

Licensing negative polarity items in Russian event nominalizations

ni- and *-nibud'* pronouns in Russian

Two series of polarity sensitive items are in complementary distribution:

Negative *ni*-pronouns (*n*-words, strong NPIs)

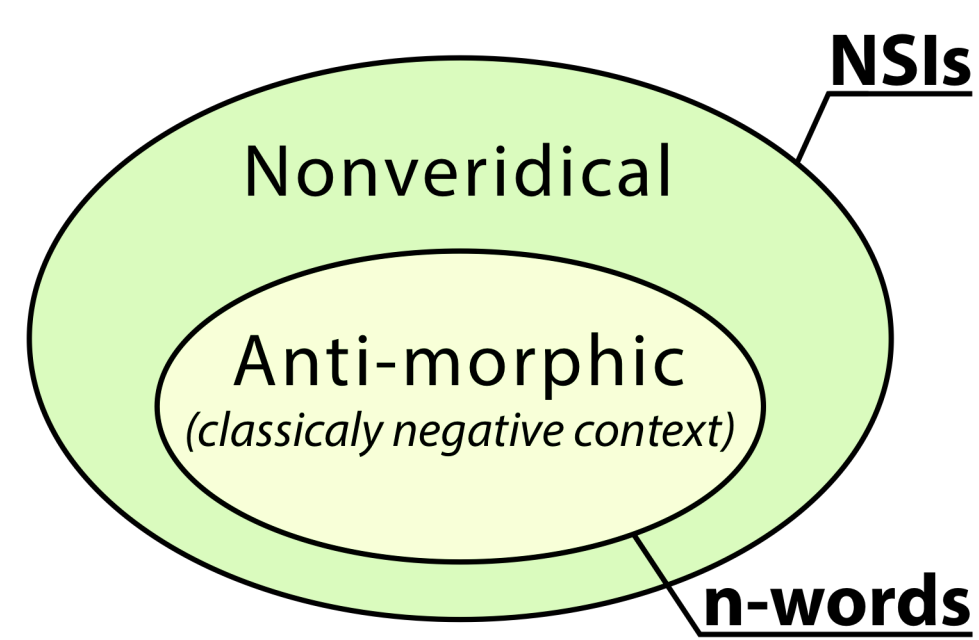
- licensed only by negative concord: in matrix negative clauses, embedded TPs
- can provide a negative fragment answer

Non-specific indefinite *nibud'*-pronouns (NSIs)

- licensed only in non-veridical context (introduced by operators that do not ensure truth (Paduceva 1985, 2014, Giannakidou 2011))

The Bagel Problem

- Clause-mate negation is anti-morphic context.
- Anti-morphic contexts constitute a subset of nonveridical contexts.
- However, NSIs are incompatible with negative concord and are substituted by negative *ni*-pronouns in negative clauses.



- (1) *Vanya ne priglasil ^{ok} nikogo / * kogo-nibud' na festival'*
 Vanya NEG invited **nobody (N-WORD)** / **anyone (NSI)** to the festival
 'Vanya didn't invite anyone to the festival'
- (2) *Esli *nikto / ^{ok} kto-nibud' pridet pozvoni mne*
 if **nobody (N-WORD)** / **anyone (NSI)** comes call me
 'If anyone comes, call me'

The Bagel Problem exceptions

Paduceva (2015): There are two contexts in Russian in which both NSIs and *ni*-pronouns are acceptable under negative scope with equivalent interpretation: subjunctive sentences and embedded purpose *čtoby*-clauses.

- (3) *Ne naiti sem'i [v kotoroi **by** ^{ok} nikto / ^{ok} kto-nibud' ne postradal]*
 NEG find family in which **SUBJ no one (N-WORD)** / **someone(NSI)** NEG be hurt
 'It's almost impossible to find a family, in which no one was hurt'
- (4) *My shli ostorozhno [**čtoby** ^{ok} nigde / ^{ok} gde-nibud' ne upast']*
 we were going cautiously **COMP nowhere (N-WORD)** / **anywhere (NSI)** NEG fall down
 'We were going slowly to avoid falling from anywhere'

Analysis by Paduceva:

- NSI is under the scope of non-standard
- non-standard negation – negation in the scope of non-veridical operator
- non-veridical operator is introduced by conjunction *čtoby* and **subjunctive mood**
- NSI is licensed by the nonveridical operator

New data: negated event nominalizations

- (5) *Prichinoi avarii stalo [**ne-srabatyvanie ni odnoi** sistemy zashchity]*
 cause for breakdown became **NEG-operating no(N-WORD)** safety system
 lit. 'the failure to operate of any safety system caused the breakdown'
- (6) *Takoe kolossal'noe [**ne-vladienie kakim-nibud'** tekstovym redaktorom]*
 such colossal **NEG-possessing some(NSI)** text editor
 lit. 'such colossal not possessing the skills in any text editor'

Negated event nominalizations in Russian

Pazel'skaya (2006):

- negation cannot merge in process nominalizations;
- presenting the absence of a process as another process is semantically obscure.

↗ This is inconsistent with the data from colloquial speech:
 The General Internet-Corpus of Russian reveals more than 2000 instances of negated nominalizations with process interpretation.

Pazel'skaya (2006):

- NegP is introduced after the verbal structure is nominalized.

