On the locality of negative concord in Russian: An experimental study

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Annotation

The paper examines locality conditions on licensing Russian "negative" (*ni*-) pronouns in negative concord configurations. Drawing on experimental data we show that *ni*-pronouns can be licensed by the matrix negation in both subject and object control infinitives. We further argue that long-distance licensing occurs through expansion of the licensing domain to the inclusion of argumental infinitive clauses, and not through raising of *ni*-pronouns to the matrix clause.

Plan of the talk:

- 1. Negative concord and its properties in Russian
- 2. Theoretical approaches to NC
- 3. NC in control infinitives: an experiment
- 4. Analysis
- 5. Conclusions

1. NC and its properties in Russian

1.1. Russian *ni*-pronouns as strict negative concord items (NCI)

(summary: Garzonio 2019)

- licensed by the clausemate sentential negation expressed by the preverbal clitic particle *ne* 'not'
- (1) Karaev *(ne) rasskazal nikomu o svoem Karaev.NOM NEG tell.PST.SG.M nobody.DAT about his.PREP slučajno sdelannom otkrytii.

 accidentally made.PREP discovery.PREP
- 'Karaev did not tell anybody about his accidental discovery.' [RNC]
- (2) Ne dumaj, čto tebja nikto *(ne) ljubit.

 NEG think.IMP COMP you.ACC nobody.NOM NEG love.PRS.3SG

'Do not think that nobody loves you.' [RNC]

NB: negative preverbal clitic is obligatory with preverbal NCIs; hence strict NC.

Russian ni-pronouns as negative concord items (NCI)

- scope of sentential negation indicated by the preverbal negative particle includes the subject (2) but cannot be extended to the superordinate clause (3)
- (3) Petrov pytalsja ne otvlekat'sja ot dorogi.

 Petrov.NOM try.PST.SG.M NEG get_distracted.INF from road.GEN

 'Petrov tried to remain focused on the road (lit. tried to not get distracted from the road).'

 * 'Petrov did not try to get distracted from the road.'

NB: We abstract away from substandard cases discussed by Kholodilova 2015 and Letuchiy 2017 where NCIs are licensed by a lower constituent negation in adjectival SCs and under functional restructuring, and then undergo A-movement.

(4) Nikto okazalsja ne gotov.
nobody.NOM appear.PST.SG.M NEG ready.SHORT.M.SG
'Nobody turned out to be ready.'

Russian ni-pronouns as negative concord items (NCI)

- clauses containing *ni*-pronouns are never interpreted as involving double negation
- (5) Tol'ko, požalujsta, poka ne govori nikomu ničego! only please yet NEG tell.IMP nobody.DAT nothing.GEN

'But please do not tell anybody anything yet!' [RNC]

NB: Fitzgibbons (2008) points out that *ni*-pronouns functioning as predicates or complements of P can be licensed outside the scope of negation (Кто был никем, тот станет всем). Not surprisingly, under negation such contexts are ambiguous: both NC and double negation interpretations are available.

(6) Vanja ne sčital Iru nikem. [Fitzgibbons 2008] Vanja NEG consider.PST.SG.M Ira.ACC nobody.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)

Importantly, neither non-licensed *ni*-pronouns nor DN interpretation are licit in argumental positions.

^{*&#}x27;But please do not tell nobody nothing!'

1.2. Locality of NC

The clausemate constraint on *ni*-pronouns licensing is lifted in infinitival complements (Gerasimova 2015, Kornakova et al. 2016)

učit' i nikem My nikogo ne xotim (7) a. ne xotim we nobody.ACC NEG want.PRS.1PL lecture.INF and nobody.INSTRNEG want.PRS.1PL poučaemy. byt' be.INF lectured.PART.SHORT.PL

'We don't want to lecture anybody and we don't want to be lectured by anybody.' [RNC]

b. Kolduny ne veljat rabotnikam ničego est' sorcerers.NOM NEG order.PRS.3PL workers.DAT nothing.ACC eat.INF

vo vremja lovli.

fishing.GEN during

'Sorcerers do not allow workers to eat anything while pearl fishing.' [RNC]

