On abstinence and avoidance
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Intro I inspect two types of readings emerging, e.g., for negated imperatives, ‘not want’, and ‘fear’: (i) ABSTAIN readings, implying willingness to prevent someone from intentionally engaging in an activity, and (ii) AVOID readings, implying willingness to prevent an unintended outcome:

(1) a. Don’t call anyone! / I don’t want to call anyone. / I’m afraid of calling anyone.

b. In a potential butt-dialing context: Don’t (accidentally) call someone! / I don’t want to (accidentally) call someone. / I’m afraid of (accidentally) calling someone.

In English, the distinction manifests in, e.g., anti-/re-licensing of some (observed in Szabolcsi 2004): (1). I focus on aspect and indefinites in ABSTAIN vs. AVOID cases in Russian, but the proposed approach extends to English.

Core puzzles (2)–(4): 1. Across the three environments, verbs are in imperfective in ABSTAIN cases and in perfective in AVOID cases. 2. Under negated imperatives and ‘not want’, only ni-NPIs are licensed in ABSTAIN cases, but both ni-NPIs and dependent nibud’ indefinites (discussed, e.g., in Pereltsvaig 2008) are licensed in AVOID cases. Under ‘fear’, only free choice indefinites (e.g., libo) are licensed in ABSTAIN cases, but both free choice and nibud’ indefinites are licensed in AVOID cases.

(2) a. Ne {zvoni / pozvoni} {nikomu / komu-nibud’}!
not {call.IPV / call.PFV} {NI-who / who-NIBU}
‘Don’t call anyone!’

b. Ostorozno! Ne {zvoni / pozvoni} (sluˇcaino) {nikomu / komu-nibud’}!
careful not {call.IPV / call.PFV} (accidentally) {NI-who / who-NIBU}
‘Careful! Don’t (accidentally) call someone!’

(3) a. Ja ne xoˇcu {nikomu / komu-nibud’} {zvoni’ / pozvonit’}.
I not want {NI-who / who-NIBU} {call.IPV / call.PFV}
‘I don’t want to call anyone.’

b. Ja ne xoˇcu (nikomu / komu-nibud’) (sluˇcaino) {zvoni’ / pozvonit’}.
I not want {NI-who / who-NIBU} (accidentally) {call.IPV / call.PFV}
‘I don’t want to (accidentally) call someone.’

(4) a. Ja bojus’ {komu-libo / komu-nibud’} {zvoni’ / pozvonit’}.
I am afraid of calling anyone.

b. Ja bojus’ {komu-libo / komu-nibud’} (sluˇcaino) {zvoni’ / pozvonit’}.
I am afraid of (accidentally) calling someone.

Prior work Aspect in negated imperatives in Slavic was recently analyzed in Goncharov 2018, which relied on an ad hoc intentionality operator in ABSTAIN cases. English some under ‘not want’ was independently analyzed in a more pragmatic way in Goncharov 2020. While I share some of Goncharov’s insights, I propose a more principled and general analysis, with both the aspect and the indefinite facts following from distinct compositional structures in ABSTAIN vs. AVOID cases, and pragmatics affecting the choice between the two.

Proposal Events vs. situations I distinguish events from situations. Situations can be thought of as (potentially) complex events whose parts are situated within the situation’s runtime a.k.a. the reference time (RT_s). For concreteness, I assume the following mereology: an event can be part of a situation (e ⊆ s) or a world, and a situation can be part of a world. ∃ binding the event variable always takes the lowest scope, which I assure by adopting (ontologically enriched) Chomskyan’s (2015) quantificational events semantics, where verbs denote existential quantifiers over events (e.g., [[‘open’]] = λf ∈ λw ∈ ∃e ∃f(e) ∧ e ∈ w ∧ open(e)), and any further modification of e is done via the continuation f, eventually closed off via a trivial continuation, λe. T. In contrast, the situation layer is optionally introduced later in the derivation.

Situations & aspect Russian imperfective verbs can describe an event that is part of a situation, in which case the endpoints of the event’s runtime (including the projected culmination of wannabe accomplishments like ‘open.IPV closet’) are placed outside RT_s, but they can also describe events that are not situated relative to any RT_s. Russian perfective verbs always describe events that are part of a situation and culminate within RT_s.
Cases at hand AVOID cases involve situation descriptions, but ABSTAIN cases don’t. An independent piece of evidence is that only AVOID cases allow ‘once’/‘one day’, which I take to be a situation-introducing modifier:

(5) a. Ne {*otkryvaj / otkryj} oznáždy škaf!
   not {*open.IPFWIMP / open.PFWIMP} once closet
   ‘Don’t once open the closet!’ (only AVOID)

   b. Ja {ne xoču / bojus*} oznáždy {*otkryvat’ / otkryt’} škaf.
   I {not want / fear} once {*open.IPFWINF / open.PFWINF} closet
   ‘I don’t want to / I am afraid that I will} once open the closet.’ (only AVOID)

For concreteness, I assume that the imperative operator and ‘want’ compose with their complements in the same way in AVOID and ABSTAIN cases (this is not crucial): (6). As for ‘fear’, in ABSTAIN cases, it simply encodes a relation between its subject and its complement (propositional or not) in the world of evaluation, while in AVOID cases, it asserts the epistemic possibility of its propositional complement and presupposes the speaker’s “fearful” attitude towards it (I think this at-issue vs. not-at-issue distinction is pragmatic and don’t encode it lexically): (7).

