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WHEN *NI-* AND *–NIBUD'* ARE LOGICALLY EQUIVALENT: EVIDENCE FROM RUSSIAN NOMINALIZATIONS[1]

1. *ni-* and *–nibud'* pronouns in Russian

Two series of polarity sensitive items in Russian are in complementary distribution:

Negative *ni-*pronouns (n-words (Laka 1990), strong NPIs (Giannakidou 2006))
— licensed only by negative concord:
  o in matrix negative clauses (Paducheva 2014);
  o in embedded TP clauses (Gerasimova 2015);
— can provide a negative fragment answer;
— double-negation readings are blocked;

Non-specific indefinite *nibud'*-pronouns (NSIs)
— licensed only in non-veridical context (introduced by operators that do not ensure truth) (Paducheva 1985, 2014, Giannakidou 2011).

— NSIs are incompatible with negative concord and are substituted by negative *ni-*pronouns;
— *ni-*pronouns occur with clause-mate negation but are banned from any other contexts.

(1) *Vanya ne   priglasil   ᵒᵏnikogo   / * 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   / ᵒᵏkto-nibud'   pridet   pozvoni   mne*
     if   nobody (N-WORD) / anyone (NSI)   comes   call   me
     'If anyone comes, call me'

The Bagel Problem [Pereltsvaig 2006]

Although clause-mate negation creates an anti-morphic context and anti-morphic contexts constitute a subset of non-veridical contexts, NSIs are incompatible with negation and are substituted by negative *ni-*pronouns.
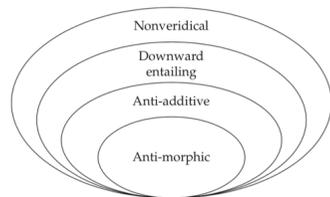

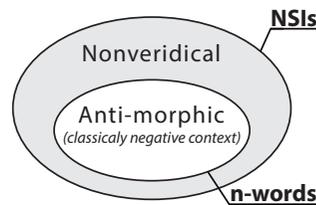Fig.1.The Giannakidou/Zwarts Nonveridical Hierarchy of polarity contexts (Giannakidou, Etxeberria 2018)

Fig.2 The Bagel Problem

2. The Bagel Problem exceptions

Paducheva (2015): 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*
     NEG   find   family
     [*v kotoroi   by   ᵒᵏnikto   / ᵒᵏkto-nibud'   ne   postradal*]
     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*
     we were going cautiously
     a. [**chtoby**   ᵒᵏnigde   ne   upast'*]
        COMP   nowhere (N-WORD) NEG   fall down
     b. [**chtoby**   ᵒᵏgde-nibud'   ne   upast'*]
        COMP   anywhere (NSI)   NEG   fall down
     'We were going slowly to avoid falling from anywhere'

(4a) and (4b), (5a) and (5b) are logically equivalent, but not synonymous.

(5) a. *On vzyal vinu na sebya,   chtoby   ᵒᵏnikto   ne   postradal*
        he   took the blame   **COMP**   no one (N-WORD) NEG   be hurt
        'He took the blame so that no one was hurt' => no one from the known set of people

     b. *On vzyal vinu na sebya,   chtoby   ᵒᵏkto-nibud'   ne   postradal*
        he   took the blame   **COMP**   someone (NSI)   NEG   be hurt
        'He took the blame so that no one was hurt' => a particular person, randomly chosen

Analysis:
— NSI is under the scope of NON-STANDARD NEGATION;
— 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.

2.1. New data: negated process nominalizations

Another context which licenses both types of pronouns – negated event nominalizations.

(6) *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'

(7) *kolossal'noe [ne-vladenie kakim-nibud' tekstovym   redaktorom]*
     colossal   NEG-possessingsome(NSI)   text   editor
     lit. 'colossal not possessing the skills in any text editor'

Research question: What licensing conditions help to resolve the Bagel problem?

3. Negated event nominalizations in Russian

Pazel'skaya (2006) distinguishes three semantic types of negated nominalizations.