Locality of NC

NC across the finite clause boundary is ungrammatical (pilot study):

```
(8) a. * Direktor ne treboval, čtoby ego sekretarša zvonila director.NOM NEG order.PST.SG.M COMP his secretary.NOM call.SUBJ.SG.F nikomu posle sobraniya aktsionerov.

nobody.DAT after meeting.GEN shareholder.GEN.PL

Int. 'The director didn't order that his secretary call anyone after the shareholders' meeting.'
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b. * Andrei ne bespokoilsya, čto ego brat ustupal
Andrei.NOM NEG worry.PST.SG.M COMP his brother.NOM give_up.PST.SG.M
nikomu v printsipial'nyx voprosax.
nobody.DAT in principal.PREP.PL question.PREP.PL
```

Int. 'Andrei didn't worry that his brother was deferring to anybody on principal matters.'

Locality of NC: Neg-raising?

Neg(ative) raising: a derivational or interpretational reconstruction of semantic negation in the embedded clause (Horn 1978, 1992; Collins and Postal 2012)

- (9) I don't think he'll come.
- (i) (unlikely) surface scope of negation: 'It is not the case that I think that he'll come.'
- (ii) (likely) reconstructed/narrow scope of negation: 'I think that it is not that case that he'll come.'

NPIs requiring local licensor are licit in clauses embedded under Neg-raising predicates

- (10) a. Calvin did not believe that Mona would move in until June.
 - b. *Calvin did not claim that Mona would move in until June.
- (11)a. Kolduny ne veljat rabotnikam ničego est' sorcerers.NOM NEG order.PRS.3PL workers.DAT nothing.ACC eat.INF vo vremja lovli. during fishing.GEN
- 'Sorcerers do not allow workers to eat anything while pearl fishing.' [RNC]
- b. Nikto ne velit rabotnikam ničego est'.
 nobody.NOM NEG order.PRS.3SG workers.DAT nothing.ACC eat.INF
 'Nobody requires that the workers to eat anything.'

Locality of NC: infinitive's type

A rough classification of infinitives

- subject and adjunct infinitives opaque domains due to CED, NCIs not licensed
- analytical future construction aspectual (IPF) and voice (ACT) restrictions, only higher NEG
- aspectual construction aspectual (IPF) and voice (ACT) restrictions, only higher NEG FUNCTIONAL RESTRUCTURING
- modal construction
 less restricted than aspectual; depends on the type of modality
 RAISING / CONTROL / FUNCTIONAL RESTRUCTURING
- control infinitives:
 - subject control (=same-subject infinitival clauses)
 - object control (=different-subject infinitival clauses)

Locality of NC: infinitive's type

Differences between subject and object control infinitives:

Comrie 1974, Nichols 1981, Franks 1995, Babby 1998, Landau 2008, Bailyn 2001, 2012, Madariaga 2006, 2007, Lyutikova 2010, Gerasimova 2015, Grashchenkov 2018,...

Table 1. Properties of subject and object control infinitives

	clause-mate	subject control infinitives	object control infinitives	finite embedding (čtoby / čto clauses)
short-form adjectives and	+	+	_	(n/a)
participles in primary				
predicates				
agreeing NOM adjectives in	+	+	_	(n/a)
secondary predicates				
agreeing NOM floating	+	+	_	_
quantifiers (sam 'himself',				
odin 'alone', ves' 'all')				
pronominal clitic climbing	+	+	_	_
to the matrix clause				

Locality of NC: infinitive's type

Differences between subject and object control infinitives

Lyutikova 2010, 2021; Gerasimova & Lyutikova (submitted)

Size restructuring in subject control infinitives

— Object control infinitives are full-fledged CPs

(12)
$$CP \gg \Sigma P_A \gg TP \gg \nu P \gg VP$$

- Subject control infinitives are truncated structures lacking A-bar domain but hosting a ΣP projection hosting clitics and scrambled constituents (Wurmbrand 2014)
- Spec, ΣP is an A-position

(13)
$$CP \gg \Sigma P_A \gg TP \gg \nu P \gg VP$$

Consequently:

- Object control infinitives are opaque for A-dependencies and only allow A-bar movement through CP (*wh*, LD-SCR)
- Subject control infinitives are transparent for A and A-bar dependencies (Case, ϕ , CC, wh, LD-SCR)

