

# FREESTANDING NEGATIVE CONCORD ITEMS IN RUSSIAN\*

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## 1. Introduction

This paper explores Russian negative concord within a Minimalist syntax framework (Chomsky 1995, 1999, Bošković 2005, 2007). To informally introduce the target data, for a sentence that contains two items carrying negative morphology, two readings may in principle be possible: negative concord and double negation. On the **negative concord** reading of a negative sentence with two lexical items carrying negative morphology, only sentential negation carries negative meaning. This is illustrated by the Russian sentence (1), where out of two lexical items with negative morphology, *ne* and *ničego*, only *ne*, which is sentential negation, carries negative meaning. The word *ničego* has negative morphology, *n-*, but it does not carry negative meaning. It is an n-word, or a negative concord item.

On the **double negation** reading, the two items carrying negative morphology both have negative meaning and for this reason cancel each other out, leading to an affirmative interpretation. This situation is illustrated in (2). Sentence (2) negates the sentence in (1) with the help of the negative noun *nepravda* ('not-truth'). *Nepravda* is not an n-word, and the negative morphology it carries, *ne-*, gives it the power to negate its complement clause. This complement clause contains sentential negation *ne*, and *ne* and *nepravda* cancel each other out, leading to an affirmative interpretation.

(1) Ivan **ne** znaet ničego.  
Ivan not knows n-what  
'Ivan does not know anything.'

(2) **Nepravda**, čto Ivan **ne** znaet ničego.  
Not-truth that Ivan not knows n-what.  
'It is not the case that Ivan knows nothing.' (i.e., Ivan knows something.)

This paper discusses two cases of Russian negative concord which I refer to as the core case and the extraordinary case. In the core case, sentential negation is required to license n-words, as shown in (3). Examples in (3) are grouped into minimal pairs that differ only in the presence or absence of sentential negation *ne*. In the grammatical cases, the n-words occur in

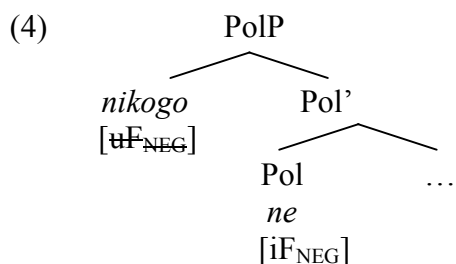
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sentences that also contain sentential negation. In the ungrammatical cases, sentential negation is absent. This holds equally for n-word subjects (3a, a'), adjuncts (3b, b'), and objects (3c, c').

- (3) a. Nikto **ne** xotel uxodit'.  
 N-who not wanted to-leave  
 'Nobody wanted to leave.'
- a'. \*Nikto xotel uxodit'.  
 N-who wanted to-leave  
 'Nobody wanted to leave.'
- b. Muzyka Betxovena nikogda/nigde **ne** ustareet.  
 Music Beethoven.Gen n-when/n-where not become old-fashioned  
 'Beethoven's music will (never) become old-fashioned (nowhere).'
- b'. \*Muzyka Betxovena nikogda/nigde ustareet.  
 Music Beethoven.Gen n-when/n-where become old-fashioned  
 'Beethoven's music will (never) become old-fashioned (nowhere).'
- c. Ja nikogo **ne** videl.  
 I n-who not saw  
 'I didn't see anybody.'
- c'. \*Ja nikogo videl.  
 I n-who saw  
 'I didn't see anybody.'

The core case of Russian negative concord has been given a syntactic description in (Brown 1999). Brown argues that n-words carry an uninterpretable negative feature  $uF_{NEG}$ , and the sentential negation carries an interpretable negative feature  $iF_{NEG}$ . Sentential negation heads its own functional projection that I will refer to as Pol(arity) P(hrase)<sup>1</sup>. N-words undergo movement to the specifier of PolP to have their  $uF_{NEG}$  checked (4).



(based on Brown 1999)

<sup>1</sup> I follow here the terminology of Progovac (2005a, b).