Table 1. Semantic types of negated nominalizations as distinguished by (Pazel'skaya 2006)			
Type	**negated events**	**existential negation**	**negated states**
semantics	the expected event was not realized	¬∃ time internal: the event denoted by the verbal stem was realized	situation such that during a certain period of time the situation denoted by the verbal stem is not realized
examples	*nepopadanie* 'not-stricking' *neprisoedinenie* 'not-attaching' *nesovpadenie* 'mismatching'	*nenapadenie* ' nonaggression' *nevmeshatel'stvo* 'nonintervention' *nerasprostranenie* 'non-proliferation'	*nenakhozhdenie* 'not -finding' *nesootvetstvie* 'discrepancy' *neznanie* 'ignorance'
compatibility with modifiers	*mnogokratnyi* 'multiple' *regulyarnyi* 'regular' *v sluchae* 'in case'	adjectives denoting time periods: *trekhletnii* 'three-year' *dvukhchasovoi* 'two-hour'	adjectives denoting duration: *mnogoletnii* 'long-standing'
pluralization	+	-	-
telic	+	-	-

Pazel'skaya (2006):
— negation cannot merge in process nominalizations;
— presenting the absence of a process as another process is semantically obscure.
— the possible candidates are unacceptable:
nekormlenie 'NEG-feeding', *nepodmetanie* 'NEG-brooming', *nepodderzhanie* 'NEG-supporting', *neraskachivanie* 'NEG-swinging', *nekhrapenie* 'NEG-snoring'

3.1. The General Internet-Corpus of Russian data

— The GICR reveals more than 30 000 results with more than 1000 instances of negated nominalizations.
— The generalization about process nominalizations by Pazel'skaya is inconsistent with the data from colloquial speech.

All the mentioned instances of negated process nominalizations were found in corpus (e.g. (8), (9)) together with other stems, e.g.: *nenapisanie* 'NEG-writing', *nesledovanie* 'NEG-following', *nevladenie* 'NEG-mastering', *neuspevanie* 'NEG-keeping up', (10).

(8) a *tochnee* *nepodmetanie* *na moei ulitse* *periodicheski musora ...*
to be precise NEG-sweeping in my street occasionally rubbish
'And to be precise the occasional not sweeping the rubbish in my street'

(9) *Yavlyaetsya li* *nepodderzhanie* *blagotvoritel'noi initsiativy* *grekhom*
is whether NEG-supporting charity initiative sin
'Whether not supporting a charity initiative is a sin'

(10) *argumentiruet on* *svoe* *nerabotanie* *tem, chto* *zhizn' korotka*
argues he his NEG-working by that life short
'He reasons his not working by saying that life is short'

Negated process nominals as affirmative event nominalizations
— obligatorily take internal arguments (8), (9);
— may take aspectual modifiers:

(11) a. *postoyannoe* *nevyderzhivanie* *avtorskikh* *dlitel'nosteĭ*
constant NEG-keeping original (note) values
'the constant not keeping the original note values'

b. *Ezhednevnoe* *neumolkanie*
everyday NEG-going silent
'the everyday not going silent'

3.2. Compatibility with *ni-* and *nibud'* pronouns

Pazel'skaya (2006):
— negation in nominalization creates the same context as clausal negation.
— NPIs are licensed in the context of the three semantic types of negated nominalizations.

The current GICR study: NSIs are also licensed within negated event nominalizations ((6), (7)).

Table 2. *GICR Data. Negated nominalizations and NPIs in the leftmost context.*						
Context	Stem	Position	*ni-*	*-nibud'*	free-choice NPIs (*lyuboi / ugodno*)	libo-series
Neutral	Transitive	internal argument	+	+	+	+
		external argument	–	–	+	+
		adjunct	–	–	–	–
	Transitive with lexical government	internal argument	+	–	+	+
		external argument	–	–	–	–
		adjunct	–	–	–	–
	Unaccusative	internal argument	+	+	–	+
		adjunct	+	–	–	–
	Unergative	external argument	+	–	–	–
		adjunct	+	–	–	–
Alternative	Transitive	internal argument	–	+	–	+
Modality	Unaccusative	internal argument	–	–	+	+

3.3. The structural position of NegP in nominalization

Does the nominalizer serve as barrier for the NPI licensing?
— Pilot acceptability study (10 respondents, yes/no).