↗ Proposal: All arguments of a nominalization are generated before the [neg]-feature is introduced and fall under the negative scope.

- (7) *ne-vladienie kazhdym instrumentom mozhet byt' prichinoi dlya uvol'neniya*
 NEG-possessing every instrument can be a cause for dismissal
 'not possessing the skills to use every instruments can be a cause for dismissal'
- ∀ > NEG: employee can't use any of the instruments
 NEG > ∀: employee can use some instruments but not all

Licensing conditions for *ni-* and *-nibud'*

What helps to resolve the Bagel problem?

Weinreich (1963): nominalization is an assertion suspending device.

- ↗ If the nominalizer contained the covert non-veridical operator, nominalization would always provide the non-specific interpretation for its arguments.
- Proposal: nominalizer keeps the stem neutral with respect to quantificational operators.

Licensing conditions of *ni-* and *-nibud'* are examined with respect to three parameters:

- the non-veridical operator (e.g. introduced with aspectual modifiers)
- the specificity of the nominalization (introduced at DP)
- the presence of NegP with [neg]-feature in nominalization and their relative position at LF.

Non-veridical operator in the main clause

***-nibud'* pronouns are not licensed in specific nominalizations:** LF: * D_{specific} > *-nibud'*
 (no operator from the main clause can influence NSI in nominalization)

[non-veridical main clause] [neg] [specific nominalization]
 ok * 8.1 *Ego ne-podrazhanie ^{ok} nikakomu / * kakomu-nibud' masteru vsegda menya udivlyalo*
 his NEG-copying after no(N-WORD) / any(NSI) master always me impressed
 'His not copying after any master always impressed me'

[veridical main clause] [neg] [specific nominalization]
 ok * 8.2 *Ego ne-ispytyvanie ^{ok} nikakikh / * kakikh-nibud' chuvstv udivilo menya*
 his NEG-experiencing no(N-WORD) / any(NSI) feelings impressed me
 'His not experiencing any feelings impressed me'

[non-veridical main clause] [specific nominalization]
 * * 8.3 *Ego podrazhanie * nikakomu / * kakomu-nibud' masteru vsegda menya udivlyalo*
 his copying after no(N-WORD) / any(NSI) master always impressed me
 'His copying after some master always impressed me'

[veridical main clause] [specific nominalization]
 * * 8.4 *Ego podrazhanie * nikakomu / * kakomu-nibud' masteru udivilo nas*
 his copying after no(N-WORD) / any(NSI) master impressed us
 'His copying after some master impressed us'

***-nibud'* pronouns are licensed in non-specific nominalizations:** LF: ^{ok} D_{non-sp} > *-nibud'* > Neg

[non-veridical main clause] [neg] [non-specific nominalization]
 ok ok 8.5 *Eto motiviruet menya na ne-napisanie ^{ok} nikakoi / ^{ok} kakoi-nibud' eresi*
 this motivates me to NEG-writing no(N-WORD) / any(NSI) nonsense
 'This motivates me for not writing any nonsense'

[non-veridical main clause] [non-specific nominalization]
 * ok 8.6 *Podrazhanie * nikakomu / ^{ok} kakomu-nibud' masteru vsegda ubivaet individual'nost'*
 copying after no(N-WORD) / any(NSI) master always kills individuality
 'Copying after some master always kills individuality'

***-nibud'* pronouns are not licensed in non-specific nominalizations in affirmative clause:** LF: * Verid, D_{non-specific} > *-nibud'* > Neg

[veridical main clause] [neg] [non-specific nominalization]
 ok * 8.7 *Direktor odobril ne-vmeshatel'stvo ^{ok} ni v kakie / * v kakie-nibud' dela*
 principal approved NEG-intervening in no(N-WORD) / in any(NSI) business
 'The principal approved not intervening in any business'

[veridical main clause] [non-specific nominalization]
 * * 8.8 *Direktor odobril podrazhanie * nikakomu / * kakomu-nibud' masteru*
 principal approved copying after no(N-WORD) / any(NSI) master
 'The principal approved copying after some master'

***ni-* pronouns are licensed in negated nominalizations:** LF: ^{ok} Neg > *ni-*

Non-veridical operator in the nominalization

***-nibud'* pronouns are licensed by non-veridical operator in specific nominalization** LF: ^{ok} NV, D_{specific} > *-nibud'*

[non-veridical nominalization] [specific nominalization]
 ok 8.9 *Ego postoyannoe (ne)podrazhanie ^{ok} kakomu-nibud' masteru sdelalo ego izvestnym*
 his constant (NEG)copying after any(NSI) master made him famous
 'His copying after some master made him famous'

Conclusions

- The following order of the operators at LF is observed:
 when the non-veridical operator is in the main clause Verid > D > *-nibud'* > Neg > *ni-*
 when the non-veridical operator is in the nominalization D > Verid > *-nibud'* > Neg > *ni-*
- Non-specific nominalizations are licensed only in non-veridical clauses
- ↗ There is no need in postulating the non-standard negation:
 - [neg] is not necessary for NSI-licensing;
 - NSIs undergo LF movement and get out of the scope of negative operator;
 - NSIs remain in the scope of non-veridical operator.
- Different combinations of semantic operators can improve acceptability of negated nominalizations.
- Exploration of rare constructions helps to develop linguistic theory for acceptable cases.