(6) [[‘Don’t open the closet!’ / ‘I don’t want to open the closet’] = \(1\) in \(w\) iff \(\forall w' R_{\text{imp\_want}} :\)

- a. ABSTAIN: \(-[\exists e.e \subseteq w' \land \text{open}(e) \land \text{ag}(e) = \text{addr/sp} \land \text{th}(e) = \text{lx.close}\text{et}(x)]\)

- b. AVOID: \(-[\exists e.s \subseteq w' \land \exists t.t \subseteq \text{RT}_s \land e.e \subseteq s \land \text{culm}(e, t) \land e \subseteq w' \land \text{open}(e) \land (...)\]

(7) [[‘I am afraid (a.) of opening the closet / (b.) that I will open the closet’] = \(1\) in \(w\) iff

- a. ABSTAIN: \(\text{fear}(s, \lambda w'. e.e \subseteq w' \land \text{open}(e) \land \text{ag}(e) = sp \land \text{th}(e) = \text{lx.close}\text{et}(x), w)\)

- b. AVOID: \(\exists w' R_{\text{imp\_want}}[\exists e.s \subseteq w' \land \exists t.t \subseteq \text{RT}_s \land e.e \subseteq s \land \text{culm}(e, t) \land e \subseteq w' \land \text{open}(e) \land \text{ag}(e) = \)

Indefinite licensing I assume that (i) quantification over worlds in imperatives and ‘want’ licenses nibud’; (ii) ni-NPIs are licensed by negation and, when licensed, block nibud’; (iii) an intervening existential quantification over situations blocks ni-NPI licensing and re-licenses nibud’. Thus, in the ABSTAIN cases at hand involving negation, only ni-NPIs are licensed, but in the AVOID cases, either one can be licensed, depending on whether the indefinite scopes above or below the situation (ni: \(-[\exists e. e.e] \) or \(-[\exists e. e.s.e] \); nibud’: \(-[\exists e. e.s.e] \)). ABSTAIN-type ‘fear’ doesn’t on its own license nibud’ indefinites (nothing for them to depend on), but AVOID-type ‘fear’ does, thanks to the quantification over worlds.

When to have situations In all the three environments at hand, the speaker considers certain scenarios undesirable. In ABSTAIN cases, this attitude can be about a certain outcome (e.g., they don’t want anyone to get called) or the activity (potentially) leading to it (e.g., they don’t want the agent to engage in any calling, as they think cell phones are harmful). AVOID cases are unambiguously about the outcome. If the speaker wants to prevent a certain outcome and thinks it can be prevented by the agent not engaging in the activity of the relevant kind, they go for an unsuitated event description (ABSTAIN). But if they don’t think all such events can be prevented (e.g., the relevant activity can’t be controlled or might not be recognized by the agent as leading to a certain end-state), they have to go for a situation description containing the end-state (AVOID). An argument for such a pragmatics-heavy story comes from complex situation descriptions. E.g., in (8), the part of the undesirable situation outside the agent’s control is whether they see a monster or hear a scraping sound; the closet opening is intentional (as indicated by the purposive clause), and the aspect choice is determined solely by its placement relative to RTs.

(8) a. Ne xoču oznáždy otkrýť škaf, čtoby dostáť noski, i uvidet’ tam monstra.
   I not want once open.PFWINF closet to get socks and see.PFWINF there monster
   ‘I don’t want to once open the closet to get socks and see a monster there.’

   b. Ne xoču oznáždy otkrývat’ škaf, čtoby dostáť noski, i uslyšat’ skrežet.
   I not want once open.PFWINF closet to get socks and hear.PFWINF scrape
   ‘I don’t want to once be opening the closet to get socks and hear a scraping sound.’

Expanding the discussion I also show that subject obviation in subjunctive (or indicative) clauses (Farkas 1992 et seq.) is distinct from the ABSTAIN vs. AVOID distinction, as the latter still holds when there is no obviation. In addition, I briefly discuss how the proposed approach extends to situations and lack thereof under some other predicates (e.g., ‘hope’) and root modals, and the connection between minimizers and aspect in Russian.