1.3. Positions of NCIs

2 positions:

- base position
- preverbal position

Proforms and phrasal categories

```
(14) Ničego ne znaju,
                                kakie
                                            takie
                                                        dollary,
   nothing.GEN NEG know.PRS.1SG which.PL.NOM such.PL.NOM dollars.NOM
   ne videla
                   ja
                      nikakix
                                    dollarov...
                                        dollars.GEN
and NEG see.PST.SG.F I.NOM
                          no.PL.GEN
'I don't know anything, which dollars (do you mean), I didn't see any dollars...' [RNC]
(15) Kakoj bumažnik, nikakogo bumažnika ne vižu!
    which wallet,
                       no.GEN
                               wallet.GEN
                                              NEG see.PRS.1SG
'Which wallet, I don't see any wallet!' [RNC]
(16) Tjotka
                večerom
                                smotrela
                                                televizor,
               evening.INSTR watch.PST.SG.M
                                                TV.ACC
    aunt.NOM
              i <mark>ne</mark> slyšala
no ne videla
                                       ničego.
but NEG see.PST.SG.F and NEG hear.PST.SG.F nothing.GEN
'The aunt watched TV in the evening, but didn't see or hear anything.' [RNC]
```

Positions of NCIs in control infinitives

3 positions:

- base position
- (17) Ja ne xoču pečalit' Vas ničem.

 I.NOM NEG want.PRS.1SG sadden.INF you.ACC nothing.INSTR

 'I don't want to be a cause of your sadness.'
- preverbal position: before infinitive
- (18) Ty ne xočeš' ničego dobavit' k skazannomu? you.NOM NEG want.PRS.2SG nothing.GEN add.INF to said.LONG.N.SG.DAT 'You don't want to add anything to this, do you?' [RNC]
- preverbal position: before matrix verb
- (19) Značit, vy ničem ne xotite pomoč' partii. thus you.NOM nothing.INSTR NEG want.PRS.2PL help.INF party.DAT 'Thus, you don't want to help the party in anything.' [RNC]

1. NC AND ITS PROPERTIES

Positions of NCIs in control infinitives

Proforms and phrasal categories:

- proforms tend to be located in preverbal positions
- phrasal categories tend to stay in the base position

Pilot study, RNC search

Table 2. Positions of NCIs in subject control configurations; the matrix verb *xotet* 'want'

Position of NCI	Example	Proforms, hits	Phrasal categories,
			hits
base	NEG+want+INF+nobody/no X	68	164
before INF	NEG+want+nobody/no X+INF	217	5
before matrix verb	nobody/no X+NEG+want+INF	209	17

2. Formal approaches to NC and their predictions

Licensing of NCIs in control infinitives

Questions

- What type of syntactic process is NCI licensing? is it a separate type of syntactic interaction? can it be subsumed under an independently motivated type of interaction?
 Which locality requirements does the NC exhibit? do they pattern with locality of other pattern.
- Which locality requirements does the NC exhibit? do they pattern with locality of other syntactic processes?

Positions of NCIs in control infinitives

Questions

- base vs. derived positions (before infinitive and before matrix verb) or base-generation in all the three positions?
- if movement, does it result from the NC or is it independent from NC?
- does the position of the NCI affect acceptability?

Formal approaches to NC and their predictions

Various accounts of NC identify it with other types of syntactic processes:

— binding approach (Progovac 1994): *ni*-pronouns as local NPIs which require a local antecedent (negative Infl, truth-conditional operator in C)

(20) a. Milan *(ne) vidi ni(t)ko-ga.

Milan NEG sees no-one-ACC

'Milan cannot see anyone.'

b. *Milan ne tvrdi [da Marija poznaje ni(t)ko-ga].

Milan NEG claims that Mary knows no-one-ACC

Int.: 'Milan doesn't claim that Mary knows anyone.' [Progovac 1994]

→ Local negative Infl absent in both subject and object control infinitives, hence NCIs cannot be licensed *in situ* in **either** subject or object control infinitives

	subject control infinitives	object control infinitives
NCI licensing by matrix		
negation		

Formal approaches to NC and their predictions

— operator movement approach (Zanuttini 1991, Haegeman and Zanuttini 1991, Haegeman 1995): strict NCIs as negative quantifiers which have to undergo overt or covert movement to the scope (A-bar) position)

(21) a. Je ne demande que tu dises rien.