Besides the core case of negative concord in Russian that Brown (1999) successfully captures, there exists what I call the ‘extraordinary’ case. In these sentences, sentential negation is absent, the n-words are apparently freestanding, but the sentences are nevertheless grammatical, as in (5):

- (5) a. Kto byl ničem, tot stanet vsem.  
 Who was n-what, that-person will-become everything  
 ‘Those who were nothing will become everything.’
- b. Ja sčitaju tvoego brata nikem.  
 I consider your brother n-who.INSTR  
 ‘I consider your brother a nobody.’
- c. Ty isčez v nikuda.  
 You disappeared into n-where  
 ‘You disappeared into nowhere.’

The following question arises with respect to (5): is the usage of n-words exemplified in (5) limited to set expressions, or are the n-words in (5) different lexical items from those in (3), or is there a syntactic explanation for (5), perhaps along the lines of (4)? In this paper, I suggest a syntactic explanation of (5). The reason for this choice is the following. After a careful analysis of Russian freestanding n-words (Fitzgibbons 2007), I have come to the conclusion that the usage exemplified in (5) is restricted to certain environments, which suggests that the phenomenon is syntactic. My empirical generalization is the following:

(6) **GENERALIZATION**

Freestanding n-words are possible in two environments in Russian: small clause predicates and complements of prepositions.

My goals in this paper are to account for the generalization in (6) and provide a theory of n-word licensing in Russian that accounts for both licensed and freestanding n-words. The paper is organized as follows. Section 1 discusses two kinds of negation in Russian. Section 2 looks into meanings of freestanding n-words under negation and concludes that Russian has two negative heads: sentential negation head *ne* (SN) and the phonologically null negative head  $\emptyset_{\text{NEG}}$ . In the two sections that follow, I show what the  $\emptyset_{\text{NEG}}$  head does, and how. To this end, Section 3 discusses some aspects of the structure of small clauses, and Section 4 discusses some aspects of the structure of PPs. In Section 5, I present my theory of n-word licensing in Russian based on Bošković (2005, 2007). The final section is the conclusion.

**2. Two Kinds of Negation in Russian**

Russian has two kinds of negation, sentential negation and constituent negation. Both are expressed by the word *ne*, but differ in scope in the following way.

When negation is sentential, the predicate is negated and the sentence as a whole is negative. This is the case in sentence (7) which says, informally, that there was no buying situation such that Ivan was the agent of it and a Honda – the thing bought:

- (7) Ivan            ne    kupil    Xondu.  
Ivan.NOM   not bought   Honda.ACC

‘Ivan has not bought a Honda.’

Constituent negation differs from sentential negation in that a constituent that is not the predicate is negated. The sentence as a whole is affirmative. For example, (8a) says that there was a buying situation such that Ivan was the agent and the thing bought was not a Honda but a Toyota. (8b) says that there was a buying situation such that the thing bought was a Toyota, but the agent was not Ivan, but Pavel. Finally, (8c) says that there was a situation in which Ivan, the agent, acquired a Toyota, but it was not a buying situation, it was a card game situation.

- (8) a. Ivan                    kupil    ne    Xondu,            a            Tojotu.  
Ivan.NOM            bought not    Honda.ACC   but        Toyota.ACC

‘Ivan bought a Toyota, not a Honda.’

- b. Ne            Ivan            kupil    Xondu,            a    Pavel.  
Not            Ivan.NOM    bought   Honda.ACC, but Pavel.NOM

‘Not Ivan but Pavel bought a Honda.’

- c. Ivan            ne    kupil    Tojotu,            a    vyigral v karty.  
Ivan.NOM   not bought   Toyota.ACC, but won    in cards

‘Ivan did not buy the Toyota, he won it playing cards.’

Only sentential negation licenses negative concord items, as shown in (9). (9a) contains an n-word and a clausemate sentential negation and is grammatical. (9b-d) contain constituent negation and n-words, and are not grammatical.<sup>2</sup>

- (9) a. Ivan            ne    kupil    ničego.  
Ivan.NOM   not bought   n-what.GEN

‘Ivan has not bought anything.’

