

# **On the locality of negative concord in Russian: An experimental study**

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## Annotation

The paper examines locality conditions on licensing Russian “negative” (*ni-*) pronouns in negative concord configurations. Drawing on experimental data we show that *ni*-pronouns can be licensed by the matrix negation in both subject and object control infinitives. We further argue that long-distance licensing occurs through expansion of the licensing domain to the inclusion of argumental infinitive clauses, and not through raising of *ni*-pronouns to the matrix clause.

## Plan of the talk:

1. Negative concord and its properties in Russian
2. Theoretical approaches to NC
3. NC in control infinitives: an experiment
4. Analysis
5. Conclusions

## 1. NC and its properties in Russian

### 1.1. Russian *ni*-pronouns as strict negative concord items (NCI)

(summary: Garzonio 2019)

— licensed by the clausemate sentential negation expressed by the preverbal clitic particle *ne* ‘not’

(1) Karaev        \*(ne)        rasskazal        nikomu        o        svoem  
       Karaev.NOM NEG        tell.PST.SG.M nobody.DAT about        his.PREP  
 slučajno        sdelannom        otkrytii.  
 accidentally made.PREP        discovery.PREP

‘Karaev did not tell anybody about his accidental discovery.’ [RNC]

(2) Ne dumaj,        što        tebja        nikto        \*(ne)        ljubit.  
       NEG think.IMP        COMP        you.ACC nobody.NOM NEG        love.PRS.3SG

‘Do not think that nobody loves you.’ [RNC]

NB: negative preverbal clitic is obligatory with preverbal NCIs; hence strict NC.

## Russian *ni*-pronouns as negative concord items (NCI)

— scope of sentential negation indicated by the preverbal negative particle includes the subject (2) but cannot be extended to the superordinate clause (3)

(3) Petrov        pytalsja        **ne**    otvlekat'sja        ot        dorogi.  
       Petrov.NOM    try.PST.SG.M    **NEG** get\_distracted.INF    from        road.GEN

‘Petrov tried to remain focused on the road (lit. tried to not get distracted from the road).’

\* ‘Petrov did not try to get distracted from the road.’

NB: We abstract away from substandard cases discussed by Kholodilova 2015 and Letuchiy 2017 where NCIs are licensed by a lower constituent negation in adjectival SCs and under functional restructuring, and then undergo A-movement.

(4) **Nikto**        okazalsja        **ne**    gotov.  
       **nobody.NOM** appear.PST.SG.M    **NEG** ready.SHORT.M.SG

‘Nobody turned out to be ready.’

Russian *ni*-pronouns as negative concord items (NCI)

— clauses containing *ni*-pronouns are never interpreted as involving double negation

(5) Tol'ko, požalujsta, poka **ne** govori **nikomu** **ničego!**  
 only please yet **NEG** tell.IMP **nobody.DAT** **nothing.GEN**

‘But please do not tell anybody anything yet!’ [RNC]

\*‘But please do not tell nobody nothing!’

NB: Fitzgibbons (2008) points out that *ni*-pronouns functioning as predicates or complements of P can be licensed outside the scope of negation (Кто был никем, тот станет всем). Not surprisingly, under negation such contexts are ambiguous: both NC and double negation interpretations are available.

(6) Vanja **ne** sčital Iru **nikem.** [Fitzgibbons 2008]  
 Vanja **NEG** consider.PST.SG.M Ira.ACC **nobody.INSTR**

DN: ‘Vanja did not consider Ira a nobody.’ (he considered her a worthy person)

NC: ‘Vanja did not consider Ira anybody.’ (i.e. had no opinion of her)

Importantly, neither non-licensed *ni*-pronouns nor DN interpretation are licit in argumental positions.

## 1.2. Locality of NC

The clausemate constraint on *ni*-pronouns licensing is lifted in infinitival complements (Gerasimova 2015, Kornakova et al. 2016)

(7) a. My **nikogo** **ne** xotim učit' i **nikem** **ne** xotim  
 we **nobody.ACC** **NEG** want.PRS.1PL lecture.INF and **nobody.INSTRNEG** want.PRS.1PL  
 byt' poučaemy.  
 be.INF lectured.PART.SHORT.PL

‘We don’t want to lecture anybody and we don’t want to be lectured by anybody.’ [RNC]

b. Kolduny **ne** veljat rabotnikam **ničego** est'  
 sorcerers.NOM **NEG** order.PRS.3PL workers.DAT **nothing.ACC** eat.INF

vo vremja lovli.  
 during fishing.GEN

‘Sorcerers do not allow workers to eat anything while pearl fishing.’ [RNC]

## Locality of NC

NC across the finite clause boundary is ungrammatical (pilot study):

(8) a. \* Direktor **ne** treboval, čtoby ego sekretarša zvonila  
 director.NOM **NEG** order.PST.SG.M COMP his secretary.NOM call.SUBJ.SG.F

**nikomu** posle sobraniya aktsionerov.  
**nobody.DAT** after meeting.GEN shareholder.GEN.PL

Int. 'The director didn't order that his secretary call anyone after the shareholders' meeting.'

b. \* Andrei **ne** bespokoil'sya, čto ego brat ustupal  
 Andrei.NOM **NEG** worry.PST.SG.M COMP his brother.NOM give\_up.PST.SG.M

**nikomu** v printsipial'nyx voprosax.  
**nobody.DAT** in principal.PREP.PL question.PREP.PL

Int. 'Andrei didn't worry that his brother was deferring to anybody on principal matters.'

