4. This last sentence is acceptable on a different reading, where both null pronominals are interpreted anaphorically ('You (= addressee) won't be able to convince him/her/them so easily').
5. This sentence is acceptable on the irrelevant meaning 'The child supported himself/ herself by grabbing several hands at the same time.'
6. The case of the secondary predicate may vary (Nichols 1981), but this variation is irrelevant for the discussion here.
7. If a verbal predicate and a depictive co-occur in those contexts that force the feminine gender reading, the results are disastrous. Most speakers find such sentences unacceptable no matter what, as in example (ii), and look for paraphrases. Some speakers, however, accept the feminine both on the verb in the past tense and on the depictive, as in example (iii).

   (ii) *V   starye   vremena   esli   ty   rožal
         in   old   times   if   2SG.NOM   gave.birth.M

nezamužnim/nezamužnej . . .
unmarried.INS.M/F
('In the old days, if one gave birth unmarried . . .')
(iii) %V starye vremena esli ty rožala nezamužnej . . .
in old times if 2SG.NOM gave.birth.F unmarried.INS.F
'In the old days, if one gave birth unmarried . . .'

8. The translation is rather figurative here, designed to render the general intended meaning.
9. I am grateful to Lena Borise for suggesting this set of examples.
10. This is probably the most common use of the arbitrary 2SG in proverbs and sayings.
11. The readings for (49) are less crisp than the corresponding readings for 'fake indexicals' reported for English or German (Partee 1989; Kratzer 2009). This may well be due to the availability of the null pronominal in Russian, as in (49b), an option unattested in English or German. If the null pronominal is used exclusively to mark bound variable readings, such readings may in turn be less available (or outright impossible) with the null pronominal's overt counterpart.
12. According to some analyses, GEN is an unselective binder; according to other approaches, it binds only the situation variable s, while all other apparent binding is indirect, derived from the binding of that s. Here, I will adopt the direct unselective-binding approach just for simplicity's sake – but both approaches, with their associated virtues and warts, are going to yield similar results for the purposes of the current discussion.

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