# Experimental evidence for argument ellipsis as the only derivation of Russian verb-stranding construction

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### Abstract

This paper provides an experimental view on the debate regarding verb-stranding constructions in Russian, argued to constitute verb-stranding VP ellipsis by Gribanova (2013b) and argument ellipsis by Bailyn (2017); Landau (2020b). Two experiments are reported, aiming to test core contrasts associated with argument ellipsis, while also controlling for polarity ellipsis, another type of ellipsis able to give rise to verb-stranding constructions. The first one concerns the status of the adjunct test (Park 1997; Oku 1998), employed by both Bailyn and Landau and criticized by Simpson (2023), Kobayashi, Tanabe & Yosuke (2024). Based on an truth value judgement task in Experiment 1, we argue that the test is inconclusive, at least in the Park-Oku version: given the ability of both types of approaches to accommodate adjunct-including readings, the results that adjunct-excluding readings are not preferred for verb-stranding constructions suggest that no conclusions can be drawn from the adjunct test. Experiment 2 presents an acceptability judgement study that tests whether the semantic type of the verbal argument has an impact on the acceptability of the verb-stranding construction (see Landau 2018 for Hebrew). The results suggest that ellipsis of non-$e$-type arguments is significantly degraded, thus replicating the contrast reported by Landau for Hebrew. The experimental studies reported in this paper thus present novel evidence in favor of the argument ellipsis approach to Russian verb-stranding (*pro* Landau 2020b), while also motivating caution regarding the application of the adjunct test cross-linguistically (*contra* Landau 2020b).

# Contents

# 1 Introduction

Verb Phrase Ellipsis (VP ellipsis; VPE; see Johnson 2001 for an overview; exemplified with the English sentence in 1) is a sub-type of ellipsis (non-pronunciation of syntactic material, see Merchant 2018 for an overview), which is both prominent in the syntactic literature and (at least superficially) absent from many languages, including Russian.

(1) John likes beer and Ben does $\Delta$ too. ($\Delta = {}_{VP}$[like beer])

An important debate in the literature on the syntax of Russian concerns the status of the superficial absence of VP ellipsis in Russian (see, for example, the review in Bailyn & Bondarenko 2018). The debate mostly concerns examples similar to (2). The core property of such sentences is that, even though the verb itself is pronounced, none of its arguments and adjuncts is present on the surface. Such constructions are often referred to as the verb-stranding constructions (Goldberg 2005) or object gap constructions. In this work, we refer to them as verb-stranding constructions.

(2) *Vasja očen'   ljubit pivo, a   Maša ne   ljubit $\Delta$.*
    V.    very.much loves beer but M.    not loves
    'Vasja loves beer very much, but Masha doesn't.'

One approach to such sentences in Russian and beyond (Goldberg 2005; Gribanova 2013b; Portelance 2020; Gribanova 2020 among others) holds that the absence of arguments and adjuncts of the verb indicates that VP ellipsis has taken place, but the verb has moved outside of the VP/$v$P (for example, Vera Gribanova defends the view that there is a V-to-$v$-to-Asp head movement operation in Russian which 'saves' the verb from non-pronunciation, see Gribanova 2013a; Gribanova 2013b and her subsequent work). An alternative line of analysis holds that the stranded verb constructions are derived via ellipsis of the arguments of the verb (which, naturally, leaves the verb stranded alone) — this option is often referred to as Argument Ellipsis (AE; see Sato 2019; Landau 2020b among others), a prominent analysis for verb-stranding constructions in the literature on East Asian languages (Saito 2007; but see Funakoshi 2016 for a dissenting view and see Tanaka 2023 for a refutation of Funakoshi's claims) which has been argued to be a superior option for all languages with verb-stranding constructions by Landau (2020b).

(3) Two approaches to the stranded verb constructions, schematized.

a. VPE + head movement
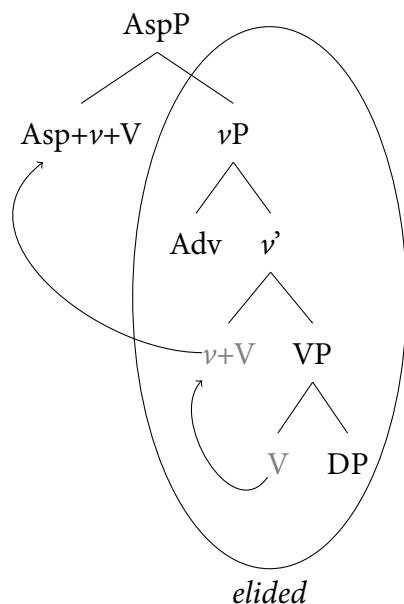
b. Argument Ellipsis
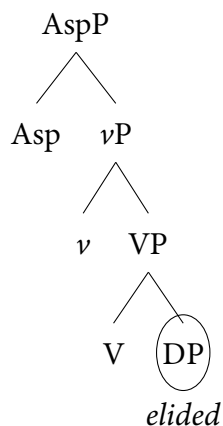


An issue for any investigation aiming to compare the predictions of the verb-stranding VP ellipsis analysis and the argument ellipsis analysis arises due to the fact that verb-stranding constructions in Russian allow for a polarity ellipsis parse (Kazenin 2006; Gribanova 2017). Polarity ellipsis is a type of clausal ellipsis found in the contexts of polarity focus (or verum focus; see Goodhue 2022 and references therein), which emphasize the truth value of the sentence (i.e., when the focus alternatives are $\{p, \neg p\}$). Hence, polarity ellipsis is often produced when answering a polar question, as shown in (4a). When the polar question is construed in a way that allows a pair-list reading, the subject of the clause can be pronounced, receiving a contrastive topic interpretation (Gribanova 2017), as exemplified by (4b), which results in a verb-stranding construction, the derivation of which is clearly orthogonal to the debate between argument ellipsis and verb-stranding VP ellipsis and thus acts as a confound (see Landau 2023a for such a remark regarding polarity ellipsis).

(4) a. *A: Ty guljal?*     *B: Guljal.*

   you took.a.walk     took.a.walk

   A: 'Did you take a walk?' B: 'I did.'

b. *A: Vy   guljali?*      *B: Ja guljal,*       *Petja  ne   guljal.*

    you  took.a.walk     I   took.a.walk  Petja  not  took.a.walk

   A: 'Did you take a walk?' B: 'I did, Petja did not.'

Polarity ellipsis involves an ellipsis of a clausal constituent larger than VP and, thus, any diagnostic aiming to test the verb-stranding VP ellipsis approach has to control for the possibility of a polarity ellipsis parse. (for example, the Portelance 2020 does not distinguish between a polarity ellipsis parse or a verb-stranding VP ellipsis parse, thus weakening her claim that Lithuanian presents a case of verb-stranding VP ellipsis).

This paper reports on two experimental studies conducted with the exact purpose of controlling the polarity ellipsis factor. Section 2 describes the experiment 1 which aimed to employ the adjunct test (Park 1997; Oku 1998; Bailyn 2017; Landau 2020b) while controlling for the polarity ellipsis parse by controlling the question under discussion. The results of the experiment 1 suggest that the verb-stranding constructions do not rule out adjunct-including readings even when the question under discussion is incompatible with polarity focus. Experiment thus sheds no light on the debate, given that both verb-stranding VP ellipsis and argument ellipsis approaches have a way to account for adjunct including readings (verb-stranding VP ellipsis approach does by design and argument ellipsis approach does via the independently motivated pragmatic enrichment mechanism, see Simpson 2023 and Landau 2023b for discussion).

Section 3 describes the second experiment, which aims to establish whether the semantic type of the argument of the verb (which is reported to constrain argument ellipsis in Hebrew; see Landau 2023a) influences the acceptability of verb-stranding constructions in morphosyntactic configurations which prohibit polarity ellipsis (the embedded clauses of predicates exhibiting predicative control). The results of the experiment 2 suggest that the semantic type of the argument of the verb influences the acceptability of the verb-stranding construction regardless of the syntactic context, suggesting that semantic type constraints on verb-stranding constructions may act as a cross-linguistically valid diagnostic for argument ellipsis. Section 4 concludes.

# 2  Experiment 1

## 2.1  Background: the adjunct test, polarity ellipsis, and pragmatic enrichment

The main difference between the argument ellipsis approach and the verb-stranding VP ellipsis approach concerns the presence of VP-level adjuncts in the elided part of the structure. Verb-stranding VP ellipsis predicts that both the arguments and adjuncts of the antecedent VP are present in the elided VP, while the argument ellipsis approach predicts that only the arguments of the VP in the antecedent clause are present in the sentence. The adjunct test (also referred to as the Park-Oku test by Landau 2020b, citing Park 1997 and Oku 1998) refers to a family of diagnostics aimed at detecting the adjunct in the elided part of the structure. The adjunct test is based upon the observation that negative sentences with VP-level adjuncts (like the sentence *John did not read the sign loudly* in 5) are true in two types of scenarios: where the verb part is false (i.e., where John did not read the sign at all) and where only the VP-adverb part is false (i.e., where John did read the sign but did so quietly). Example (5) shows how this ambiguity follows from standard assumptions regarding the meaning of verb phrases with adverbs (Parsons 1990).

(5)  John did not read the sign loudly,  $\neg[\text{read}(e) \wedge \text{loud}(e)] \equiv \neg\text{read}(e) \vee \neg\text{loud}(e)$

    a.  in fact, he did not read it at all.  $\neg\text{read}(e)$ reading

    b.  he read it quietly.  $\neg\text{loud}(e)$ reading

The idea of the adjunct test is to establish whether a verb-stranding construction embedded under negation exhibits such ambiguity when the antecedent clause contains a VP-level adjunct. For example, consider example (6) from Hebrew (Landau 2020b: 6).

(6)  Hebrew verb-stranding constructions do not contain elided adjuncts

    Speaker A.  *ata  makir ota  me-ha-tixon?*
                 you  know  her  from-the-high.school
                 'Do you know her from high school?'

Speaker B.  *lo  makir ___. # me-ha-cava.*
          not  know          from-the-army
          ''I don't know her. From the army.'

Landau himself has proposed a refinement of the diagnostic which makes use of creation verbs, which introduce discourse referents but only if not negated: for example, the sentence *John baked a cake* introduces the cake as a discourse referent while the sentence *John did not bake a cake* does not. Notably, the sentence *John did not bake a cake with baking powder* can introduce a discourse referent. Thus, anaphora to the creation can be used as a diagnostic for the presence of a VP-level adjunct in the elided part. Consider example (7) from Hebrew (Landau 2020b: 7). Hebrew verb stranding constructions with creation verbs do not introduce discourse referents when embedded under negation and when the antecedent clause has a VP-level adjunct (but see Simpson 2023 for a critique of the contrast underlying the creation-verb diagnostic). The conclusion drawn by Landau is that Hebrew verb-stranding constructions do not constitute verb-stranding VP ellipsis but rather argument ellipsis.

(7)  Creation verb adjunct test in Hebrew

*Yosi afa    et   ha-uga  lefi      ha-matkon. hi hayta me'ula.  Gil lo    afa    ___.*
Yosi baked  ACC  the-cake according the-recipe  it  was   fabulous  Gil not  baked

  # *hi hayta mag'ila.*
    it  was    gross

'Yosi baked the cake according to the recipe. It was fabulous. Gil didn't bake the cake. # It was gross.'

For Russian, Landau draws similar conclusions as well. Building on the application of the 'vanilla' adjunct test to Russian by Bailyn 2017 (see ex. 8a) and based on example (8b), Landau argues that the creation verb adjunct test shows that the adjunct is not present in the elided part of the structure, which supports the argument ellipsis analysis of Russian verb-stranding constructions.

(8) Adjunct test in Russian

    a. Park-Oku adjunct test favors the AE approach (adapted from Bailyn 2017: 13)

        *Ty   snimal    Vasiľeva  často, a   ja ne  snimal    ___*
        you  recorded  Vasiliev  often  but  I   not  recorded

        a. 'You recorded Vasiliev often but I didn't record him at all.'

        b. #'You recorded Vasiliev often but I didn't. (I recorded him rarely.)'

    b. Creation verb adjunct test favors the AE approach (Landau 2020b: 21)

        *Ivan pišet   stixi    ot     otčajanija. Ja uveren čto   Sergej  ne  pišet    ___.  # Oni*
        Ivan  writes  poems  from  despair.   I   sure    that  Sergei  not  writes       they

          *vsegda  radostnyje.*
          always  cheerful.

        'Ivan writes poems out of despair. I am sure that Sergei does not write (poems). # They are always cheerful.'

However, the judgements are less clear than Landau and Bailyn claim. My informal elicitation of ca. 10 speakers of Russian showed inconsistent judgements regarding both Bailyn's and Landau's examples aimed to disprove the verb-stranding VP ellipsis approach to Russian verb-stranding constructions. Following the arguments in the experimental syntax literature (endorsed by Sprouse, Schütze & Almeida 2013 and Linzen & Oseki 2018), it is best to put unstable judgements to the test in an experimental setting. Later discussion of Landau's paper (Simpson 2023; Landau 2023b) has unveiled two possible confounds for a clear application of the adjunct test, both of which are a problem for Russian: polarity ellipsis and pragmatic enrichment (see Ahn & Cho 2021). Polarity ellipsis, as already mentioned in the introduction, provides an alternative parse for verb-stranding configurations which undoubtedly involves ellipsis of a clausal constituent larger than VP (Kazenin 2006; Gribanova 2017). Pragmatic enrichment, on the other hand, is a syntactically unconstrained process of interpreting a verb in a stronger way: since adjuncts only add to the denotation of the verb, they can be optionally introduced in the interpretation: an event of reading can be construed as an event of reading carefully (see Landau 2023b for further discussion). Of these two confounds, only the polarity ellipsis parse is somewhat possible to control in an experimental setting, which is what the experiment described in this section aimed to do. Essentially, the design is aimed at a

medium-scale testing of the adjunct test in its Park-Oku version, as discussed in the next subsection.

## 2.2   Experimental design

To repeat the introduction, the goal is to establish whether the verb-stranding constructions can involve unpronounced VP-level adjuncts, when parsed not as polarity ellipsis. Given that the recoverability of adjuncts in VP ellipsis has been argued to be optional and subject to pragmatic factors (Moulton 2019), we aim to establish whether recovering the VP-level adjunct is *possible* and ignore the tendencies for this or that reading. To do so, we employ a truth-value judgement task which establishes whether the sentence *it could be the case that $p$?* is true where $p$ is a proposition, incompatible with the adjunct-less reading of the sentence with ellipsis. The core idea is the same as in Landau's adjunct test: if negation takes wide scope over a VP adjunct (as in *John does not smoke before lectures*), the sentence is compatible with the truth of the sentences like *John smokes after lectures* with a different adjunct. Clearly, these sentences cannot be true if an adjunct-less sentence like *John does not smoke* is asserted. The experiment is thus built upon the idea that there are possibility claims compatible with an adjunct-including reading and incompatible with an adjunct-excluding reading.

(9)   Sentences of the structure not [VERB ADJUNCT1] are:

   a.   possibly true if a sentence of the structure not [VERB ADJUNCT2] is true.

   b.   necessarily false if a sentence of the structure not [VERB] is true.

