In Search of Reference
The case of the Russian adjectival intensifier *samyj*

by

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Abstract

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This dissertation is a multilayered exploration of the structure of the Determiner Phrase (DP) and the nature of reference in natural language. At the most basic empirical level, it is a case study of the intensifying adjective *samyj* 'self' in Russian. This phenomenon is understudied and is usually taken to be subsumed under the more general study of modification by emphatic pronouns, such as *himself* in English or *sam* in Russian. The general outcome of this case study is that intensification by *samyj* and *sam* are two different phenomena in Russian and analyzing *samyj* in terms of *sam* misses important generalizations about the structure and functioning of DPs. Three main constructions are examined, in which *samyj* is used with (a) demonstratives (Dem+*samyj*), (b) pronouns (Pron+*samyj*), and (c) gradable properties to form superlatives (*self*-superlatives).

At the higher theoretical level, this work contributes to three domains of syntax: (i) the structure of DP, (ii) DPs as phases, and (iii) non-sentential constructions. (i) Using constructions with *samyj*, I argue that many cases of apparent polysemy may be explained by the merge position of a lexical item (a 'chameleon' effect). I also show that the distribution of *samyj* provides support for and a way to refine the topological view of the left-periphery of DP. (ii) I present a novel observation about *samyj* and use it to argue that *samyj* is a modifier of a DP-internal propositional node - ΣP. I also show that *samyj* provides evidence for re-defining the notion of phases. (iii) I show that Pron+*samyj* is a hybrid fragment answer as it combines the derivation of a fragment answer to *wh*-questions with properties specific to polarity particles like *yes* and *no*.

Finally, on the semantic side, I propose that the main contribution of *samyj* is to add a secondary assertion of the form X = Y. This proposal explains many properties of *samyj*, such as the incompatibility of *samyj* with negation and the impossibility of using pronouns modified by *samyj* in argument positions.

To my parents S. and O. Goncharov

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Where to start? Or rather, how to finish? Acknowledgements is one of the front sections, but it is the last to be written. It is often written by a different 'self' than the rest of a dissertation - the after-self. And what a wonderful thing it is to conclude with words of gratitude and affection.

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I know that this is just a list of names, but if you see your name and you feel that I have not shown my deep fondness of you well enough, please give me a call - I owe you!

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List of abbreviations

ACC	accusative case
ADV	adverbial ending
AGR	agreement
AGRA	adjectival agreement
COND	conditional suffix
CUM	cumulative prefix
DAT	dative case
DEF	definiteness marker
Dem	demonstrative
DIM	diminutive
F	feminine gender
GEN	genitive case
INS	instrumental case
LOC	locative case
M	masculine gender
MAC	Malyj Akademicheskij Slovar' ed. Evgenjeva 1999 (Small Academic Dictionary)
N,NEUT	neuter gender
NOM	nominative case
NRC	Russian National Corpus Online (http://ruscorpora.ru/en/index.html)
PART	particle
PL	plural number
PRES	present tense
Pron	pronoun
SG	singular number
SUBJ	subjunctive mood
SUP,SUPER	superlative morpheme
WK	weak adjectival agreement in German

Chapter 1

Introduction

This dissertation explores the structure of DP and the nature of reference in natural language. At the most basic empirical level, it is a case study of the intensifying adjective *samyj* 'self' in Russian. This element is understudied and is usually subsumed under the more general study of modification by intensifiers (or emphatic pronouns), such as *himself* in English, *selbst* in German or *sam* in Russian. At this level, I address the following questions:

(1)   a.   What are the properties that distinguish *samyj* from *sam*?
       b.   What is the range of uses of *samyj*?
       c.   What is the syntactic distribution of *samyj*?
       d.   What is the semantic contribution of *samyj*?

   The general outcome of the case study is that intensification by *samyj* and *sam* are two very different phenomena. *Samyj* and *sam* have distinct morpho-phonological, syntactic, combinatorial and semantic properties that cannot be derived one from the other. Thus, analyzing *samyj* in terms of *sam* will miss important generalizations about the structure and functioning of DPs. The emphatic nature that they share is not unique to these two lexical items but is found in focus constructions in general.[1]

   In addition to filling a lacuna in Russian linguistics, I hope to stimulate a cross-linguistic investigation of DP-internal intensifiers. I show that in several languages (e.g. Russian, Ukrainian, Lithuanian, English), DP-internal intensifiers have similar properties. Furthermore, by putting *samyj* in the spotlight, I also aim to shift attention from the unification of reflexives and emphatic pronouns, which seems to have been the main goal of research in this area in the past (see Gast 2006 for an overview) towards the

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[1]This is the line of research recently taken by Eckardt (2001) and Gast (2006), among others, in investigating emphatic pronouns in German and English, which I will follow in this thesis.

exploration of similarities and differences between (adjectival) intensifiers and emphatic pronouns. As is well known and illustrated in (2), many languages (with the exception of English) lexically differentiate between reflexives, on the one hand, and emphatic pronouns and intensifiers, on the other hand.

(2)

	intensifier	emphatic pronoun	reflexive
Russian	samyj	sam	sebja
Lithuanian	pàts	pàts	save
German	(das) selb-	selbst	sich
English	very/self(same)	x-self	x-self

Before attempting to unify reflexives and emphatic pronouns, we need a solid analysis of all uses of each DP-internal intensifier, then an understanding of the properties that it shares with the emphatic pronoun. Only after that should we look for a unification with reflexives in languages - like English - that employ the same lexical item for emphatic pronouns and reflexives.

At the higher theoretical level, this work contributes to three domains of syntax:

(3)   a.   The structure of DP
      b.   DPs as phases
      c.   Nonsentential constructions

The structure of DP

The introduction of the DP-hypothesis (Abney 1987) triggered many important discoveries and debates in the nominal domain. The first substantial consequence of the DP-hypothesis is that it divided nominals into two domains: a lexical/descriptive domain and a functional/grammatical domain. Although this segmentation nowadays seems obvious, I show here that the advantages of this division are far from being fully exploited. In particular, many cases of apparent polysemy may be explained by different merge positions of a single lexical item (a 'chameleon' effect). Intensifiers like Russian *samyj* can change their properties (e.g. contribution to the meaning, possibility of iteration) depending on whether they merge in the lexical or functional domain of the nominal, cf. (4-a) and (4-b). The availability of two merge positions for *samyj* can also give rise to ambiguity, or allow both positions to be filled, as in (4-c).

(4)   a.   [$_{DP}$ ... [$_{NP}$ ... samyj ...]]

      b. $[_{DP}$ ... samyj ... $[_{NP}$ ... $]]$

      c. $[_{DP}$ ... samyj ... $[_{NP}$ ... samyj ... $]]$

As I will show, the 'chameleon' effect is found in several languages, especially in the domain of intensification, and thus, an account in terms of polysemy will miss an important generalization about the structure of DP crosslinguistically.

Another substantial consequence of the DP-hypothesis is that it captures the structural regularity of nominals and makes them parallel to other phrases, in particular CPs. The idea that there is certain parallelism between the nominal domain and the clause has at least a thirty-year history. Inspired by the observations of Chomsky (1970), Abney (1987) and Stowell (1989), among others, that nouns and verbs have similar argumental structure and functional make-up, researchers have been uncovering new areas of connection between the two domains, including Information Structure (IS) (see Alexiadou et al. 2007 for a recent overview). IS (or 'functional sentence perspective' in the Prague School) is a way of structuring a sentence according to communicative needs of the speaker, and is often argued to deal with two types of information: a) the referential status of individual constituents in the sentence and b) pragmatic relations between these constituents (see Aboh et al. 2010 for an overview). The first type of information concerns "the speaker's assumptions as to whether the addressee is able to identify a referent or proposition" (Aboh et al. 2010: 783) and can be encoded lexically (e.g. by (in)definiteness markers in English and French), morphologically (e.g. accusative case in Turkish) or by word order (e.g. scrambling in German and Dutch). This type of information packaging has to do with notions like uniqueness, deixis, definiteness, familiarity, specificity, D-linking, etc. Syntactically, these concepts are captured by postulating different functional projections in nominals, as schematically shown in (5-a). The second type of information involves relations such as topic and focus including their contrastive varieties. They also can be expressed lexically (e.g. topic and focus particles in Gungbe), by means of word order or movement (e.g. scrambling in Slavic languages), prosodically, or by a combination of these. Following the split analysis of the clausal left periphery (Rizzi 1997), different topic and focus projections have been proposed within DPs as well, initiated by the research on various orders of modifiers in languages like Italian (e.g. Giusti 1996). This is schematized in (5-b).

(5)   a.

```
            ιP²
          /      \
         ι      DeixisP
              /       \
          Deixis    FamP/DefP
                   /        \
               Fam/Def      NP
                           /  \
                          / ... \
```

b.

```
            DP
          /    \
         D     TopP
             /      \
           Top      FocP
                  /      \
                Foc      NP
                        /  \
                       / ... \
```
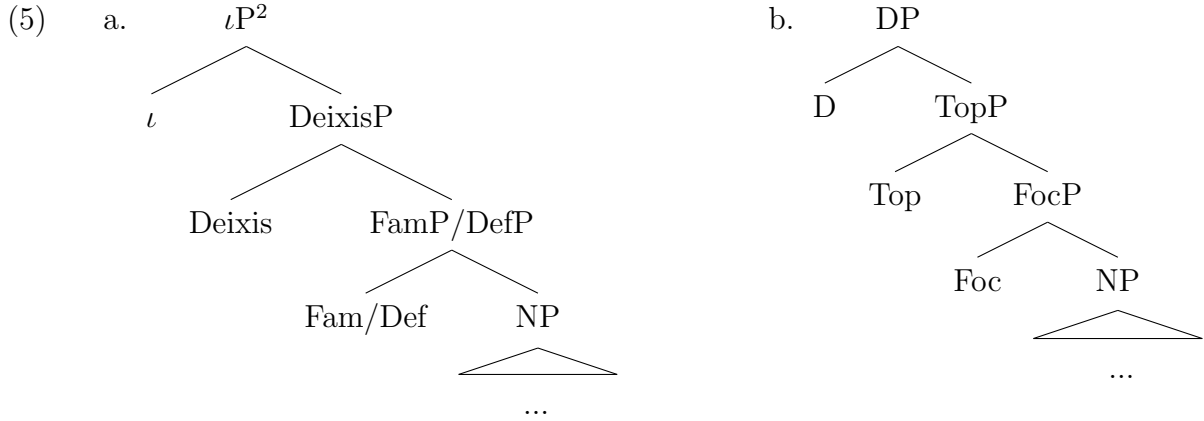
The study of *samyj* makes a contribution to our understanding of the referential break-down of the left-periphery of DP, as in (5-a). More specifically, I adopt the Grammar-Reference Link Hypothesis proposed in Hinzen and Sheehan 2013 and Martin and Hinzen 2014, according to which in order for a nominal to refer some functional layer above NP should be engaged, see (6). I will demonstrate that *samyj* is compatible only with a subset of projections predicted by this hypothesis, as illustrated in (7).

(6)   *The Grammar-Reference Link Hypothesis*   (Martin and Hinzen 2014: 102)
      Referential strength (from predicativity to deixis) is not an intrinsic property of
      lexical items, but rather of certain grammatical configurations.

(7)

```
                    IndexicalP
                  /            \
             Indexical        DeixisP
              *samyj        /         \
                        Deixis        3rdP
                        *samyj      /       \
                            3rd p. pronoun    FamP
                              ✓ samyj        /     \
                            (in fragments)  Fam    IndefP
                                           ✓ samyj   /    \
                                          (with some) Indef  NP
                                                      *samyj   /  \
                                                            / *samyj \
```

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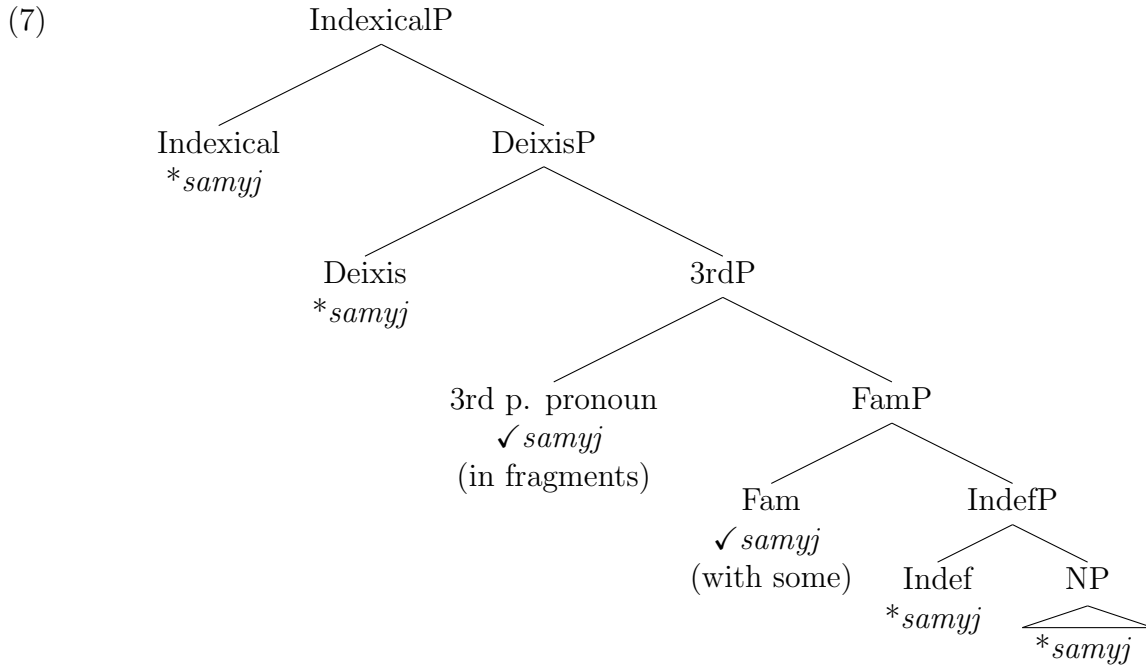
[2]ιP (Iota Phase) is a head encoding uniqueness, see Kyriakaki 2011.

Thus, the distribution of *samyj* both supports and refines the topological view of the left-periphery of the noun phrase, which has its origin in works by Longobardi (1994, 2005) and is further developed in Hinzen and Sheehan 2013 and Martin and Hinzen 2014.[3]

DPs as phases

The phasal status of DPs, although commonly accepted, still raises some questions especially for article-less languages like Slavic (see Bošković 2014; see also Citko 2014b for the most recent overview of phases in the Minimalist Program). Given the aforementioned parallelism between CPs and DPs, two questions are often asked: a) whether DP contains a phase, and b) whether DP itself is a phase. The answers to the first question seem to converge on the positive (Matushansky 2005b, Citko 2014b). Many constructions in different languages (e.g. DP-internal QR, degree fronting, *n*-word licensing in Negative Concord, DP-internal discourse particles) have been shown to require a propositional node (of type t) within DPs. The second question, however, is more complex. The two diagnostics of phasehood: independence at PF and independence at LF (Chomsky 2001) yield different results. The PF diagnostic (phonological isolability) suggests that DPs are phases, whereas the LF diagnostics (e.g. the propositional status of phases or their saturated simple type) argue to the contrary (Matushansky 2005b).[4]

I make the novel observation that *samyj* in Russian is deviant in local negative environments like Constituent Negation (C-Neg) in (8-a), but not under Sentential Negation (S-Neg) as in (8-b). To account for this observation, I propose that *samyj* modifies a DP-internal ΣP of type t. Σ is valued positively when *samyj* is merged, and is thus incompatible with C-Neg, which values Σ as negative, as shown in (9-a). S-Neg does not interact with *samyj* because it provides a negative value to the clausal Σ, as in (9-b). Thus, *samyj* is additional evidence for a DP-internal phase.

(8)   a. *Daša igrala **ne** tu   **samuju**   sonatu.
           Dasha played not that.F.SG.ACC self.F.SG.ACC sonata.F.SG.ACC
           'Dasha didn't play that very sonata.' (lit. D. played not that very sonata)

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[3]The introduction of the DP-Hypothesis initiated the notorious DP/NP debate which is not yet settled (see Pereltsvaig 2013 for a review of the present state of the debate in Slavic languages). I will briefly touch on this debate; however, I do not believe that *samyj* provides decisive evidence in favour of one view or the other.

[4]To overcome this difficulty, Citko (2014b) proposes additional diagnostics that do not make use of semantic types, but rather explore the idea that the spelled-out complement of a phase head should constitute a semantically valid object or domain. The diagnostics she proposes (e.g. DP is a binding domain, DP is a domain for feature valuation) show that DPs are phases.

b. Daša **ne** igrala tu **samuju** sonatu.
Dasha not played that.F.SG.ACC self.F.SG.ACC sonata.F.SG.ACC
'Dasha didn't play that very sonata.'

(9) a. *[$_{\text{TP}}$ ... Σ_+ ... [$_{\text{DP}}$ NEG *samyj* Σ_- ...]]   C-Neg

b. [$_{\text{TP}}$ ... NEG Σ_- ... [$_{\text{DP}}$ *samyj* Σ_+ ...]]   S-Neg

With respect to whether DP itself is a phase, I argue in favour of a new definition of phases, proposed in Arsenijević and Hinzen 2012, Hinzen and Sheehan 2013 and Martin and Hinzen 2014 and given in (10-a), which divides a phase into EDGE and INT(erior), as shown in (10-b). The new definition allows phases to be unified without restricting them to a *t*-type object.

(10) a. Phase is a minimal grammatical unit responsible for building a new object (proposition, event or reference) from descriptive content provided by lexical items

b. Phase: [$_{\text{EDGE}}$ referent [$_{\text{INT}}$ descriptive content]]

The evidence comes from two sources: the already described 'chameleon' effect and the behaviour of *samyj* when it modifies a pronoun.

Nonsentential constructions

The dissertation also contributes to the syntax of nonsentential constructions (see Progovac et al. 2006 for an overview). I show that Pron+*samyj*, which can be used as a positive answer to a *yes/no*-question about identity, as in (11-a), is derived as a fragment answer (Merchant 2004) by movement to Spec-(High)ΣP, and subsequent TP-elision, as in (11-b).

(11) a. Èto ta   pianistka kotoraja igrala sonatu? - Ona samaja.
this that pianist   who   played sonata   she self
'Is this that pianist who played the sonata? - That's the one. (lit. She self.)'

b. [$_{\Sigma\text{P}}$ [$_{\text{DP}}$ she self]$_i$ [$_{\Sigma'}$ Σ_+ [$_{\text{TP}}$ t$_i$ is that pianist who ...]]]   (simplified)

I show that this is a hybrid fragment answer in the sense that it combines the derivation of a fragment answer to *wh*-questions with properties specific to polarity particles like *yes* and *no*.

Finally, I discuss the nature of reference. This dissertation has as its main background assumption the premise that reference is not provided lexically, but is inferred by the

hearer based on available linguistic and extra-linguistic information. Defining reference as a correspondence relation between a linguistic expression and an object in the world (real or not),[5] I assume that it is the hearer's task to establish this relation. The linguistic information that can help the hearer's task is of two kinds: i) lexical/descriptive, in the sense that adding more descriptive content facilitates the identification of a referent, and ii) grammatical. As for the latter, the more elaborated the functional domain of a nominal expression, the 'tighter' the connection between this expression and the world (i.e. the Grammar-Reference Link Hypothesis, from above).[6] In addition to purely descriptive and grammatical mechanisms, there are lexical items whose primary contribution seems to be to facilitate the identification of a referent, for example, definiteness and specificity markers. But when a language does not have such markers in its repertoire, it can employ other means to achieve the same result - help the hearer to find a referent. As I will show, Russian uses *samyj* for this purpose. Its major contribution is to add a secondary assertion - the identity relation of the form X = Y. This secondary assertion, I claim, is responsible for many properties of *samyj*, such as its incompatibility with negation and impossibility of using pronouns modified by *samyj* in argument positions. The latter is illustrated in (12).

(12)   Ona (*samaja) igrala sonatu.
        she   self   played sonata
        'She played a sonata.'

Assuming that the pronoun is merged in N and undergoes N-to-D movement, Pron+*samyj* cannot be used in an argument position because the relation of identity introduced by *samyj* requires independent descriptive content. This requirement cannot be satisfied by the copy of the moved pronoun (it is vacuous: X = X), resulting in the ungrammaticality of (12). In fragment answers, the descriptive content requirement is satisfied by the elided TP.

Organization of the dissertation

I begin by arguing that *samyj* and *sam* are two different lexical items that need to be treated separately. In chapter 2, I show that *samyj* and *sam* have different morpho-phonological and syntactic properties. As a result, they are used in different non-overlapping constructions. This chapter also contains a brief literature overview.

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[5]See for example Hurford 2007: 530 for recent discussion.

[6]The contribution of the extra-linguistic information is investigated in psychological and psycholinguistic research and is set aside here.

Chapter 3 discusses a range of uses of *samyj* from a semantic point of view and examines syntactic properties of three constructions that are the main focus here: a) Dem+*samyj*, b) Pron+*samyj*, and c) *self*-superlatives. These constructions are shown to have several peculiar properties (some of which are observed for the first time here). The purpose of the discussion of *self*-superlatives is to argue that they are different from *most*-superlatives and are part of the range of uses of *samyj*.

After presenting the uses of *samyj*, I focus on two constructions in which *samyj* is used: to modify a demonstrative (chapter 4) and to modify a pronoun (chapter 5). The account I propose exploits the idea of the elaborated left-periphery of DP and postulates a new (propositional) head Σ_{emph} in the functional domain of NP.

In chapter 6, I address the question of identification of the referent and show that *samyj* is used with a subset of referring expressions that excludes indexicals and rigidly referring expressions (section 6.1). That is to say, *samyj* is used to help identify the referent where an expression refers but is not fixed by the discourse. The properties of *samyj* used with demonstratives and pronouns raise interesting questions about the semantic/pragmatic contribution of *samyj* and its interaction with the Information Structure of the utterance (section 6.2). Section 6.3 returns to the comparison of *samyj* and *sam* and shows that their shared emphatic meaning can be accounted for using the analyses proposed for emphatic intensifiers like *selbst* in German.

Chapter 7 concludes by summarizing the main insights presented in the dissertation and discussing questions for future research.

Chapter 2

Samyj versus *sam*

This chapter has two goals. The first goal is to demonstrate that Russian has two lexical items coming from the same root meaning 'self' - *samyj* 'self.AGR' and *sam* 'self.∅'. Although traditional grammars and dictionaries (e.g. Unbegaun 1957, Shvedova 1980, Garde 1980, Ushakov 2009) acknowledge that *samyj* and *sam* differ with respect to their stress and agreement patterns, as well as their distribution, to my knowledge, there is no systematic study of these differences. On the contrary, there have been attempts to unify *samyj* and *sam* (e.g. Weiss 2006). In the first section of this chapter (section 2.1), I aim at providing a maximally exhaustive list of differences between *samyj* and *sam* grouped into two classes: (a) morpho-phonological differences and (b) syntactic differences. Each class will be presented in a separate section.

The second goal of this chapter is to provide an overview of the literature on the topic (section 2.2). As we will see, the literature on *samyj* is extremely scarce. Apart from the descriptions in grammars and dictionaries and the aforementioned study by Weiss (2006), I have found only one short article in Russian philological tradition from late 1980s that discusses *samyj* with demonstratives - a construction directly relevant to the present work. Otherwise, *samyj* is usually mentioned with respect to superlative constructions in Russian, which is probably its most prominent and productive use. In superlatives, *samyj* is assumed to be an equivalent of English *most*.

The literature on *sam* (and its counterparts in other languages), on the other hand, is very rich. I will present a brief overview of the major lines of research and concerns in this area. The purpose of this overview is to provide some background for the discussion in the present work and to relate it to other phenomena in natural language. This work does not directly contribute to the investigation of emphatic pronouns like Russian *sam*.

2.1 Differences between *samyj* and *sam*

At first glance, *samyj* and *sam* appear to have many common features. First of all, they transparently come from the same root *sam-* meaning 'self'.[1] Secondly, they both are emphatic and usually attract the nuclear phrasal stress. Thirdly, both *samyj* and *sam* have a multitude of meanings that revolve around the idea of high degree of importance or prominence of the referent of NP modified by *samyj* or *sam*.

These commonalities, however, should not serve as a foundation for a uniform treatment of *samyj* and *sam* (although at a higher level of abstraction such unification may be desirable). As I will demonstrate in this section, there are significant morpho-phonological and syntactic differences between *samyj* and *sam*. These differences, I claim, result in the use of *samyj* and *sam* in two different sets of constructions. These two sets are not homogeneous themselves and down-playing the distinction between *samyj* and *sam* can lead to overlooking important generalizations about language.

2.1.1 Morpho-phonological differences

Samyj and *sam* are paradigmatically different with respect to their stress pattern and agreement marking. This difference is recognized in traditional Russian grammars and dictionaries (e.g. Unbegaun 1957, Garde 1980, Ushakov 2009) and is acknowledged by authors like Weiss (2006).

Samyj has the stress fixed on the root as most declinable (long form) adjectives of the normal declension do (Unbegaun 1957:127).[2] Its agreement endings are also identical to those of the declinable long form adjectives of the normal declension (hard type). *Sam*, on the other hand, has the fixed stress on the agreement marker (if present) and the pronominal ending of the second declension (hard type) that it shares with the proximal demonstrative *ètot*[3] 'this' and the numeral *odin* 'one' (Unbegaun 1957:133). The two paradigms are illustrated in table 2.1, where the stress is shown by the acute accent ($'$). The parallelism between *samyj* and declinable adjectives is shown in table 2.2. The parallelism between *sam* and pronouns is shown in tables 2.3 and 2.4.

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[1] Historically the root *sam-* comes from the Proto-Indo-European **sem-* 'one, alone', which is etymologically connected to the Latin *semi* 'half', on the one hand, and to the Old Persian *hama*, Latin *similis* and English *same*, on the other hand (e.g. Preobrazhensky 1951).

[2] Some adjectives of the hard type of normal declension have stress on the ending. However, the paradigm of these adjectives also differs from that of *sam* because the stress in adjectives is always on the first vowel of the ending (*slepógo* 'blind.GEN/ACC', *slepómu* 'blind.DAT'), whereas *sam* has the stress on the second vowel of the ending (*samogó* 'sam.GEN/ACC', *samomú* 'sam.DAT'), if there are two vowels (see Unbegaun 1957:97).

[3] The grave accent on 'è' represents a separate grapheme in Russian - э (*e oborotnoe* 'e reversed'). I use this notation, unless for the purpose of discussion it is important to show the stress (acute accent).

Several comments are necessary here.[4] First of all, notice the irregular stress on *sam* in PL.NOM that falls on the root rather than on the ending. Secondly, the alternation between the two forms of the feminine accusative *sam* (*samu* and *samoë*) has received a lot of attention in Russian literature. The latter being more archaic has a flavour of targeting something substantive, essential (see Shwarckopf 1989 and references cited there). Finally, some remarks are needed about the paradigm of the 3rd person pronoun in Russian. The 3rd person pronoun historically comes from a demonstrative. Its root in the nominative is *on-*, whereas in all oblique cases its root is a bare *yod* (this nominative-oblique alternation of the root is inherited from the demonstrative). In addition, before prepositions, the 3rd person pronoun is prefixed with *n-*, therefore LOC has an obligatory *n*-form, see Unbegaun 1957:124 for discussion.

Table 2.1: The two paradigms: *samyj* and *sam*

		samyj	*sam*
M.SG.	NOM	sámyj	sám
	GEN	sámogo	samogó
	DAT	sámomu	samomú
	ACC	sámogo, -yj	samogó, sám
	INS	sámym	samím
	LOC	sámom	samóm
F.SG.	NOM	sámaja	samá
	GEN	sámoj	samój
	DAT	sámoj	samój
	ACC	sámuju	samú, samoë
	INS	sámoj	samój
	LOC	sámoj	samój
N.SG.	NOM	sámoe	samó
	GEN	sámogo	samogó
	DAT	sámomu	samomú
	ACC	sámoe	samó
	INS	sámym	samím
	LOC	sámom	samóm
PL.	NOM	sámye	sámi
	GEN	sámyx	samíx
	DAT	sámym	samím
	ACC	sámyx, -ye	samíx, sámi
	INS	sámymi	samími
	LOC	sámyx	samíx

---

[4]For case syncretism see Caha 2009.

Table 2.2: *Samyj* and an adjective in M.SG

	samyj	'red'
NOM	sám-yj	krásn-yj
GEN	sám-ogo	krásn-ogo
DAT	sám-omu	krásn-omu
ACC	sám-yj, sám-ogo	krásn-yj, krásn-ogo
INS	sám-ym	krásn-ym
LOC	sám-om	krásn-om

Table 2.3: *Sam* and 3rd person pronouns in NOM

	sam	3rd person pronoun
M.SG	sám	ón
F.SG	sam-á	on-á
N.SG	sam-ó	on-ó
PL	sám-i	on-í

Table 2.4: *Sam* and the 3rd person pronoun

	sam	3rd.M.SG
NOM	sám	ón
GEN	sam-ogó	egó
DAT	sam-omú	emú
ACC	sám, sam-ogó	egó
INS	sam-ím	ím
LOC	sam-óm	něm

It is important to mention here that the difference between *samyj* and *sam* with respect to their declension pattern (adjectival versus pronominal) is not unique for this pair. Other nominal and pre-nominal expressions in Russian (and Slavic in general) show a similar pattern. This is illustrated in table 2.5 with examples from Unbegaun 1957:125-9. What is unique about *samyj* and *sam*, however, is that they seem to be a 'minimal' pair in the sense that they do not involve additional derivational morphology as observed in pairs like *ves'* 'all' ∼ *vsjakij* 'every'; *tot* 'that' ∼ *takoj* 'such'; *kto* 'who' ∼ *kotoryj* 'which'.

Table 2.5: Adjectival and pronominal declensions of Russian nominal modifiers

	pronominal	adjectival
DEMONSTRATIVE	*ètot* 'this', *tot* 'that' *sej* 'this' (arch.)	*takoj* 'such, so' *takovoj* 'such' (arch.)
QUANTIFICATIONAL	*ves'* 'all', *odin* 'one'	*vsjakij* 'every', *každyj* 'each' *mnogie* 'many'...
INTERROGATIVE	*kto* 'who', *čto* 'what' *koego* 'whose', *čej* 'whose'	*kotoryj* 'which', *skol'ko* 'how many', *kakoj* 'of what sort'...
NEGATIVE	*nikto* 'nobody', *ničto* 'nothing' *ničej* 'nobody's'	*nikakoj* 'no, none'

It is also important to observe that the stress in Russian is free and does not correlate with a type of declension. For example, in the pronominal declension in table 2.5 above, the proximal demonstrative *ètot* 'this' has the stress on the first root vowel (*étot* 'this.NOM', *étogo* 'this.GEN/ACC', *étomu* 'this.DAT'), while the distal demonstrative *tot* 'that' has the stress on the ending, if present (*tót* 'that.NOM', *togó* 'that.GEN/ACC', *tomú* 'that.DAT'). Moreover, the stress alone can be used to distinguish two lexemes with otherwise identical phonological representations. Some such pairs are shown below from Unbegaun 1957:17.

<div align="center">

muká 'flour'   *múka* 'torment'

atlás 'satin'   *átlas* 'atlas'

žilá 'she lived'   *žíla* 'vein'

polká 'regiment.GEN'   *pólka* 'shelf'

</div>

To summarize, in this section, we saw that *samyj* and *sam* share the same root 'self', but differ with respect to their morpho-phonological properties. First of all, *samyj* has

fixed stress on the root, whereas *sam* has the stress on the final vowel of the agreement ending. Secondly, *samyj* has the adjectival declension, whereas *sam* has the pronominal declension. These properties are important for learnability as a child can use them as clues when acquiring the two 'self's. In the next section, I demonstrate that *samyj* and *sam* also differ with respect to their syntactic properties.

2.1.2 Syntactic differences

The discussion in this section is organized as follow: I start with constructions in which only one of the expressions under consideration (*samyj* or *sam*) can be used (non-overlapping uses). After that, I turn to constructions in which, in principle, either *samyj* or *sam* can be used, but they show different restrictions (overlapping uses). Finally, I show cases in which *samyj* and *sam* are equally well-formed and the use of one of them rather than the other results in a slight change in meaning (confusing uses). In all examples in this section, to clearly distinguish *samyj* from *sam*, I add stress in oblique cases and gloss *samyj* as SAMYJ and *sam* as SAM.

Non-overlapping uses

The first construction in which only one of 'self's can be used is superlatives. As illustrated in (1), only *samyj*, but not *sam*, can be used to form a superlative.

(1)　　a.　Daša　igrala　**sámuju**　　　dlinnuju　　　sonatu.
　　　　　　Dasha played SAMYJ.F.SG.ACC long.F.SG.ACC sonata.F.ACC
　　　　　　'Dasha played the longest sonata.'

　　　　b.　*Daša　igrala　**samú**　　　dlinnuju　　　sonatu.
　　　　　　Dasha played SAM.F.SG.ACC long.F.SG.ACC sonata.F.ACC
　　　　　　INTENDED: 'Dasha played the longest sonata.'

Because of this property, *samyj* is often taken to be a superlative morpheme equivalent to *most* in English (e.g. Matushansky 2008). However, in section 3.2.3, I will argue that this treatment of *samyj* is not adequate and we need to distinguish superlatives formed with *samyj* from superlatives formed with *most*.

The second construction that admits only one of the 'self's is the so-called adverbial use.[5] As will be discussed in sections 2.2 and 6.3.1, emphatic pronouns, such as *sam* in

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[5]Another peculiar use of *sam* is as 'subjects' of present participles in adverbial clauses, see (i):

(i)　　Ona　ne　xotela　otvečat',　**sama**　　　ne　znaja　　počemu.
　　　　she　not wanted to.answer SAM.F.SG.NOM not knowing why
　　　　'She did not want to answer, herself not knowing why.'　　　　(Klenin 1980:270)

Russian, can be used adnominally or adverbially. These two uses have different arrays of meanings and some syntactic differences. The two uses are illustrated in (2).

(2)   a.   Stanok   ostanavlivaetsja **sam**.
           lathe.M.NOM stops   SAM.M.SG.NOM
           'The lathe stops by itself.'

   b.   Ja ne xoču pisat' naučnye stat'i i   ne budu. **Sama**
        I   not want to.write learned articles and not will   SAM.F.SG.NOM
        ideja   ètogo mne   protivna.
        idea.F.NOM of.this to.me repugnant
        'I don't want to write learned articles, and I won't. The very idea of it is
        repugnant to me.'   (Klenin 1980:272-3)

In (2-a), *sam* agrees with the subject 'the lathe', but also modifies the action, adding the information that stopping is happening by itself (without assistance; often called an *assistive* interpretation, e.g. Eckardt 2001). In such cases, *sam* is usually moved to the end of the sentence.[6] The adnominal use of *sam* does not give rise to the assistive interpretation and the separation of *sam* and the noun it modifies is usually deviant, as shown in (3):

(3)   (✓Sama) ideja ètogo (??sama) mne   (??sama) protivna   (??sama).
        SAM   idea of.this SAM   to.me   SAM   repugnant   SAM
        'The very idea of it is repugnant to me.'

Returning now to the difference between the two 'self's, *samyj* unlike *sam* cannot be separated from the NP it modifies, see (4), and does not have any adverbial-like uses.

These constructions, however, are very special in that they admit only *sam*, *nikto* 'no one' and *každyj* 'each' and require that the subject of the adverbial clause be co-referential with the matrix subject, see Klenin 1980 esp. fn.4 for more discussion. I will leave these constructions aside. If *sam* in such constructions is the moved modifier of the matrix subject, the impossibility of *samyj* in this context will be subsumed under the prohibition against separating *samyj* from the NP it modifies. If *sam* in such constructions is base-generated in the subject position of the adverbial clause, *samyj* will be banned by its inability to appear in a sentence by itself. The latter restriction can also subsume the former. For examples and discussion of constructions where *sam* appears by itself see Weiss 2006:256-7.

[6]The fact that *sam* is not in the (subject) merge position in (2-a), but is rather moved there, is supported by examples like (i) with a transitive verb and embedded clause. I thank Barbara Citko (p.c.) for asking me this question.

(i)   Mne   xočetsja sdelat' èto **samomú**.
      me.DAT want   to.do   this SAM.M.SG.DAT
      'I feel like doing it myself.'   (Klenin 1980:270)

(4)   a.   Daša   igrala   tu   **sámuju**   sonatu.
            Dasha played that.F.SG.ACC SAMYJ.F.SG.ACC sonata.F.ACC
            'Dasha played that very sonata.'

       b.   (*Sámuju) Daša   (*sámuju) igrala   tu   (✓sámuju) sonatu.
            SAMYJ   Dasha   SAMYJ   played that   SAMYJ   sonata
            'Dasha played that very sonata.'

Given that *samyj* does not have an adverbial equivalent, in the next section, I discuss overlapping uses of *samyj* and *sam* contrasting *samyj* only with the adnominal *sam.*

Overlapping uses

This section focuses on constructions in which both *samyj* and *sam* can be used highlighting the restrictions that each of them imposes on the construction in question. The general observation that will be made is that *samyj* is more restricted with respect to its position and combinatorial possibilities than *sam.*

Samyj *and* sam *with personal pronouns*

The first observation is that when used with pronouns, *sam* but not *samyj* can both follow and precede the pronoun, compare (5-a,a′) with (5-b,b′).

(5)   a.   on sam   a′.   sam   on
            he SAM.M.SG.NOM   SAM.M.SG.NOM he
            'he himself'

       b.   on samyj   b′.   *samyj   on
            he SAMYJ.M.SG.NOM   SAMYJ.M.SG.NOM he
            'he indeed' (lit. he himself)

Secondly, *sam* but not *samyj* can modify the reflexive pronoun *sebja*, see (6):

(6)   a.   sebja   samogó
            self.M.ACC SAM.M.ACC
            'himself$_{reflexive}$ himself$_{emphatic}$

       b.   *sebja   sámogo
            self.M.ACC SAMYJ.M.ACC

Thirdly, *sam* but not *samyj* can be used with pronouns in argument positions, compare (7-a) with (7-b). *Samyj* can modify a pronoun only in fragment answers, as shown in (8). This property of *samyj* will be further illustrated and discussed in section 3.2.2. *Samyj* in fragment answers will be the topic of the investigation in chapter 5.

(7)   a.   On **sam**   ko mne včera   prixodil.
              he SAM.M.SG.NOM to me yesterday came
              'He himself came to me yesterday.'
    b.   *On **samyj**   ko mne včera   prixodil.
              he SAMYJ.M.SG.NOM to me yesterday came
              INTENDED: 'It was he indeed who came to me yesterday.'

(8)   A: Do you remember Peter? He called me yesterday.
    B: Which Peter? Peter who plays the violin?
    A: On **samyj**.
           he SAMYJ.M.SG.NOM
           'That's the one.' (lit. He himself.)

Fourthly, *sam* but not *samyj* can modify 1st and 2nd person pronouns, as illustrated in (9). The infelicity of *samyj* with 1st and 2nd person pronouns will be further illustrated and discussed in section 3.2.2.

(9)   a.   ja sam   a′. ty   sam
          I SAM.M.SG.NOM   you SAM.M.SG.NOM
          'I myself'   'you yourself'
    b.   *ja samyj   b′. *ty   samyj
          I SAMYJ.M.SG.NOM   you SAMYJ.M.SG.NOM

Samyj *and* sam *with other nominal material*

The first observation here is that *sam* but not *samyj* can modify a common noun, as illustrated in (10):

(10)   a.   Prinjal   ego **sam**   ministr.
           welcomed him SAM.M.SG.NOM minister
           'The minister himself welcomed him.'   (Weiss 2006:257)
    b.   *Prinjal   ego **samyj**   ministr.
           welcomed him SAMYJ.M.SG.NOM minister
           INTENDED: 'The very minister welcomed him.'   (based on the above)

For *samyj* to be felicitous, it needs to co-occur with a demonstrative and moreover, follow it, see (11-b). If *sam* co-occurs with a demonstrative, it has to come before the demonstrative, see (11-a).

(11)   a.   Prinjal   ego sam   tot (*sam)   ministr.
           welcomed him SAM.M.SG.NOM that SAM.M.SG.NOM minister
           'That minister himself welcomed him.'

    b.   Prinjal   ego (*samyj)   tot samyj   ministr.
        welcomed him SAMYJ.M.SG.NOM that SAMYJ.M.SG.NOM minister
        'That very minister welcomed him.'

Secondly, only *sam* can co-occur with possessive pronouns, see (12). The positional restriction for *sam* is the same as with demonstratives - it must precede the possessive pronoun, see (12-a,a′). In other words, *sam* must appear outside of DP. *Samyj* is equally ungrammatical before and after the possessive, see (12-b,b′).

(12)   a.   sama   ego žena   a′. *ego sama   žena
         SAM.F.SG.NOM his wife   his SAM.F.SG.NOM wife
         'his wife alone/herself'

      b. *samaja   ego žena   b′. *ego samaja   žena
         SAMYJ.F.SG.NOM his wife   his SAMYJ.F.SG.NOM wife
         INTENDED: 'his very wife'

Thirdly, the restriction with common nouns extends to proper names. *Samyj* cannot modify a proper name unless it follows a demonstrative and the proper name is interpreted as a property. *Sam* does not have this restriction and freely modifies proper names. This is illustrated in (13):

(13)   a.   sam   Mjunxgauzen
         SAM.M.SG.NOM Munchhausen
         'Munchhausen himself'

      b. *(tot) samyj   Mjunxgauzen
         that SAMYJ.M.SG.NOM Munchhausen
         'the very (same) Munchhausen'   (the title of a famous Russian movie)

Finally, *samyj* is deviant under constituent negation, as shown in (14-a). This is a novel observation that will be discussed in detail in section 3.2.1.[7] *Sam* does not have this restriction and occurs freely under constituent negation, see (14-b).[8] These facts will be important for the discussion in chapter 4 and section 6.2.

(14)   a.   *Daša igrala **ne** tu **sámuju** sonatu kotoruju učila   vesnoj.
         Dasha played not that SAMYJ   sonata which   studied spring
         'Dasha didn't play the very sonata that she studied in spring.'

---

[7]*Samyj* with pronouns is also deviant under negation, as we will see in section 3.2.2. However, as *samyj* with pronouns cannot be used in sentences, the difference between constituent and sentential negation cannot be made as clearly as with demonstratives.

[8](14-b) is from the Russian National Corpus online (NRC, http://ruscorpora.ru/en/index.html). Hereafter, I indicate examples taken from NRC by providing their original source in square brackets after the example.

      b.   Po   takomu Dogovoru Zakazčik polučaet **ne samú**
           according.to such   contract client   acquires not SAM.F.SG.ACC
           texniku,   a   rabotu [...]
           equipment.F.SG.ACC but product
           'According to such a contract, the client acquires not the equipment itself
           but the product ...'
           [Gornaja promyšlennost', 2004]

To summarize, in this section, we saw that *samyj* is more restricted than *sam* in
a) its ability to modify personal pronouns (it can modify only 3rd person pronouns in
fragment answers and is deviant with 1st, 2nd person pronouns and reflexives) and b)
its ability to modify an NP (it needs a demonstrative for support, cannot co-occur with
possessives and is deviant under constituent negation).

Confusing uses

Despite the syntactic differences described above, there is a handful of constructions in
which either *samyj* or *sam* can be used. The choice depends on a slight change in
meaning. These are constructions that describe the location or time of an event and
usually involve a preposition. In these constructions, *samyj* can appear without the
obligatory demonstrative and its meaning approaches the superlative meaning. It puts
emphasis on the end point (see more on these uses of *samyj* in section 3.1). *Sam* also can
be used in such constructions, but the contrast it brings about is that of centre versus
periphery (this is characteristic of emphatic pronouns, see sections 2.2.1 and 6.3.1). The
possibility of using either *samyj* or *sam* in such constructions and the nuanced difference
in their meaning is briefly discussed in Weiss 2006:258-9. I will use his examples to
illustrate the point, adding my own sentences to complete the pairs.

(15)   a.   My doexali do **sámoj**   Moskvy.
           we arrived at SAMYJ.F.SG.LOC Moscow
           'We reached the very [outskirts of] Moscow.'   (Weiss 2006:258)
    b.   My doexali do **samój**   Moskvy.
           we arrived at SAM.F.SG.LOC Moscow
           'We reached Moscow itself.' [Moscow = the centre/heart of Russia]

(16)   a.   Pered **sámym**   otpuskom ja zašël k vraču.
           before SAMYJ.M.SG.LOC vacation   I went to doctor
           'Immediately before the vacation, I went to the doctor's.' (Weiss 2006:259)
    b.   Pered **samím**   otpuskom ja zašël k vraču.
           before SAM.M.SG.LOC vacation   I went to doctor
           'I went to the doctor's before the vacation itself.' (better with the contrastive

stress on SAM)

Interestingly, the meaning difference between *samyj* and *sam* in the constructions like above is so subtle that Russian speakers have hard time explaining it. For example, what is the difference in meaning between *na sámom dne* 'on the very bottom (of the lake)' and *na samóm dne* 'on the bottom itself'? In the next section, I will provide a brief overview of the literature that among other things partly answers this question.

2.2   Literature overview

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, the literature on *samyj* (or its counterparts in other languages) is extremely scarce. Apart from the descriptions in grammars and dictionaries, I have found two studies that directly discuss *samyj*. One is the study by Weiss (2006) that discusses different variants of 'self' in Russian and Polish and is situated in the cognitive linguistics framework. The other one is by Paducheva (1989) that contrasts two Russian expressions *tot že* 'the same' and *tot samyj* 'that very' and is framed in the philological prescriptive approach dominant in Russia at that time. In the first part of this section, I discuss these two studies and the insights that they develop which play an important role in the present work.

In the second part, I briefly discuss the literature on *sam* or more generally, on emphatic pronouns. This topic, by contrast, has received a considerable amount of attention from different angles and in different languages. As *sam* is morpho-phonologically and syntactically different from *samyj*, I will not provide a full overview of the literature on *sam* and similar expressions in other languages. I will limit myself to outlining the main topics of interest and citing major contributions in this area.

2.2.1   About *samyj*

Paducheva 1989

I begin with the chronologically earlier work that I found on *samyj*. In her work 'About the semantics of demonstrative pronouns: *tot že* and *tot samyj*' (translation - JG), E. V. Paducheva (1989) contrasts two demonstrative expressions in Russian: *tot že* 'the same (N)' and *tot samyj* 'the very (N)'. (17) shows the use of these expressions:

(17)   a.   Za stolom sidela ta   že ženščina.
              at table   sat   that.F.SG.NOM ŽE woman
              'The same woman sat at the table.'

b. U šapsugov est' kakoj-to Kazbič udalec,   ... da vrjad li èto
    at Shapsugs is   some   Kazbich the.brave   DA hardly LI this
    tot   samyj.
    that.M.SG.NOM SAMYJ.M.SG.NOM
    'There is some Kazbich the Brave with Shapsugs, but it is unlikely that this
    is indeed he.'   (Paducheva 1989:53,57)

The major observation that Paducheva (1989) makes is that *tot že* as in (17-a) is used to establish the identity of the individual in two situations or events that either took place at different times or had different sets of participants. For example, according to Paducheva (1989:53), (17-a) means that at some point in the past there had been a woman sitting at the table and now the same woman was sitting at the table.

In (17-b), on the other hand, the presence of two situations/events is not necessary. The identity is established between two descriptions that identify one and the same individual. The following is the quotation from Paducheva 1989 that describes the meaning of *tot samyj*:

"Сочетание *тот самый* выражает тождество ипостасей объекта, со-
ответствующих разным его дескрипциям. В частности, это может быть
тождество объекта во времени, т.е. принадлежность разных временных
срезов одному и тому же объекту; иногда - тождество частных манифе-
стаций объекта друг с другом или с объектом в целом [...]"

"The combination *tot samyj* ['that.M.SG.NOM self.M.SG.NOM' - JG] ex-
presses the identity of hypostases of an object, corresponding to its different
descriptions. In particular, this may be the identity of the object in time, i.e.
belongingness of different time cuts to one and the same object; sometimes
- the identity of two specific manifestations of the object to each other or to
the object in general [...]"

                                  (Paducheva 1989:57; translated by JG)

The second important observation that Paducheva (1989) makes is that the demonstrative in *tot samyj* does not have an anaphoric function by itself. The anaphoric function is a joint contribution of the demonstrative and *samyj* (Paducheva 1989:60). In section 3.2.1, I will recast this intuition in slightly different terms, arguing that the demonstrative in *tot samyj* is a special type of 'familiar' (e.g. Partee 2006) or 'recognitional' (e.g. Himmelmann 1996) demonstratives.

Although the discussion of *samyj* is very short in Paducheva 1989 (less than two pages), is mostly prescriptive and has as its primary goal comparison with *tot že*, Paducheva's intuitions, I believe, are correct and I will return to them later in this work.[9]

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[9]It is important to note that *že* is a regular focus particle in Russian and by itself it does not show

Weiss 2006

The title of Weiss's (2006) article is 'Counting One's Selves' and this is the main contribution of his work. He starts with the observation that Polish and Russian, like many other languages (Romance and Germanic, except English) make a formal distinction between reflexive anaphors and emphatic pronouns (see König et al. 2001, Stern 2004, Gast 2006, among other recent works). Consider (18), in which the examples in (18-a) illustrate reflexive anaphors and those in (18-b) emphatic pronouns.

(18)   a.   Pierre **se** déteste.
                 Peter hasst **sich**.
                 Petr nenavidit **sebja**.
                 'Peter hates **himself**.'
    b.   Pierre va nous présenter son exposé **lui-même**.
                 Peter wird uns sein Paper **selber** präsentieren.
                 Petr **sam** predstavit nam svoj doklad.
                 'Peter **himself** is going to read us his paper.'   (Weiss 2006:243)

Emphatic pronouns as in (18-b) have a wide range of uses that revolve around the idea of importance or prominence of the referent of the modified NP. This idea is sometimes referred to as the 'centrality effect', i.e. the individual in question is represented as a centre and his contextual entourage as a periphery (see Siemund 2000, Eckardt 2001, Gast 2006 for recent discussion).

According to Weiss (2006), the uses of Russian and Polish *sam* correspond well to this picture. He develops a complex semantic net of different uses of *sam* linked via various metaphorical and metonymic transformations. Among these transformations, there is an extension from *sam* to *samyj* in Russian (Polish does not have a counterpart of Russian *samyj*). Weiss (2006) remarks in passing on the stress and agreement differences between *samyj* and *sam* (p.258) and identifies reference to the end point on some scale as the main meaning of *samyj*. He also points out the connection between scalar uses of *samyj* and other scalar expressions like German *selbst* in the sense of 'even'. His work, however,

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restrictions that *samyj* has. Paducheva (1989) discusses *tot že* as an indivisible construction that may be motivated by the fact that it is the most straightforward translation of English *same*. *Tot že* taken as an idiom (or fixed expression) does indeed show some properties similar to Dem+*samyj*, e.g. deviance under negation and obligatory presence of Dem. However, there seems to be an important difference in interpretation, as also noted by Paducheva (1989). Also the following contrast in English is relevant:

(i)   a.   I drove that very car.   (token reading is more salient)
       b.   I drove that very same car.   (type reading is more salient)

I thank Barbara Citko (p.c.) for asking me to clarify this point.

does not discuss the uses of *samyj* with demonstratives and pronouns, thus leaving the important use of *samyj* as highlighting identity out of the picture.

2.2.2 About *sam* and its kin

The emphatic pronouns like *sam* in Russian have received a significant amount of attention in the literature. They have been studied in many languages: predominantly in German and English (Edmondson and Plank 1978, Reinhart and Reuland 1993, Siemund 2000, Eckardt 2001, Bergeton 2004, Gast 2006, among others), but also in French (Zribi-Hertz 1995), Mandarin Chinese (Hole 2008, Wang 2015) and Hindi (Yelizarenkova 1975). In the Slavic subgroup, *sam* has been examined in Russian (e.g. Klenin 1980, Weiss 2006), Serbo-Croatian (Despić 2013) and Polish (Weiss 2006). König et al. 2001 provides a good cross-linguistic survey of emphatic pronouns.

The main areas of research include a) typological (König et al. 2001), b) historical (van Gelderen 2000b, Eckardt 2001, Bergeton and Pancheva 2012), c) syntactic (Edmondson and Plank 1978, Klenin 1980, Zribi-Hertz 1995), d) semantic/pragmatic (Cohen 1999, Siemund 2000, Eckardt 2001, Stern 2004, Gast 2006, among others), and e) language acquisition (Gülzow 2006).