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<sup>2</sup> The question arises why this difference should exist – after all, the same word, *ne*, is used for both sentential and constituent negation. I would like to tentatively suggest that, whereas sentential negation is a head, constituent negation is a maximal projection of this head in an adjoined position, following Zanuttini (1997). This would explain why constituent negation does not license n-words. N-words move to Spec, PolP to have their uninterpretable negative feature checked. Nevertheless, to the best of my knowledge, items do not move into adjuncts for feature checking. I am grateful to Željko Bošković (p.c.) for this suggestion.

- b. \*Ivan kupil ne ničto / ničego, a Tojotu.  
 Ivan.NOM bought not n-what.ACC/ n-what.GEN but Toyota.ACC  
 ‘Ivan bought a Toyota, not nothing.’
- c. \*Ne Ivan kupil ničto / ničego, a Pavel.  
 Not Ivan.NOM bought n-what.ACC/ n-what.GEN, but Pavel.NOM  
 ‘Not Ivan but Pavel bought nothing.’
- d. \*Ivan ne kupil ničto / ničego, a vyigral v karty.  
 Ivan.NOM not bought n-what.ACC/ n-what.GEN, but won in cards  
 ‘Ivan did not buy nothing, he won it playing cards.’

### 3. Meanings of Freestanding N-Words under Negation

In Russian, there exists an important contrast between freestanding n-words and those licensed by sentential negation. N-words licensed by sentential negation allow only the negative concord reading (10). By contrast, freestanding n-words can lead to double negation readings if another negative element is present in the sentence (11).

- (10) Nikto ne xotel uxodit’.  
 N-who not wanted to-leave

√NC: ‘Nobody wanted to leave.’

\*DN: ‘Somebody wanted to leave.’

- (11) a. Vanja sčital Iru nikem.  
 Vanja considered Ira n-who  
 ‘Vanja considered Ira a nobody.’

- b. Vanja ne sčital Iru nikem.  
 Vanja not considered Ira.ACC n-who.INSTR

DN: ‘Vanja did not consider Ira a nobody.’ (he considered her a worthy person)

NC: ‘Vanja did not consider Ira anybody.’ (i.e. had no opinion of her)

How can we explain the possibility of the double negation reading in (11b)? The only sentence with a double negation reading we have seen so far is (2). In it, there were two items capable of negating a sentence, and they cancelled each other out. This is, in fact the only way a double negation meaning can arise. (11b) has a double negation reading as an option. I conclude that there is another, phonologically null, negative element present in (11b) on the double negation reading -  $\emptyset_{\text{NEG}}$ .  $\emptyset_{\text{NEG}}$  licenses the n-word on the DN reading of (11b) and, combining with *ne*, leads to the double negation reading. In the following two sections, I

discuss some aspects of the structure of small clauses and PPs and the place of  $\emptyset_{\text{NEG}}$  in this structure.

#### 4. Structure of Small Clauses

The small clauses relevant for this paper are ones that have NP and AP predicates. What is their structure? Baker (2003) argues that, crosslinguistically, Vs take subjects directly, Ns and As do not. Nevertheless, Ns and As in all languages can form predicates with the help of the functional category Pred(ication), which also received a detailed discussion in Bowers (2001, 1993). Semantically, the Pred operator maps individuals to propositional functions (Chierchia 1985).

