

Title: Accusative Survival in Icelandic: A View from Slavic
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Leonard Babby's challenge to Burzio's Generalization on the basis of accusative survival in Slavic impersonals is about as old as Burzio's Generalization itself (Babby 1989/2002; 1994). This paper advances the discussion of accusative survival in impersonals by turning to two constructions in Icelandic: the "New Passive" and the "Fate Unaccusative" (1–2). The New Passive is an impersonal passive construction that appears with an accusative-marked object NP. Given the well known transitive passive-like constructions in Polish and Ukrainian, it is not surprising that the discussion concerning the status of this Icelandic impersonal has turned on whether it is more like the impersonal construction in Polish or in Ukrainian (3–4). The "Active Analysis" (Maling & Sigurjónsdóttir 2002) says that the passive is being reanalyzed as an active construction with a null thematic (nominative) subject, like Polish, thereby removing the "accusative problem". The "Passive Analysis" (Jónsson 2009) identifies a host of passive properties in the Icelandic construction, such as the appearance of a *by*-phrase, thereby relating the construction to the genuine impersonal passive in Ukrainian, but with the remaining "accusative problem." We show that there are multiple paths to "independent accusative" marking. In point of fact, the New Passive in Icelandic is neither like Polish nor like Ukrainian, but illustrates an instance of accusative licensing that is configurational, in the sense of Baker & Vinokurova 2010, rather than accusative by relation to a *v*-head. It is, instead, the Icelandic Fate Unaccusative that has a direct structural parallel in Slavic, namely the Transitive Impersonal (Lavine 2012). The Fate Unaccusative in (2) is crucially not anticausative; it is a two-place predicate with an elided Natural Force argument. Accusative is the direct result of a non-agentive *v*-head with causative semantics, introduced by the non-Theme argument (which is unpronounced, but, by hypothesis, present in the predicate's core argument structure).

- (1) Icelandic: New Passive
Það var barið mig.
there was hit-PASS me-ACC
'I was hit.'
[Jónsson 2009: 283]
- (2) Icelandic: Fate Unaccusative
Bátinn fyllti.
boat.the-ACC filled
'The boat swamped.'
[Sigurðsson 2011: 167]
- (3) Polish: Active Impersonal
Znaleziono niemowlę w koszu.
found-PASS baby-ACC in basket
'They found a baby in a basket.'
- (4) Ukrainian: Impersonal Passive
Dytynu buło začato netverezymy bat'kamy.
child-ACC was conceived-PASS non-sober parents-INS
'The child was conceived by non-sober parents.'

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