Among these areas of research, some interest to the present work is presented by the semantic/pragmatic analyses of emphatic pronouns. In section 6.3.1, I will discuss in detail the semantic analysis of German *selbst* proposed by Eckardt (2001) and generally accepted with some modifications (see Gast 2006 for overview of other analyses). This analysis provides some valuable insights about the features that are shared by *samyj* and *sam.* In section 4.3.1, I will also briefly touch on the historical development of English reflexives from the emphatic adjective *self/sylf* as proposed in van Gelderen 2000b.

Chapter 3

The uses of *samyj*

The goal of this chapter is to describe the uses of *samyj*. Section 3.1 presents three major uses of *samyj* based on their meaning: a) emphatic identity, b) superlative constructions, and c) intermediate cases. Section 3.2 discusses in detail syntactic properties of three constructions relevant to the present work: a) *samyj* with demonstratives (Dem+*samyj*), b) *samyj* with pronouns (Pron+*samyj*), and c) *self*-superlatives.

3.1 A range of uses of *samyj*

Samyj has a continuum of uses ranging from an intensifier in 'emphatic identity'[1] similar to *very* in *that very sonata*, on one extreme, to a superlative marker or intensifier, on the other extreme. There are also intermediate cases in which *samyj* modifies a gradable property or relation adding the idea of the maximal or minimal end-point or exactness or is associated with root modality. In section 3.1.1, I present the first case - emphatic identity. Section 3.1.2 discusses superlatives and section 3.1.3 intermediate cases. The data in this section is taken primarily from MAC - Malyj Akademicheskij Slovar' ed. Evgenjeva 1999 (Small Academic Dictionary).

3.1.1 Emphatic identity

Samyj can be used with proximal or distal demonstrative pronouns as in (1), in which case it is said to be modifying a demonstrative and add emphasis or exactness:

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[1]I borrow the idea of this term from König (1991) who uses a similar term 'emphatic assertion of identity' to describe the use of German discourse particles *eben* and *gerade*. Russian *samyj* is not a discourse particle, so I modified the term to avoid confusion. Russian has a discourse particle *imenno* 'indeed, exactly' which is often assimilated to German *eben* and *gerade* and is used to render the meaning of *samyj* in emphatic identity cases (MAC, Ushakov 2009). I will sometimes use *indeed* to translate *samyj* in English.

(1) a. Daša igrala tu **samuju** sonatu, kotoruju razučivala,
         Dasha played that.F.ACC self.F.SG.ACC sonata.F.ACC which studied
         kogda tri goda tomu nazad gotovilas' k èkzamenam.
         when three years that ago was.preparing for exams
         'Dasha was playing the very sonata that she studied three years ago when
         she was preparing for the exams.'
         [A.N. Tolstoj. Sëstry. MAC]
     b. V ètu **samuju** minutu sil'nyj poryv vetra pazdvoil tuču.
         in this.F.LOC self.F.LOC minute.F.LOC strong gust wind split cloud
         'That very minute, a strong gust of wind split the cloud.'
         [Grigorovich. Anton-Goremyka. MAC]

There are two important observations with respect to this use of *samyj*. The first
observation concerns the presence/absence of a relative clause. If the relative clause is
present as in (1-a), it is not necessary for the sonata to be familiar to the audience.
However, if the relative clause is absent as in (2), there is a familiarity presupposition,
i.e. the audience is expected to be able to identify the unique sonata under discussion.

(2) Dasha igrala tu **samuju** sonatu.
     Dasha played that.F.ACC self.F.SG.ACC sonata.F.ACC
     'Dasha was playing that very sonata.'

The second observation pertains to the distal/proximal distinction of demonstratives
modified by *samyj*. As will be discussed in detail in section 3.2.1, the presence of the
demonstrative is obligatory with *samyj*. Both distal and proximal demonstratives with
samyj are unstressed and cannot be accompanied by pointing. Distal demonstratives
were discussed above: in cases with relative clauses, *samyj* emphasizes the identity be-
tween the referent of DP and that specified by the relative clause; with no relative clause,
the emphatic identity is between the referent of DP and a familiar individual mentally
pointed at. Proximal demonstratives modified by *samyj* are discourse anaphoric.[2] They
establish an emphatic identity between the referent of DP and an individual that is
mentioned in the immediately preceding linguistic material (speech or text), see (3):

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[2]Proximal demonstratives with *samyj* have another very common colloquial use. They are used when
the speaker is struggling to recall a proper name, a term or a word, as in (i). In this case, they are used
as a filler like English *errr*.

(i) Učenik Aristotelja... Ètot **samyj**... Kak ego?! Aleksandr Makedonskij!
     pupil of.Aristotle this self how him Alexander the.Great
     'He's Aristotle's pupil. Err... What's his name? Alexander the Great!'

(3)   Mne   vsegda xotelos' sygrat' v dikkensovskom "Sverčok na peči". No ja do
         to.me   always wanted to.play in Dickens'   cricket   on hearth but I   till
         six   por ne predstavljaju sebe, kakie   oni èti   **samye**
         this time not imagine   self what.like they these.NOM self.PL.NOM
         sverčki.
         crickets.NOM
         'I've always wanted to play in Dickens' "The cricket on the Hearth". But I still
         don't know how they, these crickets, look like.'
         [Yu. Semënov. Major "Vixr"'. MAC]

Unlike distal demonstratives, proximal demonstratives with *samyj* cannot be modified
by a (restrictive) relative clause, see (4):

(4) #Daša igrala **ètu**   **samuju**   sonatu,   kotoruju razučivala, kogda
      Dasha played this.F.ACC self.F.SG.ACC sonata.F.ACC which   studied   when
      tri   goda tomu nazad gotovilas'   k   èkzamenam.
      three years that ago   was.preparing for exams
      'Dasha was playing the very sonata that she studied three years ago when she was
      preparing for the exams.'

In this dissertation, I focus on distal demonstratives and assume that the account
of *samyj* with proximal demonstratives follows from the account of distal demonstra-
tives without a relative clause with the proviso that the anaphoric mechanism is a tex-
tual/discourse dependency rather than familiarity.

A sub-case of the emphatic identity use is when *samyj* modifies a pronoun and is
used as an emphatic affirmative answer to a *yes/no*-question, as in (5):

(5)   Gurko uznal   svoego družka - i   vskriknul radostno, veselo: - Timka! -
         Gurko recognized his   friend   and exclaimed merely   gaily   Timka
         On **samyj**,   - smejas', skazal major.
         he self.M.SG.NOM laughing said   major
         'Gurko recognized his friend and exclaimed gaily: "Timka!" - "That's right!" -
         the major said laughing.'
         [Galin, Sosed sprava. MAC]

Semantically this use of *samyj* does not differ significantly from *samyj* with demonstra-
tives. However, syntactically Pronoun+*samyj* has a number of peculiar properties, that
will be discussed in section 3.2.2.

3.1.2 *Self*-superlatives

The most prominent use of *samyj* in Russian is to form analytic superlatives with gradable adjectives, as shown in (6):

(6) Obrazovanie - **samoe**   velikoe   blago   dlja čeloveka.
     education   self.N.SG.NOM great.N.SG.NOM gift.N.NOM for person
     'An education is the greatest gift for a person.'
     [Chernyshevskij, A. S. Pushkin. MAC]

Russian has many different ways of forming superlatives of which the addition of *samyj* (henceforth, *self*-superlatives) is the most productive. In section 3.2.3, I argue that *self*-superlatives are different from *most*-superlatives which are formed with *naibolee* 'most', but *self*-superlatives cannot be assimilated to so-called 'elative' superlatives.

3.1.3 Intermediate cases

In this section I present cases that fall between emphatic identity and *self*-superlatives. These are cases in which *samyj* is used as an intensifier bringing a degree of some property to its end-point (maximum or minimum) or underlining exactness.

Samyj with gradable nouns

With nouns of quantity, *samyj* adds the meaning of the minimal (more frequently) or maximal degree of this quantity, depending on the polarity of the noun, see (7):

(7) a. Ešče **samuju** kaplju podoždite.
         still self   drop   wait
         'Wait still just a little bit.'
     b. Ostalos' dodelat' **samye** pustjaki.
         remains to.finish self   bagatelle
         'It remains to finish a mere bagatelle.'
     c. samyj minimum   d. samyj maksimum
         self minimun   self maximum
         'the very minimum'   'the very maximum'   (Ushakov et al. 1940)

With nouns with gradable quality, *samyj* adds the meaning that this quality is held to the highest degree, see (8):

(8) a. na samom solncepëke   b. na samom vetru
         at self   sun   on self   wind
         'directly exposed to the sun'   'in the strongest wind'

c. v samoj čašče   lesa   d. v samyj pazgar spora
    in self thickness of.woods   in self flame argument
    'in the deep dark woods'   'during the climax of the argument'

<div align="right">(MAC)</div>

Samyj with 'gradable' prepositions

In PPs with noun complements denoting place or time, *samyj* expresses the idea of the end-point of the event/action (either strengthened to 'exactly' or in a weaker sense 'extremely close to').[3]

(9)   a. s   samogo utra   b. do samoj smerti
          from self   morning   till self   death
          'from the early morning'   'till the very death'
      c. u   samoj vody   d. do sámoj Moskvy
          near self   water   till self   Moscow
          'closest to the water'   'till the closest point to Moscow'
      e. nad   samoj golovoj   f. pod   samymi oknami
          above self   head   under self   windows
          'exactly above the head'   'exactly beneath the windows'

<div align="right">(MAC, Ushakov et al. 1940)</div>

Samyj with relational adjectives of time and space

With relational adjectives of time and space, *samyj* points to the end-point on the time-scale or space-dimension provided by the adjective (based on examples from MAC):

(10)   a. v **samuju** pervuju /poslednuju minutu
           in self   first   /last   minute
           'at the very first/last minute'
       b. na **samom** verxnem /nižnem ètaže
           on self   top   /ground floor
           'on the very top/ground floor'
       c. v **samoj** zapadnoj /vostočnoj točke
           in self   west   /east   point
           'at the very west/east point'

---

[3]In this use, *samyj* can also be used pleonastically with the noun already denoting the end-point, e.g. *s samogo načala* 'from the very beginning', *na samom kraju* 'on the very edge' (MAC).

Semi-modal uses of *samyj*

With nouns *vremja* 'time', *mera* 'measure', *raz* 'size/amount', etc., *samyj* expresses the idea 'exactly when/what was needed':

(11) a. Na poxoronax Pelageja Petrovna poplakala v **samuju** meru, otpustiv
at funeral P. P. cried in self measure allowing
slëz i pričitanij rovno stol'ko, skol'ko trebovalos'.
tears and weepings exactly so-much how-much needed
'During the funeral, P. P. cried the right amount, allowing as many tears and weepings as were needed.'
[G. Uspenskij, Nravy Pasterjaevoj ulicy. MAC]

  b. Avgust byl s tëplymi doždikami, kak budto naročno vypadavšimi
August was with warm rains as SUBJ in.purpose falling
dlja seva, - s doždikami v **samuju** poru, v seredine mesjaca.
for sowing with rains in self amount in middle of.month
'August was with warm rains, as if falling in purpose for sowing - with rains just right in amount, in the middle of the month.'
[Bunin, Antonovskie jabloki. MAC]

  c. **Samoe** vremja jabloki snimat'. Čerez nedelju pozdno budet.
self time apples take.off in week late will.be
'It's time to harvest the apples. It will be late in a week.'
[Mihalkov, Osoboe zadanie. MAC]

In sum, *samyj* has a range of uses which presents a continuum from emphasizing the identity to highlighting and specifying the end-point degree of some property. The main generalization that emerges is that *samyj* is an intensifier 'parasitic' on some relation either anaphoric (expressed by a demonstrative or pronoun) or ordering (expressed by some gradable property).

3.2 Constructions relevant to the present work

In this section, I focus on syntactic properties of the three constructions that are relevant to the present work: a) Dem+*samyj*, b) Pron+*samyj*, and c) *self*-superlatives.

3.2.1 Dem+*samyj*: A novel observation

A typical example of Dem+*samyj* is shown in (12), which is a simplified version of (1-a):

(12) Daša igrala tu **samuju** sonatu kotoruju učila vesnoj.
Dasha played that.F.ACC self.F.SG.ACC sonata.F.ACC which studied spring
'Dasha played the very sonata that she studied in spring.'

The two important properties of Dem+*samyj* that are discussed in this section concern the demonstrative itself (it is obligatory and of a particular type) and the interaction of *samyj* with negation.

About the demonstrative in Dem+*samyj*

First of all, as already mentioned, the presence of the demonstrative in examples like (12) is obligatory, see (13):[4]

(13) *Daša igrala **samuju** sonatu kotoruju učila vesnoj.
      Dasha played self.F.SG.ACC sonata.F.ACC which studied spring
      'Dasha played the very sonata that she studied in spring.'

Secondly, the demonstrative in Dem+*samyj* must be of a particular type. It cannot be deictic (e.g. accompanied by a pointing gesture) and is usually unstressed. The use of the demonstrative in Dem+*samyj* resembles the uses of *that/those* in examples like (14) discussed by Partee (2006). In (14), the demonstratives are also unstressed and cannot be accompanied by pointing. Such demonstratives are not anaphoric on some immediately preceding antecedent.

(14) a. Those three books of yours are still in my office.   (Partee 2006:6)
      b. I really didn't like that one argument of his, and I told him so.

Commenting on these uses of English demonstratives, Partee (2006:6) says that "[they] might well be called discourse-anaphoric: they could be paraphrased in ways that would produce an exhaustive/unique description by adding a metalinguistic phrase such as "that I told you about", "that we were talking about earlier"". Partee (2006:7) also

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[4]As reported in MAC, demonstratives were not always obligatory in Russian. As recent as XVIII-XIXc., Russian allowed *samyj* without demonstratives at least with expressions of time, see (i). These examples are ill-formed in contemporary Russian.

(i) a. †To kazalos' ej, čto v **samuju** minutu, kak ona sadilas' v sani, čtob exat'
         that seemed to.her that in self minute as she seated in sled in.order to.go
         venčat'sja, otec eë ostanavlival eë.
         marry father her stopped her
         'Or else, she imagined that the very moment she was getting into the sled to go to her wedding, her father stopped her.'
         [Pushkin, Metel'. MAC]
      b. †V **samyj** čas, Kak ty roždalsja, grom udaril v nebe.
         in self hour as you were.born thunder roared in sky
         'The very moment you were born, the thunder roared across the sky.'
         [A. K. Tolstoj, Smert' Ioanna Groznogo. MAC]

mentions that when misused in advertisements such as "that certain someone" or "make that phone call right now", the presumed intimacy between speaker and addressee can be the source of annoyance and cites Lakoff's (1974) term 'emotional deixis'. The emotional component, however, is not necessary. The term that I will sometimes use to refer to demonstratives in Dem+*samyj* is 'mental deixis'. On one hand, it incorporates the idea of familiarity in the sense that the referent intended by the speaker is assumed to be uniquely identifiable by the addressee. On the other hand, this term excludes the possibility that the identification is based on an anaphoric relation with a previously mentioned referent (in the immediate context) or some visual/perceptual information present in the context (pointing, entrance of an individual, etc., see e.g. Heim 1998, Roberts 2000, Elbourne 2008).

The two properties of the demonstrative in Dem+*samyj* may be connected. For example, Caruso (2012:260-9) argues that 'familiar' demonstratives (or demonstratives in their 'recognitional use') are obligatory in Croatian. Caruso (2012) follows the classification of demonstratives in Himmelmann 1996, according to which demonstratives can have a situational use, as in (15-a), an anaphoric uses, as in (15-b), a discourse deictic use, as in (15-c) or a recognitional use, as in (15-d).

(15)   a.   Molim te, daj mi   (**taj**)   nož!   *Croatian*
           Please you give me.DAT that.ACC knife.ACC
           'Please, give me the/that knife!' (a conversation in the kitchen)
   b.   Blistajući na tamnoputom licu, njene su zelene oči bile prikovane uz
           shining on dark   face, her are green eyes been fixed   to
           Ilijine; on nije uspijevao prozreti   što su mu *(**te**) oči govorile.
           Elijah's; he not.is managing to.decipher what are him these eyes telling
           'Her green eyes, which shone in her dark face, remained fixed on Elijah's; he was unable to decipher what they meant.'
   c.   *(**Onaj**) razgovor   sa svećenikom, dok je još bio dijete, pretvorio
           that   conversation with priest   while is still been child turned
           se   u sjećanje.
           itself into memory
           'The conversation with the priest, when he was still a child, came to be a mere memory.'
   d.   Da, sjećam   se *(**te**) žene.
           yes remember.1ST.SG self that woman.GEN
           'Yes, I remember that woman.'
                   (Caruso 2012: p.259 for a, p.260 for b, p.264 for c, p.266 for d)

According to Caruso (2012), recognitional demonstratives signal that 'the intended referent is identified through the speaker's and addressee's shared specific knowledge, rather

than the context' (p.266) and like anaphoric and discourse deictic demonstratives, they are obligatory.

A novel observation: *samyj* and constituent negation

In this section, I present a rather new[5] and not trivial observation that *samyj* in Dem+*samyj* constructions interacts with negation. More precisely, it is deviant under constituent negation.

Since at least Klima 1964, the terms sentential negation (S-Neg) and constituent negation (C-Neg) have been used to distinguish negation expressed on the verb (or auxilary), which transforms an affirmative sentences into a negative sentence, as in (16-a,a′) from negation expressed on a constituent, which does not affect the polarity of the sentence, as in (16-b,b′).[6] I will adopt this terminology here.

(16) a. John didn't arrive.   a′. Ivan ne priexal.
                                             Ivan not arrived
                                             'Ivan didn't arrive.'

      b. They're arguing about nothing. b′. Oni sporjat ni o   čëm.
                                             they argue   not about what
                                             'They're arguing about nothing.'

The novel observation is that Dem+*samyj* can appear in a negative sentence with S-Neg and in other clause-level downward-entailing (DE) environments, but is deviant when negation is expressed locally on the DP. This is formulated in (17) and illustrated in (18) for S-Neg and C-Neg.

(17) *The Interaction of Emphatic* samyj *with Local Negation*
      Samyj in Dem+*samyj* is deviant in the local negative environment

(18) a. Daša **ne** igrala tu   **samuju**   sonatu.
          Dasha not played that.F.SG.ACC self.F.SG.ACC sonata.F.SG.ACC
          'Dasha didn't play that very sonata.'

---

[5]See below for a mention of the interaction of *samyj* with negation in Paducheva 1989. The observation she makes concerns expressions like *tot že* 'that same' and *tot samyj* 'that very'. Although Paducheva (1989) mentions that these expressions are not favoured under negation, her discussion focuses on *tot že* 'that same' and does not make the distinction between C-Neg and S-Neg, which as I show is essential. I will reproduce Paducheva's claim in full below.

[6]This distinction is not entirely adequate in English, which has negative quantifiers like *nobody* and *nothing* that can express S-Neg. For Russian, however, the distinction between C-Neg and S-Neg is more appropriate, see the discussion in Borschev et al. 2005 and section 6.2.1. Other terminology like 'nexal' versus 'special' negation in Jespersen 1924 has also been proposed for English.

      b.   Daša igrala **ne** tu   (***samuju**)   sonatu.
         Dasha played not that.F.SG.ACC self.F.SG.ACC sonata.F.SG.ACC
         'Dasha didn't play that very sonata.'

The same effect can be observed with paired prepositions like *with* and *without*. It has been well-established in the literature that prepositions like *without* cross-linguistically behave similar to negation creating the DE-environment that can license NPIs like English *any*, see (19) and (20):

(19)   a. *There is any student (in that building).
       b. There is**n't** any student (in that building).   (Chierchia 2006:537)

(20)   a. *John came **with** anything.
       b. John arrived **without** anything.   (Chierchia 2004:53)

Thus, we expect that *samyj* which is incompatible with C-Neg should be deviant with the Russain equivalent of *without*. This expectation is correct. Examples in (21) show that *samyj* in Dem+*samyj* can appear with *s* 'with', see (21-a), but is deviant with *bez* 'without', see (21-b).

(21)   a. Ivan prišël **s**   toj   samoj   devuškoj.
         Ivan came with that.F.SG.INS self.F.SG.INS girl.F.SG.INS
         'Ivan came with that very girl.' .
       b. Ivan prišël **bez**   toj   (??samoj)   devuški.
         Ivan came without that.F.SG.GEN self.F.SG.GEN girl.F.SG.GEN
         'Ivan came without that very girl.'

Note that as *samyj* in Dem+*samyj* is sensitive only to the DE environment created immediately on the DP in which it occurs and seems indifferent to the sentential negation, we do not expect it to be ill-formed in other clausal DE-context that license NPIs, such as questions, antecedents of conditionals and complements of negative attitudes, see examples in (22) based on Chierchia 2004:51-3.

(22)   a. Did any student come?
       b. If any student comes, Mary will be upset.
       c. John doubts that anyone is in that room.

This prediction is borne out, as shown in Russian sentences with Dem+*samyj* in (23):

(23)   a. Igrala li Daša tu   **samuju** sonatu?
         played Q Dasha that self   sonata
         'Did Dasha play that very sonata?'

      b.   Esli Daša igrala tu **samuju** sonatu, večer byl xorošij.
           if   Dasha played that self   sonata soirée was good
           'If Dasha played that very sonata, the soirée was good.'

      c.   Ivan somnevaetsja čto Daša igrala tu **samuju** sonatu.
           Ivan doubts   that Dasha played that self   sonata
           'Ivan doubts that Dasha played that very sonata.'

There is one DE-environment, however, for which we seem to predict the deviance of *samyj*, but the ill-formedness, in fact, is not observed. This environment is comparative constructions, which are known to license *any*, see (24):

(24)   Theo is tall**er than** anybody else.   (Chierchia 2004:53)

To test the prediction in Russian, we need to be careful to use phrasal comparatives, as clausal comparatives would presumably have the same effect as sentential negation, namely none. Russian has a clear distinction between phrasal and clausal comparatives. Clausal comparatives in Russian use *čem*-phrase (where *čem* is a *wh*-word in the instrumental case), see (25-a). Phrasal comparatives, on the other hand, are expressed by NP in the genitive case, see (25-b).

(25)   a.   Daša vyše čem   Ivan.
           Dasha taller what.INS Ivan.NOM
           'Dasha is taller than Ivan is.'   (clausal comparative)
     b.   Daša vyše Ivana.
           Dasha taller Ivan.GEN
           'Dasha is taller than Ivan.'   (phrasal comparative)

If *samyj* is the opposite of *any* in the local DP-domain, we expect it to behave differently in phrasal and clausal comparatives. More specifically, we predict it to be deviant in the phrasal comparative with NP.GEN and acceptable in clausal comparatives with *čem*. The two types of comparatives with *samyj* are illustrated in (26). The judgments for (26) are delicate. The native speakers of Russian I consulted report a difference between (26-a) and (26-b), however, this difference is difficult to pinpoint and it is not the difference in acceptability as in case with C-Neg and *bez* 'without'.

(26)   a.   Èta kniga dorože   čem   ta   samaja   kniga.
           this book expensive-er what.INS that.F.NOM self.F.SG.NOM book.F.NOM
           'This book is more expensive than that very book is.'
     b.   Èta kniga dorože   toj   samoj   knigi.
           this book expensive-er that.F.SG.GEN self.F.SG.GEN book.F.SG.GEN
           'This book is more expensive than that very book.'

There are two possible explanations of this seemingly unexpected felicity of *samyj* in phrasal comparatives. First of all, the genitive in phrasal comparatives is usually associated with the genitive assigned by an overt or covert quantifier in Russian (Q-Gen), see Franks 1995, Franks and Pereltsvaig 2004, Bailyn 2004a, Goncharov 2010, among others. (27) provides some examples of Q-Gen with the overt quantifier *mnogo* 'many' - (27-a), in a pseudo-partitive construction - (27-b),[7] and with a covert Q-head associated with the cumulative prefix *na-* - (27-c), e.g. Franks and Pereltsvaig 2004, Bailyn 2004a and Pereltsvaig 2006.[8]

(27)   a.   Ivan kupil   [$_{QP}$ mnogo cvetov   /*cvety].
            Ivan bought   many flowers.M.GEN /flowers.M.ACC
            'Ivan bought many flowers.'

        b.   Ivan kupil   [$_{QP}$ buket   cvetov   /*cvety].
            Ivan bought   bouquet.M.ACC flowers.M.GEN /flowers.M.ACC
            'Ivan bought a bouquet of flowers.'

        c.   Ivan **na**kupil   [$_{QP}$ Q cvetov   /*cvety].
            Ivan CUM-bought   flowers.M.GEN /flowers.M.ACC
            'Ivan bought (many) flowers.'

However, as examples in (28) show, *samyj* is not sensitive to Q-Gen, in the sense that it does not become ungrammatical.

(28)   a.   Daša kupila [$_{QP}$ mnogo tex   samyx   konfet   (kotorye
            Dasha bought   many those.GEN self.PL.GEN candies.GEN that
            ty   ljubiš')].
            you like
            'Dasha bought a lot of those very candies that you like.'

        b.   Daša kupila [$_{QP}$ korobku   tex   samyx   konfet   (kotorye
            Dasha bought   box.F.ACC those.GEN self.PL.GEN candies.GEN that
            ty   ljubiš')].
            you like
             'Dasha bought a box of those very candies that you like.'

        c.   Daša **na**kupila   [$_{QP}$ Q tex   samyx   konfet   (kotorye
            Dasha CUM-bought   those.GEN self.PL.GEN candies.GEN that
            ty   ljubiš')].
            you like
             'Dasha bought (a lot of) those very candies that you like.'

---

[7]For pseudo-partitives and related container constructions see, for example, Alexiadou et al. 2007 and Becker 2006.

[8]For other phenomena that show Q-Gen see Bailyn 2004a.

Therefore, given the insensitivity of *samyj* to Q-Gen and assuming that the genitive in phrasal comparatives is assigned (or mediated) by a Q-head, our expectation that *samyj* should be infelicitous in phrasal comparatives was wrong.

A similar point can be made using sentential negation (S-Neg), if we adopt the proposal in Pesetsky 1982 and Bailyn 2004a that genitive of negation (Neg-Gen) is assigned by Q (but cf. Franks and Pereltsvaig 2004). As we saw above, *samyj* is insensitive to S-Neg, see (29):

(29)   Daša **ne** igrala tu   **samuju**   sonatu.
        Dasha not played that.F.SG.ACC self.F.SG.ACC sonata.F.SG.ACC
        'Dasha didn't play that very sonata.'

The object DP in (29) is in the accusative case, however, as well-known S-Neg in Russian can also assign Neg-Gen, see Brown and Franks 1995, Brown 1999, Bailyn 2004a, Partee and Borschev 2007, among many others. The difference between the objects in Neg-Gen and the regular accusative case is sometimes analyzed as the difference between non-referential QP/NPs and referential DPs. Pesetsky (1982) and Bailyn (2004a) propose that Neg-Gen is assigned by the silent Q-head and thus is assimilated to Q-Gen. This is illustrated in (30) using examples from Franks and Pereltsvaig 2004 attributed to Gundel (1974):[9]

(30)   a. Ja ne vižu [$_{QP}$ dna].
            I not see   bottom.N.GEN
            'I don't see any bottom.' (It seems bottomless.)

        b. Ja ne vižu [$_{DP}$ dno].
            I not see   bottom.N.ACC
            'I can't see the bottom.' (But it's there.)

We saw above that *samyj* is not sensitive to the presence of Q-head, thus, as expected, a grammaticality judgment does not change when the object in S-Neg bears Neg-Gen. This is shown in (31), where (31-b) is repeated from (29) above for completeness.

(31)   a. Daša **ne** igrala [$_{QP}$ toj   **samoj**   sonaty].
            Dasha not played   that.F.SG.GEN self.F.SG.GEN sonata.F.SG.GEN
            'Dasha didn't play that very sonata.'

        b. Daša **ne** igrala [$_{DP}$ tu   **samuju**   sonatu].
            Dasha not played   that.F.SG.ACC self.F.SG.ACC sonata.F.SG.ACC
            'Dasha didn't play that very sonata.'

_____

[9]Franks and Pereltsvaig (2004) depart from Pesetsky (1982) and Bailyn (2004a) in analyzing Neg-Gen as NP rather than QP.

Note also that incidentally, C-Neg that interacts with *samyj* in Dem+*samyj* does not trigger Neg-Gen in Russian (see also Brown 1999:49-50 for the same point).[10]

(32)   a.   *Daša igrala **ne** [_{QP} toj   **(samoj)**   sonaty].
               Dasha played not   that.F.SG.GEN self.F.SG.GEN sonata.F.SG.GEN
               'Dasha didn't play that very sonata.'

        b.   Daša igrala **ne** [_{DP} tu   **(*samuju)**   sonatu].
               Dasha played not   that.F.SG.ACC self.F.SG.ACC sonata.F.SG.ACC
               'Dasha didn't play that very sonata.'

The second possible explanation of the seemingly unexpected felicity of *samyj* in phrasal comparatives is a strong claim that phrasal comparatives are, in fact, clausal comparative derived by obligatory ellipsis as proposed in Lechner 2001 and Lechner 2004. I will not elaborate on this strong claim here as I believe that the first explanation in terms of language specific mechanisms in Russian is sufficient. However, I would like to recapitulate that if the strong claim that all comparatives in natural language are clausal is tenable, we will expect *any* to still be licensed in the clausal DE-environment, while correctly predicting *samyj* to be felicitous.

To summarize the discussion above, *samyj* in Dem+*samyj* shows sensitivity to the negation (or DE) expressed immediately on the DP in which it occurs. However, it is not deviant in DE-environments with the clausal scope. In a sense, *samyj* in Dem+*samyj* behaves like a positive polarity item (PPI) in the local DP domain.

As the observation presented in this section is rather new, below I provide additional support for it based on the data from NRC and a pilot study.

However, before presenting the supporting evidence, I would like to acknowledge that there is a mention in Paducheva 1989:59 that the expressions *tot že* 'that same' and

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[10]Additional support for the view that comparatives are not 'negative enough' to interact with *samyj* comes from the fact that comparatives in Slavic do not license *n*-words, see (i) for Ukrainian from Penka 2010:73 and (ii) for Russian. (ii) is based on (i) and shows a clausal comparative - (ii-a) and a phrasal comparative - (ii-b), neither of which licenses the *n*-word *nikto* 'nobody'.

(i)   *Petro rozumnišyj, niž nixto   inšyj.   *Ukrainian*
        Peter smarter   than n-person other
        INTENDED: 'Peter is smarter than anybody else.'

(ii)   a.   *Petr umnee čem nikto   (drugoj).   *Russian*
               Peter smarter than n-person.NOM other.NOM
               INTENDED: 'Peter is smarter than anybody else is.'
        b.   *Petr umnee nikogo   (drugogo).
               Peter smarter n-person.GEN other.GEN
               INTENDED: 'Peter is smarter than anybody else.'

tot samyj 'that very' are not favoured under negation unless it is a so-called expletive negation (see Brown and Franks 1995, Brown 1999), which she supports with examples with *tot že*. To give full credit to Paducheva's observation, I reproduce her claim in full below:

> "Возможность употребления сочетаний *тот же* и *тот самый* существенно связана с контекстом утвердительности - обе частицы не склонны попадать в сферу действия отрицания, ср. *Он был уже не *тем же* юношей с горящими глазами, каким я его знал 12 лет назад; Я хочу *такую же*, но Я *такую* не хочу. В (9) допустимость *тот же* обусловлена тем, что сочетание *неужели ... не* имеет некоторый неотрицательный смысл:

(9)   И неужели ты не с той же ясной улыбкой вспоминаешь о нашей
       встрече?"

> "The possibility of using the expressions *tot že* 'that same' and *tot samyj* 'that very' is substantially connected with the affirmative sontext - both expressions are not favoured under negation, cf. **On byl uže ne **tem** **že** *junošej s gorjaščimi glazami, kakim ja ego znal 12 let nazad* 'He no longer was that same young man with bright eyes whom I knew 12 years ago'; *Ja xoču **takuju** **že** 'I want such same [= the same]', but *Ja **takuju** ne xoču* 'I such not want'. In (9), the acceptability of *tot že* 'that same' is warranted by the fact thatthe expression *neuželi ... ne* has some non-negative meaning:

(9)   I   neuželi   ty   ne   s   toj   že jasnoj ulybkoj vspominaeš'
       and NEUŽELI you not with that ŽE clear   smile   recall
       o   našej vstreče?
       about our   meeting
       'Don't you also recall our meeting with the same happy smile?"'

<div align="right">(Paducheva 1989:59; translation - JG)</div>

Although the observation in Paducheva 1989 is generally correct, I would like to highlight three important points, two of which distinguish this observation from the claim I make in the present work. First of all, the discussion in Paducheva 1989 focusses mainly on the expression *tot že* 'that same' and no support is given to the claim that *tot samyj* 'that very' is also deviant under negation. Secondly, Paducheva (1989) does not distinguish between C-Neg and S-Neg and given that she provides examples of both levels of negation, assumes that *tot že* 'that same' and *tot samyj* 'that very' are infelicitous under both types of negation. Crucially, as I will show below, *samyj* under S-Neg does not show the same degree of unacceptability as under C-Neg. The last point concerns the improvement under expletive negation. I will return to this point shortly.

Evidence from NRC

The first part of the evidence that *samyj* is deviant under C-Neg and with prepositions like *bez* 'without' comes from the search of NRC online that shows that Dem+*samyj* is indeed very rare with C-Neg and *bez* 'without' when compared to Dem+NP without *samyj*. Only 5 occurrences of Dem+*samyj* with C-Neg are found, three of these five occurrences are examples of the expletive negation, which as we saw above in the quotation from Paducheva 1989 is compatible with *samyj*. Dem+*samyj* appears only twice with *bez* 'without', whereas 471 tokens are found where *samyj* occurs with *s* 'with'. The results are summarized in table 3.1. The last column shows the total frequency of sequences Dem+(*samyj*)+NP in the sub-corpus to indicate that these constructions are not rare. The data for S-Neg is difficult to obtain as there is a lot of word-order variability when we go beyond the fixed (for Dem+*samyj*) DP-internal order.

Table 3.1: Deviance of *samyj* under local negation: evidence from NRC

	C-Neg**	*s* 'with'	*bez* 'without'	frequency
Dem *samyj* NP	5*	471	2	7,363
Dem NP	4,557	13,018	289	201,159

*3 out of 5 examples show expletive negation.
**S-Neg is difficult to search for because of the free word order in Russian

Although the data presented in table 3.1 is very rough (it is based on token-count, not type-count and does not take frequency into consideration), the main purpose of this corpus search was to show that *samyj* with C-Neg and *bez* 'without' is rare, which I think the table clearly demonstrates.

Evidence from a pilot study

The second piece of evidence comes from a pilot study that consisted of a short questionnaire that was designed to elicit grammaticality judgements. 25 native speakers of Russian (non-linguists) completed the questionnaire. The questionnaire contained two contexts followed by a number of sentences to be judged according to the following scale: 'good' (2), 'odd' (1), 'bad' (0). The results of the pilot study are shown below. (33) and (34) present the two contexts used in the questionnaire and the tables below each context shows the answers of the participants. In the tables, the first column labels the construction, the second column shows average judgements, the third column shows the distribution of judgements (i.e. how many of the participants judged a particular sentence

as 'good', 'odd' or 'bad') and the last column provides the actual sentences used in the questionnaire.

(33)   Context: Ivan lives far from Kiev and is dreaming to acquire a particular rare book that can be found only in Kiev. He went to Kiev, came back and we are now discussing the results of his trip.

construction	overall	good	odd	bad		example
Positive	[2]	25			A.	On kupil tu **sAmuju** knigu. he bought that self book 'He bought that very book.'
S-Neg	[1.7]	19	5	1	B.	On **ne** kupil tu **sAmuju** knigu. he not bought that self book 'He didn't buy that very book.'
C-Neg	[0.5]		13	12	C.	On kupil **ne** tu **sAmuju** knigu. he bought not that self book 'He bought not that very book.'
Focus	[0.9]	7	9	9	D.	On kupil **ne tU samuju** knigu. he bought not THAT self book 'He bought not THAT very book.'

Number of participants: 25; 'Good' = 2, 'odd' = 1, 'bad' = 0.

(34)   Context: Ivan has a new girlfriend, who has a very strange personality. No one among us enjoys her company. At a party, someone who has already seen that Ivan came reveals to the others:

construction	overall	good	odd	bad		example
s 'with'	[2]	25			E.	On prišël s toj **sAmoj** devuškoj. he came with that self girl 'He came with that very girl.'
bez 'without'	[1]	7	11	7	F.	On prišël **bez** toj **sAmoj** devuški. he came without that self girl 'He came without that very girl.'
Focus	[1.1]	9	10	6	G.	On prišël **bez** tOj **samoj** devuški. he came without THAT self girl 'He came without THAT very girl.'

Number of participants: 25; 'Good' = 2, 'odd' = 1, 'bad' = 0.

Overall, the results of the pilot study support the claim that *samyj* is infelicitous under C-Neg and deviant with *bez* 'without'. The slightly unexpected results are (a) less than perfect acceptability of *samyj* with S-Neg ([1.7] instead of [2]) and (b) relatively high acceptability of *samyj* with *bez* 'without' ([1]). With respect to (a), in section 6.2, following in part Paducheva (2005), I will tentatively propose that *samyj* with S-Neg causes processing difficulties, which may be a source for less than perfect acceptability of this construction. With respect to (b), it is not clear to me what was the source of higher than expected acceptability of *samyj* with *bez* 'without'. One possible explanation is that the nature of the questionnaire did not allow to fully control the prosody and as I suggest in section 6.2, prosody is an important factor. I propose that Information Structure (IS) plays a crucial role in constructions with *samyj*. More research is needed to obtain a clear picture.[11]

Although the pilot study used a written text, which was open to different prosodic interpretations, an attempt has been made to determine the role of IS. This is shown in the last rows of each of the tables above with the construction labelled 'Focus'. The capitalization in the examples shows stress and participants were explicitly asked to read the sentences with the stress indicated by capitalization. As already discussed, *samyj* is an emphatic element which carries the main phrasal stress of DP. However, the stress on *samyj* can be overridden by a contrastive stress on another part of DP. In the 'Focus' constructions, contrastive stress was put on the demonstrative (indicated by capitalization of the vowel). The hypothesis was that contrastive stress on another part of DP will change the (un)acceptability of *samyj*. More precisely, the expectation was that it would make the structure less deviant (see also Féry 2013 for arguments that contrastive stress overrides IS focus). The results of the pilot study, indeed, support this expectation. I will postpone the discussion of this hypothesis till section 6.2.

To summarize, the results of the pilot study and the corpus search support the claim that *samyj* is deviant in the local negative context such as C-Neg and the preposition *bez* 'without'. This is one of the important properties of Dem+*samyj* discussed in this section. The other property is that in Dem+*samyj* the presence of the demonstrative is obligatory and that this demonstrative must be of a specific type ('familiar'/'recognitional' demonstratives).

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[11]Another possible explanation is that the difference between the acceptability of *samyj* under C-Neg and *bez* is due to the difference in degree of negativity between these two expressions. As argued in van der Wouden 1997, negation has a stronger degree of negativity than prepositions like *without* (see also Zwarts 1998 and an overview in Penka 2010:24-5).

3.2.2 Pron+*samyj*: Its unique properties

This section examines an emphatic identity construction in which *samyj* modifies personal pronouns. The observations presented in this section are based on data that come from two sources: i) grammaticality judgements of native Russian speakers (including my own) and ii) NRC.[12] Grammaticality judgements were collected during a number of oral interviews and by means of a short questionnaire. The questionnaire was completed by seven native speakers of Russian, who were asked to judge contextually set sentences according to the following scale: 4 - fully acceptable; 3 - mildly deviant, 2 - questionable, 1 - marginal, 0 - absolutely unacceptable. In cases where data is delicate or there is speakers' variation, I provide the mean judgement from the questionnaire within square brackets next to the example.

As mentioned in section 3.1.1, the sequence Pron+*samyj* can be used as an emphatic affirmative answer to a *yes/no*-question when the identity of a person (or thing) is questioned.[13] The dialogues in (35) are some examples from NRC that illustrate this point.

(35) a. A: Už   ne Černyj li?
              PART not Chernyj Q-PART
              'Isn't this Chernyj?'
          B: On **samyj**.
              he self.M.SG.NOM
              'That's right. (lit. He himself.)'
              [Mariam Petrosjan. Dom, v kotorom... (2009)]
      b. A: Èto 315-26-80?
              this 315-26-80
              'Is this 315-26-80?'
          B: Da-da, on   **samyj**.
              yes-yes 3.SG.M self.M.SG.NOM
              'Yes, that's right.' (lit. It itself.)
              [Arkadij Xajt. Monologi, miniatjury, vospominanija (1991-2000)]

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[12]With respect to the data from NRC, two points need to be mentioned. First of all, these data should not be viewed as results of a full-fledged corpus study. The search in the Corpus was conducted by using very basic and limited methodology. Its main goal was to provide support for (or find counter-examples to) the native-speakers' intuitions reported in this section. Second, the generalizations presented here are based on the data from 'modern Russian' - a sub-corpus for the period from 1950 to the present day. There seems to be a historical change in the use of Pron+*samyj* before 1950 which I will not discuss in the present work.

[13]It is important to mention here that *yes/no*-questions in this case are not a simple information-seeking questions, see for example Brown and Franks 1995 and Brown 1999 for the classification of questions in Russian. These questions are rather biased questions in the sense of Gunlogson 2001 and Krifka 2012. Pron+*samyj* is also found after exclamative sentences, exclamative questions and sentences with contrastive polarity.

*Samyj with 1st and 2nd person pronouns

The first notable property of this construction is that *samyj* combines more freely with 3rd person pronouns, than 1st and 2nd person pronouns. As shown in table 3.2, *samyj* with 1st and 2nd person pronouns is very rare.

Table 3.2: Nominative pronouns + *samyj* in NRC (1950 - present)

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

However, this is not due to pragmatic impossibility. As shown in (36), a context in which a participant in the conversation might need to re-state his or her own identity can be constructed and trigger a response where *samyj* is used with the 1st person pronoun. This response, however, has a humorous flavour in the present day Russian and in such contexts, it is more natural to use a 3rd person pronoun with a *de se* interpretation, see (37). (37-b) is 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.[14]

(36)   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.M.SG.NOM
           'That's right.' (lit. I myself.)
           [A.L. Čiževskij. Vsja žizn' (1959-1961)]

(37)   a. A: Vy, značit, gospodin Putilin?
               you then   mister   Putilin
               'Then you are Mr. Putilin, aren't you?'
           B: On **samyj**.
               he self.M.SG.NOM
               'I am, indeed.' (lit. He himself.)
               [Leonid Juzefovič. Kostjum Arlekina (2001)]

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[14]Two other common contexts that might require an explicit identification of the speaker or addressee are a telephone-context when the voice of a person is not recognized or a situation where someone is talking to a person on the other side of the door. For the *de se* phenomena in linguistics and philosophy see for example Feit and Capone 2013 and Schlenker 2011 for the most recent overviews.

     b. A: Tak èto 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.M.SG.NOM
           'That was me, me, indeed.' (lit. I, he himself.)
           [Nina Gorlanova. Rjaženye (1987-1999)]

This restriction on *samyj* will be discussed in section 6.1; till then, I will use examples with 3rd person pronouns. (38) provides examples where *samyj* is used with a feminine, neuter and plural 3rd person pronoun. Note that *samyj* agrees with the pronoun in gender, number and case.

(38)   a. A: Rodionyč, plemjaška tvoja, čto   li?
             Rodionych niece   your what Q-PART
             'Rodionych, she is your niece, isn't she?'
         B: Ona **samaja**!
             she self.F.SG.NOM
             'She is, indeed.' (lit. She herself.)
             [Tatjana Tronina. Nikogda ne govori "navsegda" (2004)]
    b. A: Ty imeeš' v vidu delo toj ženščiny, kotoraja prygnula s
             you have in view case that woman who   jumped from
             mosta?
             bridge
             'Do you mean the case of that woman who jumped from the bridge?'
         B: Ono **samoe**!
             it   self.N.SG.NOM
             'That's right.' (lit. It itself.)
             [Maksim Milovanov. Estestvennyj otbor (2000)]
    c. A: Èto ne te   li   strannye kolybel'nye, kotorye ty poëš'
             this not those Q-PART strange lullabies   which you sing
             syniške na noč'?
             son   at night
             'Are these the strange lullabies that you sing to your son at night?'
         B: Oni **samye**.
             they self.PL.NOM
             'That's right.' (lit. They themselves.)
             [Tatjana Ermolaeva. Nebesnyj domostroj (2003)]

✓*Samyj* under reporting verbs; *samyj under desires

The second important property of Pron+*samyj* is that it can be embedded under reporting verbs and epistemic attitudes, see (39), but not under desire-attitudes, see (40):[15]

(39) a. Kto èto? Neuželi   professor Semënov? - Ja ne znaju, no sudja   po
          who this NEG-Q-PART professor Semenov   I not know but judging on
          tomu čto vokrug nego vse   sobralis', dumaju (čto) on **samyj**.
          that that around him everyone gathered I.think that he self
          '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 imeet značenija. - Značit, on **samyj**.
          not has   meaning   means he self
          'This is not relevant. - It means that this is he, indeed.'
          [Sergej Pomanov. Parlament (2000)]

(40)   Ne znaju kto budet vesti seminary, no govorjat čto èto možet byt'
        not I.know who will   lead seminars but they.say that this may   be
        professor Semënov. - #Xotelos' by   čtoby   on **samyj**.
        professor Semenov   desirable COND that.COND he self
        '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!'

*Pron+*samyj* with negation

The third property is that Pron+*samyj* can be used only as an affirmative answer. If the identify of a person (or thing) is not verified and the negative particle *ne* is used, *samyj* cannot be added, see (41). This is similar to the deviance of *samyj* in Dem+*samyj* in local negative environments discussed above.

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[15]Note that the complementizer *čto* is optional. However, its presence/absence does not change the acceptability of Pron+*samyj*. Moreover, in the questionnaire I tested sentences like (i), where *čtoby* can be omitted as well. The omission of *čtoby* does not improve the deviance of Pron+*samyj* under desire attitudes.

(i) #Xorošo by   (čtoby)   on **samyj**.
      good   COND what.COND he self
      'It would be great if it is him indeed.'

Without *samyj*, (40) is also ill-formed. This, however, does not show that desire-attitudes do not accept fragment answers. As shown in chapter *čtoby*, *wh*-fragment answers are possible under desire-predicates. I will argue following Authier (2013) that this restriction is a property of polarity particles or their equivalents. This is important because there are phenomena that are sensitive to the presence/absence of the complementizer, see for example Wurmbrand 2013. I thank Barbara Citko (p.c.) for bringing this to my attention.

(41)   [Context: two persons are looking through some photos of children]

      A: Èto Petr?
           this Peter
           'Is this Peter?'

      B: Net, ne on (*__samyj__).   Èto ego brat.
           no, not he self.M.SG.NOM this his brother
           'No, that is not he. This is his brother.'

NRC (sub-corpus 1950 - present) does not contain any example where Pron+*samyj* is used as a negative reply, although there are numerous examples where in a relevant context, a pronoun is used without *samyj*, see (42):

(42)   a. Otec Benedikt? Net, ne on.
           father Benedict no   not he
           'Is this Father Benedict? No, this is not he.'
           [Robert Shtil'mark. Naslednik iz Kal'kuty (1950-1951)]

      b. Odnaždy on izdali   uvidel kletčatuju furažku, dognal togo čeloveka -
           once   he from.far saw   checkered cap   caught that man
           net, ne on.
           no, not he
           'One day he saw a checkered cap from a distance, caught that man - no, that was not he.'
           [Gavriil Troepol'skij. Belyj Bim černoe uxo (1971)]

*Pron+*samyj* in argument position

The fourth important property of Pron+*samyj* is that it cannot be used in a regular argument position (unless it is used as a substitution for a proper name). The best way to illustrate this property is by contrasting *samyj* with the emphatic pronoun *sam*. Recall from chapter 2 that these two paradigms can be distinguished by stress (*sámyj* has the stress on the root vowel, whereas emphatic pronouns have the stress on the ending, e.g. *samogó*) and their agreement pattern (*samyj* has so-called adjectival agreement, whereas *sam* has pronominal agreement). With this difference in mind, compare (43) where *sam* is used with (44) where *samyj* is used. As in chapter 2, to clearly distinguish *samyj* from *sam*, I add the stress marking in oblique cases and gloss *samyj* as SAMYJ and *sam* as SAM. (43) and (44) show a pronoun with an associated *sam* or *samyj* in the subject, object of a transitive verb, and object of preposition positions.

(43)   a. On **sam**   sebja   ne slušaet.   Klenin 1980: 270
           he SAM.M.SG.NOM himself.ACC not listen
           'He himself doesn't even listen to himself.'

b. On **samogó** sebja ne slušaet.
   he SAM.M.SG.ACC self.ACC not listen
   'He doesn't even listen to himself.'

c. Govorili o ploxom kačestve ego raboty, a potom o nem
   talked about bad quality his work and then about him.LOC
   samóm.
   SAM.M.SG.LOC
   'They spoke about the poor quality of his work, and then about him.'

(44) [Context: two persons are remembering Peter with whom they went to high school.]

a. *Ty znaeš', on **sámyj** ko mne včera prixodil.
   you know he SAMYJ.M.SG.NOM to me yesterday came
   'You know, he came to me yesterday.'

b. *Ty znaeš', my s Mašej včera v parke videli ego
   you know we with Masha yesterday in park saw him
   sámogo.
   SAMYJ.M.SG.ACC
   'You know, Masha and I saw him in the park yesterday.'

c. *Ty znaeš', my s Mašej včera govorili o nem
   you know we with Masha yesterday talked about him.LOC
   sámom.
   SAMYJ.M.SG.LOC
   'You know, Masha and I talked about him yesterday.'

This restriction will be qualified in section 5.3.3, in which I discuss some speakers' variation and constructions where Pron+*samyj* seems to appear in an argument-like position with the emphasized copular as in (45-a) and in *èto*-clauses, as in (45-b):

(45) a. A: Sprosil menja: mol, a ne takoj-to budeš'?
      asked.2SG.PAST me PART and not such-and-such will.be
      'He asked me if I was such-and-such?'
      B: On **samyj** *(i) jest'.
      he self.M.SG.NOM I is
      'That's right, this is I.' (lit. He himself is.)
      [Mixail Tarkovskij. Žizn' i kniga // "Oktjabr'", 2002]

   b. Čelovek, priexavšij na "Volge", tak rešitel'no rasspaxnul ètu stroguju
      man arrived in V. so confidently opened that exalted
      dver', čto srazu že možno bylo dogadat'sja: èto on **samyj** i
      door that immediately PART can be guessed: ETO he self I
      jest' - akademik Krasikov.
      is academic K.
      'The man, who arrived in Volga opened this exalted door so confidently that

> it could be immediately guessed that he is the academic Krasikov.'
> [Benedikt Sarnov. Yura Krasikov tvorit čudesa // "Pioner", 1969]

To summarize, in this section I presented 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. These properties constitute the empirical foundation on which I will build my analysis of this construction in chapter 5.

3.2.3 *Self*-superlatives versus *most*-superlatives

Self-superlatives express the idea of superlativity using an intensifying adjective *samyj* instead of a specialized degree word like *most* in English. This section describes the properties of *self*-superlatives contrasting them with *most*-superlatives. The second part of the section argues that *self*-superlatives are not equivalent to the so-called 'elative' superlatives (e.g. *a most wonderful dinner* in English), but are true superlatives in Russian.

The properties of *self*-superlatives

The two strategies[16] to express superlatives in Russian are illustrated in (46). *Most*-superlatives, as in (46-a), are formed with the degree morpheme *naibolee* 'most', which combines the comparative morpheme *bolee* 'more' with the prefix *na-i-* 'on-it'.[17] In *self*-superlatives, instead of *naibolee*, *samyj* 'self' is used, see (46-b). Note that *samyj* agrees with the noun in gender, number and case.

(46) a. most-*superlatives*

nai - bolee interesn - aja   kniga
NAI - more interesting - F.SG.NOM book-F.NOM
'the most interesting book'

---

[16]Russian also has synthetic superlatives, which are formed with the suffix *-ejš/-ajš*:

(i)   interesn - ejš - aja   kniga
        interesting - EJSH - F.SG.NOM book-F.SG.NOM
        'the most interesting book'

Brandner (1999) argues that historically, *-ejš* is derived from the comparative morpheme **-ejs* and is no longer productive in modern Russian (it has phonological restrictions). Moreover, as we will see in the next section *-ejš*-superlatives are used as elative superlatives in Russian (see also Unbegaun 1957:109 and Shvedova 1980, v. I:547).