The first pair of experimental conditions concern the presence of the adjunct in the antecedent clause (HAS ADJUNCT vs. NO ADJUNCT). If there is no adjunct in the antecedent to begin with, then the truth value of the sentence textscneg [V ADJUNCT1] is FALSE. For this reason, we treat all NO ADJUNCT stimuli as fillers. The other experimental condition establishes the type of ellipsis and controls the polarity ellipsis parse: the condition POLARITY PARTICLE contains the sentences which involve polarity ellipsis with the polar particle *net* 'no' (see Gribanova 2017 for evidence that Russian polarity particles involve ellipsis). Since the parse of verb-stranding sentences is QuD-sensitive (see esp. Kobayashi, Tanabe & Yosuke 2024 on this property of verb-stranding constructions in Japanese), we present the stimuli as a question-answer pair to control for the QuD: we thus present

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the POLAR PARTICLE stimuli with a polar question.

(10)   POLAR PARTICLE stimuli with and without adjuncts

Question.   *Ispekli=li deti    keksy    (po receptu)?*
baked=Q  children  cupcakes  by   recipe
'Did the children bake cupcakes (following the recipe)?'

Answer.   *Maša   net, a    ostal'nye da.*
Masha  not  but  others    yes
'Masha didn't, but the others did.'

To judge.   *Možet=li byt' tak, čto  Maša  ispekla keksy     koe-kak?*
can=Q    be  so   that Masha baked  cupcakes  poorly
'Can it be the case that Masha baked the cupcakes poorly?'

The condition NARROW FOCUS contains the sentences with explicit narrow focus in the scope of the operator *tol'ko* 'only' with the goal to rule out a polarity ellipsis parse, at least in theory. The preceding question is a *wh*-question to force a narrow focus reading. Examples are provided in (11).

(11)   NARROW FOCUS stimuli with and without adjuncts.

Question.   *Kto iz    detej    rešil    etu zadaču (za čas)?*
who  from  children  solved  this  problem  in   hour
'Which children solved this problem (in an hour)?'

Answer.   *Počti    vse.      Tol'ko Kirill ne   rešil.*
almost  everyone  only    Kirill  not  solved
'Almost everyone. Only Kirill didn't solve it.'

To judge.   *Možet=li byt' tak, čto  Kirill  rešil    zadaču   za dva časa?*
can=Q    be  so   that  Kirill  solved  problem  in  two  hours
'Can it be the case that Masha baked the cupcakes poorly?'

The utility of the NARROW FOCUS condition seems to be supported by the degraded status of polarity particles when the subject as the associate of *tol'ko* 'only' with the polarity particle, as shown in the

examples in (12).

(12)   Narrow focus on the subject is degraded with polarity particles.

  *A: Vse  gotovy? B: Počti vse.  ?Tol'ko Petja net*
  everyone ready  almost everyone only Petja not

  A: 'Is everyone ready?' B: 'Almost everyone. Only Petja is not.'

Finally, the condition POLAR VERB-STRANDING presents a mixed-case: a verb-stranding construction preceded by a polar question. The theoretical interest in this condition lies in determining how likely are verb-stranding constructions to be parsed as polarity ellipsis given a polar QuD, to determine whether the theoretical possibility of this parse is as problematic for the study of Russian verb-stranding constructions as it seems. An example of this condition is provided below. Since this condition is somewhat redundant in determining whether verb-stranding constructions can be parsed as verb-stranding VP ellipsis when a polarity ellipsis parse is ruled out, one may also treat it as a filler, essentially.

(13)   POLAR VERB-STRANDING stimuli with and without adjuncts.

  Question. *Proverjajut=li prepody vaši domaški (strogo)?*
       grade=Q  teachers your homework strictly?

       'Do the teachers grade your homework (in a strict way)?'

  Answer. *Petr Stepanovič ne proverjaet, a ostal'nye da.*
      Petr Stepanovich not grade  but others yes

      'Petr Stepanovich doesn't, but the others do.'

  To judge. *Možet=li byt' tak, čto Petr Stepanovič stavit vsem  za domašku*
       can=Q be so that Petr Stepanovich gives everyone for homework

        *"otlično"?*
        A-grade

       'Can it be the case that Petr Stepanovich gives everyone an A for homework?'

Summing up, we employ a 2×3 experimental design where 2 refers to the {HAS ADJUNCT, NO

ADJUNCT} set of conditions and 3 refers to the {POLAR PARTICLE; NARROW FOCUS; POLAR VERB-STRANDING} set of conditions. Given that 6 groups of experimental items ($2\times3 = 6$) are employed, each participant was presented with 12 sentences, in order for an item corresponding to each pair of conditions to be evaluated twice by the participant. The complete list of the experimental lists is provided in Appendix A. However, the core part of the experiment is a $2\times2$ design: we can collapse the POLAR PARTICLE and POLAR VERB-STRANDING into one condition POLARITY FOCUS to test the effect of the narrow/polarity focus distinction on the results. The POLAR PARTICLE/POLAR VERB-STRANDING distinction is peripheral, as explained earlier, but is still relevant, given that it has not yet been tested whether the polarity ellipsis parse is a big enough problem. In the next subsection, we present the hypotheses available in the described experiment design and elaborate upon which results (dis)confirm which hypotheses.

## 2.3 Hypotheses

The baseline hypothesis (which is aimed at establishing the required adequacy of the experimental design) is that the absence of the adjunct in the antecedent sentence of ellipsis should result in the significantly lower proportion of YES answers. Should that be correct, the core hypothesis is that the NARROW FOCUS condition will significantly lower the proportion of YES answers. If the hypothesis is confirmed, it acts in support of the argument ellipsis analysis: it means that once the polarity ellipsis parse is ruled out, adjuncts are not recovered in verb-stranding constructions. However, if the effect is not significant, no theoretical conclusions can be drawn regarding the argument ellipsis vs. verb-stranding VP ellipsis debate. As is clear from the discussion in Simpson 2023 and Landau 2023b, the presence of adjunct-including readings can be accommodated by both types of analysis. The lack of a significant effect should be taken rather as an indicator of the hidden inadequacies pertinent to the adjunct test or disadvantages of the chosen experimental design.

## 2.4 Procedure and participants

The experiment was implemented via the web-based software PCIbex (Schwarz & Zehr 2021). Stimuli were presented one at a time, with a 30 second time limit. An example of the presentation of stimuli is provided in Figure 1. As stated in the previous subsection, the participant is presented

with a truth-value judgement task (two buttons on the screenshot correspond to *da* 'yes' and *net* 'no'). Before the stimuli were presented, each participant had been given three training items with commentary specifying which judgement the item should get.

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progress

Диалог:
A: Шутят ли ваши преподы на занятиях несмешно?
B: Максим Юрьевич не шутит, а остальные да.

Может ли так быть, что Максим Юрьевич любит травить анекдоты во время занятий?

| Да | | Нет |

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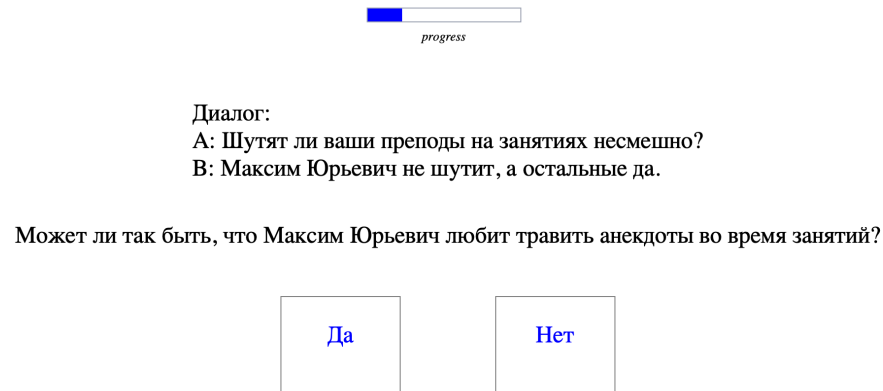
Figure 1: Presentation of stimuli in Experiment 1.

88 participants (all native speakers of Russian) were recruited online using the Yandex.Tasks crowd-sourcing platform, resulting in 14 participants on average for each list. All participants provided their informed written consent to take part in the study.

## 2.5   Results

First, let us consider the percentage of Yes answers for sentences with and without VP adjuncts. Our expectation is that the absence of the adjunct should result in a significantly lower proportion of Yes answers. Note that we cannot expect a near-zero proportion due to the mechanism of pragmatic enrichment (Landau 2023b): the participants may have re-read the initial dialogue with the enriched interpretation that comes from the sentence whose truth-value is to be judged. The expectation is borne out, which suggests that the experimental design chosen for the experiment is sensitive to the distinction between fillers and non-fillers.
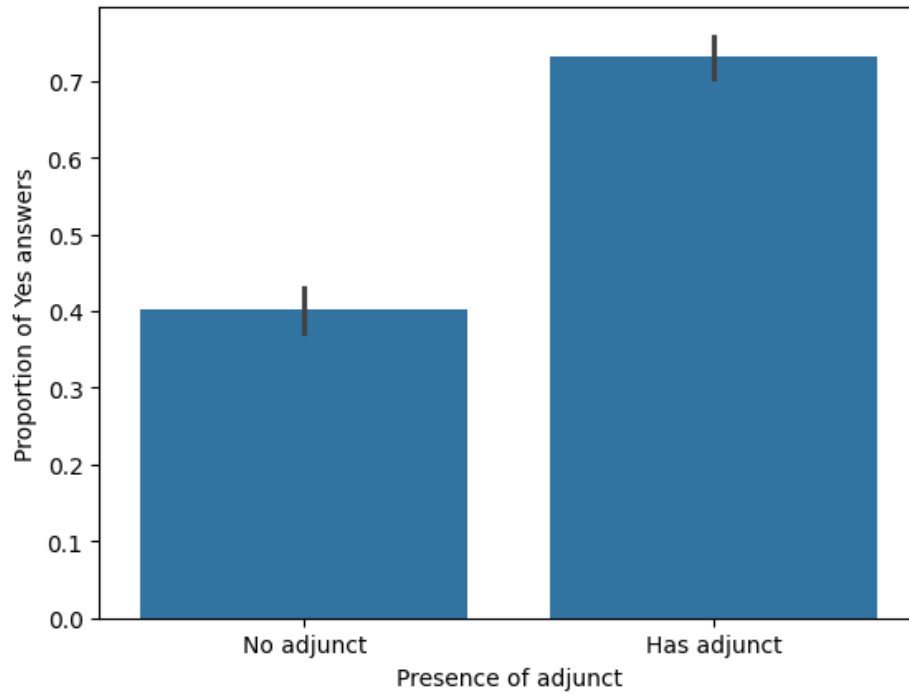
Figure 2: Proportion of Yes answers to stimuli with and without adjuncts.

However, once we look at the results for the NARROW FOCUS and the POLARITY FOCUS subgroups of the HAS ADJUNCT group, no difference is found, as shown by the barplots in Figure 3.
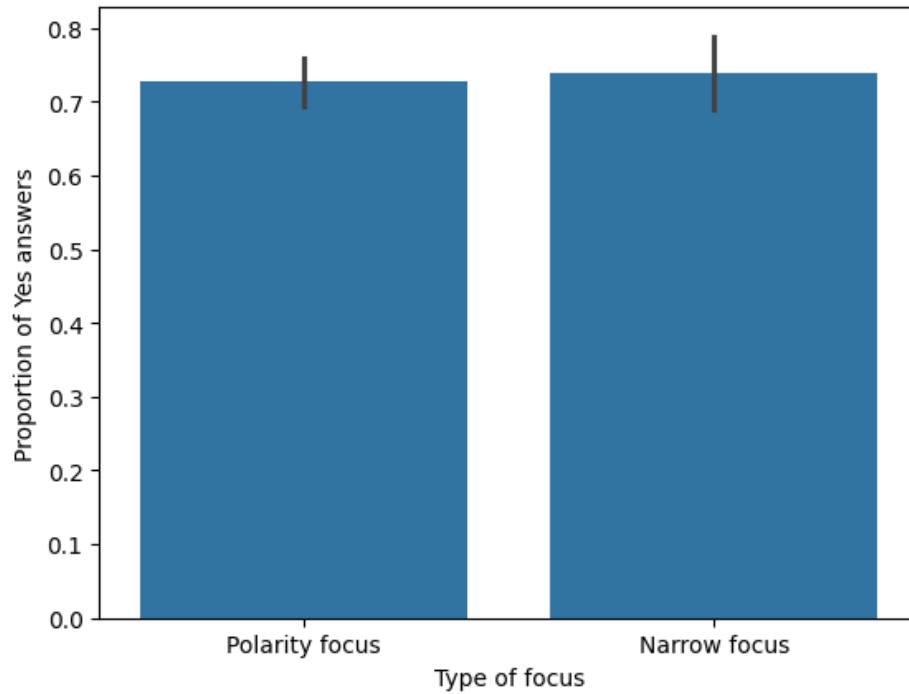
Figure 3: Proportion of Yes answers to NARROW FOCUS / POLARITY FOCUS stimuli with adjuncts.

The issue may lie in the fact that the POLARITY FOCUS subgroup contains both stimuli with a polar particle and the verb-stranding construction with a polarity focus. When we only look at the POLAR PARTICLE and NARROW FOCUS subgroups, however, nothing changes, as shown by Figure 4.
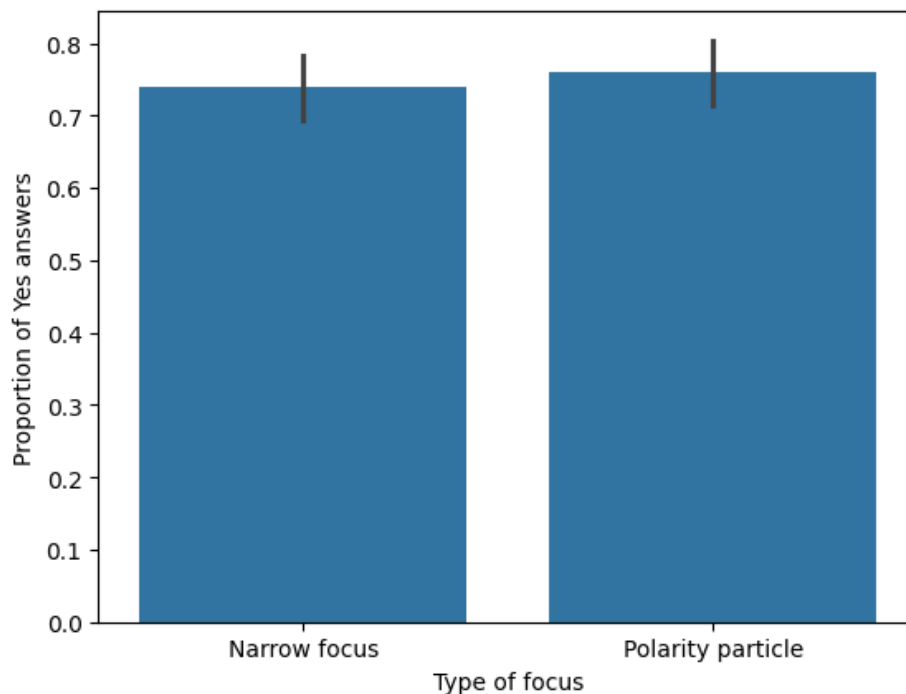
Figure 4: Proportion of Yes answers to NARROW FOCUS / POLAR PARTICLE stimuli with adjuncts.