## Locality of NC: Neg-raising?

Neg(ative) raising: a derivational or interpretational reconstruction of semantic negation in the embedded clause (Horn 1978, 1992; Collins and Postal 2012)

(9) I don't think he'll come.

(i) (unlikely) surface scope of negation: 'It is not the case that I think that he'll come.'

(ii) (likely) reconstructed/narrow scope of negation: 'I think that it is not that case that he'll come.'

NPIs requiring local licenser are licit in clauses embedded under Neg-raising predicates

(10)a. Calvin did **not** believe that Mona would move in **until** June.

b. \*Calvin did **not** claim that Mona would move in **until** June.

(11)a. Kolduny **ne** veljat rabotnikam **ničego** est'  
 sorcerers.NOM **NEG** order.PRS.3PL workers.DAT **nothing.ACC** eat.INF

vo vremja lovli.

during fishing.GEN

'Sorcerers do not allow workers to eat anything while pearl fishing.' [RNC]

b. **Nikto** **ne** velit rabotnikam **ničego** est'.

**nobody.NOM** **NEG** order.PRS.3SG workers.DAT **nothing.ACC** eat.INF

'Nobody requires that the workers to eat anything.'



## Locality of NC: infinitive's type

A rough classification of infinitives

— subject and adjunct infinitives

opaque domains due to CED, NCIs not licensed

— analytical future construction

aspectual (IPF) and voice (ACT) restrictions, only higher NEG

— aspectual construction

aspectual (IPF) and voice (ACT) restrictions, only higher NEG

FUNCTIONAL RESTRUCTURING

— modal construction

less restricted than aspectual; depends on the type of modality

RAISING / CONTROL / FUNCTIONAL RESTRUCTURING

— control infinitives:

— subject control (=same-subject infinitival clauses)

— object control (=different-subject infinitival clauses)

## Locality of NC: infinitive's type

Differences between subject and object control infinitives:

Comrie 1974, Nichols 1981, Franks 1995, Babby 1998, Landau 2008, Bailyn 2001, 2012, Madariaga 2006, 2007, Lyutikova 2010, Gerasimova 2015, Grashchenkov 2018,...

Table 1. Properties of subject and object control infinitives

|  | clause-mate | subject<br>control<br>infinitives | object<br>control<br>infinitives | finite embedding<br>( <i>čtoby</i> / <i>čto</i><br>clauses) |
|--|-------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|---|
| short-form adjectives and participles in primary predicates                                      | +           | +                                 | –                                | (n/a)   |
| agreeing NOM adjectives in secondary predicates  | +           | +                                 | –                                | (n/a)   |
| agreeing NOM floating quantifiers ( <i>sam</i> 'himself', <i>odin</i> 'alone', <i>ves</i> 'all') | +           | +                                 | –                                | –   |
| pronominal clitic climbing to the matrix clause  | +           | +                                 | –                                | –   |

## Locality of NC: infinitive's type

### Differences between subject and object control infinitives

Lyutikova 2010, 2021; Gerasimova & Lyutikova (submitted)

### Size restructuring in subject control infinitives

— Object control infinitives are full-fledged CPs

(12) CP »  $\Sigma P_A$  » TP »  $vP$  » VP

— Subject control infinitives are truncated structures lacking A-bar domain but hosting a  $\Sigma P$  — projection hosting clitics and scrambled constituents (Wurmbrand 2014)

— Spec,  $\Sigma P$  is an A-position

(13) CP »  $\Sigma P_A$  » TP »  $vP$  » VP

Consequently:

— Object control infinitives are opaque for A-dependencies and only allow A-bar movement through CP (*wh*, LD-SCR)

— Subject control infinitives are transparent for A and A-bar dependencies (Case,  $\phi$ , CC, *wh*, LD-SCR)

### 1.3. Positions of NCIs

2 positions:

— base position

— preverbal position

Proforms and phrasal categories

(14) **Ničego** **ne** znaju, kakie takie dollary,  
 nothing.GEN NEG know.PRS.1SG which.PL.NOM such.PL.NOM dollars.NOM  
 i **ne** videla ja **nikakix** **dollarov...**  
 and NEG see.PST.SG.F I.NOM no.PL.GEN dollars.GEN