I NEG ask that you say.subj nothing 'I don't ask that you say anything'.

b. *Je ne demande que personne dise cela.

I NEG ask that no one say.subj that
Int.: 'I don't ask that anybody say that'. [Perlmutter 1971: 99]

→ wh-movement licit across the infinitive's boundary (Lyutikova 2009, 2010), hence NCIs can be licensed in **both** subject and object control infinitives

	subject control infinitives	object control infinitives
NCI licensing by matrix	+	+
negation		

Formal approaches to NC and their predictions

— agreement approach (Zeijlstra 2004, Haegeman&Lohndal 2010): NCIs are indefinites bearing a [uNEG] feature which requires a c-commanding [iNEG] element.

(22) a. Non ha telefonato nessuno.

NEG has called nobody

'Nobody called.'

[NegP non[iNEG] [TP ha telefonato [vP nessuno[uNEG] ...]]]

b. *Gianni non ha detto che ha telefonato a nessuno.
Gianni NEG has said that has called to nobody
Intended: 'John didn't say that he called anybody.'

[NegP non[iNEG] [TP ha detto [CP che [TP ha telefonato [vP a nessuno[uNEG] ...]]]]

→ if only C blocks agreement for [NEG] feature, NCIs can be licensed in subject, but not in object control infinitives

	subject control infinitives	object control infinitives
NCI licensing by matrix	+	
negation		

Positions of NCIs in control infinitives

Movement of the *ni*-pronoun:

- triggered by the NC (operator movement approach)
- (23) a. NEG-phrase in argument position, no NC, double negation interpretation

```
da \quad \left[_{AGRP} \; Valere_j \; \left[_{NEGP} \; \text{nie} \; \left[_{TP} \; t_j \; \text{niemand} \right. \right. \right. \right. \left. \left. \begin{array}{c} \text{en-kent} \end{array} \right] \qquad (en)\text{-kent} \right]
```

that Valere not nobody V+T NEG-V+T NEG-know+AGR

- 'that Valere doesn't know nobody', i.e. Valere knows someone
 - b. NEG-phrase in scope position, NC

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da [AGRP Valerej [NEGP niemandnie [TP tj ti kent] en-kent] (en)-kent]
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that Valere nobody not V+T NEG-V+T NEG-know+AGR

- 'that Valere doesn't know anyone' [West Flemish; Haegeman 1995, adapted]
- independent from NC (binding approach, agreement approach)
- (24) a. *Mary_i thinks Bill likes these pictures of herself_i.
 - b. Mary_i wonders [which pictures of herself_i]_j Bill likes best t_j.
- → movement of the *ni*-pronoun to the matrix clause may increase acceptability, though for different reasons

3. NC in control infinitives: an experiment

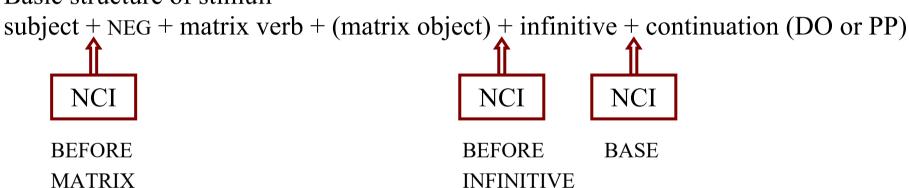
Materials

2x3 factorial design:

INFINITIVE TYPE (subject control/object control)

NI-PRONOUN POSITION (base/before infinitive/before matrix)

Basic structure of stimuli



Task rating task, acceptability judgments on a 7-point Likert scale 128 respondents (78 females; mean age 34, min 15, max 73, SD 14)

Results

Repeated measures ANOVA on both raw and z-score transformed data:

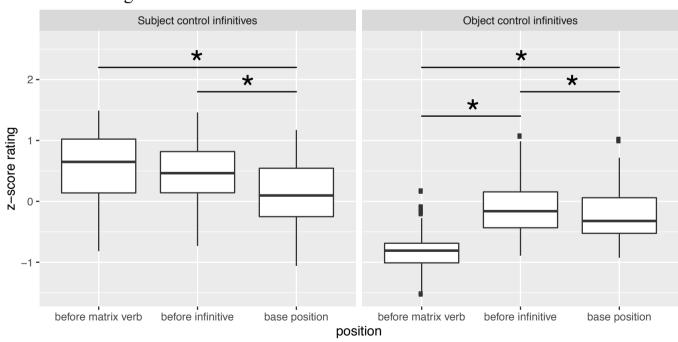
Infinitive type (df = 1, F = 737.46, p << 0.05)

NI-PRONOUN POSITION (df = 2, F = 44.84, p << 0.05)

interaction between these two factors (df = 2, F = 113.44, p << 0.05)

Post-hoc pairwise comparisons (Tukey's post-hoc test)

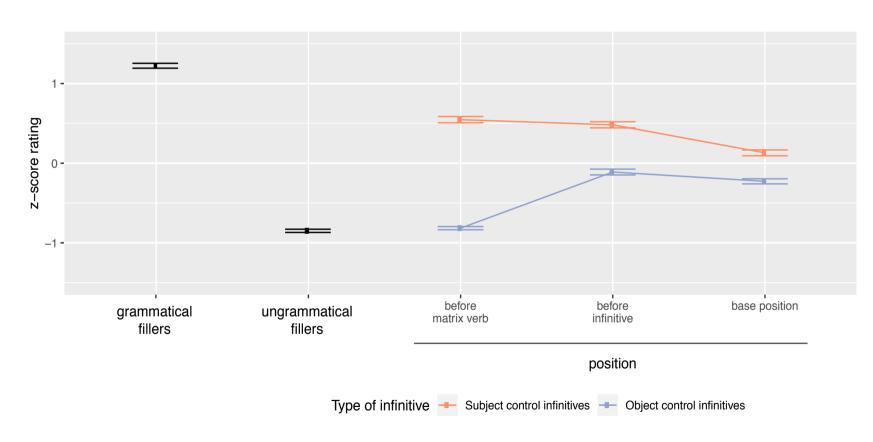
Figure 1. Acceptability ratings (z-score) for *ni*-pronouns. All significant differences marked with * between the relevant boxes



3. NC IN CONTROL INFINITIVES: AN EXPERIMENT

Results

Figure 2. Interaction plot of acceptability ratings (z-score) for target and filler items. Error bars indicate standard error.



Results

Three factors impacting on the acceptability of *ni*-pronouns in control infinitives:

- (i) locality of NC (subject vs object control)
- (ii) preverbal/postverbal position of the pronoun
- (iii) movement to the matrix clause.

NCI licensing by matrix	subject control infinitives	object control infinitives
negation		
binding approach		
operator movement approach	+	+
agreement approach	+	
experimental data	+	+ /

- Subject control infinitives are more transparent than object control infinitives, but object control infinitives still allow NC (three-way distiction).
- No movement of *ni*-pronouns to the higher licensing domain is required for licensing.

None of the approaches is able to derive the picture provided by the experimental scores.

3. NC IN CONTROL INFINITIVES: AN EXPERIMENT

Results

Three factors impacting on the acceptability of *ni*-pronouns in control infinitives:

- (i) locality of NC (subject vs object control)
- (ii) preverbal/postverbal position of the pronoun
- (iii) movement to the matrix clause.
- *ni*-pronouns before infinitive are significantly more acceptable than in base position.
- the general contrast between pronouns and nominal phrases positioning in Russian.
- position of the object pronoun preverbal > postverbal

Kholodilova (2013):

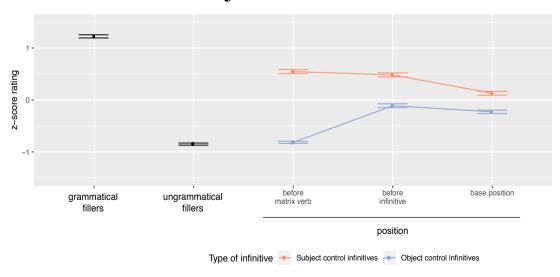
- pronouns in Russian are generally located closer to the beginning of the sentence
- clear preference for preposition of negative pronouns with respect to the verb
- the proportion of preposing vs. postposing of pronominal arguments in infinitives coincides with the proportion in indicatives

