ON LICENSING REQUIREMENTS OF THE RUSSIAN -NIBUD'- SERIES[1]

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1 Introduction

In this paper, I discuss the distribution of the *–nibud'*-series of non-specific indefinite pronouns in Russian.[2] Each member of this series is composed of a wh-stem and the additional morphological material *-nibud*.

(1) The *–nibud'*-series

	Pronoun	Components	Meaning
1	Kto-nibud'	who-*nibud'*	'someone or other'
2	čto-nibud'	what-*nibud'*	'something or other'
3	gde-nibud'	where-*nibud'*	'somewhere or other'
4	kak-nibud'	how-*nibud'*	'somehow or other'
5	kuda-nibud'	where.to-*nibud'*	'to somewhere or other'
5	kogda-nibud'	when-*nibud'*	'at some time or other'
7	kakoj-nibud'	which-*nibud'*	'some' or 'any'

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[2] (Non) specificity may seem to be the defining characteristic of *–nibud'*; however, see Dahl (1999) for a discussion of why characterizing *–nibud'* solely in terms of (non)specificity fails.

Example sentences below show that *–nibud'*-items cannot appear in just any sentence – their distribution is restricted:

(2) a. (Yesterday I saw how…)[3]
***kto-nibud'** kupil moroženoe.
who-*nibud'* bought ice-cream
'Someone or other bought ice-cream.'

d. **Nekotoryje** mal'čiki (**čto-nibud'**) pročitali (**kakuju-nibud'** knigu).
Some.of boys what-*nibud'* read which-*nibud'* book
'Some of the boys read some book or other/ something or other.'

c. *Skaži mame, čto Maša čto-nibud' podobrala s pola.
Tell mom that Maša what-nibud' picked from floor
'Tell Mom that Maša has picked something or other from the floor.'

The literature on the *-nibud'*-series agrees that its members necessarily take narrow scope with respect to their licensers (Yanovich 2005, 2006, Pereltsvaig 2000, 2008, Geist 2008), but is undecided on what the licensing mechanism of this series is.

I will begin in Section 2 with a general discussion of *–nibud'*. I will discuss *–nibud'*-licensing in irrealis infinitivals and future tense sentences in Section 3. I will then turn to the licensing of *–nibud'* by quantifiers in Section 4, where I also discuss scope properties of *–nibud'*-licensers.

2. On the nature of *–nibud'*

In this section, I discuss some general syntactic and semantic properties of *–nibud'*-items. I will investigate the possibility of analyzing *–nibud'*-items as NPIs (Geist 2008) and come to the conclusion that they should not be analyzed in this manner, as also suggested tentatively in Pereltsvaig (2000). Pereltsvaig (2000) had the insight that licensers of *–nibud'*-items do not form

[3] Notice that the sentences in (2a,c) and all the other sentences cited here as ungrammatical need to be taken in a context that is not hypothetical ('it is a fact that..', 'I saw with my own eyes that …'). I will call these contexts factual. By contrast, in a hypothetical context, the difference in grammaticality disappears.

a natural class with respect to either downward monotonicity or (non)-veridicality. She did not, however, give a clear generalization regarding the distribution of *–nibud',* which will be established here. The relevant data will be discussed in the following two sub-sections. I then examine the syntactic position of *–nibud'*-items and their licensers. I conclude that *–nibud'*-objects and adjuncts are TP-adjoined, and *–nibud'*-subjects may be located in AgrsP.

2.1 Similarities with NPIs

–Nibud'-items are disallowed in factual statements that are not quantified, whether or not clausemate sentential negation (SN) is present (3)a,b), and occur in many environments where NPIs or free choice items (FCIs) are licensed, such as (3)c-i), as also noticed in Pereltsvaig (2000) and Geist (2008).[4]

(3) a. (Yesterday I saw how…)
***kto-nibud'** kupil moroženoe. Factual
who-*nibud'* bought ice-cream
'Someone or other bought ice-cream.'

b. (Yesterday I saw how…)
***kto-nibud'** ne kupil moroženoe. Factual+Negation
who-*nibud'* not bought ice-cream
'it was not the case that someone or other bought ice-cream.'

c. On tebja s **kem-nibud'** poznakomil? Interrogative
he you with who-nibud' introduced
'Did he introduce you to anyone?'

[4] Another environment where *–nibud'* is licensed involves (i), where negative meaning is conveyed by means other than sentential negation.

(i) A: Ivan govorit, čto našël klad.
Ivan says that found hidden treasure
'Ivan says that he found a hidden treasure.'

B: Čërta s dva on čto-nibud' našël. On ne znaet, kak iskat'.
Devil with two he what-*nibud*' found. He NEG knows how to look.
'He found something, my ass. He does not know how to look.

I tentatively suggest that expressions like *čërta s dva* have an epistemic modal component, but leave a more precise intestigation for further research.

d. Privezi mne **čto-nibud'** iz Grecii. — Imperative
Bring me what-*nibud'* from Greece
'Bring me something from Greece.'

e. Esli vy **kogo-nibud'** vstretite, pozvonite mne. — Conditional: antecedent
If you who-*nibud'* meet, call me
'If you meet anyone, give me a call.'

f. Esli by vy **kogo-nibud'** vstretili — Subjunctive conditional: antecedent
If SUBJ you who-*nibud'* met,
vy by mne pozvonili.
you SUBJ me called
'If you had met someone or other, you would have given me a call.'

g. Ja xoču kupit' **čto-nibud'** vkusnoe. — Infinitival
I want buy.INF what-*nibud'* tasty
'I want to buy something tasty.'

h. Mne možno nenadolgo **kuda-nibud'** ujti. — Modal
Me can not.for.long where-*nibud'* leave.INF
'I can go somewhere for a short time.'

i. Každyj raz, kogda **kto-nibud'** stučal v dver', Vera vzdragivala. — Restriction of 'every'
Every time when who-*nibud'* knocked in door, Vera shuddered
'Every time someone or other knocked on the door, Vera shuddered.'

Looking at the environments in (3) where *–nibud'* is licensed, we see that many languages license NPIs and FCIs in many of these environments. English *any* is found, among others, in environments corresponding to (3)c,d,e,f,h,i) (see, for example, Giannakidou (1998) and references cited there), as (4) demonstrates:

(4) a. Did Lucy see anyone? — Interrogative
b. Take any apple. — Imperative
c. If you sleep with anybody else … — Conditional: antecedent
d. Anyone can answer this question. — Modal
e. Everyone who knew anything about the accident spoke to the police. — Restriction of 'every'

The distribution of the Serbo-Croatain NPIs of the *i*-series includes environments corresponding to (5)c, e, i) (Progovac 1994, and subsequent work):

(5) a. Da li Milan voli i(t)koga? — Yes/no question
That Q Milan loves anyone
'Does Milan love anyone?

b. Ako Milan povredi i(t)koga, biće kažnjen. Conditional: antecedent
If Milan hurts anyone be.FUT punished
'If Milan hurts anyone, he will be punished.

c. Svako (t)ko povredi i(t)koga, mora biti kažnjen. Restriction of 'every'
Everyone who injures anyone must be punished
'Everyone who injures anyone, must be punished.'

