

## *Samyj* in Fragment Answers\*

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### 1 Introduction

The goal of this paper is to provide a syntactic analysis of constructions in which Russian intensifying adjective *samyj* ‘self’ is used as part of a fragment answer, as in (1):<sup>1</sup>

- (1) A: Do you remember Peter? He called me yesterday.  
B: Which Peter? Peter who plays the violin?  
A: On *samyj*.  
he self<sub>M.SG.NOM</sub>  
‘That’s the one.’ (lit. He himself.)

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\* I would like to thank two anonymous reviewers for their comments and suggestions that helped to improve this contribution. I am also grateful to Barbara Citko, Elizabeth Cowper, Keffyalew Gebregziabher, Vera Gribanova, Michela Ippolito, Arsalan Kahnemuyipour, Dan Miway, Diane Massam and the audience of FASL 24 meeting for their comments, questions, and discussion. I also want to thank my Russian informants Olga and Serge Goncharov, Yanina Fedosova, Anna Frolova, Iryna Osadcha and Pavel Penenko for sharing their intuitions about the data. All errors and omissions are my own.

<sup>1</sup> Russian has two different lexical items coming from the same root meaning ‘self’: an intensifying adjective *samyj* and an emphatic pronoun *sam*. They can be distinguished by stress (*samyj* always has the stress on the root vowel, whereas *sam* has the stress on the ending) and their agreement pattern (*samyj* has so-called adjectival agreement, whereas *sam* has pronominal agreement), see Unbegaun 1957, Shvedova 1980. This paper discusses only *samyj*. For the discussion of *sam* see Klenin 1980, Weiss 2006, inter alia.

In the dialogue in (1), A’s affirmative reply consists of a nominative pronoun and *samyj* that agrees with it in number, gender and case. This answer has an emphatic flavour when compared to simple answers, such as *Da* ‘yes’ or *On* ‘he’, which are also possible in such a dialogue.

The analysis I propose derives the fragment answer ‘He self’ in (1) from the identity sentence ‘He self is Peter’. I argue that ‘he self’ raises to the specifier of a positively valued  $\Sigma$ P above TP and triggers TP-ellipsis, as schematically shown in (2):

$$(2) [\Sigma P [_{DP} \text{he self}]_i [\Sigma^+ [\text{TP } t_i \text{ is Peter } ]]] \quad (\text{simplified})$$

The paper is organized as follows: In section 2, I discuss the properties of Pron+*samyj*. Section 3 contains evidence that Pron+*samyj* is a sentential fragment. In section 4, I propose and provide evidence for the analysis of Pron+*samyj* in terms of TP-ellipsis. Section 5 concludes.

## 2 Properties of Pron+*samyj*

### 2.1 Pron+*samyj* with 1st and 2nd person pronouns

The first notable property is that *samyj* combines more freely with 3rd person pronouns, than 1st and 2nd person pronouns, as shown in Table 1.

# of tokens	1st.sg		1st.pl	2nd.sg		2nd.pl	3rd.sg		3rd.pl	
	masc.	fem.		masc.	fem.		masc.	fem.	neut.	
	6	2	2	1	0	0	161	39	23	30
total	10 (4%)			1 (0%)			253 (96%)			

Table 1: Nominative pronouns + *samyj* in NRC<sup>2</sup> (1950 - present)

This restriction is not due to pragmatic impossibility. As shown in (3), a context in which a participant in the conversation might need to re-state his or her own identity can be constructed and can trigger a response where *samyj* is used with the 1st person pronoun. This response, however, has a humorous flavour and in such contexts, it is more natural to use a 3rd person pronoun with a *de se* interpretation, see (4). (4) is

<sup>2</sup> NRC = National Russian Corpus online (<http://ruscorpora.ru/en/>)

especially illuminating as the responder first uses the 1st person pronoun and when *samyj* is added for emphasis, s/he switches to the 3rd person.

- (3) A: Posvol'te, vy — avtor knigi "Fizičeskie faktory"?  
excuse-me you author book "Physical factors"  
'Excuse me, are you the author of the book "Physical factors"?'  
B: Ja samyj!  
I self  
'That's right.' (lit. I myself.) (NRC)
- (4) A: Tak eto vy — odin na odin s medvedem?  
so this you one on one with bear  
'So, was that you who were one-on-one with a bear?'  
B: Ja, on samyj.  
I he self  
'That was me, me, indeed.' (lit. I, he himself.) (NRC)

## 2.2 *Embeddability of Pron+samyj*

The second important property of *Pron+samyj* is that it can be embedded under reporting verbs and epistemic attitudes, see (5), but not under attitudes expressing desire, see (6):

- (5) A: Kto eto? Neuželi professor Semenov?!  
who this? NEG.FOC.Q professor Semenov  
'Who is this? Isn't this Professor Semenov?'  
B: Dumaju, on samyj.  
think<sub>1SG</sub> he self  
'I think this is he, indeed.'
- (6) A: Ne znaju kto prijdet. Možet byt', professor Semenov.  
not know who will.come may be professor Semenov  
'I don't know who will come. Maybe, professor Semenov will.'  
B: \* Xotelos' by čtoby on samyj.  
desirable COND that<sub>COND</sub> he self  
'I'd love it to be him!'