‘I don’t know anything, which dollars (do you mean), I didn’t see any dollars...’ [RNC]

(15) **Kakoj** **bumažnik**, **nikakogo** **bumažnika** **ne** vižu!  
 which wallet, no.GEN wallet.GEN NEG see.PRS.1SG

‘Which wallet, I don’t see any wallet!’ [RNC]

(16) **Tjotka** **večerom** **smotrela** **televizor**,  
 aunt.NOM evening.INSTR watch.PST.SG.M TV.ACC  
 no **ne** videla i **ne** slyšala **ničego**.  
 but NEG see.PST.SG.F and NEG hear.PST.SG.F nothing.GEN

‘The aunt watched TV in the evening, but didn’t see or hear anything.’ [RNC]

## Positions of NCIs in control infinitives

3 positions:

— base position

(17) Ja        ne    xoču            pečalit'        Vas        ničem.  
 I.NOM    NEG want.PRS.1SG sadden.INF    you.ACC nothing.INSTR

‘I don’t want to be a cause of your sadness.’

— preverbal position: before infinitive

(18) Ty        ne    xočeš'        ničego        dobavit' k    skazannomu?  
 you.NOM NEG want.PRS.2SG nothing.GEN    add.INF to    said.LONG.N.SG.DAT

‘You don’t want to add anything to this, do you?’ [RNC]

— preverbal position: before matrix verb

(19) Značit, vy        ničem        ne    xotite            pomoč' partii.  
 thus        you.NOM nothing.INSTR NEG want.PRS.2PL    help.INF party.DAT

‘Thus, you don't want to help the party in anything.’ [RNC]

## Positions of NCIs in control infinitives

Proforms and phrasal categories:

- proforms tend to be located in preverbal positions
- phrasal categories tend to stay in the base position

Pilot study, RNC search

Table 2. Positions of NCIs in subject control configurations; the matrix verb *xotet* ‘want’

| Position of NCI    | Example                  | Proforms, hits | Phrasal categories, hits |
|--------------------|--------------------------|----------------|--------------------------|
| base               | NEG+want+INF+nobody/no X | 68             | 164                      |
| before INF         | NEG+want+nobody/no X+INF | 217            | 5                        |
| before matrix verb | nobody/no X+NEG+want+INF | 209            | 17                       |

## 2. Formal approaches to NC and their predictions

### Licensing of NCIs in control infinitives

#### Questions

- What type of syntactic process is NCI licensing? is it a separate type of syntactic interaction? can it be subsumed under an independently motivated type of interaction?
- Which locality requirements does the NC exhibit? do they pattern with locality of other syntactic processes?

### Positions of NCIs in control infinitives

#### Questions

- base vs. derived positions (before infinitive and before matrix verb) or base-generation in all the three positions?
- if movement, does it result from the NC or is it independent from NC?
- does the position of the NCI affect acceptability?

## Formal approaches to NC and their predictions

Various accounts of NC identify it with other types of syntactic processes:

— binding approach (Progovac 1994): *ni*-pronouns as local NPIs which require a local antecedent (negative Infl, truth-conditional operator in C)

(20) a. Milan \*(ne) vidi ni(t)ko-ga.  
 Milan NEG sees no-one-ACC

‘Milan cannot see anyone.’

b. \*Milan ne tvrđi [da Marija poznaje ni(t)ko-ga].  
 Milan NEG claims that Mary knows no-one-ACC

Int.: ‘Milan doesn’t claim that Mary knows anyone.’ [Progovac 1994]

→ Local negative Infl absent in both subject and object control infinitives, hence NCIs cannot be licensed *in situ* in **either** subject or object control infinitives

|                                  | subject control infinitives | object control infinitives |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| NCI licensing by matrix negation | —                           | —                          |



## Formal approaches to NC and their predictions

— operator movement approach (Zanuttini 1991, Haegeman and Zanuttini 1991, Haegeman 1995): strict NCIs as negative quantifiers which have to undergo overt or covert movement to the scope (A-bar) position)

(21) a. Je **ne** demande que tu dises **rien**.  
 I **NEG** ask that you say.subj **nothing**

‘I don’t ask that you say anything’.

b. \*Je **ne** demande que **personne** dise cela.  
 I **NEG** ask that **no one** say.subj that

Int.: ‘I don’t ask that anybody say that’. [Perlmutter 1971: 99]

→ wh-movement licit across the infinitive’s boundary (Lyutikova 2009, 2010), hence NCIs can be licensed in **both** subject and object control infinitives

|                                  | subject control infinitives | object control infinitives |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| NCI licensing by matrix negation | +                           | +                          |

## Formal approaches to NC and their predictions

— agreement approach (Zeijlstra 2004, Haegeman&Lohndal 2010): NCIs are indefinites bearing a [uNEG] feature which requires a c-commanding [iNEG] element.