[17]The morpheme *-i-* is homophonous with the additive marker 'and' in Russian. However, it is argued that etymologically *-i-* is the 3rd person singular pronoun in Slavic (Bobaljik 2012:52).

b. self-*superlatives*

sam - aja   interesn - aja   kniga
self - F.SG.NOM interesting - F.SG.NOM book-F.NOM
'the most interesting book'

There are several properties of *self*-superlatives that differentiate them from *most*-superlatives. First of all, as already mentioned, *self*-superlatives use an intensifier instead of a degree word.

Secondly, *self*-superlatives can co-occur with synthetic superlatives (expressed by a comparative morpheme (e.g. Unbegaun 1957, Bobaljik 2012), whereas *most*-superlatives and synthetic superlatives are in complementary distribution:

(47)   a.   samyj   lučšyj čelovek
          self$_{\text{EMPH}}$ best   person
          'the best person'

       b.   *nai - bolee lučšyj čelovek
          NAI - more best   person
          INTENDED: 'the best person'

It is possible, however, to combine just the prefix *nai-* with a synthetic superlative:

(48)   nai - lučšyj čelovek
      NAI - best   person
      'the best person'

The third property of *self*-superlatives, also already mentioned, is that *samyj* has an obligatory adjectival inflection, see (49), unlike *naibolee*, which is invariable similar to other degree words in Russian, such as *očen'* 'very', *dostatočno* 'enough' and *sliškom* 'too'. Table 3.3 shows the gender and number agreement in *self*-superlatives and table 3.4 shows the case agreement.

(49)   sam   - *(aja)   interesn - aja   kniga
      self$_{\text{EMPH}}$ - F.SG.NOM interesting - F.SG.NOM book-F.NOM
      'the most interesting book'

The three properties above suggest that *samyj* in *self*-superlatives is not a quantifier that ranges over degrees of the gradable predicate. This hypothesis is supported by the fourth property of *self*-superlatives: they are ungrammatical with short-form (SF) adjectives, which occur only in the predicative position in Russian. By contrast, *most*-superlatives combine freely with SF-adjectives, as shown in (50) (see also Matushansky 2008).

Table 3.3: Gender and number agreement in *self*-superlatives

	'self'	'most'
F.S.NOM	sam-**aja** naibolee	interesn-**aja** kniga 'the most interesting book'
M.S.NOM	sam-**yj** naibolee	interesn-**yj** fil'm 'the most interesting movie'
N.S.NOM	sam-**oe** naibolee	interesn-**oe** sobytie 'the most interesting event'
PL.NOM	sam-**ye** naibolee	interesn-**ye** knigi 'the most interesting books'

Table 3.4: Case agreement in *self*-superlatives

	'self'	'most'
NOM	sam-**yj** naibolee	interesn-**yj** fil'm 'the most interesting movie'
GEN	sam-**ogo** naibolee	interesn-**ogo** fil'ma 'the most interesting movie'
DAT	sam-**omu** naibolee	interesn-**omu** fil'mu 'the most interesting movie'
ACC	sam-**yj** naibolee	interesn-**yj** fil'm 'the most interesting movie'
INS	sam-**ym** naibolee	interesn-**ym** fil'mom 'the most interesting movie'
LOC	sam-**om** naibolee	interesn-**om** fil'me 'the most interesting movie'

(50) a. *Ètot vopros   sam(yj) važen.
          this question self   important-SF
          'This question is the most important.'

      b. Ètot vopros   naibolee važen.
          this question NAI-more important-SF
          'This question is the most important.'

It has been widely accepted now that long-form (LF) adjectives in Russian are derived
from SF-adjectives and are necessarily attributive (that is to say, even in the predicative
position they modify a null noun), see Siegel 1976, Matushansky 2008, Babby 2010,
among many others.[18] Both *self*-superlatives and *most*-superlatives are well-formed with
LF-adectives, as we saw in (46) and as illustrated in the modified example in (51), in
which the LF-adjective is in the predicative position.

(51) a. Èta kniga   sam-aja   interesn-aja.
          this book.F.NOM self.F.SG.NOM interesting.F.SG.NOM (= LF)
          'This book is the most interesting.'

      b. Èta kniga   nai-bolee interesn-aja.
          this book.F.NOM NAI-more interesting.F.SG.NOM (= LF)
          'This book is the most interesting.'

The contrast in (50) is expected if *samyj* in *self*-superlatives must be part of a noun
phrase, while *naibolee* in *most*-superlatives is an adjectival modifier, insensitive to the
presence/absence of a noun head.

   The last property that distinguishes *self*-superlatives from *most*-superlatives is that
self-superlatives are unidirectional, in the sense that they lack a *least*-correspondent.
The pair in (52) shows that *most*-superlatives can express both the relations 'greater
than' and 'less than' - the possibility absent in *self*-superlatives.

(52) a. nai - bolee interesn   - aja   kniga
          NAI - more interesting - F.SG.NOM book.F.NOM
          'the most interesting book'

---

[18]Short-form adjectives in attributive position have survived only in a handful of fixed expressions like
in (i) from Unbegaun 1957:98.

(i)   a. sredi bela   dnja
          during whiteSF day
          'in broad daylight'
      b. na bosu nogu
          on bear leg
          'without stockings'

      b.   nai - menee interesn   - aja   kniga
            NAI - less   interesting - F.SG.NOM book.F.NOM
            'the least interesting book'

To recapitulate the discussion above, we have seen that *self*-superlatives differ from *most*-superlatives in that they do not seem to quantify over degrees. The properties that distinguish *self*-superlatives from *most*-superlatives are summarized in table 3.5.[19]

Table 3.5: Properties of *self*-superlatives vs. *most*-superlatives

property	*self*-superlative	*most*-superlative
is derived from comparative	no	yes
can co-occur with synthetic forms	yes	no
agrees with the noun	yes	no
can modify short-form adjectives	no	yes
is unidirectional (no *least*)	yes	no

Note on elative superlatives

The main goal of this section is to show that *self*-superlatives are not elative superlatives. Elative expressions characterize a gradable property of a noun, adjective, verb or preposition as holding to a very high degree and are used for their emotive force (Hoeksema 2013). The main interpretative difference between elative superlatives and ordinary superlatives is that the former do not involve comparison within a comparison class, but rather have a meaning similar to the intensifier *very*, compare (53-a) with (53-b):

(53)   a.   Kim is a most enthusiastic supporter.   Huddleston and Pullum 2002:1165
        b.   Kim is the most enthusiastic supporter I've come across.

The properties that distinguish elative superlatives from ordinary superlatives in English include the following: a) elative superlatives are marked and behave like indefinites, see (54-a), b) elative superlatives do not allow complements that overtly express the comparison class, see (54-b); c) elative superlatives are restricted to analytic superlative forms, see (54-c):

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[19]It is interesting to note that synthetic superlatives (and comparatives) also lack a *least*-correspondent. . See Bobaljik 2012 for possible explanation.

(54)   a.   Yours was a/*the most kind answer.   Lonsdale 1995: 7

        b.   Yours was a most kind answer (*that I have ever heard).

        c.   Your was a most kind/*kindest answer.

A similar situation is found in other languages. For example, as discussed in Coppock and Engdahl 2014, elative superlatives in Swedish are expressed by 'quasi-definites', i.e. definites that lack a definite suffix[20] and behave like indefinites with respect to various definiteness tests (see Coppock and Engdahl 2014 section 2.3 for details). The difference between elative and ordinary superlatives in Swedish is illustrated in (55) from Coppock and Engdahl 2014:6.

(55)   a.   Stjärnan kunde inte iakttas ens med **det** starkaste teleskop-∅.   (elative)
            'The star couldn't be observed even with the strongest telescope.'
            (I.e. a telescope of maximum strength)

        b.   Stjärnan kunde inte iakttas ens med **det** starkaste teleskop-**et**.   (ordinary)
            'The star couldn't be observed even with the strongest telescope-DEF
            (among the relevant telescopes).'

Like in English, Swedish elative superlatives do not accept an overt comparison class, see (56) from Coppock and Engdahl 2014: 8 (my emphasis). However, unlike English, Swedish elative superlatives are expressed with synthetic morphology, as can be seen from (55) and (56).

(56)   a.   *De vackra färgerna lyser upp den gråaste dag **av alla**.
            'The beautiful colors light up the grayest day of all.'

        b.   *Den som aldrig annars kan äta kakor bliröverlycklig för den slätaste bulle **av alla**.
            'Someone who can't otherwise eat cookies gets overjoyed about the plainest bun of all.'

The observations about English and Swedish allow us to conclude that indefiniteness and impossibility to take a comparison class can be used as tests to distinguish elative and ordinary superlatives. The absence of strict comparison in elative superlatives is also manifested in the infelicity of expressions like *the other(s)* that refer back to members of the comparison class and *next/second* as in 'next/second best' that refer to the ordering.

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[20]In double definiteness varieties of Scandinavian, a definite determiner usually co-occurs with a definite suffix, as in (i):

(i)   **det** stora hus-**et**   Coppock and Engdahl 2014: 1
    DEF big   house-DEF
    'the big house'

This is illustrated in (57) and (58) for Swedish:

(57)   a.   Det enklaste ärende togöver en timme. ***De andra** togåminstone två.
             'The simplest task took more than an hour. The others took at least two.'
       b.   Det enklaste ärend-**et** togöver en timme. **De andra** togåtminstone två.
             'The simplest task-DEF took more than an hour. The others took at least
             two.'   (Coppock and Engdahl 2014:7 - my emphasis)

(58)   a.   *Stjärnan kunde inte iakttas med det **näst** starkaste teleskop.
             'The star couldn't be observed with the second strongest telescope.'
       b.   Stjärnan kunde inte iakttas med det **näst** starkaste teleskop-**et**.
             'The star couldn't be observed with the second strongest telescope-DEF.'
                                                  (Coppock and Engdahl 2014:7 - my emphasis)

In the following paragraphs, I will use the diagnostic tests discussed above to show that *self*-superlatives in Russian are not elative superlatives. Elative superlatives in Russian are expressed by synthetic superlatives formed with the suffix *-ejš-* (and its allomorphs *-ajš-* and *-š-*). Most synthetic superlatives in Russian are ambiguous between elative and ordinary meanings. Only a handful of adjectives have two distinct forms one of which corresponds to elative, the other to ordinary superlative:[21]

(59)   ORDINARY   vys-**š**-yj   niz-**š**-yj   cf. bliž-**ajš**-yj
       ELATIVE   vysoč-**ajš**-yj   niž-**ajš**-yj   bliž-**ajš**-yj
                  'tallest/highest'   'lowest'   'nearest'

The elative forms from these pairs are restricted to fixed expressions such as *nižajšyj poklon* 'a lowest bow' and *vysočajšee blagoslovenie* 'a highest blessing'[22] and therefore are inconvenient for testing. Instead, I will use adjectives like *malejšyj* 'smallest' and *prostejšyj* 'simpliest' that are biased towards the elative interpretation.[23]

The first diagnostic tests the property of elative superlatives to behave like indefinites, contrasting it with definiteness restrictions of ordinary superlatives. Elative superlatives in Russian can occur in *there*-sentences, whereas *self*-superlatives cannot, see (60):

(60)   a.   V lesu   ne bylo ni malejšego zvuka.
             in woods not was NI smallest   sound
             'There wasn't a faintest sound in the woods.'

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[21]As mentioned above, the 'ordinary' synthetic superlative forms in Russian are historically comparative forms used as superlatives in the present day Russian, see Unbegaun 1957.

[22]Compare with English intensifying superlatives in *my dearest Anna* and titles like *Most Honourable, Most Reverend* (Huddleston and Pullum 2002:1165-6).

[23]Coppock and Engdahl 2014 show that elative superlatives in Swedish are polarity sensitive which they explain in pragmatic terms.

b. *V lesu   ne bylo (ni) samogo malen'kogo zvuka.
in woods not was NI self   small   sound
'There wasn't the faintest sound in the woods.'

The second test is based on the observation that elative superlatives are not construed as involving comparison in a strict sense and thus, do not accept an overt expression of a comparison class, unlike ordinary superlatives. (61) shows that this is true for elative readings of *-ejš*-superlatives but not *self*-superlatives:

(61)   a. #On byl gotov vypolnit' malejšyj **iz vsex** ee kaprisov.
he was ready to.satisfy smallest of all   her caprices
'He was ready to fulfil a most insignificant (#of all) her wish(es).'

b. On byl gotov vypolnit' samyj malen'kij **iz vsex** ee kaprisov.
he was ready to.satisfy self   small   of all   her caprices
'He was ready to fulfil her smallest wish of all.' (but not the others)

The third test is based on the same observation as the second test. The absence of a comparison class in elative superlatives results in the impossibility to refer to members of this class in the following discourse. As shown in (62), *drugie* 'others' can be used to refer tasks other than the simplest invoked by *self*-superlatives, but not by the elative reading of *-ejš*-superlative:[24]

(62)   a. Prostejšaja zadača zanjala u nego bol'še časa. #**Drugie** zanjali tri
simplest   task   took on him more hour others   took   three
časa.
hours
'A most simple task took him more than an hour. #Others took three hours.'

b. Samaja prostaja zadača zanjala u nego bol'še časa. **Drugie** zanjali tri
self   simple task   took on him more hour others   took   three
časa.
hours
'The simplest task took him more than an hour. Others took three hours.'

The fourth test which involves the use of modifiers like *next, second* to probe the ordering is not fully available in Russian as constructions like *the next/second A-est* are not very productive. However, it is worth mentioning that expressions with *self*-superlatives like *vtoroj samyj lučšyj rezul'tat* 'second self best result' are possible and

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[24]*Prostejšaja* is ambiguous and a context can be created in which it will be interpreted as a ordinary superlative. Under the ordinary superlative interpretation, *prostejšaja* would invoke a comparison set and *drugie* would become acceptable. An example similar to that in (61) can be constructed to maximally avoid the ambiguity.

have two meanings: i) the result that is ordered second among the top results (ordinary superlative) and ii) a repetition of the best result, for example, a repetition of the world record in sports (ordinal sequence). On the other hand, *vtoraja prostejšaja zadača* 'second simplest task' has only the ordinal sequence reading, i.e. a most simple task that comes second in some sequence (temporal or presentational). It lacks the reading predicted for ordinary superlatives, i.e. the task that is ranked second on the scale of simplicity or equivalently, a slightly more difficult task.

The four tests discussed above draw a clear line between *self*-superlatives and elative superlatives in Russian and permit us to conclude that *self*-superlatives are not elative superlatives. *Self*-superlatives exhibit properties characteristic of ordinary superlatives, such as definiteness, the presence of a comparison class and ordering, and thus, should be analyzed as ordinary superlatives.

3.3 Summary

In this chapter, I discussed the uses of *samyj*. From the semantic perspective, *samyj* has a continuum of uses that ranges from emphatic identity to *self*-superlatives. In this dissertation, I will focus on these two extremes, assuming that the analysis of intermediate cases will follow from the uniform analysis of the extremes.

The second part of the chapter examined the constructions that are relevant to the discussion in the next chapters: a) Dem+*samyj*, b) Pron+*samyj*, and c) *self*-superlatives. The focus was on their syntactic properties that are summarized in table 3.6.

Table 3.6: Summary of properties: Dem+*samyj*, Pron+*samyj* and *self*-superlatives

construction	property
Dem+*samyj*	presence of demonstrative is obligatory
	demonstrative is in its 'familiar' (or 'recognitional') use
	deviance in local negative invironment (C-Neg, 'without')
Pron+*samyj*	infelicity with 1st and 2nd person pronouns
	embeddability under reporting verbs, but not desire attitudes
	deviance under negation
	unavailability in argument positions
self-superlative	different from *most*-superlatives
	can co-occur with synthetic superlatives
	can modify short-form adjectives
	are not elative superlatives

Chapter 4

A 'chameleon' effect: Dem+*samyj* and *self*-superlatives

The goal of this chapter is to examine two constructions, in which *samyj* occurs within a DP, but displays strikingly different properties. In the first construction, *samyj* modifies a (distal) demonstrative (Dem+*samyj*), as in (1). In the second construction, *samyj* is used to form or modify a superlative (*self*-superlatives), as shown in (2).

(1) Daša igrala tu **samuju** sonatu.
Dasha played that.F.SG.ACC self.F.SG.ACC sonata.F.SG.ACC
'Dasha played that very sonata.'

(2) a. Daša igrala **samuju** dlinnuju sonatu.
Dasha played self.F.SG.ACC long.F.SG.ACC sonata.F.SG.ACC
'Dasha played the longest sonata.'
b. Tak, ne udalos' predskazat' **samyj** vysšyj uroven'
so not managed to.predict self.M.SG.ACC highest.M.SG.ACC level
vod u goroda Dorodinska [...]
of.waters near city Dorodinsk
'So, we failed to predict the highest level of waters near the city of Dorodinsk'
[Aleksandr Xar'kovskij. Ot Bajkala do Amura, 1977]

The two constructions differ with respect to (a) the contribution of *samyj* to the meaning of DP, (b) the possibility of iterating *samyj*, and (c) interaction with negation. The last property is particularly interesting and important for the analysis that I put forward in this chapter. In section 4.1, I discuss these differences one by one.

Section 4.2 contains my background assumptions. In section 4.2.1, I outline some general assumptions. In section 4.2.2, I elaborate on the status of demonstratives that in the recent (syntactic and semantic) literature have been analyzed as involving an

adjectival element (Chomsky 1995, Chierchia 1995, Bernstein 1997, Leu 2008, Elbourne 2008, among others). I will show that the analysis of Russian demonstratives as APs is not only warranted, but desirable. With respect to the main theme in this chapter, the AP-analysis of the demonstratives will make the differences between Dem+*samyj* and *self*-superlatives even more intriguing, because as a result, we will have *samyj* modifying an adjective in both constructions but in two very different ways. In section 4.2.3, I present my assumptions about the structure of superlatives.

In section 4.3, I propose that the differences between Dem+*samyj* and *self*-superlatives can be captured using the nowadays commonly assumed partitioning of a nominal into (at least) two domains: a lexical/descriptive NP-domain and a functional/grammatical DP-domain (Abney 1987, Longobardi 1994, Androutsopoulou 1997, Giusti 2002, Alexiadou et al. 2007, Aboh et al. 2010, among many others).[1] More precisely, I propose that the properties of *samyj* in part depend on where (or how) it merges in a tree. I refer to this phenomenon as a 'chameleon' effect. This effect makes a uniform analysis of *samyj* very challenging, as *samyj* keeps 'changing colour' depending on the environment or the 'background' against which it is merged. This section also contains the discussion of the motivations for the proposed analysis and its implications for the existence of DP-internal phase heads.

The 'chameleon' effect with *samyj* is not an isolated phenomenon. It can be found in different languages and different constructions. Some cross-linguistic observations about other 'chameleons' are discussed in section 4.4. However, it is important to note that the purpose of this section is to highlight the general nature of the phenomenon and it does not aim at providing a full cross-linguistic survey of the phenomenon in question.

4.1   Three differences

In this section, I present the differences between Dem+*samyj* and *self*-superlatives. To the best of my knowledge, Dem+*samyj* has rarely been discussed in the literature (see section 2.2.1). The discussion of its equivalents in other languages is also scarce (see section 4.4 below). No attempts to unify Dem+*samyj* and *self*-superlatives (or their equivalents) have been made. As a result, the question of differences, which is the main topic of this section, has never arisen. In this section, I will show that the differences are systematic and thus, call for an explanation, rather than resorting to polysemy.

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[1]This line of research has its origin in the idea of the parallelism between different syntactic categories, in particular, nouns and clauses, that goes back to Chomsky (1970) and is motivated by the economy considerations that seek to minimize the computational burden - the same considerations that later led to the introduction of phases.

As mentioned in the introduction, I identify three main differences between Dem+ *samyj* and *self*-superlatives which concern (a) the contribution of *samyj* to the meaning of DP, (b) the possibility of iterating *samyj*, and (c) interaction with negation. In what follows, I discuss these differences one by one. I conclude the section by discussing the ambiguity that arises when both the demonstrative and the gradable adjective are present. This ambiguity is a good illustration of the 'chameleon' effect.

4.1.1   Contribution of *samyj*

There are two obvious differences between Dem+ *samyj* and *self*-superlatives that show that *samyj* contributes to different segments of DP. First, in Dem+ *samyj*, the presence of a demonstrative is obligatory, unlike in *self*-superlatives, compare (3-a) with (3-b).

(3) a. Daša igrala *(tu)   samuju   sonatu.
         Dasha played that.F.SG.ACC self.F.SG.ACC sonata.F.SG.ACC
         'Dasha played that very sonata.'
     b. Daša igrala (tu)   samuju   dlinnuju   sonatu.
         Dasha played that.F.SG.ACC self.F.SG.ACC long.F.SG.ACC sonataF.SG.ACC
         'Dasha played that longest sonata.'

The second related observation is that for *self*-superlatives (and itermediate cases), on the other hand, the presence of a gradable property is required, unlike for Dem+ *samyj*, cf. (4-a) with (4-b). The adjective *soroka-minutnuju* '40-minute.F.SG.ACC' is not gradable and thus, is infelicitous in the superlative in (4-b). However, its presence in Dem+ *samyj* in (4-a) does not result in ungrammaticality.

(4) a. Daša igrala tu   samuju
         Dasha played that.F.SG.ACC self.F.SG.ACC
         (dlinnuju/soroka-minutnuju)   sonatu.
         long.F.SG.ACC/40-minute.F.SG.ACC sonata.F.SG.ACC
         'Dasha played that very long/40-minute sonata.'
     b. Daša igrala samuju   *(dlinnuju)/(#soroka-minutnuju)
         Dasha played self.F.SG.ACC long.F.SG.ACC/40-minute.F.SG.ACC
         sonatu.
         sonata.F.SG.ACC
         'Dasha played the longest/#most 40-minute sonata.'

In the traditional Russian literature, this difference is captured by describing *samyj* as modifying a demonstrative in Dem+ *samyj* and forming a superlative in *self*-superlatives or highlighting the end-point interpretation in the intermediate cases. Intuitively, in

Dem+*samyj*, *samyj* contributes to the identification of the referent of DP established by the demonstrative, whereas in *self*-superlatives, *samyj* modifies the property provided in the description of the refent of DP. I postpone the discussion of the semantic contribution of *samyj* till section 6.2. The ambiguity that manifests itself when both the demonstrative and the gradable adjective are present, as in (3-b) and (4-a), will be discussed in section 4.1.4.

4.1.2 Iteration of *samyj*

The observation is that *samyj* can be iterated when it modifies a gradable adjective in *self*-superlatives, but not when it modifies a demonstrative in Dem+*samyj*. This is illustrated in (5)-(6):

(5)　a.　Daša igrala **samuju** dlinnuju sonatu.
　　　　Dasha played self.F.SG.ACC long.F.SG.ACC sonata.F.SG.ACC
　　　　'Dasha played the longest sonata.'

　　　b.　Daša igrala **samuju** **samuju** dlinnuju sonatu.
　　　　Dasha played self.F.SG.ACC self.F.SG.ACC long.F.SG.ACC sonata.F.SG.ACC
　　　　'Dasha played the longest sonata.'

(6)　a.　Daša igrala tu **samuju** sonatu.
　　　　Dasha played that.F.SG.ACC self.F.SG.ACC sonata.F.SG.ACC
　　　　'Dasha played that very sonata.'

　　　b. ??Daša igrala tu **samuju** **samuju** sonatu.
　　　　Dasha played that.F.SG.ACC self.F.SG.ACC self.F.SG.ACC sonata.F.SG.ACC
　　　　'Dasha played that very sonata.'

The addition of the second *samyj* in the *self*-superlative in (5-b) is informative in the sense that it is interpreted as signalling a higher degree of precision or emphasis. The addition of *samyj* in Dem+*samyj* in (6-b), on the other hand, does not add anything to the interpretation of DP and is felt as uninformative and uninterpretable.

4.1.3 Interaction with negation

In section 3.2.1, I argued that *samyj* in Dem+*samyj* is deviant in local negative environments created by constituent negation or the preposition *bez* 'without'. The relevant examples are repeated in (7) and (8):

(7)　a.　Daša **ne** igrala tu **samuju** sonatu.
　　　　Dasha not played that.F.SG.ACC self.F.SG.ACC sonata.F.SG.ACC
　　　　'Dasha didn't play that very sonata.'

b. Daša igrala **ne** tu (*__samuju__) sonatu.
Dasha played not that.F.SG.ACC self.F.SG.ACC sonata.F.SG.ACC
'Dasha didn't play that very sonata.'

(8) a. Ivan prišël s toj samoj devuškoj.
Ivan came with that.F.SG.INS self.F.SG.INS girl.F.SG.INS
'Ivan came with that very girl.' .

b. Ivan prišël bez toj (??samoj) devuški.
Ivan came without that.F.SG.GEN self.F.SG.GEN girl.F.SG.GEN
'Ivan came without that very girl.'

This restriction does not apply to *self*-superlatives. They do not show any polarity sensitivity either in S-Neg or C-Neg, see (9), with prepositions 'with' and 'without', see (10), or any of the DE-environments discussed in section 3.2.1 (i.e. questions, antecedents of conditionals and negative embedding attitudes), see (11).

(9) a. Daša **ne** igrala samuju dlinnuju sonatu. S-Neg
Dasha not played self.F.SG.ACC long.F.SG.ACC sonata.F.SG.ACC
'Dasha didn't play the longest sonata.'

b. Daša igrala **ne** samuju dlinnuju sonatu. C-Neg
Dasha played not self.F.SG.ACC long.F.SG.ACC sonata.F.SG.ACC
'Dasha didn't play the longest sonata.'

(10) a. Ivan prišël s samoj krasivoj devuškoj.
Ivan came with self.F.SG.INS beautiful.F.SG.INS girl.F.SG.INS
'Ivan came with the most beautiful girl.' .

b. Ivan prišël bez samoj krasivoj devuški.
Ivan came without self.F.SG.GEN beautiful.F.SG.GEN girl.F.SG.GEN
'Ivan came without the most beautiful girl.'

(11) a. Igrala li Daša **samuju** dlinnuju sonatu?
played Q Dasha self.F.SG.ACC long.F.SG.ACC sonata.F.SG.ACC
'Did Dasha play the longest sonata?'

b. Esli Daša igrala **samuju** dlinnuju sonatu, večer
if Dasha played self.F.SG.ACC long.F.SG.ACC sonata.F.SG.ACC soirée
byl xorošij.
was good
'If Dasha played the longest sonata, the soirée was good.'

c. Ivan somnevaetsja čto Daša igrala **samuju** dlinnuju
Ivan doubts that Dasha played self.F.SG.ACC long.F.SG.ACC
sonatu.
sonata.F.SG.ACC
'Ivan doubts that Dasha played the longest sonata.'

In sum, Dem+*samyj* and *self*-superlatives behave differently with respect to negation: *self*-superlatives show no interaction with negation, whereas *samyj* in Dem+*samyj* is deviant when negation (or DE) is expressed directly on the DP in which it occurs.

4.1.4   A note on ambiguity

I conclude this section with a brief note on the ambiguity of strings with *samyj*. As mentioned above, when both the demonstrative and the gradable adjective are present the construction with *samyj* can be ambiguous, as illustrated in (12). The string in (12-a) can be interpreted either as a superlative as in (12-b) or emphatic identity as in (12-c) which can be loosely paraphrased as 'the very sonata (I told you about) which is a long sonata'. The same is true of the English phrase in (13).

(12) a. ta   samaja dlinnaja sonata   ambiguous
          that self   long   sonata

      b. ta   [samaja dlinnaja] sonata   *self*-superlative
          that self   long   sonata
          'the longest sonata'

      c. [ta   samaja] dlinnaja sonata   Dem+*samyj*
          that self   long   sonata
          'that very long sonata'

(13)   the very long sonata   ambiguous

Of course, in spoken language the ambiguous string is disambiguated by prosody, which marks the end of a constituent as the end of a prosodic phrase by a short pause and a down-step intonation, see Féry 2007, Féry et al. 2007 among others.

Interestingly, as *samyj* (or *very*) can be iterated when it modifies gradable adjectives, the ambiguity does not disappear no matter how many *samyj*s we add to the structure. We always have a choice to interpret all of them as modifying the gradable adjective, or interpret one (and only one) of them as modifying the demonstrative, see (14):

(14) a. ta   samaja samaja samaja ... dlinnaja sonata
          that self   self   self   long   sonata

      b. ta   [samaja samaja samaja ... dlinnaja] sonata
          that self   self   self   long   sonata
          'the longest sonata'

      c. [ta   samaja] samaja samaja ... dlinnaja sonata
          that self   self   self   long   sonata
          'that very longest sonata'

Note that in (14-c) where n($samyj$) ≥ 2 and one *samyj* is interpreted as modifying the demonstrative, the interpretation of the DP is a conjoint interpretation of emphatic identity and superlative.

4.1.5   Interim summary

In this section, three differences between *samyj* in Dem+*samyj* and *self*-superlatives were discussed. The first difference was that *samyj* in Dem+*samyj* modifies an obligatory demonstrative and contributes to the identification of the referent of DP, whereas *samyj* in *self*-superlatives modifies a gradable property. The second difference was that *samyj* in *self*-superlatives can be iterated, unlike in Dem+*samyj*. The third property concerned interaction with negation. *Samyj* in Dem+*samyj* is deviant under constituent negation and with the preposition *bez* 'without'. *Self*-superlatives, on the other hand, do not show any sensitivity to negative or DE-environments (local or sentential). In addition, ambiguity cases were discussed.

4.2   Background

In this section, I will discuss some background assumptions needed for my proposal. I will try to stay as theory-neutral as possible and aim for descriptive adequacy for the time being.

4.2.1   General assumptions

Ever since the introduction of the DP-hypothesis (Abney 1987), there has been a lot of discussion in the literature of what to do with article-less languages. The Slavic subgroup has provided a valuable testing ground for the hypothesis as it is a mixture of languages that, on the one hand, share certain important properties and, on the other hand, differ with respect to how they mark definiteness. The Slavic subgroup includes languages with definiteness markers like Macedonian and Bulgarian (e.g. Tasseva-Kurktchieva 2006, Mladenova 2007, Laskova 2008), languages that mark definiteness only when the noun is modified[2] like Colloquial Slovenian and Serbo-Croatian (e.g. Leko 1988, Progovac 1998, Aljović 2002, Marušić and Žaucer 2006), and languages like Russian that lack clear definiteness marking (see Pereltsvaig 2013 for the recent overview). The analyses that have been advanced to capture Slavic facts are as diverse as the languages themselves

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[2]This phenomena is often assimilated to (or analyzed in terms of) poly-definiteness in Scandinavian or Greek, see Leu 2008 for discussion.

and range from the extreme 'always project DP' to 'never project it' (see esp. Bošković 2008 and Bošković and Gajewski 2011 for the present state of the debate).

In this work, I will not enter the DP/NP-debate. I will assume for the most part the uncontroversial view that nouns start off in the derivation as properties and in order to become argumental need a functional layer in the spirit of Longobardi 1994, 2005. I will label this functional layer as "DP", bearing in mind that "DP" is an umbrella label for the left-periphery of NP similar to "CP" which can be seen as a shortcut for a more elaborated clausal left-periphery (Rizzi 1997). This is illustrated in (15):

(15)   [$_{DP}$ Edge/functional domain [$_{NP}$ Description/lexical domain]]

The two next sections outline my assumptions about the structure of demonstratives and superlatives - the two constructions that are the main focus of this chapter.

4.2.2   Assumptions about demonstratives

For the syntax of demonstratives, I follow the well-established tradition that demonstratives are phrasal and sit in the specifier of DP, e.g. Chomsky 1995, Bernstein 1997, Giusti 2002, Leu 2008, Wiltschko 2009, among others. In addition, I assume the analysis in Leu 2008 who on a range of data from various languages (mainly Germanic and Scandinavian) argues that demonstratives are morpho-syntactically complex.[3] They are extended APs (xAPs)[4] composed of the definite marker *th-/d-*, an adjectival agreement and a (usually) unpronounced adjective that provides the route to deixis, such as HERE or THERE. This xAP sits in Spec-DP and licenses the non-pronunciation of D based on a Spec-Head relation.[5] This is illustrated in (16) with a Swiss German example.[6] The basic observation made by Leu (2008) is the following. (16-a) is an example of a simple unmodified definite noun. When the definite is modified the agreement marker necessarily appears on *d-*, see (16-b). The same agreement marker surfaces on the adjective in the indefinite case, see (16-c). Crucially, in demonstratives, the adjectival agreement on *d-* is obligatory without an overt adjective, see (16-d). This suggests that demonstratives contain a silent adjective which triggers the agreement on *d-*. The structure for the demonstrative in
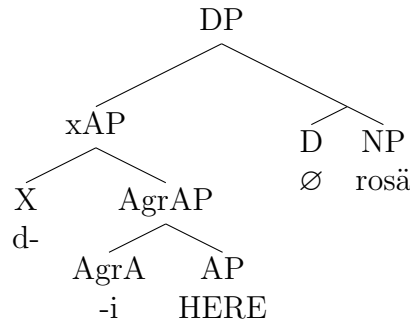
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[3]But see Lewis 2014.

[4]This notation is from Matushansky 2002.

[5]Leu's 2008 account is situated in Kayne's 1994 anti-symmetry framework and his assumptions on silent elements in the structure (which are represented in CAPITAL letters), see, for example, the collection of works in Kayne 2005.

[6]Swiss German refers to a number of Alemannic dialects spoken in Switzerland which are different from Standard German and not necessarily mutually-intelligible with it, although speakers of Swiss German use Standard German for written communication, see Leu 2008:9-10.

(16-d) is shown in (16-e).[7] The examples are from Leu 2008: 19, 60.

(16) a. d   rosä   *Swiss German*
          th- rose
          'the rose' .
      b. d-*(i)   rot rosä
          th-AGRA red rose
          'the red rose'
      c. ä rot-i   rosä
          a red.AGRA rose
          'a red rose'
      d. d-*(i)   rosä
          th-AGRA rose
          'this rose'
      e.   DP
                          ╱   ╲
                      xAP   ╲
                    ╱   ╲   D   NP
                  X   AgrAP   ∅   rosä
                  d-   ╱   ╲
                    AgrA   AP
                     -i   HERE

   The idea that demonstratives involve a kind of relation that is responsible for 'demonstration' is also salient in the current semantic approach to demonstratives, see Chierchia 1995, Elbourne 2008 and philosophical literature cited there. In addition, the silent HERE/THERE can be overt in some languages (subject to parametrization), as for instance in some varieties of Scandinavian, see (17), and Afrikaans, see (18).[8] Both examples are from Leu 2008:22.

(17) a. den her(r)-e   klokka   *Coll. Norwegian*
          the here.INFL watch.DEF
      b. det der(r)-e   huset
          the there.INFL house.DEF

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[7]Two comments are in place here. First of all, 'X' in (16-e) stands for a functional category in the extended adjectival projection. One can read this category as an (adjectival) D. In my representations, I will keep Leu's (2008) original labeling, i.e. X. The second comment concerns the placement of the unpronounced adjectival meterial (HERE/THERE). Leu (2008) sect. 2.2.4 argues that HERE/THERE does not stay in its merge position, but rather moves to the left of the determiner - [HERE di t_{HERE} rosä] 'this rose'. His arguments are for the most part theory internal. I will use the representations that do not show the movement. However, I will return to the question about movement at the end of the chapter and in the next chapter.

[8]On the different positions of the adjectival component see fn.7 and Leu 2008, sect.2.2.4.

(18)   a.   Ek het hier-die huis gebou.   *Afrikaans*
              I   have here-the house built
              'I built this house.'

        b.   Ek het   daar-die man gesien.
              I   have there-the man seen
              'I saw that man.'

Note that the structure in (16-e) provides two D positions: one as part of the demonstrative (in xAP), the other one as the head of DP. This immediately predicts that we can find languages in which both positions are filled in. This is borne out for Colloquial Slovenian as argued by Leu (2008), based on Marušić and Žaucer 2006. In Colloquial Slovenian (returning to Slavic) *ta* acts as a pre-adjectival definiteness marker, as shown in (19-a-i) (cf. **ta svinčnik* 'the pencil'), whereas the homophonous in the nominative *tá* (modulo the tone) behaves like a demonstrative carrying the adjectival agreement, see (19-b-i). The adjectival determiner *ta* and the demonstrative *t́a* can be easily distinguished in oblique cases: the adjectival determiner *ta* stays invariant, whereas the demonstrative *t́a* shows case agreement, cf. (19-a-ii,iii) with (19-b-ii,iii). The two can co-occur, as shown in (19-c). Examples are from Leu 2008:20-1.

(19)   a.   i. ta nov   pes   ii. ta nov-ega psa
                 the new.NOM dog.NOM   the new.GEN dog.GEN

              iii. ta nov-emu psu
                 the new.DAT dog.DAT

        b.   i. tá   pes   ii. t-ega   psa
                 this.NOM dog.NOM   this.GEN dog.GEN

              iii. t-emu   psu
                 this.DAT dog.DAT

        c.   i. tá   ta nov   pes   ii. t-ega   ta nov-ega psa
                 this.NOM the new.NOM dog.NOM   this.GEN the new.GEN dog.GEN

              iii. t-emu   ta nov-emu psu
                 this.DAT the new.DAT dog.DAT

This, of course, brings to mind the poly-definiteness phenomenon in Scandinavian and definiteness spreading in languages like Greek. Leu (2008), in fact, uses his proposal to account for these phenomena, in harmony with other Germanic facts. I will not elaborate on this connection in the present work, although it is very interesting and naturally extends to superlatives, especially in light of superlatives in Romance like *le livre le plus court*.[9] For poly-definiteness see, for example, Alexiadou and Wilder 1998,

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[9]As is well-known, some adjectives in Romance languages can appear pre- or post-nominally (see

Campos and Stavrou 2004, and Kyriakaki 2011 and for 'poly-definiteness' accounts of superlatives see, for example, Kayne 2008 and Campos 2005. The main topic of the present work, however, is the distribution of the intensifier *samyj*, therefore I consider poly-definiteness a peripheral topic. However, it is important to note that the adjectival ending on *samyj* (which distinguishes it from *sam*) is a remnant of the definite marker in Russian, see discussion below.[10]

I now return to my assumptions about the structure of demonstratives. Extending Leu's analysis of demonstratives to Russian, we derive the structure in (20-b) for the demonstrative expression in (20-a):

(20)   a.   t-a   sonata
               that.F.SG.NOM sonata.F.SG.NOM

Cinque 2010 for an extensive discussion of the differences between pre- and post-nominal adjectives in Romance and Germanic languages). In some Romance languages, post-nominal adjectives in superlative constructions must have their own definite determiner, as show for French - (i), Romanian - (ii) and Arvantovlaxika(a dialect of Aromanian spoken in Greece) - (iii):

(i)   a.   la plus belle femme   *French,* from Kayne 2008
              the more pretty woman
              'the prettiest woman'
       b.   **le** livre **le** plus court
              the book the more short
              'the shortest book'

(ii)   a.   cei mai înalți băieți   *Romanian,* from Campos 2005
              CEL most tall   boys
              'the tallest boys'
       b.   băieți-**i** **cei** mai înalți
              boys-the CEL most tall
              'the tallest boys'

(iii) a.   ma bun-**l'i** cânî   *Arvantovlaxika,* from Campos 2005
              most good-the dog
              'the best dog'
       b.   fitsor-**lu** (atselu) ma ñic-**lu**
              boy-the that   most small-the
              'the smallest boy'

Other Romance languages, like Italian, do not show definiteness spreading in superlatives, see (iv):

(iv)   a.   la più bella donna   *Italian,* from Kayne 2008
              the more pretty woman
              'the prettiest woman'
       b.   il libro più corto
              the book more short
              'the shortest book'

[10]Also, the Bulgarian counterpart of *samyj* carries an obligatory definiteness marker (Vesela Simeonova, p.c.).

b.

```
                    DP
             ╱              ╲
          xAP                  ╲
        ╱      ╲            D      NP
      X        AgrAP        ∅    sonata
      t-      ╱     ╲
          AgrA      AP
          -a      THERE
```
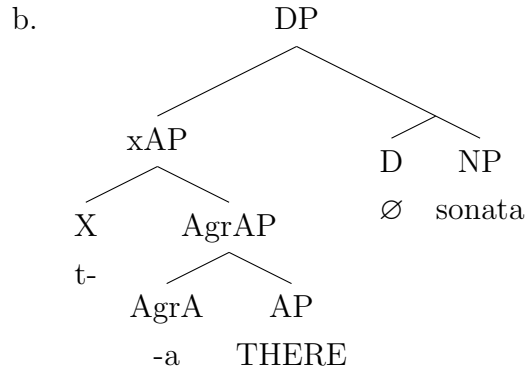
Assuming that demonstratives are generated below D and move to Spec-DP to check the definiteness feature (or license non-pronunciation of D as in Leu 2008), I represent the full structure of the DP in (20-b) as in (21).

(21)

```
                      DP
              ╱              ╲
           xAP                 ╲
         ╱      ╲            D      NP
       X        AgrAP        ∅   ╱     ╲
       t-      ╱     ╲        t_{xAP}  sonata
           AgrA      AP
           -a      THERE
```
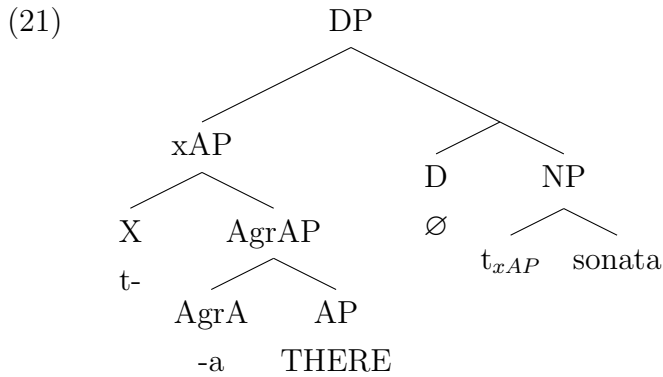
This seems to be a plausible treatment of demonstratives in Russian as xAP has an overt definiteness morpheme *t*-. For concreteness, we can postulate that D_{+def} in Russian has a strong feature which needs to be checked either by a +def phonologically not null item or an Op(erator) merged in Spec-DP.

There is substantial evidence in Russian that demonstratives are adjective-like, as discussed in Pereltsvaig 2007b. First of all, demonstratives in Russian consist of the demonstrative morpheme *t*- plus adjectival agreement NUMBER, GENDER, CASE. This is captured in (20-b) and (21) by the presence of AgrAP.

Secondly, Russian demonstratives can appear in a predicative position, as in (22):

(22)   Vanino pal'to bylo èto.
        Vania's coat   was this
        'Vanya's coat was this one.'   (Pereltsvaig 2007b)

Thirdly, when used in the predicative position with a polite plural subject, the agreement pattern of demonstratives (23-a) is identical to that of long-form adjectives (23-b),

and not verb-like short-form adjectives (23-c).

(23)   a.   Vy   byli èta   /*èti.
             you.pl were this.f.sg /this.pl
             'You were this one.'

        b.   Vy   byli molodaja /*molodye.
             you.pl were young.f.sg /.pl
             'You were young.'

        c.   Vy   byli molody /*modola
             you.pl were young.pl /young.sg
             'You were young.'   (Pereltsvaig 2007b)

Finally, the Russian special demonstrative *èto* used in presentational and equative constructions has been analyzed in the traditional and generative literature as a property-like pronominal, often shifted by (or containing) Partee's IDENT-operator (e.g. Geist 2007).

4.2.3   Assumptions about superlatives

In the recent literature on superlatives, it has been sometimes proposed that superlatives contain a comparative relation (e.g. Stateva 2002). The strongest expression and support this idea receives in a thorough study of suppletion patterns in a variety of languages by Bobaljik (2012). Bobaljik (2012) observes that only three out of five logically possible morphological patterns are attested cross-linguistically, see (24).

(24)   The Comparative-Superlative Generalizations   Bobaljik, 2012: 29

AAA	big	-	bigger	-	biggest
ABB	good	-	better	-	best
ABC	bonus	-	melior	-	optimus
ABA	*good	-	better	-	goodest
AAB	*good	-	gooder	-	best

Based on this observation, he proposes *The Containment Hypothesis* in (25) (for all languages that have morphological superlatives). This Hypothesis allows the configuration in (26-a) and rules out the configuration in (26-b).[11]

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[11]With some exceptions, where SUPERLATIVE in (26-b) is interpreted as a port-manteau, see Bobaljik 2012 for discussion.

(25)   *The Containment Hypothesis*   Bobaljik, 2012: 4
         The representation of the superlative properly contains that of the comparative.

(26)   a.   [[[ADJECTIVE] COMPARATIVE] SUPERLATIVE]
         b.   *[[ADJECTIVE] SUPERLATIVE]

Bobaljik (2012) conjectures that the Containment Hypothesis is amenable to a very general economy principle that puts limitations on the amount of information that can be encoded in one morpheme. The quotation below explicates this reasoning:

> "[T]he impossibility of [((26-b))] is a consequence of a general limit on the complexity of individual morphemes. That is, at least for the functional or grammatical (as opposed to lexical) vocabulary, there are intrinsic limits on possible morpheme meanings. [... T]he meaning 'more than all others' is, by this criterion, too complex to be expressed monomorphemically, and it must therefore be split into (at least) a piece meaning 'more' and another meaning (roughly) 'than all (others)'. The Containment Hypothesis in [((25))] and [((26))] is thus not itself a part of UG, but a consequence of a far more general condition."
>
>   (Bobaljik 2012:5)

In addition to providing a plausible explanation for the observed suppletion pattern in natural languages, lexical sources of superlatives ('more' in some languages, 'all' in others) and derivation of deadjectival verbs (like *worsen*), the Containment Hypothesis has been shown to be useful for semantic analysis of superlatives (e.g. Bobaljik 2012, Szabolcsi 2012).

(27) provides an illustration of the Containment Hypothesis: (27-a) is an example from Leu 2008: 23 and (27-b) is an abstract structure that captures the Containment Hypothesis that I will assume here.

(27)   a.   ts änn-er-scht-ä   bächli   Swiss German
               the LOC-COMP-SUP-WK stream.DIM
               'the little stream that's furthest away' (out of a number of little streams)

         b.   SuperP
                    /   \
               Super   CompP
                          /   \
                       Comp   Adj

I will also assume, following Selkirk 1977, Kayne 2008, Campos 2005, Leu 2008, among others and recent semantic works esp. Krasikova 2012, Szabolcsi 2012, Coppock

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[11]WK is a weak adjectival agreement in German.

and Engdahl 2014,[12] that the definite article makes part of the superlative. That is to say, (27-a) will have the structure representation as in (28), assuming the 'snow-balling' movement of the adjective to Spec-AgrA through CompP and SuperP (indicated by strikethrough of the moved material).[13] In (28), the superlative AP originates low in the extended NP projection and then moves to Spec-DP to check the definiteness feature on the null D (see also Leu 2008).

(28)
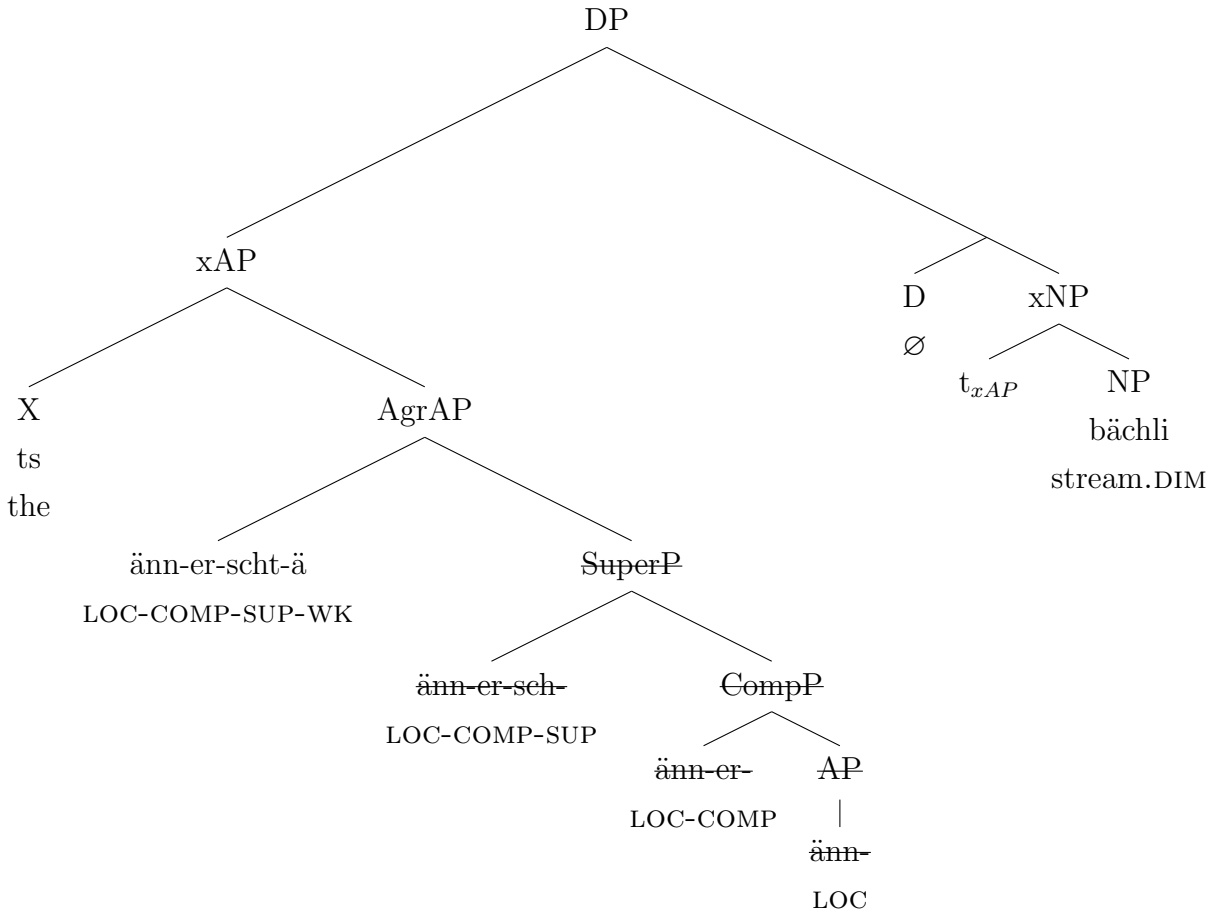
Recall from section 3.2.3 that *self*-superlatives in Russian can co-occur with the synthetic superlatives, see (29). In cases like (29), the suffix -*š(e)*- is historically a comparative morpheme, which in the present day Russian in cases like *vysšyj* 'highest', *lučšyj* 'best' forms a superlative, see Unbegaun 1957: 107. Therefore, I will gloss -*š(e)*- as COMP and assume that there is also a zero superlative morpheme. Note also that

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[12]But see Szabolcsi 1986 and works that followed her approach.

[13]The tree structure in (28) does not show the 'snow-balling' movement itself, as Spec-branches and Head-branches are collapsed for readability. The main point of this structure to illustrate the Containment Hypothesis, rather than the 'snow-balling' movement.

superlatives (like other "DPs") do not need an overt definiteness marker, although they are not incompatible with, say, demonstratives or possessives.

(29) a. (ta) samaja vys-š-∅-aja   ocenka
          that self   high-COMP-SUP-AGR mark
          'the/that highest mark'

      b. (ego) samyj luč-š-∅-yj   drug
          his   self   good-COMP-SUP-AGR friend
          'the/his best friend'

Given these facts, I assume the structure of the superlative in (29-a) to be as in (30), which is parallel to the structure in (28) except that in Russian the superlative morpheme and the adjectival definite marker (represented as D_{sup} for 'superlative') are null.[14] As above, the superlative is derived by the 'snow-balling' movement of AP through CompP and SuperP (indicated by strikethrough of the moved material).