Other examples can be given. The important point here is that many of the environments where *–nibud'* is licensed are also environments where other languages license NPIs or FCIs. This calls for a serious examination of the question whether *–nibud'*-items are NPIs or FCIs.

2.2 Some reasons why *–nibud'*-items are not NPIs

Given the data in the previous sub-section, it is tempting to think of *–nibud'*-items as NPIs. However, on closer examination, it becomes clear that *–nibud'*-items are not NPIs at all. Additional data prove conclusively that the licensers of *–nibud'*-items do not form a natural class with respect to either downward monotonicity or (non)-veridicality – two characteristics of environments that have been argued to license NPIs in English and other languages. An operator is downward monotonic if licenses the inference from a superset to its subset (see Barwise, J. and R. Cooper (1981), among many others). An example of an operator creating such a context is SN; as shown in (6), the English NPI *any* is licensed under it.

(6) If I did not buy any alcohol, then I did not buy any beer.

An operator is nonveridical if the proposition it embeds may be either true or false (see, e.g., Giannakidou 1998). An example of such an operator is the modal adverb *perhaps*: we cannot infer the truth of (7)b) from (7)a).

(7) a. Perhaps 60% of today's oil price is pure speculation.
b. 60% of today's oil price is pure speculation.

Both of these two approaches to NPI licensing fail to account for the distribution of *–nibud'*. Consider first downward entailment. In (3), the *–nibud'*-item is licensed in the restriction of *každyj* 'each', which is a downward entailing environment. However, the *–nibud'*-item is also licensed in (8)a) in the scope of *každyj* 'each', which is not a downward entailing environment, and in (8)b), where the licensing quantifier is *nekotoryje* 'some of', which does not create a downward entailing environment.

(8) a. **Každyj raz**, kogda Vera stučala v dver', **kto-nibud'** vzdragival.
Every time when Vera knocked on door, who-*nibud'* shuddered
'Every time Vera knocked on the door, someone or other shuddered

b. **Nekotoryje** mal'čiki **čto-nibud'** pročitali **kakuju-nibud'** knigu.
Some.of boys what-*nibud'* read which-*nibud'* book
'Some of the boys read some book or other/ something or other.'

In (9), we see that an assortment of habitual adverbs license *–nibud'*.

(9) Tvoj brat **vsegda/inogda/ často/redko čto-nibud'** delaet.
Your brother always/sometimes /often/rarely what-*nibud'* does
'Your brother always does something or other.'

Giannakidou (1998) suggests that all habitual adverbs but *always* are non-veridical. They contain the quantifier HAB which binds a situation variable. For instance, (10) could correspond to the adverb *often* (11): situations s_1, s_2 are in the restriction but not in the scope. For this reason, we cannot infer (11)b) from (11)a).

(10) $\text{HAB}_{[\ldots s\ldots]}$ $[s_1, s_2, s_3, \ldots s_n]$ $[s_3, \ldots s_n]$
restriction scope

(11) a. Mary *often* goes to bed at 10.
$\text{HAB}_{[\ldots s\ldots]}$ $[s_1, s_2, s_3, \ldots s_n]$ $[s_3, \ldots s_n]$
Restriction: situations where Mary goes to bed
scope: situations where Mary goes to bed at 10

b. Mary goes to bed at 10.

We can, however, infer (12)b) from (12)a), so *always* is veridical:

(12) a. Mary always goes to bed at 10.
b. Mary goes to bed at 10.

On the (non)veridicality theory, then, (9) is expected to be unacceptable with *vsegda* 'always', but acceptable with the other adverbs. We saw no such contrast in (9).

Furthermore, consider the consequent of conditionals, which is not an NPI-licensing environment on either theory of NPI licensing. It does not license inference to a subset (13)a); the truth of the consequent is independent of the truth of the antecedent (13)b):

(13) a. If the students have come, the teachers have left. -/-> It the students have come, the math teachers have left. (it is quite possible that there were no math teachers present to begin with.)

b. If the students have come, the teachers have left. -/-> If the students have come, the math teachers have left. (the statement 'the teachers have left' can be true whether or not the students have come.)

If *–nibud'* were an NPI, we would expect it to be ungrammatical in the consequent of a conditional on either theory. Surprisingly, *-nibud'* is perfectly fine in the consequent of a conditional:

(14) a. Esli Katja doma, to v xolodil'nike uže **čto-nibud'** est'.
if K. home, then in fridge already what-*nibud'* is
'If Katja is home, then there is something in the fridge already.'

b. Esli by Katja byla doma, to v xolodil'nike by uže **čto-nibud'** bylo.
If SUBJ K. was home, then in fridge SUBJ already what-*nibud'* was
'If Katja was home, there would already be something in the fridge.'

The following example shows that *–nibud'*-items are not FCIs because they do not give a universal-like reading in modal contexts.

(15) (Naverno) Kto-nibud' iz nix možet stojat' na golove.
(Possibly) Who-nibud' of them can stand on head
'(Possibly)Someone or other among them can stand on his head.'
*(Possibly)Anyone of them can stand on his head.'

Thus, the data discussed so far indicate that *-nibud'*-items require a licensing context; they cannot appear just anywhere. However, they are not simply licensed in NPI or FCI licensing contexts.

2.3 *–nibud'* in clause structure

In this sub-section, I will discuss the syntactic position of *–nibud'*-items. I will argue that *-nibud'*-items are TP-adjoined.

2.3.1 *–nibud'*-items are no lower than TP but not as high as CP

In this sub-section, I adopt the split IP framework and argue that *–nibud'*-items are TP-adjoined if they are objects and may reach Spec, AgrsP when they are subjects because this is the canonical subject position in Russian (Abels 2002). I will also make the important point that *–nibud'*-items never move as high as CP. I will use two tests: position of *–nibud'*-items with respect to moved wh-items and with respect to the sentential adverb *naverno* 'possibly'.

Bošković (2000) argues that wh-phrases in Russian undergo focus movement, not wh-movement (see also Stepanov 1998), based on the absence of superiority effects in Russian. Bošković argues that multiple wh-fronting languages that have real wh-movement, like Bulgarian, show superiority effects and disallow single-pair answers to multiple wh-questions (see Bošković 2002 for relevant discussion). Russian multiple wh-phrases move to a focus licensing position, Spec, FocP, which is situated between AgrsP and CP (16). I also assume, following Koizumi (1993), that adjunction to AgrsP is disallowed because this projection is semantically vacuous.

(16) $[_{CP}\ [_{FocP}$ *wh-* $[_{AgrsP} \ldots t_{wh} \ldots$

This movement, not being wh-movement, does not observe superiority, so wh-phrases that move to that position can occur in any order [5] (17)a,b).

(17) a. Kto gde sprjačetsja?
Who where hide.self.FUT
'Who is hiding where?'
b. Gde kto spračetsja?

c. Kto čto s"est?
who what eat.FUT
'Who eats what?'
d. Čto kto s"est?

Given this analysis, any item that occurs in any order with the moved wh-phrases is located in FocP, any item that has to precede them is higher and any item that has to follow them must be lower than FocP. It is also possible for one item to have both attachment options and appear either higher or lower than wh-phrases.

Turning now to, *naverno* 'probably', a typical sentential adverb, notice that it can occur either to the left or to the right of the subject (18).