- (22) a. **Non** ha telefonato **nessuno**.  
 NEG has called **nobody**  
 ‘Nobody called.’

[NegP non<sub>[iNEG]</sub> [TP ha telefonato [<sub>vP</sub> nessuno<sub>[uNEG]</sub> ...]]]

- b. \*Gianni **non** ha detto che ha telefonato a **nessuno**.  
 Gianni **NEG** has said that has called to **nobody**  
 Intended: ‘John didn’t say that he called anybody.’

[NegP non<sub>[iNEG]</sub> [TP ha detto [CP **che** [TP ha telefonato [<sub>vP</sub> a nessuno<sub>[uNEG]</sub> ...]]]]]

→ if only C blocks agreement for [NEG] feature, NCIs can be licensed in subject, but not in object control infinitives

|                                  | subject control infinitives | object control infinitives |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| NCI licensing by matrix negation | +                           | —                          |

## Positions of NCIs in control infinitives

Movement of the *ni*-pronoun:

— triggered by the NC (operator movement approach)

(23) a. NEG-phrase in argument position, no NC, double negation interpretation

da [AGRP Valere<sub>j</sub> [NEGP **nie** [TP t<sub>j</sub> **niemand** ~~kent~~] ~~en-kent~~] (en)-kent]  
 that Valere **not** **nobody** V+T **NEG-V+T** NEG-know+AGR  
 ‘that Valere doesn't know nobody’, i.e. Valere knows someone

b. NEG-phrase in scope position, NC

da [AGRP Valere<sub>j</sub> [NEGP **niemand** **nie** [TP t<sub>j</sub> t<sub>i</sub> ~~kent~~] ~~en-kent~~] (en)-kent]  
 that Valere **nobody not** V+T **NEG-V+T** NEG-know+AGR  
 ‘that Valere doesn't know anyone’ [West Flemish; Haegeman 1995, adapted]

— independent from NC (binding approach, agreement approach)

(24) a. \***Mary<sub>i</sub>** thinks Bill likes these pictures of **herself<sub>i</sub>**.

b. **Mary<sub>i</sub>** wonders [which pictures of **herself<sub>i</sub>**]<sub>j</sub> Bill likes best t<sub>j</sub>.

→ movement of the *ni*-pronoun to the matrix clause may increase acceptability, though for different reasons

### 3. NC in control infinitives: an experiment

#### Materials

2x3 factorial design:

INFINITIVE TYPE (subject control/object control)  
NI-PRONOUN POSITION (base/before infinitive/before matrix)

#### Basic structure of stimuli

subject + NEG + matrix verb + (matrix object) + infinitive + continuation (DO or PP)



BEFORE  
MATRIX



BEFORE  
INFINITIVE



BASE

#### Task

rating task, acceptability judgments on a 7-point Likert scale

128 respondents (78 females; mean age 34, min 15, max 73, SD 14)

### 3. NC IN CONTROL INFINITIVES: AN EXPERIMENT

## Results

Repeated measures ANOVA on both raw and z-score transformed data:

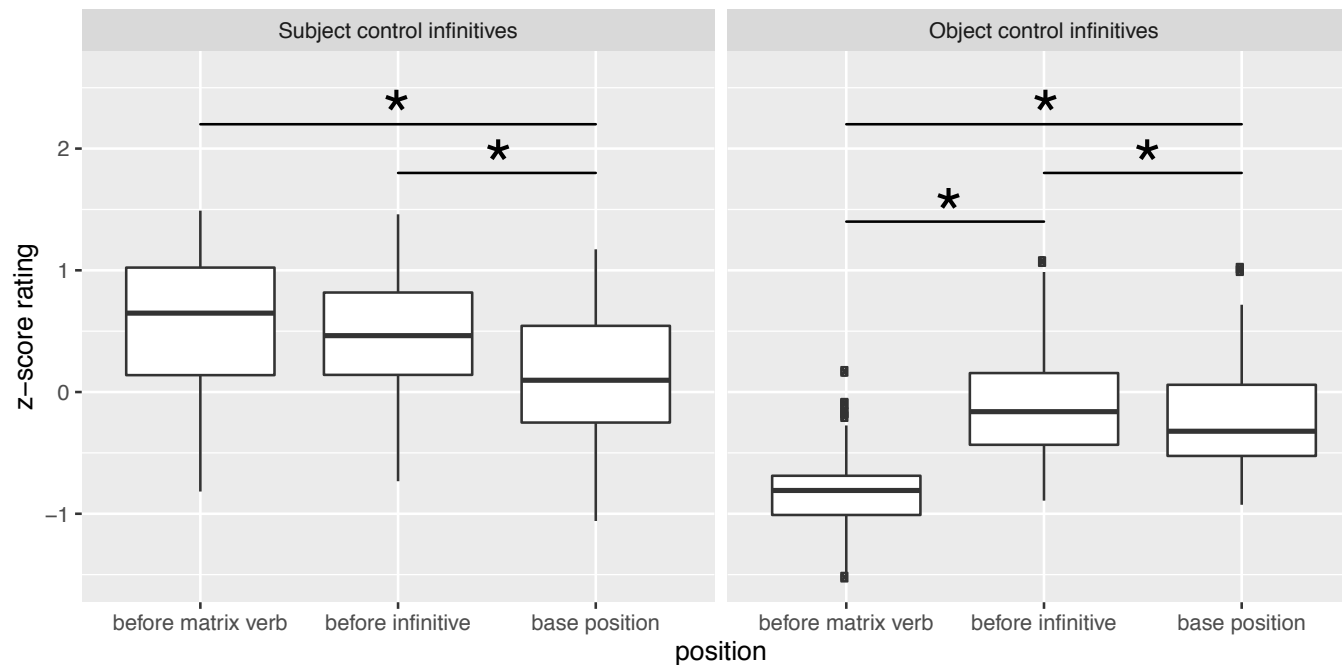
INFINITIVE TYPE ( $df = 1, F = 737.46, p \ll 0.05$ )