## 2.3 *Pron+samyj with negation*

The third property is that *Pron+samyj* can be used only as an affirmative answer. If the identity of a person (or thing) is not verified and the negative particle *ne* is used, *samyj* cannot be added, see (7).

- (7) [Context: two persons are looking through some photos of children]
- |                  |  |
|------------------|--|
| A: Eto Petr?     | B: Net, ne on (* samyj). Eto ego brat.     |
| this Peter       | no not he self this his brother            |
| ‘Is this Peter?’ | ‘No, that is not he. This is his brother.’ |

NRC (sub-corpus 1950 – present) does not contain any example where Pron+*samyj* is used in a negative reply, although there are numerous examples where in a relevant context, a pronoun is used without *samyj*.

#### 2.4 *Pron+samyj in argument positions*

The fourth important property of Pron+*samyj* is that it cannot be used in a regular argument position (unless it is used as proper name). This is illustrated by the ungrammatical examples in (8) where Pron+*samyj* is used as subject — (8a), object of a transitive verb — (8b), and object of preposition — (8c).<sup>3</sup>

- (8) [Context: two persons are remembering their old friend Peter.]
- a. \* Ty znaeš', on samyj ko mne včera prihodil.  
     you know he self to me yesterday came  
     ‘You know, he came to me yesterday.’
  - b. \* Ty znaeš', my včera v parke videli ego sámogo.  
     you know we yesterday in park saw him self  
     ‘You know, we saw him in the park yesterday.’
  - c. \* Ty znaeš', my včera govorili o nem sámom.  
     you know we yesterday talked about him self  
     ‘You know, Masha and I talked about him yesterday.’

In section 4.4, I discuss an apparent counterexample to this restriction, in which Pron+*samyj* seems to appear in an argument-like position with the emphasized copula as in (9).

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<sup>3</sup> In (8b,c), I added the stress on *samyj* to avoid confusion with *sam* which is felicitous in argument positions, see fn.1.

- (9) On samyj \*(i) jest'.  
 he self FOC is  
 'That's right, this is he.' (lit. He himself is.)

To summarize, in this section we saw four important properties of Pron+*samyj*: a) infelicity with 1st and 2nd person pronouns, b) embeddability under reporting verbs, but not desire attitudes, c) deviance under negation, and d) impossibility to surface in the regular argument position.

### 3 Pron+*samyj* is a sentential fragment

#### 3.1 Comparison with a fixed expression

To answer a *yes/no*-question, Russian can use the expression *Vot to-to i ono*, which can be approximately translated as '(That's) true' or 'This is so'. It is composed of a proximal presentative particle *vot* (optional) which is close in meaning and distribution to the French *voici* (Grenoble 1998:69-72); the reduplicated distal demonstrative in neuter nominative *to-to*; an additive focus proclitic *i*, which is a Slavic equivalent of the English unstressed *also* and German *auch* (Jasinskaja 2013:18-9) and the 3rd person neuter nominative pronoun *ono*.<sup>4</sup> In what follows, I will gloss the particles using their phonetic form, rather than function. The use of *vot to-to i ono* is shown in (10):

- (10) Aga, a tuxloe jajco vse-taki vozmožno? Vot to-to i ono.  
 aha but spoiled egg indeed possible? VOT TO-TO I ONO  
 'But a spoiled egg is possible, isn't it? That's true.' (NRC)

In (10), the pronoun in the answer agrees with the subject of the question in gender, number and case. Thus, the response might appear similar to the Pron+*samyj*, especially given examples like (11), in which Pron is neuter and *vot* is present.

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<sup>4</sup> For some discussion of *vot to-to i ono* from a cognitive linguistic perspective and its comparison to German discourse particles see Dobrovol'skij and Levontina 2012 and Poppel et al. 2012.

- (11) [about a feeling which is neut. in Russian]  
 Nakonec... Vot ono samoe.  
 finally           VOT it       self  
 ‘Finally, here is this feeling.’ (lit. Here is it itself)           (NRC)

However, there is an important interpretative difference between the responses in (10) and (11). The pronoun *ono* in (10) does not refer to the noun *jajco* ‘egg’. Rather, it refers to the event itself (i.e. the possibility that an egg can be spoiled). *Ono* in (11), on the other hand, refers to the feeling, not to the event of the final attainment of this feeling.<sup>5</sup>

This point is reinforced by the fact that unlike Pron+*samyj*, the pronoun in *vot to-to i ono* does not change its gender or number depending on the referent in the question, see (12).