(18) (Naverno) Ivan (naverno) poterjal bilety.
(Probably) Ivan (probably) lost tickets
'Probably Ivan has lost the tickets.'

If the subject is in Spec, AgrsP, then *naverno* in post-subject position can be adjoined to TP, which is what Bošković (1997) proposes; when *naverno* precedes the subject, it is adjoined to CP, given that adjunction to AgrsP is disallowed. Given this, by checking whether an item can freely alternate positions with *naverno* in its higher or lower attachment site, we can then estimate whether it can occur adjoined to these sites.

Notice also that given the above discussion, the pre-subject *naverno,* which is adjoined to CP, should be higher than moved wh-phrases, which are located in FocP. This is indeed the case. In (19)a,b), both sentences are somewhat degraded because *naverno* and other epistemic

[5] There is some speaker variation in this respect, but it is true for the majority of speakers that the order of wh-phrases in true wh-questions does not matter (see Radkevich (2005) for a detailed discussion).

adverbs are not fully compatible with questions (see Shields (2004) and references cited there). Nevertheless, (19)a), where *naverno* precedes the moved wh-phrase, is better than (19b), where *naverno* follows the moved wh-phrase:[6]

(19) a. ??Naverno čto on kupit?
Probably what he will.buy
'He will probably buy what?'

b. *Čto naverno on kupit?
What probably he will.buy
'He will probably buy what?'

Let us first pin down the position of the *–nibud'* object; the conclusion will also hold for *–nibud'*-adjuncts. *-Nibud'*-objects show a clear preference for a pre-verbal position, which I assume indicates that they undergo overt movement:

(20) Ja vsegda čto-nibud' delaju (??čto-nibud').
I always what-*nibud'* do (what-*nibud'*)
'I always do something or other.'

As adjunction to AgrsP is ruled out by asumption, we have three positions to consider: Spec, FocP, Spec, CP, and TP-adjunction.

I propose that *–nibud'*-objects adjoin to TP for the following reasons. First, if *–nibud*' were undergoing focus movement to the focus licensing position Spec, FocP, we would expect it to either precede or follow moved wh-phrases. This prediction is not borne out: *–nibud'* must follow moved wh-phrases (21)a,b). This suggests that the object *–nibud'* does not move as high as FocP. Since CP dominates FocP, anything that cannot be as high as Spec, FocP cannot be as high as Spec,CP either.

(21) a. Kto čto-nibud' s"est?
Who what-*nibud'* eat.FUT
'Who will eat or other?'
b. *Čto-nibud' kto s"est?[7]

[6]The contrast is clearer with echo questions, which in Russian also involve movement of wh-elements to FocP (see Stepanov (1998) for relevant discussion).

Second, *naverno* 'probably' can be either preceded or followed by *–nibud'* when it is located in post-subject position. As discussed above, given that the subject is in Spec, AgrsP, *naverno* in post-subject position is adjoined to TP (Bošković 1997); when it precedes the subject, it is adjoined to CP. If the post-subject *naverno* and *–nibud'* are both TP-adjoined, and we expect the ordering between them to be free. If the pre-subject *naverno* is CP-adjoined and *-nibud'* is TP adjoined, we expect that *–nibud'* cannot precede it. As can be seen from (22)a - d), this is indeed the case. (22)a-c) may produce slightly varying judgments, but (22)d), where *–nibud'* precedes sentence-initial *naverno*, is definitely worse than all of (22)a - c). (23) shows that a *–nibud'*-object cannot precede the subject even when it is itself preceded by *naverno*. The fact that (23)a) is very degraded indicates that a *–nibud'*-object cannot be adjoined to FocP or located in Spec,FocP.

(22) a. Naverno on čto-nibud'kupit.
probably he what-*nibud'*buy.FUT
'He will probably buy something or other.'
b. On naverno čto-nibud' kupit.
c. On čto-nibud' naverno kupit.
d. *Čto-nibud' naverno on kupit.

(23) a. *(Naverno) čto-nibud' on kupit.
b. *[$_{CP}$ *naverno* [$_{FocP}$ *–nibud'* [$_{FocP}$ [$_{ArgsP}$ NP$_{SUBJ}$ [….

Since a *–nibud'*-object is free to come before or after *naverno* in post-subject position but is lower than the FocP position of moved wh-elements, and comes after the subject in neutral speech, I conclude that it is TP-adjoined:

(24) *Neutral position of the –nibud'-object:*
[$_{CP}$ (*naverno*) [$_{FocP}$ (*wh*) [$_{AgrsP}$ NP$_{SUBJ}$ [$_{TP}$ *–nibud'*$_{OBJ}$ [$_{TP}$ …

[7]This sentence is fine as a surprise echo question but ruled out as a true wh-question or a request-for-repetition echo question. This difference between the two kinds of echo questions is expected if, as Bošković (2002) argues, wh-phrases undergo focus movement in the request-for-repetition echo questions, but not in surprise echo questions. The reason for this is that only in the former case, they stand for new information.

Facts are parallel for *–nibud'*-subjects. The first test involves the position of *–nibud'* with respect to moved wh-phrases. (25) indicates that *–nibud'*-subjects need to follow moved wh-phrases. This indicates that they cannot be located in FocP or higher. However, a *–nibud'*-subject can be TP-adjoined or even be in the canonical subject position, Spec,AgrsP.

(25) a. Gde kto-nibud' sprjačetsja?
Where who-*nibud'* hide.self.FUT
'Where will someone or other hide?'
a'. [$_{FocP}$ gde [$_{AgrsP}$ *–nibud'* or [$_{FocP}$ gde [$_{ArsP}$ [$_{TP}$ *–nibud'* [$_{TP}$ …

b. *Kto-nibud' gde sprjačetsja?
b'. *[$_{FocP}$ *–nibud'* [$_{FocP}$ gde [$_{ArsP}$ ...

Next, just as any other NP subject in Russian (26)a), *-nibud'*-subjects can be either preceded or followed by *naverno* (26)b), which is consistent with placing *–nibud'*-subjects either in Spec,AgrP or the TP-adjoined position. Finally, if both a *–nibud'*-subject and a *–nibud'*-object occur in the same sentence, the word order *subject* > *object*, as in (26)c), is somewhat preferred. This can be taken to indicate that-*nibud'*-subjects are in Spec, ArgsP. (26)d) is a partial structure.

(26) a. (Naverno) on/Ivan/Katin muž (naverno) uže prišël.
Probably he/Ivan/Kat'ja's husband probably already came
'Probably he/Ivan/Kat'ja's husband has already come.'

b. (Naverno) kto-nibud' (naverno) uže prišël.
Probably who-*nibud'* probably already came
'Probably someone or other has already come.'

c. (Imagine that…)
kto-nibud' iz nas čto-nibud' / ?čto-nibud' kto-nibud' iz nas vyigral.
Who-*nibud'* from us what-*nibud'*/what-*nibud'* who-*nibud'* from us won
'Someone or other from us won something or other.'

d. *Neutral position of the –nibud'-subject*:
[$_{CP}$ (*naverno*)[$_{FocP}$ (*wh*)[$_{AgrsP}$ *–nibud'* [$_{TP}$ *(naverno)* [$_{TP}$ …

To summarize, *-nibud'*-items take the following positions:

(27) a. *Neutral position of the –nibud'-object:*
[$_{CP}$ [$_{AgrsP}$ [$_{TP}$ *–nibud'*$_{OBJ}$ [$_{TP}$ …

b. *Neutral position of the –nibud'-subject*:
$[_{CP}\ [_{AgrsP}\ \textit{–nibud'}_{SUBJ}\ [_{TP}\ \ldots$

Having discussed the position of *–nibud'*-items, I now turn to the discussion of *–nibud'*-licensers.

