Ambivalent Adpositions and "P-stranding" in Russian

Tatiana Philippova

Abstract. P(reposition)-stranding is typologically rare. Nevertheless, many languages exhibit phenomena that *look* like P-stranding (Campos 1991; Poplack, Zentz, and Dion 2012) or involve P-stranding under common theorizing (see Philippova 2014 and references therein). These studies argue that these are not instances of P-complement movement and provide alternative analyses. This squib addresses Russian prepositions that can be postposed to and apparently stranded by their dependents. They are proposed to be PPs rather than P-heads, with dative dependents adjoined similarly to external possessors. The analysis captures all idiosyncrasies of their nominal dependents and alleviates the need to posit exceptional P-stranding in Russian.

Keywords: adpositions, preposition stranding, dative case, Russian

1 Introduction

Russian is a head-initial language and its adpositions are typically preposed with respect to their complements, as shown in (1) for an underived and a deadjectival preposition. However, there is a set of adpositions that can either precede or follow their nominal dependent, illustrated in (2). Following Podobryaev (2009), I will call them *ambivalent adpositions*.

(1) {po; soglasno}   raspisaniju   {*po; *soglasno}

along; according.to   timetable.DAT   along   according.to

'according to the timetable'

(2) {vopreki}   zdravomu   smyslu   {vopreki}

in.spite.of   common.DAT   sense.DAT   in.spite.of

'contrary to common sense'   (adapt. from Podobryaev 2009:ex. 14, 17)

Podobryaev (2009) observed a P-stranding effect in Russian and made the

generalization that it is seen only if the adposition is ambivalent. This contrast is

illustrated in (3-4); (5) shows that pied-piping is attested with both classes of

adpositions.

(3) a. *Komu   ty   bežala   k?

who.DAT/GEN   you   ran.F   to

'Who were you running to?'

b. *Kogo   ty   bežala   ot?

who.GEN   2SG.NOM   ran.F   from

'Who were you running from?'

(4) Komu   ty   bežala   navstreču?

who.DAT   you   ran.F   on.meeting.ACC

'Who were you running toward(s)?'

(5) {K; navstreču}   komu   ty   bežala?

To   on.meeting.ACC   who.DAT   you   ran.F

'?To/toward(s) whom were you running?'

Building on their morphological properties, Podobryaev proposed that ambivalent

adpositions have a complex structure, [PP P [N DP]] in most cases, and that the

postpositional variant is derived from the base-generated prepositional configuration via movement of the DP-complement to Spec, PP. Unlike in simple [PP P DP] phrases, this movement is allowed since it does not violate the universal Anti-locality Constraint (Abels 2003). Movement to Spec, PP puts the DP at the edge of a phase (following Abels (2003), PPs are proposed to be phases except in P-stranding languages), making it available to the higher phasal domain. In that way, the DP can proceed to a left-peripheral position hosting *wh*-phrases (e.g. Spec, CP). Thus, Russian does not have P-stranding in the sense of Abels 2003, since the entire P-complement never moves out of a PP.

In this paper I show that the natural class of ambivalent adpositions instantiates combinations of an underived preposition and a noun (sometimes fossil). They are essentially PPs rather than P-heads and their dative dependent is a KP, adjoining either to the left or to the right of the PP, hence the ambivalence. Ambivalent adpositions and their dative dependents are thus treated similarly to the 'possessive PP complexes' discussed and analyzed by Matushansky (to appear) and Matushansky et al. (to appear). A significant advantage of this analysis is that it captures why complex P-N morphology is not a sufficient condition for ambivalence; it also does not crucially build on the phase-hood of the PP, which is contested in the literature (e.g. Bruening 2014).

2 The Natural Class of Ambivalent Adpositions

Ambivalence can be predicted based on morphological and case-government properties of an adposition:

(6)   An adposition is productively ambivalent if and only if it is composed of a

prepositional and a nominal morpheme and its dependent bears dative case.

This criterion singles out the following lexemes, among those typically labelled as

prepositions: *naperekor* 'to spite, contrary to', *vopreki* 'in spite of', *nazlo* 'to spite',

navstreču 'towards (an object moving in the opposite direction)', *v(o)sled*, *vdogonku*

'following, after (a moving object)', *napererez* 'crossing the trajectory (of a moving

object)/cutting across to', *srodni* 'akin to', *vzamen* 'as a substitution to'. Some of

these nominal components – *perekor, preki, dogonka, pererez, zamen* – (almost) do

not appear elsewhere in the language and can be considered fossil words.