(30)

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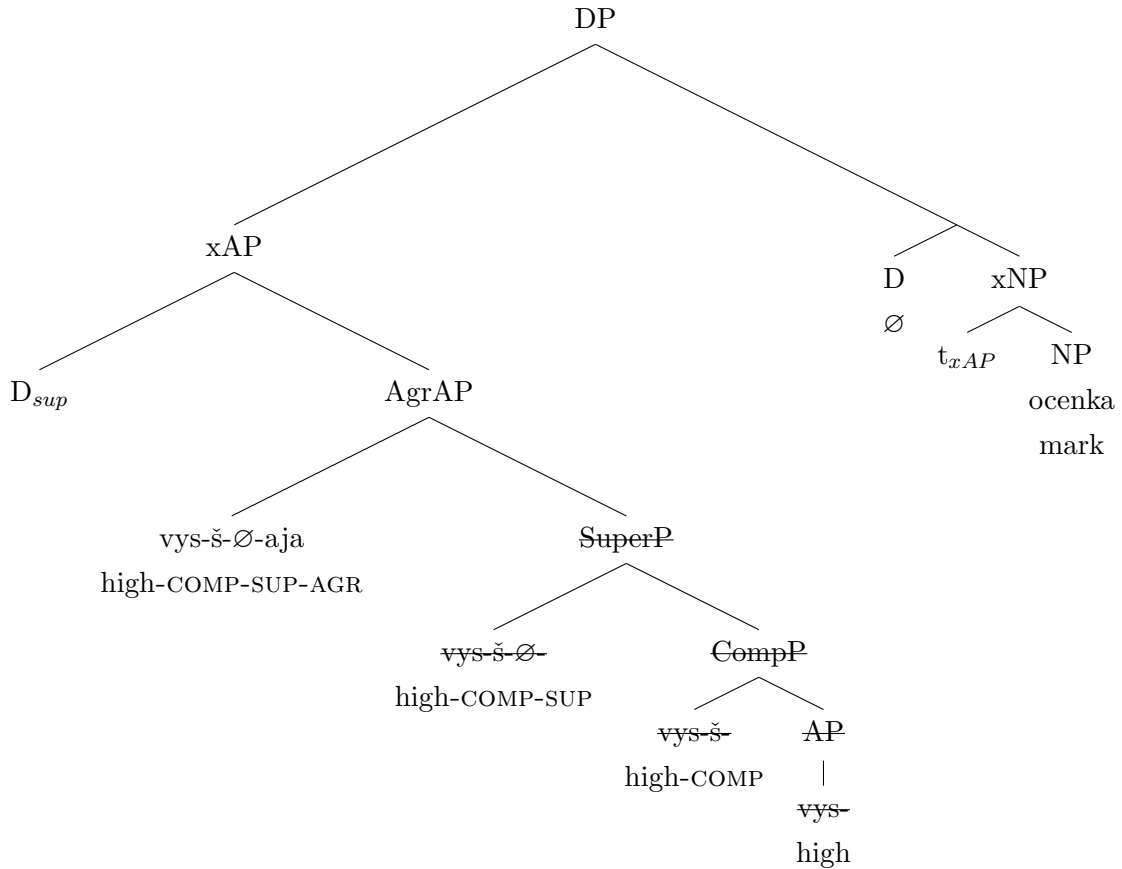
[14]I assume that when Dem or Possessive is present, the superlative stays low in the structure in the extended NP-domain.

Note that the structure in (30) does not include *samyj* because in cases like above, *samyj* is not obligatory to arrive at the superlative reading, i.e. *vysšaja ocenka* '(the) highest mark' without *samyj* still has the superlative interpretation.[15] The question now arises what happens when *-š(e)-* is not present and *samyj* is mandatory for the superlative reading as in the *sonata*-example we started with.[16]

And more generally, what is *samyj*? Where is it in the tree and how can we account for its different properties when it occurs in Dem+*samyj* vs. *self*-superlatives? The assumptions presented in this section make Dem+*samyj* and *self*-superlatives structurally very alike, cf. (21) with (30). In the next section, I provide answers for these questions.

4.3   Capturing the differences

In this section, I propose an analysis of *samyj* that accounts for its different properties in Dem+*samyj* and *self*-superlatives by merging it into different parts of the tree. More specifically, I propose that definite DPs contain a Sigma Phrase (ΣP), borrowed from Laka 1994. This ΣP is selected by D and when hosts *samyj* in its specifier, is specified as Σ_{+emph}, which I take to be a sub-specification of a positive polarity.[17] I propose that [$_{\Sigma P}$ *samyj* Σ_{+emph}] can appear in the functional domain of DP (its left-periphery), as is the case for Dem+*samyj*, see (31-a). It can also appear in the descriptive domain, as is the case in *self*-superlatives, see (31-b). These different positions in the tree account for the different properties of *samyj* discussed in section 4.1. Of course, it is also possible that [$_{\Sigma P}$ *samyj* Σ_{+emph}] appears in both positions at the same time giving rise to different (ambiguous) interpretations, as we saw in section 4.1.4, see (31-c).

(31)   a.   [$_{DP}$ [$_{\Sigma P}$ *samyj* Σ_{+emph}] [$_{NP}$ . . .   ]]   Dem+*samyj*

        b.   [$_{DP}$ . . .   [$_{NP}$ [$_{\Sigma P}$ *samyj* Σ_{+emph}] ...]]   *self*-superlatives

        c.   [$_{DP}$ [$_{\Sigma P}$ *samyj* Σ_{+emph}] [$_{NP}$ [$_{\Sigma P}$ *samyj* Σ_{+emph}] ...]]

I begin this section by outlining the account and showing how it captures the differences between Dem+*samyj* and *self*-superlatives. I then present independent motivations for having ΣP within a DP and show that multiple ΣPs in a structure do not

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[15]Following Bobaljik 2012:87 fn.39, I assume that *samyj* in this case has 'a reinforcing function' that he assimilates to the use of *plus* in *plus meilleure* acceptable for some (Québec) French speakers (see also Bobaljik 2012:73 fn.27).

[16]I will return to this question below.

[17]I depart here from Laka (1994), who proposed three values for Σ: positive, negative and emphatic. One way to implement this sub-specification of Σ is in terms of feature geometry (see for example Cowper 2005 among other works) as proposed by Brown (1999) for negation in Russian (see esp. pp. 105-6).
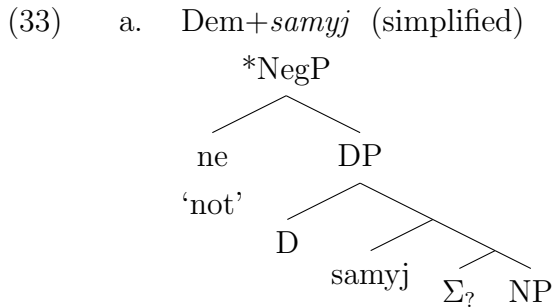
need to have the same value (an assumption required for my proposal). I conclude by discussing an important condition on Σ_{+emph} that will be used in section 5.4 to account for another peculiar construction in Russian, in which Pron+*samyj* is used as a fragment answer to *yes/no*-questions.
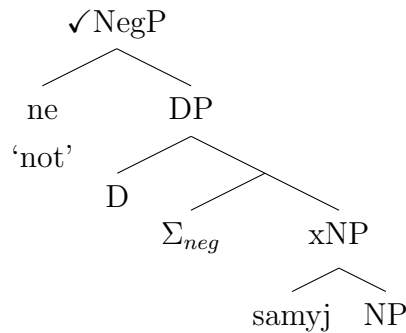
4.3.1   Proposal

I will start with the difference between Dem+*samyj* and *self*-superlatives that was discussed in section 4.1.3, namely that Dem+*samyj* is sensitive to C-Neg but not to S-Neg, whereas *self*-superlatives are insensitive to both. Assuming, following Brown (1999), Progovac (2005), Borschev et al. (2005), Penka (2010), among others, that C-Neg is expressed by a NegP above the constituent and scopes only within the constituent, I propose partly in line with Progovac 2005, partly in line with Penka 2010 (see section 4.3.2 for the discussion of their proposals) that there is a DP-internal ΣP projected below D and valued negatively in agreement with (C-)NegP, as illustrated in (32):[18]

(32)

```
        NegP
       /    \
      ne     DP
     'not'  /  \
           D    ΣP
               /  \
            Σ_neg  NP
```
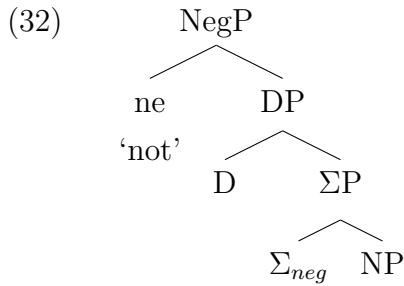
The interaction with negation facts suggest that *samyj* in Dem+*samyj* merges somewhere along the spine of DP and triggers intervention or feature mismatch effect, whereas *samyj* in *self*-superlatives is adjoined to the (extended) NP in such a way that it does not block the valuation of [neg]. This is schematically shown in (33):

(33)   a.   Dem+*samyj* (simplified)

```
          *NegP
         /     \
        ne      DP
       'not'   /  \
              D    \
              samyj \
                  Σ_?  NP
```

---

[18] I assume following Brown and Franks 1995 and Brown 1999 that *ne* is a head of NegP and by itself does not carry the negative feature. This is supported by the fact that *ne* can be used as expletive negation. The negativity comes from the Negative Operator in Spec-NegP that binds/values the polarity feature on Σ.

b.   *self*-superlative(simplified)

```
              ✓NegP
            /        \
          ne          DP
        'not'        /   \
                   D      \
                    \      \
                    Σ_neg   xNP
                          /     \
                      samyj      NP
```

The availability of two merge sites for one and the same lexical item is the core of my proposal. That is to say, I suggest that instead of appealing to polysemy, we can account for systematic differences in the interpretation and syntactic behaviour of a particular morpheme within a language (or across-languages) by taking into consideration its merge position. In what follows, I show that the two merge positions for *samyj* are in fact identical; the only difference between them is that in one case, it is part of the left-periphery of DP, whereas in the other, it is part of the lexical description (a distinction that has existed since the division of categories into grammatical and lexical).[19]

Structure of Dem+*samyj*

Given my assumptions about the structure of demonstratives in section 4.2.2 and the proposal above, the structure for a simple Dem+*samyj* in (35-a) will be as in (35-b). For concreteness, I propose that *samyj* carries an emphatic feature and is merged as Spec-ΣP, where it values the unvalued feature on Σ as [positive, emphatic]. (This Σ can be viewed as one of the high functional projections that hosts a particular type of modifier as in the cartographic approach, e.g. Cinque 2010, or as a left-peripheral functional head

---

[19]My proposal is also parallel to that of Zamparelli (1995), reprinted as Zamparelli 2000, in that it assumes that DP and AP have similar functional layers. Zamparelli (1995) bases his proposal on the observation that similarly to nouns in Romance that move across adjectives to a higher functional projection within a DP, see (i-a), adjectives in Romance also move to a higher functional projection within an AP across measure phrases, see (i-b). This is parametrically different from the situation in Germanic languages, cf. (ii).

(i)   a.   La distruzione romana di Cartagine   Zamparelli 2000: 280-1
             the distruction Roman of Carthage
       b.   L' uomo era alto [MP due   metri].
             the man   was tall 2   meters

(34)   a.   The Roman destruction of Carthage
        b.   The man was [MP two meters] tall.

encoding DP-internal Information Structure, e.g. Aboh et al. 2010 and references there. I will return to this question.)

(35)　a.　t-a　　　　　samaja　　　sonata
　　　　　that.F.SG.NOM slef.F.SG.NOM sonata.F.SG.NOM
　　　　　'that very sonata'

　　　b.
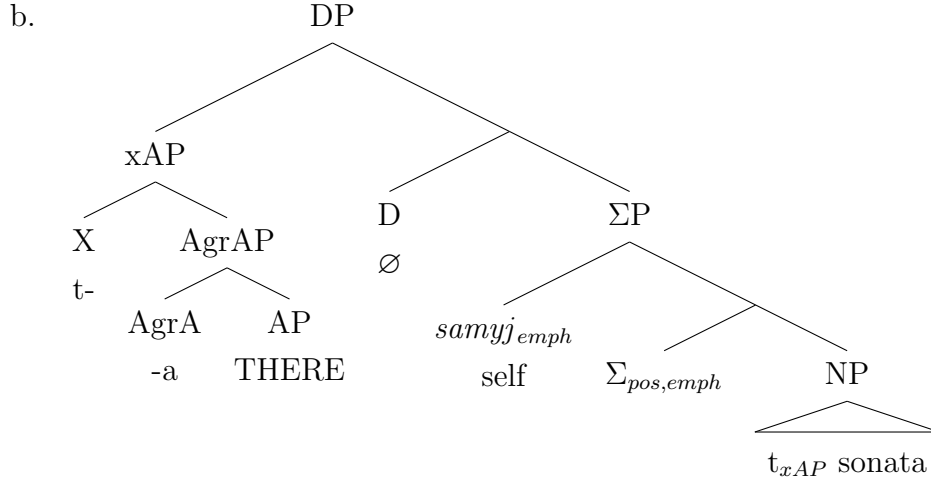
The interaction with C-Neg is shown in (36), where NegP is unable to check its [neg]-feature with the already positively specified Σ:

(36)　a.　*ne　t-a　　　　　samaja　　　sonata
　　　　　not that.F.SG.NOM slef.F.SG.NOM sonata.F.SG.NOM
　　　　　'not that very sonata'

　　　b.
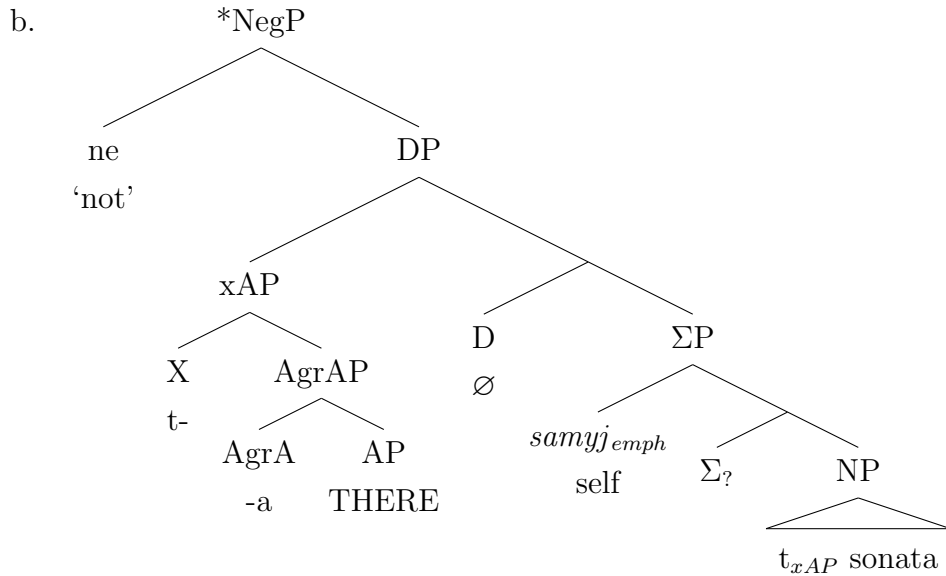
The interaction with the negative preposition *bez* 'without' is accounted for similarly, assuming that *bez* is specified as [neg].

The lack of interaction with S-Neg is explained by the fact that there is another ΣP in the TP domain (the original ΣP proposed by Laka (1994)), which checks the [neg]-feture of *ne* 'not', see (37). To simplify, I represent *ne* in the Spec-ΣP and omit irrelevant here details, such as *v*P, subject movement, etc. That the two ΣPs can be valued differently will be argued for in section 4.3.3.

(37)   a.   Daša **ne** igrala t-u   samuju   sonatu
              Dasha not played that.F.SG.ACC slef.F.SG.ACC sonata.F.SG.ACC
              'Dasha didn't play that very sonata'

        b.
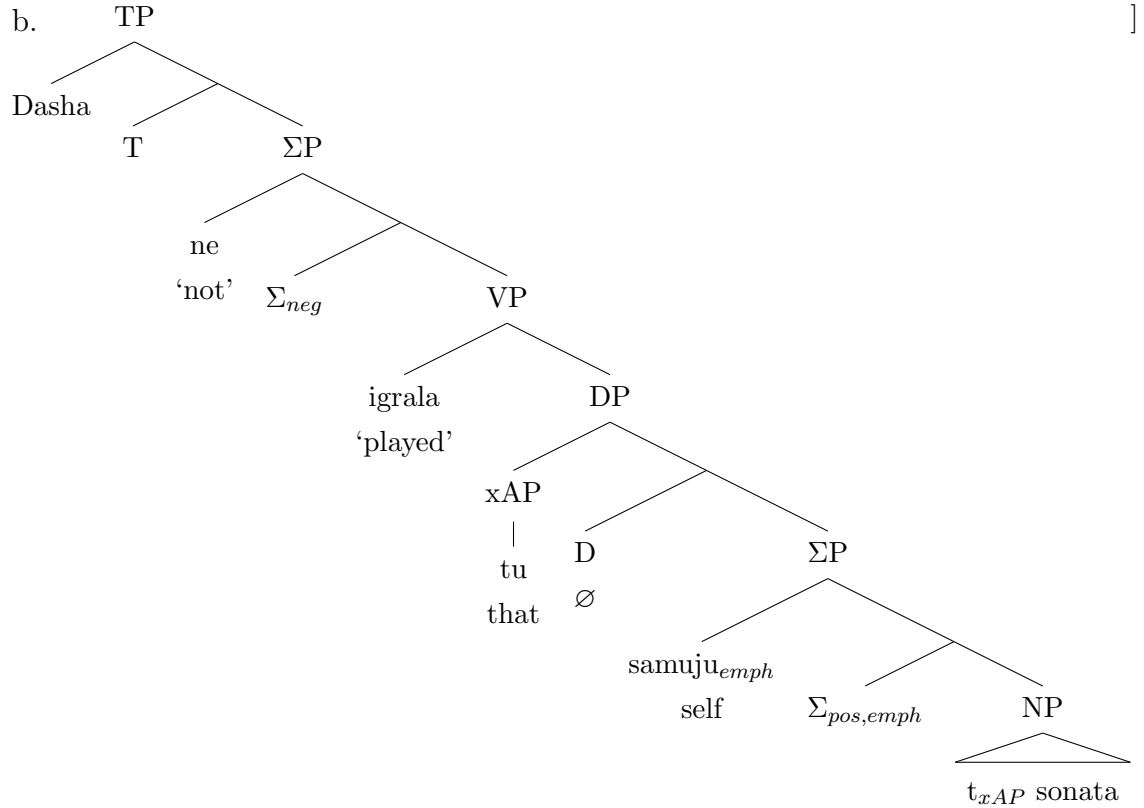
Structure for *self*-superlatives

For *self*-superlatives, I propose that [*samyj* Σ] merges within the superlative selected by the obligatorily present D$_{sup}$, as discussed above. This is illustrated in (38):

(38)   a.   samaja   vysšaja   ocenka
              self.F.SG.NOM highest.F.SG.NOM mark.F.SG.NOM
              'the highest mark'

b.
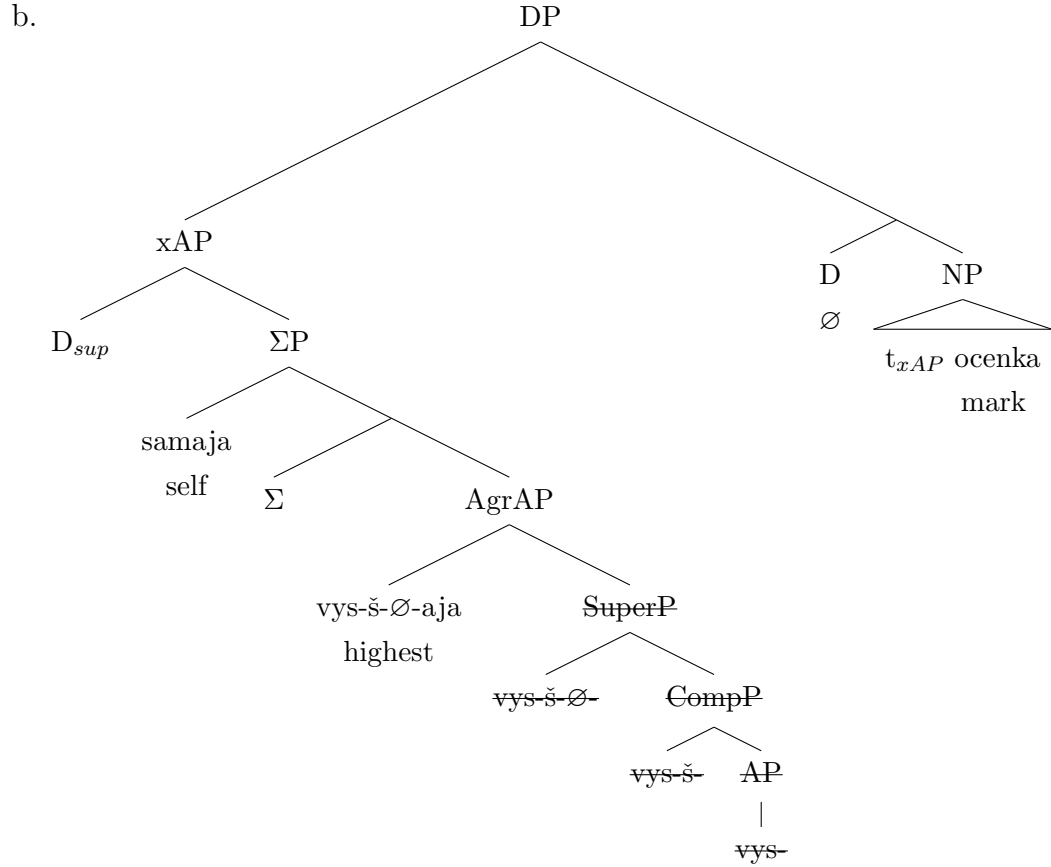
As schematically shown in (39), the welcome result is that the structure above is not predicted to be problematic for either C-Neg or S-Neg, as the DP-internal ΣP and clausal ΣP remain available for checking [neg] of *ne* 'not':

(39)   a.   ✓ *self*-superlative with C-Neg

b.   ✓ *self*-superlative with S-Neg

```
                        TP
                       /  \
                      /    \
                    T      ΣP
                          /  \
                         /    \
                        ne     \
                        not    /\
                          Σ_neg    VP
                                  /  \
                                 /    \
                                V      DP
                                      /  \
                                     /    \
                                   xAP     \
                                   / \     / \
                                  /   \   D   NP
                               D_sup  ΣP  ∅
                                      / \
                                     /   \
                                  samyj  /\
                                  self  Σ_pos,emph  SuperP
```
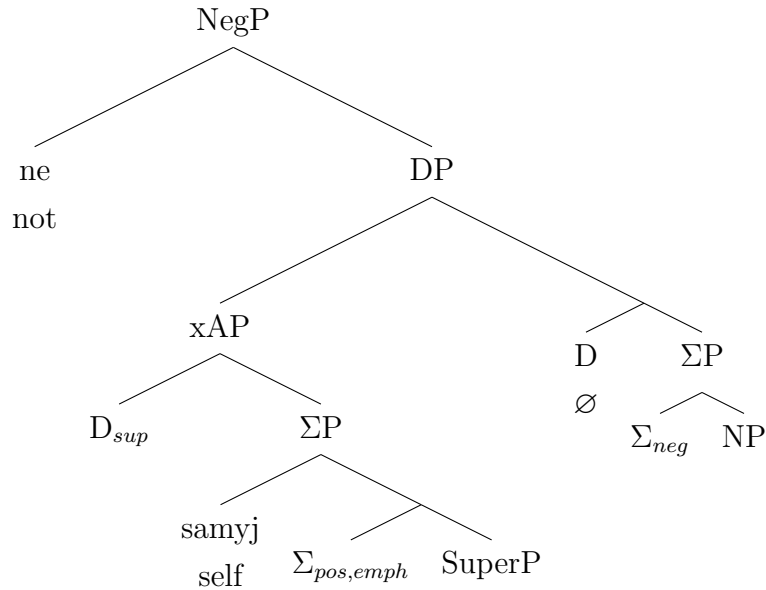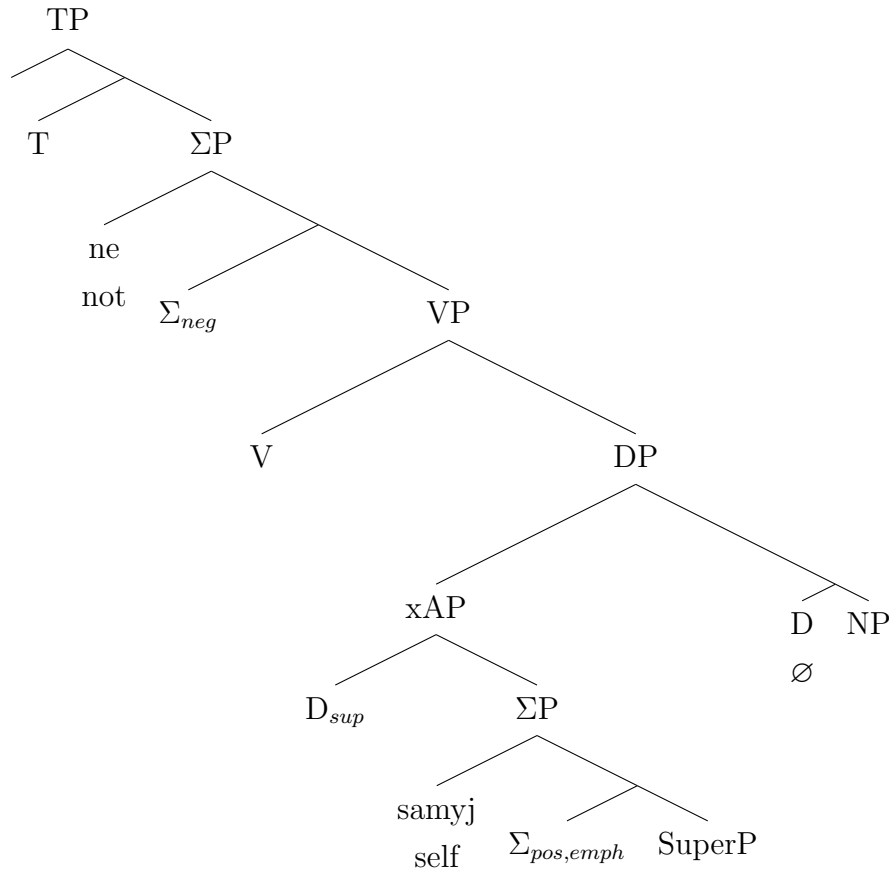
A note on *self*-superlatives without the superlative/comparative morpheme

For the superlatives that lack the overt superlative/comparative morpheme *-š(e)-*, as in (40-a) (which are, in fact, the majority of superlatives in Russian), I assume that *samyj* underwent a change from a simple intensifier of the superlative morpheme to the constitutive part of the superlative, as shown in (40-b).[20]

---

[20]Some initial plausibility for this proposal is provided by the fact that the development of superlatives from intensifiers has been proposed for other languages. For example, Bobaljik (2012: 50 and fn. 4 p. 52) reports that the prefix *leg-* in superlatives in Hungarian derives from an intensifier and is added to a comparative form of the adjective, see (i). Moreover, this intensifier-superlative can be iterated as shown in (ii) and also can modify an adverb without the comparative morpheme, see (iii). The example in (iii) is reminiscent of the Russian example *na samom dne* 'on self bottom' (= 'on the very bottom') discussed in section 3.1.3.

(i)   nagy 'big' - nagy-obb 'bigger' - leg-nagy-obb 'biggest'

(ii)   leg-es-leg-nagy-obb 'the very biggest'

(iii) alsó 'down' - leg-alsó 'bottommost'

Other languages like, for example, Chukchi derived their superlative marker from an emphatic pronoun meaning 'self' (Bobaljik 2012:52).

(40)   a.   samaja   dlinnaja   sonata
             self.F.SG.NOM long.F.SG.NOM sonata.F.SG.NOM
             'the longest sonata'

       b.

This change, I suggest, is similar to the integration of the emphatic adjective *self/sylf* into the reflexive pronoun in English, as, for instance, argued by van Gelderen (2000a, 2000b), see also Bergeton and Pancheva 2012 for the recent overview. I will briefly sketch the picture of the historical development of *self/sylf* given in van Gelderen 2000a, 2000b.[21]

In Old English, *self* was used as an emphatic adjective, as shown in (41-a) and regular pronouns were used, as reflexives as shown in (41-b).

(41)   a.   œþele cempa **self**   mid gesiðum
             noble fighter self-NOM with followers
             'The noble fighter himself with his followers.'
             [*Beowulf* 1312-3; van Gelderen 2000b:38]

       b.   No ic **me** an herewœsmun hnagran talige guþgeweorca, þonne Grendel
             not I me on prowess   smaller think wardeeds   than Grendel
             hine
             him
             'By no means do I consider myself smaller in prowess and wardeeds than Grendel does himself'
             [*Beowulf* 677-8; van Gelderen 2000b:33]

Throughout Late Old and Middle English, the 3rd person pronoun became more deictic (e.g. acquired morphological specification for number and gender)[22] and around 1250 moved from the position of the head of NP to D. As a result, *self/sylf* lost its adjectival nature and moved to N, becoming the head of a new reflexive form (see van Gelderen 2000b:102-3). This is schematically shown in (42):

---

[21]The picture presented here is oversimplified and does not do justice to the complexity of the process, but its main purpose is to illustrate the kind of historical change I have in mind.

[22]In Old English, *he/o* can be used for masculine, feminine, neuter, singular and plural (van Gelderen 2000b:102).

(42)   a. Old English

```
            DP
          /    \
        D       NP
              /    \
            NP      AP
            him    self
```

b. Middle and Modern English

```
            DP
          /    \
        D       NP
        him    self
```

Two ΣPs and Ambiguity

As discussed in section 4.1.4, the string in (43-a) is ambiguous between the superlative reading and the emphatic identity reading. This structural ambiguity can now be explained by the availability of two merging site for *samyj* within a DP, as shown in (44). The presence of two *samyj* as in (43-b) is explained similarly.[23]

(43)   a.   ta   samaja dlinnaja sonata   ambiguous
              that self   long   sonata
              = '[that very] long sonata'
              = 'the longest sonata'
        b.   [ta   samaja] [samaja dlinnaja] sonata
              that self   self   long   sonata
              'that very longest sonata'

(44)

```
                        DP
                      /    \
               xAP         \
           demonstrative    \
                      D       ΣP
                      ∅      /   \
                   samyj    /     \
                           Σ      xNP
                                 /    \
                              xAP      N
                             /   \
                            D     ΣP
                          samyj  /   \
                                Σ    SuperP
                                      |
                                  superlative
```

---

[23]In (44), the movement of either determiner or superlative to Spec-DP is presumably governed by superiority considerations. The standard analyses of superiority can be found in Rudin 1988, Richards 1997, Boškovič 2002, among others. I thank Arsalan Kahnemuyipour for this suggestion.

Capturing the iteration and the contribution of *samyj*

The analysis in terms of two merger positions straight-forwardly accounts for the differences with respect to the contribution and the iteration of *samyj*. When merged within a functional domain, *samyj* contributes to the identification of the referent, whereas when it is merged within the descriptive/lexical domain, it modifies the property itself (superlative meaning or precision). With respect to iteration, languages seem to use iteration/repetition of lexical elements for emphasis more readily than functional elements, see Moravcsik 1978 and subsequent works on the typology of reduplication, as well as Ghomeshi et al. 2004.

4.3.2 Motivations for Σ

At first blush, it may seem that postulating a propositional projection like ΣP within a DP to account for misbehaviour of some DP-local expressions is a unnecessarily costly move. In this section, I show that the propositional node (although not necessarily referred to as ΣP) has been already successfully used to solve different puzzling phenomena, such as DP-internal QR, licensing of NPIs and negative concord words (hereafter *n*-words) and representation of DP-internal discourse markers. This propositional node has been set as either positive or negative; my proposal enriches this repertoire by adding the emphatic flavour to the positively valued DP-internal propositional node. In the next chapter, I will show an additional benefit of having ΣP within DP. Its presence and interaction with the high polarity phrase (or high ΣP) will explain a number of puzzling phenomena about the use of *samyj* with pronouns in fragment answers. In addition, the account proposed for *samyj* suggests that DPs like CPs contain a phasal projection, which supports previous proposals to the same effect (e.g. Matushansky 2005b, Citko 2014b).

DP internal QR

Heim and Kratzer (1998:221-30) argue that in order to derive the most natural readings of (45) in which the quantifiers in PP, AP and NP have the narrow scope,[24] we need to assume that PPs, APs and NPs can have an internal $\langle t \rangle$-node that serves as a landing site for QR.

---

[24]For example, (45-a) with the narrow scope of the indefinite quantifier *a foreign country* can be paraphrased as 'no student from any foreign country was admitted' and will be false if even one international student was admitted. The wide scope of *a foreign country*, on the other hand, requires there to be only one country from which no student was admitted.

(45)   a.   No student [PP from a/any foreign country] was admitted. (H&K, 1998:221)

      b.   No student [AP interested in more than one topic] showed up.   (*ibid.* 229)

      c.   No [NP owner of an expresso machine] drinks tea.   (*ibid.* 229)

Thus, they propose that PPs, APs and NPs can have a internal subject represented as a semantically vacuous PRO. Moving out of PP, AP or NP, PRO creates a $\langle t \rangle$-type node suitable for a QR-ed quantifier. The trace of PRO is bound by the λ-operator that converts the PP, AP or NP back to type $\langle e, t \rangle$ by virtue of λ-abstraction. This is illustrated in (46) for (45-a). Note that QR-ing the quantifier *a/any foreign country* out of DP not only results in a different (if available) interpretation in which *a/any foreign country* scopes over *no student*, but also removes the NPI *any* from the licensing domain of *no* (see Heim and Kratzer 1998:221-3 for more discussion).

(46)
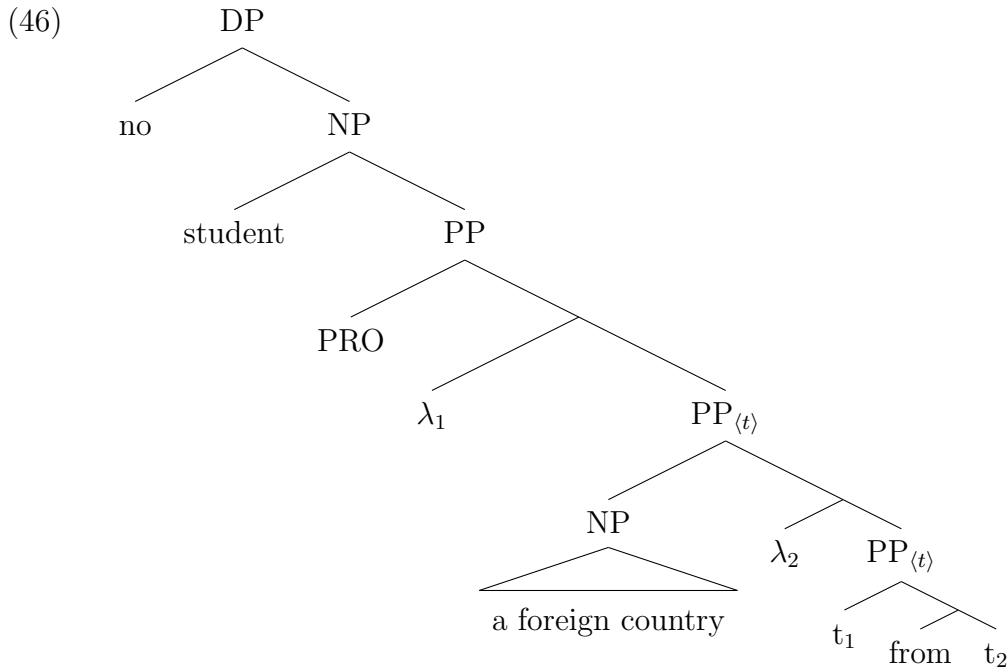
A similar explanation is given for the AP- and NP-internal quantifiers in (45-b) and (45-c).

Also, Matushansky (2002, 2005b) entertains the possibility that the mechanism proposed in Heim and Kratzer 1998 is also present in the derivation of degree fronting phenomena, as in (47):

(47)   a.   what a clean glass   (Matushansky 2005b)

      b.   how clean a glass

She hypothesizes that the $\langle t \rangle$-node is also present at the level of NumP, whose specifier serves as a landing site for the QR-ed degree expression (with or without a pied-piped adjective), as illustrated in (48). The reason why NumP is argued to be the landing site is that degree fronting seems sensitive to the phonological overtness of Num-head given the ungrammaticality of *how clean glasses* and *how clean water*, see Matushansky 2005b.

(48)

```
                NumP
               /    \
            PRO      \
               \      \
               λ₁      NumP⟨t⟩
                      /    \
                   DegP     \
                   what  λ₂  NumP⟨t⟩
                            /    \
                         Num      NP
                          a      /  \
                              t₁     \
                                   AP    N
                              t₂-clean  glass
```
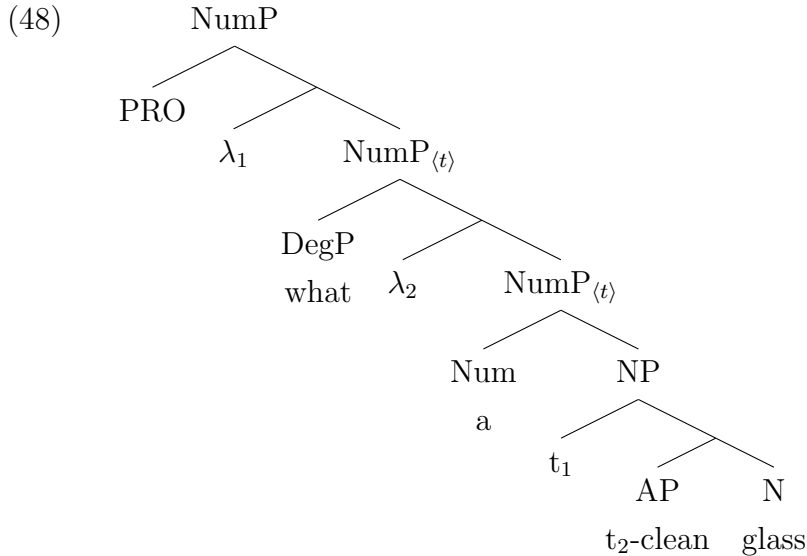
Licensing of NPIs and *n*-words

Another phenomenon in which DP-internal $\langle t \rangle$-node has been used is the licensing of NPIs and *n*-words.[25] As now generally accepted, in negative concord languages (hereafter, NC-languages), *n*-words must be licensed by a negative operator, e.g. Giannakidou 2000, Zeijlstra 2004, Progovac 2005, Penka 2010, among others. This licensing may take place not only at the sentential level. see the Italian example in (49-a), but also within a constituent, as in (49-b).

(49)   a.   Maria *(non) ha detto niente a nessuno.   *Italian*
              Maria NEG   has said   n-thing to n-person
              'Maria hasn't said anything to anybody.'   (Penka 2010:50)

        b.   È rimatro con niente   in mano.   *Italian*
              is left   with nothing in hand
              'He was left with noting in hand.'   (Zamuttini 1991)

(50) and (51) provide more examples of *n*-words licensed by C-Neg in Spanish and Russian. Note that unlike Italian and Spanish, Russian (and Slavic languages, in general)

---

[25]See e.g. Penka 2010 for the discussion whether we need to regard these as one category or two separate categories.

are 'strict' NC-languages, in which the negation must be present for both pre-verbal and post-verbal *n*-words.[26]

(50) a. el   nunca terminado puente de los Remedios   *Spanish*
          the n-time finished   bridge of the R.
          'the never finished Los Remedios bridge'

      b. un estudiante no   interesado por nada
          a   student   NEG interested in   n-thing
          'a student not interested in anything'   (Penka 2010:60-1)

(51) a. nikomu   ne   nužnyj most   *Russian*
          n-person NEG needed bridge
          'a bridge not needed by anybody'

      b. nečem   ne   interesujuščijsja   student
          n-thingINS NEG interestedPRES.PART.REFL.NOM studentNOM
          'a/the student not interested in anything'   (Penka 2010:63)

As Penka (2010) argues, if we assume that negation is a propositional operator, as in (52), in order to allow *n*-word licensing by C-Neg, we need to make a $\langle t \rangle$-node available within a constituent. Penka (2010), in fact, exploits the same mechanism developed in Heim and Kratzer 1998 to construct a $\langle t \rangle$-node within a DP, as schematically shown in (53) for (50-b). Note also that the negation in (50) and (51) is confined to DP, i.e. *Oni postroili [*DP *nikomu ne nužnyj most]* 'they built nobody not needed bridge' cannot mean that the bridge has not been built.

(52) $[\![neg]\!] = \lambda p.\neg p$

_____

[26]See Penka 2010 pp. 50 - onward for the account of the differences between strict and non-strict NC-languages.

(53)

```
                    DP
                   /  \
                 un    NP
                      /  \
               estudiante  AP
                          /  \
                       PRO    \
                        λ₁   NegP⟨t⟩
                             /   \
                           no    AP⟨t⟩
                          λp.¬p   /  \
                               t₁    \
                                 interesado  PP
                                            /  \
                                         por nada
```
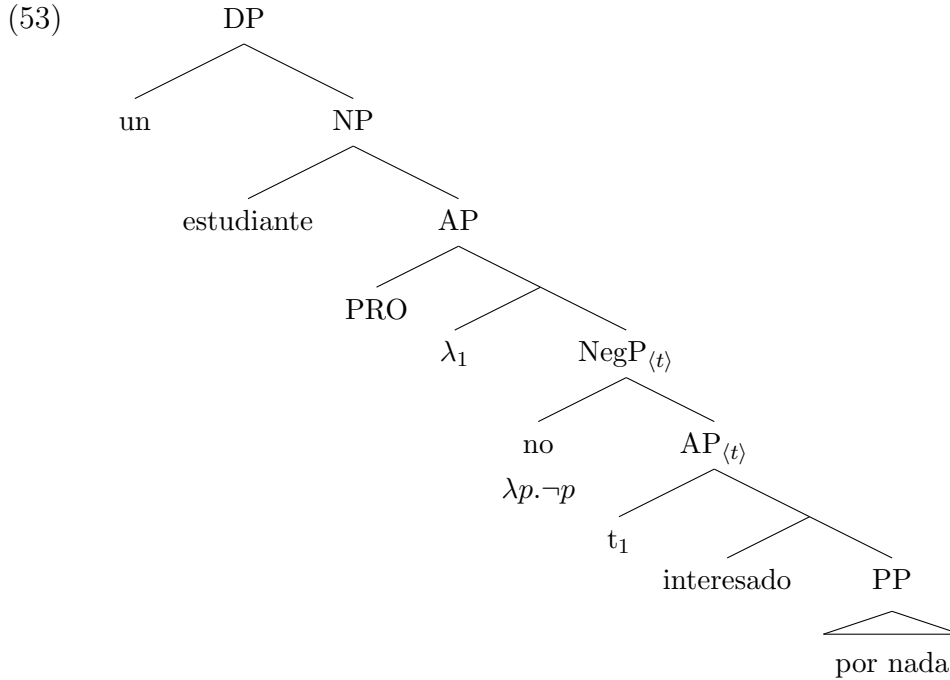
In the similar vein, Progovac (2000, 2005) proposes that manner/reason adverbials in Serbian project an independent PolP (a variant of Laka's ΣP). Recall from the discussion above that Slavic languages are strict NC-languages - this is illustrated in (54) for Serbian.

(54)   Niko   *(ni)je zvonio.   *Serbian*
        no.one isn't   rung
        'No one rang the bell.'   (Progovac 2005:190)

Progovac (2000, 2005) observes that with respect to *n*-word licensing place and time adverbials behave like arguments in requiring the presence of S-Neg, see (55-a,b). Manner and reason adverbials, however, can contain *n*-words without an overt licensor, see (55-c,d). If the negation is present, it gives rise to a positive interpretation (i.e. the sentence is interpreted as containing double negation).

(55)   a.   On *(ni)je zastao nijednog trenutka.   *Serbian*
             he isn't   paused no   moment
             'He didn't pause for a minute.' '
        b.   On *(ni)je govorio ni na jednoj konferenciji.
             he isn't   spoken no at one   conference
             'He spoke at no conference.'
        c.   On (ne) plače zbog ničega.
             he not cries for   nothing
             'He is (not) crying for nothing/without a reason.'

d. Rekao je   to sa n-i-malo   zlobe.
    said   AUX.3.SG that with no-even-little malice
    'He said that with no malice.'   (*ibid.* p.190-1)

Progovac (2000, 2005) proposes to account for this difference by allowing manner and reason adjuncts to project their own PolP, whereas time/place adverbials, being more argumental in the Davidsonian sense, lack this option.

I suggest that the ⟨*t*⟩-node discussed above with respect to QR and licensing of *n*-words is the same projection - PolP/ΣP - proposed by Progovac (2000, 2005) for manner/reason adjuncts. As we seem to need this projection independently of the status of a constituent as argument vs. adjunct, I depart from Progovac (2000, 2005) and propose that PolP/ΣP is available in any constituent (e.g. DP, AP, PP, NP, argument or adjunct).

The difference between *n*-word licensing in arguments and time/place adverbials, on the one hand, and manner/reason adverbials, on the other hand, can be captured in terms of the feature make-up of PolP/ΣP. For instance, we can propose that PolP/ΣP in arguments and place/time adverbials comes with an unvalued [uPol] which is negatively valued under the agreement with the clausal PolP/ΣP containing clausal negation. PolP/ΣP of manner/reason adjuncts can be said to value its [uPol] against a covert operator merged in its specifier in a 'self-licensing' manner proposed for non-strict NC-languages (see, for example, Penka 2010:50 and references cited there). That is to say, in some sense Serbian (and Russian where the same distinction can be replicated for Russian) are only *partially* strict NC-languages, as when it comes to manner/reason adverbials they behave like non-strict NC-languages.

One piece of evidence that the projecting-PolP-in-adjuncts solution is too strong and we need to opt for a weaker featural-make-up solution comes from the fact that even within the Slavic sub-group the projecting-PolP-in-adjuncts solution is hard to maintain. As Progovac (2005: 193-4) herself mentions, Serbian preposition *without* cannot license *n*-words (the only possibility is to use *i*-NPIs instead), whereas Polish *without* can license *n*-words, see (56). It would be clearly undesirable to postulate the difference between Serbian and Polish *without* in terms of their different degrees of adjunct-hood.

(56)   a. Uradio sam to bez   traženja ičije   /*ničije pomoči.   *Serbian*
            did   AUX it without asking   anyone's /no.one's help

        b. Zrobilem to bez   proszenia nikogo o pomoc.   *Polish*
            did   it without asking   nobody for help
            'I did this without asking for anyone's help.'   (Progovac 2005:193-4)

DP-internal discourse markers

In the previous two sections, we saw that projecting a $\langle t \rangle$-node within DP is motivated on semantic (as a landing site for QR) and syntactic grounds (for *n*-word licensing). In this section, I show that a $\langle t \rangle$-node within DP is also desirable from the point of view of pragmatics.

In the recent literature, some attention has been devoted to developing a formal analysis of (mainly German) discourse particles, e.g. Kratzer 1999, Zimmermann 2005. For instance, Zimmermann (2005) investigates the uses of the German particle *wohl*, which signals that the speaker is not committed to the truth of the proposition being asserted, but rather has a weaker 'idiosyncratic commitment [...] that p is likely to be the case' (Zimmermann 2005: 556), see (57):

(57)   Hein ist wohl auf See.   *German*
        Hein is   at   sea
        = Speaker assumes that Hein is at sea   (Zimmermann 2005:543)

Zimmermann (2005) proposes that *wohl* is a sentential modifier situated in Spec-ForceP (which accounts for a number of its syntactic properties), see (58-a). With respect to its contribution, *wohl* leads to the introduction of a weak commitment represented as ASSUME(x,p) (where in a simple case, x is the speaker) to common grounds (CG), rather than a strong commitment to p, see (58-b).

(58)   a.   [$_{\text{ForceP}}$ wohl$_i$ [$_{\text{TopP}}$ Hein [$_{\text{FinP}}$ ist [$_{\text{VP}}$ t$_i$ [$_{\text{VP}}$ auf See]]]]]
        b.   p = Hein is at sea
              CG1 = {..., p$_x$, p$_y$, p$_z$, ...} (CG before utterance of (57))
              CG2 = {..., p$_x$, p$_y$, ASSUME(x,p), p$_z$,...} (CG after utterance of (57))

Interestingly, *wohl* can be used DP-internally, see (59). And in this case, *wohl* does not scope out of DP, i.e. in (59), what is in doubt is the quality of the restaurant, not Peter's going to the restaurant.

(59)   Peter ist in [$_{\text{DP}}$ das wohl beste [$_{\text{NP}}$ Restaurant von Berlin]] gegangen.
        Peter is in   the   best   restaurant of Berlin gone
        'Peter went to a restaurant that is arguably the best in Berlin.'
                                                                 (Zimmermann 2005:563)

Zimmermann (2005) puts this use of *wohl* to the Open Issues section and tentatively proposes that '[a] possible solution would be to assume that the functional architecture

of at least some DPs contains a Force projection as well. This would be feasible if these DPs could be analysed as propositional expressions or phases [...]' (p. 563).

To summarize, in this section we saw that having a propositional projection within DPs is motivated on semantic, syntactic and pragmatic grounds. As mentioned in the Introduction, there are also theoretical considerations that favour the presence of DP-internal propositional node. Given the parallelism between CPs and DPs, a natural question that arises is whether DP can contain a phase (parallel to CP containing a vP phase). The answers to this question seem to converge on the positive (Matushansky 2005b, Citko 2014b). The account of *samyj* proposed here contributes additional evidence in support of the existence of a DP-internal phase projection.

4.3.3 ΣP mismatches

Positing multiple ΣPs in a structure raises the question whether they can have mismatching values. This question is especially pressing as the analysis I propose requires that the mismatch is possible. The goal of this section is to provide evidence that such mismatches are indeed possible.

Consider first the lack of interaction between S-Neg and DP-internal ΣP in both Dem+*samyj* and *self*-superlatives, schematically shown in (60). (Recall that *self*-superlatives in fact have two ΣPs: one selected by the top D, the other by D_{sup} in the superlative adjective. For the moment, I ignore the superlative Σ which is modified by *samyj*.).

(60)   a.   Dasha not Σ_{neg} played [$_{DP}$ that *samyj* $\Sigma_{pos,emph}$ sonata]   Dem+*samyj*
          b.   Dasha not Σ_{neg} played [$_{DP}$ D Σ_{pos} [*samyj* long] sonata]   *self*-superlative

This mismatch is reminiscent of another mismatch in the question-answer pairs as in (61), where the answer arguably has two ΣPs valued differently (see Holmberg 2013, Authier 2013, Citko 2014a, among the most recent works).

(61)   Ivan ne prišel? - Net, prišel. / Da, ne prišel.
          Ivan not came   no   came   yes not came
          'Hasn't Ivan came? - No, he came. / Yes, he hasn't.'

If the negation is expressed as C-Neg, Dem+*samyj* becomes deviant as discussed in section 4.1.3. This is because according to the present proposal C-Neg values [uPol] of the DP-internal Σ as [neg], which clashes with the [pos,emph] valuation by *samyj*. *Self*-

superlatives are fine under C-Neg as *samyj* is part of the superlative adjective and thus does not interact with the top Σ. This is illustrated in (62):

(62) a. *Dasha Σ_{pos} played [$_{DP}$ not that *samyj* $\Sigma_{*pos,emph}$ sonata]   Dem+*samyj*
      b. Dasha Σ_{pos} played [$_{DP}$ not D Σ_{neg} [*samyj* long] sonata]   *self*-superlative

This pos-neg mismatch can be seen in the second answer in (61). in addition, we saw numerous examples in the previous section that C-Neg that licenses *n*-words within a constituent does not 'spill out' to the clause.[27] This point is also illustrated in (63), where (63-a) shows that *nikomu* is an *n*-word in Russian that must be licensed by S-Neg and (63-b) shows that C-Neg on *self*-superlatives is not an appropriate licensor.

(63) a. Daša *(ne) igrala samuju   dlinnuju   sonatu
          Dasha not   played self.F.SG.ACC long.F.SG.ACC sonata.F.SG.ACC
          nikomu.
          n-person.DAT
          'Dasha didn't play the longest sonata to anybody.'
      b. Daša igrala ne samuju   dlinnuju   sonatu
          Dasha played not self.F.SG.ACC long.F.SG.ACC sonata.F.SG.ACC
          (*nikomu).
          n-person.DAT
          'Dasha played not the longest sonata to nobody.'

Consider finally the mismatch between two ΣPs within *self*-superlatives. (64) is a schematic representation of *self*-superlatives.

(64)   [$_{DP}$ D $\Sigma_{pos/neg}$ [$_{xAP}$ *samyj* $\Sigma_{pos,emph}$ long] sonata]

The higher Σ can have either the default pos-value or the marked neg-value if C-Neg is merged. The low Σ, however, must be valued as pos,emph by *samyj*.[28] In my proposal, the presence of two Σs explained the insensitivity of *self*-superlatives to C-Neg. But can we really show that two Σs can have mismatching values? This task is not trivial. However, consider the following example:

---

[27]The relation between S-Neg and C-Neg is complex. I will discuss with reference to Russian in section 6.2 based on Borschev et al. 2005.