To provide the statements certain statistical support, we employed a generalized linear mixed-effects model (via the lmerTest package for R, see Kuznetsova, Brockhoff & Christensen 2017) fitted to the data with the HAS ADJUNCT/NO ADJUNCT and NARROW FOCUS/POLARITY FOCUS factors as fixed effects and participant and sentence as random effects. While the HAS ADJUNCT/NO ADJUNCT factor is significant ($p < .001$), neither the NARROW FOCUS/POLARITY FOCUS factor ($p > .5$) nor the combination of two factors ($.1 < p < .5$) are significant in predicting the collected truth value judgements. To conclude the results subsection, it appears that the presence of an adjunct does have a significant effect on truth-value judgement (as expected from the experimental design) but the type of focus structure associated with the sentence has no effect.

## 2.6 Discussion

The baseline hypothesis has been confirmed: the absence of adjunct in the antecedent sentence significantly lowers the proportion of YES answers, showing that the experimental design provides expected results for filler stimuli. The core hypothesis, however, has not been confirmed or disconfirmed: the NARROW FOCUS condition had no significant effect on the proportion of YES answers.

We take this result to indicate inadequacies either with the adjunct test in its Park-Oku variety or the experimental design itself (the second option, in my opinion, is less likely, given that the design has resulted in the expected contrasts depending on the presence of an adjunct). In any case, the experiment 1 has shed no light on the status of the verb stranding VP ellipsis approach vs. the argument ellipsis approach to verb-stranding constructions in Russian. The next section describes the second experiment conducted to discern the argument ellipsis and verb-standing VP ellipsis analytical options, the aim of the experiment being to test the role of the semantic type of the elided argument of the verb on the acceptability of verb-stranding constructions (such an effect has been documented for Hebrew by Landau 2018).

## 3 Experiment 2

### 3.1 Motivation: semantic effects of argument ellipsis

In addition to the adjunct recoverability, another prominent contrast regarding argument ellipsis reported in the literature is the effect of the semantic type on the acceptability of the verb-stranding constructions (see Landau 2018 for Hebrew). Unlike English VP ellipsis, which places no restrictions on the semantics of the verb phrase or its subconstituents, Hebrew verb-stranding constructions are reported to be unacceptable with verbs that take predicate nominals or adverbials as their arguments, as shown in the examples below.

(14)  a. Predicate nominals and English VPE

   John considers Bill a fool, while Mary does not Δ.

   b. Predicate nominals and Hebrew verb stranding (Landau 2023b: ex. 55a)

   *hi   hafxa   le-menahelet axarey še-ha-bat      šela hafxa   \*(le-menahelet)*
   she turned to-manager   after    that-the-daughter her  turned to-manager

   'She turned into a manager after her daughter had.'

   c. Argumental adverbs and English VPE

   John behaves well, while Mary does not Δ.

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d. Argumental adverbs and Hebrew verb stranding (Landau 2023b: ex. 46a)

*Yosi hitnaheg     yafe aval axiv     lo  hitnaheg     \*(yafe)*
Yosi behaved.3MSG well but  brother.his not behaved.3MSG well

'Yosi behaved well but his brother didn't.'

The goal of Experiment 2 is to test the contrast reported by Landau for Russian verb-stranding constructions. As was the case with the experiment 1, we aim to control for the polarity ellipsis parse. Unlike Experiment 1, however, we aim to do so via syntactic means by embedding the verb-stranding construction under predicative control verbs, which are incompatible with polarity particles. The next subsection presents the design and the materials in more detail.

## 3.2   Experimental design and materials

The experiment presents an acceptability judgement task. The dependent variable is thus the acceptability score of presented sentences, ranging from 1 to 7, following the standard (a Likert scale). My experimental lists conform to the 2:1 filler-stimulus ratio, each containing 16 fillers and 8 stimuli drawn from 24 groups of sentences. The two independent variables in my study are the following: whether the elided arguments have the semantic type $e$ (E-TYPE)[1] and whether ellipsis is embedded under a predicative control verb (i.e., whether the polarity parse is possible). Predicative control verbs have been taken based on the rough list in Landau 2024 and checked via the case-transmission diagnostic, see Appendix B for details. Both factors have two values: thus, we work with a 2x2 design. Examples of all four types of stimuli are provided below. See Appendix B for a complete list.

(15)   a.  A (+E-TYPE; +EMBEDDED) example

*Vasja soglasilsja narugat' Mašu, a   Petja narugat' otkazalsja.*
Vasja agreed      scold   Masha but Petja scold    refused

'Vasja agreed to scold Masha, but Petja refusedd to

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[1]The verbs with argument of semantic type different from $e$ are either naming verbs (such as *nazvat'* 'to name' and *naznačit'* 'appoint') or verbs with argumental adverbs (such as *vesti sebja* 'behave' and *postupit'* 'act'). See Appendix B for details.

b. A (−E-TYPE; +EMBEDDED) example

*Vasja soglasilsja vesti   sebja   xorošo, a   Petja vesti   otkazalsja.*
Vasja agreed      behave himself well      but Petja behave refused

'Vasja agreed to himself well, but Petja refused to.'

c. A (+E-TYPE; −EMBEDDED) example

*Vasja narugal Mašu.   A   Petja ne   narugal.*
Vasja scolded Masha but Petja not scold

Vasja scolded Masha, but Petja did not.

d. A (−E-TYPE; −EMBEDDED) example

*Vasja vel     sebja   xorošo. A   Petja ne   vel.*
Vasja behaved himself well.     But Petja not behaved

'Vasja behaved well, but Petja did not.'

The fillers are constructed from core examples by getting rid of ellipsis and introducing some grammatical mistakes (for ungrammatical fillers). The goal of the fillers is mostly to establish a baseline for every participant (since some may be conservative regarding the scores they give to sentences) and to provide a basis for excluding 'bad' participants (those who judge ungrammatical fillers as acceptable and those who judge grammatical fillers as unacceptable). An example of a filler pair is given below, a modification of (6a). Since there are 4 types of stimuli and (thus) 8 types of fillers, there are 12 members in each group of sentences. The experiment is set up in such a way as for each participant to encounter each type of sentence twice, resulting in 24 experimental lists.

(16)   Fillers (based on 6a)

a. A grammatical filler

*Vasja soglasilsja vesti   sebja   xorošo, a   Petja vesti   sebja   xorošo otkazalsja.*
Vasja agreed      behave himself well      but Petja behave himself well      refused

'Vasja agreed to behave well, but Petja refused to behave well.'

b. An ungrammatical filler

*Vasja soglasilsja vesti soboj xorošo, a Petja vesti soboj xorošo
Vasja agreed behave himself.INS well but Petja behave himself.INS well
otkazalsja.
refused

'Vasja agreed to behave well, but Petja refused to behave well.'

In the next subsection, we present the hypotheses available in the described experiment design and elaborate upon which results (dis)confirm which hypotheses.

## 3.3 Hypotheses and expected results

The core hypothesis is as follows. Does the semantic type of the argument have a significant effect on the acceptability of verb-stranding constructions? There are two versions of this hypothesis, a weak one and a strong one. The strong version requires that the semantic type of the argument have a significant effect regardless of whether the verb-stranding construction is embedded (as reported for Hebrew by Landau 2023a). It implies that the polarity ellipsis parse was not salient enough to 'save' the unembedded stimuli. The weak version requires the semantic type of the argument have a significant effect if the verb-stranding construction is embedded, implying that the polarity ellipsis parse had an effect.

If no effects of the semantic type of the argument are found, two theoretical possibilities emerge. Either the argument ellipsis approach is not the right analysis for Russian verb-stranding construction, or the derivation of Russian argument ellipsis differs from the derivation proposed by Landau (2023a). In the absence of independent evidence, however, the second option should be disregarded. Any other effect, if present, is irrelevant to the verb-stranding VP ellipsis vs. argument ellipsis debate and thus will be ignored.

## 3.4 Procedure and participants

The experiment was implemented via the web-based software PCIbex (Schwarz & Zehr 2021). Stimuli were presented one at a time. An example of the presentation of stimuli is provided in

Figure 5. Before the stimuli were presented, each participant had been given three training items with commentary specifying which judgement the item should get.



Сережа поцеловал Машу. А Кирилл Машу не поцеловал.

Плохо | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | Хорошо

Figure 5: Presentation of stimuli in Experiment 2.

182 participants (all native speakers of Russian) were recruited online using the Yandex.Tasks crowd-sourcing platform, resulting in 14 participants on average for each list. All participants provided their informed written consent to take part in the study.

## 3.5   Results

The results of each participant were z-score transformed to eliminate potential scale bias. The grammatical fillers have the mean z-score of $z = .552$, while the ungrammatical fillers have the mean z-score of $z = -.907$. Looking at the mean z-scores for all four subgroups (Figure 6), it appears that there is an effect of both the syntactic contexts (embedded vs. matrix) and the semantic type of the argument.
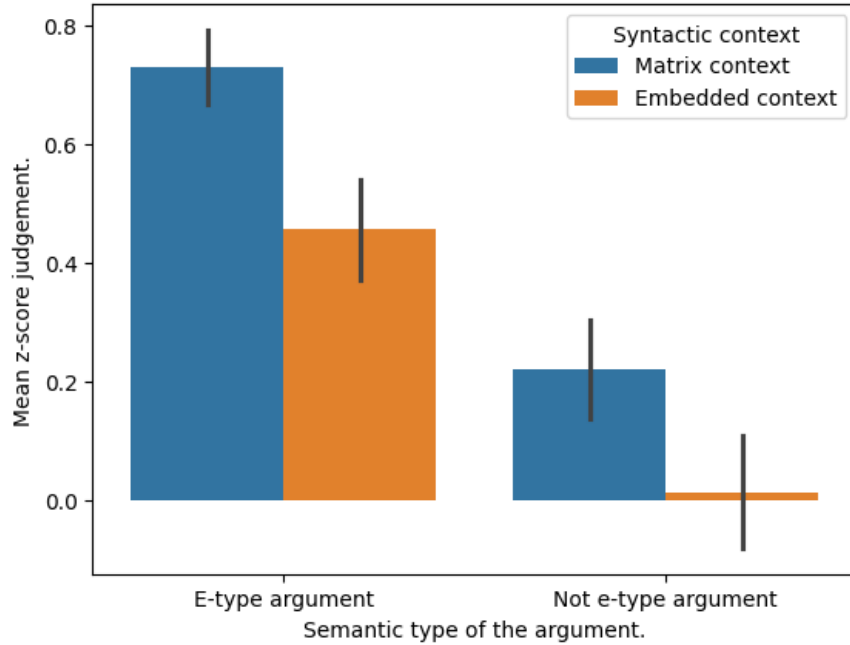
Figure 6: Mean z-score of four subgroups of stimuli.

The interaction plot in figure 7 suggests that while there is an effect of both factors, no cumulative effect is to be found: the (−E-TYPE; +EMBEDDED) subgroup shows no emergent effect of the combination of two conditions.
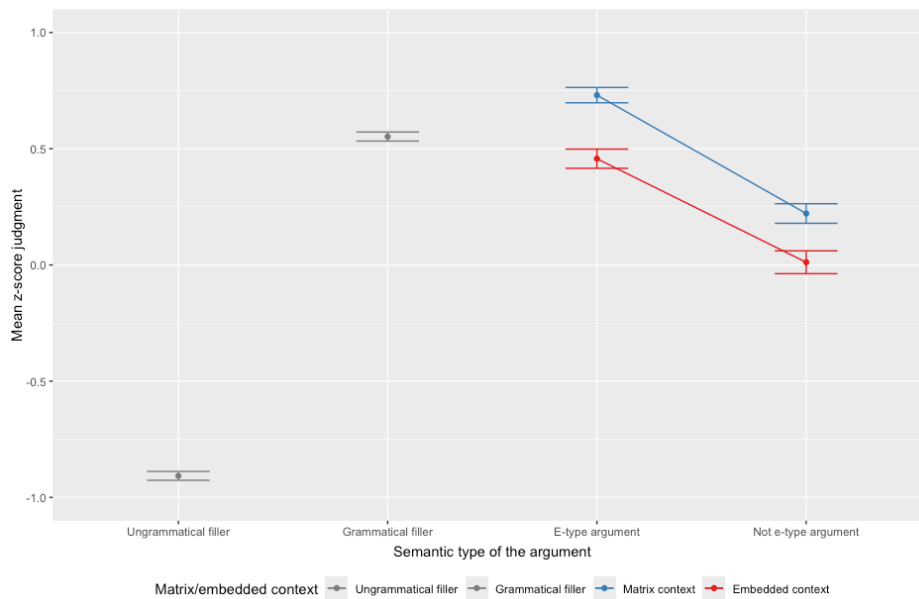


Figure 7: Interaction plot for the factors.

This conclusion is partially supported by a generalized linear mixed-effects model (via the lmerTest package for R, see Kuznetsova, Brockhoff & Christensen 2017) fitted to the data with the two factors as fixed effects and participant and sentence as random effects. The effect of the semantic type of the argument is significant (coefficient estimate $= .510$, standard error $= .088$, $p < .001$). The effect of the syntactic context has not been found to be as significant (coefficient estimate $= -.217$, standard error $= .092$, $.01 < p < .05$,) and is likely due to general dislike of embedded structures by the participants. The effect of the combination of syntactic context and semantic type of the argument has been found to be insignificant (coefficient estimate $= -.057$, standard error $= .126$, $p > 0.05$).

Post hoc application of Tukey's HSD test (Table 1) leads to the same conclusion: the least significant difference (and the only one with $p > .001$) is the one between the ($-$E-TYPE; $-$EMBEDDED) group and the ($-$E-TYPE; $+$EMBEDDED) group, which is likely to be due to the general ban on eliding non $e$-type arguments in a verb-stranding construction.

| Group 1 | Group 2 | Statistic | $p$-value |
|---|---|---|---|
| $-$E-TYPE; $-$EMBEDDED | $-$E-TYPE; $+$EMBEDDED | .210 | $.001 < p < .01$ |
| $-$E-TYPE; $-$EMBEDDED | $+$E-TYPE; $-$EMBEDDED | $-.509$ | $p < .001$ |
| $+$E-TYPE; $+$EMBEDDED | $-$E-TYPE; $+$EMBEDDED | .446 | $p < .001$ |
| $+$E-TYPE; $+$EMBEDDED | $+$E-TYPE; $-$EMBEDDED | $-.273$ | $p < .001$ |

Table 1: Results of Tukey's HSD test applied to the four subgroups.