Nevertheless, historically, these are ACC-marked nouns that used to be written

separately from the P-morpheme; see Hill 1977 and the Russian National Corpus

(RNC). Moreover, speakers of present-day Russian may erroneously write these

collocations as two separate words (as evident from the RNC), which suggests that

they might still be perceived as P-N combinations.

There is a host of less lexicalized, more syntactically transparent, P-N

combinations that behave in the same way. Nearly all of those are composed of the

preposition *v* 'in(to)' or *na* 'on(to)' and a nominal in the accusative case form. The

productivity of this pattern precludes the collection of an exhaustive list, so I provide

just a sample: *v otmestku* 'to take revenge on', *v piku* 'to spite', *na gore* 'to the

distress of', *na radost'* 'to the delight of', *v utešenie* 'for the comfort of', *v

protivopoložnost'* 'in contrast to', *v protivoves* 'in contrast to' (lit. 'as a

counterweight'), *ne v primer* 'unlike', *na smenu* 'to give way to, to replace'.

A qualitative corpus study of the RNC reveals that all the ambivalent adpositions

and collocations collected (31 overall) allow both pronominal and nonpronominal

datives in the *pre*positional configuration. All of them also allow pronominal datives in the *post*positional variant.[1] Nonpronominal DPs tend to occur less frequently in the postpositional configuration, but are again found with all adpositions and collocations, except *v piku* 'to spite', *v otmestku* 'to take revenge on', *na sčastje* 'luckily for', *v utešenie* 'for the comfort of', *v protivopoložnost'* and *v protivoves* – both 'in contrast to'.

I only consider cases where the dative dependent is clearly licensed by the presence of the P-N element, that is, in which omission of an ambivalent adposition renders the sentence ungrammatical:

(7) On   dolgo gljadel ej   *(vsled).

     3MSG.NOM   long   looked 3FSG.DAT   in.footstep.ACC

     'He continuously stared at her as she went away.'

All adpositions defined in (6) have two additional properties that set them apart from typical prepositions. First, they may appear without an overt dative dependent, as shown in (8).

(8) Navernoe,   menja   special'no   sozdali   v protivoves.

     Apparently   1SG.ACC   specifically   created.PL   in counterweight.

     'Apparently, I was specifically created as a counterweight.'

                   [RNC, A. Vandenko. Oct. 2004. Komsomol'skaja Pravda]

Second, they disallow the special adprepositional (*pripredložnye*) forms of 3rd person pronouns on their dative dependent:

(9) Maša   sdelala èto   {emu; *nemu} v otmestku   {emu; *nemu}.

     Masha   did   this   3MSG.DAT   in revenge.ACC   3MSG.DAT

     'Masha did this to take revenge on him.'

3 Analysis

The properties of ambivalent adpositions outlined above can be accounted for if we treat them not as morphologically complex P-heads, but rather as PPs with the dative dependent adjoined to them. I propose that ambivalent 'adpositions' with dative dependents instantiate a special case of the so-called possessive PP complex, discussed and analyzed by Matushansky (to appear) and Matushansky et al. (to appear), exemplified by the bracketed constituent in (10).

(10) Eё   glaza zagljanuli [gluboko [emu   v   dušu]].

her   eyes   looked   deeply   3MSG.DAT in   soul.ACC

'Her eyes looked deep into his soul.'   (Matushansky to appear)

Ambivalent adpositions and collocations are strikingly similar to PPs like *v dušu* 'into the soul', forming the basis of the possessive PP complex: all of them are P-N combinations, formally identical to directional PPs, as evidenced by the P-morphemes involved (*v* 'in(to)' and *na* 'on(to)') and the frozen accusative morphology on the nominal component. Such directional PPs are shown by Matushansky et al. (to appear) to only be compatible with bare dative possessors or allative PP-possessors headed by the preposition *k* 'to'. Indeed, what we find with ambivalent adpositions are dative dependents, sometimes even alternating with *k*-PPs, which strengthens the parallel:

(11) {K   nej;   ej}   navstreču/napererez bežali deti.

to   3FSG.DAT 3FSG.DAT   on.meeting/on.cutting ran   kids

'Kids ran out to meet/intercept her.'

