

NEGATED POLAR INTERROGATIVES IN RUSSIAN

Under scrutiny are Rus constructions like (1), which involve preposed negation in the context of a polar interrogative (NegYN). In addition to pointing out some previously unreported facts, I provide an analysis which bears on the behaviour of quantifiers and wh-indefinites. The key novel contribution involves the generalization that in Rus, wh-indefinites are not licensed by Q-operators as is standardly assumed; rather, they are licensed by an operator residing in Mood.

(1) Context:

A. Sergey promised to stop by at some point this week but didn't specify the day.

B. The speaker has evidence that somebody stopped by. It is also known that Sergey is a hermit and a misanthrope who rarely graces his friends with visits.

Ne zaxodil li Sergey segodnja? [NegYN]

neg stop.by Q Sergey today

(i) ^{OK} 'Did Sergey (not) stop by today?' = Could it be that Sergey stopped by today?
= Did Sergey surprise us with a visit today?

(ii) *'Didn't Sergey stop by today?'

English Y/N questions with preposed negation like (2) carry epistemic implicature, whereby the speaker believes or expects the positive answer to be true (Romero & Han 2004). Russian (1), though remarkably similar to its English kin from (2), is not necessarily biased towards a positive answer. (1) encodes either a conjecture or a surprise but lacks the implicature found in (2). To convey the sense of (2), a "biased" complementizer (*neuželi/razve* glossed as 'really' in (3)) is required. Observe further that the English "biased" sentence from (1)-ii is infelicitous in the contexts (1)-A/B suitable for Russian NegYNs.

(2) **Isn't** Jane coming?

(3) *Neuželi/razve Džejn ne pridet?*
really Jane neg come

In addition to forming YN questions by placing the verb before *li*, Rus has an option of fronting a non-verbal constituent, which gives rise to the focus construal of the fronted XP, as in (4). In its negated incarnation, such constructions serve to convey uncertainty or surprise: (4) is compatible with the context from (1)-B and imparts the surprise; in (5), the interlocutor casts doubt on the addressee's remark.

(4) **(Ne) Sergey li zaxodil segondja?**
neg Sergey Q stopped.by today

(5) Scenario: Boys are playing in the yard. They hear the voice of Mishka's mom, calling one of her two children.

A: Ne obraščajete vnimanija. Ona zovet Mašku. 'Don't mind her. She is calling Mashka.'

S: A ne Mišku li (ona zovet)?
and neg Mishka Q she calls

= Are you sure it's not Mishka she is calling?

These facts suggest that the negation element *ne* in such contexts is best treated as an evaluative Mood marker (as in Yoon 2011), which encodes the speaker's assessment of the event as (un)expected, (not) surprising or (un)fortunate. Assuming Cinque's (1999) hierarchy of functional projections in (6a), I endorse (6b) for Russian NegYN: the question marker *li* is in C, while Evaluative Mood is headed by *ne*. Sentences like (1) are derived as in (6c): the verb moves in a cyclic fashion forming a complex head with Eval and eventually *li*. XPs proceed in the manner of (6d): the negated constituent moves to Spec, EvalMoodP, and, following the incorporation of EvalMood *ne*, fronts to Spec, CP.

(6) a. Mood_{SPEECH ACT} > Mood_{EVALUATIVE} > Mood_{EVIDENTIAL} > Mod_{EPISTEMIC} > T...

b. [CP ___ **li=Q** [Eval Mood *ne* [TP ...]]]

c. [CP *ne+V+li=Q* [Eval Mood *t_{ne+V}* [TP ...*t_V*...]]]

d. [CP *ne XP li=Q* [Eval Mood *t_{ne+XP}* [TP ...*t_{XP}*...]]]

NegYNs show a curious interaction of quantifiers and indefinites. Standard wisdom holds that a wh-indefinite, an entity homophonous with a wh-word, can be licensed by a Q operator, as in (7) (Yanovich 2005). However, these commonly cited examples feature a "biased" complementizer in (7a) and a NegYN in (7b). The former, for one, is illicit in embedded clauses, as shown in (8a). In addition, *razve* attenuates the YN question with a degree of "surprise, uncertainty, doubt, and disbelief" (Русская грамматика 1980: 388). The latter can appear in embeds, but only under certain predicates: cf. (8b) with a non-factive vs. (8c) with a factive. Their meaning, as discussed above, likewise involves uncertainty or surprise. So, the

