

# Modals in Russian

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Language name: Russian  
ISO 639-3: rus  
Glottolog: russ1263  
Consultant demographics: A female speaker of Standard Russian.  
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## BODY OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

### A. EPISTEMIC

#### [A1](#) Epistemic Necessity

(1) Ben goes swimming every day. Ben is not obliged or required to go swimming; it is just a habit of his. It is now time for Ben to be swimming... so **Ben must be swimming (right now)**.

Ben    *navernoje*    *plavaet*  
Ben    **probably**    swim

Ben    *dolžno*    *bit'*    *plavaet*  
Ben    **MOD.3sg.neut**    be.inf    swim

Comments:

- Adverbial variant (*navernoje*) sounds more natural over *dolžno*.
- *#Ben prixoditsja*

(2) You know that John goes to school at 9am every day. You look at the clock and see it is 9am, therefore **John must be at school**.

John    *dolžen*    *bit'*    *v*    *škole*.

John    **MOD**   be.inf   prep   school

John    *navernoje*        *v*        *škole.*

John    **probably**        prep   school

- *Dolžen* is preferred

(3) (Adapted from von Fintel & Gillies 2007). The math teacher says: There are 3 boxes. The ball is in box A or in box B or in box C. It is not in A. It is not in B. So, **it must be in C**.

Togda    *on*                    *dolžen*   *bit*        *v*        *tretjej / C.*

Then    he.nom                **MOD**   be.inf   prep   third / c

Togda    *on*                    *navernoje*        *v*        *tretjej / C*

Then    he.nom                **probably**        prep   last   / C

- Modal variant more preferable

(4) Tim is calling for his dog. The dog is not coming. Tim looks for the dog in the kitchen, bedroom, living room, (in every room in the house) but the dog is not in any of those rooms. Therefore, Tim concludes that **the dog must not be in the house**.

Sobaki    *ne*   *dolžno*        *bit'*        *v*        *dome*

Dog.gen   **neg**   **MOD.neut**   be.inf        prep   home

*#navernoje*

- Neither are that usable in this context (would prefer an indicative statement without any modal element), but translation would use *dolžno*

## A2 Epistemic Weak Necessity

(5) You know that Ann goes hiking from 7am until 8am every day. Most of the time Ann goes to the lake, but sometimes she goes to the mountains. It is now 7:30am and your friend asks where Ann is. You say to your friend: **Ann should be at the lake right now**.

Ann    *dolžna*        *sejčas*        *bit'*        *na*        *ozere*

Ann    MOD.3rd.f   now        be.inf   on        lake

- *navernoje* didn't initially come to mind, but is felicitous

(6) (Imagine that) you used to live in Goa. You are not living in Goa anymore. You notice how different the weather is in the UK, where you live right now. You know that it often rains in Goa, especially in the

afternoon, but not necessarily every day. Now it's the afternoon, so you think **it should be raining now in Goa.**

*Sejčas* **navernoje** *idjot* *dožd'* *na* *Goa.*  
Now **probably** go rain on Goa

*Sejčas* **dolžno** *bit* *idjot* *dožd'* *na* *Goa.*  
Now **MOD** be.inf go rain on Goa

- Both are as preferable as each other.

(7) When the light is on at Mary's house, it usually means that she is home. You want to visit Mary. You walk past Mary's house and notice that the light is on. You think to yourself: **Mary should be at home.**

*Mary* **dolžna** *bit'* *doma.*  
Mary **MOD.3rd.fem** be.inf home

*Mary* **navernoje** *doma.*  
Mary **probably** home

- *\*byl by*

### A3 Epistemic Possibility

(8) The teacher is not consistent. The students never know if he's going to come or not to teach class. Today, it's time to start class and the students are waiting again. **He might be coming to school today.**

*On* **vozmožno** *prijdjot v* *školu* *segodnja*  
He **possibly** come in school today

*On* **možet** *prijti* *v* *školu* *segodnja*  
He **MOD** come in school today

- Adverbial variant preferable, but both are felicitous

# *On navernoje prijdjot v školu segodnja*

- *This means that it is probable that he's coming, you're pretty sure of it.*

(9) Grace is looking for her necklace. She looks in her wardrobe and on top of the wardrobe. It's not there. She looks on top of the TV. It's not there. She looks in her backpack. It's not there. She hasn't checked her sister's wardrobe, yet, but **Grace's necklace might be lost.**

|       |                 |                  |                |
|-------|-----------------|------------------|----------------|
| Grace | <b>vozmožno</b> | <i>poterjala</i> | <i>koltso.</i> |
| Grace | <b>possibly</b> | lost             | ring           |

|       |              |             |                  |                |
|-------|--------------|-------------|------------------|----------------|
| Grace | <b>možet</b> | <i>bit'</i> | <i>poterjala</i> | <i>koltso.</i> |
| Grace | MOD          | be.inf      | lost             | ring           |

- Adverbial form preferable (more natural), but both felicitous and normal.