Further similarities between ambivalent adpositional phrases and possessive PP complexes include the nonobligatory presence of the dative dependent and the option to place it to the right of the PP:

(12) Molodye glaza zagljanuli   prjamo v   dušu   (Fransuaze).

young   eyes   looked   right   in   soul.ACC   Françoise.DAT

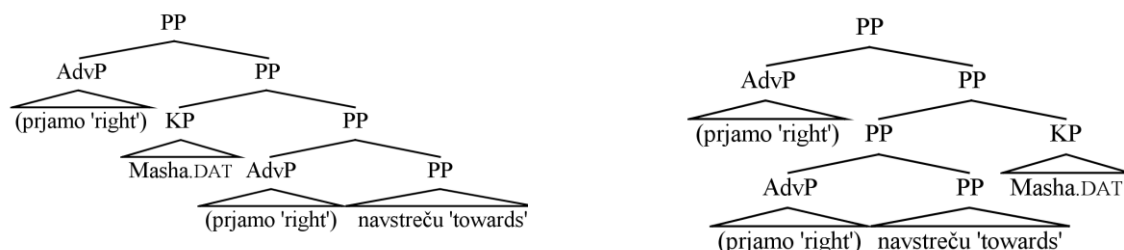'(Her) young eyes looked right into Françoise's soul.'

(adapted from RNC: E. Markova, 1990-2000, *Kapriz favorita*)

These two facts lend support to the structural analysis in which the dative dependent is an adjunct to the directional PP/ambivalent 'adposition' (this is one of the options entertained by Matushansky (to appear); the other is to merge it in the specifier of the directional PP). Another argument in favor of the adjunction analysis comes from the following word order facts: when the adverb *prjamo* 'right' modifies a (directional) ambivalent PP, it may either precede or follow the left-attached dative; analogous possessive PP complexes, again, work the same, as shown in (13b, c).

(13) a. prjamo   {navstreču;   v   ruki}   Maše/ej

right   on.meeting;   in   hands.ACC   Masha.DAT/3FSG.DAT

b. prjamo   Maše/ej   {navstreču;   v   ruki}

right   Masha.DAT/3FSG.DAT   on.meeting;   in   hands.ACC

c. Maše/ej   prjamo {navstreču;   v   ruki}

Masha.DAT/3FSG.DAT   right   on.meeting;   in   hands.ACC

'right towards Masha/her; right in Masha's/her hands.'

The structures I propose for ambivalent adpositional phrases therefore look as follows:

(14)

PP
├── AdvP
│   └── (prjamo 'right')
└── PP
    ├── KP
    │   └── Masha.DAT
    └── PP
        ├── AdvP
        │   └── (prjamo 'right')
        └── PP
            └── navstreču 'towards'

PP
├── AdvP
│   └── (prjamo 'right')
└── PP
    ├── PP
    │   ├── AdvP
    │   │   └── (prjamo 'right')
    │   └── PP
    │   └── navstreču 'towards'
    └── KP
        └── Masha.DAT

What determines the word order options in (13)? Based on corpus data and native speakers' judgments, we can state that although all variants given in (13) are grammatical, nonpronominal dative dependents prefer the prepositional order, (13a), while the two postpositional orders, (13b, c), are more natural with pronouns. I propose that the position of the dative in (13a) requires it to bear nuclear stress (being the most embedded, phrase-peripheral element), whereas in (13b) and (13c) it appears in deaccented positions. Since pronouns are typically stressed only when they are contrastive or accompany pointing, but predominantly refer to topics/given elements (e.g. Erteschik-Shir 1997:21, 138), in most cases they would occur in nonprominent positions, as in (13b-c). Nonpronominal DPs are destressed less often (again, only when topical/given), so the preference for the 'basic' word order in (13a) is expected. I thus suggest that the attachment of the dative adjunct is governed by information-structural and/or prosodic considerations.