[28]Note that in (64), I represent the superlative in its merge position low in DP, before it moves to Spec-DP. This is done for the ease of reference. In the pre-movement representation, Σ within the superlative is both structurally and linearly 'low'. The use of 'low'/'high' for a linear representation after the movement may cause confusion.

(65)   Samuju dlinnuju Daša igrala ___ sonatu no/a ne ___ mazurku.
        self   long   D.   played   sonata but not   mazurka
        'Dasha played the longest sonata but not (the longest) mazurka.'

(65) is an example of a split construction in which the superlative is a contrastive topic and is fronted from both conjuncts in the ATB style. Assuming that *samuju dlinnuju* is a sub-part of both DPs as in the multi-dominance account of ATB (e.g. Citko 2006) and that the second conjunct has C-Neg, (65) shows that the two Σs within *self*-superlatives can have mismatching values, as schematized in (66). As is the case with (64), (66) shows the pre-movement representation of *self*-superlatives (see fn. 28). The sub-constituents of DPs that are split and topicalized are indicated by strike-through.

(66)   [$_{DP}$ D Σ$_{pos}$ [$_{xAP}$ ~~*samyj* Σ$_{pos}$ long~~] sonata] & [$_{DP}$ not D Σ$_{neg}$ [$_{xAP}$ ~~*samyj* Σ$_{pos}$ long~~] mazurka]

The evidence that the second conjunct contains C-Neg as opposed to S-Neg comes from two sources. First of all, the second conjunct in (65) is interpreted as C-Neg, i.e. 'Dasha played not the longest mazurka', and not as S-Neg, i.e. 'Dasha didn't play the longest mazurka'. Although C-Neg entails S-Neg, C-Neg, unlike S-Neg, is infelicitous in a situation where Dasha didn't play any mazurka at all (e.g. Borschev et al. 2005). (65) is infelicitous if Dasha played no mazurka at all.[29]

Secondly, clausal multi-dominance constructions such as Backward Gapping have been argued to disallow polarity mismatches, e.g. Citko 2015 and referenced there.

(67)   a. *Jan kocha a   Maria nie lubi nikogo.   *Polish*
            Jan loves and Maria not likes anyone
            'Jan loves (someone) and Maria does not like anyone.'
        b. *Jan nikogo ___ a   Piotr kogoś   zaprosil.
            Jan anyone   and Piotr someone invited
            'Jan invited no one and Piotr someone.'   (Citko 2015:2-3)

In sum, this section showed that if there are multiple Σs, the mismatch in their values is attested in natural language.

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[29]This is especially true when *no* is used, as opposed to *a*. The sentence with *a* has an additional (irrelevant here) reading when the form of the longest music piece is corrected. For the discussion of *a* and *no* in Russian see for example Paducheva and Krejdlin 1997, Paducheva 1997 and reference therein.

4.3.4 Condition on Σ

This section explores and rejects an alternative derivation of Dem+*samyj* that given the assumptions in this chapter would not account for the interaction with C-Neg facts.[30] I propose a condition on Σ that blocks this undesirable derivation. Although at this point the condition I postulate will seem ad hoc, in section 5.4, it will play a crucial role in explaining *samyj* in fragment answers and be explained in principled way.

As our starting point, let us consider again the structure of Dem+*samyj* proposed in section 4.3.1 and repeated here as (68):

(68)   a.   t-a   samaja   sonata
               that.F.SG.NOM slef.F.SG.NOM sonata.F.SG.NOM
               'that very sonata'

        b.
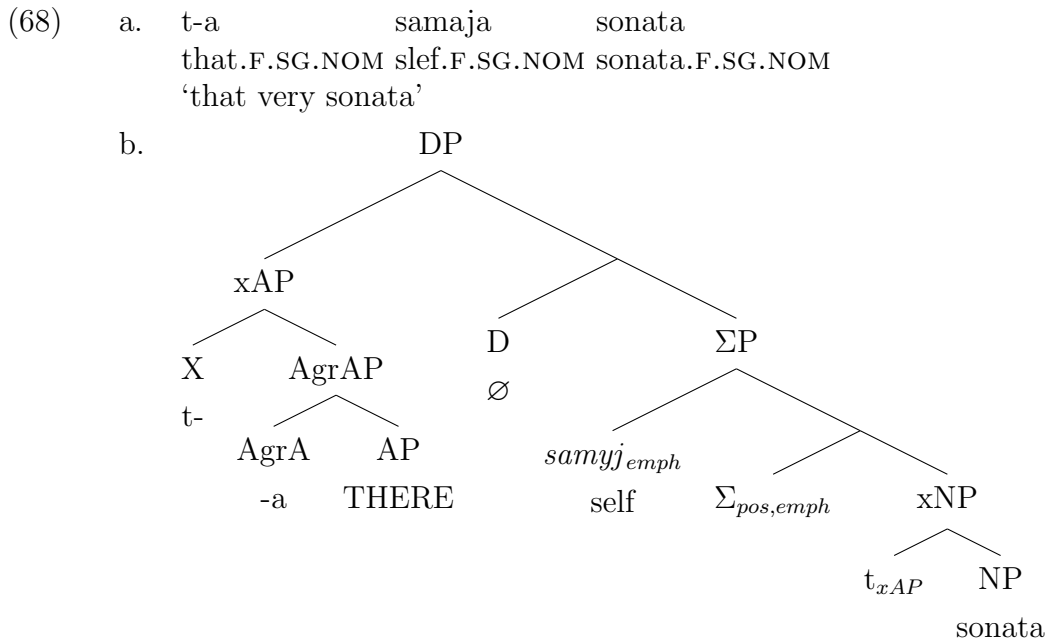
I proposed that *samyj* in Dem+*samyj* merges as Spec-ΣP selected by the null D and values features of Σ as [pos,emph]. This valuation results in feature clash when C-Neg is merged.

However, an alternative to (68) would be to claim that Σ merges within the demonstrative xAP parallel to *self*-superlatives, such merger would not result in feature clash (an unwelcome consequence). This alternative derivation is shown in (69):

---

[30]Note that the 'problem' discussed in this section arises only if we assume the decompositional analysis of demonstratives as in Leu 2008. If demonstratives are analyzed as indivisible elements, the problem will not arise. I address this problem here because it seems to be identical to the problem discussed in section 5.4 that cannot be solved by choosing a different set of assumptions.

(69)   Alternative derivation of Dem+*samyj* (to be rejected)

```
                              DP
                  ┌───────────┴────────────┐
                xAP                      ┌──┴───┐
           ┌─────┴──────┐               D      xNP
           X            ΣP              ∅     ┌──┴──┐
           t-      ┌─────┴─────┐            t_{xAP}  NP
             samyj_{emph}                         sonata
              self    Σ_{pos,emph}    AgrAP
                              ┌────┴────┐
                            AgrA       AP
                             -a       THERE
```
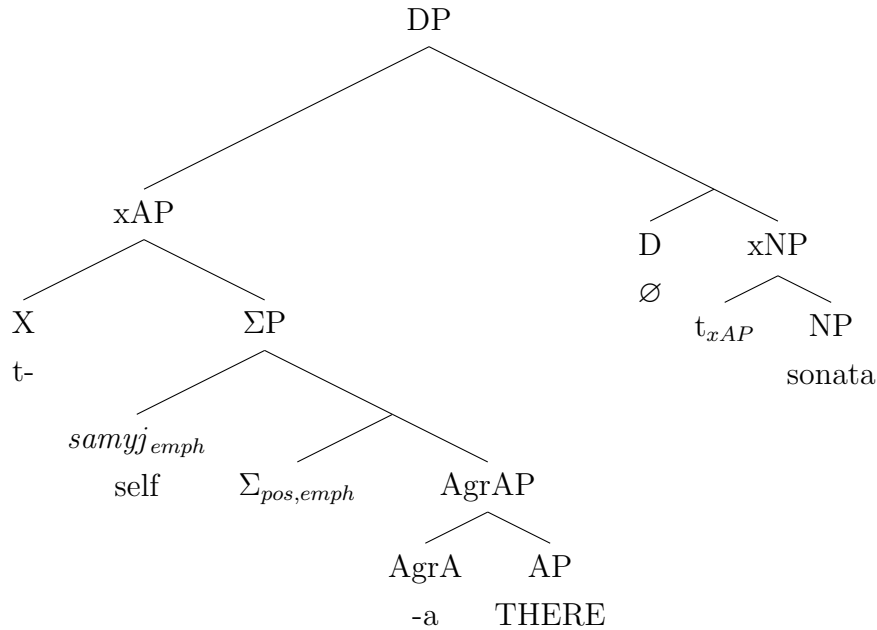
There are several ways to declare the derivation in (69) ill-formed. For example, we can posit a plausible phonological rule that disallows the disruption of D and AgrA that form a phonological unit. However, we can wiggle around this phonological stipulation by moving Σ below AgrA thus satisfying the phonological requirement but leaving our problem unresolved. Another possible solution would be to postulate a selectional restriction that only null Ds can select for ΣP and as the D in xAP (demonstrative) is filled, ΣP is not projected there. However, such a solution would open the door for a new problem: we would need to find a way to rule out expressions like **samaja sonata* 'self sonata', which arguably may contain a null D as well, if the universal DP-Hypothesis is correct (I will return to this question in section 6.1).

I will pursue another line of reasoning here. I will posit the following condition on Σ:

(70)   *The Condition on Σ*
        The sister of Σ must contain an independent (lexical) description.

By 'an independent (lexical) description' I mean some lexical material that can help to identify the referent of DP. In section 6.2, I will tentatively hypothesize that one major contribution of *samyj* is to introduce a secondary assertion of identity of the form X = Y. For this assertion to be informative X and Y need to provide different descriptions of the referent of DP, otherwise it is vacuous.[31]

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[31]The notion of description here can be viewed as a lexical counterpart of Heim's 'guises'.

Recall from section 4.2.2, esp. fn. 7 that Leu (2008) sect. 2.2.4 argues that HERE/THERE in xAP does not stay in its merge position, but rather moves to the left of the determiner, see (71):

(71)   [HERE di t$_{HERE}$ rosä] 'this rose'

If we extend this derivation to Russian demonstratives and merge [samyj Σ] within the demonstrative (below AgrA to allow the agreement morpheme cliticize to *t*-) as shown in (72), *samyj* will establish the identity between two copies of THERE - an uninformative statement that the thing over there is identical to itself.

(72)   [[THERE ta [samaja Σ] t$_{THERE}$] sonata]

As mentioned at the beginning of this section, I will return to this condition in section 5.4, in which it will play a crucial role in the derivation of fragment answers with *samyj*.

4.4   Other 'chameleons'

In this section, I discuss two groups of phenomena from different languages that show the 'chameleon' effect, i.e. show different semantic and syntactic properties depending of where in the structure they merge. The first group contains elements that are 'close relatives' of Russian *samyj* in other languages. The second group consists of phenomena that are not related to *samyj* or expressions of identity, but show the 'chameleon effect'. The goal of this section is to illustrate that the 'chameleon effect' is not an isolated phenomenon and can be found in different languages and different constructions.

4.4.1   Close relatives

Ukrainian

The closest phenomena to Russian *samyj* can be found in another Eastern Slavic language - Ukrainian. As the examples below illustrate Ukrainian also can use an equivalent of *samyj* in superlatives and Dem+*samyj* constructions. (73) provides examples, where (73-a) is identical to *self*-superlatives without a superlative/comparative morpheme, (73-b) shows *samyj* used as an intensifier with a superlative and (73-c) illustrates Dem+*samyj*.

(73)   a.   Bulo   pide [pan] z   Sen'koju kuxarem u zagoni, namitit' samogo
              used.to go Pan with Sen'ka   cook   to stable choose   self
              sitogo vola, ta   i   zvelit' ubiti.
              large ox   then and ordered to.kill
              'Pan used to go to the stable with Sen'ka the cook, choose the largest ox
              and order to kill it.'

        b.   On   u Dejkolivci samogo nai-kraščogo zerebcja v artili vkrali.
              there at D.   self   SUP-good   horse   in herd stolen
              'The best horse in the herd was stolen from Dejkolivca.'

        c.   Til'ko toj   samii jasnij mecjačen'ko osvičie ix   v sju xvilinu.
              only   that self clear moon   lit   them in this hour
              'Only [that very] clear moon shone on them at this hour.'

              from Akademičnyj Tlumačnyj Slovnik (1970-1980)

Ukrainian can also use *samyj* with pronouns as in *vin samij* 'he self', with preposi-
tions and nouns expressing end-points, place and time as in *z samogo ranku* 'from (the)
very morning' and *u same polovoddja* 'during (the) very flooding'. In other words, the
constructions in which Ukrainian *samyj* is used are very similar to those in which Russian
samyj is used.

Latvian and Lithuanian

Baltic languages - Latvian and Lithuanian - use a morpheme closely related to the em-
phatic reflexive *pàts* to form *self*-superlatives, as illustrated in (74)-(75). Note that as in
Russian and Ukrainian, *pàts* can co-occur with synthetic superlatives and the adjective
in such constructions is definite.

(74)   a.   pàts geràsis   *Lithuanian*
              self good-DEF
              'the best'

        b.   pàts geriáusias
              self good-SUPER.DEF
              'the best'   (Ambrazas et al. 1997)

(75)   a.   pats labais   cilveks   *Latvian*
              self good-DEF man
              'the best man'

        b.   pats labakais   cilveks
              self good-SUPER/COMP.DEF man
              'the best man'   (Weiss 2006)

Examples in (76) from Lithuanian show that *pàts* is also used in constructions parallel to Dem+*samyj* and with prepositions and nouns denoting end-points.

(76)   a.   ta   pati knygà   *Lithuanian*
            that self book
            'that very book'

       b.   ta   pàt minùte
            that self minute
            'that very minute'

       c.   prie pàt vandeñs
            near self water
            'nearest to the water'

       d.   nuo   pàt ryto
            from self morning
            'from the very morning'   (Lemchenas 1982-1985:20)

English

English *very* is another example of an intensifier that shows the 'chameleon effect', see (77):

(77)   a.   a/the very tall man
       b.   the very sonata that...

It has been noticed in the literature (e.g. Wheeler 1972, Bale 2008) that *very* is one of few degree modifiers that can be iterated, see (78):

(78)   a.   John is very very tall.
       b. ??John is quite quite tall.
       c. ??John is somewhat somewhat tall.
       d. ??John is a little bit a little bit tall.   (Bale 2006:288)

Moreover, the iteration of *very* was argued to be truth-conditional. Starting from Wheeler 1972, one prominent line of research has been to analyze *very* as restricting the comparison class of a positive adjective. This analysis is based on the intuition that *a very tall man* can be paraphrased as *a tall man among tall man*. The iteration of *very*, according to this line of reasoning, further restricts the comparison class. That is to say *a very very tall man* can be paraphrased as *a tall man among very tall man*.

Interestingly, when *very* is used to emphasize identity in constructions parallel to Russian Dem+*samyj* it cannot be iterated, as shown in (79):

(79)   a.   Dasha played that very sonata (I told you about).

b. ??Dasha played that very very sonata (I told you about).

In addition, as already mentioned, a string with *very* can be ambiguous:

(80)   the very long sonata   ambiguous

German and Swiss German

Germanic languages also seem to have an intensifier cognate with *samyj* that is used adnominally to emphasize identity. However, it is usually glossed as 'same'. Consider the Old English example in (81-a), the German example in (81-b) and the Swiss German example in (81-c).[32]

(81)   a.   ðū   eart se   sylfa God ðe   ūs ādrife   fram dōme.   *Old English*
              you are the same God that us drive.away from justice
              'You are the same God that chased us away from justice.' [Ps. Th. 107, 10]

b.   Ich habe den selben Anwalt wie Bill Clinton.   *German*
              I   have the same lawyer as   Bill Clinton
              'I have the same lawyer as Bill Clinton.'   (Gast 2006:3)

c.   Ich wetti   di säb (suppä).   *Swiss German*
              I   would.like the same (soup)
              'I would like that very (bowl of) soup there.'   (Leu 2008:39)

Interestingly, Leu (2008) observes that German *selb-* and Swiss German *säb* can also occur with propositions and nouns time and place "(without a noticeable effect on meaning) without an overt definite marker" (p. 39). This is illustrated in (82) from Leu 2008:39. (Russian also omits the otherwise obligatory demonstrative when *samyj* modifies nouns of place and time with prepositions.)

(82)   a.   i säbem momänt   *Swiss German*
              in same   moment
              'at that moment'

b.   uf säbem Bëërg
              'on that very mountain'

---

[32]English still uses *selfsame*, see Huddleston and Pullum 2002, Gast 2006:43, Leu 2008:38. The modification by *self* in Germanic sometimes is referred to as 'token identity' (as opposed to type-identity), see Gast 2006:3,43, but also see Leu 2008:38-9 for a different representation of the facts: Early Modern English also used *self* as a 'token identity' adjective as in *My Lord, I'll tell you; that self bill is urg'd...* from Shakespeare's 'King Henry V' I,1,37 cited after Gast 2006:43. As a side note, Russian *samyj* can be used either with types or tokens.

    c.   i säbem Door
         'in that very village'

    d.   i säbere Stadt
         'in that very city'

    e.   zu selber Zeit   *German*
         to same time
         'at the same time'   (Leu 2008:39)

4.4.2 'Chameleons' in other domains

Intensification not connected to identity

This phenomenon concerns the demonstrative itself, or rather the (usually) unpronounced adjective HERE/THERE. As discussed in section 4.2.2, Leu (2008) argues that in some languages this adjective is overt as in Colloquial Norwegian and Afrikaans. (83) is an example of the overt HERE in Colloquial Norwegian repeated from (17).

(83)   den her(r)-e   klokka   *Coll. Norwegian*
       the here.INFL watch.DEF

(83)   det der(r)-e   huset
       the there.INFL house.DEF

   Leu (2008:33-4) points out that *herre* can be iterated in some eastern Norwegian dialects and provides the following example:

(84)   den herre   her populære boka   mi (her)   *E-Norwegian*
       the here.ADJ here popular   book.DEF my here

Leu (2008) calls the second *her* a 'reinforcer' and notes two interesting properties of reinforcers: i) they do not carry the obligatory adjectival agreement, unlike the demonstrative HERE/*herre*, see (85), which seems to support his analysis; ii) reinforcers differ from the demonstrative HERE/*herre* in terms of interpretation - while the demonstrative HERE/*herre* can have either the locative or discourse anaphoric interpretation, reinforcers can have only the locative interpretation, see (86) (examples are from Leu 2008:33-4):

(85)   a.   den (*her) her populære boka   mi (her)   *E-Norwegian*
         the here   here popular   book-DEF my here

b. *den her herre   populære boka   mi her
   the here here.adj popular   book-def my here

(86)   a.   den her-re   klokka   *Coll. Norwegian*
             the here-INFL watch *(locative or discourse anaph.)*

       b.   den her-re   her klokka
            the here-INFL here watch *(only locative)*

The interpretative difference between what Leu (2008) calls 'reinforcers' and the demonstrative HERE/*herre* can also be found in languages that have the covert HERE/ THERE in the demonstratives, like English and Swiss German. (87) and (88) (from Leu 2008:34) show that 'reinforcers' are unacceptable with the non-locative *year*.

(87)   a.   this here house
       b.   this (*here) year

(88)   a.   das   hus   da /dettä   *Swiss German*
           this/that house here /there

       b. *das   jahr da /dettä
           this/that year here /there

Leu (2008) proposes an 'informal' structure for 'reinforcers' shown in (89):

(89)   [[$_{\text{Dem}}$ THERE the] there N] $\Rightarrow$ "that there book"   (Leu 2008:32)

This structure I think points to the same intuition that underlies the main proposal in this chapter, namely that a lexical item can have different properties depending on where it merges in the structure. To make it clear, I do not want to suggest that HERE/*here* are related to *samyj* or ΣP. The claim is rather that different categories can be merge either as part of the lexical/descriptive domain or in the left-periphery and this choice affects their properties in a systematic way.

Quantification

In this section, I would like to briefly present two quantificational phenomena that also seem to be instances of the 'chameleon effect'.

The first phenomenon concerns the Japanese adverb *motto*. *Motto* has been shown to have multiple meanings that fall into two large categories 'a degree reading' and 'a negative reading', see Sawada 2010 and references cited therein. The degree reading is illustrated in (90), where *motto* is part of a comparative construction (from Sawada 2010:147).

(90)   Taro-wa   Ziro-yori   motto   hayaku hashi-tta.   (Degree reading)
        Taro-TOP Ziro-than still.much.more fast   run-PAST
        'lit. Taro ran still much faster than Ziro.'

The sentence in (91) is ambiguous between the degree and the negative reading. In the
degree reading there is an entailment that the addressee is running fast and he is urged
to run even faster (comparatives in Japanese have the positive entailment that is usually
neutralized in comparatives in English, see Sawada 2010 and references there for argu-
ments). In the negative reading, there is no positive entailment. On the contrary, this
use of *motto* implies that the addressee is running slow and this fact is being complained
about. To capture the semantic difference between the two *motto*s, Sawada (2010) pro-
poses that the degree *motto* is a degree morpheme, whereas the meaning of the negative
motto is captured in terms of conventional implicatures. (91) is from Sawada 2010:147.

(91)   Motto   hayaku hasi-re!
        MOTTO fast   run-IMPERATIVE
        a.   'Run still much faster!'   (Degree reading)
        b.   'Run fast!' (Implies: you are not running fast now.)   (Negative reading)

What is interesting about *motto* is that in addition to the difference in meaning, it is
also distinguished by prosody and the possibility to be iterated. With respect to prosody,
when occurring with a gradable adjective the degree *motto* receives a high pitch accent
relative to the adjective, whereas the negative-*motto*+adjective pair, it is the adjective
that receives the high pitch accent, see Sawada 2010:158-160. With respect to iteration,
(92) shows that the degree *motto* can be iterated, unlike the negative *motto*.

(92)   a.   Mo'tto mo'tto hayaku hasi-re.   (Degree reading)
             MOTTO MOTTO fast   run-IMP
             'Run still much faster!'

        b.   Fuji-san-wa   mo'tto mo'tto takai.   (Degree reading)
             Mt. Fuji-TOP MOTTO MOTTO high
             'Mt. Fuji is still much taller.'   (Sawada 2010:160)
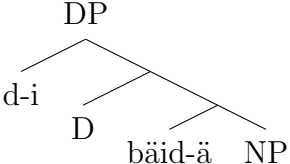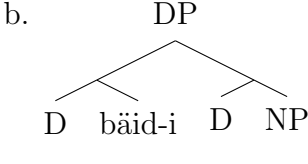
The second phenomenon that is a promising candidate for the 'chameleon' effect is
Swiss German *bäid-* 'both'. According to Leu (2008), *bäid-* can be used with a demon-
strative as in (93-a) and as an adjective as in (93-b). In both cases the DP is definite
(suggesting that the adjectival *bäid-* in (93-b) has a silent D). (Examples are from Leu
2008:43.)

(93)   a.   D-i   bäid-ä   mäitli hend es piär trunkä.
              the-agra both-wk girls   have a beer drunk

        b.   Bäid-i   mäitli hend es piär trunkä.
              both-agra girls   have a beer drunk

However, they differ with respect to their scopal properties, both clausal and DP-internal. What interests us here is the difference with respect to scope taking within a DP (see Leu 2008:43-4 for the discussion of clausal scope). As shown in (94)-(95), the adjectival *bäid-* cannot scope over NP dependents, unlike *bäid-* with the determiner. (Examples are from Leu 2008:44.)

(94)   a.   Di bäidä mäitli wo   sich kännet
              the both girls   who self know
              'the two girls who know each other'

        b.   *Bäidi mäitli wo   sich kännet
              both girls   who self know

(95)   a.   Di bäidä verwandtä spiler
              the both related   players

        b. #Bäidi verwandtä spiler
              both related   players

Leu (2008) accounts for this difference in DP-internal scope by extending his analysis of demonstrative to *bäid-* and arguing that *bäid-* can merge in two different positions as shown in (96).

(96)   a.   DP   b.   DP

              d-i   D   bäid-i D   NP
                   D
                       bäid-ä   NP

(96-a) is a structure for *bäid-* with the determiner that shows that it can scope over NP dependents. The adjectival *bäid-* in (96-b), however, is too embedded to take scope over NP dependents.

The reasoning behind this analysis is very close to the explanation I proposed for the interaction of *samyj* with C-Neg. According to my proposal (simplifying somewhat), *samyj* in Dem+*samyj* merges to the root of DP and thus is infelicitous with C-Neg, see (97-a), whereas *samyj* in *self*-superlatives is too embedded to interact with C-Neg, see (97-b).

(97)   a.

```
              DP
           /      \
        that    ___D___
             D /    \
          samyj      NP
                    sonata
```

b.

```
              DP
           /       \
          D      _____D_____
              __D__      \
             D    \       NP
          samyj  long   sonata
```
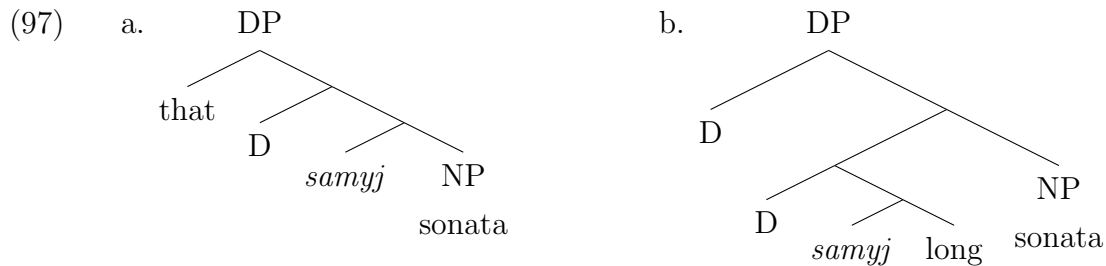
To summarize, in this section, I presented a range of constructions that suggest that the 'chameleon' effect is a wide-spread phenomenon and that there are systematic differences between the behaviour of a particular element depending on where in the tree it is merged.[33]

4.5   Summary

In this section, I contrasted two constructions Dem+*samyj* and *self*-superlatives. I showed that *samyj* differs in these constructions with respect to (a) its contribution to the meaning of DP, (b) iteration, and (c) interaction with negation. The last difference was discussed in detail. The observation was made that *samyj* in Dem+*samyj* cannot appear under local constituent negation, but is acceptable with sentential negation and in clause level DE-environments. This claim was supported by corpus data and a pilot judgement elicitation study. *Self*-superlatives were shown not to be sensitive to negation.

To capture the observed differences, I proposed that *samyj* is merged in a specifier position of a DP-internal ΣP at the edge of the phase or/and in its interior. I also showed some independent motivations for having a propositional node within DP. The chapter concluded with some cross-linguistic observations that suggest that the 'chameleon' effect with *samyj* is not an isolated phenomena and similar systematic differences between the material merged within a lexical domain versus functional domain can be found in different languages and different constructions.

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[33]Two other domains that show the 'chameleon' effect are clausal adverbs (I thank Diane Massam, Barbara Citko and Arsalan Kahnemuyipour for pointing this out to me) and causatives (I thank M. Cristina Cuervo for this point). With respect to clausal adverbs, it is interesting to note that they seem to be sensitive to negation. Consider (i) from Nilsen 2004:

(i)   a.   *Stanley never probably ate his wheaties.
       b.   It was never probable that Stanley ate his wheaties.

The ungrammaticality of (i-a) is unexpected under the analysis of *probably* = *it is probable*. The negation facts seem to echo the observation made in this chapter about C-Neg and *samyj*. Other standard references to adverbs include Cinque 1999 and Ernst 2009. For inner and outer causative constructions see for example Svenonius 2005, Godfrey 2012 and references cited there.

Chapter 5

Pron+*samyj* in fragment answers

The goal of this chapter is to provide a syntactic analysis of constructions in which Pron+*samyj* is used as part of a fragment answer. The basic case is illustrated in (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', which are also possible in such a dialogue.

The sequence Pron+*samyj* has a number of peculiar properties: (a) *samyj* rarely occurs with 1st and 2nd person pronouns, (b) Pron+*samyj* can be embedded under reporting verbs and epistemic modals, but not modals expressing desire, (c) Pron+*samyj* is incompatible with negation, and (d) Pron+*samyj* cannot surface in a regular argument position.

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 Σ Phrase above TP and triggers TP-ellipsis, as schematically shown in (2):

(2)   [$_{ΣP}$ [$_{DP}$ he self]$_i$ [$_{Σ'}$ Σ$_+$ [$_{TP}$ ~~t$_i$ is Peter~~]]]   (simplified)

Argumentation in support of this analysis is constructed in two steps: In section 5.2, I show that Pron+*samyj* is not a fixed expression in Russian, but rather must involve ellipsis. In section 5.3, I propose and provide evidence for the analysis of Pron+*samyj* in terms of TP-ellipsis and argue that the alternative VP-ellipsis analysis does not explain the data. Section 5.4 addresses a particular property of Pron+*samyj*, namely that it cannot surface in regular argument positions. Section 5.1 opens the discussion by articulating my assumptions about the internal structure of Pron+*samyj*.

5.1 Assumptions about Pron+*samyj*

In this section, I make two assumptions about Pron+*samyj*: the first assumption concerns the status of *samyj*, the second assumption is about the internal structure of the sequence Pron+*samyj*.

I assume *samyj* to be a 'discourse-referential modifier' in the sense of Rijkhoff 2008.[1] First of all, as already mentioned in section 4.1, *samyj* contributes to the identification of the referent of DP. From the (morpho-)syntactic point of view, *samyj* is a long-form adjective: its agreement and stress pattern are identical to those of long-form adjectives, as discussed in chapter 2.

It is well-established in the Slavic literature that long-form adjectives developed from a corresponding short form by addition of the 3rd person singular pronoun that surfaces as the agreement morpheme today. They were (and in some Slavic languages, still are) used to mark definiteness, see Kramsky 1972, Schmalstieg 1976, Larsen 2007, Babby 2010 among others. Russian is one of those Slavic languages that have lost the distinction between definite and indefinite adjectives. However, as I proposed in Goncharov 2013, there are residual cases where this distinction is still present. These cases include contrastive pairs of quantifiers *mnogo* 'many-ADV' ~ *mnogie* 'many-AGR', *neskol'ko* 'several-ADV' ~ *neskol'kix* 'several-AGR' and *skol'ko* 'how-many-ADV' ~ *skol'kix* 'how-many-AGR'. The use of the agreeing form from these pairs triggers the familiarity interpretation as illustrated in (3) for 'many':

(3) a. Ja znaju mnog-**o** pianistov.
         I know many-ADV pianists-GEN
         'I know many pianists.' (✓ in out-of-the-blue context)

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[1]In Functional Discourse Grammar, discourse-referential modifiers are contrasted with descriptive modifiers and are assumed to have 'the interpersonal function'. That is to say, they "are concerned with the pragmatic status of the referent of the NP in the shared world of discourse" (Rijkhoff 2008: 797). These modifiers include definite and indefinite articles and expressions like English *same* and *other* and Dutch *laatstgenoemde* 'last mentioned' and *zojuist genoemde* 'just mentioned'.

      b.   Ja znaju mnog-**ix**   pianistov.
              I   know many-ACC.PL pianists-ACC
              'I know many (of the) pianists.' (# in out-of-the-blue context; the set of
              pianists/musicians should be familiar)

Evidence in favour of this proposal comes from standard tests for distinguishing 'strong' vs. 'weak' determiners, such as existential constructions, cf. (4-a) with (4-b) (Milsark 1977, Paducheva 2000) and double-specificity, see (4-c) based on Pereltsvaig 2006:[2]

(4)   a.   V lesu   bylo   mnog-**o**   razbojnikov. (Krasikova 2011:95)
              in wood-LOC be-PAST.NEUT many-ADV outlaws-GEN
              'There were many outlaws in the wood.'
      b.   *V lesu   byli   mnog-**ie**   razbojniki.
              in wood-LOC be-PAST.PL many-PL.NOM outlaws-NOM
              'There were many outlaws in the wood.'
      c.   #V Mariinskom teatre tancevali [opredelënnye   mnog-**ie**
              in Mariinsky   theatre danced-PL certain-PL.NOM many-PL.NOM
              baleriny].[3]
              ballerinas-NOM
              'Many certain ballerinas danced in the Mariinsky Theatre.'

Thus, I assume that *samyj* is another historical artifact of Slavic definite adjectives similar to the agreeing quantifiers. The fact that Pron+*samyj* cannot surface in argument positions prevents us from directly testing this assumption. However, there is some suggestive evidence in favour of this assumption. Recall that *samyj*, like the quantifiers discussed above, also has a lexical relative - an emphatic reflexive *sam*. Moreover, the emphatic reflexive *sam* in nominative case has a short-form (indefinite) adjectival agreement. In present-day Russian, short-form adjectives retain only nominative form, which prevents them from appearing in the attributive position (Siegel 1976, Pereltsvaig 2007a, among others).

The second assumption that I discuss in this section concerns the internal structure of the sequence Pron+*samyj*. At first blush, the idea that a pronoun is modified by a familiarity marker might seem surprising, since Postal 1969, many linguists have argued

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[2]There are other tests that distinguish 'strong' vs. 'weak' determiners and DPs vs. QPs. For instance, as observed by Herburger 1997 for English and Babko-Malaya 1998 and Krasikova 2011 for Russian, weak, but not strong, quantifiers are focus-sensitive. In addition, only QPs, but not full DPs, can be objects of verbs with the cumulative prefix *na-* in Russian, see Franks and Pereltsvaig 2004 and Pereltsvaig 2006. These tests also show a clear distinction between the adverbial and agreeing quantifiers.

[3]The adverbial *many* cannot be tested as it has a syntactic restriction: it disallows adjective-fronting without which NP has a kind-interpretation (Pereltsvaig 2006:442).

that pronouns are either base-generated in or move to a D-head. However, in the more recent literature (e.g. Déchaine and Wiltschko 2002 and the works that follow it), it has been proposed that pronouns are not primitives and a language may decide how much internal structure its pronouns have, which in turn determines their syntactic properties. For example, as argued by Déchaine and Wiltschko (2002), independent emphatic pronouns in Halkomelem (a Central Coast Salish language) have the internal syntax and properties characteristic of DPs, see (5)-(6):

(5) $[_{DP} [_{D'}$ tú $[_{\phi P} [_{\phi'}$ tl'ò $[_{NP} \varnothing]]]]]$ *Halkomelem*
           DET   3SG

(6)   a.   [Lám]$_{PRED}$ [tú-tl'ò]$_{ARG}$.
           go   DET.3SG
           'He goes.'

    b. *[Tú-tl'ò]$_{PRED}$-cha te   Bill kw'e may-th-óme.
         DET.3SG.FUT   DET Bill COMP help.TRANS.2SG.OBJ
         'It will be Bill that helps you.'

    c.   [Tl'ò]$_{PRED}$-cha te   Bill kw'e may-th-óme.
         3SG.FUT   DET Bill COMP help.TRANS.2SG.OBJ
         'It will be Bill that helps you.'
         (Galloway 1993:172-3 cited from Déchaine and Wiltschko 2002:412-3)

The examples in (6) illustrate the fact that DP-pronouns in Halkomelem can be used in argument position - (6-a), but not as predicates - (6-b), unless the D layer is peeled off - (6-c). As noted in Déchaine and Wiltschko 2002, fn.5, this analysis can be extended to German *d*-pronouns and Turkish. Another relevant example is pronouns in Mupun (Chadic). In this language, a regular definite article when used with nouns, signals that the referent has been previously mentioned can be added to a pronoun, see (7). However, when added to a pronoun, it changes its function and signals emphasis (Bhat 2004:55).

(7)   wur nə   *Mupun*
    3M DET
    'he himself'   (Frajzyngier 1993:171 cited from Bhat 2004:55)

The difference between the languages discussed above and Russian, is that Russian uses a definite adjective instead of a definite article and the pronoun itself raises to D. That is to say, I assume that Pron+*samyj* has the structure in (8)in which *samyj* merges in the specifier of a DP-internal ΣP from chapter 4.

(8)

```
                    DP
                 /      \
                D        ΣP
               on_i     /    \
               he     AP      \
                    samyj    Σ   NP
                self.M.SG.NOM     |
                                  N
                                  t_i
```
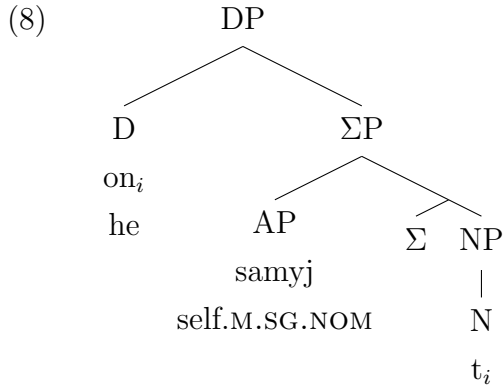
There is evidence in favour of the structure in (8) (e.g. Franks and Pereltsvaig 2004, Pereltsvaig 2007a). First of all, Russian pronouns can be used as predicates, which indicates that they are not indivisible DPs, but rather NPs (or ϕPs if we follow the three-part decomposition in Déchaine and Wiltschko 2002). As argued in Pereltsvaig 2007a:28, the pronouns that take instrumental in copular sentences like (9) are predicates.

(9)   Kogda ja byl im,   to ja soveršal   užasnye prestuplenija.
       when I   was him.INSTR then I committed terrible crimes
       'When I was him, I committed terrible crimes.'

                                    (Nichols 1981:206 cited from Pereltsvaig 2007a:28)

Secondly, pronouns can be preceded by demonstratives in Russian, which also indicates that pronouns are NP-like in Russian, see (10):

(10)   Ja ljublju togo   tebja,   kotorogo ja znaju.
       I love   that.ACC you.ACC which   I know
       'I love the you that I know.'   (Pereltsvaig 2007a:28)

Finally, when a pronoun is modified by a regular adjective (which is infrequent but nevertheless possible), the pronoun follows the adjective like common nouns do in Russian, see (11):

(11)   a.   Sil'naja ja smogu   éto preodolet'.
            strong   I will-manage this overcome
            'A strong me will manage to overcome this.'   (Pereltsvaig 2007a:28)
       b.   sil'nyj veter
            strong wind
            'a/the strong wind'

However, with some adjectives like *edinstvennyj* 'sole' and *samyj* the pronoun obligatorily

moves to D and thus precedes the adjective, see (12) and (13).[4]

(12) a. Sredi   drugix etjudov (*edinstvennyj) on   edinstvennyj
          among other   sketches sole.M.SG.NOM it.M.SG.NOM sole.M.SG.NOM
          napominal pripljusnutuju grušu.
          resembled flattened   pear
          'Among other sketches, only this one resembled a flattened pear.'

          [Nina Sšerbak. Roman s filfakom // "Zvezda", 2010]

      b. Edinstvennyj   portret,   kotoryj on dovel   do uma, izobražal
          sole.M.SG.NOM portrait.M.NOM which   he brought to mind, depicted
          ženu Tanusju ...
          wife Tanusja
          'The only portrait that he finished depicted his wife Tanusja... '

          [Ol'ga Slavnikova. Strekoza, uveličennaja do razmerov sobaki (1995-1999)]

(13) a. (*samyj)   on samyj
          self.M.SG.NOM he self.M.SG.NOM

      b. tot   samyj   čelovek
          that.M.SG.NOM self.M.SG.NOM man-NOM
          'that very man'

Thus, following Franks and Pereltsvaig (2004) and Pereltsvaig (2007a), I conclude that this difference in word order combined with the observations that Russian pronouns can be used as predicates and follow demonstratives provides evidence for the N-to-D movement analysis of Russian pronouns along the lines of Longobardi 1994 proposal for Italian proper names. In the remainder of this chapter, I will gloss over the internal structure of Pron+*samyj* and represent it as a DP, keeping in mind that this is a short-cut for the structure in (8). In section 5.4, I will return to the question about the internal structure of Pron+*samyj*.

To summarize, in this section, I discussed some evidence for treating *samyj* as a definite adjective and deriving Pron+*samyj* by raising the pronoun from its merge position in N to D.

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[4]Franks and Pereltsvaig 2004:124 make the same point using examples with an emphatic reflexivess, which I refrain from reproducing to avoid unnecessary confusion between *sam* and *samyj*. See also Progovac (1998) who uses similar facts to argue for the existence of D-layer in Serbo-Croatian and Despić 2013 for arguments against Progovac's proposal for Serbo-Croatian.

5.2 Pron+*samyj* is a fragment answer

As mentioned above, the analysis of Pron+*samyj* will be argued for in two steps. The first step is to show that Pron+*samyj* is not a fixed expression equivalent to 'yes' or even 'yes, indeed', but rather a fragment answer derived by ellipsis.

Merchant 2004 presents a thorough investigation of the question whether fragmentary utterances should be analyzed as full propositions with some unpronounced material or as smaller constituents with a direct interpretation. On the theoretical side, the choice between this two approaches contributes to our understanding of the syntax-semantics interface. The elliptical approach preserves the conservative one-to-one mapping view, but has a downside as it postulates invisible structure for which we need to find convincing evidence. The direct interpretation approach, on the other hand, relies on the observable material, but needs to devise a specific mechanism that maps a non-propositional structure into a proposition, see Merchant 2004:662-3 and papers in Progovac et al. 2006 for the discussion and references. On the empirical side, Merchant 2004 succeeded in showing that the elliptical approach to fragment answers to *wh*-questions is warranted by numerous connectivity effects that include case-matching, preposition stranding, binding and NPI-licensing, as well as island effects. In this section, I use some of his tests to show that Pron+*samyj* is an answer derived by ellipsis. [5] Many of the tests discussed

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[5]NPI-licensing is not-available for the obvious lexical reason: the construction in question is limited to pronouns. Binding and island effects are somewhat thorny as tests for identity statements. For example, Pereltsvaig 2007a:71-4 argues that identity sentences in Russian (NOM copular NOM pattern) do not involve binding relation. The co-referential interpretation, according to her proposal, is derived by identical indices that she treats as feature. It is unclear, however, how this proposal will account for case like (i):

(i)   a.   Ona - svoj   lučšij   drug.
                she   POSS.M.SG best-M.SG.NOM friend-M.SG.NOM
                'She$_1$ is her$_1$ best friend.'
    b.   *Ona$_1$ -   ee$_1$ lučšij   drug.
                she   3SG.F.GEN   best-M.SG.NOM friend-M.SG.NOM

Concerning islands effects, Russian is tolerant to weak islands and significant judgements can be obtained mostly for subject-islands and complex-NPs (e.g. Stephenson 2007). The question whether identity sentences have a subject has not been settled in the literature, I will discuss this debate later on. Complex-NPs receive degraded judgements, see (ii). However, it is unclear to me whether this judgement is due to the island effect or the awkwardness of answering the embedded *yes/no*-question.

(ii)   a.   Ty dumaeš' čto car' èto Ivan-durak? - ?On samyj.
                you think   that tzar this Ivan-fool   he   self
                'Do you think that the tzar is Ivan the Fool? - That's him.'
    b.   Ty čitaeš' tu   knigu v kotoroj govoritsja čto car' èto Ivan-durak? - ???On samyj.
                you read   that book in which said   that tzar this Ivan-fool   he   self
                'Are you reading that book in which it is said that the tzar is Ivan the Fool? - That's him.'

in Merchant 2004 are not available for Pron+*samyj* because it is used as an answer to a *yes/no*-question and can not be used as an answer to *wh*-questions, see (14):[6]

(14)   A: Kto tebe   prislal èto pis'mo?
             who you-ACC sent   this letter
             'Who sent you this letter?'

        B: Petr. / On. / #On samyj.
             Peter   he   he   self-M.SG.NOM
             'Peter. / Him. / #Him, indeed.'

In addition to the tests showing connectivity effects, I discuss the embeddability of Pron+*samyj*, a property that assimilates it to polarity particles. I begin by comparing Pron+*samyj* with a fixed expression *vot to-to i ono* in Russian that also includes a pronoun and can be used as a positive answer to a *yes/no*-question.[7]

5.2.1   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'.[8] 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*; a 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*. (15) shows the structure of this expression. In what follows, I will gloss the particles using their phonetic form, rather than function.

(15)   vot   to-to   i   ono
        PRESENTATIVE DISTAL.DEM–DISTAL.DEM ADDITIVE.FOCUS 3SG.N.NOM
        'This is so.' (lit. Here is that-that also it)

The use of *vot to-to i ono* is shown in (16):

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[6]Pron+*samyj* becomes acceptable as an answer to a *wh*-question if there is an additional implicit *yes/no*-question recoverable from the non-linguistic context. This will be discussed more in section 6.2.
    [7]See Merchant 2004:731-2 for a discussion of non-sentential utterances in English, which include fixed expressions.
    [8]For some discussion of this fixed expression from a cognitive linguistic perspective and its comparison to German discourse particles see Dobrovol'skij and Levontina 2012 and Pöppel et al. 2012.

(16)   Aga,   a tuxloe jajco   vsë-taki vozmožno? Vot to-to   i
         INTERJECTION but spoiled egg.N.NOM indeed   possible?   VOT TO-TO I
         ono.
         3SG.N.NOM
         'But a spoiled egg is possible, isn't it? That's true.'
         [Daniil Granin. Iskateli (1954)]

In (16), 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* construc-
tion, especially given that both constructions have an emphatic expression (*i* in *vot to-to
i ono* and *samyj* in Pron+*samyj*) and Pron+*samyj* also can appear with VOT, see (17):[9]

(17)   [about a feeling which is NEUT in Russian]
         Nakonec... Vot ono   samoe.
         finally   VOT 3SG.N.NOM self-N.SG.NOM
         'Finally, here is this feeling.' (lit. Here is it itself)
         [Daniil Granin. Iskateli (1954)]

However, there is an important interpretative difference between the responses in (16)
and (17). The pronoun *ono* in (16) 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 (17),
on the other hand, refers to the feeling, not to the event of the final attainment of this
feeling. *Ono+samyj* can also refer to the event, see (18).[10] 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.

(18)   Il'in, čto   li,   produlsja? - Ono samoe,   - otvetil Lexa.
         Il'in what Q-PART lost   it   self-SG.NEUT.NOM   replied Lexa
         'Il'in has lost, hasn't he? - So, indeed, - Lexa replied.'
         [Sergej Ivanov. Marš aviatorov // "Zvezda", 2002]

This point is reinforced by the fact that the pronoun in *vot to-to i ono* does not
change its gender or number depending on the gender or number of the referent in the
question, see (19). This is different for Pron+*samyj* which as we saw earlier in (38) does
change its form depending on the referent in the question.

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[9]In both, *vot to-to i ono* and *vot ono samoe*, VOT can be omitted.

[10]In such cases, *ono* is similar to English *it/so* in sentences like (i):

(i)   a.   I believe that Paul will be promoted.   based on Authier 2013: 369
       b.   I believe it/so.

(19) a. Pisatelja   takogo,   Aksënova,   znaete? - Vot to-to   i
          writer-M.ACC such-M.SG.ACC Aksenov-ACC know-PL   VOT TO-TO I
          ono/*on.
          3SG.NEUT.NOM/*M
          'Do you know the writer Aksenov? - That's true.'
          [Aleksandr Kabakov. Poslednij geroj (1994-1995)]
      b. A   nužna nam   takaja   Rodina?   Vot to-to i
          and need   1PL.DAT such-F.SG.NOM Motherland-NOM VOT TO-TO I
          ono/*ona.
          3SG.NEUT.NOM/*F
          'Do we need such a Motherland? True.'
          [Ekaterina Kostikova. Az' esm' kosmonavtom' (1997) // "Stolica", 1997.12.22]
      c. Tak u tebja že   est' deti.   - Vot to-to   i ono/*oni,   čto
          so   at you   PART be   children - VOT TO-TO I 3SG.NEUT.NOM/*PL that
          deti.
          children
          'But you have children. - That's true that I have children.'
          [Vasil' Bykov. Znak bedy (1982)]

And of course, expressions where *ono* is substituted by the 1st or 2nd person pronouns
(*vot to-to i ja, *vot to-to i ty*, etc.) are non-existent in Russian, whereas Pron+*samyj*
can marginally appear with 1st and 2nd person pronouns, see section 3.2.2. Thiese
facts suggest that *vot to-to i ono* is a fixed expression in Russian and is different from
Pron+*samyj*.

5.2.2   Additional material

Another indication that Pron+*samyj* is not a fixed expression is that it can co-occur with
additional material that seems to be remnants of sentential ellipsis. This is illustrated in
(20) where in (20-a) the additional material is a dative applicative, in (20-b) a possessive,
and in (20-c) a spacial adverb.

(20) a. Dlja drugix èto, možet, i ne xolod, a   dlja staruxi on
          for   others this maybe i not gold   but for old.lady 3SG.M.NOM
          samyj.
          self-M.SG.NOM
          'For others, this may be not cold, but for the old lady, it is.'
          [Valentin Rasputin. Poslednij srok (1970)]
      b. Fel'tikul'tjapistaja. - I   u nas ona   samaja.
          erratic-F.SG.NOM   and at us   3SG.F.NOM self-F.SG.NOM
          'It is erratic. - And we have the same.'

[Oleg Pavlov. Delo Matjušina (19996)]

c. Tože somnitel'no. Vo-vo, tut ono samoe.
also doubtful VOT-VOT here 3SG.NEUT.NOM self-NEUT.SG.NOM
'This is also doubtful. True, here it is as well.'

[Daniil Granin. Iskateli (1954)]

5.2.3 Case-matching connectivity effect

As discussed in Merchant 2004: 676-9, fragment answers bear the same morphological case as the corresponding argument in a full sentence, see (21) for English and Russian:

(21) a. Q: Whose car did you take? (Merchant 2004:678)
A: John's. /*John.

b. Q: Komu pomogla Anna?
who-DAT helped Anna
'Who did Anna help?'

A: Ivanu. /*Ivan. /*Ivana.
Ivan-DAT Ivan-NOM Ivan-ACC

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, i.e. a copular construction in which both NP1 and NP2 are nominative (see below). As mentioned above, Pron+*samyj* cannot be used to answer information seeking questions like *Did Peter call?*

However, there are verbs such as Russian *imet' v vidu* 'have in mind' that can be used in questions to verify identity. *Imet' v vidu* assigns accusative to its argument and when Pron+*samyj* is used as an answer, it must bear the accusative case, as illustrated in (22):

(22) a. Ty imeeš' v vidu Zubrilovy Veroniku? - Eë samuju!
you have in view Zubrilova-ACC Veronika-ACC her self-F.SG.ACC
'Do you mean Veronika Zubrilova? Her, indeed.' (lit. Her herself.)

[Maksim Milovanov. Kafe "Zoopark" (2000)]

b. Do you mean Veronika Zubrilova? - *Ona samaja.
she self-F.SG.NOM

In (22), the person whose identity is questioned appears as an accusative argument in the question. The pronoun in the corresponding answer must also surface in the accusative case, which shows the case-connectivity effect discussed above.

However, a question with the same verb can have a Pron+*samyj* answer where the pronoun is in nominative, see (23) repeated from section 3.2.2.

(23)   A: Ty imeeš' v vidu delo toj ženščiny, kotoraja prygnula s   mosta?
              you have   in view case that woman   who   jumped from bridge
              'Do you mean the case of that woman who jumped from the bridge?'

         B: Ono samoe!
              it   self.NEUT.SG.NOM
              'That's right.' (lit. It itself.)
              [Maksim Milovanov. Estestvennyj otbor (2000)]

I will discuss this double-case connectivity in section 6.2, where it will be argued to be a consequence of the structure of utterances with *samyj*. At this point, it is important to say that the choice between ACC and NOM is not arbitrary. It seems to be governed by the syncretism in the Case system in Russian. Note that NOM becomes available for the neuter pronoun which in oblique cases has the same form as the masculine pronoun. I conjecture that the nominative in this case is preferred in order to make the task of finding the referent easier by avoiding syncretism.

5.2.4   Preposition stranding

Another test discussed by Merchant (2004: 685-7) involves preposition stranding. The observation is that languages, like English, that allow preposition stranding, permit fragment answers without a preposition, see (24-a). On the other hand, languages, like Russian, that do not allow preposition stranding, require the preposition to be present in the fragment answer, see (24-b).

(24)   a.   Q: Who was Peter talking with?   (Merchant 2004:685,687)
             A: Mary.
        b.   Q: S   kem   ona govorila?
                  with whom-INS she spoke

             A: S   Ivanom. /*Ivanom.
                  with Ivan-INS /Ivan-INS

As shown in (25), the same requirement is in effect when Pron+*samyj* is used as a short answer.