(10) Charles is looking for his pet cat, but cannot find it. He knows that his cat is very elusive and mysterious. Charles tells his sister:

**The cat may be inside. The cat may also be outside.<sup>1</sup>**

|            |              |             |          |              |          |              |          |           |                |
|------------|--------------|-------------|----------|--------------|----------|--------------|----------|-----------|----------------|
| <i>Kot</i> | <b>možet</b> | <i>bit'</i> | <i>v</i> | <i>dome,</i> | <i>a</i> | <b>možet</b> | <i>i</i> | <i>na</i> | <i>ulitse.</i> |
| Cat        | MOD          | be.inf      | in       | house        | but      | mod          | and      | on        | street         |

- *vozmožno* also fine

(11) Daniel lives in London and his friend has recently moved to New York. Daniel's parents told him that he is not allowed to go and see his friend in New York because it is too far away. You heard that Daniel is leaving London next week but you don't know where he will go. Daniel usually does things that he is not permitted to do. You think **Daniel might go to New York.**

|               |              |                |          |                  |
|---------------|--------------|----------------|----------|------------------|
| <i>Daniel</i> | <b>možet</b> | <i>poexat'</i> | <i>v</i> | <i>New York.</i> |
| Daniel        | MOD          | go             | to       | New York         |

|               |                 |               |          |                  |
|---------------|-----------------|---------------|----------|------------------|
| <i>Daniel</i> | <b>vozmožno</b> | <i>poedet</i> | <i>v</i> | <i>New York.</i> |
| Daniel        | possibly        | go.3rd        | to       | New York         |

- Both are fine

## A4 Epistemic Non-necessity

(7') When the light is on at Mary's house, it usually means that she is home. You want to visit Mary. You walk past Mary's house and notice that the light is on. However, there is no car in the driveway. You think to yourself: **Mary may not be at home.**

|             |                 |            |              |
|-------------|-----------------|------------|--------------|
| <i>Mary</i> | <b>vozmožno</b> | <b>net</b> | <i>doma.</i> |
| Mary        | <b>possibly</b> | NEG        | home         |

|             |              |           |             |              |
|-------------|--------------|-----------|-------------|--------------|
| <i>Mary</i> | <b>možet</b> | <b>ne</b> | <i>bit'</i> | <i>doma.</i> |
| Mary        | MOD          | NEG       | be.inf      | home         |

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<sup>1</sup> (The task is not only to translate these two sentences individually, but to keep in mind the sequencing i.e., these sentences are not to be used in isolation).

#Mary **dolžno** bit' net doma

#Mary *ne* dolžno bit' doma

“Mary mustn't be at home”

## A5 Epistemic impossibility

(1') Ben goes swimming every day. Ben is not obliged or required to go swimming; it is just a habit of his. It is now time for Ben to be swimming... so **Ben can't be at home**.

Ben     *ne*     **možet**   bit'   doma.

Ben     NEG   MOD   be.inf   home

#Ben *ne* **dolžen** bit' doma

- Ben *ne* **dolžen** bit' doma “...but his lights are on.” Equivalent to something like: “shouldn't be at home”
- #vozmožno
- \*nel'zja

(3') The math teacher says: There are 3 boxes. The ball is in box A or in box B or in box C. We opened box A, and the ball is there. There is only one ball. So, **it can't be in C**.

*ne* **možet**

\*Nel'zja

## B. DEONTIC

### B1 Deontic Necessity

(12) In Indonesia, the law states that when you ride a motor bike... **You must wear a helmet**.