NI-PRONOUN POSITION ( $df = 2, F = 44.84, p \ll 0.05$ )

interaction between these two factors ( $df = 2, F = 113.44, p \ll 0.05$ )

Post-hoc pairwise comparisons (Tukey's post-hoc test)

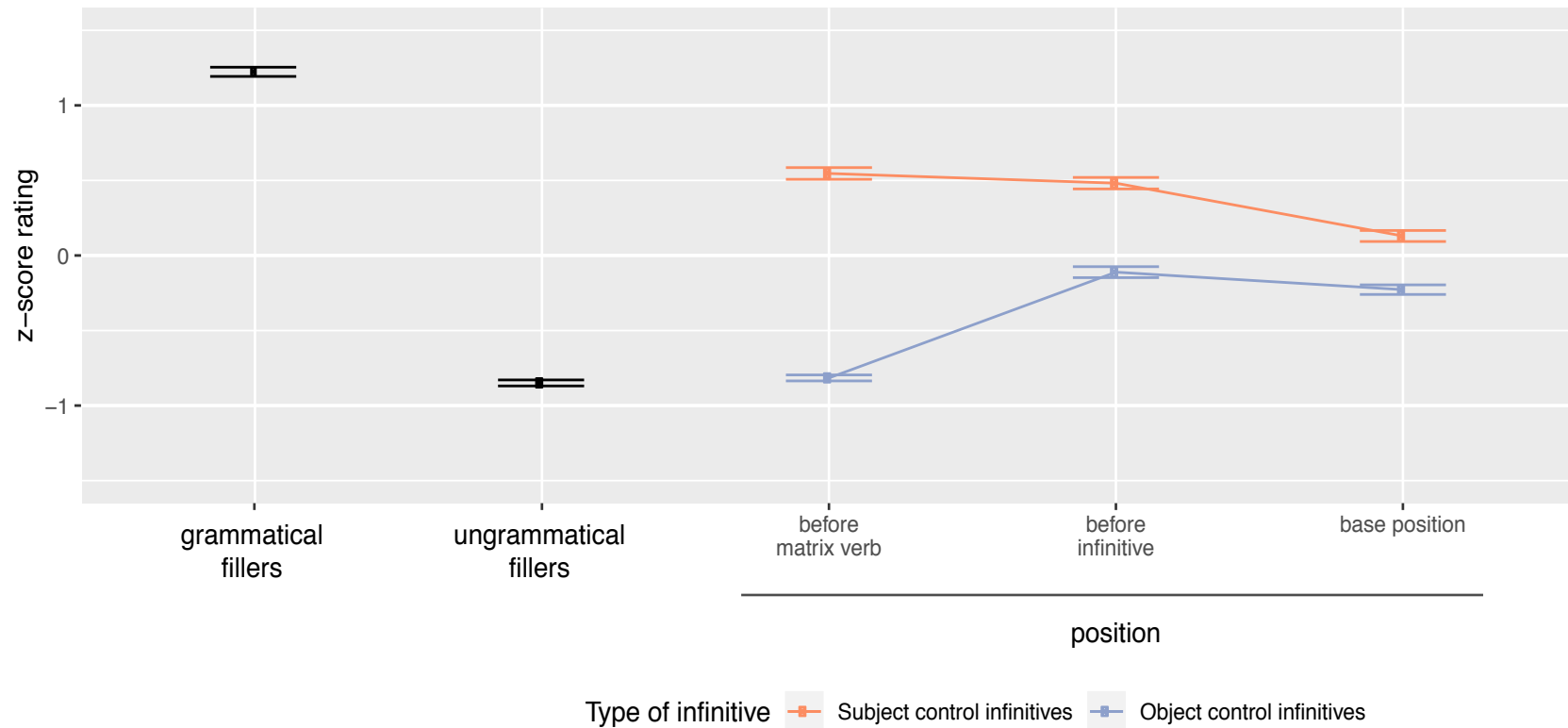
Figure 1. Acceptability ratings (z-score) for *ni*-pronouns.  
All significant differences marked with \* between the relevant boxes



### 3. NC IN CONTROL INFINITIVES: AN EXPERIMENT

## Results

Figure 2. Interaction plot of acceptability ratings (z-score) for target and filler items. Error bars indicate standard error.