A small modification to Matushansky et al.'s (to appear) approach is that I treat the dative dependent as a KP (DatP) rather than as a PP headed by a null preposition. This does not seem to make a principled difference to Matushansky et al. but is

preferable on independent grounds: recall that these dative dependents may not take on the specialized adprepositional pronominal forms, as shown in (9). However, if one posits a null P-head dominating it, one might expect these forms to be licensed, at least under the analysis I proposed in Philippova 2018. Opting for KP has an additional advantage in that it formally captures the distinction between the *k*-PP and bare dative external possessors, which Matushansky (to appear) and Matushansky et al. (to appear) look for. Having KP as an adjunct is not a new idea: bare-NP adverbials, such as *lesom* 'via forest' (lit. 'forest.INS'), *noč'ju* 'in the night' (lit. 'night.INS') are analyzed in certain works as adjunct KPs (e.g. McFadden 2018). In addition, such bare-NP adverbials may be coordinated with PPs, as in *na avtobuse i poezdom* 'by bus and train' (lit. 'on bus.LOC and train.INS'), so the predicate modification semantics proposed by Matushansky et al. (to appear) for possessive PP complexes seems to work with the intersection of a PP and a KP as well.

In short, the odd behavior of a group of adpositions in Russian is accounted for by their being PPs with an adjoined dative dependent, rather than prepositional heads with a dative complement. Incidentally, the alternation between a dative and a genitive dependent, exceptionally exhibited by the adposition *vzamen* 'as a substitution to' in (15-16), is in fact an alternation between an adjunction and a complementation structure.

(15) {Emu}   vzamen   {emu}   bylo sozdano   predprijatie.

      3MSG.DAT   in.replacement 3MSG.DAT   was created   company

      'In its stead a company was established.'

(16) {*Ego; *nego} vzamen   {ego; nego} byl   otkryt institut.

3MSG.GEN   in.replacement   3MSG.GEN   was   opened institute

'Instead of it an institute was founded.'

In (15), *vzamen* is a PP associated with a dative adjunct. In (16), *vzamen* is analyzed
as a morphologically complex P-head taking a genitive complement when occurring
with the *n*-initial adprepositional pronominal form *nego* and as a syntactically active
P-N combination, with the genitive phrase being a complement to the nominal
element when followed by the form *ego* (see Philippova 2018). Either way we do not
expect the genitive phrase to occur to the left of the complex adposition: in the former
case, this movement would violate the ban on P-complement extraction, while in the
latter the genitive 'dependency' between two nouns would be disrupted, which is
banned, at least under relativization (Zalizniak and Paducheva 1979:305).

Ambivalent 'adpositions' appear to be PPs that are undergoing lexicalization into
P-heads: their meaning is less compositional and more abstract, allowing for a
semantically wider range of dative dependents than possessive PP complexes. This
may capture why they lack the strict requirement that the datives refer to animate
entities (although there is a clear preference for such) and do not necessarily involve a
possessive relation.

4 Two Exceptional Cases

Two additional prepositions, *radi* 'for the sake of' and *spustja* 'after, later', can be
postposed to their complement, but do not satisfy the criteria for ambivalence in (6).
Specifically, they are originally denominal and deverbal and govern genitive and

accusative case respectively. Their exceptional ambivalence is discussed in what follows.

Radi 'for the sake of', like the synonymous dlja 'for', was a strict postposition (Hill 1977:118-9) before the 17th century but is predominantly a preposition in present-day Russian. Its postpositional instances are highly specialized semantically, as discussed in detail in Itkin and Tolkacheva 2015. The postpositional use of *radi* is thus more constrained than the prepositional one. On the one hand, a corpus study of the RNC reveals that all postpositional phrases listed by Itkin and Tolkacheva, except *skuki radi* 'out of boredom' (which preserves the archaic, cause meaning), allow the prepositional variant as well. On the other, there are cases when *radi*-complements almost always follow the adposition, while the postpositional variant requires special contextual and stylistic support:

(17) On sdelal èto {radi} Maši {??radi}.

 3MSG.NOM did this for.the.sake.of Masha.GEN for.the.sake.of

 'He did this for Masha's sake.'

The generalization is that the postpositional *radi*, unlike its prepositional counterpart, rarely occurs with animate complements; rather, its complements mostly denote abstract, nonreferential entities (e.g. *smexa radi* 'for fun', *spravedlivosti radi* 'to be fair').