(25) a. A   vy   k Kol'ke   priexali, k Popovu?   - *(K) nemu
          and you to Kol'ka-DAT came   to Popov-DAT   to   him-DAT
          samomy,   - kivnul Devjatkin.
          self-M.SG.DAT   nodded Devjatkin
          'Did you come to Kol'ka Popov? To him, indeed, - Devjatkin nodded.'

          [Andrej Troickij. Udar iz prošlogo (2000)]

     b. V koldunov?   - *(V) nix   samyx.
          in enchanters-ACC   in   them self-PL.ACC
          '(Do you believe) in enchanters? - Yes, indeed.' (lit. In them themselves.)

          [Nikolaj Dračinskij. Nečistyj dux v Sšerbakova // "Ogonek", 11, 1959]

This fact also supports the view that Pron+*samyj* is derived by movement and is not a fixed expression.

The properties discussed so far apply to fragment answers to both *wh-* and *yes/no-*questions. In the next section, I present a property that draws a fine line between fragment answers to *wh-*questions and *yes/no-*questions.

5.2.5 Embeddability of Pron+*samyj*

It has been noticed in the recent literature (e.g. Authier 2013, Citko 2014a) that some languages, like French, German, Hungarian, Polish, Romanian and Spanish, allow polarity particles, such as *yes* and *no*, to be embedded, see (26) from Authier 2013:368.

(26) a. Je crois que oui. 'Lit. I believe that yes.'   *French*
      b. Cred că da. 'Lit. I believe that yes.'   *Romanian*
      c. Myśle, że tak. 'Lit. I think that yes.'   *Polish*

This is also true of Russian polarity particles, see (27):

(27) Dumaju,   čto da/net.   *Russian*
      think-1SG.PRES that yes/no

In Polish and Russian, fragment answers to *wh-*questions can also be embedded, see (28):[11]

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[11]Neither of these is available in English, see (i):

(i)   a. *I think that yes/no. (cf. I think so)
      b.   What does John drink? - *I think that wine.

(28)　a.　Co　Jan pije? - Wiem,　że　wino.　　　　　　　*Polish*
　　　　　　what Jan drinks　know-1SG that wine
　　　　　　'What does Jan drink? - I think wine.'　　　　(Citko 2014a, ex.14)

　　　b.　Čto　Ivan pjet? - Dumaju,　čto　vino.　　　　　*Russian*
　　　　　　what Ivan drinks　think-1SG that wine
　　　　　　'What does Jan 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 (29), but not under bouletic attitudes, see (30):

(29)　a.　Je crois/　crains/ espère/ soupçonne/ suppose que　oui/non.
　　　　　　I　think/ fear/　hope/　suspect/　　suppose that yes/no

　　　b.　Evidemment/ Probablement/ Bien sûr que　oui/non.
　　　　　　obviously/　　probably/　　of course that yes/no

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Authier 2013:362)

(30)　a.　*Je sais　pas si les　Bruins vont gagner, mais Céline veut　que　oui/non.
　　　　　　I　know not if the Bruins will　win　　but　Céline wants that yes/no
　　　　　　'I don't know if the Bruins will win, but Céline wants them to/wants them
　　　　　　not to.'

　　　b.　*Est-il vraiment nécessaire qu'on　dépense moins? A mon avis,　il
　　　　　　is-it　really　　necessary that-we spend　less　　in my　opinion it
　　　　　　faut　　　　que oui.
　　　　　　is.necessary that yes
　　　　　　'Do we really have to spend less? In my opinion, we do.'　　(*ibid.* 364)

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).[12]

Although we now lack a precise explanation of this restriction in English, Authier (2013) and Citko (2014a) offer some tentative suggestions. Authier (2013:370) conjectures that this restriction is connected to the unavailability of modal ellipsis in English, see (ii) from Authier 2013:370. Thus, English is left with two strategies: *so*-pronominalization and VP-ellipsis.

(ii)　a.　Ils　veulent qu'elle　aille à　Paris mais moi, je veux pas [∅].
　　　　　　they want　　that-she go　to Paris but　me　I　want not
　　　b.　*They want her to go to Paris, but I don't want [∅].

Citko (2014a) hypothesizes that this restriction may be due to the difference in feature-inheritance mechanisms in English versus those languages that allow embedding.

[12]See Authier 2013, fn.12 for some criticism of this logic and the author's reply to it.

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 bouletic attitudes, see (31). (32) illustrates that Russian polarity particles are infelicitous with verb expressing desire.[13]

(31) 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. (Russian)
     not know think-1SG that wine/juice
     'I don't know. I think he's drinking wine/juice.'

  b. Similar context, but now Paul and yourself are going to leave soon and Paul will be driving, so you really don't want him to drink any alcoholic beverages.

   Q: What is he drinking?

   A: Ne znaju. Xotelos' by čtoby sok / xorošo by (čtoby)
     not know want-REFL COND that-COND juice / good COND that-COND
     ne vino.
     not wine
     'I don't know. I'd rather he's drinking juice/ It's better if he's not drinking wine.'

(32) ??Ja ne znaju pobedjit li Ivanov no Marija xočet čtoby da/net.
   I not know win.FUT.PL Q-PART Ivanov but Mary wants that.COND yes/no
   'I don't know if Ivanov will win, but Mary wants him to.' (judgement [2.4])

With respect to this restriction, Pron+*samyj* patterns with polarity particles in being infelicitous under bouletic predicates, as discussed in section 3.2.2. The relevant examples are repeated in (33-a) and (33-b) (with the judgments from the questionnaire).[14]

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[13]I mark this judgement as semantically infelicitous rather than syntactically ungrammatical in order to stay neutral with respect to any analysis at this point. Authier (2013) presents corresponding sentences in French as ungrammatical. As mentioned above, in his view, the ungrammaticality is due to selectional (syntactic) restrictions. According to the French speakers I consulted, this sentence is not totally ungrammatical, but rather is very colloquial and/or needs a fair amount of accommodation.

[14]The questionnaire also contains a sentence with an inanimate referent. As shown in (i), inanimate Pron+*samyj* is less deviant under desire attitudes.

(i) Neuželi èto nakonec naša ostanovka?! Dumaju, čto ona samaja. [4] /??Xotelos' by
  NEG-Q-PART this finally our stop   think that it self   want BY
  čtoby ona samaja! [2]
  that it self
  'Isn't this our stop at last?! I think so. / I want it to be it!'

(33) a. Kto èto? Neuželi   professor Semënov? - Ja ne znaju, no sudja
          who this? NEG-Q-PART professor Semenov   I   not know but judging
          po tomu čto   vokrug nego vse   sobralis', dumaju,   on
          on that that around him everyone gathered think.1SG.PRES he
          samyj.   [4]
          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 govorjat   čto èto
          not know.1SG.PRES who will   lead seminars but say.3PL.PRES that this
          možet byt' professor Semënov. - #Xotelos' by   čtoby   on
          may   be   professor Semenov   desirable COND that.COND he
          samyj.   [0.9]
          self.M.SG.NOM
          '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!'

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*, connectivity effects and embeddability facts. Thus, Pron+*samyj* combines properties of fragment answers to *wh*-questions with properties specific to po-rarity particles.

5.3   Pron+*samyj* is derived by TP-ellipsis

In the previous section, I argued that Pron+*samyj* as an answer to *yes/no*-questions is not a fixed expression, but rather is derived by ellipsis. A natural question is how much structure is elided or what the elided material contains. In this section, I will provide an answer to this question arguing that Pron+*samyj*-constructions involve TP-ellipsis.

5.3.1   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, Holmberg 2007, Holmberg 2013, Dvořák and Gergel 2004, Dvořák 2007, Kazenin 2006, Authier 2013, Lipták 2013, among others): VP-ellipsis (VPE), see (34-a), and TP-ellipsis (TPE), see (34-b):

This may be due to the fact that *samyj* with inanimate referents can be used as an emphatic reflexive, i.e. is equivalent to *sam*. This does not hold if the referent is animate (Slovar' russkogo jazyka v 4-x tomax. T. 4 - 1999).

(34)   a.   [$_{TP}$ [he self]$_i$ ~~[$_{VP}$ t$_i$ is Peter]~~]
       b.   [$_{\Sigma P}$ [he self]$_i$ ~~[$_{TP}$ t$_i$ [$_{VP}$ t$_i$ is Peter]]~~]

The strongest argument for TP-ellipsis is the absence of subjects in answers (see esp. Holmberg 2001). In this section, I consider a case in which Pron+*samyj* bears the nominative case and seems to be the subject, and yet I argue that the construction is derived by TPE rather than VPE. 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 (22) or is part of a PP as in (25) 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, Testelets 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 (35-a), and contrasts them with predicational copular sentences in which NP2 is marked with instrumental, see (35-b):[15]

(35)   a.   Čexov   byl pisatel'.
             Chekhov.NOM was writer.NOM
             'Chekhov was a writer.' (≈ identity)
       b.   Čexov   byl pisatelem.
             Chekhov.NOM was writer.INS
             'Chekhov was a writer.' (≈ predication)   (Pereltsvaig 2007a:1)

The question which of two NPs in binominative sentences is the subject is notoriously difficult. 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 (36-a), NP1 is a referential expression and the subject, whereas NP2 is a property, thus the predicate. In the context of (36-b), the situation is reversed. In (36-c), 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

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[15]The difference between (35-a) and (35-b) is very difficult to translate into English. An imperfect approximation of the distinction can be stated vaguely as the difference between identity and predication.

statements in Russian is 'undetermined'.

(36) a. [poining at a woman]
Èta ženščina   - ego žena.
this woman.NOM   his wife.NOM
'This woman is his wife.'   (Subj - Pred)

b. Èto mogla sdelat' tol'ko odna žanščina. Èta ženščina   - ego žena.
this could do   only one woman   this woman.NOM   his wife.NOM
'Only one woman could do this. This woman is his wife.'   (Pred - Subj)

c. I   tut on uznaet   eë: èta ženščina   - ego žena.
and here he recognizes her this woman.NOM   his wife.NOM
'And finally he recognizes her: this woman is his wife.'   (undetermined)

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 NPINS. 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 (37-a), Paducheva and Uspenskij (1979:358) suggest that it is the proper name that assumes an uncharacteristic role of a predicate.[16] One indication that this is correct comes from the fact that only the proper name can be paraphrased with NPINS, compare (37-b) with (37-c):

(37) a. Ètot   starik   - graždanin Korobejnikov.
this.NOM old.gentleman.NOM Mr.NOM Korobejnikov.NOM
'This old gentleman is Mr. Korobejnikov. '

b. Ètot   starik   javljaetsja   graždaninom
this.NOM old.gentleman.NOM appears.to.be Mr.INS
Korobejnikovym.
Korobejnikov.INS

c. *Ètim   starikom   javljaetsja   graždanin Korobejnikov.
this.INS old.gentleman.INS appears.to.be Mr.NOM   Korobejnikov.NOM
(Paducheva and Uspenskij 1979:358)

The same point can be demonstrated using a pronoun and a proper name as in (38):

(38) a. On - Petr.
he   Peter.NOM
'He is Peter.'

---

[16]In such cases, the proper name receives Donnellan's attributive interpretation, see Partee 1998.

b. On javljaetsja   Petrom.
    he appears.to.be Peter.INS

c. *Im   javljaetsja   Petr.   (or *Petr javljaetsja im.)
    he.INS appears.to.be Peter.NOM

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. This is illustrated in (39-b) for a prototypical identity sentence with relevant DPs in (39-a):[17]

(39)   a. On ∅/byl Petr.
            he is was Peter.NOM
        b.

FP in (39-b) is a verbal functional projection that in different accounts is depicted as AgrP or PredP ($\neq$ secondary predication PredP, see fn. 17). For the purpose of the discussion in the next section I adopt Pereltsvaig's analysis of binominative sentences in Russian shown in (39) and use her umbrella-label FP. However, I will slightly modify this representation in section 5.3.4. I will also follow Pereltsvaig (2007a) in assuming that verbs in Russian do not move to T (see Pereltsvaig 2007a:13-4 for arguments).

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[17]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 difference. Nothing in my account hinges on choosing an (a)symmetrical initial merge of two DPs.

5.3.2 Pron+*samyj* is in ΣP

In this section, I propose that Pron+*samyj* is spelled out in the specifier position of a ΣP which triggers an obligatory deletion of TP as with the polar particles *yes/no*, as illustrated in (40):

(40)
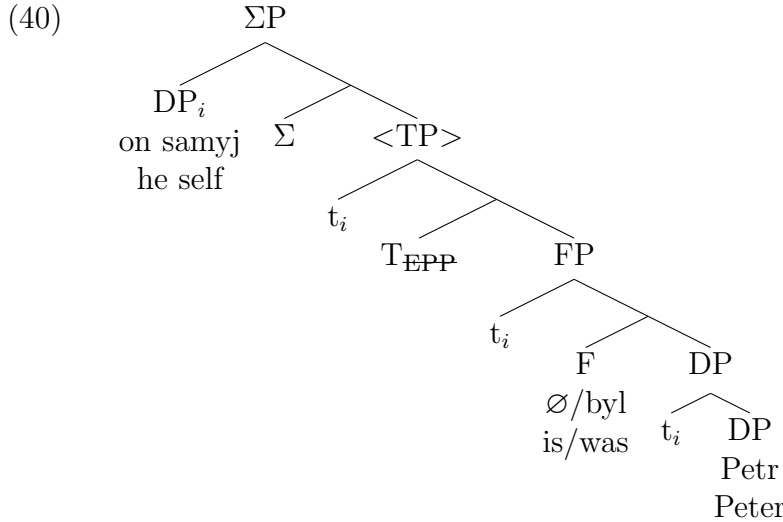
Since the influential proposal by Laka (1994/1990), most researchers who investigate the syntax of answers to polar questions have arrived at the conclusion that in fact we need two Polarity Phrases (or ΣPs): a High PolP/ΣP which hosts polarity particles and triggers TP-elision and a Low PolP/ΣP which supports sentential negation, affirmation or emphasis (see esp. Progovac 2005, Holmberg 2013, Authier 2013, Citko 2014a). The availability of two ΣPs is remarkably practical when dealing with polar mismatches as positive answers to negative questions in (41):

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

        b. Czy Jan nie pije   wina?   *Polish*
            Q   Jan not drink wine
            'Doesn't Jan drink wine?'

            Tak, nie pije.
            yes   not drink
            'Yes, he doesn't drink.'   (Citko 2014a, ex.61)

Although the exact featural make-up and syntactic behaviour of the two ΣPs vary from language to language and from account to account, it seems to be established that the High ΣP is situated in the extended C-domain (Rizzi 1997) somewhere above FinP/TP and below ForceP, TopP and FocP:

(42)   ForceP > TopP > (FocP) > HΣP > FinP/TP

This position of HΣP 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 focussed material can escape elision (by raising to TopP and FocP), and (c) HΣP controls the (non-)spell-out of its complement (FinP/TP). Pron+*samyj* patterns with polarity particle in this respect, see section 5.2.5. It also must comply with the restriction on polarity particles to appear under desire-predicates, see again section 5.2.5. These properties of Pron+*samyj* seem to justify the analysis in (40).

The proposal in (40) also partly captures the observation that Pron+*samyj* cannot surface in arguments positions by assimilating Pron+*samyj* to polarity particles, which do not usually surface as adverbials in sentences, although they can some times surface in the left-periphery of the embedded clause (as for instance argued by Authier (2013) for French *oui ou non*). The relevant Russian data is repeated in (43). I will further discuss the question why Pron+*samyj*, as opposed to Dem+*samyj*, is unacceptable in argument positions in section 5.4.

(43)   [Context: two persons are remembering Peter with whom they went to high school.]

    a. *Ty znaeš', on sámyj   ko mne včera   prixodil.
        you know   he self.M.SG.NOM to me   yesterday came
        'You know, he came to me yesterday.'   [0.6][18]

    b. *Ty znaeš', my s   Mašej včera   v parke videli ego sámogo.
        you know   we with Masha yesterday in park saw   him self.M.SG.ACC
        'You know, Masha and I saw him in the park yesterday.'   [0.8]

    c. *Ty znaeš', my s   Mašej včera   govorili o   nem
        you know   we with Masha yesterday talked   about him.LOC
        sámom.
        self.M.SG.LOC
        'You know, Masha and I talked about him yesterday.'   [0.8]

5.3.3   Apparent counterexamples

In this section, I will discuss some apparent counterexamples to the claim that Pron+*samyj* cannot surface in regular argument positions and propose an account of these counterexamples. However, before I discuss counterexamples, I want to point out that the accept-

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[18]Mean grammaticality judgements for Russian sentences out of 4 (= fully acceptable).

ability of Pron+*samyj* in argument positions appears to be subject to speaker variation. The judgements reported in (43) take into account 5 out of 7 speakers consulted. Two speakers accept Pron+*samyj* in argument positions to some extent. Their judgements are reported in (44):

(44)   a. ?Ty znaeš', on sámyj   ko mne včera   prixodil. [4;3]
            you know   he self.M.SG.NOM to me   yesterday came
            'You know, he came to me yesterday.'

        b. ?Ty znaeš', my s   Mašej včera   v parke videli ego sámogo. [3;4]
            you know   we with Masha yesterday in park saw   him self.M.ACC
            'You know, Masha and I saw him in the park yesterday.'

        c. ?Ty znaeš', my s   Mašej včera   govorili o   nem
            you know   we with Masha yesterday talked   about him.LOC
            sámom.   [2;4]
            self.M.SG.LOC
            'You know, Masha and I talked about him yesterday.'

As one of the speakers pointed out to me, the acceptability of (44-b) and (44-c) improves for her if Pron+*samyj* is preposed and focussed as shown in (45). This seems to support the idea that Pron+*samyj* is more easily interpretable if it surfaces in the C-domain. This also indicates that Information Structure plays an important role in constructions with *samyj*. I will retake this discussion in section 6.2.

(45)   a. Ty znaeš', [ego sámogo]$_F$ my s   Mašej včera   v parke videli.
            you know   him self.M.SG.ACC we with Masha yesterday in park   saw
            'You know, Masha and I saw him in the park yesterday.'

        b. Ty znaeš', [o   nem   sámom]$_F$ my s   Mašej včera
            you know   about him.LOC self.M.SG.LOC we with Masha yesterday
            govorili.
            talked
            'You know, Masha and I talked about him yesterday.'

The first apparent counterexample to the claim that Pron+*samyj* cannot surface in argument position is illustrated in (46). (46) shows that Pron+*samyj* can be used with the copular focussed by the focus particle *i* (see also (45-b)).

(46)   On samyj *(i) est'/byl/budet.
        he self   I   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, this particle when used before a verb signifies that the event corresponds to what has been expected or anticipated, see (47-a,b) (Tolkovyj slovar' russkogo jazaka 1935 and 1999). The particle *i* can also be used to reinforce the meaning of *eto*, see (47-c) and the discussion below.

(47)   a.   Tak ono i slučilos'.   (Dictionary 1935)
            so   it   I happened
            'So did it happen.'
       b.   On i vyšel (kak sovetovali   ili kak sam   rešil).   (Dictionary 1935)
            he I left   as   was.advised or as   himself decided
            'He did leave (as he was advised or as he decided himself)'.
       c.   Èto i est' materializm: materija, dejstvuja na naši organy čuvstv,
            ETO I is   materialism matter   affecting on our organs of.perception
            proizvodit oščuščenija.
            creates   impressions
            'This is what is called meterialism: the matter by affecting our organs of
            perception created impressions.'
            [V.I. Lenin, Materializm i empiriokriticizm. cited from Dictionary 1999]

To account for these cases, I would like to propose that *i* heads a Focus projection above FP and a verb (or copular) head-moves to this projection and right adjoins to *i*. In cases like (46), where only Pron+*samyj* and the focussed copular are pronounced, I propose that *i*+copular undergoes further movement to Σ, as shown in (48). In the next section, I will argue that this movement is a last-resort strategy to check an emphatic feature on Focus.

(48)
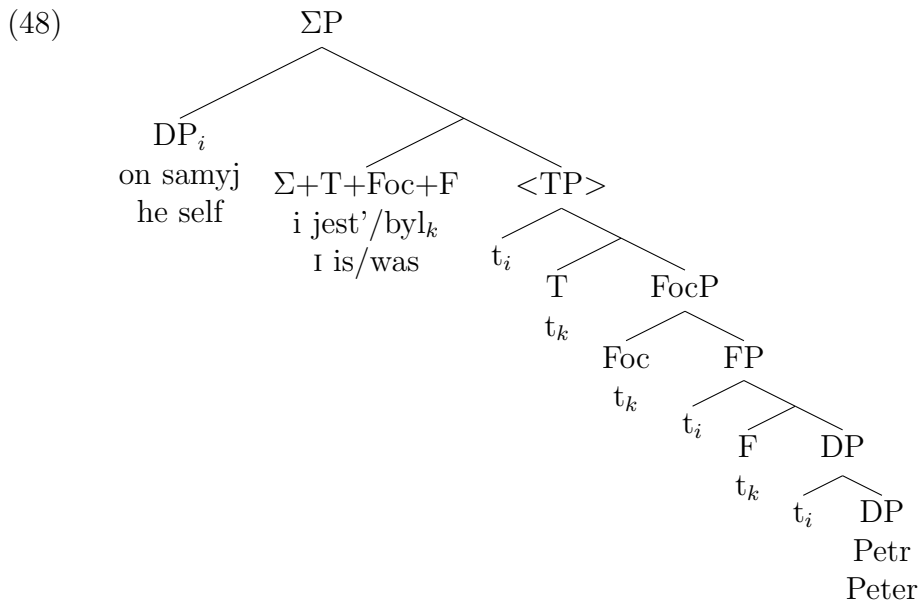
Another construction in which Pron+*samyj* appears not to trigger TP-ellipsis is illustrated in (49):

(49)   Čelovek, priexavšij na "Volge", tak rešitel'no   rasspaxnul etu stroguju dver',
         man   arrived   in V.   so confidently opened   that exalted door
         čto srazu   že   možno bylo dogadat'sja: èto on samyj i jest' -
         that immediately PART can   be   guessed: ETO he self I is
         akademik Krasikov.
         academic K.
         'The man, who arrived in Volga opened this exalted door so confidently that it
         could be immediately guessed that he is the academic Krasikov.'
         [Benedikt Sarnov. Yura Krasikov tvorit čudesa // "Pioner", 1969]

Russian constructions with *èto* as in (49) are assimilated to left-dislocation constructions. (50) is an example of a left-dislocation construction in Russian in non-identity sentence:

(50)   Vtoromy   jazyku   - èto nado udeljat' postojanno vremja.
         second.DAT language.DAT   ÈTO needs devote   constantly time
         'A second language, you've constantly got to devote time to.'

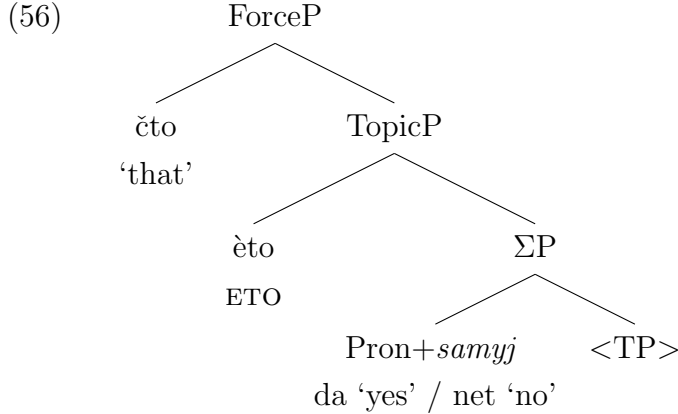   (Grenoble 1998:206)

As described in Grenoble 1998:205-6, these constructions 'serve to reintroduce activated topical elements'; *èto* has an identifying function and the clause which it points to gives new information which characterizes in some way the associated entity'; the dislocated constituent 'is separated from the rest of the clause by phrasal LH intonation and a pause' (which is indicated by a dash in Russian orthography). Note that the dislocation can be to the right, as in (49), or to the left, as in (50). The case assignment in (50) also demonstrates that the dislocated constituent is not a hanging topic (marked by nominative in Russian) and that *èto* is not a resumptive element (it does not agree in gender, number and case with the dislocated phrase, unlike simple +proximal demonstratives, cf. *'etomu vtoromy jazyku* 'this.M.SG.DAT second.M.SG.DAT language.M.DAT'). Based on these observations, Russian linguists seem to agree that *èto* is located in TopP in the C-domain (e.g. Grenoble 1998, Geist 2007, Markman 2008). The details of analyses proposed for *èto*-sentences differ depending on the range of empirical data that a particular analysis aims to account for.[19]

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[19]For example, Markman (2008) attempts to develop a unified analysis for *èto* in left-dislocation, pseudo-clefts and presentational sentences. In order to do so, she postulates the existence of *wh*-Pro, which merges in Spec-TopP and is associated with the remainder of the sentence. However, the existence of *wh*-Pro is justified only as a way of blocking some language-specific mechanisms, which paradoxically

I will adopt the analysis discussed in Grenoble 1998:200-7 and Geist 2007:90-1, according to which *èto* merges in Top(ic) and triggers the movement (or adjunction if the difference between adjuncts and specifiers is made) of the dislocated phrase to Spec-TopP.[20] This is illustrated in (51) for (50), where (51-a) shows the dislocation to the left and (51-b) shows the dislocation to the right. The analysis proposed in Grenoble 1998 and Geist 2007 is particularly suitable for the present discussion as (among other advantages) it is specifically designed for identity statements.

(51) a. [TopP [vtoromu jazyku]$_i$ èto [TP t$_i$ nado udeljat' postojanno vremja]]
             second   language ETO   needs devote constantly time

      b. [TopP èto [TP t$_i$ nado udeljat' postojanno vremja] [vtoromu jazyku]$_i$]
             ETO   needs devote constantly time   second   language

Given the analysis in (51), the derivation of the identity sentences with Pron+*samyj* and *èto* as in (49) will be as shown in (52):

(52)
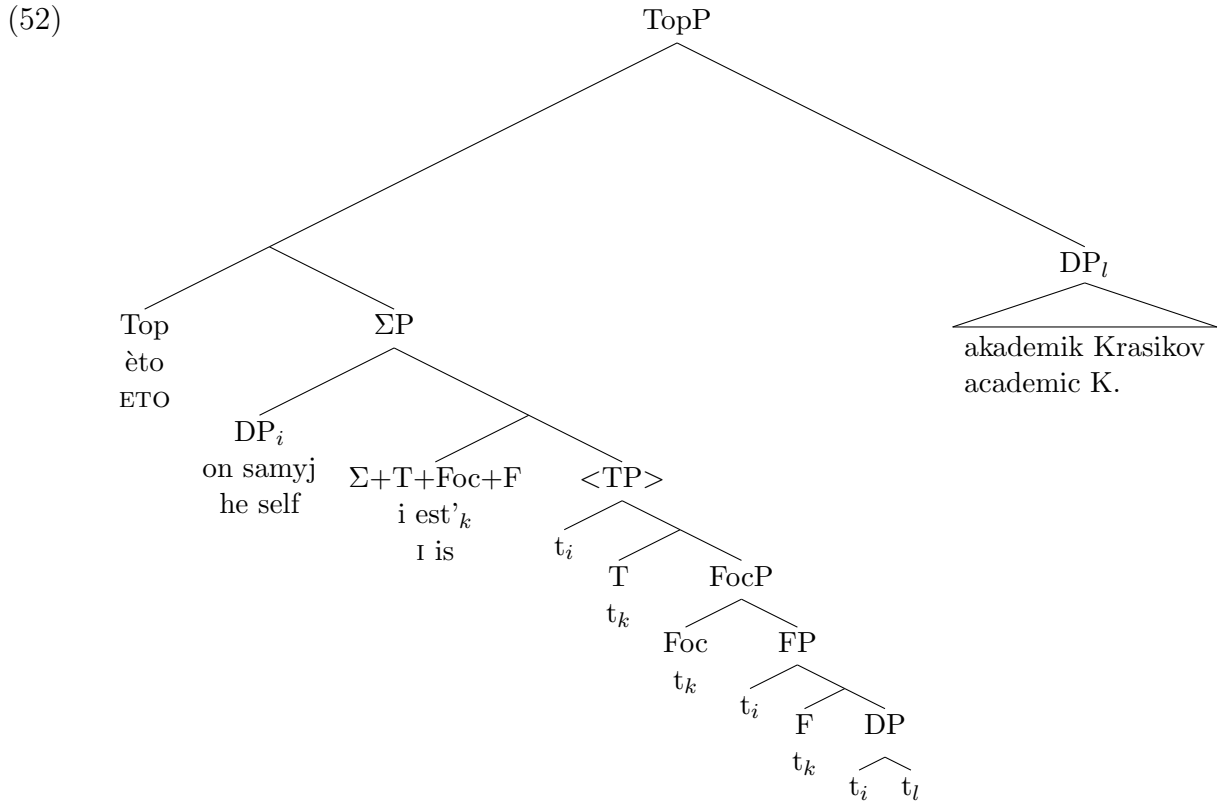
This account seems to be supported by the intuitions of native Russian speakers. According to the seven Russian speakers who completed the questionnaire, sentences in

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result in cross-linguistic restrictions.

[20]See Bailyn 2004b for arguments that dative phrases are in Spec-TP.

which the proper name is dislocated are marginally acceptable (3.4 and 3.1 out of 4), see (53-a,b), whereas sentences in which Pron+*samyj* is dislocated or neither the proper name nor Pron+*samyj* is dislocated are deviant or ungrammatical, see (53-c-f). (53-c) has a relatively high acceptability probably because the pause between *Èto Petr i est'* and *on samyj* represented by the dash was interpreted as a sentential break, i.e. by some speakers, the sentences was read as two sentences *Èto Petr i jest'* 'This is Peter' and *On samyj* 'That's the one'.

(53) [Context: two persons are looking through some photos of children]

> Èto Petr?
> this Peter
> 'Is this Peter?

a. ?Petr - èto on samyj i est'. [3.4]
   Peter ETO he self   I is
   'This is Peter, indeed.'

b. ?Èto on samyj i est' - Petr. [3.1]

c. ??Èto Petr i est' - on samyj. [3]

d. ??On samyj - eto Petr i est'. [2.1]

e. ??Èto on samyj Petr i est'. [2]

f. *Èto Petr on samyj i est'. [0.4]

The deviance of (53-e,f) contrasts sharply with the full acceptability of run-of-the-mill *èto*-sentences without left-dislocation. The non-dislocated variant of the sentence in (50) is shown in (54):

(54) Èto vtoromy   jazyku   nado   udeljat' postojanno vremja.
      ETO second.DAT language.DAT necessary devote   constantly time
      'A second language, you've constantly got to devote time to.'

<div align="right">(Grenoble 1998:206)</div>

The observations above seem to give grounds for the following conclusions: i) Pron+*samyj* finds itself in the C-domain at spell-out and ii) it is located below Topic. The conclusion that this position between Topic and TP is ΣP is further collaborated by the fact that regular polar particles in Russian can also appear below Topic, see (55):

(55) Èto da/konečno/?net.
      ETO yes/certanly/no
      'This is so./ Sure. / No.'

To summarize, in this section I proposed that Pron+*samyj* is spelled-out in (High) ΣP, which is part of the extended C-domain situated below Force and Topic and which triggers an obligatory ellipsis of its complement - TP, as illustrated in (56):

(56)

```
                    ForceP
                   /      \
                čto        TopicP
               'that'     /      \
                        èto       ΣP
                        ETO      /   \
                         Pron+samyj   <TP>
                        da 'yes' / net 'no'
```

In the next section, I discuss a reason for what seems to be obligatory raising of Pron+*samyj* to ΣP.

5.3.4   No Low ΣP with Pron+*samyj*

One property of Pron+*samyj* has not been accounted for so far, namely its inability to occur with negation as shown in (57), repeated from (41):

(57)   A: Do you remember Peter? He called me yesterday.
        B: Which Peter? Peter who plays the violin?
        A: Net, ne   on (*samyj).
             no,   not he self-M.SG.NOM
             'No, that is not he.'

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 Σ Phrase 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, in chapter 4, it was argued that *samyj* is deviant under constituent negation. As a result, Pron+*samyj* cannot be used with *ne* 'not'. Another consequence of the absence of Low ΣP is that *samyj* cannot check its emphatic feature locally (within a TP) and thus must move to High ΣP (the only ΣP in identity statements with a zero copula).

Let me begin with the observation made by Testelets (2008). Following his work in collaboration with Borschev, Partee, Paducheva and Yanovich (2005), he argues that sentences with zero-copular 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 adjectives). This group allows for sentential negation, see (58-a). The second group, which includes identity statements and copular sentences with PPs, has only constituent negation, see (58-b).

(58)   a. $[DP_i$ not $\varnothing_{be}$ $[DP_{j/*i}/SF$ adjective]]   (sentential negation)
         b. $[DP_i$ $\varnothing_{be}$ [not $DP_i/PP]]$ (constituent negation)

Testelets (2008) uses two tests to demonstrate this. The first test involves scopal ambiguity. As well known, sentential negation can out-scope quantified subjects or circumstantial phrases giving rise to scopal ambiguity, see (59-a). Constituent negation, however, does not have wide-scope readings, see (59-b) from Testelets 2008:780.

(59)   a.   Vse baleriny   ne budut v Londone.   (S-Neg)
              all   ballerinas not will.be in London
              'All ballerinas won't be in London.' $\forall > Neg, Neg > \forall$
         b.   Vse baleriny   budut ne v Londone.   (C-Neg)
              all   ballerinas will.be not in London
              'All ballerinas won't be in London.' $\forall > Neg, *Neg > \forall$

As shown in (60), with respect to this test, identity statements and sentences with PPs pattern with sentences with constituent negation - cf. (60-c,d) with (59-b), whereas specificational binominative copular sentences and structures with SF-adjectives behave like sentences with sentential negation - cf. (60-a,b) with (59-a) (from Testelets 2008:781-3).

(60)   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 adjective)
              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.'   ∀ > Neg, *Neg > ∀

The second test concerns licensing negative concord items (*n*-words) that start with *ni-* in Russian. Only sentential negation can license *ni*-elements in Russian. As shown in (61), this test also divides zero-copular sentences into the same two groups (from Testelets 2008:785-6).

(61)   a.   Ni pervaja, ni vtoraja kniga - ne roman.   (specificational)
             NI first   NI second book   not novel
             'Neither the first nor the second book is a novel.'

        b.   Ničto   ne večno.   (SF adjective)
             nothing not eternal
             'Nothing is eternal.'

        c. ??Ni pervyj, ni vtoroj tom   ne na polke.   (locative PP)
             NI first   NI second volum not on shelf
             'Neither the first nor the second volume is on the shelf.'

        d.   ??Ni to   zdanie, ni èto - 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 (see the discussion in 5.3.1) and do not contain any functional projection apart from agreement, which he labels as ϕP, see (62):

(62)   a. $[_{\text{CopularP}}$ DP$_i$ (Neg+)Copular $[_{\text{SC}}$ t$_i$ DP $]]$ (ordinary binomintive)
        b. $[_{\phi\text{P}}$ DP$_i$ (*Neg+)ϕ $[_{\text{SC}}$ t$_i$ DP $]]$ (identity and PPs)

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

The proposal that the source identity sentence for Pron+*samyj* lacks Low ΣP accounts for the overwhelming majority of cases where Pron+*samyj* is used to answer questions with copulars. However, there are a handful of examples where Pron+*samyj*

is used to answer a question with the verb *imet' v vidu* 'have in mind', as in (63) repeated from (22).

(63) Ty imeeš' v vidu Zubrilovy   Veroniku?   - Ë samuju!
     you have   in view Zubrilova-ACC Veronika-ACC   her self-F.SG.ACC
     'Do you mean Veronika Zubrilova? Her, indeed.' (lit. Her herself.)
     [Maksim Milovanov. Kafe "Zoopark" (2000)]

Anticipating the proposal in section 6.2, I would like to suggest that in those case Pron+*samyj* is also derived from a copular identity statement that is the secondary assertion introduced by *samyj* (see section 6.2 for discussion). Interestingly, the 'lightness' of identity copular statements may be the reason why they can constitute a secondary assertion.

5.3.5   *Ga*-ellipsis: TPE versus VPE

If the analysis in the previous section is on the right track, then VP-ellipsis does not seem to be a viable option to derive Pron+*samyj*. Primarily, this is so because there is no VP (or any sort of PredP) in the first place. Nevertheless, I conclude this chapter by providing a brief comparison of the Russian facts with a phenomenon known as *Ga*-ellipsis in Colloquial Slovenian. As we will see shortly, the latter exhibits strikingly different properties from Pron+*samyj* and is argued to involve VP-ellipsis (Priestly 1993, Franks and King 2000, Dvořák and Gergel 2004, Dvořák 2007). The discussion of *Ga*-ellipsis in this section is by no means complete and comprehensive. Its only goal is to provide contrastive background to the picture sketched above to show what would be expected if Pron+*samyj* were derived by VPE rather than TPE.

As already mentioned, in Colloquial Slovenian, it is possible to use a stressed pronominal clitic to answer a *yes/no*-question, see (64-a) repeated from above. In addition, this answer can be embedded, see (64-b) and show some connectivity effects, see (64-c), in which the genitive marking on the clitic is assigned by Q-head. These properties assimilate the use of clitic in Slovenian to fragment answers.

(64) A: A   ga   poznaš?
         Q-COMPL CL.3.ACC.M.SG know.2.SG
         'Do you know him?'

     B: a. Ga.   b. Míslim,   da gà.
            CL.3.ACC.SG.M   think.1.SG, that CL.3.ACC.M.SG
            'I do'   'I think I do.'

c. A jih   pozná   pet? - Jih.
    Q CL.3.GEN.PL know.3.SG five   CL.3.GEN.PL
    'Does he know 5 of them? - He does.'   (Dvořák and Gergel 2004:80,83)

However, here the similarities between *Ga*-ellipsis and Pron+*samyj* stop and the differences begin. As illustrated in (65), *Ga*-ellipsis is well-formed with any kind of clitics (i.e. it is not restricted to 3rd person).[21]

(65)   a. A   te   bolí?   - Me.
           Q-COMPL CL.2.ACC.SG ache.3.SG   CL.1.ACC.SG
           'Does it ache you? - It does.'

       b. A   mi   verjameš?   - Ti.
           Q-COMPL CL.1.DAT.SG believe.2.SG   CL.2.DAT.SG
           'Do you believe me? - I do.'

       c. A   ju   ne vidič?   - Ju,   ju. (reduplicated)
           Q-COMPL CL.3.GEN.PL NEG see.2.SG   CL.3.ACC.PL
           'Don't you see them? - I do, I do.'   (Dvořák and Gergel 2004:81)

In addition, *Ga*-ellipsis is possible with negation, see (66-a), can involve clitic clusters, see (66-b) and other material including auxiliary verbs, see (66-c), and modals, see (66-d). And finally, unlike Pron+*samyj*, clitics (in their unstressed form) can be used in regular argument positions.[22]

(66)   a. A jo   poznáš?   - Je   NE.
           Q CL.3.F.ACC know.2.SG.PR   CL.3.F.GEN NEG
           'Do you know her? - I don't.' ('Her not.')

       b. Mysliš, da mu   zapeljúje ženo?   - Myslim, da   mu
           think.1 that CL.3.M.DAT seduce.3 wife.ACC   think.1 that CL.3.M.DAT
           JO.
           CL.3.F.ACC
           'Do you think that he seduces his wife? - I think he does.' ('I think that
           him Her.')   (Dvořák 2007:218,226)

       c. Si   že   končal   delo? Predvčerajšnjim   še nè,
           AUX.2.SG already finish.PRT work day-before-yesterday still NEG
           včeraj   pa sem   gà.
           yesterday but AUX.1.SG it.ACC
           'Have you finished the work? The day before yesterday I didn't, but yester-
           day I did (finish it).'   (Franks and King 2000:43)

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[21]Although it shows some definiteness/familiarity restrictions, see Dvořák and Gergel 2004 and Dvořák 2007.

[22]Dvořák (2007) argues that it is the possibility of Slovenian clitics to assume stress that is responsible for their unusual properties discussed here. He proposes that the stress instantiates what is know as Verum Focus.

   d.   A ga   móraš   povabíti? - *(Móram) ga.
        Q CL.3.ACC.M.SG must.2.SG invite.INF   must1.SG CL.3.ACC.M.SG
        'Must you invite him? - I must.'   (Dvořák and Gergel 2004:84)

To summarize, in this section we saw that *Ga*-ellipsis in Slovenian has contrastively different properties than Pron+*samyj* in Russian. These properties are best captured by postulating a VP-ellipsis derivation for *Ga*-ellipsis as argued by Dvořák and Gergel (2004) and Dvořák (2007), whereas as has been proposed above, Pron+*samyj* is derived by TP-ellipsis.

5.4 The Problem of Description

In this section, I provide an account of one particular puzzle about *samyj*. The puzzle in question has two related components: i) in argument positions, *samyj* can appear as a DP-internal modifier, but not as a modifier of a pronoun, see (67), and ii) *samyj* can modify a pronoun only if it is used to answer a *yes/no*-question, see (68). I will refer to this puzzle as 'the Problem of Description' (it will become clear why shortly).

(67)   a.   Daša igrala tu   samuju sonatu.
            D.   played that self   sonata
            'Dasha played that very sonata.'

       b.   Daša igrala eë (*samuju).
            D.   played it self
            'Dasha played it.'

(68)   A: Èto ta   pianistka kotoraja igrala sonatu?
            this that pianist   who   played sonata
            'Is this that pianist who played the sonata?'

       B: Da. Ta   samaja (pianistka). / Ona samaja.
            Yes, that self   pianist   she self
            'Yes, that's the one.' (lit. Yes. That very pianist/Her.)

The explanation that I advance in this section builds on the phasal architecture advocated in Hinzen and Sheehan 2013 and Arsenijević and Hinzen 2012, who propose that phases are constructed according to the following template:

(69)   Phase: [$_{EDGE}$ referent [$_{INTERIOR}$ descriptive content]]

In general terms, I propose that *samyj* in the two constructions discussed here is an edge-modifier that requires two things: i) a referential mechanism provided by a demon-

strative or a pronoun (or rather D) and ii) a descriptive content. In Dem+*samyj*, the descriptive content is provided by NP, see (70-a). In Pron+*samyj*, however, the pronoun moves to D and as its low copy cannot satisfy the descriptive content requirement, this movement leaves the phase structure incomplete, see (70-b). The structure can be rescued and the second requirement of *samyj* can be satisfied if Pron+*samyj* moves to the edge of CP. In this case, the descriptive content is provided by the (elided at PF) TP as in fragment answers, see (70-c).

(70)   a.   [$_{\text{DP/EDGE}}$ that *samyj* [$_{\text{NP/INTERIOR}}$ sonata]]   (simplified)
       b.   *[$_{\text{DP/EDGE}}$ it$_k$ *samyj* [$_{\text{NP/INTERIOR}}$ t$_k$]]
       c.   [$_{\text{CP/EDGE}}$ it *samyj*   [$_{\text{TP/INTERIOR}}$ ···   ]]

The reason why the low copy of the pronoun cannot satisfy the description requirement, I claim, is because *samyj* introduces an identity relation X = Y where X and Y are different descriptions of the same entity. The identity between the two copies of the pronoun, however, would be uninformative (X = X). I will argue for the additional identity assertion introduced by *samyj* in section 6.2. In this chapter, I will discuss this requirement in derivational terms and refer to the absence of the second argument of the identity relation as the Problem of Description.

The section begins by re-stating that Pron+*samyj* cannot be used in argument position and showing that treating Pron+*samyj* as a property is also contrary to the facts (section 5.4.1). In section 5.4.2, I present my proposal. Section 5.4.3 shows that the proposed account can explain why *samyj* cannot appear within a demonstrative (a theme retaken from section 4.3.4).

5.4.1   The status of Pron+*samyj*

This section concern the question what the status of Pron+*samyj* is. I first reiterate the observation from section 3.2.2 that Pron+*samyj* cannot be used in argument positions and then show that viewing Pron+*samyj* as a property is also empirically inadequate.

Pron+*samyj* is not an argument

This section highlights the contrast between Pron+*samyj* and Dem+*samyj*. It provides more examples that illustrate the observation made in section 3.2.2 that addition of *samyj* to a pronoun makes it impossible for a pronoun to be used in an argument position. It also shows that *samyj* with demonstratives does not have this restriction.

First of all, observe that the restriction on Pron+*samyj* does not depend on the type of the argument. Examples in (71) show that Pron+*samyj* is ungrammatical in the subject, direct object and object of preposition positions alike. These examples also show that case is not a relevant factor.

(71)   a.   Ona (*samaja) igrala sonatu.
            she self   played sonata
            'She played a sonata.'

        b.   Daša igrala eë (*samuju).
            D.   played it self
            'Dasha played it.'

        c.   Daša igrala sonatu dlja neë (*sámoj).
            D.   played sonata for her self
            'Dasha played a sonata for her.'

As mentioned above, *samyj* with demonstratives does not show this restriction, as illustrated in (72) for different argument positions.

(72)   a.   Ta   samaja pianistka igrala sonatu.
            that.F self   pianist.F played sonata
            'That very pianist played a sonata.'

        b.   Daša igrala tu   samuju sonatu.
            D.   played that self   sonata
            'Dasha played that very sonata.'

        c.   Daša igrala sonatu dlja toj   sámoj pianistki.
            D.   played sonata for that self   pianist
            'Dasha played a sonata for that very pianist.'

Secondly, notice that changing gender, number or person does not change the observation - *samyj* with pronouns are ill-formed in argument position, whereas *samyj* with demonstratives is fully acceptable. Examples in (73) show that masculine singular and plural pronouns are unacceptable with *samyj*, unlike DPs with similar features. (74) illustrates the ungrammaticality of *samyj* with 1st and 2nd singular and plural pronouns (see also section 3.2.2). All examples have *samyj* in the subject position.

(73)   a.   On (*samyj) igral   sonatu.
            he self   played sonata
            'He played a sonata.'

        b.   Tot samyj pianist   igral   sonatu.
            that self   pianist.M played sonata
            'That very pianist played a sonata.'

 c. Oni (*samye) igrali sonatu.
   they self   played sonata
   'They played a sonata.'

 d. Te   samye pianisty igrali sonatu.
   those self   pianists played sonata
   'Those very pianists played a sonata.'

(74) a. Ja (*samaja) igrala sonatu.
    I   self   played sonata
    'I played a sonata.'

  b. My (*samye) igrali sonatu.
    we self   played sonata
    'We played a sonata.'

  c. Ty   (*samaja) igrala sonatu.
    you.SG self   played sonata
    'You played a sonata.'

  d. Vy   (*samye) igrali sonatu.
    you.PL self   played sonata
    'You played a sonata.'

Finally, it is important to mention that in all Dem+*samyj* cases, the NP-description can be omitted. Interestingly, the omission of NP results in a slightly different effect depending on whether Dem+*samyj* is used in an argument position or as a fragment answer to a *yes/no*-question. When Dem+*samyj* is in an argument position, as in (75), the omission of NP gives rise to a 'secrecy' interpretation, as if by dropping the description the speaker seeks to avoid that anyone else, but the hearer, understands who or what is being referred to. This 'secrecy' interpretation is absent in fragment answers. This contrast is illustrated in (75)-(76).

(75) a. Ta   samaja igrala sonatu.
    that.F self   played sonata
    'That very one (who I will not name) played a sonata.'

  b. Daša igrala tu   samuju.
    D.   played that self
    'Dasha played that very one (which I will not name).'

  c. Daša igrala sonatu dlja toj sámoj.
    D.   played sonata for that self
    'Dasha played a sonata for that very one (who I will not name).'

(76) A: Èto ta   pianistka kotoraja igrala sonatu?
    this that pianist who   played sonata
    'Is this that pianist who played the sonata?'

> B: Da. Ta   samaja.
>   yes, that self
>   'Yes, that's the one.'

In sum, the data in this section illustrate the observation that *samyj* cannot modify a pronoun in an argument position, but is fully acceptable with a demonstrative in an argument position.

The most logical place to look for an answer is the internal structure of DP and structural (and/or referential) differences between pronouns and demonstratives. This line of investigation, however, assumes that Pron+*samyj* is a referring expression of type $\langle e \rangle$. There is a possible alternative to this assumption, namely that Pron+*samyj* is a property or predicate of type $\langle e, t \rangle$, i.e. NP or VP.[23] This will naturally explain why it is unacceptable in the argument position. In the next section, I show that this possibility is empirically inadequate.

Pron+*samyj* is not a property

Thinking in terms of Longobardi 1994 and 2005, one can envision the solution to the Problem of Description by hypothesizing that Pron+*samyj* is an NP- property. That is to say, one can propose that the addition of *samyj* somehow blocks N-to-D movement and DP is not formed.

Recall from section 5.1 that Russian pronouns are derived by N-to-D movement as evidenced by their acceptability in the predicate position, with demonstratives and adjectival modifier, see (77) repeated from section 5.1.[24]

(77)   a.   Kogda ja byl im,   to   ja soveršal   užasnye prestuplenija.
            when   I   was him.INSTR then I   committed terrible crimes
            'When I was him, I committed terrible crimes.'

       b.   Ja ljublju togo   tebja,   kotorogo ja znaju.
            I   love   that.ACC you.ACC which   I   know
            'I love the you that I know.'

---

[23]To my mind, there are two more possibilities. First, Pron+*samyj* is a proposition of type $\langle t \rangle / \langle s, t \rangle$. However, I do not consider this possibility plausible given the arguments in section 5.2 showing that Pron+*samyj* is a fragment answer. Second, Pron+*samyj* is yet of a higher type $\langle st, \alpha \rangle$ that maps propositions into speech acts. This is a type usually assigned to polarity particles, see e.g. Krifka 2012. This possibility is more plausible given that Pron+*samyj* shares some properties with polarity particles (e.g. embeddability and the possibility to be used as answers to *yes/no*-questions). I will leave this possibility open here, but see the proposal in section 6.2.

[24]The examples are from Franks and Pereltsvaig 2004 and Pereltsvaig 2007a. See section 5.1 for page references.

    c.   Sil'naja ja smogu   éto preodolet'.
        strong   I will-manage this overcome
        'A strong me will manage to overcome this.'

Evidence against the hypothesis that Pron+*samyj* is a property-like NP comes from
the fact that Pron+*samyj* is not possible in the contexts above, as shown in (78). Note
that I changed the demonstrative in (78-b) to a possessive. The reason is that the
presence of the demonstrative changes the construction to the acceptable, but irrelevant
here Dem+*samyj*. I also substituted the 1st person pronoun with a 3rd person pronoun
in (78-c), because *samyj* is infelicitous with indexicals, as we saw in section 3.2.2.

(78)   a.   Kogda ja byl im   (*sámym), to   ja soveršal   užasnye
           when   I was him.INS self.INS   then I committed terrible
           prestuplenija.
           crimes
           'When I was him, I committed terrible crimes.'

       b.   Ja ljublju moego   tebja   (*sámogo), kotorogo ja znaju.
           I love   my.ACC you.ACC self.ACC   which   I know
           'I love the you that I know.'

       c.   Sil'naja ona (*samaja) smogu   éto preodolet'.
           strong   she self   will-manage this overcome
           'A strong me will manage to overcome this.'

With respect to the adjectival modification, there is another observation. As shown in
(79-a), a regular adjective can either precede or follow the pronoun (the post-pronominal
adjective is arguably stressed, see Pereltsvaig 2007a). However, *samyj* can come only
after the pronoun, see (79-b). That is to say, it seems that *samyj* not only allows N-to-D
movement, but makes it mandatory.

(79)   a.   Sil'naja ja (sil'naja) smogu   éto preodolet'.
           strong   I strong   will-manage this overcome
           'A strong me will manage to overcome this.'

       b.   (*samyj)   on samyj
           self.M.SG.NOM he self.M.SG.NOM

These facts suggest that the hypothesis that *samyj* somehow blocks N-to-D movement
and Pron+*samyj* remains an NP is on the wrong track.

Then, perhaps, Pron+*samyj* is a larger constituent? For example, one may suggest
that Pron+*samyj* can be a VP or some other verbal projection. The initial plausibility of
such a hypothesis comes from the fact that V(P)s are used in some languages (including
Russian) as answers to *yes/no*-questions, e.g. Holmberg 2001, 2007, Kazenin 2006, Lipták

2013. (80) shows a *yes/no*-question in Russian with a V(P) answer from Gribanova (p.c.).

(80) a. Evgenija poslala   posylku   v Moskvu?
          Evgenija send.PST.3SG.F package.ACC to Moscow.LOC
          'Did Eugenia send the package to Moscow?'

      b. (Net,) Ne   poslala.   / (Da,) Poslala.
          no   NEG send.PST.3SG.F / yes   send.PST.3SG.F
          '(No,) she didn't. / (Yes,) she did.'