Ųy     **dolžny**     / **objazani**     nosit'   šlem.  
You   MOD.2nd.pl / required   wear   helmet

- *Objazan* = required to

(13) You are going to visit your friend in the hospital. When you enter into the hospital, you stop at the information desk to inquire what room your friend is in. But the woman at the information desk tells you

that you can't visit your friend now because it's already 8pm. She says, "I'm sorry, the hospital regulations say that... **Visitors must leave by 6pm.**"

|                   |               |                 |                  |           |          |                |
|-------------------|---------------|-----------------|------------------|-----------|----------|----------------|
| <i>Posetiteli</i> | <b>dolžny</b> | <i>pokinut'</i> | <i>bol'nitsu</i> | <i>do</i> | <i>6</i> | <i>večera.</i> |
| Visitors          | <b>mod.pl</b> | leave           | hospital         | until     | 6        | evening        |

## B2 Deontic Weak Necessity

(16) Your friend is having a birthday party. She tells you that she would like it if everyone invited wore formal clothes, but that it is not necessary to wear formal clothes to attend. You think to yourself... **I ought to wear formal clothes to the party.**

|            |                |               |                   |                  |                   |
|------------|----------------|---------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| <i>Mne</i> | <b>sleduet</b> | <i>nadet'</i> | <i>narjadnuju</i> | <i>odeždu na</i> | <i>večerinku.</i> |
| I.dat      | <b>MOD</b>     | put.on        | dressy            | clothes prep     | party             |

(17) Your friend tells you that the rules of the restaurant state that employees must wash their hands after going to the bathroom. You reply to your friend:... **Non-employees ought to wash their hands too!**

|           |                   |             |                |             |              |
|-----------|-------------------|-------------|----------------|-------------|--------------|
| <i>Ne</i> | <i>sotrudniam</i> | <i>tože</i> | <b>sleduet</b> | <i>mit'</i> | <i>ruki.</i> |
| Neg       | employees.dat     | also        | <b>MOD</b>     | wash        | hands        |

(18) In England, it is recommended that face coverings be worn in stores, but it is not a legal requirement. You plan on going shopping, and you think to yourself... **I ought to wear a face covering.**

|            |                |               |               |
|------------|----------------|---------------|---------------|
| <i>Mne</i> | <b>sleduet</b> | <i>nadet'</i> | <i>masku.</i> |
| I.dat      | <b>MOD</b>     | put.on        | mask          |

- *byl by* indicates a past-tense obligation, not usable for present tense dwn

*#mne dolžen byl nadet' masku.*

*#On dolžen byl nosit' masku*

## B3 Deontic Possibility

(19) The ferris wheel ride is only for children under 12 years of age. Martin is 10 years of age. It is not obligatory for Martin to go on the ride if he doesn't want to, but **Martin may ride the ferris wheel.**

|               |              |                    |           |                           |
|---------------|--------------|--------------------|-----------|---------------------------|
| <i>Martin</i> | <b>možet</b> | <i>prokatitsja</i> | <i>na</i> | <i>kolese obozrenija.</i> |
| Marin         | <b>MOD</b>   | ride               | on        | ferris-wheel              |

*# vozmožno - (opportunity to ride it, up to him to take the opportunity [circumstantial])*

*# Navernoje*

(20) According to the rules of the hospital, only family members are allowed to enter the patient's room during visiting hours. You came to visit your sister after visiting hours. But the really nice nurse says...

**You may enter.**

*Vy      **možete**      vojti.*  
You.pl   **MOD**      enter

(21) You are making plans for tomorrow night to meet up with your friend. Your friend says:

**You can stay overnight or you can go home.**

**You can stay overnight. You can also go home.**

*Ty      **možeš**      ostat'sja      nočevat'      a      **možeš**      poexat'      domoj.*  
You      **MOD**      stay      sleep.over      conj      MOD      go      home

(22) Alice fell down the stairs and broke her arm a while ago. She hasn't been lifting her baby while her arm was hurt because the baby is heavy. Finally, she has recovered, and she went to the doctor for a final check-up. The doctor gave her permission to lift her baby. But when she got home after her visit to the doctor, Alice found that she is still too weak to lift her baby, although according to the doctor's orders

**Alice can lift her baby.**

*Alice      **možno**      podnimat'      rebjonka.*  
Subj.dat   **mod.3sg.neut**      lift      baby

- *#Alice **mozet** would have the reading like “the doctor told Alice that she would be able to do (i.e., believes that she should be able to)”*

(23) Beth's teacher told her class that it was okay to go swimming, but Beth doesn't want to because she has never learnt to swim! However, as far as the teacher's directions are concerned...