- (12) a. Pisatelja takogo, Aksenova, znaete? — Vot to-to i ono/\*on.  
 writer<sub>M</sub> such Aksenov know VOT TO-TO I PRON<sub>N/M</sub>  
 ‘Do you know the writer Aksenov? — That’s true.’  
 b. A nužna nam takaja Rodina?  
 but need us such Motherland<sub>F</sub>  
 — Vot to-to i ono/\*ona.  
 VOT TO-TO I PRON<sub>N/F</sub>  
 ‘Do we need such a Motherland? — True.’           (NRC)

### 3.2 Additional material

Another indication that Pron+*samyj* is not a fixed expression comes from the fact that it can co-occur with additional material that seems to be remnants of sentential ellipsis, see (13).

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<sup>5</sup> *Ono+samyj* can also refer to the event, as in (i). What is important for us here is that *ono* in *vot to-to i ono* cannot refer to a person or object in the question.

- (i) Il’in čto li, produlsja? — Ono samoe, — otvetil Lexa.  
 Il’in what Q lost it self replied Lexa  
 ‘Il’in has lost, hasn’t he? — So, indeed, — Lexa replied.’           (NRC)

- (13) a. Dlja drugix eto, možet, i ne xolod,  
 for others this maybe<sub>I</sub> not cold  
 a dlja staruxi on samyj.  
 but for old.lady it self  
 ‘For others, this may be not cold, but for the old lady, it is.’  
 b. Fel’tikul’tjapistaja. — I u nas ona samaja.  
 erratic and at us it self  
 ‘It is erratic. — And we have the same.’ (NRC)

### 3.3 Case-matching connectivity effect

As discussed in Merchant 2004:676–9, fragment answers bear the same morphological case as its corresponding argument in the full sentence, see (14) for English and Russian:

- (14) a. Q: Whose car did you take? A: John’s/\*John.  
 b. Q: Komu pomogla Anna? A: Ivanu./\*Ivan/\*Ivana.  
 whom helped Anna Ivan<sub>DAT</sub> /Ivan<sub>NOM</sub> /Ivan<sub>ACC</sub>  
 ‘Who did Anna help?’ ‘Ivan.’  
 Merchant 2004:678

In the overwhelming majority of cases in which Pron+*samyj* is used, the pronoun is in the nominative case. The reason is that Pron+*samyj* is an answer to an identity question and identity statements in Russian are expressed by a binominative construction (see below). However, the case-matching connectivity effect is found with the verbal construction *imet’ v vidu* ‘have in mind’, which assigns accusative, see (15):<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> The picture in fact is more complex. The nominative case can be used with *imet’ v vidu* in some predictable cases. In Goncharov 2015, I argue that Pron+*samyj* is a reply to so-called biased questions, which involves a secondary assertion of identity. The identity assertion (expressed by binominative sentences in Russian) makes the nominative case available, in addition to accusative. However, the nominative option is selected only if the accusative results in confusion due to the syncretism in the Case system. For example, masculine and neuter Pron+*samyj* are distinct in nominative, but not in accusative; therefore, in (ii), nominative is available:

(ii) Ty imeeš’ v vidu to delo? — Ono samoe.  
 you have in view that<sub>ACC</sub> case<sub>ACC</sub> it<sub>NOM</sub> self<sub>NOM</sub>  
 ‘Do you mean that case? — Yes, indeed.’ (lit. It itself.)

- (15) a. Ty imeeš' v vidu Zubrilovu Veroniku?  
 you have in view Zubrilova<sub>ACC</sub> Veronika<sub>ACC</sub>  
 — Ee samuju!  
 her self<sub>ACC</sub>  
 'Do you mean Veronika Zubrilova? — Her, indeed.' (NRC)
- b. Do you mean Veronika Zubrilova? — \* Ona samaja.  
 she self<sub>NOM</sub>

### 3.4 Preposition stranding

Another test discussed by Merchant (2004:685–7) involves preposition stranding. The observation is that languages that allow preposition stranding, like English, permit fragment answers without a preposition, see (16a). On the other hand, in languages that do not allow preposition stranding, like Russian, the preposition is obligatory, see (16b).

- (16) a. Q: Who was Peter talking with? A: Mary.
- b. Q: S kem ona govorila? A: S Ivanom. /\*Ivanom.  
 with who<sub>INS</sub> she spoke with Ivan<sub>INS</sub> /Ivan<sub>INS</sub>  
 'With whom did she talk?' 'With Ivan.'  
 Merchant 2004:685, 687

As shown in (17), the same requirement is in effect for Pron+*samyj*:

- (17) A vy k Kol'ke priexali, k Popovu?  
 and you to Kol'ka<sub>DAT</sub> came to Popov  
 — \*(K) nemu samomu.  
 to him<sub>DAT</sub> self<sub>DAT</sub>  
 'Did you come to Kol'ka Popov? — To him, indeed.' (NRC)

To summarize, in this section, I presented evidence in favour of the analysis of Pron+*samyj* as a fragment answer. The evidence came from the contrast with the fixed expression *vot to-to i ono* and different connectivity effects.

## 4 Analysis: Pron+*samyj* is derived by TP-ellipsis

If Pron+*samyj* is derived by ellipsis, as the evidence in the previous section suggests, the natural questions are how much structure is elided



and what the elided material contains. In this section, I provide answers to these questions arguing that Pron+*samyj* involves TP-ellipsis.