The fact that Pron+*samyj* is predominantly used as an answer to identity questions expressed by binominative and Russian copular in the present tense is realized as null (unless focussed) adds plausibility to the hypothesis above. Given this hypothesis, the answer to (81-a) might look like (81-b):

(81) a. Èto ∅_{be} Petr?
          this is   Peter
          'Is this Peter?'

      b. [_VP ∅_{be} on samyj]
              is   he self.M.SG.NOM
          = '(Yes,) This is he.' (lit. He self.)

However, there is strong evidence against this hypothesis. First of all, when the copular is overt as, for instance, in the past tense in (82-a), it cannot appear in the answer, see (82-b).[25]

(82) a. Èto byl Petr?
          this was Peter
          'Was this Peter?'

      b. (*Byl) on samyj
          was   he self.M.SG.NOM
          = '(Yes,) This was he.' (lit. He self.)

Secondly, it has been observed that there are certain limitations on the use of polarity particles as compared to other fragment answers to *yes/no*-questions. One such limitation observed by Authier 2013 was already discussed in section 5.2.5 - polarity particles cannot be embedded under bouletic modals, see (83) repeated from section 3.2.2. Pron+*samyj* has this restriction as well, see (83). However, V-stranding answers are not sensitive to the type of the embedding verb, as shown in (83), which suggests that Pron+*samyj* should not be assimilated to V-stranding answers.

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[25]See section 5.3.3 on the derivation of *On samyj *(i) est'/byl/budet* 'He self I is/was/will.be'.

(83) a. Ja ne znaju pobedjit   li Ivanov, no Marija dumaet čto da/net.
          I not know win.FUT.PL LI Ivanov but Mary   thinks that yes/no
          'I don't know if Ivanov will win, but Mary thinks so/does not think so.' (lit.
          ...Mary thinks that yes/no)

      b. *Ja ne znaju pobedjit   li Ivanov, no Marija xočet čtoby   da/net.
          I not know win.FUT.PL LI Ivanov but Mary   wants that.COND yes/no
          'I don't know if Ivanov will win, but Mary wants him to.' (lit. ...Mary wants
          that yes/no)

(84) a. Kto èto? Neuželi   professor Semënov? - Ja ne znaju, no sudja
          who this? NEG-Q-PART professor Semenov   I not know but judging
          po tomu čto vokrug nego vse   sobralis', dumaju,   on
          on that that around him everyone gathered think.1SG.PRES he
          samyj.   [4]
          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 govorjat   čto èto
          not know.1SG.PRES who will   lead seminars but say.3PL.PRES that this
          možet byt' professor Semënov. - *Xotelos' by   čtoby   on
          may   be professor Semenov   desirable COND that.COND he
          samyj.   [0.9]
          self.M.SG.NOM
          '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!'

(85) a. Ja ne znaju pobedjit li   Ivanov, no Marija dumaet čto
          I not know win.PERF Q-PART Ivanov but Mary   thinks that
          pobedit.
          win.PERF.M.SG
          'I don't know if Ivanov will win, but Mary thinks so.' (lit. ...Mary thinks
          that have won)

      b. Ja ne znaju pobedjit li   Ivanov, no Marija xočet čtoby
          I not know win.PERF Q-PART Ivanov but Mary   wants that.COND
          pobedil.
          winPAST.M.SG
          'I don't know if Ivanov will win, but Mary wants him to.' (lit. ...Mary wants
          that would win)

Another difference between V-stranding answers and polarity particles observed by
Gribanova (p.c.) is that unlike stranded verbs, polarity particles cannot be used in

contrastive ellipsis, as illustrated in (86).

(86)   Maša   včera   ne   poslala   pis'ma v Moskvu i   banderol' v Piter,
          Masha yesterday NEG send.PST letters to Moscow and package   to Piter
          'Masha didn't send the letters to Moscow and the package to St. Petersburg
          yesterday,'

    a. *...a   segodnja, da.
        ...but today   yes

    b. ...a   segodnja, poslala.
        ...but today   send.3SG.PST.F
        '...but today, she did.'

As shown in (87), in contrastive ellipsis cases, Pron+*samyj* also patterns with polarity particles and is different from V-stranding answers:[26]

(87)   [Context: Ivan and Peter are identical twins who can be easily confused.]
        Včera   èto ne byl Petr, a   segodnja {*on samyj/*da/✓byl}.
        yesterday this not was Peter but today   he   self/yes/was
        'Yesterday this was not Peter, but today (this is) he.'

Thus, Pron+*samyj* is different from V-stranding answers. Two more points need to be mentioned there. First, V-stranding answers in Russian are argued to be derived by Head Movement of V to the left periphery of the clause and subsequent TP-ellipsis (see, for instance, Kazenin 2006, see also Lipták 2013 for a similar analysis of V-stranding in Hungarian). This theoretical conclusion undermines the initial plausibility that Pron+*samyj* is a VP-like constituent. Second, V-stranding answers to identity questions seem to have pragmatically different meaning. The simple present tense null copular cannot be used as an answer. The past tense copular brings out a strong 'and no longer is' implicature, see (88-a), whereas the future copular triggers a promise reading, see (88-b). Neither of these strategies asserts the identity, what seems to be the question under discussion in the identity questions.

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[26](87) is more natural with the constituent negation as in (i), however in this case the contrastive ellipsis is not created and V-stranding answer is impossible. The contrast is on the DP, rather than on VP, see Kazenin 2006.

(i)   Včera   èto byl ne Petr, a   segodnja {?*on samyj/*da/*byl/✓on/✓Petr}.
        yesterday this was not Peter but today   he   self/yes/was/he/Peter
        'Yesterday this was not Peter, but today (this is) he.'

(88)   a. Èto byl Petr? - Byl.
            this was Peter   was
            'Was this Peter? - This was he (but he is not here any longer/but this is
            not he any longer).'
        b. Èto budet Petr? - Budet.
            this will.be Peter   will.be
            'Will this be Peter? - This will be he (I promise!).'

To summarize, the evidence presented in this section suggests that the alternative hypothesis that Pron+*samyj* is not a DP, but a constituent either smaller (NP) or larger (VP) than a DP is not on the right track as it meets immediate serious problems. In the next section, I present a proposal that explains the Problem of Description assuming that Pron+*samyj* is a DP.

5.4.2   Towards a solution

Assumptions about phasal architecture: Hinzen et al.

The solution to the Problem of Description that I propose in the next section builds on the phasal architecture advocated in Arsenijević and Hinzen 2012 and Hinzen and Sheehan 2013. Hinzen in much of his solo work (e.g. Hinzen 2006) and work in collaboration (e.g. Arsenijević and Hinzen 2012, Hinzen and Sheehan 2013, Martin and Hinzen 2014) argues against what he assumes to be 'traditional' Minimalism assumptions that syntax and semantics are two autonomous modules and computational operations like Merge are unbound (e.g. Chomsky 1995). What these authors assume instead is that syntax and semantics are not two autonomous notions that relate to each other like form and content, but rather that the Grammar (the computational system) has its own content, in the sense that it creates a new object (referential expression, event, truth-valued sentence) from a descriptive content provided by lexical items. In this sense, Merge is not unbound. Merge follows a particular phasal template as shown in (89). This template unifies DPs and CPs; both are assumed to be phases.

(89)   Phase: [$_{\text{EDGE}}$ referent/event/truth [$_{\text{INTERIOR}}$ descriptive content]]

With respect to recursion this view on phases explains why we do not find X-within-X embedding in natural language, e.g. [$_{\text{N}}$ [$_{\text{N}}$ ...]] or [$_{\text{V}}$ [$_{\text{V}}$ ...]], not mediated by functional categories (Arsenijević and Hinzen 2012).

What is important for my proposal in the next section is the insight that "reference is not lexical" which is formulated as follows in Hinzen and Sheehan 2013:

> "any content word acquires its forms of referentiality on an occasion only as a function of the grammatical relations into which it comes to enter, rather than in virtue of its lexical specifications, which do not predict its referential functioning [...] That reference is not lexical is shown by the fact alone that any word that can be used to *refer* can also be used to *predicate*, an insight that [...] even applies to indexicals and the personal pronouns, which are reckoned the most deictic of devices in language."
>
> (Hinzen and Sheehan 2013:117)

In other words, if we consider a personal pronoun, according to the view above, it refers not (or rather not only) by virtue of its being lexically a pronoun, i.e. having a referential index and gender/number specifications, but because it occupies a particular position at the edge of the phase.[27],[28]

Proposal

My proposal will be fleshed out using the assumptions about the structure of demonstratives as xAPs and the analysis of *samyj* as a modifier of the DP-internal ΣP developed in chapter 4, as well as the analysis of Pron+*samyj* argued for in this chapter.

Recall that Pron+*samyj* in some cases shows the case-matching connectivity effect, which was one of the arguments for its fragment answer status, see (90-a) repeated from 5.2.3.[29] The case connectivity effect suggests that at some point in the derivation Pron+*samyj* was in the argument position where it was θ-marked and later was assigned case by an appropriate mechanism. Thus, the short answer in (90-a) is derived by

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[27]In section 6.1, it will be shown that the edge has different levels according to Hinzen and Sheehan (2013) and Martin and Hinzen (2014). That is to say, pronouns like other lexical expressions are not inherently referential - they have a descriptive content (although a very light one) and 'derive' their reference if they occur at the edge of the phase.

[28]I chose to adopt the definition of phases proposed in Arsenijević and Hinzen 2012, Hinzen and Sheehan 2013 because I am interested in referentiality and their definition is well-suited for drawing a line between lexical and functional domains within DPs. This definition, however, is based on particular philosophical views (see Hinzen 2006). The main tension between Hinzen and his colleagues' view on grammar and the 'traditional' Minimalist view concerns the relation between syntax and semantics.The former assumes that syntax and semantics are not autonomous; semantics is shaped by syntax. The latter assumes that syntax and semantics are autonomous. Some recent proposals about phases within the Minimalist tradition, however, seem to approach the view that I adopt in this work, for example, dynamic phases (Bošković 2014). I will leave the question whether these new proposals are equally well-suited for my data for future research. I thank Barbara Citko for the discussion of this point.

[29]Although such examples are rare and the overwhelming majority of cases are where Pron+*samyj* is derived from an identity statement, I chose to use the example with case-matching connectivity in this section for ease of presentation. Binominative copular-less identity statements that constitute the majority of cases with Pron+*samyj* do not illustrate the fragment answer derivation as clearly as the case in (90). However, nothing hinges on this choice. The proposal covers binominative identity statements equally well.

movement of Pron+*samyj* to the specifier of the High ΣP followed by TP-ellipsis, as illustrated in (90-b).

(90) a. Ty imeeš' v vidu Zubrilovy   Veroniku?   - Eë samuju!
          you have in view Zubrilova-ACC Veronika-ACC her self-F.SG.ACC
          'Do you mean Veronika Zubrilova? Her, indeed.' (lit. Her herself.)
          [Maksim Milovanov. Kafe "Zoopark" (2000)]

      b. [ΣP [eë samuju]ᵢ Σ [TP ja imeju v vidu tᵢ]]
              her self   I have   in mind

Recall from section 4.3.1 that I proposed to analyze *samyj* as a modifier of the DP-internal ΣP, as shown in (91-b) for a Dem+*samyj* expression in (91-a), which, among other things, accounted for its sensitivity to constituent negation.

(91) a. t-a   samaja   sonata
          that.F.SG.NOM self.F.SG.NOM sonata.F.SG.NOM
          'that very sonata'

      b. [DP ta [ΣP samaja Σ [NP sonata]]]

Extending the analysis of Dem+*samyj* to Pron+*samyj*, we will have the structure in (92-b) for (92-a), assuming the N-to-D movement for Russian pronouns as argued for in section 5.1.

(92) a. ona   samaja
          it.F.NOM self.F.SG.NOM

      b. [DP onaₖ [ΣP samaja Σ [NP tₖ]]]

The obvious difference between (91-b) and (92-b) seems to be that the sister of Σ in (92-b) does not have independent descriptive content - it is a copy of the moved pronoun.[30] I claim that this is the reason why Pron+*samyj* cannot be used in the argument position. To make my proposal concrete, I postulate the following condition on Σ_{emph}:

(93) *The Condition on Σ_{emph}:*
      The sister of Σ_{emph} must contain independent (lexical) descriptive content (at LF).

By 'independent (lexical) descriptive content' I mean some lexical material that can

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[30]I represent unpronounced copies of moved elements as traces to distinguish them from elided material which I enclose in <angle brackets> in this chapter and checked features represented with strike-through.

help to identify the referent of DP. The rationale for (93) is that one major contribution of *samyj* is to introduce a secondary assertion of identity of the form X = Y.[31] For this assertion to be informative X and Y need to provide different descriptions of the referent of DP. If the two descriptions are provided by two copies of the same lexical item as is the case with the moved pronoun, the identity relation is vacuous (X = X).[32]

In Dem+*samyj*, the condition in (93) is satisfied by NP. Although this NP may be deleted at PF (which results in the 'secrecy' reading, see the discussion around example (75)), it is visible at LF.[33] However, with pronouns the condition in (93) is not satisfied, resulting in the incomplete phase formation. Therefore, Pron+*samyj* is a deficient DP that cannot be used in argument position.

Consider now what happens when Pron+*samyj* moves to the left periphery of the clause as in (90-b) repeated below for convenience:

(94) $[_{\Sigma P}$ [eë samuju]$_i$ Σ $[_{TP}$ ~~ja imeju v vidu t$_i$~~]]
            her self   I have in mind

I represent the condition in (93) as a feature $[\gamma]$ on Σ (hereafter I omit the subscript $_{emph}$ as the only Σ we will be dealing with in this section is the emphatic one). Assume further that Σ/Pol in the clause left periphery in addition to $[\gamma]$ has an EPP-feature that attracts Pron+*samyj* (or any other answer fragment) to its specifier and an E(lide) feature that triggers non-spell-out of its sister TP, e.g. Citko 2014a.

I propose that when Pron+*samyj* moves to the specifier of High ΣP checking its EPP feature, the unchecked $[\gamma]$ of the DP-internal ΣP is satisfied in Spec-Head configuration with the clausal Σ which has the elided TP as its descriptive content. I assume that $[\gamma]$ is present on DP as the maximal projection of the left periphery of NP. This is illustrated in (95) for (94) (for readability, I use only English glosses):

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[31]This will be argued for in section 6.2

[32]This is the point famously illustrated by Fregean examples 'The morning star is the evening star' vs. 'The morning star is the morning star'.

[33]Recall that the demonstratives used in Dem+*samyj* are the so-called 'familiar' demonstratives. I assume that this familiarity feature on the demonstrative ensures that it always comes with an LF visible NP and/or Relative Clause (= 'NP that we both know about', 'NP that we were talking about' etc.). See Elbourne 2008 for the assumption that all demonstratives are accompanied by NP, but see Martin and Hinzen 2014 for the view that deictic demonstratives are not accompanied by NP. This difference is irrelevant for constructions with *samyj* and crucially, *samyj* cannot be used with deictic demonstratives and pronouns.

(95)

```
                               ΣP
              ┌─────────────────┴─────────────────┐
         DP_{k[γ̄]}                          ┌──────┴──────┐
       ┌────┴────┐                    Σ_{[γ,EPP,E]}      <TP>
     her_j    ΣP_{[γ]}                              ┌──────┴──────┐
            ┌───┴───┐                             <I have in mind t_k >
          self    Σ_{[γ]}   NP
                           t_j
```
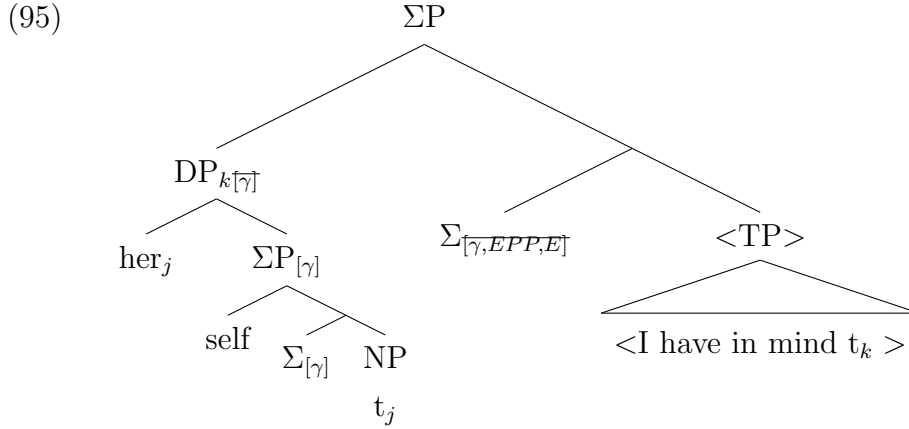
In (95), [EPP] feature on the clausal Σ is checked by the movement of Pron+*samyj* to its specifier. [E] provides instructions to delete TP at PF. And [γ] on the clausal Σ is satisfied by the elided TP, which is visible at LF.

We can view the movement of Pron+*samyj* as similar to *wh*-pied-piping. The comparison with *wh*-pied-piping brings out an interesting observation. We know that in Russian LBE is possible. However, *samyj* cannot be separated from the pronoun and serve as an answer by itself. Presumably, this is because *samyj* can never be on the left branch, see the discussion around example (79-b), which is repeated below:

(96)   (*samyj)   on samyj
       self.M.SG.NOM he self.M.SG.NOM

Generalizing this point further, in the recent development of the parallelism between DPs and CPs, much attention has been devoted to Information Structure within DP. Aboh et al. 2010 in their overview of the state of affairs in this area of research discuss interesting facts about Gungbe. According to Aboh et al. 2010:797, in Gungbe:

> "the topic and focus heads within the DP actually represent active goals for the functional heads within the C domain [... which means that ...] A′-movement is not a relation between a probe within C and a goal that happens to be a maximal projection (as one may think) but instead between two heads: a probe within C (e.g., topic, focus, Q) and a matching head within D."
>
> (Aboh et al. 2010:797)

The authors also note that 'this type of probe-goal relation typically leads to generalized pied-piping of the whole DP embedding the goal' (Aboh et al. 2010:797).

Consider for illustration the derivation of topicalization in Gungbe. As discussed in Aboh et al. 2010, when a noun phrase is topicalized moving to the specifier of TopP in the clausal left periphery (where Top is overtly realized as *yà*), the DP internal Topic marker *lɔ́* is obligatorily present. This is illustrated in (97):

(97)   [Tɔ̀ *(lɔ́)   krá] yà, Súrù yì flέn.
        river SPECIFIC/TOP side TOP Suru go there
        'As for the river side, Suru went there.'   *Gungbe* (Aboh et al. 2010:795)

This suggests that the Match/Agree between the clausal Σ and DP-internal Σ in Pron+*samyj* is an instance of a more general phenomenon which relates the information encoded in the left-periphery of CPs and DPs.[34]

5.4.3 An origami DP

I would like to conclude by showing that the condition in (93) proposed above is operative not only at the clause level and DP-internally, but also at a more microscopic level within DP. To do so, we need to unfold DP further.

Recall from section 4.3.1 that I argued that Σ can also merge within an extended adjectival projection like in *self*-superlatives and used this embedded merge position of Σ to explain the insensitivity of *samyj* in *self*-superlatives to constituent negation. I also stipulated in section 4.3.4 that *samyj* cannot merge within the demonstrative xAP. The two structures are repeated below (simplified):

(98)   a.   Dem+*samyj*
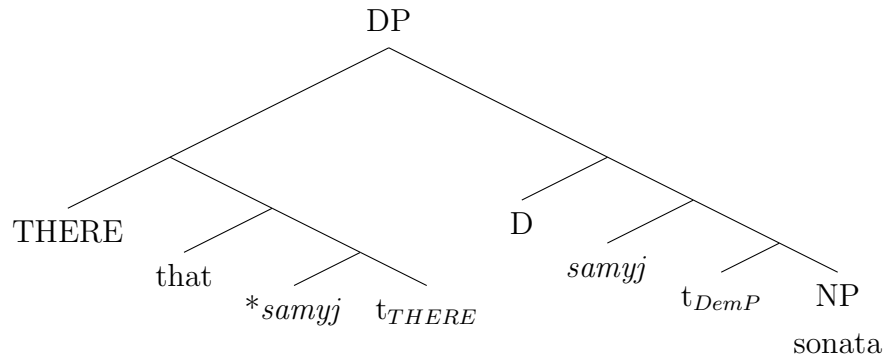
        b.   *self*-superlative
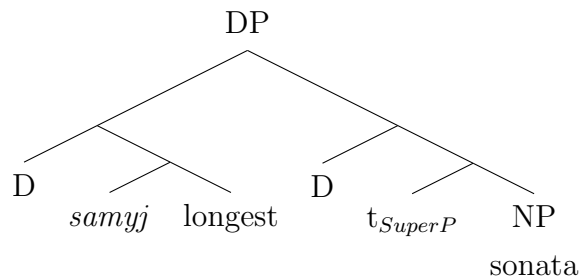
Given the structures in (98), the impossibility of merging *samyj* within a demon-

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[34]See also Sigurdsson 2011.

strative is accounted for in the same way as the impossibility of Pron+*samyj* surfacing in argument positions. In other words, the condition in (93) is not satisfied when *samyj* relates two copies of the unpronounced THERE as the there is only one description which makes the identity statement introduced by *samyj* trivial.

To summarize, the table below lists the material that can and cannot satisfy the condition in (93).

samyj	Material that can/cannot satisfy (93)
Σ	NP, <NP>, AP, <TP>
*Σ	$t_{HERE/THERE}$, $t_{pronoun}$

5.5   Summary

This chapter 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 chapter 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 ΣP - 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 ΣP in identity sentences with a zero copula in Russian. The inability to surface in argument positions was further discussed as the Problem of Description and the solution was proposed in terms of phasal architecture developed in Arsenijević and Hinzen 2012 and Hinzen and Sheehan 2013.

Chapter 6

In search of reference

The goal of this chapter is to locate *samyj* on what I will call a 'referentiality spectrum' and to provide a tentative account of its semantic and pragmatic contribution as an element that 'helps' find the referent. Most of the recent literature (both syntactic and semantic) seems to converge on the idea that it is methodologically beneficial to think of referentiality as a spectrum, ranging from properties, through indefinites and quantificational expressions to referring and rigidly referring expressions (indexicals). This spectrum has been argued to exist for proper names (e.g. Matushansky 2005a, Fara forthcoming), pronouns (e.g. Déchaine and Wiltschko 2002, Martin and Hinzen 2014) and definite descriptions[1] alike (e.g. Coppock and Beaver 2014). From the syntactic point of view the progression from a property to an indexical has been associated with the size of the functional area of a nominal projection (see below). To investigate the behaviour of *samyj* with respect to referentiality, I will adopt the referentiality system presented in Hinzen and Sheehan 2013 and Martin and Hinzen 2014. These authors propose the topological hierarchy for nominals in English as in (1), in which each item to the right is stronger in referentiality and less dependent on the descriptive content provided by NP (from Hinzen and Sheehan 2013:129).

(1)   (*the) *(NP) < *(a) *(NP) < *(the) *(NP) < *(this) (NP) < *(he) (*NP)

In section 6.1, I will show that *samyj* is possible only with a subset of nominals in the hierarchy above, which excludes properties, indefinites and definites set by the discourse[2]

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[1] I use 'definite description' here in a narrow sense, i.e. a common noun preceded by a definite article or demonstrative. In a wide sense, proper names and pronouns have also been treated as definite descriptions (e.g. Elbourne 2008).

[2] As Russian is an article-less language, the '*(the) *(NP)' level of the hierarchy in (1) will be divided into two categories: i) where referent is set solely by the discourse as an ordinary unmodified noun and ii) where there is a morphological or lexical indication of definiteness, e.g. superlatives or expressions

on the low part of the spectrum and indexicals and other rigidly referring expressions on the top part of the spectrum. The 'visible' spectrum for *samyj* includes morphologically or lexically marked definites, non-deictic demonstratives and 3rd person pronoun (in fragment answers). This is illustrated by the shaded area in (1). I will show that this restriction has an interesting consequence for the DP/NP debate in the Slavic literature, which highlights the core issue of the debate, namely that the question is not about the universality of a syntactic DP projection but rather about the universality of the mapping between syntax and semantics (see esp. Pereltsvaig 2013 for recent discussion).

In section 6.2, I discuss *samyj* from the semantic/pragmatic point of view and propose a tentative account of the impossibility of *samyj* under C-Neg in terms of the interaction of C-Neg and Information Structure required by *samyj*. This interaction is argued to be specific to *samyj*. The chapter concludes (section 6.3) with the discussion of semantic/pragmatic properties of *samyj* that it shares with its cousin *sam* which is based on previous works on intensifiers in German.

6.1   *Samyj* on the 'referentiality spectrum'

In this section, I will use the typological hierarchy developed in Hinzen and Sheehan 2013 and Martin and Hinzen 2014 in order to locate *samyj* on the referentiality spectrum. To state the problem as I just did in this first sentence is slightly misleading. As has been discussed in the previous chapters, *samyj* is a modifier and whatever its contribution to the meaning of DP is, by itself it is not a possible locus of reference. So, *samyj* is not part of the referentiality spectrum and to say that I will 'locate *it*' on the spectrum is meaningless. Rather, I will identify a range of nominal expressions *samyj* can modify and locate those expressions on the referentiality scale. If it turns out that the expressions *samyj* can modify have shared properties, we will be able to reverse the reasoning and use *samyj* (or similar expressions in other languages) as a test for those properties. I will provide a list of properties of the expression that can be felicitously modified by *samyj* at the end of this section. This list can be used for further development of the empirical probing into the referentiality spectrum using *samyj* or its equivalents to arrive at a more refined picture. Keeping this important clarification in mind, I will continue to use the 'locate *samyj*' language for the purpose of brevity and as an indicator of the fact that at his stage, we are trying to determine what *samyj* is testing for, rather than what its availability with a certain nominal can tell us about this nominal.

I will start this section with a brief overview of the topological hierarchy proposed by

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denoting end-points like *top, edge.*

Hinzen and Sheehan (2013) and Martin and Hinzen (2014) and their motivations (section 6.1.1). After that, I will provide data that indicate the location of *samyj* on the referentiality spectrum. Anticipating the results, for expository purposes, the data is partitioned into three sections: section 6.1.2 shows that *samyj* is infelicitous with properties, indefinites and some definites, i.e. expressions that are low in the topological hierarchy; section 6.1.3 shows the cases in which the modification with *samyj* is acceptable;l section 6.1.4 shows that *samyj* is inappropriate with indexicals and rigidly referring expressions. This three-partite segmentation of the topological hierarchy is schematically shown in (2):

(2)

*samyj	✓ samyj	*samyj
1st/2nd pronouns	3rd pronouns	indefinites
deictic demonstratives	(in fragment answers)	properties
rigidly referring expr.	familiarity demonstratives	
	some unique definites	
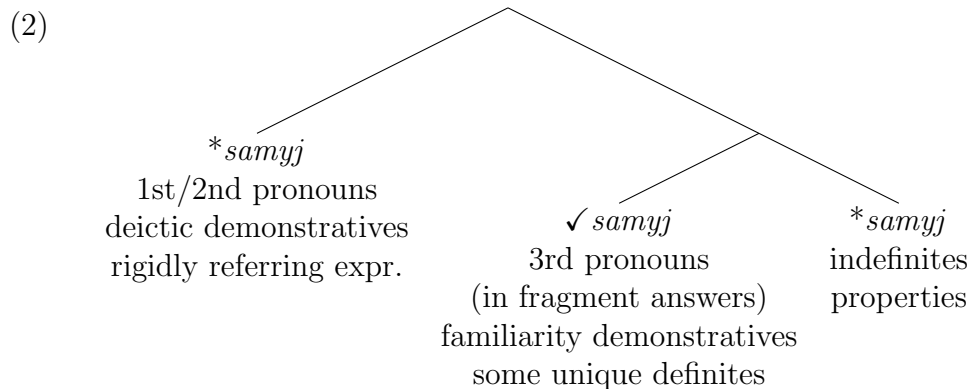
I conclude this section by providing a list of properties that determine the felicity of *samyj* and some additional remarks about its distribution.

6.1.1   The Topological Hierarchy

Martin and Hinzen (2014) take a grammatical view on reference.[3] Building on Longobardi 1994 and 2005, they claim that in order for a nominal to refer some functional layer above NP should be engaged. In particular, they propose the following Grammar-Reference Link Hypothesis:

(3)   *The Grammar-Reference Link Hypothesis*   (Martin and Hinzen 2014 : 102)
        Referential strength (from predicativity to deixis) is not an intrinsic property of
        lexical items, but rather of certain grammatical configurations.

---

[3]This view extends to propositional phenomena as well, which I do not discuss in this work. However, I want to note that the distribution of *samyj* discussed in this section supports the view that we need to redefine the notion of a phase as proposed in Arsenijević and Hinzen 2012, Hinzen and Sheehan 2013 and Martin and Hinzen 2014. Their proposal allows us to unify CPs and DPs under one definition of a phase overcoming the difficulties recently discussed in, for example, Matushansky 2005b and Citko 2014b. See also chapter 1 for some discussion.

The configuration in question is the phasal template already mentioned in section 5.4.2. For Martin and Hinzen (2014) (see also Hinzen and Sheehan 2013), the phase is a minimal grammatical unit that is responsible for building a new object (including a referring expression) from a descriptive content provided by lexical items, see (4):

(4)   Phase: [$_{\text{EDGE}}$ referent [$_{\text{INTERIOR}}$ descriptive content]]

The 'strength' of the reference correlates with the increase in grammatical complexity (see also Zamparelli 2000), which is described as 'movement towards the edge' (Martin and Hinzen 2014:98). Martin and Hinzen (2014) characterize this precess as follows:

> "[...] the observation is that as the edge gets gradually 'heavier' (through strong determiners, deictics, or movement of a substantive lexical noun to the edge), a conversion takes place from an initially predicatively interpreted expression to a more strongly referential one derived at the phase edge, less dependent of the phase interior's lexical descriptive content. Reference becomes more 'direct' (less descriptive) in this sense."
>
> (Martin and Hinzen 2014:98)

Martin and Hinzen (2014) provide the following examples to illustrate their point.[4] In (5-a), where D is not filled, *unicorns* does not have a reference, nor does it have an existential presupposition. When a 'weak' determiner is merged in D as in (5-b), there is still no reference to a particular unicorn, but the existential presupposition is triggered and scope properties emerge. In both cases, the descriptive content of NP is essential for its denotation. With 'strong' determiners and especially with demonstratives as in (5-c), the edge of the phase becomes 'heavier' and the dependence on the lexical interior to fix the reference is weakened. The derivation of proper names, pronouns and indexicals as in (5-d-f) increases the complexity of the phrase: proper names because they undergo N-to-D movement,[5] pronouns because they merge directly to D,[6] and indexicals because they undergo D-to-D movement. In the last three examples the denotation is dissociated from the descriptive content, which, among other things, nicely explains failed definite

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[4]Examples in (5-a-d) are from Martin and Hinzen 2014:98. Examples (5-e,f) are based on their discussion, for example, Martin and Hinzen 2014:102 and the structure on p. 110 as well as Hinzen and Sheehan 2013:168. Note also that Martin and Hinzen (2014) make a distinction between deictic and non-deictic demonstrative and merge the former into DxP above (the low) DP. These deictic demonstratives can appear without the NP-description for them (contra Elbourne 2008). I glossed over this distinction here as I am not dealing with deictic demonstratives.

[5]According to Hinzen and Sheehan (2013) and Martin and Hinzen (2014) D movement is more complex than merging an element in D and leaving N in situ.

[6]An assumption that I will not follow, see also Elbourne 2008.

descriptions famously examplified by Kripke's 1980 Gödel example and provides some insights to the problem of so-called 'essential indexicals'.[7]

(5) a. I want to find [$_D$ [$_{NP}$ unicorns]]
     b. I am looking for [$_D$ a [$_{NP}$ unicorn]]
     c. I am looking for [$_D$ the/this [$_{NP}$ unicorn]]
     d. I am looking for [$_D$ Eleanorat [$_{NP}$ t]]
     e. [$_{DP}$ him [$_{NP}$ ∅]]
     f. [$_{DP}$ I [$_{DxP}$ t [$_{DP}$ ∅ [$_{NP}$ ∅]]]]

Martin and Hinzen (2014) provide evidence for their view based on the syntactic distribution and morphological decomposition of Romance clitics. I will not reproduce their arguments here. What is important for my purposes in this section is the breakdown of the left periphery of DP (which parallels the split-DP hypothesis to be discussed below) and the intuition that "the further extended the nominal edge is, and the higher an element is merged or moved up in the left periphery of the nominal phase, the less descriptive content will play a role, making the language-world connection even tighter" (Hinzen and Sheehan 2013:141).

6.1.2 *Samyj with properties and indefinites

This section shows that *samyj* cannot be felicitously used with properties and (overtly marked) indefinites. I also show that the evidence for the acceptability of *samyj* with kinds is inconclusive and more research is needed on this topic.

*Samyj with properties

The first piece of evidence comes from *self*-superlatives. Recall from section 3.2.3 that *self*-superlatives unlike *most*-superlatives can combine only with L(ong) F(orm) adjectives, but not S(hort) F(orm) adjectives. The relevant data is repeated below:

(6) a. Èta kniga   sam-aja   interesn-aja.
         this book.F.NOM self.F.SG.NOM interesting.F.SG.NOM (= LF)
         'This book is the most interesting.'
     b. Èta kniga   nai-bolee interesn-aja.
         this book-F.NOM NAI-more interesting.F.SG.NOM (= LF)
         'This book is the most interesting.'

---

[7]See esp. the discussion in Hinzen and Sheehan 2013 starting on p.141.

(7)   a. *Ètot vopros   sam(yj) važen.   Matushansky 2008
           this question self   important.M.SG. (= SF)
           'This question is the most important.'

       b. Ètot vopros   naibolee važen.
           this question NAI-more important.M.SG (= SF)
           'This question is the most important.'

(6) illustrates that both *samyj* and the quantifier *naibolee* can form a superlative with
an LF-adjective. (7) shows that only *naibolee*, but not *samyj*, can combine with an
SF-adjective.

This fact receives a very simple explanation if we adopt the view widely accepted
nowadays that LF-adjectives in Russian are derived from SF-adjectives (by addition of
the 3rd person singular pronoun) and are necessarily attributive (that is to say, even in
the predicative position they modify a null noun), see Siegel 1976, Matushansky 2008,
Babby 2010, among many others.[8] Or putting it another way, SF adjectives are basically
properties which cannot be part of NP in Russian as evidenced by their unacceptability
in the attributive position, cf. (8-a) with (8-b):

(8)   a. *ètot važen   vopros
           this important.M.SG.=SF question.M.SG

       b. ètot važnyj   vopros
           this important.M.SG.NOM=LF question.M.SG
           'this important question'

Secondly, Dem+*samyj* cannot have an attributive reading. As is well know since
Donnellan 1966 definite descriptions have two functions: attributive and referential. Don-
nellan 1966 describes the difference as follows: "A speaker who uses a definite description
attributively in an assertion states something about whoever or whatever is the so-and-so.
A speaker who uses a definite description referentially in an assertion, on the other hand,
uses the description to enable his audience to pick out whom or what he is talking about
and states something about that person or thing." (cited from the reprint in Ludlow
1997: 364) The famous example provided by Donnellan is 'Smith's murderer is insane'.
Another famous example that can be used with demonstratives is 'The man who parked
the car is in a hurry' that can describe either a hypothetical driver whose inappropriately
parked car is visually available to the speaker (attributive), or a physical man who is
impatiently waiting for his car in front of a restaurant or hotel (referential). Definite
descriptions with demonstratives in Russian are ambiguous between attributive and ref-

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[8]However, see Borik (2014) who challenges this well-established view.

erential readings (9-a), however the addition of *samyj* blocks the attributive reading (9-b).

(9)   a.   Tot čelovek kotoryj priparkoval mašinu dolžno byt' toropitsja.
             that man   who   parked   car   must be   in.hurry
             'That man who parked his car here must be in a hurry.'   (ref. attr.)

        b.   Tot samyj čelovek kotoryj priparkoval mašinu dolžno byt' toropitsja.
             that self man   who   parked   car   must be   in.hurry
             'That very man who parked his car here must be in a hurry.'   (ref. *attr.)

This restriction of Dem+*samyj* is expected if by using *samyj* the speaker intends to emphasize the identity of the referent. This intention is incompatible with the 'whoever'-nature of attributive descriptions.[9]

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[9]I would like to briefly mention the effect of distal/proximal opposition in Dem+*samyj*. As discussed above, proximal demonstratives are 'anaphoric' on the previous linguistic mentioning of the expression. The effect of this 'anaphoricity' can be observed in the attributive-referential distinction just discussed. For instance, if talking about a hypothetical person who inappropriately parked his car in front of a restaurant, we create for him a fake biography as in (i-a), *samyj* with a proximal demonstrative becomes felicitous (i-b). In this case, we created textual deixis.

(i)   a.   The man who parked his car here must be in a hurry... he's probably late for an appointment... his wife asked him to pick up a birthday cake before the appointment...

        b.   Ètot/*tot samyj čelovek ešČo navernoe igraet na skripke.
             this/that self man   also   probably play   on violin
             'This very man probably also plays the violin.'

The textual deixis is also observed when proximal (but not distal demonstratives) are used with the unique deferent (ii) and E-type constructions (iii). This effect is independent of the presence of *samyj* so as I already mentioned I made a decision to disregard it for the purpose of the present discussion.

(ii)   a.   U Marii odin syn i   etot/*tot (samyj) syn ej nikogda ne   zvonit.
             at M.   one son and this/that self   son her never   calls
             'Mary has only one son, and this son never calls her.'

        b.   U nego tol'ko odno pol'to i   eto/*to (samoe) pol'to porvalos'.
             at him only   one coat   and this/that self   coat   is.torn.up
             'He has only one coat and this/that coat has a whole in it.'

(iii)   a.   Každaja ženšČina u kotoroj est' ljubovnik skryvaet etogo/?*togo (samogo) ljubovnika
             every   woman   at who   is   lover   hides   this/that   self   lover
             ot   muža.
             from husband
             'Every woman who has a lover hides this lover from the husband.'

        b.   Každyj kolxoznik u kotorogo est' korova doit etu/?*tu (samuju) korovu dva raza v
             every farmer   at who   is   cow   milks this/that self   cow   two times in
             den'.
             day
             'Every farmer who has a cow milks it twice a day.'

        c.   Každyj pisatel' kotoryj napisal tol'ko odny knigu gorditsja etoj/?*toj (samoj).
             every writer   who   wrote   only   one book is.proud this/that self   book
             'Every write who wrote only one book is proud of it.'

*Samyj with (overt) indefinites

Russian does not have articles to mark (in)definiteness, which is determined by the discourse. As illustrated in (10), *samyj* is unacceptable with nominals, which can be interpreted either way and have no lexical indications of their (in)definiteness (I will return to this question in the next section).

(10)   Petr kupil   (*samuju) skripku.
        Peter bought self   violin
        'Peter bought a/the violin.'

Some authors, e.g. Paperno 2012, suggest that the numeral *odin* 'one' can be used to signal indefiniteness, see (11-a) from Paperno 2012:8. (11-b) shows that *samyj* cannot co-occur with *odin*.

(11)   a.   My vstretili odnogo čeloveka. Ètot čelovek okazalsja   dekanom.
              we met   one   man   this man   turned.out dean
              'We met a man. The man turned out to be the dean.'
        b.   My vstretili (*sámogo) odnogo (*sámogo) čeloveka.
              we met   self   one   self   man

However, it is unclear to me whether (or under what definition of 'article') we can include numerals like *odin* in Russian in the category of indefinite articles.

On the one hand, *odin* seems to mark indefiniteness in examples like (11) and shares some properties with indefiniteness markers in other languages. Caruso (2012) discusses an important property of the Serbo-Croatian numeral *jedan* 'one', namely that it can be used with plural nouns, which she claims indicates that *jedan* is an indefinite article (parallel to e.g. Spanish *uno/unos*) rather than a numeral, see Caruso 2012:293-5 and references cited there. I repeat some of her examples in (12) from Caruso 2012:294:[10]

(12)   a.   Još se sječam   savjeta koji su mi   dali
              still self remember advice which are me.DAT give.PAST.PART.ACTIVE
              jedni   prijatelji   moje   majke   [...].
              one.NOM.PL friends.NOM.PL myGEN.SG mother.GEN.SG
              'I still remember the advice that some friends of my mother gave me.'
        b.   Dok jedna   djeca   nemaju roditelje, odnosno roditelji
              while one-NOM.PL children-NOM.PL not.have parents   that.is   parents
              su im   nepoznatog podrijetla, drugi pak imaju sreču [...]
              are them-DAT unknown   origin,   others but have luck

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[10]These are naturally occurring examples taken from the internet, see Caruso (2012):294 for the sources.

'While some children do not have parents, that is, their parents cannot be traced back, others are still lucky [...]'

c. Ja se sjećam   jednih   jako   lijepih
   I self remember one-GEN.PL very-GEN.PL beautiful-GEN.PL

   bijelih   konja   u ovom parku [...].
   white-GEN.PL horses-GEN.PL in this   park
   'I remember some very beautiful white horses being in this park.'

   (Serbo-Croatian)

This observation extends to Russian as shown by (13) based on (12-a):

(13)   Odni   druz'ja   moix roditelej dali   mne xorošij sovet.
       one.NOM.PL friends.NOM of   my   parents gave me   good   advice
       'Some friends of my parents gave me a good piece of advice.'

On the other hand, *odin* 'one' in Russian is a multi-functional expression that in addition to the indefinite use as above, can be used contrastively as in (14-a) (see also Serbo-Croatian example in (12-b)) and as an exhaustivity marker as in (14-b).[11] Moreover, it is not obligatory which would be unexpected if we equate *odin* to other indefiniteness markers such as English *a(n)*, see (14-c).

(14)   a.   Rano utrom   on pošel po   Moskve ot   odnix   druzej   k
            early morning he went around Moscow from one.GEN.PL friends.GEN to
            drugim, no u vsex v ètot rannij čas   gorel svet.
            others   but at all   in this early hour shone light
            'Early in the morning, he went around Moscow from some friends to others, but every one had the lights turned on.'
            [Lidija Kaleda. 2000. Vospominanija ob otce - svjaščenike Vladimire Ambarcumove]
       b.   Govorjat: sejčas u nas net protivnikov, odni   "druz'ja"
            say.PRES.PL now   at us not rivals   one.NOM.PL friends.NOM
            krugom.
            around
            'It is being said that nowadays we don't have any rivals, only friends are around'
            [Stepan Bacanov. Voennoe bessilie kremlevskix reformatorov (2002)]
       c.   My včera   vstretili ✓(odnogo) čeloveka. Ètot čelovek okazalsja
            we yesterday met   one   man   this man   turned.out
            dekanom.
            dean
            'We met *(a) man yesterday. The man turned out to be the dean.'

---

[11]See also Paperno 2012:47.

Abstracting away from the status of *odin* in Russian, the incompatibility of *samyj* with indefinites, can be also shown by its ungrammaticality with existential pronouns and adjectives in Russian. Existential pronouns in Russian are formed by the addition of the prefix *koe-* or postfixes *-to, -libo, -nibud'* to a *wh*-element.[12] As illustrate in (15), *samyj* is uninterpretable with them.

(15)   a.   Koe-kto   (*samyj) prišël. / Kto-to   (*samyj) prišel.
                KOE-who.NOM self   came   who.NOM-TO self   came
                'Someone came.'

        b.   On rešil   zadaču bystree čem kto-libo   (*samyj) ožidal.
                he solved problem faster   than who.NOM-LIBO self   expected
                'He solved the problem faster than anybody expected.'

        c.   Ty vstretil kogo-nibud'   (*sámogo)?
                you met   who.ACC-NIBUD' self
                'Did you meet anyone?'

Similarly, *samyj* is ill-formed with the existential adjective *kakoj-to* which is formed from a *wh*-element meaning 'how', an adjectival (thematic) suffix *-oj-* and a postfix *-to*, see (16):

(16)   Prišel kakoj-to (*samyj) čelovek.
        Came some   self   man
        'Some man came.'

?*Samyj* with kinds

The first observation is that *samyj* is unacceptable with the kind-demonstrative *takoj* 'such' in Russian. This is illustrated in (17) by using an example from NRC. Compare (17) with (18) (based on (17-a)) which has a regular demonstrative.

(17)   a.   On jasno skazal čto   takoj zakon nam nužen.
                he clearly said   what such law   to.us needed
                'He clearly said that we need such a law.'

                [Igor' Pylaev. Čislo izbrannyx (2003)]

        b.   On jasno skazal čto   takoj (*samyj) zakon nam nužen.
                he clearly said   what such self   law   to.us needed

(18)   a.   On jasno skazal čto   tot zakon nam nužen.
                he clearly said   what that law   to.us needed
                'He clearly said that we need that law.'

---

[12]See Paperno 2012:10.

      b.   On jasno skazal čto   tot samyj zakon nam nužen.
          he clearly said   what that self   law   to.us needed
          'He clearly said that we need that very law.'

This observation might suggest that *samyj* is ill-formed with demonstratives with kind-interpretation. However, there is another test for the kind-reading of demonstratives in Russian, that does not show a conclusive result.

Pereltsvaig (2013) observed that demonstratives have different interpretations depending on whether they precede or follow a cardinal numeral in Russian. If the demonstrative occurs before the numeral, it receives a definite interpretation and the nominal refers to individuals (instances of the kind), see (19-a). However, if the demonstrative follows the numeral, it can receive a kind interpretation or a partitive interpretation as in (19-b). (19-c) brings out the kind interpretation available for (19-b).

(19)   a.   èti   pjat'   mašin   Pereltsvaig 2013: 206-7
          these.ACC five.ACC cars.GEN
          'these five cars'

      b.   pjat'   ètix   mašin
          five.ACC these.GEN cars.GEN
          'five cars of this kind' / 'five of these cars'

      c.   Vsego   za   vojnu VVS   SŠA poterjali pjat' ètix
          all.in.all during war   Air.Force USA lost   five   these.GEN
          mašin...
          vehicles.GEN
          'All in all, during the war, US Air Force lost five vehicles of this kind.'
          (Pereltsvaig 2013: 216)

If post-numeral demonstratives have a kind-interpretation and *samyj* is infelicitous with kinds, we would predict that examples parallel to (19-b) are either unambiguously partitives or ungrammatical altogether if the partitive interpretation is not possible with *samyj*. The examples are shown in (20) where (20-a) shows Dem+*samyj* before the numeral and (20-b) is Dem+*samyj* after the numeral.[13] I have tested examples similar to those in (19) with Dem+*samyj* with several native speakers of Russian and half of them rejected the post-numeral use of *samyj* in (20-b) as would be predicted if *samyj* is ill-formed with kinds, but half of the speakers I consulted accepted (20-b) and reported on the availability of the kind-reading.

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[13]In (20), I substituted the proximal demonstrative *èti(x)* 'these' for a distal demonstrative *te(x)* 'those' because *samyj* with proximal demonstratives has a restrictive discourse anaphoric use, see discussion in fn. 9.

(20) a. Ivan s'el te   samye   pjat' jablok.
          Ivan ate those.ACC self.PL.ACC five   apples.GEN
          'Ivan ate those very five apples.'

      b.?%Ivan s'el pja't tex   samyx   jablok.
          Ivan ate five   those.GEN self.PL.GEN apples.GEN
          INTENDED: 'Ivan ate five apples of that very kind.'

I will leave this question for future research.

6.1.3 √*Samyj* with definites

The goal of this section is two-fold. First, I will list definite nominals with which *samyj* can occur, which is a trivial task. Since these constructions have been already given in section 2.1.2, I will just repeat the most representative examples. The second goal is less obvious, I will try to list definite constructions in which *samyj* is banned and show that they all share one property - the referent is fixed by the discourse and there is no lexical indication that the nominal is definite (or unique).

√*Samyj* with some definites

The full range of constructions in which *samyj* is used is discussed in chapter 3. The most prominent examples are repeated here. They include i) *samyj* in Dem+*samyj* constructions as in (21-a); ii) *samyj* with *self*-superlatives as in (21-b) and iii) *samyj* with unique but vague/imprecise nominals or prepositions as in (21-c). I leave aside Pron+*samyj* conctruction and *samyj* with quasi-modal interpretation as these constructions are somewhat special. The former because it can be used only in fragment answers and the latter because it is limited to nouns designating time and size only.

(21) a. Daša igrala *(tu) samuju sonatu, kotoruju razučivala,   kogda tri   goda
          D.   played that self   sonata which   was.learning when three years
          tomu nazad gotovilas'   k ekzamenam.
          that ago   was.preparing for exams
          'Dasha was playing the very sonata that she was learning three years ago
          when she was preparing for the exams.' t's the one.' (lit. He himself.)

      b. Daša polučila samyj   vysšyj   ball
          Dasha received self.M.SG.NOM highest.M.SG.NOM mark.M.SG.NOM
          'Dasha received the highest mark'

      c. u   samoi vody   d. na sámom verxy
          near self   water   at self   top
          'closest to the water'   'at the very top'

What seems to be shared by all these constructions is that the definiteness/ unique-ness/ identifiability of the referent is signalled lexically: in (21-a) by the obligatorily present demonstrative; in (21-b) by the superlative morpheme and in (21-c) by the lexical meaning of the preposition ((im)precision apart, there is a unique (range of) location(s) that we would agree to count as 'near') or the noun (again (im)precision apart, it is difficult to mis-identify the top of something).

If this conjecture is on the right track, we can try to make it more precise by looking at cases where a nominal is interpreted as definite but does embrace *samyj*. I now turn to these cases.

Samyj with discourse definites

As is well-known, Russian (as most Slavic languages except Bulgarian and Macedonian) does not have a dedicated definiteness marker and the definiteness of the referent is determined either by the discourse along or with an assistance coming from other mech-anisms such as (optional deictic and anaphoric) demonstratives, possessives, Information Structure (IS), case and agreement on the verb.[14]

To appreciate the burden that the discourse in Slavic languages carries, consider a simplified list of contexts in which English would use the definite article in (22) from Schwarz 2013: 535.

(22)   a.   Anaphoric Use   Schwarz 2013: 535
             John bought a book and a magazine. The book was expensive.
        b.   Immediate situation
             the desk (uttered in a room with exactly one desk)
        c.   Larger situation
             the prime minister (uttered in the UK) Bridging (Clark, 1975)
        d.   Associative Anaphora and Prince's (1981) Inferables)
             (i)   John bought a book. The author is French.
             (ii)   John's hands were freezing as he was driving down the street.
                    The steering wheel was bitterly cold and he had forgotten his gloves.

In none of these contexts *samyj* is acceptable as shown in (23) modelled on (22). This suggests that the discourse reference-fixing mechanism by itself is not sufficient to

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[14]See Caruso 2012 for the most recent discussion although based on Serbo-Croatian). To her mech-anisms which are shared by Russian and SC, I added the agreement argued for in Pereltsvaig 2006. My discussion of IS will also depart from Caruso 2012 in some details. Also note that possessives have exhaustive interpretation only if they occur before numerals, see Partee 2006, Pereltsvaig 2013 among others.

make the use of *samyj* felicitous.

(23)   a.   Ivan kupil   knigu i   žurnal. (*Samaja) Kniga (*samaja) byla
            Ivan bought book and magazin self   book   self   was
            dorogoj.
            expensive
            'John bought a book and a magazine. The book was expensive.'

       b.   Položi na (*samyj) stol   (*samyj).
            put   on self   table self
            'Put on the table.' (uttered in a room with exactly one desk)

       c.   (*samyj) president (*samyj) / (*samoe) solnce (*samoe)
            self   president self   self   sun   self
            'the president' / 'the sun'

       d.   Ivan kupil   knigu. (*Samyj) Avtor (*samyj) - francuz.
            Ivan bought book   self   author self   French
            'John bought a book. The author is French.'

The observation that *samyj* can combine with superlatives and nouns expressing end-points, but not nouns that denote things unique according to our pragmatic knowledge is especially interesting. If true, this observation draws a fine line between expressions that are intrinsically unique (i.e. unique by virtue of their lexical meaning) and those that are accidentally unique in our world. For example, we would not call someone 'the fastest runner' if there was a tie. However, if we lived on Kepler-16b - the first planet in our galaxy proven to orbit two stars - we would need to find a way to refer to the suns separately.

6.1.4   *Samyj* with indexicals

This section concludes the investigation of the location of *samyj* in the topological hierarchy and shows that it is not compatible with elements that Martin and Hinzen (2014) and Hinzen and Sheehan (2013) claim to be on the top the hierarchy.