**Beth can go swimming.**

*Maria      **možet**      idti      plavat'*  
Maria      **MOD**      go      swim.inf

- *Maria.dat **možno idti plavat'** - external/circumstantial (“Alice can go swimming when her pulse has gone down to an appropriate level after ...”)*

## B4 Deontic non-necessity

(16') Your friend is having a birthday party. She tells you that she would like it if everyone invited wore formal clothes, but that it is not necessary to wear formal clothes to attend. You think to yourself... I ought to wear formal clothes to the party, but **I don't have to / needn't wear formal clothes.**

*No      mne      **ne**      **nužno**      nadevat'      narjadnuju      odeždu.*

|     |       |            |            |        |        |         |
|-----|-------|------------|------------|--------|--------|---------|
| But | I.dat | <b>neg</b> | <b>MOD</b> | put.on | dressy | clothes |
|-----|-------|------------|------------|--------|--------|---------|

|           |            |            |             |                 |                   |                |
|-----------|------------|------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------------|----------------|
| <i>No</i> | <i>mne</i> | <i>ne</i>  | <i>nado</i> | <i>nadevat'</i> | <i>narjadnuju</i> | <i>odeždu.</i> |
| But       | I.dat      | <b>neg</b> | <b>MOD</b>  | put.on          | dressy            | clothes        |

(18') In England, it is recommended that face coverings be worn in stores, but it is not a legal requirement. You plan on going shopping, and you think to yourself... I ought to wear a face covering, but **I don't have to / needn't wear a face covering.**

|            |            |              |               |               |
|------------|------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|
| <i>Mne</i> | <i>ne</i>  | <i>nužno</i> | <i>nosit'</i> | <i>masku.</i> |
| I.dat      | <b>neg</b> | <b>need</b>  | wear          | mask          |

|            |            |             |               |               |
|------------|------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|
| <i>Mne</i> | <i>ne</i>  | <i>nado</i> | <i>nosit'</i> | <i>masku.</i> |
| I.dat      | <b>neg</b> | <b>need</b> | wear          | mask          |

## B5 Deontic impossibility

(12') In Indonesia, the law states that when you ride a motor bike... **You mustn't ride a motor bike without a helmet.**

|           |            |               |                   |                   |            |               |
|-----------|------------|---------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------|---------------|
| <i>Ųy</i> | <i>ne</i>  | <i>možete</i> | <i>upravljat'</i> | <i>motociklom</i> | <i>bez</i> | <i>šlema.</i> |
| You.pl    | <b>neg</b> | <b>mod</b>    | manage            | motorbike         | without    | helmet        |

|            |                |                   |                   |            |               |
|------------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------|---------------|
| <i>Vam</i> | <i>nel'zja</i> | <i>upravljat'</i> | <i>motociklom</i> | <i>bez</i> | <i>šlema.</i> |
| You.pl.dat | <b>mod</b>     | manage            | motorbike         | without    | helmet        |

(13') You are going to visit your friend in the hospital. When you enter into the hospital, you stop at the information desk to inquire what room your friend is in. But the woman at the information desk tells you that you can't visit your friend now because it's already 8pm. She says, "I'm sorry, the hospital regulations say that... **Visitors mustn't stay after 6pm.**"

|                   |            |               |                    |              |           |
|-------------------|------------|---------------|--------------------|--------------|-----------|
| <i>Posetiteli</i> | <i>ne</i>  | <i>mogut</i>  | <i>ostavat'sja</i> | <i>posle</i> | <i>6.</i> |
| Visitors          | <b>NEG</b> | <b>MOD.pl</b> | stay               | after        | 6         |

|                    |                |                    |              |           |
|--------------------|----------------|--------------------|--------------|-----------|
| <i>Posetitljam</i> | <i>nel'zja</i> | <i>ostavat'sja</i> | <i>posle</i> | <i>6.</i> |
| Visitors.dat       | <b>MOD</b>     | stay               | after        | 6         |



## C. TELEOLOGICAL

### C1 Teleological Necessity

(24) There is only one main road from Location A to Location B... If you go from Location A to Location B, **you have to take this road**.

|            |                     |                |           |             |                |
|------------|---------------------|----------------|-----------|-------------|----------------|
| <i>Vam</i> | <b><i>nužno</i></b> | <i>poexat'</i> | <i>po</i> | <i>etoj</i> | <i>doroge.</i> |
| You.dat    | <b>MOD</b>          | go             | prep      | this        | road           |

- *Dolžno* - fine here too.