#### 4.1 Binominative copular sentences in Russian

There are two elliptical mechanisms that can be envisaged for deriving Pron+*samyj* as a fragment answer and that were proposed in the literature for answers to *yes/no*-questions in other languages (Holmberg 2001, 2007, 2013, Dvorak and Gergel 2004, Dvorak 2007, Kazenin 2006, Authier 2013, Liptak 2013, among others): VP-ellipsis (VPE), see (18a), and TP-ellipsis (TPE), see (18b):

- (18) a. [TP [he self]<sub>i</sub> [~~VP t<sub>i</sub> is Peter~~]] (VPE)  
 b. [<sub>ΣP</sub> [he self]<sub>i</sub> [~~TP t<sub>i</sub> [~~VP t<sub>i</sub> is Peter~~]]]] (TPE)~~

The strongest argument for TPE is the absence of subjects in answers (Holmberg 2001). In this section, I consider a case in which Pron+*samyj* bears the nominative case and seems to be the subject, and argue that the construction is derived by TPE. There are two reasons why I am concerned with investigating this particular case. The first reason is that it is by far the most frequent use of Pron+*samyj*. The second reason is that it is the hardest case to argue for; the constructions in which Pron+*samyj* bears non-nominative cases as in (15) or is part of a PP as in (17) will follow automatically.

As already mentioned, Pron+*samyj* is an emphatic affirmative answer to a question that seeks to verify the identity of a person, e.g. *Is he Peter?* The question-answer congruence requires that the answer be an identity statement, e.g. *He is Peter*. Most Slavic literature, both traditional (e.g. Paducheva and Uspenskij 1979, Testelefs 2008, Yuzhakova 2011) and generative (e.g. Bailyn and Rubin 1991, Partee 1998, Pereltsvaig 2007a), converges on the idea that identity statements in Russian can be expressed only by binominative copular sentences, i.e. sentences in which both NP1 and NP2 are marked by nominative, see (19a), and contrasts them with predicational copular sentences in which NP2 is marked with instrumental, see (19b):

- (19) a. Čexov byl pisatel'. Pereltsvaig 2007a:1  
 Chekhov<sub>NOM</sub> was writer<sub>NOM</sub>  
 'Chekhov was a writer.' (≈ identity)

- b. Čexov byl pisatelem.  
 Chekhov<sub>NOM</sub> was writer<sub>INS</sub>  
 ‘Chekhov was a writer.’ (≈ predication)

Binominative sentences, as in (19a), pose the following question: which of the two NPs is a subject and which one is a predicate? Consider the following example from the seminal work of Paducheva and Uspenskij (1979:358–9), which aims at determining the criteria that would help to determine subjects and predicates in binominative sentences. In the context of (20a), NP1 is a referential expression and the subject, whereas NP2 is a property, thus, the predicate. In the context of (20b), the situation is reversed. In (20c), the same sentence is an identity statement. Both NPs are referential and there is no way to determine which one is the subject. The conclusion in Paducheva and Uspenskij 1979 is that the syntax of identity statements in Russian is “undetermined”.

- (20) a. [pointing at a woman]  
 Eta ženščina — ego žena.  
 This woman<sub>NOM</sub> his wife<sub>NOM</sub>  
 ‘This woman is his wife.’
- b. Eto mogla sdelat’ tol’ko odna ženščina.  
 this could do only one woman  
 Eta ženščina ego žena.  
 this woman<sub>NOM</sub> his wife<sub>NOM</sub>  
 ‘Only one woman could do this. This woman is his wife.’
- c. I tut on uznaet ee: eta ženščina — ego žena.  
 and here he recognizes her this woman<sub>NOM</sub> his wife<sub>NOM</sub>  
 ‘And finally he recognizes her: this woman is his wife.’

The criteria that Paducheva and Uspenskij (1979) discern and that are still used today (e.g. Partee 1998, Testelets 2008) are ‘degree of referentiality’ of NPs, information structure of the sentence and whether one of the NPs can be interpreted as a predicate and paraphrased with NP<sub>INS</sub>. In ‘hard cases’, in which one NP is a personal pronoun or definite description and the other NP is a proper name (i.e. both NPs are highly referential) as in (21a), Paducheva and Uspenskij (1979:358) suggest that it is the proper name that assumes an uncharacteristic role of a predicate.