A negated small clause, then, contains at least two functional projections, PredP and PolP, as shown in (12a). (12b) is the structure I propose for (11b) on the negative concord reading, (12c) is the structure I propose for (11b) on the double negation reading. The difference between (12b) and (12c) is in the presence or absence of PolP in the small clause. When the small clause has no PolP in it, the n-word that constitutes its predicate raises all the way to the specifier of the matrix PolP headed by *ne* to have its  $uF_{\text{NEG}}$  checked. The resulting reading is negative concord (12b). When a small clause has a PolP, it is headed by  $\emptyset_{\text{NEG}}$ , and the n-word moves to the specifier of this PolP. A lower copy of the n-word is pronounced in both (12b) and (12c).<sup>3</sup>

(12) a. [<sub>PolP</sub>  $\emptyset_{\text{NEG}}$  [<sub>PredP</sub> NP [<sub>Pred'</sub>  $\emptyset_{\text{Pred}}$  [<sub>NP/AP</sub> ...]]]]

<sup>3</sup> What happens if the n-word is the subject of a small clause, not the predicate? Empirically, a sentence like that is not grammatical:

- (i) \*Ja sčítaju nikogo idiotom.  
I consider n-who idiot  
'I do not consider anyone an idiot.'

I suggest that the n-word in this case undergoes improper movement. First, it moves to Spec, PolP to have its uninterpretable negative feature checked. This movement is A'-movement. Next, it moves to a position within the matrix VP for Case, and this is an A-movement (iia). This situation does not arise in tensed clauses because in them, PolP dominates TP, so the A-movement for Case happens before A'-movement to Spec, PolP (iib, b').

(ii) a. \*Ja sčítaju [<sub>VP</sub> nikogo<sub>i</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> ... [<sub>PolP</sub> t<sub>i</sub>  $\emptyset_{\text{NEG}}$  [<sub>PredP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> [<sub>Pred'</sub> ... idiotom]]]]].  
A-movement                      A'-movement

- b. Nikto ne uexal.  
n-who not left  
'No one has left.'

b'. [<sub>PolP</sub> nikto<sub>i</sub> ne [<sub>TP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> ... [<sub>VP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> ... uexal]]]  
A'-movement                      A-movement

- b. NC: [<sub>PolP</sub> ~~n-word~~ ne V NP<sub>i</sub> [<sub>PredP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> [<sub>∅</sub><sub>Pred</sub> [<sub>NP/AP</sub> n-word]]]]
- c. DN: [<sub>PolP</sub> ne V NP<sub>i</sub> [<sub>PolP</sub> ~~n-word~~ ∅<sub>NEG</sub> [<sub>PredP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> [<sub>∅</sub><sub>Pred</sub> [<sub>NP/AP</sub> n-word]]]]]

## 5. Structure of PPs and the Necessity of a Negative Head in Some PPs

Small clauses are one environment where freestanding n-words occur in Russian, the other one is PPs. In the previous section I suggested that the freestanding n-words in small clauses are in fact licensed by the phonetically null negative head  $\emptyset_{\text{NEG}}$ . I argued for the possibility of PolP headed by  $\emptyset_{\text{NEG}}$  in small clauses on the basis of the ambiguity observed in (11b). Is there similar evidence showing that freestanding n-words within PPs also licensed by  $\emptyset_{\text{NEG}}$ ? Indeed, ambiguities similar to that found for small clauses can also be observed in PPs, although they are rare. One example of the relevant ambiguity is given in (13). The sentence in (13a) can be used in two different situations, and these two uses correspond to the double negation and the negative concord reading:

- (13) a. Dokladčik obraščaetsja ni k komu.  
 Speaker addresses n to who.DAT  
 ‘The speaker directs his talk to nobody (i.e. does not look at the audience).’
- b. Dokladčik ne obraščaetsja ni k komu.  
 Speaker not addresses n to who.DAT  
 DN: ‘The speaker does not direct his talk to nobody.’ (The thing is, he is almost blind and is not sure where the audience is.)
- c. Dokladčik ne obraščaetsja ni k komu.  
 Speaker not addresses n to who.DAT  
 NC: ‘The speaker does not address anybody.’ (He just likes to listen to his own voice.)

