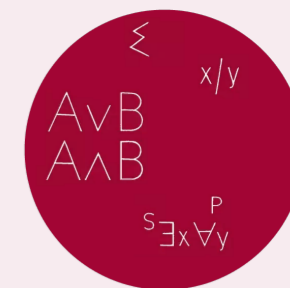


MANY WAYS TO COMPLEMENT ‘BETWEEN’ IN RUSSIAN

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INTRODUCTION

- Normally, the Russian preposition *meždu* ‘between, among’ requires a conjunctive or plural complement
- (1) On vsě vremja stoit **meždu** Novikovym i ej...
he all time stands between Novikov.INS.SG and she.INS
‘He is always standing between Novikov and her...’
- (2) I poslednij sovet direktorov pokazal, čto **meždu** vsemi
and last board director.GEN.PL showed that between all
akcionerami najden konsensus.
shareholder.INS.PL found consensus
‘The last [meeting of] the board of directors has shown that a consensus has been found between all shareholders’
- This is expected, given its collective meaning, to which correspond the ban on emphatic conjunction (Haspelmath 2005, p. 15) (3) and, most obviously, on referential and (in)definite singular complements (4)
- (3) **meždu* kak Mašej, tak i Sašej
between either Masha or Sasha
- (4) **meždu* Mišej / ètim čelovekom / kakim-to čelovekom
between Misha.INS / this.INS.SG man.INS.SG / some.INS.SG man.INS.SG

This poster:

- a range of deviations from this pattern (see Тискин 2017 for another deviation)
- an optimality-theoretic account based on the idea that collectivity is a **violable** constraint that is ranked relatively low (because it is understood anyway)
- ‘between most’ for comparison

SINGULAR COMPLEMENTS

If the semantic requirement for plurality is satisfied, the complement of *meždu* can be formally singular. This holds for Ns such as ‘pair’ or ‘group’.

- (5) Poètomu poètičeskie ljubovnye vzaimootnošenija **meždu** paroj
that’s.why poetic love relationships between pair.INS.SG
ljudej — èto značit tvorčeskie vzaimootnošenija...
person.GEN.PL this means creative relationships
‘This is why a poetic love relationship between the two is a creative one...’
- (6) Segodnja noč’ju u d. №1 po Finljandskomu pr. **meždu** gruppoj
today at.night near 1 at Finlyandsky avenue between group.INS.SG
rabočix na počve včerašnjix sobytij proizošla krupnaja ssora.
worker.GEN.PL on ground yesterday’s events happened large quarrel
‘A large quarrel happened tonight near 1 Finlyandsky avenue within a group of workers, inspired by yesterday’s events’

This feature is found in set expressions such as *meždu pročim* ‘by the way’ (*lit.* ‘between other.INS.SG’) and *meždu tem* ‘meanwhile’ (*lit.* ‘between that.INS.SG’).

DISTRIBUTIVE COMPLEMENTS

Distributive quantifier *každyj* ‘each’, which takes a singular NP and quantifies over individuals, not groups, can occur in the complement position of *meždu*:

- (7) Stali vxodit’, vystroivšis’ cepočkoj: **meždu každyj** iz
start.PST.PL enter.INF having.formed.GER chain.INS.SG between each.INS.SG of
nix šël žandarm.
they.GEN go.PST.SG.M gendarme
‘[They] started to enter in a queue; a gendarme was walking between each (two) of them’

WH-PECULIARITIES

Meždu is the only head in modern Russian taking conjunctions of case-matching wh-words (as opposed to ‘who and whom’ as in Chaves and Paperno 2007; Paperno 2012):

- (8) *Meždu čem i čem* budet vybirat’ Putin posle pereizbranija v
between what.INS and what.INS will choose Putin after re-election in
2004 godu?
2004 year
‘What are the options Putin will be choosing between after re-election in 2004?’
- (9) a. *meždu kem i kem* ‘between whom and whom’
b. ?*meždu kem i čem* seems to be used as ~ ‘between whom or what’
c. ?**meždu čem, čem i čem*

SCOPING OUT

- A universal quantifier can scope out of a conjunct embedded under *meždu* in violation of the Coordinate Structure Constraint (at LF). In (10), the salient reading is $\forall > \exists$.
- (10) A sečas budet očnaja stavka **meždu každyj iz vas i** Nikitskim.
and now will.be confrontation between each of you and Nikitsky
‘And now there will be a confrontation between each of you and Nikitsky’

ANALYSIS

- An analysis should take into account the positive evidence for collectivity in (3)–(4)
- Distributive complements are licit with a supporting lexical and contextual information about the arrangement of the objects discussed

Cf. different sorts of reciprocity, e.g. *punch each other* vs. *succeed each other to throne*, in Dalrymple et al. (1998), Schein (2003), and Nedjalkov, Geniušienė, and Guentchéva (2007).

... prisoners and gendarmes in (7)
 \forall pair of mutually closest: \exists in-between

... a coercible interpretation for ‘between each pair’
 \exists partition_i into pairs of mutually closest: \forall *i*-pairs \exists in-between not $\forall i$

... a possible interpretation for ‘between some’
 $\exists > 1$ pair of mutually closest: \exists in-between no Total Involvement of

a possible interpretation for ‘between all’

\forall pair of: \exists in-between does not respect the CHAIN architecture

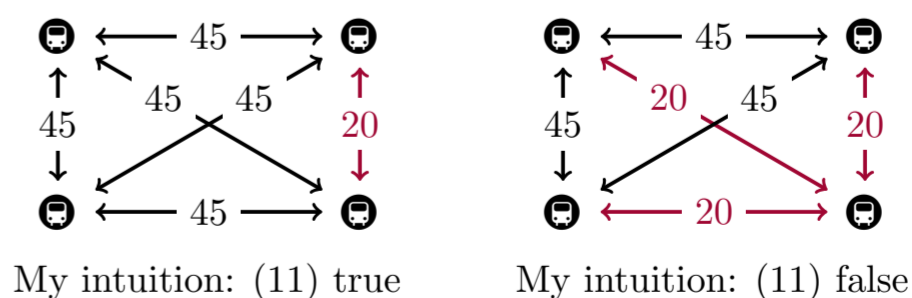
- Assume that COLLECTIVITY is a violable constraint on complements
- As usual for OT, none of the options may be perfect but the option o_i is chosen if it only violates constraints that are ranked lower than the highest ranked constraint $c(j)$ violated by any $o_j, j \neq i$. Strongest bans work against confusion:

	TI	CHAIN	$\forall i$	COLL
‘between some’	!*			*
‘between some pairs’	!*		*	
‘between all’		!*		
‘between all pairs’			!*	
☞ ‘between each’				*
‘between each pair’			!*	*

COMPARE: ‘BETWEEN MOST’

- (11) Po rasčëtam Xardvika, metro **meždu bol’šinstvom**
according.to calculations Hardwick.GEN underground between most
ostanovok edet so skorost’ju 40–50 kilometrov v čas.
stations travels with speed 40–50 kph
‘According to Hardwick’s calculations, the underground [train] travels at 40–50 kph between most stations’

Interpretation is coerced, too, as (11) quantifies over **pairs** of stations:



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- Examples:** Russian National Corpus. Thanks to Sergey Say and the anonymous reviewers for SLE.