(25) Team A are playing in a tournament. In order to advance... **Team A has to beat Team B**.

|                |          |                     |                 |                |           |
|----------------|----------|---------------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------|
| <i>Komande</i> | <i>A</i> | <b><i>nužno</i></b> | <i>pobedit'</i> | <i>komandu</i> | <i>B.</i> |
| Team           | A        | <b>MOD</b>          | win.perf        | team           | B         |

|                |          |                      |                 |                |          |
|----------------|----------|----------------------|-----------------|----------------|----------|
| <i>Komanda</i> | <i>A</i> | <b><i>dolžna</i></b> | <i>pobedit'</i> | <i>komandu</i> | <i>B</i> |
| Team           | A        | <b>MOD</b>           | win.perf        | team           | B        |

(26) The best pizza in town is sold at Gino's. You have invited your sister for dinner, and you decide to order pizza. You tell your sister: **We have to order from Gino's** to eat the best pizza.

|             |           |              |                |              |          |                |           |            |                    |                 |          |              |
|-------------|-----------|--------------|----------------|--------------|----------|----------------|-----------|------------|--------------------|-----------------|----------|--------------|
| <i>Esli</i> | <i>my</i> | <i>xotim</i> | <i>lučšuju</i> | <i>pizzu</i> | <i>v</i> | <i>gorode,</i> | <i>to</i> | <i>nam</i> | <b><i>nado</i></b> | <i>zakazat'</i> | <i>u</i> | <i>Gino.</i> |
| If          | we        | want         | best           | pizza        | in       | town,          | then      | we.dat     | <b>MOD</b>         | order           | at       | Gino.        |

|             |           |              |                |              |          |                |           |            |                     |                 |          |              |
|-------------|-----------|--------------|----------------|--------------|----------|----------------|-----------|------------|---------------------|-----------------|----------|--------------|
| <i>Esli</i> | <i>my</i> | <i>xotim</i> | <i>lučšuju</i> | <i>pizzu</i> | <i>v</i> | <i>gorode,</i> | <i>to</i> | <i>nam</i> | <b><i>nužno</i></b> | <i>zakazat'</i> | <i>u</i> | <i>Gino.</i> |
| If          | we        | want         | best           | pizza        | in       | town,          | then      | we.dat     | <b>MOD</b>          | order           | at       | Gino.        |

|             |           |              |                |              |          |                |           |           |                      |                 |          |              |
|-------------|-----------|--------------|----------------|--------------|----------|----------------|-----------|-----------|----------------------|-----------------|----------|--------------|
| <i>Esli</i> | <i>my</i> | <i>xotim</i> | <i>lučšuju</i> | <i>pizzu</i> | <i>v</i> | <i>gorode,</i> | <i>to</i> | <i>my</i> | <b><i>dolžni</i></b> | <i>zakazat'</i> | <i>u</i> | <i>Gino.</i> |
| If          | we        | want         | best           | pizza        | in       | town,          | then      | we.nom    | <b>MOD</b>           | order           | at       | Gino.        |

\**mozno* - totally infelicitous in the context

### C2 Teleological Weak Necessity

(27) There are different ways to get to the shopping centre. You can go by foot, by bus, or drive yourself. You are not sure how to go. Your friend advises you to get the bus because it is cheaper... To get to the shopping centre, **you should take the bus**.

*Tebe sleduet sest' na avtobus.*  
 You.dat MOD sit prep bus

- *Sleduet* (equivalent to should)

(28) There are 3 ways to get to the seaside: a direct road, taking smaller roads, or a combination. Your friend says that taking the smaller roads is very beautiful. According to him, **you should go via the smaller roads.**

*Tebe sledujet exat' prosjoločnymi dorogami na poberež'e.*  
 You.dat MOD go country road prep seaside

(29) Your friend wants to buy a new shirt for her job at a reasonable price. There are many nice shops for professional clothes in the area, and you work at one of them and think it offers good prices. You say: **You should go to my shop to buy a new shirt.**

*sledujet*

- *#dolzen* - stronger order
- *Mozno* - "you may consider going to my shop"

### C3 Teleological Possibility

(30) There are two different ways to get to the mountains from the city centre. Way 1 is inland and way 2 goes around via the coast. Both take around 7 hours by bus and they are equally beautiful... **You can take way 1.**

*Vy možete poexat' po pervomy maršrutu.*  
 You.pl MOD go prep first route

(31) There are two swimming pools in the town with the exact same design and both are an equal distance from your house. You plan to go swimming later on but have no specific desire for which pool to go to. You tell your sister... **We can go to the swimming pool to the west.**