The examples in (13) indicate that in fact PPs have the option of having a PolP headed by  $\emptyset_{\text{NEG}}$  in their functional layer. What is the functional layer of a PP like and where can PolP fit in it? Bošković (2004) argues that extended PPs have a clause-like structure. In fact, they are CP-like with respect to locality. I will thus refer to the topmost functional projection in an extended PP as a CP/PP. Based on Baker (2003) and Bowers (2001, 1993), I will assume that the minimal requirement for clausal status for a non-verbal phrase is PredP. A PredP dominates a PP, then, within the CP/PP, like in the case of nominal predicates a PredP dominates an NP or AP. Last but not least, Progovac (2005a, b) argues that adjunct PPs of manner and reason can have their own PolP. Based on the data in Fitzgibbons (2007), I extend Progovac’s insight to Russian data and say that any PP in Russian can have its own PolP. A possible structure of extended negated PPs in general is then as in (14a). (14b) is the structure of (13c), the negative concord reading of a CP/PP containing an n-word. The CP/PP has no

PolP of its own, and the n-word contained in it will have to move to the edge of the CP/PP to access the matrix negation. A lower copy of the n-word will be pronounced.<sup>4</sup> (14c) is the structure of (13b), the double negation reading. In this case, the CP/PP contains a PolP headed by  $\emptyset_{\text{NEG}}$ , which licenses the n-word. As the negative feature of  $\emptyset_{\text{NEG}}$  is interpretable,  $\emptyset_{\text{NEG}}$  and sentential negation cancel each other out.

- (14) a. [CP/PP [PolP  $\emptyset_{\text{NEG}}$  [PredP  $\emptyset_{\text{Pred}}$  [PP ...]]]]  
 b. NC: [ ... *ne* V [CP/PP *ni* [C' [PredP  $\emptyset_{\text{Pred}}$  [PP *k komu*]]]]]  
 c. DN: [ ... *ne* V [CP/PP [C' [PolP *ni* [Pol'  $\emptyset_{\text{NEG}}$  [PredP  $\emptyset_{\text{Pred}}$  [PP *k komu*]]]]]]]

## 6. A Syntactic Theory of N-Word Licensing in Russian

We have seen some similarities between small clauses and CP/PPs that set them apart from clauses with verbal predication. Small clauses and CP/PPs that contain n-words can lead to double negation readings, whereas clauses with verbal predication never do. I have suggested that this difference is due to the  $\emptyset_{\text{NEG}}$  head that may be present in small clauses and CP/PPs. In this section, I will propose a theory of n-word licensing in Russian based on Bošković (2005, 2007). My theory will include an account of the distribution of *ne* and  $\emptyset_{\text{NEG}}$ , a description of the feature make-up of n-words, *ne* and  $\emptyset_{\text{NEG}}$ , and concrete proposals about the checking relations between n-words and their licensors.

### 6.1. Co-occurrence Restrictions of the Sentential Negation Head *ne* and the $\emptyset_{\text{NEG}}$ Head

It can be easily seen that the  $\emptyset_{\text{NEG}}$  head cannot negate a sentence. The only way to say (15) in Russian is using the sentential negation *ne*, as in (15a).  $\emptyset_{\text{NEG}}$  cannot serve this purpose (15b).

- (15) Ivan kissed no-one.  
 a. Ivan *ne* poceloval nikogo.  
    Ivan not kissed n-who  
 b. \*Ivan  $\emptyset_{\text{NEG}}$  poceloval nikogo.  
    Ivan not kissed n-who

Zanuttini (1996) shows on the material of Italian dialects that sentential negation, when it is a head, co-occurs with TP. Based on Baker (2003), I suggest that CP/PPs do not have a TP. Small clauses have been argued by a number of authors not to have Tense either (Chomsky 1981, Bošković 1997, Guéron and Hoekstra 1995, Hoekstra 2004, among others). CP/PPs and

<sup>4</sup> For a discussion of pronunciation of lower copies in Serbo-Croatian, a language closely related to Russian, see for example, Stjepanović (2003).



small clauses are the only clause types in Russian have no Tense<sup>5</sup>. Then, the generalization in (6) above is perfectly in accord with Zanuttini's conclusion: *ne* co-occurs with TP, and the  $\emptyset_{\text{NEG}}$  head is the elsewhere case.  $\emptyset_{\text{NEG}}$  cannot negate a sentence because it does not co-occur with TP. Sentential negation *ne* cannot occur in small clauses and PPs because it co-occurs with Tense, and small clauses and CP/PPs lack it. (16) illustrates the partial clause structures I propose for verbal predication (16a), sentences containing small clauses (16b), and sentences containing CP/PP complements or adjuncts (16c).