Nominalization in the subject position:

(12) *ᵖ ego* *vmeshatel'stvo* *ni v kakie dela* *ne smoglo* *udivit' menya*
his intervention in no(N-WORD) business NEG could surprise me
'his intervening in any business could not surprise me'

— *ni-* pronouns licensing is marginally acceptable (*ok* for 6 out of 10 respondents);

— *negated nominalization illusion*:
  4 out of 10 respondents interpreted (12) as if nominalization is negated, (ii) instead of (i):

  (i) I am not surprised that he interferes in affairs.
  (ii) I am not surprised that he does not interfere in any affairs.

  Possible cause: high processing costs.

Nominalization in the object position:

(13) *Ya   ne   dobilsya   ego   vmeshatel'stva   ni v kakie dela*
     I   NEG   achieved   his   intervention   in no(N-WORD)
     'I have not achieved his intervening in any business'

— *ni-* pronouns licensing acceptable (*ok* for all 10 respondents);

⇨ Negation in matrix clause can also license n-words in nominalization.

Structural options for NegP:

(i) NegP is introduced after the verbal structure is nominalized (proposed by Pazel'skaya (2006).
(ii) the nominalizer attaches after the negation has already merged.
(iii) NegP is an adjunct to the nominalization.

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

Diagnostic in spirit of (Borschev et al. 2006):
If one of the arguments is quantificational, both wide and narrow scope are allowed for the negation.

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

4. Licensing conditions for *ni-* and *–nibud'*

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.

In order to establish the licensing conditions, we consider the following parameters:

a. The presence of NegP with [neg]-feature in nominalization.

b. The presence of the non-veridical operator.
— nonveridicality can be introduced in the main clause with sentential aspectual operators such as habitual, generic and iterative: e.g. *vsegda* 'always in (15a). In this case they allow for the non-specific interpretation of the nominalization and therefore NSIs may be licensed.
— nonveridicality can be introduced within the nominalization, e.g. by the overt operator *postoyannoe* 'constant' (15b).

(15) a. *podrazhanie kakomu-nibud'   masteru   **vsegda** ubivaet individual'nost'*
     copying   some(NSI)   master   **always** kills   individuality
     'copying after some master always kills individuality'

     b. *ego **postoyannoe**   podrazhanie kakomu-nibud' masteru ubilo v nem   individual'nost'*
     his **constant**   copying   some(NSI)   master killed in him   individuality
     'his_i constant copying after some master killed individuality in him_i'

c. The specificity of the nominalization.
— When nominalization is specific, the non-veridical operator from the main clause cannot influence NSI in nominalization.
— Specificity is introduced at DP which serves as the referential semantics domain.

The following part contains observations based on judgments from 15 native speakers (ages 22–55).

Observation 1. *-nibud'* pronouns are not licensed in specific nominalizations

When the nominalization is specific, non-veridical operators from the main clause cannot license NSI in nominalization.
The licensing of NSIs in specific nominalizations does not depend on whether nominalization is negated or not and whether the context is affirmative or non-veridical.

(16) a. Specific negated nominalization in the non-veridical main clause:
     *Ego   ne-podrazhanie   ^{ok} nikakomu   / * kakomu-nibud'   masteru*
     his   NEG-copying after   no(N-WORD)   / any(NSI)   master
     vsegda   menya   udivlyalo
     always   me   impressed
     'His not copying after any master always impressed me'

     b. Specific negated nominalization in the veridical main clause:
     *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'

     c. Specific nominalization in the non-veridical main clause:
     *Ego   podrazhanie * nikakomu   / * kakomu-nibud'   masteru vsegda menya udivlyalo*
     his   copying after no(N-WORD)   / any(NSI)   master always me   impressed
     'His copying after some master always impressed me'

     d. Specific nominalization in the veridical main clause:
     *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'

Table 3. Licensing conditions of *-nibud'* and *ni-* I						
sentence	specificity	[neg]	NV	*ni-*	*-nibud'*	operators at LF
16a	+	+	+	+	*	
16b	+	+	-	+	*	* D$_{specific}$ > *-nibud'*
16c	+	-	+	*	*	
16d	+	-	-	*	*	

Observation 2. *-nibud'* pronouns are licensed in non-specific nominalizations

When the nominalization is non-specific, NSIs can be licensed by non-veridical operators from the main clause.
The licensing conditions of NSI do not depend on whether nominalization is negated or not.