3. NC IN CONTROL INFINITIVES: AN EXPERIMENT

Results

Three factors impacting on the acceptability of *ni*-pronouns in control infinitives:

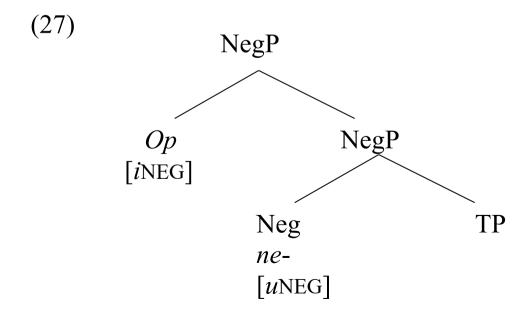
- (i) locality of NC (subject vs object control)
- (ii) preverbal/postverbal position of the pronoun
- (iii) movement to the matrix clause.
- acceptable in subject control infinitives and ungrammatical in object control infinitives
- (26) movement of *ni*-pronouns to the matrix clause subject control infinitives >> object control infinitives



4. Analysis

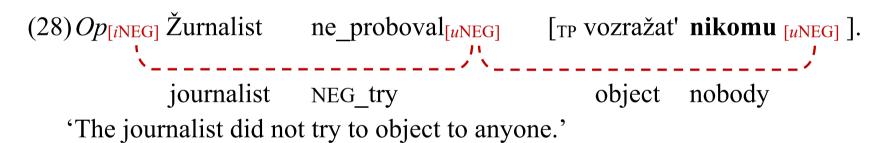
General idea: the agreement approach to NC with a slight adjustment of feature structure and locality restrictions

- NC is an instance of syntactic agreement (Zeijlstra 2004)
- Multiple agree in the form of feature sharing (Pesetsky, Torrego 2001, 2004, 2007)
- NCIs bear valued uninterpretable polarity feature [*u*NEG]
- NCIs need to agree with an interpretable variant of this feature on the polarity operator of the clause (← Radical Interpretability)
- sentential negation is instantiated by NegP of the following structure



Ni-licensing in subject control infinitives:

- the embedded clause is represented by a truncated structure equivalent to the non-finite TP.
- the TP boundary is transparent for feature sharing.
- the [uNEG] feature of the ni-pronoun can be associated with the [iNEG] feature of the polarity operator in the matrix clause.



Ni-licensing in object control infinitives:

- the CP layer is opaque for feature sharing; long-distance licensing of *ni*-pronouns in the infinitival clause from the matrix clause is banned.
- object control C can have a polarity feature [uNEG] feature
 (cf. negative complementizers in Celtic languages (McCloskey 1996, McQuillan 2016), Latin ne (Allen & Greenough 2013), Basque enik (Laka 1990).
- C[*u*NEG] enables NC across the CP boundary, being the last resort for saving the derivation with unlicensed NCIs inside CP
- C[uNEG] comes with processing costs \Rightarrow reduced acceptability scores
- lecturer.NOM NEG-force assistant.ACC recommend nobody.DAT
 b. $Op_{[iNEG]}$ Lektor ne_vynuždal_[uNEG] assistenta [CP C rekomendovat' nikomu[uNEG]

 lecturer.NOM NEG-force assistant.ACC recommend nobody.DAT

 lecturer.NOM NEG-force assistant.ACC recommend nobody.DAT

 ... novyj učebnik]

 new.ACC textbook.ACC

^{&#}x27;The lecturer did not force his assistant to recommend to anyone the new textbook.'

Derived positions of *ni*- pronouns:

- Wurmbrand's (2014) ΣP position for preverbal pronouns (position for climbing argumental clitics and short-scrambled constituents)
- A-movement analysis of the pronouns' dislocation to ΣP

Movement of *ni*-pronouns in the preverbal position is unlike *wh*-movement in that it does not license the parasitic gap in the adjunct clause:

- (30) a. Ja (ne) uznal Valju, horošen'ko razgljadev *?(ego). I.NOM NEG recognize Valya.ACC properly looked.GERUND through he.ACC 'I have(n't) recognized Valya after looking at him properly.'
 - b. Kogo ty uznal, horošen'ko razgljadev? who.ACC you recognized properly looked.PART through 'Whom have you recognized after looking at him properly?'
 - c. *Ja nikogo ne uznal, horošen'ko razgljadev. I.NOM nobody.ACC NEG recognize properly looked.PART through Int. 'I haven't recognized anyone; after looking at him; properly'.