One indication that this is correct comes from the fact that only the proper name can be paraphrased with NP<sub>INS</sub>, cf. (21b) and (21c):

- (21) a. Etot starik — graždanin Korobejnikov.  
 this<sub>NOM</sub> old.man<sub>NOM</sub> Mr<sub>NOM</sub> Korobejnikov<sub>NOM</sub>  
 ‘This old man is Mr. Korobejnikov.’
- b. Etot starik javljaetsja  
 this<sub>NOM</sub> old.man<sub>NOM</sub> appears.to.be  
 graždaninom Korobejnikovym.  
 Mr<sub>INS</sub> Korobejnikov<sub>INS</sub>
- c. \*Etim starikom javljaetsja  
 this<sub>INS</sub> old.man<sub>INS</sub> appears.to.be  
 graždanin Korobejnikov.  
 Mr<sub>NOM</sub> Korobejnikov<sub>NOM</sub>
- Paduceva and Uspenskij 1979:358

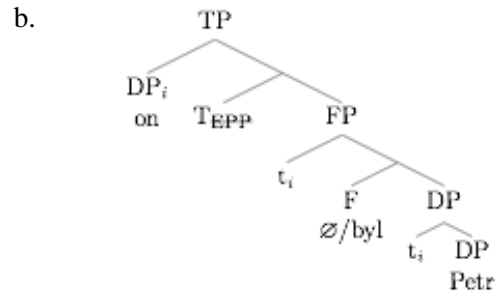
The same point can be demonstrated using a pronoun and a proper name in sentences like *On — Petr* ‘He (is) Petr.’

In the generative framework, the intuition that binominative sentences in Russian have an undetermined syntax is captured in the analysis proposed by Pereltsvaig (2007a). Following Moro (2000), Pereltsvaig (2007a) proposes that in binominative copular sentences in Russian, the two DPs are merged symmetrically. One of the DPs then moves to the specifier of TP to satisfy the EPP requirement which is interpreted as an unvalued D-feature on T, as in Pesetsky and Torrego 2000. According to Pereltsvaig (2007a:53), the choice which DP is raised is free in syntax, but it affects the information structure of the sentence, as the raised DP is interpreted as Topic, whereas the remaining DP receives a Focus interpretation.<sup>7</sup> This is illustrated in (22b) for a prototypical identity sentence with relevant DPs in (22a):

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<sup>7</sup> An alternative would be to postulate a PredP which takes one DP as its specifier and the other DP as its complement, as in Bailyn and Rubin 1991. Either way, all generative approaches to binominative sentences in Russian agree that they do not contain a lexical verb, Voice-head or secondary predication PredP. This property distinguishes them from nom-ins sentences. Many asymmetries in binding (see Pereltsvaig 2007a:29–30) and extraction (see Bailyn and Rubin 1991:123) can be derived from this structural

- (22) a. On  $\emptyset$ /byl Petr.  
 he is/was Peter<sub>NOM</sub>  
 ‘He is/was Peter.’



FP in (22b) is a verbal functional projection that in different accounts is depicted as AgrP or PredP (different from secondary predication PredP, see fn.7). For the purpose of this paper, I adopt Pereltsvaig’s analysis of binominative sentences in Russian shown in (22) and use her umbrella-label FP. (I will slightly modify this representation in section 4.4.) I will also follow Pereltsvaig (2007a) in assuming that verbs in Russian do not move to T (see Pereltsvaig 2007a:13–4 for arguments).

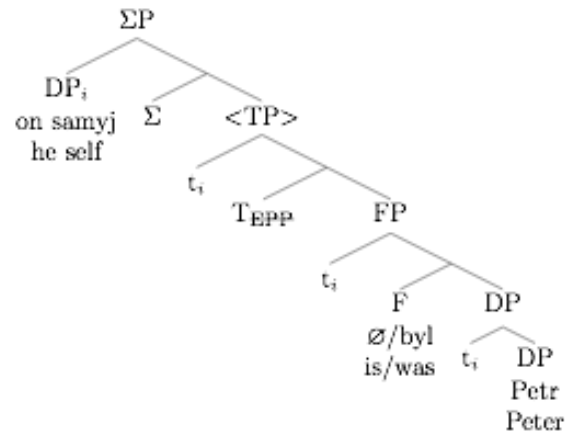
#### 4.2 Proposal: *Pron+samyj* is in $\Sigma P$

I propose that *Pron+samyj* is spelled out in the specifier position of a  $\Sigma P$  which triggers an obligatory deletion of TP as with the polar particles *yes/no*, as illustrated in (23):

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difference. Nothing in my account hinges on choosing a symmetrical or asymmetrical initial merge of two DPs.

(23)



Since the influential proposal by Laka (1994/1990), most researchers who investigate the syntax of answers to polar questions have arrived at the conclusion that in fact we need two Polarity Phrases (or  $\Sigma$ Ps): a High PolP/ $\Sigma$ P which hosts polarity particles and triggers TPE and a Low PolP/ $\Sigma$ P which supports sentential negation, affirmation or emphasis (see esp. Progovac 2005, Holmberg 2013, Authier 2013, Citko 2014a). The availability of two  $\Sigma$ Ps is remarkably practical when dealing with polar mismatches as positive answers to negative questions in (24):

- (24) Is John not coming? Holmberg 2013:41  
Yes. ('He is not coming.')

