

## Russian additive *i*\*

Aleksey Starchenko<sup>1</sup>, Alexey Kozlov<sup>1,2</sup>  
NRU HSE<sup>1,2</sup>, Institute of Linguistics RAS<sup>2</sup>

**Introduction.** In this talk, we are going to focus on the Russian focus particle *i* in its additive interpretation.

In this function *i* does not contribute to the at-issue meanings of the utterance, but adds an **additive** presupposition [Karttunen & Peters 1979]: there should be at least one true salient focus alternative distinct from the prejacent. For example, (1) presupposes that the speaker met at least one other person, apart from Masha.

- (1) *Ja i MAšu vstretil.*  
I.NOM.SG PTCL M.ACC.SG meet  
'I also met Masha.'

Additive particles split into two groups: non-scalar (e.g. English *also*, Russian *tože*) and scalar (e.g. English *even*, Russian *daže*) additive particles. The latter in addition to introducing additive presupposition ranks the associate of the particle as high on some contextually supplied (e.g. likelihood) scale.

*I* may have both non-scalar (1) and scalar (2) readings.

- (2) *Moja sobaka i oREkhi kušajet.* [A. Chekhov. The Cherry Orchard]  
my.F.NOM.SG dog.NOM.SG PTCL nut.ACC.PL eat.IPF.PRAES.3SG  
'My dog even eats NUTS.'

**Veridicality and preverbal *i*.** *I* exhibits different properties depending on whether it stands in a veridical context [Paducheva 1985, 2014, Zwarts 1995, Giannakidou 1998]. In particular, preverbal scalar *i* only occurs in non-veridical contexts (3), while there is no such a restriction for *i* used before arguments or adjuncts (4).

- (3) a. *Vasja i ne poševElsja!* {'let alone helping me to carry bags'}  
V.NOM.SG PTCL NEG move.PF.PST.3SG  
'Vasya did not even move!'  
b. *#Vasja mne i poklonIlsja!*<sup>3</sup>  
V.NOM.SG I.DAT PTCL bow.PF.PST.3SG  
Intended reading: 'Vasya even BOWed to me!'
- (4) a. *On i KNIG ne čitajet!*  
he.NOM.SG PTCL book.GEN.PL NEG read.IPF.PST.3SG  
'He does not even read BOOKS!'  
b. *On i KNIGi pišet!*  
he.NOM.SG PTCL book.ACC.PL write.IPF.PST.3SG  
'He even writes BOOKS!'

**Veridicality and scalar *i* with assymmetrically entailed alternatives.** Furthermore, scalar *i* in veridical environments is not accepted in some cases when alternatives on the scale are ordered by assymmetric logical entailment. Ordering of this kind is exemplified by (5a): if a runner covered half the distance, he or she necessarily started running.

- (5) a. <start, ..., run halfway, ..., reach the end of the distance>

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<sup>3</sup> It is in only case *i* is interpreted as an additive particle that (3) is infelicitous. Alternatively, it can yield a different meaning that be rendered by means of English cleft (*It was Vasya who bowed to me*) or be interpreted as the first part of a coordinating conjunction *i* X, *i* Y, which would require continuation, such as *...i obnjal* (PTCL hug) 'and hugged'.

{ Vasily is not really good at sports. He does not show good results at running marathons and usually gives up at the very beginning. }

- b. *#No segodnja Vasily i do konca dobežal.*  
 but today V.NOM.SG PTCL to end.GEN.SG run.PF.PST.3SG  
 ‘But today Vasilij even reached the END (of the distance)!’
- c. *Vasily i do srediny ne dobežal.*  
 V.NOM.SG PTCL to middle.GEN.SG NEG run.PF.PST.3SG  
 ‘Vasilij did not even reach the MIDDLE (of the distance)!’
- d. *Možet byt', Vasilij i do konca dobežal.*  
 may.IPF.PST.3SG be V.NOM.SG PTCL to end.GEN.SG run.PF.PST.3SG  
 ‘Maybe, Vasilij even reached the END (of the distance)!’

Thus, scalar *i* behaves differently in veridical and non-veridical contexts, showing properties of a negative polarity item (NPI).

**Licensing contexts** differ in the two cases given above. Compare examples (6–7) with negation at the matrix clause. *I* standing in front of an argument is acceptable in this context (6), preverbal *i* is ungrammatical (7a).

- (6) <sup>OK/?</sup> *Petja ne verit, čto Vasja i do srediny dobežal.*  
 V.NOM.SG NEG believe.IPF.PST.3SG that V.NOM.SG PTCL to middle.GEN.SG run.PF.PST.3SG  
 ‘Petja does not believe that Vasja even reached the MIDDLE (of the distance).’
- (7) a. *\*učitel' ne verit, čto Vasja i otkryVAL etu knigu.*  
 teacher.NOM.SG NEG believe.IPF.PST.3SG that V.NOM.SG PTCL open.PF.PST.3SG this.F.ACC.SG book.ACC.SG  
 Intended reading: ‘The teacher does not believe that Vasja even Opened this book’
- b. *Vasja i ne otkryVAL etu knigu.*  
 V.NOM.SG PTCL NEG open.PF.PST.3SG this.F.ACC.SG book.ACC.SG  
 Intended reading: ‘The teacher does not believe that Vasja even Opened this book’

Notice that regardless its position *i* does not occur in some downward entailing contexts, which usually license NPIs. For example, it is not possible within the restrictor of a quantifier:

- (8) a. *\*každyj učastnik, kotoryj dobežal i do srediny, molodec.*  
 every.M.NOM.SG participant.NOM.SG which.M.NOM.SG run.PF.PST.3SG PTCL to middle.GEN.SG fine.fellow.NOM.SG  
 Intended reading: ‘Every participant that reached at least the MIDDLE did well.’
- b. *\*každyj učenic, kotoryj i otkryl etu knigu, molodec.*  
 every.M.NOM.SG student.NOM.SG which.M.NOM.SG PTCL open.IPF.PST.3SG this.F.ACC.SG book.ACC.SG fine.fellow.NOM.SG  
 Intended reading: ‘Every student that at least Opened this book did well.’

In the talk we will further discuss the licensing contexts of both types of NPI *i*.

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