Similarly, the postpositional *radi* 'for the sake of' more readily admits the inanimate *wh*-pronominal complement *čto* 'what' than the animate *kto* 'who' as shown in (18). In contrast, the prepositional *radi* is not so constrained, as can be seen from (19).

(18) {Čego; ?kogo} radi ty èto sdelal?

 what.GEN who.GEN for.the.sake.of you this did

'What/who did you do that for?' [lit. '*What/who for did you do that?']

(19) Radi   {čego;   kogo}   ty   èto   sdelal*?*

for.the.sake.of   what.GEN   who.GEN   you   this   did

'For what/whom did you do that?'

If *radi* is a simple P-head taking a genitive complement, as its nontransparent
morphology suggests, its postpositioning and stranding should be ruled out in Russian,
a language that does not feature extraction of the entire P-complement out of PPs.

In fact, stranding of *radi* is not found in the RNC:[2] when the *wh*-complement
precedes *radi,* the two are typically fronted and thus occur adjacently, like in (18);
they can only be separated by second position clitics and the particle *èto* 'this (lit.)',
(20-21).[3]

(20) Otstupit' v trëx šagax ot   celi? Čego   by   èto   radi?

retreat   in three steps from   target what.GEN SBJV PART   for.the.sake.of

'Retreating when three steps away from the target? What would that be for?'

[RNC, K. Serafimov. 1978-1994. *Goluboj stalagmit*]

The claim that *radi* is not stranded in sentences like (20) is supported by the fact that
similar strings can be found in full *wh*-questions as well:

(21) Čego   èto   radi   […]   ja   budu   im   priznavat'sja?

what.GEN PART   for.the.sake.of I   will   3PL.DAT   confess

'What would I confess to them for?'   [RNC, G. Ščerbakova. 1996. *Mitina*
ljubov']

The postpositional instances of *radi,* which we observe despite the ban on P-stranding,
can be accounted for without appealing to syntactic movement.

I suggest that postpositioning of *radi* 'for the sake of' is an instance of post-syntactic stylistic inversion, a mechanism which is available due to the historically postpositional status of *radi* and adds a slightly archaic or literary flavor to the utterance.[4] This option looks more appealing than a syntactic movement analysis, for instance, since postpositioning is constrained by the lexical semantics of the nominal complement, which is not something that typically conditions syntactic movement.

In contrast to *radi* 'for the sake of', the postpositional instances of *spustja* 'after, later' are not more semantically constrained or stylistically marked than its prepositional instances. It is thus natural to hypothesize that the two are derivationally related. *Spustja* 'after' originates from a converb and takes a durative temporal phrase as its obligatory argument. In that sense it is similar to converbs like *provedja* 'having spent', *proždav* 'having waited', which also admit positioning of the temporal phrase on their left:

(22) {dve   nedeli}   spustja {dve   nedeli}

　　　two   weeks.ACC   after   two   weeks.ACC

　　　'two weeks later'

(23) {sorok   let}   provedja   {sorok   let}   v pustyne

　　　forty.ACC years.GEN   having.spent forty.ACC   years.GEN   in desert

　　　'having spent forty years in the desert'

Certain analyses of accusative bare-NP adverbs (Pereltsvaig 2000; Szucsich 2002) propose that they originate in Asp(ect)P, a projection that dominates the *v*P. The semantic and the corresponding syntactic nature of the temporal argument of *spustja* 'after' might explain why this adposition is ambivalent in contrast to other converb-derived adpositions, such as *blagodarja* 'owing to' and *vključaja/isključaja*

'including/excluding', whose complements are base-generated within rather than above the *v*P.

The impossibility of stranding for *spustja* 'after' (and all other converb-derived prepositions), in turn, can be attributed to the general ban on extraction from converb phrases; compare (24) to (25).

(24) *Skol'ko   dnej   oni   poženilis'   spustja?

how.many.ACC   days.GEN   3PL   married   after

'How many days later did they get married?' (lit. '*How many days did they get married later?)

(25) *Skol'ko   deneg   on   vyšel   iz   kazino spustiv?

how.much.ACC   money.GEN   3MSG   walked.out   from   casino waste.CVB

'Having spent how much money did he leave the casino?' (lit. '*How much money did he leave the casino having spent?')