Derived positions of *ni*- pronouns:

- Wurmbrand's (2014) ΣP position for preverbal pronouns (position for climbing argumental clitics and short-scrambled constituents)
- A-movement analysis of the pronouns' dislocation to ΣP
- The position before infinitive corresponds to the embedded ΣP , available in both subject and object control infinitives.
- Movement to the local ΣP is preferred for pronouns.

Subject control infinitives:

the non-finite TP does not constrain A-movement

⇒ no difference between the two derived positions

Object control infinitives:

movement to the matrix ΣP would cross the CP boundary (opaque for A-movement)

⇒ low acceptability scores

5. Conclusion

Negative concord in Russian:

NC as agreement in the form of feature sharing the [uNEG] feature of the ni-pronoun the [iNEG] feature of the polarity operator in the matrix clause

Locality conditions on negative concord:

subject control T is transparent for feature sharing object control C can have [uNEG] feature but it comes with processing cost

Movement of *ni*- pronouns to derived positions does not depend on negative concord:

A-movement to matrix ΣP

Subject control:

no impact of movement on acceptability

TP does not constrain A-movement

Object control:

movement leads to unacceptability

CP-boundary is opaque for A-movement

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Appendix. Description of the experiment

Materials

Lexicalization:

Matrix verbs

6 non-Neg-raising subject control verbs (probovat' 'try', riskovat' 'risk' ...)

6 non-Neg-raising object control verbs governing ACC (prosit' 'ask', zastavlyat' 'force' ...)

Infinitives

12 verbs that govern DAT, which means that in case of object control, matrix verb and infinitive assign different cases

NCI

nikto 'nobody'

4 tokens per condition; 6*4=24 target sentences

Fillers (1:1)

span the range of acceptability

- grammatical fillers: -libo pronouns instead of ni-pronouns + negation
- ungrammatical fillers: *ni*-pronouns, no negative particle

Materials

Basic structure of stimuli
subject + NEG + matrix verb + (matrix object) + infinitive + continuation (DO or PP)

NCI
NCI
NCI
NCI
NCI
BEFORE
BASE
MATRIX
INFINITIVE
Examples

(31) a. subject control, base position (a)

Konsul'tant ne proboval pomogat' nikomu v razvitii biznes-proekta. adviser.NOM NEG try.PST.SG.M help.INF nobody.DAT in developing business project

b. subject control, before infinitive (b)

Konsul'tant ne proboval nikomu pomogat' v razvitii biznes-proekta. adviser.NOM NEG try.PST.SG.M nobody.DAT help.INF in developing business project

c. subject control, before matrix verb (c)

Konsul'tant nikomu ne proboval pomogat' v razvitii biznes-proekta. adviser.NOM nobody.DAT NEG try.PST.SG.M help.INF in developing business project 'The adviser wasn't trying to help anybody with business project development.'

Materials

Basic structure of stimuli subject + NEG + matrix verb + (matrix object) + infinitive + continuation (DO or PP) NCI NCI NCI **BEFORE BEFORE** BASE **MATRIX INFINITIVE** Examples (32) a. object control, base position (a) ne uprašivala kljast'sja Alina nikomu Nikitu v večnoj ljubvi. NEG implore.PST.SG.F Nikita.ACC nobody.DAT in undying love Alina.NOM swear.INF b. object control, before infinitive (b) ne uprašivala v večnoj ljubvi. Alina Nikitu nikomu kljast'sja NEG implore.PST.SG.F Nikita.ACC in undying love Alina.NOM nobody.DAT swear.INF c. object control, before matrix verb (c) Alina nikomu ne uprašivala Nikitu v večnoj ljubvi. kljast'sja Alina.NOM nobody.DAT NEG implore.PST.SG.F Nikita.ACC swear.INF in undying love 'Aline wasn't imploring Nikita to claim his undying love to anyone.'