(17)   a. Non-specific negated nominalization in the non-veridical main clause:
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 motives me for not writing any nonsense'

b. Non-specific nominalization in the non-veridical main clause:
*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'

Table 4. Licensing conditions of *-nibud'* and *ni-* II						
sentence	specificity	[neg]	NV	*ni-*	*-nibud'*	operators at LF
17a	-	+	+	+	+	^{ok} D$_{non-specific}$ > *- nibud'* > Neg
17b	-	-	+	*	+	

Observation 3. *-nibud'* pronouns are not licensed in non-specific nominalizations in affirmative clause

As the nominalization is non-specific, non-veridical operators from the main clause could license NSIs. However, there aren't any.

(18)   Non-specific negated nominalization in the veridical main clause:
*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'

(19)   Non-specific nominalization in the veridical main clause:
*Direktor   odobril   podrazhanie * nikakomu / * kakomu-nibud'   masteru*
principal   approved   copying after no(N-WORD) / any(NSI)   master
'The principal approved copying after some master'

Table 5. Licensing conditions of *-nibud'* and *ni-* III						
sentence	specificity	[neg]	NV	*ni-*	*-nibud'*	operators at LF
18	-	+	-	+	*	* Verid, D$_{non-specific}$ > *-nibud'* > Neg
19	-	-	-	*	*	

Observation 4. *ni-* pronouns are licensed only in negated nominalizations

From Tables 3-5 it follows that [neg]-feature is the only possible licenser for *ni-* pronouns.

At LF: ^{ok} Neg > *ni-*

When there is a non-veridical operator in the nominalization, the expectation is that this operator would be the licensor of NSIs.

Observation 5. *-nibud'*-pronouns are licensed by non-veridical operator in specific nominalization

(20)   Specific (negated) nominalization in the non-veridical main clause:
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'

At LF: ^{ok} NV, D$_{specific}$ > *-nibud'*

5. Conclusions

5.1. The relative order of the operators at LF:

Observations 1-3:

(21)   a. * D$_{specific}$ > *-nibud'*
b. * Verid, D$_{non-specific}$ > *-nibud'* > Neg
c. ^{ok} D$_{non-specific}$ > *- nibud'* > Neg

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.

5.2. Consequences of eliminating the NON-STANDARD NEGATION

Paducheva (2015):
— negation cannot license NSIs because it makes the proposition false;
— *-nibud'* pronouns are possible in propositions that do not ensure truth;
— *-nibud'* pronouns are impossible in antiveridical contexts.

Paducheva (2015): There are some marginal examples that contradict the generalization that negation cannot license *-nibud'*.

(22)   (Paducheva 2015: (108))
a. *Eto nepravda,   chto   on   kogo-nibud'   ubedil*
this lie   that   he   anyone(NSI)   convinced
'It is not true that he convinced someone' (= he didn't convince anyone)

b. * *Eto   pravda,   chto   on   kogo-nibud'   ubedil.*
   this   truth   that   he   anyone(NSI)   convinced
‘It is true that he convinced someone’

—— If NSIs are licensed by nonveridical operators, then they should be ungrammatical in affirmative contexts.
—— In (22b) the matrix clause ensures truth of the embedded clause.

Paducheva (2015): In (23a) negation is in the semantic structure of the verb *vrat'* ‘lie’. Double negation is impossible.

(23)   (Paducheva 2015: (109))
        a. *On vret,   chto   kogo-nibud'   ubedil*
          He lies   that   anyone(NSI)   convinced
        ‘He lies that he convinced someone’

        b. * *On   ne   vret,   chto   kogo-nibud'   ubedil.*
          He NEG   lies   that   anyone(NSI)   convinced
        ‘He does not lie that he convinced someone’

—— Again, in (23b) the matrix clause ensures truth of the embedded clause.

5.3. Locality of licensing

The results are in concord with crosslinguistic generalization from (Giannakidou 2006):
—— n-words obey syntactic locality restrictions and are licensed by a clause-mate antiveridical expression;
—— non-veridical operators exhibit long distance licensing.

5.4. Methodological issues

—— As nominalizations are not frequent constructions, in general they receive low acceptability scores. Negated nominalizations are even less frequent, and therefore are judged less acceptable.
—— However, different combinations of semantic operators can improve acceptability of negated nominalizations.

⇨ Exploration of rare constructions helps to develop linguistic theory for acceptable cases.
⇨ Formal judgement data gathering could be a matter for future research.

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