

***Samyj* in fragment answers**

The goal of this talk is to provide a syntactic analysis of constructions in which Russian *samyj* is used as part of a fragment answer, see (1).

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

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’.

Properties of Pron+*samyj* Pron+*samyj* has a number of very peculiar properties: (i) As illustrated above, it can be used as an affirmative answer to a *yes/no*-question. (ii) Pron+*samyj* can be embedded under reportative verbs and epistemic modals, but is deviant under modals expressing desire, see (2). (iii) Pron+*samyj* is incompatible with negation, see (3). (iv) For most speakers, Pron+*samyj* cannot surface in a regular argument position, see (4). These properties clearly distinguish *samyj* from the so-called emphatic reflexives in Russian as in *On sam prišel* ‘He himself came’ (e.g. Klenin 1980, Weiss 2006). I also show that these two paradigms of *self* in Russian differ with respect to morphological agreement and stress.

- (2) a. Kto eto? Neželi professor Semenov? - Ja ne znaju, no sudja po
 who this? NEG-Q-PART professor Semenov I not know but judging on
 tomu što vokrug nego vse sobralis’, dumaju, on samyj.
 that that around him everyone gathered think.1SG.PRES he self.M.SG.NOM
 ‘Who is this? Isn’t this Professor Semenov? - I don’t know, but given that
 everyone has gathered around him, I think this is he, indeed.’
 b. Ne znaju kto budet vesti seminary, no govornjat što eto
 not know.1SG.PRES who will lead seminars but say.3PL.PRES that this
 mozet byt’ professor Semenov. - #Xotelos’ by čtoby on samyj.
 may be professor Semenov desirable COND that.COND he self.M.SG
 ‘I don’t know who will run the seminars, but it’s rumoured that this may be
 Professor Semenov. - I’d love it to be him!’
 (3) A: Eto Petr? B: Net, ne on (*samyj). Eto ego brat.
 this Peter no, not he self.M.SG.NOM this his brother
 ‘Is this Peter?’ ‘No, that is not he. This is his brother.’
 (4) ?*Ty znaeš’, on samyj ko mne včera prixodil.
 you know he self.M.SG.NOM to me yesterday came
 ‘You know, he came to me yesterday.’

Analysis The analysis I propose derives the fragment answer *On samyj* ‘He self’ in (1) from the identity statement ‘He self is Peter’. I argue that ‘he self’ raises to the specifier of a positive Polarity Phrase above TP and triggers an obligatory TP-ellipsis (e.g. Merchant 2004, Progovac 2005, Authler 2013). This is schematically shown in (5):

(5) $[_{PolP} [_{DP} \text{he self}]_i [_{Pol'} \text{Pol}+ [_{TP} \text{t}_i \text{is Peter}]]]$ (simplified)

That is to say, I propose that $\text{Pron}+samyj$ has an intermediate status between a fragment answer and a positive polarity particle, such as *yes*. Like a fragment answer (e.g. Merchant 2004), it is derived by TP-ellipsis and shows case-connectivity and preposition-stranding effects characteristic of fragment answers in other languages, see (6):

- (6) a. Ty imeeš' v vidu Zubrilovy Veroniku? - Ee samuju! (NRC)
 you have in view Zubrilova-ACC Veronika-ACC her self-F.SG.ACC
 'Do you mean Veronika Zubrilova? Her, indeed.' (lit. Her herself.)
 b. A vy k Kol'ke priexali, k Popovu? - *(K) nemu samomy...
 and you to Kol'ka-DAT came to Popov-DAT to him-DAT self-M.SG.DAT
 'Did you come to Kol'ka Popov? To him, indeed...'

However unlike fragment answers, $\text{Pron}+samyj$ surfaces in PolP rather than FocusP which assimilates it to polarity particles. Like polarity particles, $\text{Pron}+samyj$ can be used to answer a *yes/no*-question (property (i)), shows the embeddability properties discussed above (property (ii)) and makes the TP-ellipsis obligatory (property (iv)), see Authier 2013. The incompatibility with negation (property (iii)) is explained by postulating that *samyj* is an empathic marker dependent on the positive value of PolP.

Extension The proposed account is extended to the cases in which $\text{Pron}+samyj$ is used with the overt copular focussed by the focus particle *i*, see (7) (which seems to present a counter-example to property (iv)):

- (7) On samyj *(i) est'/byl'/budet.
 he self I is/was/will.be
 'That is/would be/was the one.'

To account for such cases, I propose that *i* heads a Focus projection above VP and a verb (or copular) head-moves to this projection and right adjoins to *i*. Subsequently, *i*+copular undergoes a head-movement to Pol, as shown in (8):

(8) $[_{PolP} [_{DP} \text{on samyj}]_i [_{Pol+T+Foc+V} [i \text{ est'/byl}]_k] [_{TP} \text{t}_i [_{FocusP} \text{t}_k [_{VP} \text{t}_k [_{DP} \text{Petr}]]]]]]]$

Thus, the fragment answers with $\text{Pron}+samyj$ in Russian are very different from other non-sentential phenomena in other languages, such as fragment answers to *wh*-questions, polarity particles and the so-called *Ga*-ellipsis in Slovenian. The contrast with the latter is especially revealing as *Ga*-ellipsis shows strikingly different properties and is argued to involve VP-ellipsis rather than TP-ellipsis (e.g. Franks and King 2000, Dvůrák 2007).

References Authier, J.M. 2013. Phase-edge features and the syntax of polarity particles. *Linguistic Inquiry* 44:345-389. Dvůrák, B. 2007. Slovenian clitic pronouns and what is so special about them. *Slovenski jezik* 6:209-233. Franks, S., and T.H. King. 2000. *A handbook of Slavic clitics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Klenin, E. 1980. Sentential and discourse prominence: The case of the emphatic pronoun. *Russian Linguistics* 4:269-280. Merchant, J. 2004. Fragments and ellipsis. *Linguistics and philosophy* 27:661-738. Progovac, L. 2005. *A syntax of Serbian: Clausal architecture*. Bloomington, IN: Slavica. Weiss, D. 2006. Counting one's selves: the emphatic pronoun 'sam' in Russian and Polish. In *La focalisation dans les langues*, ed. H. and A. Włodarczyk, 243-264. Paris: L'Harmattan.