2.1.3.2 The low scope requirement

Two facts about *–nibud'* have been observed in the literature (Yanovich 2005, 2006; Geist 2008): (i) *–nibud'*-items are licensed by quantifiers of various kinds, (ii) *–nibud*'-items obligatorily take scope below their licensers. In this sub-section, I will concentrate on the second fact and return to a detailed examination of the class of *–nibud'*-licensers in later sub-sections.

Pereltsvaig (2008) discusses the fact that the variable introduced by *–nibud'*-items picks out a different individual each time the variable bound by the licensing quantifier picks out a different individual (in (28)a), different people knock, and in (28)b) different people shudder), although the correspondence between events and individuals picked out by *–nibud'* does not have to be exactly one to one.

(28) a. **Každyj raz**, kogda **kto-nibud'** stučal v dver', Vera vzdragivala.
Every time when who-*nibud'* knocked in door, Vera shuddered
'Every time someone or other knocked on the door, Vera shuddered.'

b. **Každyj raz**, kogda Vera stučala v dver', **kto-nibud'** vzdragival.
Every time when Vera knocked on door, who-*nibud'* shuddered
'Every time Vera knocked on the door, someone or other shuddered.'

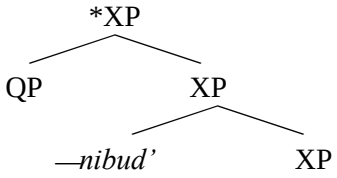
As *–nibud'* introduces an existential, not a universal quantifier (Geist 2008), this interpretation is only possible if *–nibud'*-items take low scope. As we saw in the previous section, *-nibud'*-items themselves are adjoined to TP or (for subjects) in Spec, AgrsP on the surface. If *–nibud'*-items remain in this position at LF, their licensers must be higher still at LF, even though they may not be that high on the surface, as in the example below:[8]

[8] *Vsegda* 'always' would then have to undergo QR in (29). I will briefly discuss this issue in the conclusion.

(29) Kto-nibud' **vsegda** propuskal lekcii.
Who-*nibud'* always missed lectures
'Someone or other always missed lectures.'

The low scope requirement can be observed only if *–nibud'* never has the option of c-commanding its licenser, even if it is mutual c-command, as in (30):

(30)



I will thus make the asumption that *–nibud*' and its c-commanding licenser cannot be adjoined to the same maximal projection. In the next sub-section, I turn to the discussion of the syntactic position of *–nibud'* licensers.

2.3.4 Minimal pairs involving the CP projection

I will show in this section that many *–nibud'*-licensers are located in the CP projection, as expected if *–nibud'*-licensers must be higher than AgrsP, as discussed above. One relevant piece of evidence comes from minimal pairs like the ones in (31), where the difference in grammaticality is due to characteristics that have been argued in the literature to be properties of the CP projection. (31)a,b) differ in that (31)a) is a statement, and (31)b) is a question.

(31) a. *Kto-nibud' možet mne pomoč'.
Who-*nibud'* can me help
'Someone or other can help me.'
*[$_{CP}$ [$_{TP}$ *–nibud'*]]

b. Kto-nibud' možet mne pomoč'?
who-*nibud'* can me help
'Can someone or other help me?'
[$_{CP}$ Op$_{Q}$ C [Kto-nibud' možet mne pomoč']]

It must be the question operator that makes the difference, and question operators are standardly taken to be in C (Cheng 1991, Chomsky 1995, Rizzi 1997) or in Spec, CP (Rizzi 1999, Sportiche 1995).

The difference between (32)a,b) is that (32)a) is in the indicative mood, but (33)b) is in the imperative mood.

(32) a. *Ivan privëz mne čto-nibud' iz Grecii.
Ivan brought me what-nibud' from Greece
*'Ivan brought me something (or other) from Greece.'
*[$_{CP}$ [$_{TP}$ –*nibud'*]]

b. Privezi mne čto-nibud' iz Grecii.
Bring me what-*nibud'* from Greece
'Bring me something (or other) from Greece.'
[$_{CP}$ Op$_{IMP}$ C$_{IMP}$ [Privezi mne čto-nibud' iz Grecii]]

Imperative mood has been analyzed as involving an operator in the C head (Han 2001, among others) or in a Spec in the CP domain (Belletti 1999, Schwager (2005), Zanuttini (2008), etc.).

The difference between (33)a) and (33)b,c) is that (33)a) is in the indicative mood, but (33)b, c) are in the conditional mood.

(33) a. *Vy kogo-nibud' vstretili i pozvonili mne.
you who-*nibud'* met and called me
"You met someone (or other) and called me.'
*[[$_{TP}$ –*nibud'*]]

b. Esli by vy kogo-nibud' vstretili, vy by mne pozvonili.
If SUBJ you who-*nibud'* met, you SUBJ me rang
'If you hd met anyone, you would have given me a call.'
…[$\varnothing_{NECESSARILY}$ (*to*) [v xolodil'nike uže čto-nibud' est']] (based on Kratzer 1986, etc.)

c. Esli vy kogo-nibud' vstretili, pozvonite mne.
If you who-*nibud'* met, ring me
'If you met anyone, give me a call.'
[$_{CP}$ wh$_{w1}$ C[v xolodil'nike čto-nibud' est'- w$_1$]]… (Bhatt and Pancheva 2006)

Both clauses of the conditional can be analyzed as involving operators in the CP domain. The *if*-clause has been analyzed as containing a wh-operator in the CP domain that binds the world variable (Bhatt and Pancheva (2006)). As for the main clause, Kratzer (1986) argues for a necessity operator in it. Considering that the verb in the main clause of the conditional is finite,

this operator cannot be a modal verb but must be an epistemic adverbial. Such adverbials are found in the CP domain.

The remaining question is that of locality: can *–nibud'*-items be licensed long-distance? The correct generalization appears to be that *-nibud'* is not licensed long-distance across a finite clause boundary, although a long-distance question with *–nibud'* (34)b,c) appears to be better than other examples of long distance licensing of *–nibud'* (34)a). I present the sentences along with the judgments of four speakers:

(34) a. */*/*/*Skaži mame, čto Maša čto-nibud' podobrala.
Tell Mom that Maša what-*nibud'* picked.up
'Tell Mom that Maša has picked up something or other'.

b. OK/OK/OK/? Govoril li on, čto kogo-nibud' ljubit?
Spoke PRT he that who-*nibud'* loves
'Did he say that he loves someone or other?'

c. OK/OK/*/*Ty videla, čto Maša čto-nibud' podobrala?
You saw that Maša what-*nibud'* picked.up
'Did you see that Maša picked up something or other?'