As discussed in section 3.2.2, an interesting property of *samyj* is that it combines more freely with 3rd person pronouns, than 1st and 2nd person pronouns. The relevant example in given in (24) repeated from section 3.2.2. It shows that *samyj* is more natural with the 3rd person pronoun: the responder first uses the 1st person pronoun and when *samyj* is added for emphasis, s/he switches to the 3rd person.

(24)   A: Tak èto 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.M.SG.NOM
>   'That was me, me, indeed.' (lit. I, he himself.)
>   [Nina Gorlanova. Rjaženye (1987-1999)]

We can understand this restriction on *samyj* if we adopt the view in Martin and Hinzen 2014 and Hinzen and Sheehan (2013) that the referentiality of pronouns (and especially indexicals) is not 'a function of lexical specification [...but...] rather a function of grammatical complexity' (Martin and Hinzen 2014: 102). I quote their explanation below:[15]

> "[...] while we need to witness linguistic utterances to understand who refers to himself as 'I', no inspection of the non-linguistic context whatsoever will or can reveal who is 'I': all we can encounter there empirically is objects, which as such are always 3rd person. By contrast, it is one of the crucial insights in philosophical discussions of the self since Kant that the 'I' is not an object of experience: it is what underlies, as a pre-condition, all of our experience, and it cannot be captured in terms of any descriptive properties ('this kind of guy', 'the person called XYZ', 'the gray-haired gentleman', etc.)."
>
> (Martin and Hinzen 2014:102)

Interim Summary

To summarize, the data presented in the previous sections suggests that the availability of the modification by *samyj* depends on two grammatical specifications: i) the presence of the lexical core and ii) the presence of a marked edge of projection (using the terminology from Martin and Hinzen 2014). This is shown in the table 6.1 where rows 4-6 are the only constructions that accept *samyj*.

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[15] 1st/2nd pronouns cannot have the description "the speaker"/"the addressee". According to Hinzen and Sheehan (2013), Martin and Hinzen (2014), such analysis cannot solve the problem of essential indexicals; it just moves the problem to a new level. Hinzen and Sheehan (2013, ch.4) use the famous Fregean example with Dr. Lingens to demonstrate this. In a nutshell, if the denotation of 'I' is 'the speaker', we do not expect to find a situation in which (i-a) is true and (i-b) is false. However, such situation can be found. Imaging that Lingens in addition to being an amnesiac suffers from a type of schizophrenia that prevents him from recognizing that he is the speaker (hearing voices is a common diagnostic of this kind of mental deficit). In this case, he can come to believe (i-a), but not (i-b).

(i)   a.   The speaker is at Stanford.
      b.   I am at Stanford.

Table 6.1: *Samyj* with different types of nominals

	lexical core is present	edge is marked
properties	+	-
indefinites	+	-
non-marked definites	+	-
obligatory fam. Dem	+	+
superlatives	+	+
3rd pronoun	-/+*	+
1st/2nd pronouns	-	+

*= 3rd person pronouns are possible with *samyj* only in fragment answers, in which case, as I
proposed in section 5.4, the descriptive content is provided by the elided TP

6.1.5 *Samyj*, DP-split hypothesis and DP/NP debate

In this section, I would like to make a brief side-note on what the distribution of *samyj*
contributes to the notorious DP/NP-debate in Slavic.

It might look at first glance that it unequivocally supports the proponents of the
DP-side. After all the representation that has been used up to now is a clear variant
of the DP-split proposal with different levels at the edge of the nominal being projected
and different lexical material merged or moved to these left-peripheral positions.

However, such a conclusion would be premature. As the last column in table 6.1
shows *samyj* is sensitive to the presence of the obligatory definiteness indicator which
may be an obligatory demonstrative or D induced by the superlatives (which are DP-
islands) or 3rd person pronoun. If the edge is not marked even when the nominal ended
up being interpreted as definite, *samyj* is not acceptable. If we adopt the strong DP-
hypothesis according to which all definites (or even stronger all arguments) project DP
we would have to admit at least two null-Ds into the system - i) discourse-bound D with
an optionally filled Spec and ii) D with an obligatorily filled Spec - and explain why
samyj is possible with the latter but not the former.

In other words, as mentioned in the introduction, *samyj* shows that the DP/NP-
debate is not as much about the universality of DP-projection, as about the universality
of the syntax-semantic mapping.

6.2   Note on semantics, pragmatics and IS of *samyj*

In this section, I discuss the constructions with *samyj* from a semantic/pragmatic perspective. I will not provide a fully developed compositional account of these constructions, nor will I aim at a unified analysis of the semantic/pragmatic contribution of *samyj* in Dem+*samyj*, Pron+*samyj* and *self*-superlatives (or *samyj* with gradable properties in general). The focus of this section will rather be on Dem+*samyj* and its interesting property, namely the interaction with constituent negation. To the best of my knowledge, no attempts to provide a formal analysis of Dem+*samyj* (or similar constructions in other languages, e.g. English *the very sonata*) have been made. In this respect, the analysis outlined in this section can be viewed as a first step towards our understanding of these constructions.[16]

In the discussion, in this section I will try to disentangle the contribution that is specific to *samyj* from the contribution that it shares with its cousin *sam*.

The most mysterious difference between *samyj* and *sam* is that the former, but not the latter, is infelicitous in local negative environments, such as constituent negation (C-Neg) and the preposition *bez* 'without'.[17] This contrast is shown in (25)-(26).[18] The underscore after the demonstrative in (25) represents the flat stress pattern (I will return to this question below).[19]

(25)   a. #Daša igrala ne tu‿   **samuju**   sonatu
           Dasha played not that.F.SG.ACC SAMYJ.F.SG.ACC sonata.F.SG.ACC
           kotoruju razučivala vesnoj.
           which   studied   spring.INS
           'Dasha didn't play the very sonata that she studied in spring.'

       b. #Ivan prišël bez   toj   **samoj**   devuški.
           Ivan came without that.F.SG.GEN SAMYJ.F.SG.GEN girl.F.SG.GEN
           'Ivan came without that very girl (that we were talking about).'

(26)   a.   Po   takomu Dogovoru Zakazčik polučaet ne **samu**
             according.to such   contract client   acquires not SAM.F.SG.ACC

---

[16] I will leave the semantic/pragmatic unification of *samyj* in Dem+*samyj* and *self*-superlatives for future research.

[17] For other differences between *samyj* and *sam* see chapter 2.

[18] The examples in (26) are drawn from NRC.

[19] In (25)-(26), I gloss *samyj* and *sam* as SAMYJ and SAM to avoid confusion. For the most part, this chapter deals only with *samyj*, so I will be glossing it as 'self' as in the rest of this work. The only exception is section 6.3, where the two cousins will be compared again and I will distinguish them by putting stress in oblique cases and glossing them as SAMYJ and SAM. In other words, *samyj* can be glossed either as 'self' (where there is no possibility of confusion) or SAMYJ; *sam* will always appear glossed as SAM.

texniku,   a   rabotu [...]
equipment.F.SG.ACC but product
'According to such a contract, the client acquires not the equipment itself
but the product ...'
[Gornaja promyšlennost', 2004]

b. Vot u Bulgakova xvatilo   takta napisat' pjesu o   Puškine
   VOT at Bulgakov sufficeNEUT.PRES tact to.write play about Pushkin
   bez **samogó**   Puškina.
   without SAM.M.SG.GEN Pushkin.GEN
   'For example, Bulgakov has enough tact to write a play about Pushkin
   without Pushkin himself.'
   [Aleksei Sšeglov. Faina Ranevskaja: vsja žizn' (2003)]

Any account that tries to assimilate *samyj* to *sam* will need to provide an explanation
for their different behaviour with respect to C-Neg and *bez*. On the other hand, any
account that claims that *samyj* and *sam* are different will need to account for their
obvious similarities, such as the emphatic nature and the restriction to definites (see
below for more details). In what follows, I will address the negation facts and present
what I believe is the first step towards our understanding of these facts.

The proposal that I put forward in this section explains the incompatibility of *samyj*
in Dem+*samyj* with C-Neg in terms of the interplay between the Information Structure
(IS) induced by *samyj* and constituent negation. More specifically, I propose that *samyj*
in (25-a), repeated below in (27-a), introduces a secondary assertion ('sonata Dasha
played = sonata Dasha studied in spring') and fixes IS of the sentence as in (27-b). C-
Neg, however, in order to be used felicitously, needs the IS partitioning as in (27-c). The
clear mismatch results in the deviance of the sentence.

(27)   a. #Daša igrala ne tu_   **samuju**   sonatu
          Dasha played not that.F.SG.ACC SAMYJ.F.SG.ACC sonata.F.SG.ACC
          kotoruju razučivala vesnoj.
          which   studied   spring.INS
          'Dasha didn't play the very sonata that she studied in spring.'

       b. [Theme/Topic Dasha] [Rheme/Focus played some sonata & sonata Dasha played
          = sonata Dasha studied in spring]

       c. [Theme/Topic Dasha played some sonata] [Rheme/Focus sonata Dasha played =
          sonata Dasha studied in spring]

I start with providing some background on the differences between sentential negation
(S-Neg) and constituent negation (C-Neg), mainly based on Borschev et al. 2005, and

outlining what Borschev et al. 2005 present at a condition on *pragmatic negation*. I then turn to the cases in Russian, in which IS blocks the application of negation, as discussed in Paducheva 2005. Finally, I combine the condition on pragmatic negation with the IS interference effect to account the inficity of (27-a).

6.2.1 S-Neg, C-Neg and pragmatic negation: Borschev et al. 2005

As has been already mentioned (see section 4.1.3), Russian is a strict Negative Concord (NC) language. In addition, it lacks negative existential quantifiers like English *nobody* and *nothing* (see e.g. Paperno 2012:10). As a result, Russian allows what seems to be a transparent mapping between the syntactic expression of negation (on a verb *vs.* on a constituent) and its semantic interpretation (sentential *vs.* 'special'). This is illustrated in (28), which is partly adopted from Borschev et al. 2005:5. In (28-a,a′), the negation is sentential and is expressed on the verb. (28-b,b′) are examples of 'special' negation which does not make the sentence negative and is expressed on the constituent. In the English example in (28-c), however, there is a mismatch: the negation is expressed on the constituent but has a sentential interpretation. The Russian example in (28-c′) shows that Russian does not have such a mismatch: the sentential negation is expressed on the verb.[20]

(28)   a.   John didn't arrive.   a′. Ivan ne priexal.
                                                  Ivan not arrived
                                                  'Ivan didn't arrive.'

       b.   They're arguing about nothing.   b′. Oni sporjat ni o čem.
                                                  they argue not about what
                                                  'They're arguing about nothing.'

       c.   No one objected.   c′. Nikto ne vozražal.
                                                    n-person not objected
                                                    'No one objected.'

This may look as if Russian cannot use the negation on a constituent to negate the assertion expressed by the sentence. However, this is not true. As discussed in Borschev et al. 2005, Testelets 2008, Paducheva 2005, among others, Russian can use what Borschev et al. 2005 call *pragmatic negation* combined with a particular IS to achieve the effect

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[20]For more discussion of the facts about English and terminology see Borschev et al. 2005 and references cited there. The inferences claimed to be made with C-Neg come to be know as Strawson-Entailment after Peter Strawson who first proposed that in natural language, an inference is valid iff the premise stating that all relevant presuppositions are satisfied is true (Strawson 1952).

similar to English (28-c).[21]

Borschev et al. (2005) discuss a semantic distinction between *contradictory (propositional) negation* which negates the assertion so that ¬*p* is true iff *p* is false and a weaker notion of *contrary negation*, in which case *p* and its negation cannot both be true, but can both be false. The definitions of *contradictory* and *contrary* negation are given in (29). For instance, if (29-a) is our sentence, its contradictory negation would be (29-b) and its contrary negation would be (29-c) (that is to say although (29-a) and (29-c) cannot both be true, they can both be false, e.g. if Petrov is unemployed).[22]

(29)   Definitions from Borschev et al. 2005: 6

      a.   *Contradictory (truth-functional) negation*: ¬p is true iff p is false

      b.   *Contrary negation:* q is a contrary negation of p iff p and q cannot both be true but can both be false

(30)   a.   Petrov   rabotaet v Akademii.   Borschev et al. 2005: 1-2
          Petrov.NOM works   at Academy
          'Petrov works at the Academy.'

      b.   Petrov   ne   rabotaet v Akademii.
          Petrov.NOM NEG works   at Academy
          'Petrov doesn't work at the Academy.'

      c.   Petrov   rabotaet ne   v Akademii.
          Petrov.NOM works   NEG at Academy
          'Petrov works somewhere other than at the Academy.'

In the simplest case, with no scope-bearing elements, presuppositions or contrastive foci (see below), S-Neg corresponds to contradictory negation and C-Neg to contrary negation. However, according to Borschev et al. 2005, contrary negation can be used felicitously only in a context in which it is interpreted as contradictory negation, in other words when the presuppositions are taken into consideration. Borschev et al. 2005

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[21]Although the discussion that follows is based primarily on Borschev et al. 2005, to keep things simple, I will not be discussing the main point of their investigation - the negation in copular-less constructions in Russian like (i):

(i)   Kolja   ne   v London.   Borschev et al. 2005: 1
      Kolja.NOM NEG in London
      'Kolja is not in London.'

These constructions have a syntactic complication in the sense that it is hard to determine whether *ne* is before or after the zero copula, i.e. [$_{VP}$ ne $\varnothing_{be}$ v Londone] or [$_{VP}$ $\varnothing_{be}$ ne v Londone], but see Testelets 2008.

[22]Borschev et al. 2005 have a more formal discussion in terms of possible worlds, which I do not repeat here.

introduce a notion of *pragmatic negation* and state the following condition:

(31)   "Given contextual assumptions Σ, a speaker may use sentence S′ with semantic
          interpretation q as the pragmatic negation of sentence S with interpretation p if
          relative to all situations which satisfy Σ, q is the contradictory (i.e. complement)
          of p." (Borschev et al. 2005:7)

That is to say, (30-c) would be a good pragmatic negation of (30-a) in those situations
in which that Petrov woks is already given/presupposed in the context. This is also
witnessed by the translation of (30-c).

The partitioning between given/presupposed *vs.* new information is traditionally
captured in term of IS of a sentence. Below is a short description of the notion of the IS
from Aboh et al. 2010: 783:[23]

> "The information structure of a sentence can be characterized as the for-
> mal (i.e., lexical, (morpho)syntactic and prosodic) expression of the pragmatic
> structuring of a proposition in discourse [...] The idea is that in a communica-
> tive situation a speaker tailors the form of his utterance in order to reach an
> optimal understanding of the utterance by the addressee. Thus, information
> structure reflects the speaker's hypotheses about the hearer's state of mind
> (i.e., his assumptions, beliefs and knowledge) at the time of an utterance [...]"
> (Aboh et al. 2010:783)

The given information is said to be Topic/Theme of a sentence and the new informa-
tion is represented as Focus/Rheme.[24] Using this terminology, we can say that (30-a) can
have (at least) two ISs: i) where 'Petrov' is Topic/Theme and the rest of the sentence is
Focus/Rheme as in (32-a) and ii) where 'Petrov' and 'works' are part of Topic/Theme
and 'in the Academy' is Focus/Rheme as in (32-b).[25] According to the condition in (31),
C-Neg as in (30-c) can be felicitously used only with IS in (32-b), but not (32-a). S-Neg,
on the other hand, can use the IS in (32-a).[26]

(32)   a.   [Topic/Theme Petrov] [Focus/Rheme works at Academy]   *C-Neg
          b.   [Topic/Theme Petrov works] [Focus/Rheme at Academy]   ✓C-Neg

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[23]For a more elaborated view, see references cited there.

[24]The notions in the triplets 'Topic/Theme/Old' and 'Focus/Rheme/New' are overlapping but not
absolutely interchangeable. Although, the nuances of these concepts are interesting, I will use a simplified
representation 'Topic/Theme' and 'Focus/Rheme', which suffices for my purposes. Other terms have
been proposed as well.

[25]Where possible, for ease of exposition, I will use English glosses of Russian sentences when talking
about IS.

[26]For a similar point see Paducheva 2005:292.

To summarize, C-Neg in Russian can be felicitously used to express pragmatic negation only with a certain IS partitioning of the sentence - a partitioning in which only the negate a constituent is part of Focus/Rheme. Only in this case, C-Neg expresses contradictory as opposed to contrary negation.

6.2.2 C-Neg, IS and secondary assertion: Paducheva 2005

The interplay between negation and IS is well-known in traditional Russian literature. One phenomenon that has received some attention with this respect is the impossibility of negation with a particular placement of some adverbs. In what follows, I will present one recent study by Paducheva (2005) that accounts for this phenomenon in semantic/pragmatic terms approaching generative framework.

The phenomenon in question is illustrated in (33)-(34). The observation is that while sentences with post-verbal adverbs, as in (33-a), can be negated with C-Neg, as in (33-b), sentences with pre-verbal unstressed adverbs (usually manner-adverbs), as in (34-a), do not have a natural negation, see (34-b).[27] (Here and below, _= flat stress pattern, i.e. absence of stress; ↘= falling main phrasal stress.)[28]

(33) a. On zatormozil rezko↘.　　　　based on Paducheva 2005: 273
　　　 he braked　 sharply
　　　 'He braked SHARPLY.' = His braking was sharp.

　　 b. On zatormozil ne rezko↘.
　　　 he braked　 not sharply
　　　 'He didn't brake SHARPLY.' = His braking wasn't sharp.

(34) a. On rezko_ zatormozil↘.
　　　 he sharply braked
　　　 'He braked and did it sharply.'

　　 b. *On rezko_ ne zatormozil↘.
　　　 he　 sharply not braked
　　　 INTENDED: 'He either didn't brake at all or didn't brake sharply.'

Paducheva (2005) explicitly rejects the S-Neg/C-Neg typology for negation in Russian

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[27]It is worth mentioning that pre-verbal adverbs are saved under non-veridicality operators, see Paducheva 2005, which provides a window to the increased acceptability of *samyj* with expletive negation, see section 4.1.3.

[28]I added the glosses and the translations in (33) and (34). Note that the focus on 'sharply' in the English translations in (33) is probably too strong, as in Russian, there is no additional stress on *rezko*, apart from what is usually called the new information stress. I added the stress in the English translation in order to show the difference between (33) and a structure in which 'brake' in not part of presupposition, see below.

(p. 277), so she considers (33-b) to be 'general' (= sentential) negation and as its counterpart for (34-a) discusses the pre-verbal negation in (34-b). This is the reason for the incompleteness of the combinatorial possibilities in (33)-(34).[29]

To be faithful to the proposal in Paducheva 2005, I will put this question aside for now. I will present two main points of Paducheva's analysis and show that it accounts for the facts that she presents. After that, I return to the missed possibilities and show that Paducheva's proposal equipped with the idea of pragmatic negation discussed above accounts for the missed possibilities.

The translations in (33)-(34) already hinted at the kind of analysis that Paducheva (2005) develops in her paper. She argues that the sentence in (33-a) has IS in which 'he' and 'braked' are part of Topic/Theme and only the adverb 'sharply' is in Focus/Rheme, see (35-a). The sentence in (34-a), however, has a different IS in which both 'brake' and 'sharply' are part of Focus/Rheme, see (35-b). Moreover, Paducheva proposes that the Rheme in this case consists of two conjoint assertions - the main assertion 'he braked' and an additional assertion 'he braked sharply' which is dependent on the main assertion. I will call the additional assertion a 'secondary' assertion, which I think correctly renders Paducheva's proposal in English (see esp. the discussion on p. 275).

(35)   a.   [$_{\text{Topic/Theme}}$ he braked] [$_{\text{Focus/Rheme}}$ sharply]   IS for (33-a)
         b.   [$_{\text{Topic/Theme}}$ he] [$_{\text{Focus/Rheme}}$ braked & did it sharply]   IS for (34-a)

As Paducheva argues, evidence for the IS partitioning in (35) comes from presupposition projecting environments in which pre- and post-verbal adverbs behave differently, as illustrated in (36)-(39) from Paducheva 2005: 274.

(36)   a.   Rebenok prosnulsja potomu čto   vy   razgovarivali gromko↘.
                baby   woke.up   because what you were.talking loudly
                'The baby woke up because you were talking LOUDLY.' (= not because you
                were talking)
         b.   Rebenok prosnulsja potomu čto   vy   gromko razgovarivali↘.
                baby   woke.up   because what you loudly were.talking
                'The baby woke up because you were talking loudly.' (= because you were
                talking and loudly)

(37)   a.   Esli by   oni razgovarivali gromko, ja by uslyšal.
                if   BY   they were.talking loudly   I BY heard
                'If they had been talking loudly, I would have heard them.' (= they wer

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[29]In fact, Paducheva 2005 states that (34-a) is deviant with C-Neg as well, but does not extend her discussion to this deviance.

> talking but not loudly)
>
> b. Esli by oni   gromko razgovarivali! Oni kričali.
>   if   BY they loudly   were.talking   they shouted
>   'Oh, if they were talking loudly! They shouted.'

(38) a. Posle ètogo oni   načali   razgovarivat' gromko↘.
          after this   they started to.talk   loudly
          'They started to talk loudly after that.' (=before that they were talking
          quietly)
      b. Posle ètogo oni   načali   gromko razgovarivat'↘.
          after this   they started loudly   to.talk
          'They started to talk loudly after that.' (=before that they were not talking)

(39) a. Vaše prisutstvie pomešalo mne proiznesti slovo "Pozor!" gromko↘.
          your presence   stopped me utter   word shame   loudly
          'Your presence stopped me from uttering the word 'shame' loudly.' (= I
          uttered it quietly)
      b. Vaše prisutstvie pomešalo mne gromko proiznesti slovo "Pozor!"↘.
          your presence   stopped me loudly utter   word shame
          'Your presence stopped me from uttering the word 'shame' loudly.' (= I
          didn't utter anything)

According to Paducheva (2005), the impossibility of the general negation with pre-verbal adverbs as in (34-b) repeated below in (40-a) with IS as in (35-b) repeated in (40-b) is due to the fact that negation of a conjunction is logically equivalent to a complex disjunction with two negated disjuncts, see (41), which, as she claims, 'the natural language avoids' (p.275).

(40) a. *On rezko‿ ne zatormozil↘.
          he sharply not braked
          INTENDED: 'He either didn't brake at all or didn't brake sharply.'
      b. [Topic/Theme he] [Focus/Rheme braked & did it sharply]   IS for (39-a)

(41)   ¬((he braked) & (he did it sharply)) =
          ¬(he braked) ∨ ¬(he did it sharply)

In other words, Paducheva (2005) attributes the deviance of (41-a) to processing difficulties.[30]

Returning now to the missed possibilities and their account in terms of pragmatic negation, consider (42), where only English glosses are used for expository purposes (see

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[30]She also offers examples that suggest that a complex negation such as (41) can be expressed in Russian, but these examples have slightly different meanings which the simple negation in (41) would not have.

(33)-(34) for full Russian examples). in (42), I also provide IS for each example from (35) and the indication of the type of negation (S-Neg or C-Neg).

(42)   a.   he braked sharply↘
             [$_{\text{Topic/Theme}}$ he braked] [$_{\text{Focus/Rheme}}$ sharply]
             (i)   *he not braked sharply   S-Neg
             (ii) ✓he braked not sharply   C-Neg
        b.   he sharply_ braked↘
             [$_{\text{Topic/Theme}}$ he] [$_{\text{Focus/Rheme}}$ braked & did it sharply]
             (i)   *he sharply not braked   S-Neg
             (ii) *he not sharply braked   C-Neg

Let us go through the list of possibilities starting from the top. (42-a-i) is ruled out presumably because sentential negation 'negates' part of the given/background information. (42-a-ii) is well-formed because it is a constituent negation that negates the assertive part that braking was done sharply. (42-b-i) is ruled out because of the processing complexity (according to Paducheva (2005)). The most important for us case here is (42-b-ii). I would like to suggest that it is unacceptable because of the mis-alignment between the IS of the sentence and the IS in which C-Neg can be felicitously used. It is this mis-alignment that I will use in the next section to account for the deviance of Dem+*samyj* under C-Neg.

Recall from above that pragmatic negation (in the case at hand C-Neg) can be felicitously used only with a particular IS, that takes into consideration all 'context assumption', see (43-a) repeated from (32-b).[31] This IS structure does not align with the IS of pre-verbal adverbs, repeated as (43-b), which I suggest results in the unacceptability of C-Neg with pre-verbal adverbes, i.e. rules out (42-b-ii). Both structures in (43) are represented in a more abstract way compared to their originals to make the point clearer (Constituent = the constituent on which C-Neg is expressed).

(43)   a.   *IS needed for ✓ C-Neg*
             [$_{\text{Topic/Theme}}$ Subject Verb] [$_{\text{Focus/Rheme}}$ Constituent]
        b.   *IS of sentences with pre-verbal adverbs*
             [$_{\text{Topic/Theme}}$ Subject] [$_{\text{Focus/Rheme}}$ Verb & Constituent]

Before concluding this section and presenting my proposal for Dem+*samyj*, I would

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[31]This term is from Borschev et al. 2005, who note in fn.10 that '[c]ontextual assumptions may include pragmatic presuppositions plus further assumptions about the conversational background and context of utterance.'

like to make one important remark about conjunction and its connection to ΣP/PolP. The interaction with negation discussed in this section occurs only with adverbials (AdvPs or PPs) of manner, such as *gromko* 'loudly, *bystro* 'quickly', and reason, such as *bez pričiny* 'without a reason', and does not extend to attitude adverbs like *naprasno* 'vainly' or *nazlo* 'with malice aforethought' (Paducheva 2005:275). Nor is this pattern observed with arguments or adverbials of place (Paducheva 2005:292). Interestingly, Progovac (2005) also draws a line between manner/reason adverbials, on the one hand, and place/time adverbials and arguments, on the other hand, and also invokes conjunction in her analysis. Recall from section 4.3.2 that Progovac (2005) observed that manner/reason adverbs in Serbian (a strict NC-language like Russian), but not place/time adverbs, can contain *n*-words without an overt licensor and the presence of the sentential negation, in fact, results in the double-negative interpretation. She accounted for these facts by proposing that manner/reason adverbs are extra-clausal conjunct-like structures and therefore, can project an independent PolP.

> "[...] I argue that adjuncts, especially manner adverbials, are essentially extraclausal, introduced by way of a conjunction phrase, whose head is normally null, but can sometimes be overt, as in (i) and (ii) below:
> (i) John ate his soup, and with pleasure.
> (ii) John ate his soup, and how.
> If there is plausibility to this argument, then it would be clear why manner adjuncts cannot check their negative features in the superordinate PolP. Conjuncts have long been established as islands to extraction [...]"
>
> (Progovac 2005:191-2 fn.9)

Whether this is an analytical co-incidence or targets something deep in the workings of natural language, I think, cannot be determined at this point. I make this remark here because I used an equivalent of PolP (ΣP) to account for syntactic facts about *samyj* in Dem+*samyj* and Pron+*samyj* constructions and in the next section I will propose that one of the contributions of *samyj* is to add a secondary assertion of identity.

6.2.3 *Samyj*, pragmatic negation and secondary assertion

I propose that *samyj* introduces a secondary assertion of identity and fixes IS of the sentence in such a way that the action expressed by the verb is not presupposed.

That *samyj* (and its cousin *sam*, see below) signals identity seems to be uncontroversial. Recall the quotation from Paducheva 1989 in section 2.2. She suggests that *samyj* "expresses the identity of hypostases of an object, corresponding to its different descriptions" (Paducheva 1989: 57; translated by JG).

How this identity is realized is a separate question, however, and not a trivial one. As we will see in the next section, some formal accounts of the German and Serbian counterparts of *sam* propose that the identity is realized as a simple identity function and the contribution is made by the obligatorily present focus. Extending such an analysis to *samyj*, however, we will not be able to explain the negation facts. Nor will it put us in a good position to capture the differences between *samyj* and *sam* discussed above. Therefore, I start with a hypothesis that highlights the uniqueness of *samyj* and I believe does not extend to *sam*. This hypothesis divides the contribution of *samyj* into two parts.[32]

Hypothesis: a) *Samyj* introduces a secondary assertion that a participant of the event is identical to an entity described explicitly by a relative clause or implicitly via a familiar demonstrative.

b) *Samyj* fixes the IS of the sentence so that the action expressed by the verb is part of the assertion (i.e. is not presupposed).

That is to say, a sentence with *samyj* has the following abstract structure:
[$_{\text{Topic/Theme}}$ Subject] [$_{\text{Focus/Rheme}}$ Verb & Identity]

Consider how this hypothesis works for the *sonata*-example repeated in (44):

(44)   Daša igrala tu_   **samuju**   sonatu   kotoruju
        Dasha played that.F.SG.ACC SAMYJ.F.SG.ACC sonata.F.SG.ACC which
        razučivala vesnoj.
        studied   spring.INS
        'Dasha played the very sonata that she studied in spring.'

What this sentence communicates, I claim, is that Dasha played some sonata *and* the sonata she played is identical to the one she studied in spring. This is informally represented in (45):[33]

(45)   [$_{\text{Topic/Theme}}$ Dasha] [$_{\text{Focus/Rheme}}$ played some sonata & the sonata Dasha played
        = the sonata Dasha studied in spring]

---

[32]I leave it open whether these two parts can be brought together. For now, it seems to me that the two parts need to be separate, because as I show below for some speakers heavy stress on the demonstrative that reorders IS can improve *samyj* under local negation.

[33]One way to implement the idea of secondary assertion more formally is by using a neo-Davidsonian representation as in (i). However, this representation loses a clear way of showing IS. IS structure is important for my account, so I will be using the informal representation in (45).

(i) $\exists e[\text{agent}(\text{Dasha, e}) \,\&\, \exists x[\text{theme}(x,e) \,\&\, x = \iota y.\text{Dasha studied y in spring}] \,\&\, \text{played}(e)]$

The IS in (45) predicts that 'Dasha played some sonata' is not presupposed in the context, which is confirmed by the examples in (46) (cf. with (36)-(39)).[34]

(46) a. Daša ne igrala tu_   **samuju**   sonatu
          Dasha not played that.F.SG.ACC SAMYJ.F.SG.ACC sonata.F.SG.ACC
          kotoruju razučivala vesnoj,   ona voobsče ne igrala nikakuju sonatu.
          which   studied   spring.INS she at.all   not played any   sonata
          'Dasha didn't play the very sonata that she studied in spring, she didn't
          play any sonata at all.'

      b. Ecli Daša igraet   tu_   **samuju**   sonatu
          if   Dasha is.playing that.F.SG.ACC SAMYJ.F.SG.ACC sonata.F.SG.ACC
          kotoruju razučivala vesnoj,   koncert - xorošij.
          which   studied   spring.INS concert   good
          'If Dasha is playing the very sonata that she studied in spring, the concert
          is good.' ($\neq$ Dasha is playing some sonata)

These tests argue in favour of the IS proposed for sentences with *samyj*. But do we have any evidence for the double assertion stated in the Hypothesis? It seems that we do. Recall from chapter 5 that I argued that Pron+*samyj* is derived as a fragment answer by moving Pron+*samyj* to Spec-ΣP and eliding the TP. One piece of evidence for the fragment analysis was the so-called case connectivity effect, where the fragment appears with the morphological case assigned by the verb, as shown in (47-a) (repeated from chapter 5). I also pointed out to another example in which the answer to a similar question with the same verb assigning the accusative case appears in the nominative case, see (47-b). I discussed in chapter 5 that identity statements in Russian are NOM-NOM constructions. If the analysis of the derivation of Pron+*samyj* is correct, the possibility of using either accusative or nominative in the answer can be due to the presence of two assertions: 'X has in mind Y_{ACC}' and '$Y_{NOM} = Z_{NOM}$'.[35]

(47) a. Ty imeeš' v vidu Zubrilovy   Veroniku?   - Ee samuju!
          you have   in view Zubrilova-ACC Veronika-ACC her self-F.SG.ACC
          'Do you mean Veronika Zubrilova? Her, indeed.' (lit. Her herself.)

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[34]The sentence might have cancellable implicatures however that come from the emphatic nature of *samyj*. I will leave the development of this observation for future research. Recall also from section 4.1.3 that *samyj* under S-Neg is less than perfect. I will return to this question below. Note also that care should be taken not to put contrastive stress on the demonstrative, *samyj* or NP as contrastive stress 'overrides' IS, see Féry 2013.

[35]The choice between ACC and NOM may be determined by different factors. The use of ACC may be preferred as this is part of the main assertion. However, in (47-b), the noun has NEUT and because of the syncretism between NEUT and MASC in ACC, the nominative is preferred to make identification of the referent easier.

[Maksim Milovanov. Kafe "Zoopark" (2000)]

b. A: Ty imeeš' v vidu delo toj ženščiny, kotoraja prygnula s
you have in view case that woman who jumped from
mosta?
bridge
'Do you mean the case of that woman who jumped from the bridge?'

B: Ono samoe!
it self.NEUT.SG.NOM
'That's right.' (lit. It itself.)

Let me now return to the interaction of *samyj* with negation. If the hypothesis advanced in this section is correct, coupled with the condition for pragmatic negation in Russian, it can straightforwardly account for the fact that *samyj* is felicitous under S-Neg but not C-Neg. The relevant examples are repeated below for convenience:

(48) a. Daša **ne** igrala tu_ **samuju** sonatu
Dasha not played that.F.SG.ACC SAMYJ.F.SG.ACC sonata.F.SG.ACC
kotoruju razučivala vesnoj.
which studied spring.INS
'Dasha didn't play the very sonata that she studied in spring.'

b. #Daša igrala **ne** tu_ **samuju** sonatu
Dasha played not that.F.SG.ACC SAMYJ.F.SG.ACC sonata.F.SG.ACC
kotoruju razučivala vesnoj.
which studied spring.INS
'Dasha didn't play the very sonata that she studied in spring.'

The deviance of (48-b) can now be explained by mis-alignment between the IS induced by *samyj* and IS in which C-Neg can be felicitously used. As I discussed above C-Neg requires IS as in (49-a) which applied to our *sonata*-example will look as in (49-b). (49-b) is clearly different from IS fixed by *samyj* as illustrated in (45), repeated in (49) below.

(49) a. [$_\text{Topic/Theme}$ Subject Verb] [$_\text{Focus/Rheme}$ Constituent]

b. [$_\text{Topic/Theme}$ Dasha played some sonata] [$_\text{Focus/Rheme}$ the sonata Dasha played = the sonata Dasha studied in spring]

(50) [$_\text{Topic/Theme}$ Dasha] [$_\text{Focus/Rheme}$ played some sonata & the sonata Dasha played = the sonata Dasha studied in spring]

This is the same mechanism that I proposed to account for the missing unacceptable negation for pre-verbal manner adverbs in Russian, extending Paducheva's (2005) analysis.

S-Neg does not have the same restriction as C-Neg as S-Neg will be a contradictory negation with IS in (50), unless other factors like scope-bearing quantifiers and additional presuppositions are involved.[36] Note also the difference between *samyj* and pre-verbal adverbials with respect to S-Neg: the former is well-formed, whereas the latter is deviant. The reason for this difference seems to be that *samyj* is part of an argument and as discussed at the end of the previous section only manner/reason adverbs show infelicity with S-Neg (but not arguments and place/time adverbs). This means that the presence of the secondary assertion and/or projection of PolP//ΣP (if they are not two manifestations of the same thing) is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for interaction with S-Neg.

The hypothesis outlined here may also account for the fact that for some speakers heavy contrastive stress on the demonstrative increases acceptability of *samyj* under C-Neg. As mentioned in Borschev et al. 2005 (p. 6), if there is a contrastive stress on the negated constituent, the negation is no longer interpreted as contrary. This presumably implies that the condition on pragmatic negation is satisfied vacuously. I will leave the nature of this mechanism for future research.

To summarize, in this section, I gave some initial evidence that the contribution of *samyj* is two-fold: a) it introduces a secondary assertion of identity and b) it fixes IS of the sentence in such a way that the action expressed by the verb is part of the assertion rather than presupposition. Given that the negation facts hold for *samyj* but not its cousin *sam*, I conjecture that the contribution described above is specific to *samyj*. However, both *samyj* and *sam* are emphatic and seem to be similar in certain respects. In the next section, I briefly discuss their shared properties and show that the analyses proposed for equivalents of *sam* in other languages (in particular by Eckardt (2001) for German *selbst*) can be extended to *samyj*.

6.3   *Samyj* and *sam*: coda

In this section, I briefly discuss what I think is a common property of *samyj* and *sam*, namely their emphatic nature, that they share with other focus elements (including focus particles and (contrastive) focus stress). I will illustrate this common property using Eckardt's (2001) account for German counterpart of *sam - selbst*, which I present in section 6.3.1. In section 6.3.2, I discuss Russian *samyj* and *sam*.

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[36]There is a potentially very interesting topic of the interaction of *samyj* with quantifiers. Presumably, *samyj* will not 'see' DP-external quantifiers, but DP-internal quantifiers may interact with *samyj*. I will leave this topic for future research.

6.3.1 *Selbst* in Eckardt 2001

There have been many attempts to unify the different uses of emphatic reflexives like English *x-self*, German *selbst*, French *x-même*, Russian *sam*, Serbo-Croatian *sam*, etc. (e.g. van Gelderen 2000b, König et al. 2001, Eckardt 2001, Stern 2004, Gast 2006, Despić 2013, among the most recent works). These studies looked at the phenomenon from different perspectives: typological, syntactic, semantic and historical. An appealing property of the analysis proposed by Eckardt (2001) is that in addition to providing a formal semantic account of the emphatic reflexive in German *selbst* that unifies the majority of its diverse uses, it captures the major stages of the historical development of *selbst* in formal semantics. Moreover, her analysis has been shown to successfully extend to Serbo-Croatian *sam* by Despić (2013).

Selbst, like most emphatic reflexives in other languages, has a wide ranges of uses, among which the most prominent are the following: a) the surprise use (or 'the least probable candidate' use), as in (51-a) where the king is the least expected person to open the door, b) the no-surprise use, as in (51-b) where it is not surprising that Peter wants to go to the mountains, however the importance of Peter in the context is highlighted, c) the assistive use, as in (51-c) where the sentence implicates that no one helped Maria to solve the problem.[37]

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[37]This picture is overly simplified. First of all, all these uses have subtypes with their own nuanced readings (see Gast 2006 for the recent overview). Secondly, the division of uses of emphatic reflexives can also be made along a different axis, namely whether someone else in addition to the person marked by *self* actes similarly or has the same property (additive) or not (exclusive). An example of the additive interpretation would be 'Aphrodite herself isn't more beautiful than Maria' (both are beautiful). An example of the exclusive interpretation would be 'The president held the New Year speech himself'. These uses also have sub-types and can combine with surprise/no-surprise interpretations (see Eckardt 2001, esp. section 4.1 for the detailed discussion). German intensifier *selbst* can be used adnominally or adverbially. In these two positions, *selbst* has slightly different properties (for example, adverbial *selbst* does not have sortal restriction, see Eckardt 2001: 381). I will gloss over these distinctions although Russian *sam* also seem to have slightly different properties when it is used next to the NP it modifies or is detached and moved closer to the verb. However, in both case it is an agreeing pronominal, see e.g. Klenin 1980). Fourthly, Eckardt (2001) treats the assistive use (i.e. (51-c)) separately noting that according to her intuitions the adnominal *selbst* does not allow this reading. However, she also points out that her analysis allows the incorporation of the assistive use, which will be desirable for those speakers who accept it with the adnominal *selbst*. As the assistive use is covered by Russian *sam* and is an important type, I present it here as part of the picture, extending Eckardt's analysis to it as well. Finally, it should be noted that in addition to the intensifying *selbst* has a homophonous focus particle equivalent to English *even* and Russian *daže*. This focus particle is different from the intensifying *selbst* in many important respects (see Eckardt 2001 esp the table on p. 403) and therefore, is generally accepted to be (diachronically) a separate morpheme. Although this is a long list of simplifications, I believe all these simplifications are necessary in order to make my point about the commonalities between *samyj* and *sam* clear. For the exploration of the different meanings of emphatic reflexives, I refer the interested reader to the literature cited in this section and in section 2.2.

(51)   a.   Der König öffnete SELBST die Türe.   Eckardt 2001: 383-4
           the king   opened himself   the door
           'The king opened the door himself.'

       b.   Peters Familie streitet jedes Jahr lange über ihr Ferienziel. Peter SELBST
           fährt gerne IN DIE BERGE.

           'Every year, Peter's family quarrels about where to go for vacation. Peter
           HIMSELF likes to go to the MOUNTAINS.'

       c.   Maria hat die Aufgabe SELBST gelöst.   (ibid. p. 401)
           Maria has the problem herself   solved
           'Maria solved the problem by herself.'

One important combinatorial property of *selbst*, as discussed by Eckardt (2001) following Edmondson and Plank (1978), is that they combine freely with definites and proper names, but not with (non-specific) indefinites or quantified expressions, as illustrated below:

(52)   a.   Andrea SELBST schaltete den Fernseher ab.   (Eckardt 2001:379)
           Andrea herself   switched the TV   off
           'Andrea herself switched off the TV.'

       b.   Die Mutter SELBST schaltete den Fernseher ab.
           the mother herself   switched the TV   off
            'The mother herself switched off the TV.'

       c.   *Eine Frau SELBST schaltete den Fernseher ab.
           A woman herself switched the TV off

       d.   *Jede Mutter SELBST schaltete den Fernseher ab.
           Each mother herself switched the TV off

       e.   *Die meisten Mütter SELBST   schalteten den Fernseher ab.
           the most   mothers themselves switched   the TV   off
           ≈ 'Most mothers themselves switched off the TV.'

Eckardt (2001) proposes to analyze *selbst* as an identity function on the domain of individuals that maps an individual into itself, see (53). To account for the combinatorial restrictions, she proposes that *selbst* denotes a lifted identity function that takes only definites and proper names as its arguments.[38]

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[38]This sortal restriction is captured by restricting the lifted $D_{\langle et,t\rangle}$ to principle ultrafilters:

(i)   Let f be a function on D_e. Then Lift1(f) := f: $D_{((e,t),t)} \to D_{((e,t),t)}$ is defined as follows: If Q ∈ $D_{((e,t),t)}$ is a principal ultrafilter, i.e. of the form Q = $\lambda P(P(a))$ for some $a \in D_e$, then $f(Q) :=$ $\lambda P(P(f(a)))$. Else, f is undefined.
      Eckardt 2001: 280

(53)   ID: $D_e \to D_e$ (Eckardt 2001:280)

$ID(a) = a$ for all $a \in D_e$

In other words, in the examples above *selbst* will map the king / Peter to himself or Maria / Andrea / the mother to herself.

Of course, this cannot be the sole contribution of *selbst*, else it does not add anything to the meaning. Capitalizing on the fact that *selbst* is obligatorily focussed, Eckardt (2001) proposes that *selbst* evokes a set of alternative functions that "map an individual onto "who might have been involved instead" [...] where the kind of proxy is left to be specified by context" (Eckardt 2001:398-9). To illustrate this idea, consider again the examples in (51) repeated below in (54). In (54-a), the alternative functions map the king onto someone who might have opened the door instead, e.g. his butler, servant, etc. In (54-b), the alternative 'instead-of' functions (as Eckardt (2001) herself calls them) map Peter into his entourage, e.g. the members of his family. In (54-c), the alternative set can be contextually specified as Maria plus whoever could have assisted her but didn't. The alternative sets are informally represented after each example.[39]

(54)   a.   Der König öffnete SELBST die Türe.   Eckardt 2001: 383-4
              the king   opened himself   the door
              'The king opened the door himself.'
       Alt(f) = {f | f maps king onto someone who might have opened the door instead}
              = {butler-of, servant-of, child-of, maid-of, ...}
       b.   Peters Familie streitet jedes Jahr lange über ihr Ferienziel. Peter SELBST
              fährt gerne IN DIE BERGE.
              'Every year, Peter's family quarrels about where to go for vacation. Peter
              HIMSELF likes to go to the MOUNTAINS.'
       Alt(f) = {f | f maps Peter onto a member of Peter's family} = {wife-of, son-of,
              daughter-of, mother-of, dog-of, ...}
       c.   Maria hat die Aufgabe SELBST gelöst.   (*ibid.* p.401)
              Maria has the problem herself   solved
              'Maria solved the problem by herself.'
       Alt(f) = {f | f maps Maria onto a group containing Maria and people who might
              have assisted her} = {Maria+helper1,2,3-of, Maria+helpter2,3,4-of ...}

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[39]Formally, the alternative functions in the classical Rooth's 1992 notation is represented in (i) from Eckardt 2001:382.

(i)   Let a be the referent of the NP linked to *selbst* and let {f1, f2, f3, ... , fk} be salient alternatives to ID in the given context. Alt*(a) = {f1(a), f2(a), f3(a), ... , fk(a)} will be called the induced set of alternatives to a in D_e.

These alternative functions derive a set of proxy-individuals who constitute the entourage of the person/thing marked by the intensifying *selbst*. In a sense, this set of individuals is centred around the individual marked by *selbst*, which, according to Eckardt (2001), creates the 'centrality effect' present even in cases where no surprise or importance are involved.

The additional surprise interpretation, as in the *king*-example in (54-a), according to Eckardt (2001), is contributed by emphatic focus, which is not an integral part of *selbst*. She uses Krifka's (1995) insight that an emphatic assertion signals that the stated proposition is the most unlikely or unexpected given the common ground. Consider again the *king*-example repeated below. According to the analysis of *selbst* developed by Eckardt (2001) combined with Krifka's proposal for emphatic focus, it will assert that the king opened the door and presuppose that for any other individual in His entourage, it would have been more likely to open the door than for him.[40]

(55)   a.   Der König öffnete SELBST die Türe.
              the king   opened himself   the door
              'The king opened the door himself.'
        b.   Assertion:
              'The king opened the door.'
        c.   Presupposition:
              $\forall p \in \{$ Proxy-of-the-king opened the door $\}$:
              'The King opened the door' is less likely than p.

To summarize, the main points of Eckardt's (2001) analysis of German intensifying *selbst* are as follows: a) *selbst* denotes a lifted identity function with sortal restrictions allowing its application only to definites and proper names; b) the main contribution of *selbst* comes from its emphatic nature that evokes a set of alternative individuals centred around the NP that is modified by *selbst*; and c) it can have additional surprise or unexpectedness interpretation if a surprise-scale is introduced by focus. The brief discussion in this section does not make full justice to Eckardt's (2001) analysis, however, it is sufficient for my discussion of Russian *samyj* and *sam* in the next section.

6.3.2   *Samyj* and *sam*

The main insight in Eckardt (2001) that I will exploit in this section is that different components of the contribution of the intensifying reflexive can be disjoint and do not need to co-occur.

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[40]See Eckardt 2001:389 for a formal derivation of this example.

In particular, if we look at *samyj* and *sam* in Russian, it seems that what they have in common is what Eckardt (2001) called the 'centrality effect'. This is illustrated for *sam* in (56-a) and *samyj* in (56-b). In both examples the individuals refered to by 'father' have some prominence or importance in the context as compared to the peripheral figures likes other family-members or servants in (56-a) or other pastors (maybe less famous or controvertial) in (56-b).

(56) a. Otec sam   vez   Tëmu, čtoby   sdat' ego s   ruk   na
          father himself was.escorting Tëma for.what deliver hem from hands to
          ruki   gimnazičeskomu načal'stvu.
          hands gymnasium's   directors
          'The father himself was escorting Tëma to deliver him directly to the hands
          of the director of the Gymnasium."
          Garin-Mixajlovskij. Detstvo Tëmy. MAC.
      b. Esli ideju pro   ved'm vbil emu v golovu tot samyj otec Vasilij,
          if   idea about witches put him in head   that SAMYJ father Vasilij
          to   pust' on eë ottuda   i vykolačivaet.
          then PART he it from.there I take.out
          'If it was Father Vasilij (= lit. that father self Vasilij) who put the idea
          about witches into his head, let him to get it out of there as well.'
          [Anna Tkačeva. Privorot. (1996)]

In addition to the 'centrality effect', (56-a) can have the surprise or least-possible-candidate meaning. However, as discussed in the previous section this meaning is not obligatorily present with emphatic reflexives and comes from a separate focus mechanism. (56-b) also has an additional meaning that can be characterized as 'immediate recognition', which I believe is contributed by the obligatory demonstrative (see chapter 3 for the discussion of the 'recognitional use' of demonstratives).

In other words, the commonality between *samyj* and *sam* is that they both have emphatic nature and evoke an entourage set of individuals that highlights the importance of the referent of NP they modify.

However, there are significant differences between *samyj* and *sam* with respect to their interaction with negation (as we saw above) and their combinatorial (or sortal) restrictions. Whereas adnominal *sam* like adnominal *selbst* is restricted to definites and proper names, but freely occur with pronouns (including 1st and 2nd person pronouns) and does not require the demonstrative, *samyj* in addition to be limited to definites is not allowed with 1st and 2nd person pronouns and occurs with 3rd person pronouns only in fragment answers (see chapter 5 for examples and discussion).

Chapter 7

Conclusion

The main goal of the present work was to demonstrate that we need to separate DP-internal adjectival intensifiers like Russian *samyj* from closely related phenomena like emphatic reflexives (*x-self, selbst, sam*). Although at some level of abstraction a unified analysis of these expressions may be beneficial, treating these phenomena as one may lead to overlooking some very important generalizations about modification and the structure of DP.

Chapter 2 demonstrated that Russian has two lexical items coming from the same root 'self' - *samyj* 'self-AGR' and *sam* 'self-∅'. It was shown that *samyj* and *sam* differ with respect to their stress and agreement patterns, as well as their syntactic distribution. A list of the syntactic differences between *samyj* and *sam* was presented.

Chapter 3 described the range of uses of *samyj* from a semantic perspective showing that there are three major uses of *samyj*: a) emphatic identity with demonstratives (Dem+*samyj*) and pronouns (Pron+*samyj*), b) *self*-superlatives, and c) modifiers of expressions denoting end-point (intermediate cases). Section 3.2 in this chapter examined syntactic properties of three constructions relevant to the present work: a) Dem+*samyj*, b) Pron+*samyj*, and c) *self*-superlatives. A novel observation about Dem+*samyj* was presented and supported by data from NRC and a pilot study. Pron+*samyj* was shown to have very peculiar properties, such as embeddability restrictions, infelicity under negation and with 1st and 2nd person pronouns and inability to surface in regular argument positions. With respect to *self*-superlatives, it was demonstrated that they are different from *most*-superlatives and cannot be analyzed as elative superlatives.

Chapter 4 investigated *samyj* in two constructions: one in which *samyj* modifies a demonstrative (Dem+*samyj*) and the other one in which *samyj* is used in superlatives. These constructions were shown to display strikingly different properties. The two constructions differ with respect to (a) the contribution of *samyj* to the meaning of

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DP, (b) the possibility of iterating *samyj*, and (c) interaction with negation. The analysis put forward in this chapter explained the different properties of Dem+*samyj* and *self*-superlatives by postulating a new head - Σ_{emph} and proposing that this head can be merged either in the left-periphery of DP as it is the case in Dem+*samyj* or in the lexical domain as it is the case in *self*-superlatives. Σ_{emph} was argued to be a variant of a DP-internal phase head on a par with DP-internal $\langle t \rangle$-nodes proposed for other phenomena, such as DP-internal quantification, degree fronting, NPI and *n*-word licensing and DP-internal discourse particles.

Chapter 5 provided a syntactic analysis of constructions in which *samyj* is used with pronouns as part of a fragment answer. The analysis I proposed in this chapter derives the fragment answer Pron+*samyj* from an identity sentence by movement to Spec-ΣP and obligatory TP-ellipsis. This chapter also discussed in detail the restriction on Pron+*samyj* to be used in argument positions.

The first part of chapter 6 located *samyj* on what I called a 'referentiality spectrum'. It showed the *samyj* is possible with referring expressions that do not, however, include indexicals and rigidly referring expressions. The second part of chapter 6 provided a tentative account of the semantic and pragmatic contribution *samyj* as an element that 'helps' find the referent. This account explored the idea of interaction between Information Structure, pragmatic negation and secondary assertion. At the end of this chapter, it was shown that *samyj* also shares some semantic/pragmatic properties with its cousin *sam* which I propose can be explained using analyses of emphatic reflexives/intensifiers like German *selbst*.

The present study leads to a number of very interesting questions for future research, such as a) the interaction between Information Structure, contrastive focus/topic and *samyj*, b) compositional analysis of *samyj* and its contribution in Dem/Pron+*samyj* and *self*-superlatives as well as historical re-analysis of *samyj* from an intensifier to (part of) a degree morpheme, c) *samyj* and its equivalents in other languages in sameness-constructions (e.g. the difference between *the very sonata* and *the very same sonata*), d) the ability of *samyj* (and *self*-intensifiers in general) to bring about *de se* readings.

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