Although the exact featural make-up and syntactic behaviour of the two  $\Sigma$ Ps vary from language to language and from account to account, it seems to be uncontroversial that the High  $\Sigma$ P is situated in the extended C-domain (Rizzi 1997) somewhere above FinP/TP and below TopP/FocP

- (25) ForceP > TopP > (FocP) > H $\Sigma$ P > FinP/TP

This position of H $\Sigma$ P accounts for the following facts: (a) in those languages in which polarity particles can be embedded, they appear below the complementizer (assuming that complementizers are in ForceP), (b) some topicalized and focused material can escape elision

(by raising to TopP and FocP),<sup>8</sup> and (c) HΣP controls the (non-)spell-out of its complement (FinP/TP). Pron+*samyj* patterns with polarity particle in this respect (see below), which justifies the analysis in (23).

The proposal in (23) also partly captures the observation that Pron+*samyj* cannot surface in argument positions by assimilating Pron+*samyj* to polarity particles, which do not usually surface as adverbials in sentences, although they can sometimes surface in the left-periphery of the embedded clause (as for instance argued by Authier (2013) for French *oui ou non*).

#### 4.3 *Pron+samyj and polarity particles*

It has been noticed in the recent literature (e.g. Authier 2013) that some languages, like French, German, Hungarian, Polish, Romanian and Spanish, allow polarity particles, such as *yes* and *no*, to be embedded, see (26a). This is also true of Russian polarity particles, see (26b).

- (26) a. Je crois que oui. Authier 2013:368  
‘Lit. I believe that yes.’  
b. Dumaju, čto da/net.  
think<sub>1SG</sub> that yes/no

In Russian, fragment answers to *wh*-questions can also be embedded, see (27):

- (27) Čto Ivan pjet? — Dumaju, čto vino.  
what Ivan drinkst hink<sub>1SG</sub> that wine  
‘What does Ivan drink? — I think wine.’

Authier (2013:362–4) discusses an interesting constraint on the embeddability of polarity particles in French. He argues that they can be embedded under epistemic attitudes (expressed by verbs or adverbs), see (28a), but not under desire attitudes, see (28b):

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<sup>8</sup> I assume that the additional material discussed in section 3.2 escapes TPE by raising to TopP or FocP. I thank an anonymous reviewer for raising this question.

- (28) a. Je crois/craains/soupçonne/suppose que oui/non.  
 I think/fear/suspect/suppose that yes/no
- b. \* Je sais pas s'ils vont gagner,  
 I know not if they will win  
 mais Celine veut que oui/non.  
 but Celine wants that yes/no  
 'I don't know if they will win, but Celine wants them (not)  
 to.'

Authier (2013:364 and sect.2) explains this observation in terms of selectional restrictions of the main predicate. In his analysis, polarity particles lexicalize clause-typing features (e.g. Cheng 1991) and thus, must meet selectional requirements of the embedding predicate (the way CPs selected by *think* vs. *wonder* do).<sup>9</sup>

What is interesting and seems to support Authier's general intuition is that at least in Russian fragment answers to *wh*-questions do not have this restriction and can appear with either epistemic or desire attitudes, see (29). (30) illustrates that Russian polarity particles are infelicitous with verbs expressing desire.

- (29) a. [Context: At a party, you see Paul drinking something that could be either wine or juice.]  
 Q: What is he drinking?  
 A: Ne znaju. Dumaju, čto vino/sok.  
 not know think that wine/juice  
 'I don't know. I think he's drinking wine/juice.'

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<sup>9</sup> See Authier 2013, fn.12 for some criticism of this logic and the author's reply to it. For the purpose of this paper, I will tentatively adopt Authier's explanation, although this raises some non-trivial questions for my analysis. For example, is the embeddability restriction syntactic or semantic? If it is syntactic, does this mean that desire predicates select clauses with a less-elaborated C-domain? Is the use of complementizer (*čto* vs. *čtoby*) relevant? I thank an anonymous reviewer for raising these interesting questions. I will leave them for future research.

- b. [Similar context, but now Paul and yourself are leaving soon, Paul is driving and thus, should not drink any alcohol.]

Q: What is he drinking?

A: Ne znaju. Xotelos' by čtoby sok.  
 not know want COND thatCOND juice  
 'I don't know. I'd rather he's drinking juice.'

- (30) ?? Ja ne znaju pobedit li Ivanov  
 I not know will.win Q Ivanov  
 no Marija xočet čtoby da/net.  
 but Maria wants thatCOND yes/no  
 'I don't know if Ivanov will win, but Mary wants him to.'

With respect to this restriction, Pron+*samyj* patterns with polarity particles in being infelicitous under desire predicates, as discussed in section 2.2. This provides support to the effect that Pron+*samyj* occupies the same position as polarity particles, as proposed above.<sup>10</sup>

#### 4.4 Apparent counterexample

In this section, I discuss an apparent counterexample to the claim that Pron+*samyj* cannot surface in regular argument positions and propose an account of this counterexample.

Consider (31), in which Pron+*samyj* is used with the copula focused by the focus particle *i*.

- (31) On samyj \*(i) jest'/byl'/budet.  
 he self FOC is/was/will.be

The focus particle *i* in Russian is homophonous with a simple conjunction equivalent to *and* and additive particles *tože/takže* 'also', see for example Paillard 1986. According to traditional Russian grammars,

<sup>10</sup> Further support comes from the fact that other elliptical answers, for example V-stranding as in (iii), can be embedded under desire attitudes, unlike Pron+*samyj*. This shows that the embeddability restriction is connected to the polarity property/position, rather than ellipsis.