### 3. NC IN CONTROL INFINITIVES: AN EXPERIMENT

## Results

Three factors impacting on the acceptability of *ni*-pronouns in control infinitives:

(i) **locality of NC (subject vs object control)**

(ii) preverbal/postverbal position of the pronoun

(iii) movement to the matrix clause.

| NCI licensing by matrix negation | subject control infinitives | object control infinitives |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| binding approach                 | —                           | —                          |
| operator movement approach       | +                           | +                          |
| agreement approach               | +                           | —                          |
| experimental data                | +                           | + /—                       |

- Subject control infinitives are more transparent than object control infinitives, but object control infinitives still allow NC (three-way distinction).
- No movement of *ni*-pronouns to the higher licensing domain is required for licensing.

None of the approaches is able to derive the picture provided by the experimental scores.

## Results

Three factors impacting on the acceptability of *ni*-pronouns in control infinitives:

- (i) locality of NC (subject vs object control)
- (ii) preverbal/postverbal position of the pronoun**
- (iii) movement to the matrix clause.

- *ni*-pronouns before infinitive are significantly more acceptable than in base position.
- the general contrast between pronouns and nominal phrases positioning in Russian.

- (25) position of the object pronoun  
preverbal > postverbal

Kholodilova (2013):

- pronouns in Russian are generally located closer to the beginning of the sentence
- clear preference for preposition of negative pronouns with respect to the verb
- the proportion of preposing vs. postposing of pronominal arguments in infinitives coincides with the proportion in indicatives



### 3. NC IN CONTROL INFINITIVES: AN EXPERIMENT

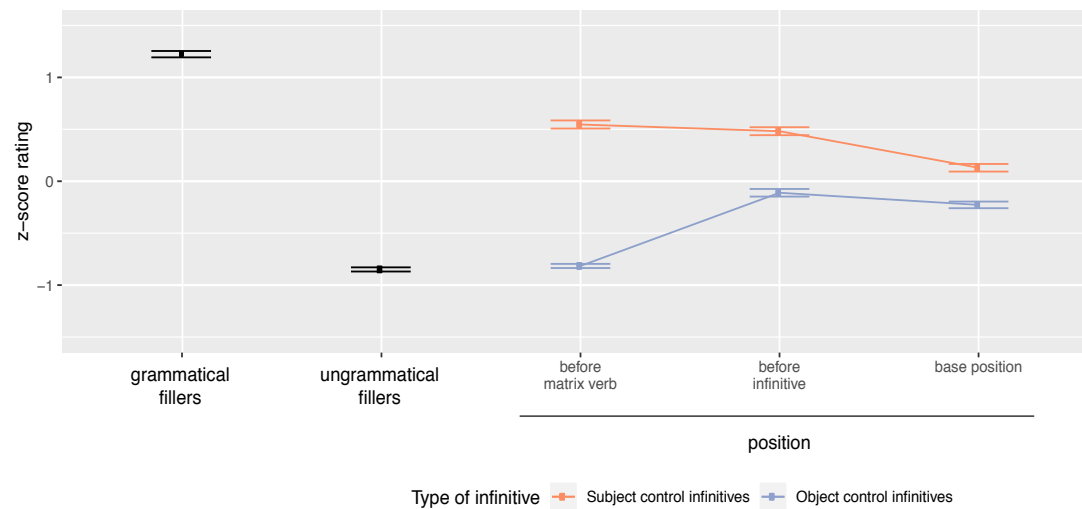
## Results

Three factors impacting on the acceptability of *ni*-pronouns in control infinitives:

- (i) locality of NC (subject vs object control)
- (ii) preverbal/postverbal position of the pronoun
- (iii) movement to the matrix clause.**

— acceptable in subject control infinitives and ungrammatical in object control infinitives

- (26) movement of *ni*-pronouns to the matrix clause  
subject control infinitives >> object control infinitives