The only worry that is raised by the results is that the plots in Figure 6 and Figure ?? show the near-zero z-score of the worst-rated subgroup ($-$E-TYPE; $+$EMBEDDED). Overall, one sees that the mean scores of all subgroups are closer to grammatical fillers than ungrammatical fillers. It may be thus concluded that while relative acceptability does motivate an effect of the semantic type, all sentences are nevertheless quite acceptable. We take the relative acceptability of the stimuli to arise due to factors orthogonal to the contrast studies in this experiment. Such a move is not without a precedent: previous studies have argued that a significant effect found in experimental results should be taken as evidence for the initial hypotheses regardless of absolute acceptability (see Featherston 2005; Almeida 2014; Kush, Lohndal & Sprouse 2018 on island effects; see Sprouse 2018 on general discussion of mismatches between statistically significant differences and absolute acceptability).

For now, we hypothesize that a naive speaker distinguishes between silent violations of grammar (ungramamtical ellipsis) and overt violations of grammar (violations of subcategorization frames, on which ungrammatical fillers of Experiment 2 are based). Summing up the results, Experiment 2 shows a significant effect of the semantic type of elided arguments of the verb on the acceptability of the verb-stranding construction.

## 3.6 Discussion

The results show that the semantic type of the argument has significant effect on the acceptability of verb-stranding constructions regardless of syntactic context, thus supporting the strong version of the hypothesis and replicating the Hebrew findings of Landau (2023a) for Russian. Given that no VP ellipsis theory currently available makes a distinction between verb phrases with $e$-type arguments and with arguments of other semantic types, it is hard to see how a verb-stranding VP ellipsis approach could accommodate the experimental findings. An argument ellipsis analysis of Landau (2023a), however, is designed to account for the same contrast in Hebrew and thus captures the experimental findings with ease. A possible point of worry, though, may come from the presence of an effect of non-$e$-type arguments on unembedded sentences, which may indicate that polarity ellipsis does not allow eliding non-$e$-type arguments as well. However, informal elicitation of ca. 10 Russian speakers shows no variation regarding the acceptability of polar particles when the antecedent sentence has a non-$e$-type argument (see exx. in 17). We thus hold that the experimental stimuli themselves were not amenable to a polarity ellipsis parse.

(17)   Polar particles are fine with a non-$e$-type verbal argument in the antecedent.

    a. Polar particles and argumental adverbs

       *A: Deti    vedut sebja    ploxo? B: Maša    net, a    Petja da.*
       children behave themselves poorly    Masha not but Petja yes

      A: 'Do the children behave poorly?' B: 'Masha does but Petja does not.'

b. Polar particles and small clauses

> *A: Vy sčitaete menja durakom? B: Ja net, a Petja da.*
> you consider me moron I not but Petja yes

A: 'Do you consider me a moron?' B: 'I do not, but Petja does.'

With the polarity ellipsis parse issue discussed, we conclude that the experiment 2 supports the idea that Russian verb-stranding constructions are derived argument ellipsis while the verb-stranding VP ellipsis parse is unavailable.

# 4   Conclusion

The findings reported in this paper suggest that (a) argument ellipsis is the superior analysis of Russian verb-stranding constructions (see Experiment 2, based on the effect of the semantic type of verbal arguments); (b) adjunct test should be applied with caution and not considered a definitive diagnostic for argument ellipsis (at least, in the Park-Oku variety, see Experiment 1). However, the conclusion (b) should be taken with a grain of salt, given the non-standard experimental task (truth value judgement of a modal claim rather than acceptability judgment, as done by Han et al. 2020, for example). Given that existing arguments *in favor* of the verb-stranding VP ellipsis approach for Russian have been criticized in recent literature (see Bailyn 2017 for a discussion of verbal identity requirement and lack thereof in Russian; see Landau 2021 for a discussion of the coordination argument in Gribanova 2013a), the present paper adds to the evidence that verb-stranding VP ellipsis is unattested in Russian. Given that VP ellipsis is an option for Russian periphrastic verbal forms, the present paper suggests that Russian grammar blocks verb-stranding VP ellipsis in particular (see Landau 2020a for a theoretical exploration).

There are two consequences to the conclusion that Russian lacks verb-stranding VP ellipsis. The first consequence concerns the issue posed by Gribanova 2017 where she presented a Max-Elide account of the lack of polarity ellipsis with a post-verbal subject (which she analyses as head movement of the verb to Pol and subsequent VP ellipsis and thus contrasts with head movement of the verb to Asp and subsequent VP ellipsis). If Russian lacks verb-stranding VP ellipsis, the issue is shifted to a more general ban on verb-stranding VP ellipsis (again, see Landau 2020a for a

proposal). Thus, Gribanova's conclusion that the lack of polarity ellipsis with a post-verbal subject is explained by MaxElide and the syntactic nature of head movement is unwarranted and there is, thus, either no argument from her data for MaxElide, or for syntactic head movement.

The second consequence concerns the status of gapping in Russian. As shown in example (18), Russian has gapping: the verb and the indirect object of the second clause are elided in example (18b), while the subject and the direct object are pronounced, as in the English gapping example provided in (18a).

(18)　Gapping in English and Russian (Kalinin 2023: 404)

　　a. Carrie gave a set of direction to me, and Will a map.

　　b. *Vasja dal　mne kompas, a　　Petja kartu.*
　　　 Vasja gave me　 compass and Peter map
　　　 'Vasja gave me a compass, and Peter a map.'

Given that Russian lacks VP ellipsis, it follows that VP-ellipsis analyses of gapping (see Toosarvandani 2013) are non-universal at best, completely on the wrong track at worst. We leave for further research the issue of Russian gapping and its relation to multidominant analyses such as Johnson 2009 (but see Kalinin 2020 for a critical take on Johnson's approach based on Russian data and Kalinin 2023 for an alternative derivation).

Summing up, the experimental data reported in this paper supports the conclusion that Russian grammar prohibits verb-stranding VP ellipsis (*pro* Landau 2020b) but promotes careful skepticism regarding the wide cross-linguistic application of the adjunct test (*contra* Landau 2020b).

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# A Experimental lists for Experiment 1

In this appendix, we present the experimental lists for Experiment 1. Stimuli are presented with adjuncts in parentheses to present the HAS ADJUNCT and NO ADJUNCT groups at once (recall that we treat the NO ADJUNCT group as fillers). The groups were mixed in a Latin Square fashion such that each participant only encounters one stimulus from the group. Group 1 is built upon the difference between VP1 [to solve the problem] and VP2 [to solve the problem in an hour]. The possibility claim to be judged was 'can it be the case that Kirill solved the problem in two hours?'. When VP1 is negated, the possibility claim is expected to be false, and when VP2 is negated, the possibility claim is expected to be true.

(19)   POLAR PARTICLE stimuli of Group 1.

    Question.    *Ispekli=li deti    keksy    (po receptu)?*

                       baked=Q children cupcakes by recipe

                       'Did the children bake cupcakes (following the recipe)?'

    Answer.    *Maša    net, a    ostal'nye da.*

                       Masha not but others yes

                       'Masha didn't, but the others did.'

    To judge.    *Možet=li byt' tak, čto Maša ispekla keksy    koe-kak?*

                       can=Q be so that Masha baked cupcakes poorly

                       'Can it be the case that Masha baked the cupcakes poorly?'

(20)   POLAR VERB-STRANDING stimuli of Group 1.

    Question.    *Ispekli=li deti    keksy    (po receptu)?*

                       baked=Q children cupcakes by recipe

                       'Did the children bake cupcakes (following the recipe)?'

    Answer.    *Maša    ne ispekla, a    ostal'nye ispekli.*

                       Masha not baked but others baked

                       'Masha didn't, but the others did.'

To judge. *Možet=li byt' tak, čto Maša ispekla keksy koe-kak?*

can=Q be so that Masha baked cupcakes poorly

'Can it be the case that Masha baked the cupcakes poorly?'

(21) NARROW FOCUS stimuli of Group 1.

Question. *Kto iz detej ispek keksy (po receptu)?*

who from kids baked cupcakes by recipe

'Which children bakes the cupcakes (following the recipe)?'

Answer. *Počti vse. Tol'ko Maša ne ispekla.*

almost everyone only Masha not baked

'Almost everyone. Only Masha didn't.'

To judge. *Možet=li byt' tak, čto Maša ispekla keksy koe-kak?*

can=Q be so that Masha baked cupcakes poorly

'Can it be the case that Masha baked the cupcakes poorly?'

Group 2 is built upon the difference between VP1 [to fry the draniki] and VP2 [to fry the draniki with lard]. The possibility claim to be judged was 'can it be the case that Misha ended up with dry draniki?'[2] When VP1 is negated, the possibility claim is expected to be false, and when VP2 is negated, the possibility claim is expected to be true.

(22) POLAR PARTICLE stimuli of Group 2.

Question. *Požarili=li deti draniki (na sale)?*

fried=Q children draniki on lard

'Did the children fry the draniki (with lard)?'

Answer. *Miša net, a ostal'nye da.*

Misha not but others yes

'Misha didn't, but the others did.'

---

[2]Draniki are traditional East Slavic potato pancakes.

To judge.     *Možet=li byt' tak, čto    u      Miši    polučilis' suxie draniki?*
can=Q    be    so    that PREP Misha end.up   dry    draniki

'Can it be the case that Misha ended up with dry draniki?'

(23)    POLAR VERB-STRANDING stimuli of Group 2.

Question.    *Požarili=li deti      draniki (na sale)?*
fried=Q     children draniki on   lard

'Did the children fry the draniki (with lard)?'

Answer.     *Miša   ne  požaril, a    ostal'nye požarili.*
Misha not fried     but others    fried

'Misha didn't, but the others did.'

To judge.     *Možet=li byt' tak, čto    u      Miši    polučilis' suxie draniki?*
can=Q    be    so    that PREP Misha end.up   dry    draniki

'Can it be the case that Misha ended up with dry draniki?'

(24)    NARROW FOCUS stimuli of Group 2.

Question.    *Kto iz     detej požaril draniki (na sale)?*
who from kids fried     draniki on   lard

'Which children fried the draniki (with lard)?'

Answer.     *Počti    vse.        Tol'ko Miša   ne  požaril.*
almost everyone   only    Misha not fried

'Almost everyone. Only Misha didn't.'

To judge.     *Možet=li byt' tak, čto    u      Miši    polučilis' suxie draniki?*
can=Q    be    so    that PREP Misha end.up   dry    draniki

'Can it be the case that Misha ended up with dry draniki?'

Group 3 is built upon the difference between VP1 [buy the tickets] and VP2 [buy the tickets online].
The possibility claim to be judged was 'can it be the case that Dasha bought paper tickets?' (under

the assumption that paper tickets are not bought online). When VP1 is negated, the possibility claim is expected to be false, and when VP2 is negated, the possibility claim is expected to be true.

(25)   POLAR PARTICLE stimuli of Group 3.

Question.   *Kupili=li deti     bilety (onlajn)?*
bought=Q children tickets online
'Did the children buy the tickets (online)?'

Answer.   *Daša   net, a   ostal'nye da.*
Dasha  not  but  others    yes
'Dasha didn't, but the others did.'

To judge.   *Možet=li byt' tak, čto   Daša   vzjala bumažnye bilety?*
can=Q   be  so   that Dasha took    paper      tickers
'Can it be the case that Dasha bought paper tickets?'

(26)   POLAR VERB-STRANDING stimuli of Group 3.

Question.   *Kupili=li deti     bilety (onlajn)?*
bought=Q children tickets (online)
'Did the children buy the tickets online?'

Answer.   *Daša   ne kupila, a   ostal'nye kupili.*
Dasha  not bought but  others    bought
'Dasha didn't, but the others did.'

To judge.   *Možet=li byt' tak, čto   Daša   vzjala bumažnye bilety?*
can=Q   be  so   that Dasha took    paper      tickers
'Can it be the case that Dasha bought paper tickets?'

(27)  NARROW FOCUS stimuli of Group 3.

    Question.    *Kto iz   detej kupil  bilety (onlajn)?*
                  who from kids  bought tickers online
                  'Which children buy the tickets (online)?'

    Answer.    *Počti  vse.      Tol'ko Daša  ne  kupila.*
                  almost everyone only   Dasha  not bought
                  'Almost everyone. Only Dasha didn't.'

    To judge.    *Možet=li byt' tak, čto  Daša   vzjala bumažnye bilety?*
                  can=Q  be  so   that Dasha took  paper     tickers
                  'Can it be the case that Dasha bought paper tickets?'

Group 4 is built upon the difference between VP1 [wash the hands] and VP2 [wash the hands with soap]. The possibility claim to be judged was 'can it be the case that Polina rinsed her hands?' (under the assumption that rinsing constitutes washing but does not constitute washing with soap). When VP1 is negated, the possibility claim is expected to be false, and when VP2 is negated, the possibility claim is expected to be true.

(28)  POLAR PARTICLE stimuli of Group 4.

    Question.    *Pomyli=li deti    ruki  (s   mylom)?*
                  washed=Q children hands  with  soap
                  'Did the children wash their hands (with soap)?'

    Answer.    *Polina net, a    ostal'nye da.*
                  Polina not but others    yes
                  'Polina didn't, but the others did.'

    To judge.    *Možet=li byt' tak, čto  Polina spolosnula ruki?*
                  can=Q  be  so   that Polina rinsed     hands
                  'Can it be the case that Polina rinsed her hands?'

(29)  POLAR VERB-STRANDING stimuli of Group 4.

Question. *Pomyli=li deti ruki (s mylom)?*

washed=Q children hands with soap

'Did the children wash their hands (with soap)?'

Answer. *Polina ne pomyla, a ostal'nye pomyli.*

Polina not washed but others wahsed

'Polina didn't, but the others did.'

To judge. *Možet=li byt' tak, čto Polina spolosnula ruki?*

can=Q be so that Polina rinsed hands

'Can it be the case that Polina rinsed her hands?'


(30) NARROW FOCUS stimuli of Group 4.

Question. *Kto iz detej pomyl ruki (s mylom)?*

who from kids washed hands with soap

'Which children washed their hands (with soap)?'

Answer. *Počti vse. Tol'ko Polina ne pomyla.*

almost everyone only Polina not washed

'Almost everyone. Only Polina didn't.'

To judge. *Možet=li byt' tak, čto Polina spolosnula ruki?*

can=Q be so that Polina rinsed hands

'Can it be the case that Polina rinsed her hands?'


Group 5 is built upon the difference between VP1 [solve the problem] and VP2 [solve the problem in an hour]. The possibility claim to be judged was 'can it be the case that Kirill solved the problem in two hours?'. When VP1 is negated, the possibility claim is expected to be false, and when VP2 is negated, the possibility claim is expected to be true.

(31)  POLAR PARTICLE stimuli of Group 5.

    Question.    *Rešili=li deti    etu zadaču (za čas)?*

                   solved=Q children this problem in hour

                   'Did the children solve this problem (in an hour)?'

    Answer.    *Kirill net, a    ostal'nye da.*

                   Kirill not but others    yes

                   'Kirill didn't, but the others did.'

    To judge.    *Možet=li byt' tak, čto Kirill rešil    zadaču    za dva časa?*

                   can=Q    be so    that Kirill solved problem in two hours

                   'Can it be the case that Masha baked the cupcakes poorly?'


(32)  POLAR VERB-STRANDING stimuli of Group 5.