(iii) Maša kupila moloko? — Xotelos' by čtoby kupila.  
 Masha bought milk want PRT thatPRT bought  
 'Did Masha buy the milk? — I would rather she did.' (lit. I want that bought)



this particle when used before a verb signifies that the event corresponds to what has been expected or anticipated, see (32a,b) (*Tolkovyj slovar' russkogo jazyka* 1935 and 1999).

- (32) a. Tak ono i slučilos'. (Dictionary 1935)  
 so it<sub>FOC</sub> happened  
 'So did it happen.'
- b. On i vyšel (kak sovetovali ili kak sam rešil).  
 he<sub>FOC</sub> left as was.advised or as himself decided  
 'He did leave (as he was advised or as he decided himself).'

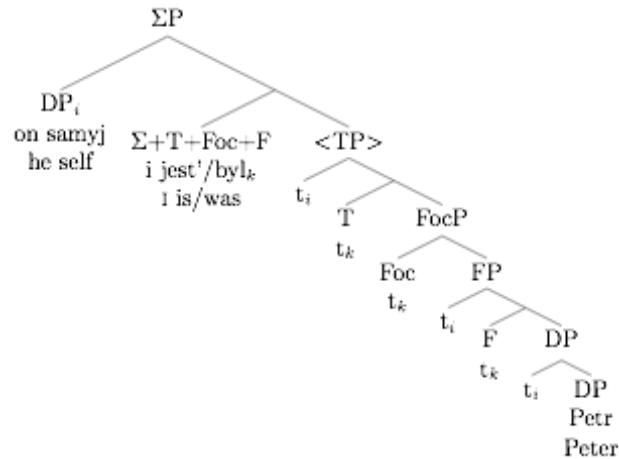
To account for these cases, I propose that *i* heads a Focus projection above FP and a verb (or a copula) head-moves to this projection and right adjoins to *i*. In cases like (31), where only Pron+*samyj* and the focused copula are pronounced, I propose that *i*+copula undergoes further movement to  $\Sigma$ , as shown in (33).<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> As suggested by an anonymous reviewer, support for this proposal also comes from cases like (iv) which involve elliptical answers to *wh*-questions. The answer to the question in (iv) can either be *Petja* as in A1 or *Petja i V* as in A2.

- (iv) Q: Ja znaju što Petja vsjo vremena darit Maše podarki, no kto  
 I know that Petja all time gives Maša gifts but who  
 že kupil ej mašinu?  
 PRT bought her car  
 'I know that Petja always gives gifts to Maša, but who on earth bought her the car?'
- A1: Petja.  
 A2: Petja i kupil.  
 Petja<sub>FOC</sub> bought  
 'Petja bought it.'

(33)



#### 4.5 No Low $\Sigma P$ with *Pron+samyj*

One property of *Pron+samyj* has not been accounted for so far, namely its inability to occur with negation, as in (7):

- (7) [Context: two persons are looking through some photos of children]  
A: Eto Petr?                      B: Net, ne on (\*samyj). Eto ego brat.  
   this Peter                      no not he self this his brother  
   ‘Is this Peter?’                ‘No, that is not him. This is his brother.’

In this section, I propose that this property can be accounted for if we assume that the source for fragment answers *Pron+samyj* is an identity statement that does not have Low  $\Sigma P$  that hosts sentential negation in ordinary sentences. As we will see shortly, negation in identity statements with a zero copula can be expressed only by constituent negation. However, *samyj* is deviant under constituent negation, see (34).<sup>12</sup> As a result, *Pron+samyj* cannot be used with *ne* ‘not’. Another consequence of the absence of Low  $\Sigma P$  is that *samyj* cannot check its

<sup>12</sup> Note that *samyj* in (34) is a DP-internal modifier ([<sub>DP</sub> tu samuju sonatu...]) and the restriction on surfacing in argument positions does not apply, see Goncharov 2015 for discussion.

emphatic feature locally (within TP) and thus, must move to High  $\Sigma$ P (the only  $\Sigma$ P in identity statements with a zero copula).

- (34) \* Daša igrala ne tu samuju sonatu  
 Dasha played not that self sonata  
 kotoruj učila vesnoj.  
 which studied spring  
 ‘Dasha didn’t play the very sonata that she studied in spring.’

Let me begin with the observation made by Testelefs (2008). Following his work in collaboration with Borschev, Partee, Paduceva and Yanovich (2005), he argues that sentences with zero copula in Russian can be divided into two groups. The first group consists of binominative sentences (excluding identity statements) and sentences with short-form adjectives (hereafter, SF). This group allows for sentential negation, see (35a). The second group, which includes identity statements and copular sentences with PPs, has only constituent negation, see (35b).