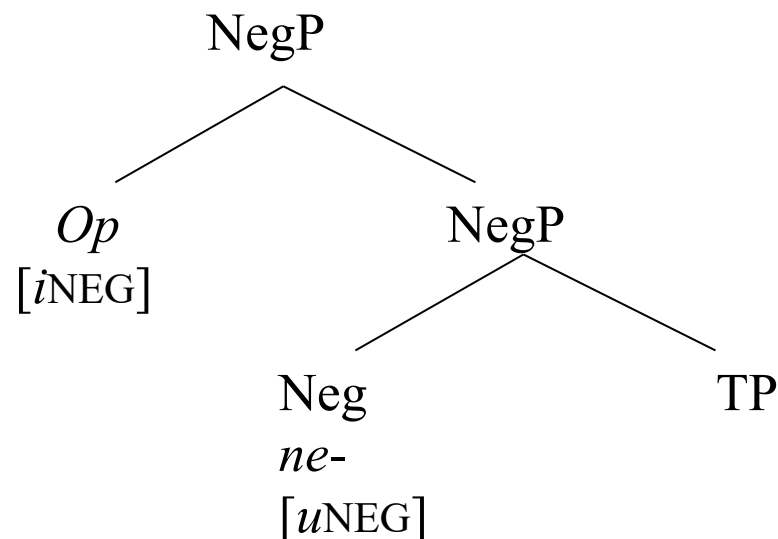


## 4. Analysis

**General idea:** the agreement approach to NC with a slight adjustment of feature structure and locality restrictions

- NC is an instance of syntactic agreement (Zeijlstra 2004)
- Multiple agree in the form of feature sharing (Pesetsky, Torrego 2001, 2004, 2007)
- NCIs bear valued uninterpretable polarity feature [*u*NEG]
- NCIs need to agree with an interpretable variant of this feature on the polarity operator of the clause (← Radical Interpretability)
- sentential negation is instantiated by NegP of the following structure

(27)



*Ni*-licensing in subject control infinitives:

- the embedded clause is represented by a truncated structure equivalent to the non-finite TP.
- the TP boundary is transparent for feature sharing.
- the [*u*NEG]feature of the *ni*-pronoun can be associated with the [*i*NEG] feature of the polarity operator in the matrix clause.

(28)  $Op_{[iNEG]}$  Žurnalist    ne\_probodal $_{[uNEG]}$     [<sub>TP</sub> VOZražat' **nikomu**  $_{[uNEG]}$  ].

journalist    NEG\_try                                    object    nobody

‘The journalist did not try to object to anyone.’

*Ni*-licensing in object control infinitives:

- the CP layer is opaque for feature sharing; long-distance licensing of *ni*-pronouns in the infinitival clause from the matrix clause is banned.
- object control C can have a [*u*NEG] feature  
(cf. negative complementizers in Celtic languages (McCloskey 1996, McQuillan 2016), Latin *ne* (Allen & Greenough 2013), Basque *enik* (Laka 1990).
- C[*u*NEG] enables NC across the CP boundary, being the last resort for saving the derivation with unlicensed NCIs inside CP
- C[*u*NEG] comes with processing costs  $\Rightarrow$  reduced acceptability scores

(29) a. *Op*<sub>[*i*NEG]</sub> Lektor ne\_vynuždal<sub>[*u*NEG]</sub> assistenta [<sub>CP</sub> C rekomendovat' **nikomu**<sub>[*u*NEG]</sub>  
 lecturer.NOM NEG-force assistant.ACC recommend nobody.DAT

b. *Op*<sub>[*i*NEG]</sub> Lektor ne\_vynuždal<sub>[*u*NEG]</sub> assistenta [<sub>CP</sub> C<sub>[*u*NEG]</sub> rekomendovat' **nikomu**<sub>[*u*NEG]</sub>  
 lecturer.NOM NEG-force assistant.ACC recommend nobody.DAT  
 ... novyj učebnik]  
 new.ACC textbook.ACC

‘The lecturer did not force his assistant to recommend to anyone the new textbook.’

## Derived positions of *ni*- pronouns:

- Wurmbrand's (2014)  $\Sigma$ P – position for preverbal pronouns  
(position for climbing argumental clitics and short-scrambled constituents)
- A-movement analysis of the pronouns' dislocation to  $\Sigma$ P

Movement of *ni*-pronouns in the preverbal position is unlike *wh*-movement in that it does not license the parasitic gap in the adjunct clause:

- (30) a. Ja (ne) uzna Valju, horošenko razgljadev \*?(ego).  
 I.NOM NEG recognize Valya.ACC properly looked.GERUND through he.ACC  
 'I have(n't) recognized Valya after looking at him properly.'
- b. Kogo ty uzna, horošenko razgljadev?  
 who.ACC you recognized properly looked.PART through  
 'Whom have you recognized after looking at him properly?'
- c. \*Ja nikogo ne uzna, horošenko razgljadev.  
 I.NOM nobody.ACC NEG recognize properly looked.PART through  
 Int. 'I haven't recognized anyone<sub>i</sub> after looking at him<sub>i</sub> properly'.