    Question.    *Rešili=li deti    etu zadaču (za čas)?*

                   solved=Q children this problem in hour

                   'Did the children solve this problem (in an hour)?'

    Answer.    *Kirill ne rešil,    a    ostal'nye rešili.*

                   Kirill no solved but others    solved

                   'Kirill didn't, but the others did.'

    To judge.    *Možet=li byt' tak, čto Kirill rešil    zadaču    za dva časa?*

                   can=Q    be so    that Kirill solved problem in two hours

                   'Can it be the case that Masha baked the cupcakes poorly?'


(33)  NARROW FOCUS stimuli of Group 5.

    Question.    *Kto iz    detej    rešil    etu zadaču (za čas)?*

                   who from children solved this problem in hour

                   'Which children solved this problem (in an hour)?'

Answer.　　*Počti　vse.　　　Tol'ko　Kirill　ne　rešil.*

almost　everyone　only　　Kirill　not　solved

'Almost everyone. Only Kirill didn't solve it.'

To judge.　*Možet=li byt' tak, čto Kirill rešil　zadaču　za dva časa?*

can=Q　　be　so　that Kirill solved　problem　in　two　hours

'Can it be the case that Masha baked the cupcakes poorly?'

Group 6 is built upon the difference between VP1 [draw a landscape] and VP2 [draw a landscape with watercolor]. The possibility claim to be judged was 'can it be the case that Ksjusha drew a landscape with gouache?'. When VP1 is negated, the possibility claim is expected to be false, and when VP2 is negated, the possibility claim is expected to be true.

(34)　POLAR PARTICLE stimuli of Group 6.

Question.　*Narisovali=li deti　　pejzaž　　(akvarelju)?*

drew=Q　　　children landscape with.watercolor

'Did the children draw a landscape (with watercolor)?'

Answer.　*Ksjusha net, a　　ostal'nye da.*

Ksjusha not but others　　yes

'Ksjusha didn't, but the others did.'

To judge.　*Možet=li byt' tak, čto Ksjuša　narisovala pejzaž　　guaš'ju?*

can=Q　　be　so　that Ksjusha drew　　　landscape with.gouache

'Can it be the case that Ksjusha drew a landscape with gouache?'

(35)　POLAR VERB-STRANDING stimuli of Group 6.

Question.　*Narisovali=li deti　　pejzaž　　(akvarelju)?*

drew=Q　　　children landscape with.watercolor

'Did the children draw a landscape (with watercolor)?'

Answer. *Ksjusha ne narisovala, a ostal'nye narisovali.*

Ksjusha not drew but others drew

'Ksjusha didn't, but the others did.'

To judge. *Možet=li byt' tak, čto Ksjuša narisovala pejzaž guašju?*

can=Q be so that Ksjusha drew landscape with.gouache

'Can it be the case that Ksjusha drew a landscape with gouache?'

(36) NARROW FOCUS stimuli of Group 6.

Question. *Kto iz detej narisoval pejzaž akvarel'ju?*

who from children drew landscape with.watercolor

'Which children solved this problem (in an hour)?'

Answer. *Počti vse. Tol'ko Ksjuša ne narisovala.*

almost everyone only Ksjusha not drew

'Almost everyone. Only Ksjusha didn't draw it.'

To judge. *Možet=li byt' tak, čto Ksjuša narisovala pejzaž guašju?*

can=Q be so that Ksjusha drew landscape with.gouache

'Can it be the case that Ksjusha drew a landscape with gouache?'

Group 7 is built upon the difference between VP1 [flatten the dough] and VP2 [flatten the dough with a rolling pin]. The possibility claim to be judged was 'can it be the case that Petja flattened the dough with a jar?'. When VP1 is negated, the possibility claim is expected to be false, and when VP2 is negated, the possibility claim is expected to be true.

(37) POLAR PARTICLE stimuli of Group 7.

Question. *Raskatali=li deti testo (skalkoj)?*

flatten=Q children dough with.rolling.pin

'Did the children flatten the dough (with a rolling pin)?'

Answer.    *Petja net, a    ostal'nye da.*
           Petja not but others    yes
           'Petja didn't, but the others did.'

To judge.  *Možet=li byt' tak, čto   Petja raspljuščil testo    bankoj?*
           can=Q  be   so   that Petja flatten    dough with.jar
           'Can it be the case that Petja flattened the dough with a jar?'

(38)  POLAR VERB-STRANDING stimuli of Group 7.

Question.  *Raskatali=li deti    testo   (skalkoj)?*
           flatten=Q    children dough with.rolling.pin
           'Did the children flatten the dough (with a rolling pin)?'

Answer.    *Petja ne raskatal, a   ostal'nye raskatali.*
           Petja no flatten   but others   flatten
           'Petja didn't, but the others did.'

To judge.  *Možet=li byt' tak, čto   Petja raspljuščil testo    bankoj?*
           can=Q  be   so   that Petja flatten    dough with.jar
           'Can it be the case that Petja flattened the dough with a jar?'

(39)  NARROW FOCUS stimuli of Group 7.

Question.  *Kto iz    detej    raskatal testo   (skalkoj)?*
           who from children flatten    dough with.rolling.pin
           'Which children flattened the dough (with a rolling pin)?'

Answer.    *Počti   vse.      Tol'ko Petja ne   raskatal.*
           almost everyone only    Petja not flatten
           'Almost everyone. Only Petja did not flatten it.'

To judge.     *Možet=li byt' tak, čto Petja raspljuščil testo bankoj?*

            can=Q   be   so   that Petja flatten    dough with.jar

            'Can it be the case that Petja flattened the dough with a jar?'

Group 8 is built upon the difference between VP1 [get to the school] and VP2 [get to the school on foot]. The possibility claim to be judged was 'can it be the case that Lilja got to the school on a bike?'. When VP1 is negated, the possibility claim is expected to be false, and when VP2 is negated, the possibility claim is expected to be true.

(40)    POLAR PARTICLE stimuli of Group 8.

      Question.    *Dobralis'=li deti     do školy   (peškom)?*

              get=Q       children to   school on.foot

              'Did the children get to the school (on foot)?'

      Answer.     *Lilja net, a   ostal'nye da.*

              Lilja not but others    yes

              'Lilja didn't, but the others did.'

      To judge.    *Možet=li byt' tak, čto Lilja doexala do školy    na velike?*

              can=Q   be   so   that Lilja got      to   school on   bike

              'Can it be the case that Lilja got to the school on bike?'

(41)    POLAR VERB-STRANDING stimuli of Group 8.

      Question.    *Dobralis'=li deti     do školy   (peškom)?*

              get=Q       children to   school on.foot

              'Did the children get to the school (on foot)?'

      Answer.     *Lilja ne dobralas', a    ostal'nye dobralis'.*

              Lilja not got       but others    got

              'Lilja didn't, but the others did.'

To judge.   *Možet=li byt' tak, čto   Lilja doexala do školy   na velike?*
can=Q   be   so   that   Lilja   got   to   school   on   bike
'Can it be the case that Lilja got to the school on bike?'

(42)   NARROW FOCUS stimuli of Group 8.

Question.   *Kto   iz   detej   dobralsja do školy   (peškom)?*
who   from   children   got   to   school   on.foot
'Which children got to the school by (foot)?'

Answer.   *Počti   vse.   Tol'ko Lilja ne   dobralas'.*
almost   everyone   only   Lilja   not   got
'Almost everyone. Only Lilja did not get to it.'

To judge.   *Možet=li byt' tak, čto   Lilja doexala do školy   na velike?*
can=Q   be   so   that   Lilja   got   to   school   on   bike
'Can it be the case that Lilja got to the school on bike?'

Group 9 is built upon the difference between VP1 [print the documents] and VP2 [print the documents in the print shop]. The possibility claim to be judged was 'can it be the case that Grisha printed all the papers at home?'. When VP1 is negated, the possibility claim is expected to be false, and when VP2 is negated, the possibility claim is expected to be true.

(43)   POLAR PARTICLE stimuli of Group 9.

Question.   *Raspečatali=li deti   dokumenty (v tipografii)?*
print=Q   children   documents   in   print.shop
'Did the children print the documents (in the print shop)?'

Answer.   *Griša   net, a   ostal'nye da.*
Grisha   not   but   others   yes
'Grisha didn't, but the others did.'

To judge.    *Možet=li byt' tak, čto Griša raspečatal vse bumagi doma?*
can=Q    be    so    that Grisha printed    all papers home
'Can it be the case that Grisha printed all the papers at home?'

(44)    Polar verb-stranding stimuli of Group 9.

Question.    *Raspečatali=li deti    dokumenty (v tipografii)?*
print=Q    children documents in print.shop
'Did the children print the documents (in the print shop)?'

Answer.    *Griša    ne raspečatal, a    ostal'nye raspečatali.*
Grisha not printed    but others    printed
'Grisha didn't, but the others did.'

To judge.    *Možet=li byt' tak, čto Griša raspečatal vse bumagi doma?*
can=Q    be    so    that Grisha printed    all papers home
'Can it be the case that Grisha printed all the papers at home?'

(45)    Narrow focus stimuli of Group 9.

Question.    *Kto iz    detej    raspečatal dokumenty (v tipografii)?*
who from children printed    documents in print.shop
'Which children printed the documents (in the print shop)?'

Answer.    *Počti    vse.    Tol'ko Griša    ne    raspečatal.*
almost everyone only    Grisha not printed
'Almost everyone. Only Grisha did not print them.'

To judge.    *Možet=li byt' tak, čto Griša raspečatal vse bumagi doma?*
can=Q    be    so    that Grisha printed    all papers home
'Can it be the case that Grisha printed all the papers at home?'

Group 10 is built upon the difference between VP1 [color the hair] and VP2 [color the hair green].
The possibility claim to be judged was 'can it be the case that Liza colored her hair purple?'. When

VP1 is negated, the possibility claim is expected to be false, and when VP2 is negated, the possibility claim is expected to be true.

(46)   POLAR PARTICLE stimuli of Group 10.

Question.   *Pokrasili=li deti     volosy (v zelenyj)?*
colored=Q   children  hair    in  green
'Did the children color their hair (green)?'

Answer.   *Liza net, a    ostal'nye da.*
Liza  not  but  others    yes
'Liza didn't, but the others did.'

To judge.   *Možet=li byt' tak, čto   Liza pokrasila volosy v   fioletovyj?*
can=Q    be   so   that Liza colored   hair   in  purple
'Can it be the case that Liza colored her hair purple?'


(47)   POLAR VERB-STRANDING stimuli of Group 10.

Question.   *Pokrasili=li deti     volosy (v zelenyj)?*
colored=Q   children  hair    in  green
'Did the children color their hair (green)?'

Answer.   *Liza ne  pokrasila, a    ostal'nye pokrasili.*
Liza  not  colored    but  others    colored
'Liza didn't, but the others did.'

To judge.   *Možet=li byt' tak, čto   Liza pokrasila volosy v   fioletovyj?*
can=Q    be   so   that Liza colored   hair   in  purple
'Can it be the case that Liza colored her hair purple?'

(48)   NARROW FOCUS stimuli of Group 10.

Question.   *Kto   iz   detej   pokrasil volosy (v zelenyj)?*
who  from children colored  hair    in  green
'Which children colored their hair green?'

Answer.   *Počti   vse.   Tol'ko Liza  ne  pokrasila.*
almost  everyone only   Liza  not  colored
'Almost everyone. Only Liza did not color them.'

To judge.   *Možet=li byt' tak, čto  Liza pokrasila volosy v  fioletovyj?*
can=Q   be  so   that Liza colored   hair   in  purple
'Can it be the case that Liza colored her hair purple?'

Group 11 is built upon the difference between VP1 [come home] and VP2 [come home late]. The possibility claim to be judged was 'can it be the case that Stiopa came home right after school?'. When VP1 is negated, the possibility claim is expected to be false, and when VP2 is negated, the possibility claim is expected to be true.

(49)   POLAR PARTICLE stimuli of Group 11.

Question.   *Prišli=li deti   domoj (pozdno)?*
come=Q children  home  late
'Did the children come home (late)?'

Answer.   *Stiopa net, a   ostal'nye  da.*
Stiopa  not  but  others    yes
'Stiopa didn't, but the others did.'

To judge.   *Možet=li byt' tak, čto  Stiopa prišel domoj srazu posle školy?*
can=Q   be  so   that Stiopa came  home  right after school
'Can it be the case that Stiopa came home right after school?'

(50)  POLAR VERB-STRANDING stimuli of Group 11.

Question.  *Prišli=li deti    domoj (pozdno)?*
come=Q children home  late
'Did the children come home late?'

Answer.  *Stiopa ne prišel, a    ostal'nye prišli.*
Stiopa not came but others    came
'Stiopa didn't, but the others did.'

To judge.  *Možet=li byt' tak, čto  Stiopa prišel domoj srazu posle školy?*
can=Q   be  so   that Stiopa came home  right after school
'Can it be the case that Stiopa came home right after school?'

(51)  NARROW FOCUS stimuli of Group 11.

Question.  *Kto  iz   detej    prišel    domoj (pozdno)?*
who from children colored hair    in
'Which children came home (late)?'

Answer.  *Počti   vse.    Tol'ko Stiopa ne   prišel.*
almost everyone only   Stiopa not come
'Almost everyone. Only Stiopa did not come.'

To judge.  *Možet=li byt' tak, čto  Stiopa prišel domoj srazu posle školy?*
can=Q   be  so   that Stiopa came home  right after school
'Can it be the case that Stiopa came home right after school?'

Group 12 is built upon the difference between VP1 [go to the cinema without parents] and VP2 [go to the cinema without parents]. The possibility claim to be judged was 'can it be the case that Kolja was in the cinema with his mom?'. When VP1 is negated, the possibility claim is expected to be false, and when VP2 is negated, the possibility claim is expected to be true.

(52)  POLAR PARTICLE stimuli of Group 12.

Question.  *Pošli=li deti    v  kino   (bez    roditelej)?*
go=Q    children  in  cinema  without  parents
'Did the children go in the cinema (without parents)?'

Answer.  *Kolja net, a    ostal'nye da.*
Kolja  not  but  others    yes
'Kolja didn't, but the others did.'

To judge.  *Možet=li byt' tak, čto  Kolja byl  v  kino    s    mamoj?*
can=Q    be  so   that Kolja was  in  cinema  with  mom
'Can it be the case that Kolja was in the cinema with his mom?'


(53)  POLAR VERB-STRANDING stimuli of Group 12.

Question.  *Pošli=li deti    v  kino   (bez    roditelej)?*
go=Q    children  in  cinema  without  parents
'Did the children go in the cinema (without parents)?'

Answer.  *Kolja ne pošel, a    ostal'nye pošli.*
Kolja  no went  but  others    went
'Kolja didn't, but the others did.'

To judge.  *Možet=li byt' tak, čto  Kolja byl  v  kino    s    mamoj?*
can=Q    be  so   that Kolja was  in  cinema  with  mom
'Can it be the case that Kolja was in the cinema with his mom?'


(54)  NARROW FOCUS stimuli of Group 12.

Question.  *Kto  iz   detej   pošel v  kino   (bez    roditelej)?*
who  from  children  went  in  cinema  without  parents
'Which children went to the cinema (without parents)?'