- (35) a.  $[DP_1 \text{ not } \emptyset_{be} [DP_j/SF ]]$  (sentential negation)  
 b.  $[DP_1 \emptyset_{be} [\text{not } DP_j/PP]]$  (constituent negation)

Testelefs (2008) uses two tests to demonstrate this. The first test involves scopal ambiguity. As is well known, sentential negation can out-scope quantified subjects or circumstantial phrases giving rise to scopal ambiguity, see (36a). Constituent negation, however, does not have wide-scope readings, see (36b) from Testelefs 2008:780.

- (36) a. Vsebaleriny ne budut v Londone.  $\forall > \text{Neg}, \text{Neg} > \forall$   
 all ballerinas not will.be in London  
 ‘All ballerinas won’t be in London.’  
 b. Vsebaleriny budut ne v Londone.  $\forall > \text{Neg}, * \text{Neg} > \forall$   
 all ballerinas will.be not in London  
 ‘All ballerinas won’t be in London.’

As shown in (37), with respect to this test, identity statements and sentences with PPs pattern with sentences with constituent negation —

cf. (37c,d) with (36b), whereas specificational binominative copular sentences and structures with SF behave like sentences with sentential negation — cf. (37a,b) with (36a) (from Testelefs 2008:781–3).

- (37) a. Oba oni ne lingvisty. (specificational)  
 both they not linguists  
 ‘They both are not linguists.’ both > Neg, Neg > both
- b. Obe raboty poka ne gotovy. (SF)  
 both works yet not ready  
 ‘Both works are not ready yet.’ both > Neg, Neg > both
- c. Vse prem’ery ne v etom godu. (PP time)  
 all premiers not in this year  
 ‘All the premiers are not this year.’  $\forall$  > Neg, \*Neg >  $\forall$
- d. Po vsem priznakam...  
 by all clues...  
 ‘According to all clues...’  
 avtor “Poslanija k evrejam” ne Pavel. (identity)  
 author Appeal to Jews not Pavel  
 ‘the author of the Appeal to Jews is not Pavel.’  
 $\forall$  > Neg, \*Neg >  $\forall$

The second test concerns licensing negative concord items (*n*-words) that start with *ni*- in Russian. Only sentential negation can license *ni*-elements. As shown in (38), this test also divides zero-copular sentences into the same two groups (from Testelefs 2008:785–6).

- (38) a. Ni pervaja, ni vtoraja kniga  
 NI first NI second book  
 — ne roman. (specificational)  
 not novel  
 ‘Neither the first nor the second book is a novel.’
- b. Ničto ne večno. (SF)  
 nothing not eternal  
 ‘Nothing is eternal.’

- c. ?? Ni pervyj, nivtoroj tom  
 NI first NI second volume  
 ne na polke. (locative PP)  
 not on shelf  
 ‘Neither the first nor the second volume is on the shelf.’
- d. ?? Ni to zdanie, ni eto — ne moj dom. (identity)  
 NI that building NI this not my house  
 ‘Neither that building nor this one is my house.’

Testelets (2008:786) accounts for these observations by proposing that identity statements and copular sentences with locative and temporal PPs are even smaller than ordinary binominative sentences. They do not contain any functional projection apart from agreement, which he labels as  $\phi$ P, see (39):

- (39) a. [<sub>CopulaP</sub> DP<sub>i</sub> (Neg+) Copula [<sub>SC</sub> t<sub>i</sub> DP ]] (ordinary binominative)  
 b. [ <sub>$\phi$ P</sub> DP<sub>i</sub> (\*Neg+)  $\phi$  [<sub>SC</sub> t<sub>i</sub> DP ]] (identity and PPs)

Recasting Testelets’s intuition that identity sentences have an impoverished functional inventory in terms of  $\Sigma$ P/PolP, I propose that the observations above suggest that identity sentences with zero copula lack the Low  $\Sigma$ P which is present in ordinary sentences. If the source of Pron+*samyj* is an identity statement with zero copula, the lack of Low  $\Sigma$ P straightforwardly accounts for two facts: i) the incompatibility of Pron+*samyj* with negation and ii) the obligatory movement of Pron+*samyj* to High  $\Sigma$ P (the only  $\Sigma$ P in this case), where Pron+*samyj* checks [emph] feature of *samyj* and triggers TPE.

## 5 Conclusion

This paper discussed the use of personal pronouns modified by *samyj* as answers to polar questions. It was argued that Pron+*samyj* is a hybrid fragment answer in the sense that it combines properties of fragment answers to *wh*-questions with properties of polarity particles. The analysis put forward in this paper proposes that an emphatic positive answer *On samyj* ‘he self’ to the question ‘Is he Peter?’ is derived by ‘he self’ moving out of TP to the specifier of High  $\Sigma$ P — a head that is commonly assumed to host polarity particles like *yes* and *no* and trigger

the elision/non-spell-out of its sister TP. This analysis of Pron+*samyj* was shown to account for its major properties such as acceptability under reporting verbs and epistemic attitudes, but not predicates expressing desire, incompatibility with negation, and inability to surface in argument position. Furthermore, it was suggested that the last two properties are consequences of the absence of Low  $\Sigma$ P in identity sentences with zero copula in Russian.

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