*My       možem       pojti   v       bassejn       v       škole*  
 We.nom **MOD**       go       prep   swimming-pool   prep   school

(32) Your friend wants to buy a new shirt for her job. Since there are many nice shops for professional clothes in the area, you say... **You can go to this boutique.**

*Ty       možeš   pojti   v       etot       butik.*  
 You.sg **MOD**   go       prep   this       boutique

## C4 Teleological non-necessity

(27') There are different ways to get to the shopping centre. You can go by foot, by bus, or drive yourself. You are not sure how to go. Your friend advises you to get the bus because it is cheaper... To get to the shopping centre, you should take the bus, but **you don't need to / needn't take the bus.**

*Tebe       ne       objazatel'no   exat'   na       avtobuse.*  
 You.dat   neg       MOD       ride   on       bus

*Tebe       ne       nužno       exat'   na       avtobuse.*  
 You.dat   neg       MOD       ride   on       bus

- *Objazatel'no* is more natural
- *#ne mozno* -> you can't take a bus because there is no bus
- *#ne dolzen* -> there is a bus, and you don't have money so you *shouldn't* take the bus

## C5 Teleological impossibility

(24') There is only one main road from Location A to Location B... If you are going from Location A to Location B, **you can't take another road.**

*Vy       ne       možete   poexat'   po       drugoj   doroge.*  
 You       neg       MOD       go       on       other   road

*#Vam nel'zja poexat' po drugoj doroge*

(25') Team A are playing in a tournament. In order to advance... **Team A can't lose to Team B.**

*Komande       A       nel'zja       proigrat       komande       B*  
 Team       A       **MOD**       plat       team       B

## D. CIRCUMSTANTIAL

### D1 Circumstantial Necessity

(33) You are on a bus. You have not had a chance to go to the toilet for 4 hours, and your bladder is full. You text your friend... **I have to pee so badly!**

*Mne očen' nužno/ nado v tualet!*  
I.dat very mod / mod in toilet

# *dolžny*  
# *objazani*

(34) In the middle of a conversation, you feel a sneeze coming on... Excuse me! **I have to sneeze.**

*Mne nužno / nado čixnut'.*  
I.dat mod / mod to.sneeze

- *nužno/nado* - express some sort of physiological necessity

*Checking with an inanimate subject.*

*Context: the bike needs fixing, the chain is not working properly so*

*Velosiped dolžen bit' nalažen pered ispol'zovaniem.*  
Bicycle mod be.inf repaired before usage

*Velosiped nado naladit' pered ispol'zovaniem*  
Bicycle MOD repaired before usage

(35') Water is entering a pipe, which has two outputs: the left output and the right output. You block the left output so that **the water must come out from the right output.**

*Voda dolžna vyjti s pravoj storoni.*  
Water mod come.out from right side

*Voda objazana vyjti s pravoj storoni*  
Water mod come.out from right side

- *#nužno/nado* - because this sentence doesn't express

### D3 Circumstantial Possibility

(36) Ani came to visit a small island in the Philippines. She noticed that the climate and many of the plants are similar to some places she visited in Indonesia, where *duku* trees grow. The temperature is the same, the rainfall is the same, the types of rocks and the soil are the same. But when she looked around, she didn't find any *duku* trees anywhere. But because the temperature, rainfall, and soil are the same, she thinks that... ***duku* trees can grow here.**

|              |             |                        |              |               |
|--------------|-------------|------------------------|--------------|---------------|
| <i>Dervo</i> | <i>Duku</i> | <i>?dolžno / mozet</i> | <i>zdes'</i> | <i>rasti.</i> |
| Tree         | duku        | <b>mod</b>             | / <b>mod</b> | here grow     |

|              |             |                 |              |                |
|--------------|-------------|-----------------|--------------|----------------|
| <i>Dervo</i> | <i>Duku</i> | <i>vozmožno</i> | <i>zdes'</i> | <i>rastjot</i> |
| Tree         | duku        | <b>mod</b>      | here         | grow           |

(37) Amy was in Italy and learned how to make traditional Italian pasta. Now Amy is back in the country she lives in, and she wants to make traditional pasta, but the right kind of ingredients are not sold where she lives. So, she is unhappy because she wanted to show her parents how to make traditional pasta... **Amy can make traditional Italian pasta** (but she does not have the ingredients).