Answer.     *Počti    vse.        Tol'ko  Stiopa  ne  prišel.*

            almost  everyone  only    Stiopa  not  come

            'Almost everyone. Only Stiopa did not come.'

To judge.   *Možet=li  byt'  tak,  čto  Kolja  byl  v  kino   s      mamoj?*

            can=Q     be   so    that  Kolja  was  in  cinema  with  mom

            'Can it be the case that Kolja was in the cinema with his mom?'

Group 13 is built upon the difference between VP1 [teach topology] and VP2 [teach topology in an exciting way]. The possibility claim to be judged was 'can it be the case that Anton Ivanovich teaches topology in a boring way?'. When VP1 is negated, the possibility claim is expected to be false, and when VP2 is negated, the possibility claim is expected to be true.

(55)  POLAR PARTICLE stimuli of Group 13.

Question.   *Rasskazyvajut=li  vaši  prepody  topologiju  (uvlekatel'no)?*

            tell=Q             your  teachers  topology    interestingly

            'Do your teachers teach topology (in an interesting way)?'

Answer.     *Anton  Ivanovič    net,  a     ostal'nye  da.*

            Anton  Ivanovich  not  but  others    yes

            'Anton Ivanovich doesn't, but the others do.'

To judge.   *Možet=li  byt'  tak,  čto  Anton  Ivanovič   suxo      prepodaët  topologiju?*

            can=Q     be   so    that  Anton  Ivanovich  boringly  teaches    topology

            'Can it be the case that Anton Ivanovich teaches topology in a boring way?'

(56)  POLAR VERB-STRANDING stimuli of Group 13.

Question.   *Rasskazyvajut=li  vaši  prepody  topologiju  (uvlekatel'no)?*

            tell=Q             your  teachers  topology    interestingly

            'Do your teachers teach topology (in an interesting way)?'

Answer. *Anton Ivanovič   ne   rasskazyvaet, a   ostal'nye da.*
Anton  Ivanovich  not  tell          but  others   yes
'Anton Ivanovich doesn't, but the others do.'

To judge. *Možet=li byt' tak, čto Anton Ivanovič suxo   prepodaët topologiju?*
can=Q   be  so  that Anton Ivanovich boringly teaches   topology
'Can it be the case that Anton Ivanovich teaches topology in a boring way?'

(57) NARROW FOCUS stimuli of Group 13.

Question. *Kto iz   vašix prepodov rasskazyvaet topologiju (uvlekatel'no)?*
who from your  teachers  tells         topology  interestingly
'Which of your teachers teaches topology (in an interesting way)?'

Answer. *Počti   vse.   Tol'ko Anton Ivanovič   ne   rasskazyvaet.*
almost  everyone only   Anton  Ivanovich  not  tell
'Almost everyone. Only Anton Ivanovich doesn't teach it'

To judge. *Možet=li byt' tak, čto Anton Ivanovič suxo   prepodaët topologiju?*
can=Q   be  so  that Anton Ivanovich boringly teaches   topology
'Can it be the case that Anton Ivanovich teaches topology in a boring way?'

Group 14 is built upon the difference between VP1 [make a mistake in the second problem] and VP2 [make a mistake in the second problem intentionally]. The possibility claim to be judged was 'can it be the case that Ivan Petrovich taught the seminar in a sloppy way?'. When VP1 is negated, the possibility claim is expected to be false, and when VP2 is negated, the possibility claim is expected to be true.

(58) POLAR PARTICLE stimuli of Group 14.

Question. *Ošiblis'=li     vaši  prepody v zadače  2 (namerenno)?*
make.mistake=Q your  teachers  in problem  2 intentionally
'Did your teachers make a mistake in the second problem (intentionally)?'

Answer. *Ivan Petrovič   net, a   ostal'nye da.*
Ivan  Petrovich  not  but  others    yes
'Ivan Petrovich didn't, but the others did.'

To judge. *Možet=li byt' tak, čto  Ivan Petrovič   nevnimatel'no vel    seminar?*
can=Q   be  so   that Ivan Petrovich sloppily      taught seminar
'Can it be the case that Ivan Petrovich taught the seminar in a sloppy way?'

(59) Polar verb-stranding stimuli of Group 14.

Question. *Ošiblis'=li        vaši prepody v zadače   2 (namerenno)?*
make.mistake=Q your  teachers in  problem  2 intentionally
'Did your teachers make a mistake in the second problem (intentionally)?'

Answer. *Ivan Petrovič   ne ošibsja,        a   ostal'nye da.*
Ivan  Petrovich  not make.mistake  but  others    yes
'Ivan Petrovich didn't, but the others did.'

To judge. *Možet=li byt' tak, čto  Ivan Petrovič   nevnimatel'no vel    seminar?*
can=Q   be  so   that Ivan Petrovich sloppily      taught seminar
'Can it be the case that Ivan Petrovich taught the seminar in a sloppy way?'

(60) Narrow focus stimuli of Group 14.

Question. *Kto iz   vašix prepodov ošibsja       v zadače  2 (namerenno)?*
who from  your  teachers   make.mistake in  problem  2 intentionally
'Which of your teachers made a mistake in the second problem (intentionally)?'

Answer. *Počti   vse.      Tol'ko Ivan Petrovič   ne  ošibsja.*
almost everyone only   Ivan Petrovich not make.mistake
'Almost everyone. Only Ivan Petrovich did not make the mistake.'

To judge. *Možet=li byt' tak, čto Ivan Petrovič nevnimatel'no vel seminar?*
can=Q be so that Ivan Petrovich sloppily taught seminar

'Can it be the case that Ivan Petrovich taught the seminar in a sloppy way?'

Group 15 is built upon the difference between VP1 [grade homework] and VP2 [grade homework strictly]]. The possibility claim to be judged was 'can it be the case that Petr Stepanovich gives everyone an A?'. When VP1 is negated, the possibility claim is expected to be false, and when VP2 is negated, the possibility claim is expected to be true.

(61) POLAR PARTICLE stimuli of Group 15.

Question. *Proverjajut=li prepody vaši domaški (strogo)?*
grade=Q teachers your homework strictly?

'Do the teachers grade your homework (in a strict way)?'

Answer. *Petr Stepanovič net, a ostal'nye da.*
Petr Stepanovich not but others yes

'Petr Stepanovich doesn't, but the others do.'

To judge. *Možet=li byt' tak, čto Petr Stepanovič stavit vsem za domašku*
can=Q be so that Petr Stepanovich gives everyone for homework

*"otlično"?*
A-grade

'Can it be the case that Petr Stepanovich gives everyone an A for homework?'

(62) POLAR VERB-STRANDING stimuli of Group 15.

Question. *Proverjajut=li prepody vaši domaški (strogo)?*
grade=Q teachers your homework strictly?

'Do the teachers grade your homework (in a strict way)?'

Answer. *Petr Stepanovič ne proverjaet, a ostal'nye da.*
Petr Stepanovich not grade but others yes

'Petr Stepanovich doesn't, but the others do.'

To judge.   *Možet=li byt' tak, čto Petr Stepanovič stavit vsem    za domašku*
     can=Q   be   so   that Petr Stepanovich gives everyone for homework

     *"otlično"?*
     A-grade

'Can it be the case that Petr Stepanovich gives everyone an A for homework?'

(63)   Narrow focus stimuli of Group 15.

Question.   *Kto iz   vašix prepodov proverjaet vaši domaški   (strogo)?*
     who from your   teachers grade    your homework strictly
     'Which of your teachers grades your homework (in a strict way)?'

Answer.   *Počti   vse.    Tol'ko Petr Stepanovič   ne   proverjaet.*
     almost  everyone only   Petr Stepanovich not grade
     'Almost everyone. Only Petr Stepanovich does not grade.'

To judge.   *Možet=li byt' tak, čto Petr Stepanovič stavit vsem    za domašku*
     can=Q   be   so   that Petr Stepanovich gives everyone for homework

     *"otlično"?*
     A-grade

'Can it be the case that Petr Stepanovich gives everyone an A for homework?'

Group 16 is built upon the difference between VP1 [answer to questions] and VP2 [answer to questions in a rude way]. The possibility claim to be judged was 'can it be the case that Ian Nikolaevich analyzes every question calmly?'. When VP1 is negated, the possibility claim is expected to be false, and when VP2 is negated, the possibility claim is expected to be true.

(64)   Polar particle stimuli of Group 16.

Question.   *Otvečajut=li vaši prepody na    voprosy (grubo)?*
     answer=Q    your teachers questions rudely?
     'Do the teachers grade your homework (in a rude way)?'

Answer.     *Jan Nikolaevič    net, a      ostaľnye da.*
            Ian Nikolaevich  not  but  others    yes
            'Ian Nikolaevich doesn't, but the others do.'

To judge.   *Možet=li  byt'  tak,  čto   Jan  Nikolaevič   spokojno razbiraet každyj*
            can=Q     be   so    that  Ian  Nikolaevich  calmly    analyzes   every

            *vopros?*
            question

            'Can it be the case that Ian Nikolaevich analyzes every question calmly?'


(65)  POLAR VERB-STRANDING stimuli of Group 16.

Question.   *Otvečajut=li  vaši   prepody  na  voprosy    (grubo)?*
            answer=Q      your  teachers  on  questions  rudely?
            'Do the teachers grade your homework (in a rude way)?'

Answer.     *Jan Nikolaevič    ne   otvečaet, a      ostaľnye da.*
            Ian Nikolaevich  not  answers  but  others    yes
            'Ian Nikolaevich doesn't, but the others do.'

To judge.   *Možet=li  byt'  tak,  čto   Jan  Nikolaevič   spokojno razbiraet každyj*
            can=Q     be   so    that  Ian  Nikolaevich  calmly    analyzes   every

            *vopros?*
            question

            'Can it be the case that Ian Nikolaevich analyzes every question calmly?'


(66)  NARROW FOCUS stimuli of Group 16.

Question.   *Kto  iz    vašix prepodov otvečaet na voprosy    (grubo)?*
            who  from  your  teachers  answer   on questions  rudely
            'Which of your teachers answers the questions (in a rude way)?'

Answer. *Počti vse. Tol'ko Jan Nikolaevič ne otvečaet.*

almost everyone only Ian Nikolaevich not answer

'Almost everyone. Only Ian Nikolaevich does not answer.'

To judge. *Možet=li byt' tak, čto Jan Nikolaevič spokojno razbiraet každyj*

can=Q be so that Ian Nikolaevich calmly analyzes every

*vopros?*

question

'Can it be the case that Ian Nikolaevich analyzes every question calmly?'

Group 17 is built upon the difference between VP1 [reply to e-mails] and VP2 [reply to e-mails on time]. The possibility claim to be judged was 'can it be the case that Vitalij Andreevich replies to e-mails after a month?'. When VP1 is negated, the possibility claim is expected to be false, and when VP2 is negated, the possibility claim is expected to be true.

(67) Polar particle stimuli of Group 17.

Question. *Otvečajut=li vaši prepody na pis'ma (vovremja)?*

reply=Q your teachers on e-mails on.time?

'Do your teachers reply to e-mails (on time)?'

Answer. *Vitalij Andreevič net, a ostal'nye da.*

Vitalij Andreevich not but others yes

'Vitalij Andreevich doesn't, but the others do.'

To judge. *Možet=li byt' tak, čto Vitalij Andreevič otvečaet na pis'ma spustja*

can=Q be so that Vitalij Andreevich replies on e-mails after

*mesjac?*

month

'Can it be the case that Vitalij Andreevich replies to e-mails after a month?'

(68)  POLAR VERB-STRANDING stimuli of Group 17.

Question.  *Otvečajut=li vaši prepody na pis'ma (vovremja)?*
reply=Q      your  teachers  on  e-mails  on.time?
'Do your teachers reply to e-mails (on time)?'

Answer.  *Vitalij Andreevič  ne  otvečaet, a  ostal'nye da.*
Vitalij Andreevich  not  replies  but  others  yes
'Vitalij Andreevich doesn't, but the others do.'

To judge.  *Možet=li byt' tak, čto  Vitalij Andreevič  otvečaet na pis'ma spustja*
can=Q  be  so  that  Vitalij Andreevich  replies  on  e-mails  after
*mesjac?*
month
'Can it be the case that Vitalij Andreevich replies to e-mails after a month?'

(69)  NARROW FOCUS stimuli of Group 17.

Question.  *Kto iz  vašix prepodov otvečaet na pis'ma (vovremja)?*
who  from  your  teachers  answer  on  e-mails  on.time
'Which of your teachers answers the questions (in a rude way)?'

Answer.  *Počti vse.  Tol'ko Vitalij Andreevič  ne  otvečaet.*
almost  everyone  only  Vitalij Andreevich  not  answer
'Almost everyone. Only Vitalij Andreevich does not answer.'

To judge.  *Možet=li byt' tak, čto  Vitalij Andreevič  otvečaet na pis'ma spustja*
can=Q  be  so  that  Vitalij Andreevich  replies  on  e-mails  after
*mesjac?*
month
'Can it be the case that Vitalij Andreevich replies to e-mails after a month?'

Group 18 is built upon the difference between VP1 [look for cheating] and VP2 [look for cheating carefully]. The possibility claim to be judged was 'can it be the case that Maria Petrovna sometimes

catchers cheaters?'. When VP1 is negated, the possibility claim is expected to be false, and when VP2 is negated, the possibility claim is expected to be true.

(70)  POLAR PARTICLE stimuli of Group 18.

Question.  *Sledjat=li  vaši  prepody  za  spisyvaniem  (vnimatel'no)?*
look.for=Q  your  teachers  for  cheating    on.time?
'Do your teachers look for cheating (carefully)?'

Answer.  *Marija  Petrovna  net,  a    ostal'nye  da.*
Maria   Petrovna  not  but  others    yes
'Maria Petrovna doesn't, but the others do.'

To judge.  *Možet=li  byt'  tak,  čto  Marija  Petrovna  poroj      lovit    spisyval'ščikov?*
can=Q    be  so   that  Maria   Petrovna  sometimes  catches  cheaters
'Can it be the case that Maria Petrovna sometimes catchers cheaters?'

(71)  POLAR VERB-STRANDING stimuli of Group 18.

Question.  *Sledjat=li  vaši  prepody  za  spisyvaniem  (vnimatel'no)?*
look.for=Q  your  teachers  for  cheating    on.time?
'Do your teachers look for cheating (carefully)?'

Answer.  *Marija  Petrovna  ne  sledit,    a    ostal'nye  da.*
Maria   Petrovna  not  look.for  but  others    yes
'Maria Petrovna doesn't, but the others do.'

To judge.  *Možet=li  byt'  tak,  čto  Marija  Petrovna  poroj      lovit    spisyval'ščikov?*
can=Q    be  so   that  Maria   Petrovna  sometimes  catches  cheaters
'Can it be the case that Maria Petrovna sometimes catchers cheaters?'

(72)  Narrow focus stimuli of Group 18.

Question.    *Kto iz    vašix prepodov sledit    za spisyvaniem (vnimatel'no)?*
who  from  your  teachers  look.for  for  cheating     carefully
'Which of your teachers look for cheating (carefully)?'