- (16) a.  $[\text{PoIP } ne [\text{TP NP } [\text{VP } \dots ]]]$   
 b.  $[\text{TP NP } [\text{T}^{\circ} \text{T } [\text{VP } \text{V NP}_i [\text{PoIP } \emptyset_{\text{NEG}} [\text{PredP } t_i [\text{NP/AP } \dots ]]]]]]$   
 c.  $[\text{TP NP } [\text{T}^{\circ} \text{T } [\text{VP } \text{V } (\dots) [\text{CP/PP} [\text{PoIP } \emptyset_{\text{NEG}} [\text{PredP } [\text{PP } \dots ]]]]]]]]$

## 6.2. Feature Make-Up of $\emptyset_{\text{NEG}}$ and Sentential Negation *ne*

It is very easy to observe another difference between sentential negation *ne* and  $\emptyset_{\text{NEG}}$ : *ne* can negate a sentence without an n-word in it (17a), whereas  $\emptyset_{\text{NEG}}$  cannot occur in a clause with no n-word. This is illustrated in (17b) for CP/PPs.

- (17) a. Ivan did not sleep.  
 Ivan *ne* spal.  
 Ivan not slept  
 $[\text{TP NP}_i [\text{PoIP } ne [\text{VP } t_i \text{spal}]]]]]$
- b. Ivan went [PP/CP to Siberia].  
 i. Ivan poexal v Sibir'.  
 $[\text{CP/PP } [\text{PredP } \emptyset_{\text{Pred}} [\text{PP } v \text{Sibir}' ]]]]$   
 ii. \*Ivan poexal  $\emptyset_{\text{NEG}}$  v Sibir'.  
 'Ivan went not to Siberia.'  
 \* $[\text{CP/PP} [\text{PoIP } \emptyset_{\text{NEG}} [\text{PredP } \emptyset_{\text{Pred}} [\text{PP } v \text{Sibir}' ]]]]]]$ .

The conclusion is that the feature make-up of *ne* and  $\emptyset_{\text{NEG}}$  must be different: both can license n-words, but  $\emptyset_{\text{NEG}}$  is also itself dependent on n-words, whereas *ne* is not. In (18a), I

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<sup>5</sup> Russian sentential negation head *ne* appears in all clauses with a verbal predicate, including infinitives and subjunctives. On the theory I am advocating here, this means that Russian infinitives and subjunctives have Tense. That subjunctives and imperatives have Tense has been argued by Khomitsevich (2007) and Jensen (2003), respectively. As for infinitives, Stowell (1982) and Martin (2001) propose that control infinitives are specified for Tense, but ECM infinitives are not. Based on Brecht (1974), Lasnik (1998) shows that Russian lacks ECM infinitives. Russian infinitives, then, have Tense.

provide a description of the features of n-words for which there exists empirical evidence.<sup>6</sup> I will be treating the two interpretable features that Russian n-words have,  $iF_{IND(efinite)}$  and  $iF_{FOC(us)}$  as one feature that I will term  $iF_{N(egative)C(oncord)}$  (18b). (18c, d) list the relevant features that *ne* and  $\emptyset_{NEG}$  must have.