In sum, I have provided evidence that *–nibud'*-items are not NPIs. I have also discussed their position in clause structure and concluded that *–nibud'*-objects are TP-adjoined and *–nibud'*-subjects can reach Spec, AgrsP. The conclusion about *–nibud'*-objects extends to *–nibud'*-adjuncts. Since *–nibud'*-items need to be unambiguously in the scope of their licenser (perhaps by virtue of their lexical semantics[9]), I assume that *–nibud'* and its licenser cannot be adjoined to the same maximal projection. Furthermore, I have examined a number of contexts where the licenser of *–nibud* is located in CP, which suggests that all licensers of *–nibud'* may be in the CP field. I have also noted that *–nibud'*-items cannot be licensed long-distance.

3 *–Nibud'* in modal and future tense sentences

[9]The topic of the lexical semantics of *–nibud'* is outside the scope of this dissertation. See Geist (2008), Yanovich (2006) for a discussion.

3.1 Introduction: overview of the data and proposal to be made

I now turn to licensing of *–nibud'* in modal contexts, concentrating first on cases where modality is expressed by means other than sentential adverbs.

Russian modal words belong to various lexical classes: *moč'* 'be able/allowed to' is a modal verb; *dolžen* 'must' is a predicative adjective, and *možno* 'allowed' and *nužno* 'needed' are predicative adverbs (Švedova 1980, among others). Apart from that, (35) – (36) illustrate a familiar pattern, where root and epistemic modals systematically show different behavior. From these data, we can see that when *–nibud'* is the matrix subject, it is licensed only on the epistemic meanings of modals (see (36)); on the root meanings *–nibud'*-subjects are not possible (see (35)).[10]

(35) a. ??/*Kto-nibud' možet mne pomoč'.
Who-*nibud'* can me help
Root: 'Someone or other can help me.' (i.e., someone or other has the ability to help me.)

b. *Komu-nibud' možno menja priglasit'.
Who-*nibud'* allowed.ADV me invite
Root: 'Someone or other is allowed to invite me.'

c. ??Komu-nibud' nado menja pojmat'.
Who-*nibud'* need.ADV me catch
Root: 'Someone or other needs to catch me.' (i.e. someone or other has the need.)

(36) a. [Make sure you got the medicine and some paper bags.]
Kogo-nibud' možet tošnit'.
Who-*nibud'* can sick.V
Epistemic: Someone of them may get sick.' (i.e., it is probable that someone among them will get sick.)

b. Kto-nibud' dolžen mne pomoč'.
Who-*nibud'* obligated.ADJ me help
Epistemic: 'The probability that someone or other will help is very high'.

As the object of the infinitive, *–nibud'* can be licensed with both epistemic and root modals:

[10]Not all Russian modal words have both epistemic and root meanings.

(37) a. Ja mogu komu-nibud' pomoč'.
I can who-*nibud'* help
Root: 'I can help someone or other.' (i.e., I have the ability to help someone or other.)
Epistemic: 'It is possible that I will help someone or other.'

b. Ja dolžna komu-nibud' pomoč'.
I obligated.ADJ who-*nibud'* help
Root: 'I must help someone or other'. (i.e., I have the obligation to help someone or other.)
Epistemic: 'The probability is high that what I am doing will help someone or other'.

The final point to make before moving on is that *–nibud'* is only licensed in irrealis infinitivals. All of the infinitives in (36) and (37) have the meaning that Stowell (1982) calls 'unrealized future': the help and nausea have a chance of occurring after the time of the matrix clause. Where the infinitival is not an irrealis infinitival in this sense, *-nibud'* cannot be licensed either in the matrix subject or in the infinitival object position:

(38) a. (I am not lying, it is a fact. Yesterday …)
*Ja zakončila/načala čto-*nibud'* čitat'.
I finished/ started what-*nibud'* read
'I started/finished to read something or other.'

b. (I know for sure that …)
*Kto-nibud' zakončil/načal čitat' *Prestuplenie i Nakazanie*.
Who-nibud' finished/started reading crime and punishment
'…someone or other finished/started reading *Crime and Punishment*.'

3.2 Raising vs control infinitivals

We have seen that *–nibud'* can be licensed as an infinitive object with both epistemic and root modals, which indicates that both types of infinitives are in principle licensing environments for *–nibud'* (putting aside the irrealis requirement for the moment). However, the situation is different with subjects. If the modal word has the root meaning, *-nibud'* is not licensed in the matrix subject position. In contrast, if the modal word is used in its epistemic meaning, *-nibud'* is licensed in the matrix subject position.

This pattern is consistent with the idea that root meanings of modals correlate with control infinitivals, and epistemic meanings of modals with raising infinitivals. Where the modal is used

in its root meaning, a subject *–nibud'*-item is generated in the matrix clause, gets a theta-role from the modal and is never a part of the embedded irrealis infinitival. The theta-position of the embedded infinitive is filled by a PRO, which the *–nibud'*-item in the matrix clause controls, as shown in (39)a). In contrast, where the modal is used in its epistemic meaning, *-nibud'* is generated in the complement infinitival, gets a theta-role from the infinitive verb, and gets licensed in the scope of the modal word in the pre-movement position (39)b). If the subject *–nibud'*-item first merged in the matrix clause on the epistemic meaning, it would have no theta-role because this subject position is non-thematic. As for *–nibud'*-objects, they are licensed with both root and epistemic infinitives since they are generated within the infinitive with both types of modals.

(39) a. Control (35)a):
[kto-nibud$_i$' [možet [$_{\text{INFINITIVE}}$ PRO$_i$ mne pomoč'…
θ-role#2 θ-role#1

b. Raising (36)b):
[Kto-nibud' [dolžen [$_{\text{INFINITIVE}}$ ~~kto-nibud'~~ mne pomoč'…
θ-role#1 θ-role#1

Above I assumed that the modal is the licensor of *–nibud'*. This, however, requires assuming that modal verbs do not undergo any head movement. If the *–nibud'* subject in (39)a) is generated in the Spec of the phrase headed by the modal, and the modal then undergoes head movement above the subject theta position which would then be followed by subject movement to SpecAgrsP, there would be a point in the derivation where the modal would c-command *–nibud'*. If the modal is the licensor, the modal either should not undergo head movement at all or reconstruction to at least the theta position of the *–nibud'* subject should be blocked.

Alternatively, we can assume that *–nibud'* is licensed within the infinitival complement of modals. The most plausible candidate for the licensor under this analysis would be the irrealis operator (OP$_{\text{IRR}}$), which would take the infinitival TP in its scope. This analysis also easily captures the fact, discussed with respect to the data in (38), that *–nibud'* is licensed only in

irrealis infinitives. The analysis does not require any changes in the above account of the distribution of *–nibud'* in root/epistemic infinitives. Object *-nibud'* will still be licensed with both root and epistemic modals since it starts within the infinitive and the modal subject *–nibud'* will be licensed with epistemic modals, where it is generated within the infinitive, but will not be licensed with root modals, where it is not located within the infinitive, which contains its licensor, at any point of the derivation. Whether or not root modals undergo head movement has no impact on this analysis. I will leave the choice between the two options in question, licensing by the modal or an irrealis operator in the infinitive, open here. At any rate, under both analyses the raising/control distinction for root/epistemic modals is crucial. A question then arises whether there is independent empirical evidence for this distinction.