Answer.    *Počti    vse.       Tol'ko Marija Petrovna ne    sledit.*
almost  everyone  only   Maria  Petrovna  not  look
'Almost everyone. Only Maria Petrovna does not look for it.'

To judge.    *Možet=li byt' tak, čto  Marija Petrovna poroj      lovit    spisyval'ščikov?*
can=Q    be  so   that Maria  Petrovna sometimes catches cheaters
'Can it be the case that Maria Petrovna sometimes catchers cheaters?'

Group 19 is built upon the difference between VP1 [make jokes during class] and VP2 [make jokes during class unfunnily]. The possibility claim to be judged was 'can it be the case that Maksim Jurjevich loves telling jokes during class?'. When VP1 is negated, the possibility claim is expected to be false, and when VP2 is negated, the possibility claim is expected to be true.

(73)  Polar particle stimuli of Group 19.

Question.    *Šutjat=li vaši  prepody  na zanjatijax (nesmešno)?*
joke=Q   your  teachers  on  classes     unfunnily?
'Do your teachers joke in class (unfunnily)?'

Answer.    *Maksim Jurjevich net, a    ostal'nye da.*
Maksim  Jurjevich not  but  others   yes
'Maksim Jurjevich doesn't, but the others do.'

To judge.    *Možet=li byt' tak, čto  Maksim Jur'evič   ljubit travit' anekdoty vo vremja*
can=Q    be  so   that Maksim  Jurjevich loves  telling  jokes     during
*zanjatij?*
classes
'Can it be the case that Maksim Jurjevich loves telling jokes during class?'

(74) Polar verb-stranding stimuli of Group 19.

Question. *Šutjat=li vaši prepody na zanjatijax (nesmešno)?*
joke=Q your teachers on classes unfunnily?
'Do your teachers joke in class (unfunnily)?'

Answer. *Maksim Jurjevich ne šutit, a ostal'nye da.*
Maksim Jurjevich not jokes but others yes
'Maksim Jurjevich doesn't, but the others do.'

To judge. *Možet=li byt' tak, čto Maksim Jur'evič ljubit travit' anekdoty vo vremja*
can=Q be so that Maksim Jurjevich loves telling jokes during
*zanjatij?*
classes
'Can it be the case that Maksim Jurjevich loves telling jokes during class?'

(75) Narrow focus stimuli of Group 19.

Question. *Kto iz vašix prepodov šutit na zanjatijax (nesmešno)?*
who from your teachers jokes on classes unfunnily
'Which of your teachers jokes during class (unfunnily)?'

Answer. *Počti vse. Tol'ko Maksim Jurjevich ne šutit.*
almost everyone only Maksim Jurjevich not jokes
'Almost everyone. Only Maksim Jurjevich doesn't joke.'

To judge. *Možet=li byt' tak, čto Maksim Jur'evič ljubit travit' anekdoty vo vremja*
can=Q be so that Maksim Jurjevich loves telling jokes during
*zanjatij?*
classes
'Can it be the case that Maksim Jurjevich loves telling jokes during class?'

Group 20 is built upon the difference between VP1 [smoke] and VP2 [smoke before class]. The possibility claim to be judged was 'can it be the case that Natalia Antonovna smokes after class?'.

When VP1 is negated, the possibility claim is expected to be false, and when VP2 is negated, the possibility claim is expected to be true.

(76)    Polar particle stimuli of Group 20.

Question.    *Kurjat=li vaši   prepody  (pered zanjatijami)?*
smoke=Q  your  teachers  before  classes
'Do your teachers smoke (before class)?'

Answer.    *Natalija Antonovna net, a    ostal'nye da.*
Natalia   Antonovna not but others    yes
'Natalia Antonovna doesn't, but the others do.'

To judge.    *Možet=li byt' tak, čto  Natalija Antonovna kurit    posle zanjatij?*
can=Q    be  so   that Natalia  Antonovna smokes after  classes
'Can it be the case that Natalia Antonovna smokes after class?'

(77)    Polar verb-stranding stimuli of Group 20.

Question.    *Kurjat=li vaši   prepody  (pered zanjatijami)?*
smoke=Q  your  teachers  before  classes
'Do your teachers smoke (before class)?'

Answer.    *Natalija Antonovna ne   kurit,   a    ostal'nye da.*
Natalia   Antonovna not smokes but others    yes
'Natalia Antonovna doesn't, but the others do.'

To judge.    *Možet=li byt' tak, čto  Natalija Antonovna kurit    posle zanjatij?*
can=Q    be  so   that Natalia  Antonovna smokes after  classes
'Can it be the case that Natalia Antonovna smokes after class?'

(78)  NARROW FOCUS stimuli of Group 20.

Question.    *Kto  iz    vašix prepodov  kurit    (pered zanjatijami)?*
who  from  your  teachers  smokes  before  classes
'Which of your teachers smokes before classes?'

Answer.    *Počti  vse.      Tol'ko Natalija Antonovna  ne   kurit.*
almost  everyone  only   Natalia  Antonovna  not  smokes
'Almost everyone. Only Natalia Antonovna doesn't smoke.'

To judge.    *Možet=li byt' tak, čto  Natalija Antonovna  kurit    posle zanjatij?*
can=Q    be   so    that Natalia  Antonovna  smokes  after  classes
'Can it be the case that Natalia Antonovna smokes after class?'

Group 21 is built upon the difference between VP1 [conduct the exam] and VP2 [conduct the exam alone]. The possibility claim to be judged was 'can it be the case that Lilija Sergeevna conducts the exam together with graduate students?'. When VP1 is negated, the possibility claim is expected to be false, and when VP2 is negated, the possibility claim is expected to be true.

(79)  POLAR PARTICLE stimuli of Group 21.

Question.    *Prinimajut=li vaši   prepody ekzamen (v odinočku)?*
conduct=Q    your teachers exam      alone
'Do your teachers conduct the exam (alone)?'

Answer.    *Lilija Sergeevna net, a    ostal'nye da.*
Lilija Sergeevna not but others    yes
'Lilija Sergeevna doesn't, but the others do.'

To judge.    *Možet=li byt' tak, čto  Lilija Sergeevna prinimaet ekzamen vmeste   s*
can=Q    be   so    that Lilija Sergeevna conducts  exam      together  with
*aspirantami?*
graduate.students
'Can it be the case that Lilija Sergeevna conducts the exam together with graduate students?'

(80)   POLAR VERB-STRANDING stimuli of Group 21.

    Question.    *Prinimajut=li vaši prepody ekzamen (v odinočku)?*
                      conduct=Q    your teachers exam    alone
                      'Do your teachers conduct the exam (alone)?'

    Answer.    *Lilija Sergeevna ne prinimaet, a ostal'nye da.*
                      Lilija Sergeevna not conducts but others yes
                      'Lilija Sergeevna doesn't, but the others do.'

    To judge.    *Možet=li byt' tak, čto Lilija Sergeevna prinimaet ekzamen vmeste s*
                      can=Q    be so that Lilija Sergeevna conducts exam    together with
                            *aspirantami?*
                            graduate.students
                      'Can it be the case that Lilija Sergeevna conducts the exam together with graduate students?'

(81)   NARROW FOCUS stimuli of Group 21.

    Question.    *Kto iz vašix prepodov prinimaet ekzamen (v odinočku)?*
                      who from your teachers conducts exam    alone
                      'Which of your teachers conducts exam (alone)?'

    Answer.    *Počti vse. Tol'ko Lilija Sergeevna ne prinimaet.*
                      almost everyone only Lilija Sergeevna not conducts
                      'Almost everyone. Only Lilija Sergeevna doesn't conduct the exam.'

    To judge.    *Možet=li byt' tak, čto Lilija Sergeevna prinimaet ekzamen vmeste s*
                      can=Q    be so that Lilija Sergeevna conducts exam    together with
                            *aspirantami?*
                            graduate.students
                      'Can it be the case that Lilija Sergeevna conducts the exam together with graduate students?'

Group 22 is built upon the difference between VP1 [berate the dean] and VP2 [berate the dean publicly]. The possibility claim to be judged was 'can it be the case that Olga Vjačeslavovna berates the dean in private?'. When VP1 is negated, the possibility claim is expected to be false, and when VP2 is negated, the possibility claim is expected to be true.

(82) POLAR PARTICLE stimuli of Group 22.

Question.    *Rugajut=li vaši prepody dekana (publično)?*
berate=Q    your teachers dean    publicly
'Do your teachers berate the dean publicly?'

Answer.    *Olga Vjačeslavovna net, a ostal'nye da.*
Olga Vjačeslavovna not but others    yes
'Olga Vjačeslavovna doesn't, but the others do.'

To judge.    *Možet=li byt' tak, čto Olga Vjačeslavovna rugaet dekana v kuluarax?*
can=Q    be so    that Olga Vjačeslavovna berate dean    in.private
'Can it be the case that Olga Vjačeslavovna berates the dean in private?'

(83) POLAR VERB-STRANDING stimuli of Group 22.

Question.    *Rugajut=li vaši prepody dekana (publično)?*
berate=Q    your teachers dean    publicly
'Do your teachers berate the dean publicly?'

Answer.    *Olga Vjačeslavovna ne rugaet, a ostal'nye da.*
Olga Vjačeslavovna not berates but others    yes
'Olga Vjačeslavovna doesn't, but the others do.'

To judge.    *Možet=li byt' tak, čto Olga Vjačeslavovna rugaet dekana v kuluarax?*
can=Q    be so    that Olga Vjačeslavovna berate dean    in.private
'Can it be the case that Olga Vjačeslavovna berates the dean in private?'

(84)   NARROW FOCUS stimuli of Group 22.

Question.   *Kto iz vašix prepodov rugaet dekana (publično)?*
who  from  your  teachers  berates  dean  publicly
'Which of your teachers berates the dean publicly?'

Answer.   *Počti vse.   Tol'ko Olga Vjačeslavovna ne rugaet.*
almost  everyone  only  Olga Vjačeslavovna  not  berates
'Almost everyone. Only Olga Vjačeslavovna doesn't berate the dean.'

To judge.   *Možet=li byt' tak, čto Olga Vjačeslavovna rugaet dekana v kuluarax?*
can=Q  be  so  that  Olga Vjačeslavovna  berate  dean  in.private
'Can it be the case that Olga Vjačeslavovna berates the dean in private?'

Group 23 is built upon the difference between VP1 [write on the whiteboard] and VP2 [write on the whiteboard neatly]. The possibility claim to be judged was 'can it be the case that Svetlana Viktorovna always has a chalk or a marker in her pocket?'. When VP1 is negated, the possibility claim is expected to be false, and when VP2 is negated, the possibility claim is expected to be true.

(85)   POLAR PARTICLE stimuli of Group 23.

Question.   *Pišut=li vaši prepody na doske (akkuratno)?*
write=Q  your  teachers  on  whiteboard  neatly
'Do your teachers write on the whiteboard neatly?'

Answer.   *Svetlana Viktorovna net, a ostal'nye da.*
Svetlana Viktorovna  not  but  others  yes
' Svetlana Viktorovna doesn't, but the others do.'

To judge.   *Možet=li byt' tak, čto u Svetlany Viktorovny v karmane vsegda est'*
can=Q  be  so  that  PREP  Svetlana Viktorovna  in  pocket  always  is

*mel ili marker?*
chalk  or  marker

'Can it be the case that Svetlana Viktorovna always has a chalk or a marker in her pocket?'

(86) POLAR VERB-STRANDING stimuli of Group 23.

Question. *Pišut=li vaši prepody na doske    (akkuratno)?*
write=Q your teachers on whiteboard neatly
'Do your teachers write on the whiteboard neatly?'

Answer. *Svetlana Viktorovna ne pišet, a   ostal'nye da.*
Svetlana Viktorovna not writes but others    yes
' Svetlana Viktorovna doesn't, but the others do.'

To judge. *Možet=li byt' tak, čto u    Svetlany Viktorovny v  karmane vsegda est'*
can=Q   be  so   that PREP Svetlana Viktorovna in pocket    always is
*mel   ili marker?*
chalk or marker
'Can it be the case that Svetlana Viktorovna always has a chalk or a marker in her pocket?'

(87) NARROW FOCUS stimuli of Group 23.

Question. *Kto iz    vašix prepodov pišet   na doske    (akkuratno)?*
who from your teachers  writes on whiteboard neatly
'Which of your teachers write on the whiteboard neatly?'

Answer. *Počti   vse.    Tol'ko Svetlana Viktorovna ne   pišet.*
almost everyone only   Svetlana Viktorovna not writes
'Almost everyone. Only Svetlana Viktorovna doesn't write on the whiteboard.'

To judge. *Možet=li byt' tak, čto u    Svetlany Viktorovny v   karmane vsegda est'*
can=Q   be  so   that PREP Svetlana Viktorovna in pocket    always is
*mel   ili marker?*
chalk or marker
'Can it be the case that Svetlana Viktorovna always has a chalk or a marker in her pocket?'

Group 24 is built upon the difference between VP1 [read das Kapital] and VP2 [read das Kapital in its entirety]. The possibility claim to be judged was 'can it be the case that Vasilisa Pavlovna only read the first volume of das Kapital?'. When VP1 is negated, the possibility claim is expected to be false, and when VP2 is negated, the possibility claim is expected to be true.

(88) POLAR PARTICLE stimuli of Group 24.

Question. *Čitali=li vaši prepody "Kapital" (polnost'ju)?*
Read=Q your teachers das.Kapital in.entirety
'Have your teachers read Das Kapital in its entirety?'

Answer. *Vasilisa Pavlovna net, a ostal'nye da.*
Vasilisa Pavlovna not but others yes
'Vasilisa Pavlovna haven't, but the others have.'

To judge. *Možet=li byt' tak, čto Vasilisa Pavlovna čitala tol'ko pervyj tom*
can=Q be so that Vasilisa Pavlovna read only first volume
*"Kapitala"?*
of.das.Kapital
'Can it be the case that Vasilisa Pavlovna has only read the first volume of das Kapital?'

(89) POLAR VERB-STRANDING stimuli of Group 24.

Question. *Čitali=li vaši prepody "Kapital" (polnost'ju)?*
Read=Q your teachers das.Kapital in.entirety
'Have your teachers read Das Kapital in its entirety?'

Answer. *Vasilisa Pavlovna ne čitala, a ostal'nye da.*
Vasilisa Pavlovna not read but others yes
'Vasilisa Pavlovna haven't, but the others have.'

To judge. *Možet=li byt' tak, čto Vasilisa Pavlovna čitala tol'ko pervyj tom*

can=Q be so that Vasilisa Pavlovna read only first volume

"*Kapitala*"?

of.das.Kapital

'Can it be the case that Vasilisa Pavlovna has only read the first volume of das Kapital?'

(90) Narrow focus stimuli of Group 23.

Question. *Kto iz vašix prepodov čital "Kapital" (polnost'ju)?*

who from your teachers writes on whiteboard

'Which of your teachers write on the whiteboard neatly?'

Answer. *Počti vse. Tol'ko Vasilisa Pavlovna ne čitala.*

almost everyone only Vasilisa Pavlovna not read

'Almost everyone. Only Vasilisa Pavlovna hasn't read it.'