- (18) a.
- |                |                |                     |
|----------------|----------------|---------------------|
| ni - kto       |                |                     |
| <i>ni- who</i> |                |                     |
| └───┬───┘      |                |                     |
| n-             | -i-            | $iF_{IND(efinite)}$ |
| $uF_{NEG}$     | $iF_{FOC(us)}$ |                     |
- b. n-word:  $iF_{NC}, uF_{NEG}$   
 c.  $\emptyset_{NEG}$ :  $uF_{NC}, iF_{NEG}$   
 d. SN *ne*:  $iF_{NEG}$

We need a theory that incorporates Brown's (1999) checking relation between the sentential negation *ne* and n-words, on the one hand, and provides for the mutual dependence of n-words and  $\emptyset_{NEG}$ , on the other hand. The probe-goal framework of Chomsky (1999) will not work because in it, sentential negation *ne* will carry  $uF_{NEG}$  and be the probe, contrary to facts (15a). N-words will be the goal in the probe-goal framework, carrying  $iF_{NEG}$ , again contrary to facts (3a'–c'). In the following section, I present an alternative theory that captures the data correctly.

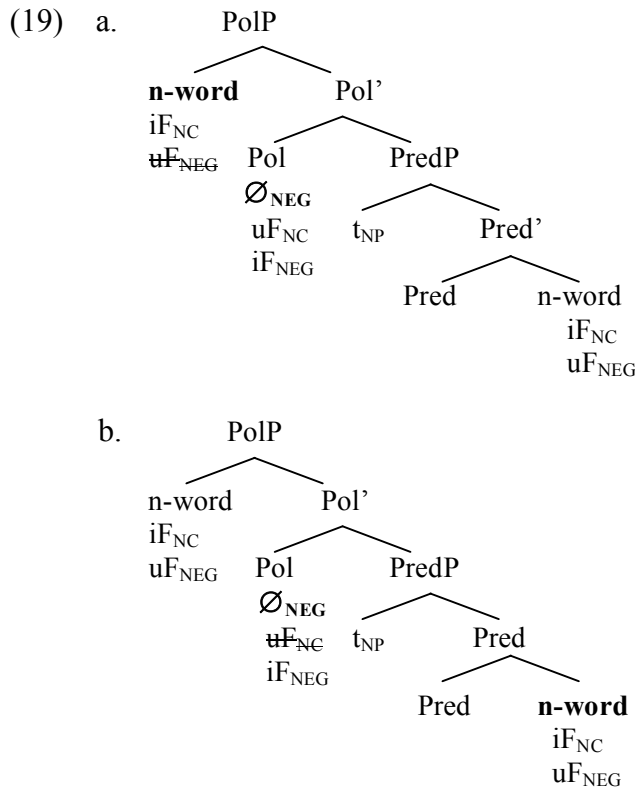
### 6.3. An Alternative Theory

Brown's (1999) movement analysis of negative concord licensing in Russian captures the core case of Russian negative concord very well and we want to preserve it. It is based on the important insight that the uninterpretable negative feature should be placed on the n-word, not on the negative head.

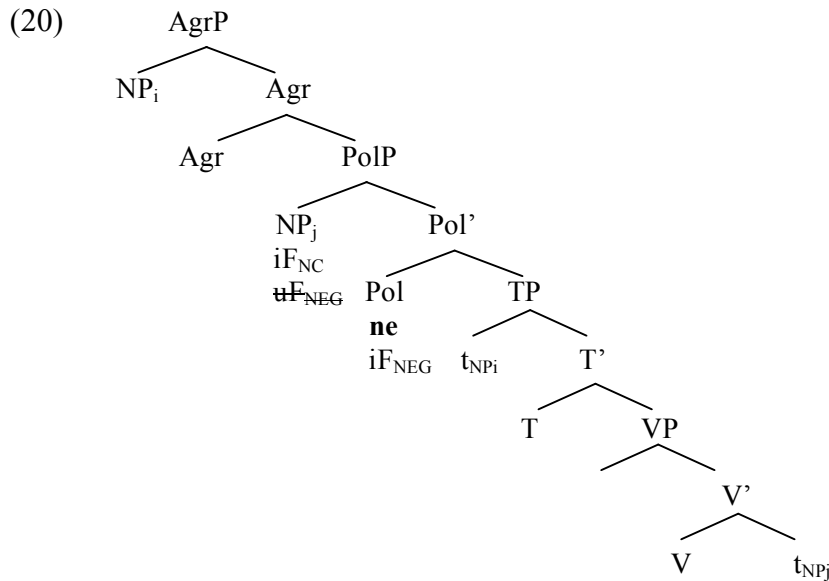
A syntactic theory that allows to formulate an account of Russian negative concord that captures both the core case and the extraordinary case while preserving the main ideas of Brown's (1999) account has been worked out in Bošković (2005, 2007). In this theory, the uninterpretable feature is placed on the moving element. An uninterpretable feature has to function as a probe (Epstein and Seely 2000). The probe needs to c-command a matching goal to check its uninterpretable features. If the probe merges in a position from which it c-commands the goal, no movement is required and uninterpretable features of the probe are checked in situ by pure Agree. If the probe merges in a position from which it does not c-command the goal, it undergoes successive-cyclic movement until it finds itself in a position from which it c-commands the goal.