|              |                |                    |                      |                    |                  |
|--------------|----------------|--------------------|----------------------|--------------------|------------------|
| <i>Maria</i> | <i>mozet</i>   | <i>prigotovit'</i> | <i>traditsionnye</i> | <i>ital'anskie</i> | <i>makarony.</i> |
| Maria        | <b>mod.3sg</b> | prepare.inf        | traditional          | italian            | pasta            |

***vozmožno*** - in principle, if she gets the ingredients should get the pasta.

**#dolžno**

(38) Ben was in a motorbike accident 3 weeks ago, and he sprained his ankle. Ben is able to walk now. However, the doctor told Ben that he is not allowed to walk until 5 weeks after the accident... **Ben can walk now.**

|            |              |               |               |
|------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|
| <i>Ben</i> | <i>mozet</i> | <i>sejčas</i> | <i>xodit'</i> |
| Ben        | can          | now           | walk          |

**#dolžen**

**#vozmožno**

(39) Paul is quite old now, but he is still strong. His children are scared he will hurt his back if he does any intense labour, so they told him that he is forbidden to lift heavy things. But one day, his friend Rob asked to help him in the field, because Rob knows Paul is still strong. So when Rob saw a large rock that had to be moved, he asked Paul straightaway for help (but he didn't tell Paul's children!). Rob knew that... **Paul can lift that rock.**

Paul **mog** *podnjat* *tot kamen*’.  
 Paul **MOD** lift that rock

(40) The travel vans have a limit of 13 people by law. But the drivers don’t care, and stop for more than 13 people. Also, the vans are bigger than you think... **Travel vans can fit 20 people.**

*V mikroavtobusy* **možet** *pomestit’sja* 20 *čelovek*.  
 In minivans mod fit 20 person

*V mikroavtobusy* **vozmožno** *vmestit’* 20 *čelovek*  
 In minivans MOD fit 20 people

- Not too clear a distinction between the two

#### D4. Circumstantial non-necessity

(44) Given the way this volcano has been active in the past 100 years, it is likely but not certain that it will erupt in the next 5 years. **The volcano doesn’t have to erupt.**

*Vulkan* **ne** **dolžen** **objazatel’no** *vzorvat’sja*.  
 Volcano **NEG MOD obligatory** to.erupt

- Here, it’s just “not necessarily the case that it will erupt”
- “Without **objazatel’no (adverb)**, you’re saying that there is clear evidence that it won’t erupt.”
  - #*Vulkan ne dolžen* *vzorvat’sja*

*Vulkan* **možet** *i ne* *vzorvat’sja*.  
 Volcano **MOD** foc neg to.erupt

#### D5. Circumstantial impossibility

(34’) Ben was in a motorbike accident 3 weeks ago. He sprained his ankle and is in a lot of pain. **Ben can’t walk.**

*Ben* **ne** **možet** *xodit’*  
 Ben **NEG MOD** walk

#*Benu nel’zja* *xodit’*

#*Ben ne dolžen* *xodit’*

(35') Water is entering a pipe, which has two outputs: the left output and the right output. But, you know that the left output is blocked. And the water is coming out from the right output. You say: **the water can't come out from the left output**.

*Voda ne mozet / ne dolzna vitec s levoj storoni*  
Water NEG MOD / NEG MOD flow.out from left side

- *Ne dolzna* - it shouldn't be coming out from the right... because it's blocked, etc.

(36') Ani came to visit a small Caribbean island. She noticed that the climate and many of the plants are very different to the places she visited in Indonesia, where *duku* trees grow. The types of rocks and the soil are different as well. She doesn't know whether or not there are *duku* trees on the island. But because the temperature, rainfall, and soil are so different, she thinks that... **duku trees can't grow here**.

*Derevo Duku ne mozet / ne dolzen zdes' rosti*  
Tree duku NEG MOD / NEG MOD here to.grow

#*Nel'zja*

- Only used in deontic impossibility. Doesn't work here

## E. BOULETIC

### E1 Bouletic Necessity

**Target: bouletic necessity**

**(42) targets bouletic necessity vs. deontic necessity**

(41) You love handbags. You see a really nice handbag in a window and you say... **I must buy it.**

*Ja      dolžna   ejo      kupit'.*  
I        mod   her      buy.inf

*Mne      nado      ejo      kupit'*  
I.dat   mod   her      buy

*#mozet*

(42) Your friend asks you what you want to do today since it is a holiday and you both are not required to do any tasks today. However, you absolutely want to see this new movie that everyone is talking about- You say... **I must go to the cinema.**