We considered two prepositions that can be postposed to their complement without satisfying our criteria for ambivalence and treated them separately. The exceptional ambivalence of *radi* 'for the sake of' was proposed to result from a stylistic inversion mechanism with no movement taking place in the syntax. The ambivalence of *spustja* was suggested to be related to the temporal semantics of its argument.

5 Conclusion

This squib addressed the so-called ambivalent adpositions in Russian—those appearing either to the left or to the right of their nominal dependent. I have shown that an adposition or an adposition-like collocation is productively ambivalent iff it

has P-N morphological composition and takes a dative dependent. The ambivalence of these lexemes and collocations was accounted for by treating them as PPs with dative adjuncts, rather than morphologically complex P-heads with dative complements.

Two ambivalent adpositions, *spustja* 'after, later' and *radi* 'for the sake of', were shown not to fall into this well-defined class. The ambivalence of the former was tentatively attributed to the temporal semantics of its argument and that of the latter to result from post-syntactic inversion.

An overall conclusion is that Russian does not have P-stranding *stricto sensu*: no case of postpositioning or apparent stranding involves movement of an entire P-complement out of a PP.

References

Abels, Klaus. 2003. Successive cyclicity, Anti-locality, and Adposition Stranding. Doctoral dissertation, University of Connecticut, Storrs.

Bruening, Benjamin. 2014. Precede-and-command revisited. *Language* 90:342-388. https://doi.org/10.1353/lan.2014.0037.

Campos, Héctor. 1991. Preposition Stranding in Spanish? *Linguistic Inquiry* 22:741-750.

Erteschik-Shir, Nomi. 1997. *The Dynamics of Focus Structure*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hill, Steven P. 1977. *The N-factor and Russian prepositions. Their development in 11th-20th century texts*. The Hague/Paris/New York: Mouton.

Itkin, I.B., and V.A. Tolkacheva. 2015. Postpozitivnye upotreblenija predloga "radi" v russkom literaturnom jazyke XVIII-XXI vv. [Postpositional use of preposition "radi" in the Russian literary language of the XVIII-XXI c.]. Paper presented at the Constructional and Lexical Semantic Approaches to Russian IV, Institute of Linguistics of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Saint Petersburg, Russia, 16-18 April.

Junghanns, Uwe. 1997. On the so-called èto-cleft construction. In *Formal Approaches to Slavic Linguistics 5: The Indiana Meeting 1996*, ed. by Martina Lindseth and Steven Franks, 166-190. Ann Arbor, MI: Michigan Slavic Publications.

Kimmelman, Vadim. 2009. On the Interpretation of Èto in so-called Èto-clefts. In *Studies in Formal Slavic Phonology, Morphology, Syntax, Semantics and Information Structure: Proceedings of FDSL 7, Leipzig 2007,* ed. by Gerhild Zybatow, Denisa Lenertová, Uwe Junghanns, and Petr Biskup, 319-329. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

King, Tracy Holloway. 1993. *Configuring Topic and Focus in Russian.* Doctoral dissertation, Stanford University.

Markman, Vita G. 2008. Pronominal copula constructions are what? Reduced specificational pseudo-clefts! In *WCCFL 26*: *Proceedings of the 26th West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics*, ed. by Charles B. Chang and Hannah J. Haynie, 366-374. Sommerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.

Matushansky, Ora. to appear. Intersecting location and possession. *Linguistic Variation*.

Matushansky, Ora, Nora Boneh, Léa Nash, and Natalia Slioussar. to appear. To PPs in their proper place. In *Formal Approaches to Slavic Linguistics 26: The Illinois*

Meeting 2018, ed. by Tania Ionin and Jonathan MacDonald. Ann Arbor,
Michigan: Michigan Slavic Publications.

McFadden, Thomas. 2018. A synthesis for the structural/inherent case distinction and
its comparative and diachronic consequences. Paper presented at the Workshop
'On the Place of Case in Grammar', University of Crete, Rethymnon, Greece, 18-
20 October.

Pereltsvaig, Asya. 2000. On Accusative Adverbials in Russian and Finnish. In
Adverbs and Adjunction, ed. by Artemis Alexiadou and Peter Svenonius, 155-
176. Potsdam: University of Potsdam Press.