<sup>6</sup> See Haspelmath (1997) for the analysis of Russian n-words into the negation *n-*, focus particle *-i-*, and a bare interrogative that can also be used as an indefinite.

To see how Bošković's (2005, 2007) theory captures the checking relation between Russian n-words and negative heads, we need to consider two situations:  $\langle \emptyset_{\text{NEG}}, \text{n-word} \rangle$  and  $\langle \text{sentential negation } ne, \text{n-word} \rangle$ . The diagrams in (19) illustrate how the checking relation works between  $\emptyset_{\text{NEG}}$  and an n-word in a small clause. As shown in (18a, b, c), both  $\emptyset_{\text{NEG}}$  and the n-word function as probes, and, moreover, each of them is an appropriate goal for the other. (19a) shows how the  $uF_{\text{NEG}}$  of an n-word gets checked. The n-word merges in a position below its goal,  $\emptyset_{\text{NEG}}$ , and undergoes successive-cyclic movement until it finds itself in Spec, PolP, where it c-commands the goal and gets its  $uF_{\text{NEG}}$  checked. (19b) shows how the  $uF_{\text{NC}}$  of  $\emptyset_{\text{NEG}}$  is checked.  $\emptyset_{\text{NEG}}$  merges in a position from which it c-commands its goal, the n-word. Hence  $\emptyset_{\text{NEG}}$  does not need to move, and its  $uF_{\text{NC}}$  gets checked in situ by pure Agree.



Let us now consider the pair  $\langle \text{sentential negation } ne, \text{n-word} \rangle$  to make sure Brown's (1999) analysis is not lost. (20) is a partial derivation of a negated clause. The n-word merges in the position of complement of V. Since it carries a  $uF_{\text{NEG}}$ , it functions as a probe. It undergoes successive-cyclic movement to Spec, PolP, where it gets its  $uF_{\text{NEG}}$  checked. The sentential negation head *ne* has no uninterpretable features and hence does not function as a probe, so the only agreement that takes place is between the  $uF_{\text{NEG}}$  of the moved n-word and the  $iF_{\text{NEG}}$  of sentential negation. This is completely in accordance with Brown's (1999) account.



## 7. Conclusion

I have established a novel empirical generalization that freestanding n-words are possible in Russian in small clause predicates and as complements of Ps. I have argued, based on the availability of double negation readings of freestanding n-words when sentential negation is present, that there are two negative heads in Russian, sentential negation *ne* and  $\emptyset_{\text{NEG}}$ . Freestanding n-words are in fact licensed by  $\emptyset_{\text{NEG}}$ . Following Zanuttini (1996), I have argued that the sentential negation head *ne* co-occurs with TP, whereas the other negative head,  $\emptyset_{\text{NEG}}$ , is the elsewhere case. I have also made specific suggestions about checking relations between  $\emptyset_{\text{NEG}}$  and n-words.

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