Three tests for raising vs control are applicable to the relevant Russian sentences: idiom chunks, scope interpretation, and availability of expletives. I will now show that each of these tests supports the claim that epistemic modals indeed take raising infinitival complements.

To use the idiom chunks test, we need to find some sentential idioms and check whether, when used as complements of *moč',* they will preserve the idiomatic meaning. There are several idioms that work exactly this way; they are explained in (40). The test sentences are given in (41).

(40) a. (U nego) duša ušla v pjatki.
(at him) soul left into heels
Paraphrase: he got very scared (literally, his soul went into his heels).

b. (Emu) krov' v golovu udarila.
(Him) blood into head hit
Paraphrase: he suddenly got very mad (literally, blood rushed into his head)

c. (Ego) Kondraška xvatil.
(him) Kondraška hit
Paraphrase: he died (literally, Kondraška (name) grabbed him.)

(41) a. (u nego) Duša možet ujti v pjatki.
(at him) soul can leave into heels
OK Epistemic: 'There exists the possibility he will get very scared.'
*Root: 'His soul has the ability to go into his heels.'

b. (Emu) krov' možet v golovu udarit' (ot takix slov).
(him) blood can into head hit (from such words)
OK Epistemic: 'It is possible that he will get mad from such words.'
*Root: 'his blood has the ability to rush into his head.'

c. (Ego) Kondraška možet xvatit'.
(him) Kondraška can grab
OK Epistemic: 'There exists the possibility that he will die.'
*Root: 'Kondraška (person) has the ability to grab him.'

The idiom chunks test thus supports the claim that Russian modal words in their epistemic uses are raising predicates.

The next test involves scope: we expect that, in a sentence with a control infinitival, the subject quantifier has to take scope over the modal, but in a sentence with a raising infinitival either scope will be possible (Wurmbrand 2001 and references cited there). We find the following correlations: where the predicted scope ambiguity occurs, *-nibud'* is licensed (42)a,b). Conversely, where it does not occur, *-nibud'* is not licensed (43) a,b).

(42) a. Vse okeany mogut zamërznut'.
All oceans can freeze
OK: For any ocean, it is possible to freeze. *Vse>mogut*
OK: It is a possible situations where all oceans freeze. *Mogut>vse*

b. Čto-nibud' možet zamërznut'.
What-nibud' can freeze
'It is possible that something or other will freeze.'

(43) a. Ja slyšala, čto vse mogut brosit' kurit'.
I heard that all can drop smoke
OK: Any person has the ability to quit smoking. *Vse>mogut*
*:There exists a situation in which all people quit smoking. **Mogut>vse*

b. ??/*Ja slyšala, čto kto-nibud' možet brosit' kurit'.
I heard that who-nibud' can drop smoke

This state of affairs is consistent with the situation where in (42)a,b) but not in (43)a,b) the pre-modal NP originates in the post-modal position, as shown in the partial structures in (44).

(44) a. $[_{AgrsP}$ vse okeany$_i$ mogut $[_{TP} \ldots t_i$ zamërznut']]
all oceans can freeze

b. [$_{AgrsP}$ … vse$_i$ mogut [$_{CP}$ PRO$_i$ brosit' kurit']]
all can quit smoke

The final test involves expletives. Expletives are allowed in a raising structure, but not in a control structure. Thus, expletives should be possible on epistemic readings of the modals, but not on their root readings. Russian has no overt expletives, but it does have impersonal verbs.[11] Their subjects are covert expletives (Franks 1995, among others). As Fleischer (2006) has observed for main clause infinitives, impersonal verbs are disallowed in control structures. (45) illustrates for the verb *moč'*: (45)a) is complete gibberish, with or without *–nibud'*; (45)b) is perfectly fine, and *–nibud'* is licensed. 0) illustrates the same point for the modal adjective *dolžen* 'must'.

(45) a. **$\varnothing_{EXPL}$ menja/kogo-nibud' možet tošnit'. Ability/allowed to - CONTROL
EXPL me/ who-*nibud'* can nauseate

b. [I cannot ride in the back seat]
$\varnothing_{EXPL}$ menja/kogo-nibud' možet tošnit'. Probability - RAISING
EXPL me /wh-*nibud'* can nauseate
'I may get sick.'

(46) a. **$\varnothing_{EXPL}$ menja/kogo-nibud' dolžno tošnit'. Obligation - CONTROL
EXPL me/ who-*nibud'* must.ADV nauseate

b. [It is strange: I/we have been riding in the back seat and feeling OK]
$\varnothing_{EXPL}$ Menja/ kogo-nibud' (uže) dolžno tošnit'. Probability - RAISING
EXPL me /who-*nibud'* (already) must.ADV nauseate
'I should already be sick.'

We see that impersonal verbs are disallowed with Russian modals on the root readings – ability, obligation. This entails that expletives are not allowed with modals on these readings. In turn, this means that modals on root meanings take control infinitival complements. Conversely, since impersonal verbs are fine with modals on epistemic meanings, we know that modals on epistemic meanings must be taking raising infinitival complements.

[11] Franks (1995) suggests that there may be two kinds of overt expletive subjects in Russian: expletive subject pronouns in Russian dialects and expletive subjects in Standard Russian coindexed with finite clauses. Even if these are indeed overt expletives, they are not relevant for the question at hand.

The conclusion is thus warranted that what matters for licensing *–nibud'* in sentences with modal words is whether the infinitival is a raising or a control infinitival. Where the infinitival is a control infinitival, subject *-nibud'* cannot be licensed because the *–nibud'*-item in the matrix clause is not c-commanded by the licenser at any point in the derivation (47)a). Where the infinitive is a raising infinitive, *-nibud'* is licensed in the subject position because the *–nibud'* in the matrix is c-commanded by the licenser before it undergoes raising (47)b).

(47) a. *Kto-nibud' možet mne pomoč'.
Who-*nibud'* is allowed to me help
'Someone or other is allowed to help me.'
*[Kto-**nibud**$_i$' možet [$_{\text{INFINITIVE}}$ OP_{IRR} PRO$_i$ mne pomoč']]

b. [Make sure you got some medicine.]
Kto-nibud' možet zabolet'.
Who-*nibud'* can get sick
'Someone or other may get sick.'
[Kto-nibud'$_i$ možet [$_{\text{INFINITIVE}}$ OP_{IRR} zabolet' t$_i$]

3.3 On the 'size' of the Russian irrealis infinitive

In the previous subsection, I assumed that Russian irrealis infinitives are CPs. This is a controversial assupmtion because of evidence that Russian irrealis infinitives may in fact be TPs. In this subsection, I will discuss this evidence and argue that Russian irrealis infinitives can be either TP or CPs, and the ones where *–nibud*' is licensed are CPs.