Philippova, Tatiana. 2014. P-omission under sluicing, [P clitic] and the nature of P-
stranding. In *ConSOLE XXII: Proceedings of the 22nd Conference of the Student
Organization of Linguistics in Europe (8-10 January 2014, Lisbon),* ed. by
Martin Kohlberger, Kate Bellamy, and Eleanor Dutton, 133-155. Leiden: Leiden
University Centre for Linguistics. ISSN: 1574-499X.

Philippova, Tatiana. 2018*. Prepositional repercussions in Russian: pronouns,
comparatives and ellipsis*. Doctoral dissertation, Ben-Gurion University of the
Negev, Beer-Sheva, Israel. https://ling.auf.net/lingbuzz/004016.

Podobryaev, Alexander. 2009. "Postposition Stranding" and related phenomena in
Russian. In *Studies in Formal Slavic Phonology, Morphology, Syntax, Semantics
and Information Structure: Proceedings of FDSL 7*, *Leipzig 2007*, ed. by Gerhild
Zybatow, Uwe Junghanns, Denisa Lenertová, and Petr Biskup, 197-208.
Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Poplack, Shana, Lauren Zentz, and Nathalie Dion. 2012. Phrase-final prepositions in
Quebec French: An empirical study of contact, code-switching and resistance to

convergence. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition* 15:203–225.

https://doi:10.1017/S1366728911000204.

Reeve, Matthew. 2012. *Clefts and their Relatives*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John

Benjamins Publishing Company.

Russian National Corpus (RNC). Available at http://ruscorpora.ru/.

Szucsich, Luka. 2002. Case Licensing and Nominal Adverbials in Slavic. In *Formal

Approaches to Slavic Linguistics 10: The Second Ann Arbor Meeting 2001*, ed.

by Jindřich Toman, 249-270. Ann Arbor, MI: Michigan Slavic Publications.

Yerbalanov, Aldan. 2020. Pozicionnye svojstva diskursivnoj časticy *èto* v

sovremennom russkom jazyke [The syntactic distribution of the Russian

discourse particle èto]. Master's thesis, HSE University, Moscow, Russia.

Zalizniak, A. A., and E.V. Paducheva. 1979. Sintaksičeskie svojstva mestoimenija

KOTORYJ [The syntactic properties of the pronoun KOTORYJ]. In *Kategorija

opredelënnosti-neopredelënnosti v slavjanskix i balkanskix jazykax [The

category of definiteness in Slavic and Balkan languages]*, ed. by T.M. Nikolaeva,

289-329. Moscow: Nauka.

HSE University

Linguistic Convergence Laboratory

tfilippova@hse.ru

and

Ben-Gurion University of the Negev

Department of Foreign Literatures and Linguistics

philippo@post.bgu.ac.il

[1] *v protivopoložnost'* 'in contrast to' does not occur as a postposition in the RNC, but examples can be easily found on the Internet, which suggests that this fact reflects a tendency, rather than a grammatical constraint.

[2] I have conducted a small-scale acceptability judgment survey (involving 10 native speakers of Russian), checking the status of sentences where *radi* is apparently stranded. Those were judged significantly less acceptable than their counterparts with mere postpositioning: the mean judgments were 2.05 (SD=0,87) vs. 3.25 (SD=0.88), on a 1-4 Likert scale or -0.56 (SD=0.81) vs. 0.59 (SD=0.74) in the normalized version. According to the paired t-test performed on both raw and normalized scores, the difference between the two types of sentences is highly significant ($p<0.001$). The results of the acceptability judgment survey thus do not contradict corpus data.

[3] This instance of *èto* might resemble the ones discussed in King 1993, Junghanns 1997, Markman 2008, Kimmelman 2009, Reeve 2012, but Yerbalanov (2020) argues it is a distinct element synchronically.

[4] The only other preposition that developed from a strict postposition (for examples from early texts see Hill 1977:112-113) – the synonymous *dlja* 'for'– can

be postposed under similar stylistic conditions, albeit more reluctantly. Such

postposition is facilitated by the presence of a postposed *radi*, as numerous corpus

examples like (i) suggest.

(i) ne   ljubopytstva radi,   a   pol'zy   dlja

     NEG   curiosity.GEN for-the-sake-of   but   use.GEN   for

     'not out of curiosity, but rather for benefit'

                     [RNC, B. Vasil'ev. 1988. *Byli i nebyli*. Kniga 2]