## Derived positions of *ni*- pronouns:

- Wurmbrand's (2014)  $\Sigma$ P – position for preverbal pronouns  
(position for climbing argumental clitics and short-scrambled constituents)
- A-movement analysis of the pronouns' dislocation to  $\Sigma$ P
  
- The position before infinitive corresponds to the embedded  $\Sigma$ P, available in both subject and object control infinitives.
- Movement to the local  $\Sigma$ P is preferred for pronouns.

### Subject control infinitives:

- the non-finite TP does not constrain A-movement
- ⇒ no difference between the two derived positions

### Object control infinitives:

- movement to the matrix  $\Sigma$ P would cross the CP boundary (opaque for A-movement)
- ⇒ low acceptability scores

## 5. Conclusion

Negative concord in Russian:

- NC as agreement in the form of feature sharing
- the [ $u$ NEG] feature of the *ni*-pronoun
- the [ $i$ NEG] feature of the polarity operator in the matrix clause

Locality conditions on negative concord:

- subject control T is transparent for feature sharing
- object control C can have [ $u$ NEG] feature but it comes with processing cost

Movement of *ni*- pronouns to derived positions does not depend on negative concord:

A-movement to matrix  $\Sigma$ P

Subject control:

- no impact of movement on acceptability
- TP does not constrain A-movement

Object control:

- movement leads to unacceptability
- CP-boundary is opaque for A-movement

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## Appendix. Description of the experiment

### Materials

Lexicalization:

Matrix verbs

6 non-Neg-raising subject control verbs (*probovat'* ‘try’, *riskovat'* ‘risk’ ...)

6 non-Neg-raising object control verbs governing ACC (*prosit'* ‘ask’, *zastavlyat'* ‘force’ ...)

Infinitives

12 verbs that govern DAT, which means that in case of object control, matrix verb and infinitive assign different cases

NCI

*nikto* ‘nobody’

4 tokens per condition;  $6*4=24$  target sentences

Fillers (1:1)

span the range of acceptability

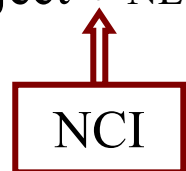
— grammatical fillers: *-libo* pronouns instead of *ni*-pronouns + negation

— ungrammatical fillers: *ni*-pronouns, no negative particle

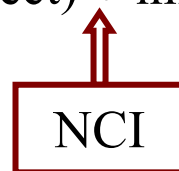
# Materials

## Basic structure of stimuli

subject + NEG + matrix verb + (matrix object) + infinitive + continuation (DO or PP)



BEFORE  
MATRIX



BEFORE  
INFINITIVE



BASE

## Examples

(31) a. subject control, base position (a)

Konsul'tant ne proboval pomogat' nikomu v razvitii biznes-proekta.  
adviser.NOM NEG try.PST.SG.M help.INF nobody.DAT in developing business project

b. subject control, before infinitive (b)

Konsul'tant ne proboval nikomu pomogat' v razvitii biznes-proekta.  
adviser.NOM NEG try.PST.SG.M nobody.DAT help.INF in developing business project

c. subject control, before matrix verb (c)

Konsul'tant nikomu ne proboval pomogat' v razvitii biznes-proekta.  
adviser.NOM nobody.DAT NEG try.PST.SG.M help.INF in developing business project

'The adviser wasn't trying to help anybody with business project development.'

# Materials

## Basic structure of stimuli

subject + NEG + matrix verb + (matrix object) + infinitive + continuation (DO or PP)



BEFORE  
MATRIX



BEFORE  
INFINITIVE



BASE

## Examples

(32) a. object control, base position (a)

|           |     |                  |            |            |            |                  |
|-----------|-----|------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------------|
| Alina     | ne  | uprašivala       | Nikitu     | kljast'sja | nikomu     | v večnoj ljubvi. |
| Alina.NOM | NEG | implore.PST.SG.F | Nikita.ACC | swear.INF  | nobody.DAT | in undying love  |

b. object control, before infinitive (b)

|           |     |                  |            |            |            |                  |
|-----------|-----|------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------------|
| Alina     | ne  | uprašivala       | Nikitu     | nikomu     | kljast'sja | v večnoj ljubvi. |
| Alina.NOM | NEG | implore.PST.SG.F | Nikita.ACC | nobody.DAT | swear.INF  | in undying love  |

c. object control, before matrix verb (c)

|           |            |     |                  |            |            |                  |
|-----------|------------|-----|------------------|------------|------------|------------------|
| Alina     | nikomu     | ne  | uprašivala       | Nikitu     | kljast'sja | v večnoj ljubvi. |
| Alina.NOM | nobody.DAT | NEG | implore.PST.SG.F | Nikita.ACC | swear.INF  | in undying love  |

‘Aline wasn’t imploring Nikita to claim his undying love to anyone.’