*Ja      dolžna   sxodit' v      kinoteart.*

*?Mne nado sxodit' v kinoteart*

- Infelicitous if you don't have the internal urge to do smth (you'd do this to catch up with some friends who are talking about the film or something)

(43) A daughter tells her parent... **My friend wants to come visit me.**

*Moj      drug      xočet   k      nam      prijti.*  
My      friend   wants   to      us      come

*#Dolzen*

*#Nado*



Table of Russian modals:

| MODALS                | EPISTEMIC                                       | ROOT/NON-EPISTEMIC              |   |  |   |
|-----------------------|---|---------------------------------|---|--|---|
|                       |   | PARTICIPANT-EXTERNAL            |   | PARTICIPANT-INTERNAL                             |   |
|                       |   | <u>Deontic</u>                  | <u>Teleological</u>                         | <u>Circumstantial</u>                            | <u>Bouletic</u>                             |
| <b>Necessity</b>      | dolžen(~1)/dolžno (1)<br><br>Navernoje          | Dolžen (2)<br><br>Objazani (2)  | Nužno (1)<br><br>Nado (1)<br><br>Dolžen (2) | Nužno (1)<br><br>Nado (1)<br><br>Dolžen (2)      | Dolžen (1)<br><br>Nado (1)<br><br>xočet (2) |
| <b>Weak Necessity</b> | dolžen(2)/dolžno (1)<br><br>\\<br>Navernoje (1) | Sleduet (2)                     | Sleduet (2)                                 | ...  | n/a   |
| <b>Possibility</b>    | Možet (2)<br>\\<br>Vozmožno (1)                 | Možet (2)<br>\\<br>Možno (1)    | Možet (2)                                   | Možet (2)<br><br>Vozmožno (1)                    | n/a   |
| <b>Non-necessity</b>  | Vozmožno net (1)<br><br>Možet ne (2)            | Ne nužno (1)<br><br>Ne nado (1) | Ne nužno (1)<br><br>Ne objazatel'no (1)     | Ne dolžen objazatel'no (1)<br><br>Možet i ne (2) |   |
| <b>Impossibility</b>  | Ne možet (2)                                    | Ne možet (2)<br><br>Nel'zja (1) | Ne možet (2)                                | Ne možet<br><br>Ne dolžen                        |   |

|                     |                        |
|---------------------|------------------------|
| Adverbial forms (1) | vozmožno, nado, nužno  |
| Verbal forms (2)    | Možet, dolžen, sleduet |

Tentative Table of Modals:

| MODALS                | EPISTEMIC                      | ROOT/NON-EPISTEMIC                                       |                     |                       |                 |
|-----------------------|--------------------------------|--|---------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|
|                       |                                | PARTICIPANT-EXTERNAL                                     |                     | PARTICIPANT-INTERNAL  |                 |
|                       | <u>Epistemic</u>               | <u>Deontic</u>   | <u>Teleological</u> | <u>Circumstantial</u> | <u>Bouletic</u> |
| <b>Necessity</b>      | Dolžen                         | Dolžen<br><br>Prihoditsja<br>+ impf<br><br>Nado<br>(adv) |                     |                       | khotet'         |
| <b>Weak Necessity</b> |                                | byl by<br>(cop + pst)                                    |                     | ...                   | n/a             |
| <b>Possibility</b>    | Možet / Možno<br><br>Mog (moč) | Možet  | Možet               | Možet<br><br>Umeyet ? | n/a             |
| <b>Non-necessity</b>  |                                | Ne dolžen<br>(neg + mod)                                 |                     | Ne dolžen             |                 |
| <b>Impossibility</b>  | Nel'zja                        | Nel'zja +<br>impf  | Nel'zja             | Nel'zja + perf        |                 |

- DWN seen in Fintel & Iatridou (2006)
- Ne dolžen “rarely used for multiple events”
- According to corpus studies from Haan (2002) *prihoditsja* has not been seen in epistemic cases with imperfective verbs. Could be worth testing
- Haan (2002) also suggests for *nel'zja* - “if the main verb is perfective, the interpretation is negated ability, if it is imperfective, it denotes negated permission”

- Anticipate differing readings triggered by verbal aspect - the modality can be implicit based on the tense/aspect of the verb, or the reading of a modal determined by the aspect (cf. Klimonov & Klimonov, 2008)

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