The evidence that Russian infinitives can be smaller than CP comes from n-word licensing and genitive of negation licensing; I only use n-word licensing here because the data are clearer[12]. In (48)a), the n-word in the infinitival clause is licensed by the sentential negation marker *ne* in the matrix clause. As was discussed in the previous chapter, n-words cannot be licensed by negation across a CP, so the infinitival clause in (48)a) must be smaller than CP. I argue that the

[12] See Abels (2002) for a different conclusion based on the locality of the genitive of negation. For a treatment of Russian infinitvals as CP, see Landau (2008).

infinitive in (48)a) is at least a TP, for the following reason: it can contain sentential negation, as shown in (48)b), and sentential negation is known to co-occur with TP (see Zanuttini 1996).

(48) a. Ja ne xoču [$_{XP}$ nikogo videt'].
I not want n-who see
'I don't want to see anyone.'

b. Ja xoču [$_{TP}$ nikogo ne videt'].
I want n-who not see
'I want to not see anyone.'

If the infinitival clause in (48) cannot be a CP, my theory predicts that *–nibud'*-items cannot be licensed in it: there is no licenser in the matrix clause, and the embedded infinitival is smaller than CP and for this reason cannot contain a licenser. Nevertheless, (49), where apparently the same infinitival as in (48)a) contains *–nibud'* is grammatical:

(49) Ja xoču [$_{XP}$ kogo-nibud' (ne) videt'].
I want who-*nibud'* (NEG)see
'I want to (not) see someone or other.'

We thus seem to have conflicting evidence. On the one hand, *ni*-items are licensed by superordinate sentential negation, which provides evidence the infinitival in question is not bigger than a TP. On the other hand, *-nibud'*-items are also licensed, which indicates that apparently the same infinitival is a CP. The usual move in such a case is to explore the possibility that what appears to be the same structure is in reality two different structures. Wurmbrand (2006) points out that infinitives can indeed freely occur in different sizes: vP, TP or CP. Suppose that in this case, either TP or CP is an option. This means that we can have either TP-infinitives or CP-infinitives. If the infinitive is a TP, *ni*-items will be licensed (50)a). If the infinitival is a CP, the picture is the opposite: *-nibud'*-items will be licensed.

(50) a. TP/NegP : [$_{ArsP}$ Ja [$_{NegP}$ ne xoču [$_{TP}$ *nikogo videt'*]]]
I NEG want *ni*-who see
'I don't want to see anyone.'

b. CP: [$_{ArsP}$ Ja xoču [$_{CP}$ *OP* [C [$_{TP}$ *čto-nibud'* [$_{TP}$ … *videt'* …]]]]
I want what-*nibud'* see
'I want to see someone or other.'

What looks like the same infinitival on the surface, [$_{XP}$ NP *videt'*], may correspond to two different structures, which can be teased apart when there is a *ni*-item or a *–nibud'*-item present. It is a TP (or NegP) if the *ni*-series is licensed, a CP if the *–nibud'*-series is licensed, and it can be either if neither *ni*-, nor *–nibud'*-items are present. This reasoning makes a very interesting testable prediction: a *ni*-item and a *–nibud'*-item cannot co-occur in the same infinitival. Surprisingly, this prediction is borne out, as (51)a-c). (51)a), where both a *ni*- and a *–nibud'*-items occur is unacceptable irrespective of the order of the items. In contrast, (51)b,c) are grammatical. They only contain a *ni*- or a *–nibud'*-item each, and the rest of the material is the same as in (51)a). To convey (51)a), one needs th word order in (51)d), where the *–nibud'*-item moves to the matrix NegP for licensing.

(51) a. [Imagine that…]
*Ja ne xoču komu-nibud' ničego/ ničego komu-nibud'davat'.
I not want who-*nibud'* n-what/ n-what who-*nibud'* give
'I do not want to give anything to someone or other.'

b. [Imagine that…]
Ja ne xoču ničego emu davat'.
I NEG want n-what him give
'I do not want to give him anything.'

c. [Imagine that …]
Ja ne xoču komu-nibud' davat' den'gi.
I NEG want who-nibud' give money
'I do not want to give money to someone or other.'

d. [Imagine that…]
Ja ničego ne xoču komu-nibud' davat'.
I n-what not want who-*nibud'* give
'I do not want to give anything to someone or other.'

I conclude that Russian irrealis infinitival clauses can be either TPs or CPs. The infinitivals whith *–nibud'*-items are CPs, and those with *ni*-items are TPs (or NegPs at the most).

3.4 Future tense sentences

I now turn to another modality context where *–nibud'* is licensed, namely future tense. Future tense sentences in Russian differ from those with modal words because they are monoclausal and finite.[13] *–Nibud'* is licensed in the object as well as subject position of future tense sentences, as shown in (52):

(52) a. Kto-nibud' mne pomožet.
Who-*nibud'* me help.3rd.sg.
'Someone or other will help me.'

b. Ja komu-nibud' pomogu.
I who-*nibud'* help.1st.sg.
'I will help someone or other.'

Future tense has a modal meaning (Giannakidou 1998, Abush 1988, among others; Grenoble 1989 for Russian.) A major analysis of future tense in English employs the covert modal operator WOLL which is situated below tense in sentence structure and produces *will* in combination with present tense and *would* in combination with past tense (Abush 1988, Ogihara 1996, etc.) It is an appealing idea to extend this analysis to Russian future tense, given that Russian future tense is clearly modal too (Grenoble 1989). Furthermore, Russian future tense is morphologically present tense (see Mezhevich (2008) and references cited there for more discussion); there is no separate future tense morphology in Russian, and the meaning of futurity is conveyed by present tense morphology in combination with perfective aspect. The following examples from Mezhevich

[13] I do not discuss separately analytic future tense sentences like (i) below, since it seems that nothing specific needs to be said about such examples:

(i) Kto-nibud' budet čto-nibud' čitat'.
Who-*nibud'* be.1st.sg. what-*nibud'* read
'Someone or other will read something or other.'

(2008) illustrate this; (53)b,c), which contain perfective morphology, are interpreted as future, whereas the imperfective (53)a) is interpreted as present:

(53) a. Ja čitaj-**u** stat'ju.
I IMPF-read.**NON-PAST.1SG** article
'I am reading an/the article.'

b. Ja pro- čitaj- **u** stat'ju.
I PERF-read.**NON.PAST.1SG** article
'I will read an/the article.'

c. Ja bud-**u** čita-t' stat'ju.
I be.**NON-PAST.1SG** IMPF-read.INF article
'I will be reading an/the article.'

In Russian, then, the future tense operator must contribute the modal meaning of a sentence without having an impact on the form of the verb. This is in fact how sentential adverbs contribute modal meaning, so we I will assume that in Russian, the future tense operator is an epistemic sentential adverb, which takes IP in its scope. This is the reason why *–nibud'* is licensed in the subject position.