To judge. *Možet=li byt' tak, čto Vasilisa Pavlovna čitala tol'ko pervyj tom*

can=Q be so that Vasilisa Pavlovna read only first volume

"*Kapitala*"?

of.das.Kapital

'Can it be the case that Vasilisa Pavlovna has only read the first volume of das Kapital?'

# B Experimental lists for Experiment 2

In this appendix, we present the experimental lists for Experiment 2. The groups were mixed in a Latin Square fashion such that each participant only encounters one stimulus from the group.

The core factor of interest is the list of the verbs that take non $e$-type arguments (since the list may contain confounds). The empoyled verbs were: *vesti* 'behave oneself' (it selects for an argumental adverb), *byt'* 'to be' (it selects for a predicate nominal), *nazvat'* 'call someone something' (it selects for a predicate nominal), *postupit'* 'act in a certain way' (it selects for an argumental adverb), *stat'* 'become' (it selects for a predicate nominal), *sčitat'* 'consider someone something' (it selects for a predicate nominal), *otnosit'sja* 'treat someone in a certain way' (it selects for an argumental adverb), *pobyt'* 'to be something for a period of time' (it selects for a predicate nominal), *naznačit'* 'appoint someone as something' (it selects for a predicate nominal), *obraščat'sja* 'treat someone in a certain way' (it selects for an argumental adverb), *vybrat'* 'choose someone as something' (it selects for a predicate nominal), *objavit'* 'proclaim someone as something' (it selects for a predicate nominal).

The groups of stimuli were created around the verbs with non $e$-type arguments: each group has only one such verb, and there are two groups per verb (the core difference lies in different embedding predicative control verbs). The groups consist of 8 filler sentences, 4 grammatical and 4 ungrammatical, and of 4 target sentences: ($\pm$E-TYPE; $\pm$EMBEDDED). Given that fillers were straightforwardly constructed from the corresponding target sentences and given that the core information about the target sentences is the verb with non $e$-type arguments, we only present half of target sentences in this Appendix.

(91) Target sentences of Group 1

    a. The (+E-TYPE; +EMBEDDED) sentence

        *Vasja soglasilsja narugat' Mašu, a    Petja narugat' otkazalsja.*

        Vasja agreed    scold    Masha but Petja scold    refused

        'Vasja agreed to scold Masha, but Petja refusedd to

b. The (−e-type; +embedded) sentence

*Vasja soglasilsja vesti   sebja   xorošo, a   Petja vesti   otkazalsja.*
Vasja agreed     behave himself well     but Petja behave refused
'Vasja agreed to himself well, but Petja refused to.'

c. The (+e-type; −embedded) sentence

*Vasja narugal Mašu. A   Petja ne   narugal.*
Vasja scolded Masha but Petja not scold
Vasja scolded Masha, but Petja did not.

d. The (−e-type; −embedded) sentence

*Vasja vel       sebja   xorošo. A   Petja ne   vel.*
Vasja behaved himself well.     But Petja not behaved
'Vasja behaved well, but Petja did not.'

(92)   Target sentences of Group 2

a. The (+e-type; +embedded) sentence

*Stepa soglasilsja poperčit' sup,   a   Paša   poperčit' otkazalsja.*
Stiopa agreed     pepper   soup, but Pasha pepper   refused
'Stiopa agreed to pepper the soup, but Pasha refused to.

b. The (−e-type; +embedded) sentence

*Stepa   soglasilsja byt' menedžerom, a   Paša   byt' otkazalsja.*
Stiopa agreed     be   manager,     but Pasha be   refused
'Stiopa agreed to be a manager, but Pasha refused to.

c. The (+e-type; −embedded) sentence

*Stepa poperčil   sup,   a   Paša   ne   poperčil.*
Stepa peppered soup but Pasha not peppered
Vasja peppered the soup, but Pasha didn't.

d. The (−E-TYPE; −EMBEDDED) sentence

*Stepa   byl   menedžerom.   A   Paša   ne   byl.*
Stiopa  was  manager      but  Pasha  not  was
'Stiopa was a manager but Pasha wasn't.'

(93)   Target sentences of Group 3

a. The (+E-TYPE; +EMBEDDED) sentence

*Danja soglasilsja prodat' mašinu, a   Goša   prodat' otkazalsja.*
Danja agreed     sell    car,    but Gosha sell     refused
'Danja agreed to sell his car, but Gosha refused to.

b. The (−E-TYPE; +EMBEDDED) sentence

*Danja soglasilsja nazvat' dočku   Mašej, a   Goša   nazvat' otkazalsja.*
Danja agreed      name   daughter Masha, but Gosha name    refused
'Danja agreed to name his daughter Masha, but Gosha refused to.

c. The (+E-TYPE; −EMBEDDED) sentence

*Danja prodal mašinu, a   Goša   ne   prodal.*
Danja sold   car     but Gosha not  sold
'Danja sold his car, but Gosha didn't.'

d. The (−E-TYPE; −EMBEDDED) sentence

*Danja nazval dočku   Mašej, a   Goša   ne   nazval.*
Danja named daugher Masha but Gosha not  named
'Danja named his daugher Masha but Gosha didn't.'

(94) Target sentences of Group 4

    a. The (+E-TYPE; +EMBEDDED) sentence

       *Rita soglasilas' ukrasit' tort, a    Lilja ukrasit' otkazalas'.*

       Rita agreed    decorate cake but Lilja decorate refused.

       'Rita agreed to decorate the cake but Lilja refused to.'

    b. The (−E-TYPE; +EMBEDDED) sentence

       *Rita soglasilas' stat'    deputatom, a    Lilja stat'    otkazalas'.*

       Rita agreed    become MP,    but Lilja become refused

       'Rita agreed to come an MP, but Lilja refused to.

    c. The (+E-TYPE; −EMBEDDED) sentence

       *Rita ispekla tort, a    Lilja ne  ispekla.*

       Rita baked  cake but Lilja not baked

       'Rita baked a cake, but Lilja didn't'.

    d. The (−E-TYPE; −EMBEDDED) sentence

       *Rita stala    deputatom, a    Lilja ne   stala.*

       Rita became MP    but Lilja not became

       'Rita became an MP, but Lilja didn't.'

(95) Target sentences of Group 5

    a. The (+E-TYPE; +EMBEDDED) sentence

       *Rita soglasilas' ukrasit' tort, a    Lilja ukrasit' otkazalas'.*

       Rita agreed    decorate cake but Lilja decorate refused.

       'Rita agreed to decorate the cake but Lilja refused to'.

    b. The (−E-TYPE; +EMBEDDED) sentence

       *Rita soglasilas' stat'    deputatom, a    Lilja stat'    otkazalas'.*

       Rita agreed    become MP,    but Lilja become refused

       'Rita agreed to come an MP, but Lilja refused to.

c. The (+E-TYPE; −EMBEDDED) sentence

*Rita ispekla tort, a   Lilja ne   ispekla.*

Rita baked  cake but Lilja not baked

'Rita baked a cake, but Lilja didn't.'

d. The (−E-TYPE; −EMBEDDED) sentence

*Rita stala     deputatom, a   Lilja ne   stala.*

Rita became MP        but Lilja not became

'Rita became an MP, but Lilja didn't.'

(96)   Target sentences of Group 6

a. The (+E-TYPE; +EMBEDDED) sentence

*Sereža   soglasilsja zapravit' mašinu, a    Kirill zapravit' otkazalsja.'.*

Serezha agreed     fill      car     but Kirill fill      refused.

'Serezha agreed to fill the car but Kirill refused to.'

b. The (−E-TYPE; +EMBEDDED) sentence

*Sereža   soglasilsja sčitat'   Mašu ubijcej, a   Kirill sčitat'    otkazalsja.*

Serezha agreed     consider Masha killer,  but Kirill consider refused

'Serezha agreed to consider Masha a killer but Kirill refused to.'

c. The (+E-TYPE; −EMBEDDED) sentence

*Sereža   zapravil mašinu, a   Kirill ne   zapravil.*

Serezha filled    car      but Kirill not filled

'Serezha filler the car, but Kirill didn't.'

d. The (−E-TYPE; −EMBEDDED) sentence

*Sereža   sčital     Mašu  ubijcej, a   Kirill ne   sčital.*

Serezha considered Masha killer   but Kirill not considered

'Serezha considered Masha a killer but Kirill didn't.'

(97)   Target sentences of Group 7

a.  The (+E-TYPE; +EMBEDDED) sentence

*Vasja soglasilsja vstretit' Mašu, a    Petja vstretit' otkazalsja.*

Vasja agreed     meet    Masha but Petja meet    refused.

'Vasja agreed to meet Masha but Petja refused to.'

b.  The (−E-TYPE; +EMBEDDED) sentence

*Vasja soglasilsja otnosit'sja k  Maše   uvažitel'no,   a   Petja otnosit'sja otkazalsja*

Vasja agreed     treat      to Masha with.respect, but Petja treat     refused

'Vasja agreed to treat Masha with respect but Petja refused to.'

c.  The (+E-TYPE; −EMBEDDED) sentence

*Vasja vstretil Mašu,  a    Petja ne   vstretil.*

Vasja met     Masha, but Petja not met

'Vasja met Masha but Petja didn't.'

d.  The (−E-TYPE; −EMBEDDED) sentence

*Vasja otnosilsja k  Maše   uvažitel'no,   a   Petja ne   otnosilsja.*

Vasja treated    to Masha with.respect but Petja not treated

'Vasja treated Masha with respect but Petja didn't.'


(98)   Target sentences of Group 8

a.  The (+E-TYPE; +EMBEDDED) sentence

*Stepa   soglasilsja počinit' velosiped, a   Paša  počinit' otkazalsja.*

Stiopa agreed     fix    bike     but Pasha fix     refused.

'Stiopa agreed to fix the bike but Pasha refused to.'

b.  The (−E-TYPE; +EMBEDDED) sentence

*Stepa   soglasilsja pobyt' klounom na dne roždenija, a   Paša   pobyt' otkazalsja.*

Stiopa agreed     be    clown    on birthday,      but Pasha be     refused

'Vasja agreed to be the clown on the birthday but Petja refused to.'

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c. The (+E-TYPE; −EMBEDDED) sentence

*Stepa  počinil velosiped, a    Paša   ne  počinil.*

Stiopa fixed   bike,       but Pasha not fixed

'Vasja fixed the bike but Pasha didn't.'

d. The (−E-TYPE; −EMBEDDED) sentence

*Stepa pobyl klounom na dne roždenija, a    Paša   ne  pobyl.*

Vasja was   clown   on birthday      but Pasha not was

'Vasja was a clown on the birthday for a time, but Pasha wasn't.'

(99)  Target sentences of Group 9

a. The (+E-TYPE; +EMBEDDED) sentence

*Danja soglasilsja podpisat' peticiju, a    Goša   podpisat' otkazalsja.*

Danja agreed    sign     petition but Gosha sign      refused.

'Danja agreed to sign the petition but Gosha refused to.'

b. The (−E-TYPE; +EMBEDDED) sentence

*Danja soglasilsja naznačit' Nikitu pomoščnikom, a    Goša   naznačit' otkazalsja.*

Danja agreed     appoint Nikita assistant,      but Pasha appoint   refused

'Danja agreed to appoint Nikita his assistant but Pasha refused to.'

c. The (+E-TYPE; −EMBEDDED) sentence

*Danja podpisal peticiju, a    Goša   ne  podpisal.*

Danja signed   petition but Gosha not signed

'Danja signed the petition but Gosha didn't.'

d. The (−E-TYPE; −EMBEDDED) sentence

*Danja naznačil   Nikitu pomoščnikom, a    Goša   ne  naznačil.*

Danja appointed Nikita assistant       but Pasha not appointed

'Danja appointed Nikita his assistant but Pasha didn't.'

(100)  Target sentences of Group 10

    a.  The (+E-TYPE; +EMBEDDED) sentence

       *Griša   soglasilsja vyključit' duxovku, a   Vova vyključit' otkazalsja.*

       Grisha agreed      turn.off  oven      but Vova turn.off   refused.

       'Grisha agreed to turn off the oven but Vova refused to.'

    b.  The (−E-TYPE; +EMBEDDED) sentence

       *Griša   soglasilsja obraščat'sja s   Kolej laskovo, a   Vova obraščat'sja otkazalsja.*

       Grisha agreed      treat       with Kolja kindly,  but Vova treat        refused

       'Grisha agreed to treat Kolja kindly but Vova refused to.'

    c.  The (+E-TYPE; −EMBEDDED) sentence

       *Griša   vyključil   duxovku, a   Vova ne   vyključil*

       Grisha turned.off oven      but Vova not turned.off

       'Grisha turned off the oven but Vova didn't.'

    d.  The (−E-TYPE; −EMBEDDED) sentence

       *Griša   obraščalsja s   Kolej laskovo, a   Vova ne   obraščalsja.*

       Grisha treated      with Kolja kindly   but Vova not treated

       'Grisha treated Kolja kindly but Vova didn't.'

(101)  Target sentences of Group 11

    a.  The (+E-TYPE; +EMBEDDED) sentence

       *Andrej soglasilsja zakryt' dver', a   Fedja zakryt' otkazalsja.*

       Andrej agreed      close  door but Fedja close   refused.

       'Andrej agreed to close the door but Fedja refused to.'

b. The (−e-type; +embedded) sentence

*Ximiki soglasilis' vybrat' gumanitarija dekanom, a fiziki vybrat'*
chemists agreed choose humantities.person dean, but physicists choose

   *otkazalis'.*
   refused

'The chemists agreed to choose a humanities person as dean, but the physicists refused to.'

c. The (+e-type; −embedded) sentence

*Andrej zakryl dver', a Fedja ne zakryl.*
Andrej closed door but Fedja not closed

'Andrej closed the door but Fedja didn't.'

d. The (−e-type; −embedded) sentence

*Ximiki vybrali gumanitarija dekanom, a fiziki ne vybrali.*
chemists chose humantities.person dean but physicists not chose

'The chemists chose a humanities person as dean but the physicists didn't.'

(102)   Target sentences of Group 12

a. The (+e-type; +embedded) sentence

*Varja soglasilas' udalit' eti dokumenty, a Lilja udalit' otkazalas'.*
Varja agreed delete these documents but Lilja delete refused.

'Varja agreed to delete these documents but Lilja refused to.'

b. The (−e-type; +embedded) sentence

*Varja soglasilas' objavit' Ritu vinovatoj, a Lilja objavit' otkazalas'.*
Varja agreed proclaim Rita guilty but Lilja proclaim refused

'Varja agreed to proclaim Rita guilty, but Lilija refused to.'

c. The (+E-TYPE; −EMBEDDED) sentence

*Varja udalila eti    dokumenty, a    Lilja  ne   udalila.*
Varja  deleted  these  documents  but  Lilja  not  deleted

'Varja deleted these documents but Lilja didn't.'

d. The (−E-TYPE; −EMBEDDED) sentence

*Varja ob″javila    Ritu vinovatoj, a    Lilja  ne   ob″javila.*
Varja  proclaimed  Rita  guilty      but  Lilja  not  proclaimed

'Varja proclaimed Rita guilty but Lilja didn't.'