4 Licensing of –nibud' by quantifiers

4.1 Overview of the data

I will now turn to licensing of *–nibud'* by quantificational NPs and quantificational adverbs (henceforth, QNPs and QAdvs, respectively). We will see that the class of licensers includes both nominal and adverbial quantifiers, and that only strong quantifiers license *–nibud'*. The following examples show systematic contrasts between quantifiers in the ability to license *–nibud'*. (54) and (55) illustrate this for QNPs. (54)a-f) show which QNPs license *-nibud'*:

(54) a. **Každyj** mal'čik (čto-nibud') pročital (kakuju-nibud' knigu).
Each boy what-*nibud'* read which-*nibud'* book
'Each boy read some book or other/ something or other.'

b. **Vse** mal'čiki (čto-nibud') pročitali (kakuju-nibud' knigu).
All boys what-*nibud'* read which-*nibud'* book
'All boys read some book or other/ something or other.'

c. **Mal'čiki** vse kak odin (čto-nibud') pročitali (kakuju-nibud' knigu).
Boys all like one what-*nibud'* read which-*nibud'* book
'Every one of the boys read some book or other/ something or other.'

d. **Po men'šej mere pjat'** mal'čikov (čto-nibud') pročitali (kakuju-nibud' knigu).
On lesser measure five boys what-*nibud'* read which-*nibud'* book
'At least five boys read some book or other/ something or other.'

e. **Bol'šinstvo** mal'čikov (čto-nibud') pročitali (kakuju-nibud' knigu).
Majority boys what-*nibud'* read which-*nibud'* book
'The majority of the boys read some book or other/ something or other.'

f. **Nekotoryje** mal'čiki (čto-nibud') pročitali (kakuju-nibud' knigu).
Some.of boys what-*nibud'* read which-*nibud'* book
'Some of the boys read some book or other/ something or other.'

In (55)a-f) we see some QNPs that do not license *–nibud'*:

(55) a. ***Neskol'ko** mal'čikov (čto-nibud') pročitali (kakuju-nibud' knigu).
Several boys what-*nibud'* read which-*nibud'* book
'Several boys read some book or other/ something or other.'

b. ***Odin** mal'čik (čto-nibud') pročital (kakuju-nibud' knigu).
One boy what-*nibud'* read which-*nibud'* book
'One boy read some book or other/ something or other.'

c. ***Pjat'** mal'čikov (čto-nibud') pročitali (kakuju-nibud' knigu).
Five boys what-*nibud'* read which-*nibud'* book
'Five boys read some book or other/ something or other.'

d. ***Mal'čiki** (čto-nibud') pročitali (kakuju-nibud' knigu).
Boys what-*nibud'* read which-*nibud'* book
'Boys read some book or other/ something or other.'

e. ***Kto-to** čto-nibud' s"el.
Who-to what-nibud' ate
'Someone ate something or other.'

f. ***Para** mal'čikov čto-nibud' pročitali/pročitala.
A couple boys what-nibud' readPL/SG
'A couple boys read something or other.'

Parallel facts for adverbials are illustrated in (56) and (57). We see that quantifiers that license *–nibud'* when they are part of a QNP can also license *–nibud'* when they are part of an adverbial expression of frequency (56).

(56) a. Ja **každyj raz/ vsë vremja** kogo-nibud' spasaju.
I every occasion/ all time who-*nibud'* save
'I save someone or other every time/ all the time.'

b. Ja **po krajnej mere pjat' raz** kogo-nibud' spasla.
I on edge measure five occasions who-*nibud'* saved
'I saved someone or other at least five times.'

c. **V bol'šinstve slučaev/? v nekotoryx slučajax** ja kogo-nibud' spasla.
In majority cases/ in some.of cases I who-*nibud*' saved
'In the majority of cases/ in some of the cases I saved someone or other.'

d. Russkie uže **bol'še desjati raz** čto-nibud' v kosmos zapustili.
Russians already more ten times what-nibud' in space launched
'Russians have already launched something or other to space more than ten times.

The quantifiers that do not license *–nibud'* when they are part of an NP fail to do so when part of an adverbial too.

(57) (I saw with my own eyes how …)
a. *Tvoij brat **pjat' raz** kogo-nibud' udaril.
Your brother five times who-*nibud'* hit
'Your brother hit someone or other five times.'

b. *Tvoij brat **raz pjat'** kogo-nibud' udaril.
your brother times five who-*nibud'* hit
'Your brother hit someone or other about five times.'

c. *Tvoj brat **neskol'ko raz** kogo-nibud' udaril.
Your brother several times who-*nibud'* hit
'Your brother hit someone or other several times.'

d. *Tvoj brat **kogda-to** kogo-nibud' udaril.
Your brother at.some.time who-*nibud'* hit
'Your brother hit someone or other several times.'

e. *Tvoij brat **paru raz** kogo-nibud' udaril.
Your brother a couple times who-*nibud'* hit
'Your brother hit someone or other five times.'

From (54) – (57), we can make two important observations: (1) *–nibud'* reacts to QNPs and QAdvs in a very similar way;[14] (2) it is not the case that any quantifier can license *–nibud'*. In

[14] Observe that *–nibud'* is also licensed in habitual sentences where no overt QAdv is present, as in (i). I assume, following Krifka et.al. (1995) and Enç (1991), among others, that a generic/habitual operator involved in valuing these sentences as habitual is a QAdv quantifying

the rest of this subsection, I will show how these observations can be captured and provide a generalization concerning the class of quantifiers that license *–nibud'*.

Let us begin with the first observation: *–nibud'* reacts to quantifiers in the nominal domain and to adverbs of frequency in a very similar way. Ferreira (2005) observes that there is a parallelism between nominal and adverbial quantifiers in English. For example, in both (58) and (59) below, the (a)-sentences are judged to make a riskier, more general claim (more barking events in (58); out of *n* girls, all *n* jumped into the lake (in (59)) than the (b)-sentences. The (a)-sentences contain quantifiers *always* and *every*; the (b) sentences do not.

(58) a. When my dog sees a blond girl, it **always** barks.
b. When my dog sees a blond girl, it barks.

(59) a. **Every** girl jumped into the lake.
b. The girls jumped into the lake.

These examples thus illustrate the parallel behavior of nominal and adverbial quantifiers in English. As we saw in (54)-(57), Russian provides a much more striking illustration of this parallelism.

In Ferreira's theory, both nominal and adverbial quantifiers form generalized quantifiers and need to move to a clausal projection to resolve type mismatch. On this theory, in both the

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over situations. It is phonologically unrealized. A null QAdv then licenses *–nibud'* in (i) (notice that the interpretation of (i) is universal, as if *every time* is present).

(i) a. Petja restavriruet Monu Lizu posle togo, kak kto-nibud' zavoračivaet v neë
P. ***restore.Pres.Imp*** M. L. after who-*nibud'* ***wrap.Pres.Imp***. in her buterbrody.
sandwiches
'Petja restores Mona Lisa after someone or other wraps sandwiches in it.'

b. Petja restavriroval Monu Lizu posle togo, kak kto-nibud' zavoračival v neë
P. ***restore.Past.Imp.*** M.L. after who-*nibud'* ***wrap.Past.Imp*** in her buterbrody.
sandwiches
'Petja restored Mona Lisa after someone or other wrapped sandwiches in it.'

sentences in (54) and habitual sentence with QAdvs in (56), there is a generalized quantifier that moves to a position where it can resolve its type mismatch.

4.4.2. Licensers of *–nibud'* are presuppositional

So far we have only half of the picture: we now need to find out what separates licensers from non-licensers, since it is not the case that all quantifiers license *–nibud;* the relevant examples are given in (60) and (61).

(60) Licensers:

každyj 'every, each', *vse* 'all' (on the distributive reading), *vse kak odin* 'all like one', *po men'šej mere pjat'* 'at least five', *bol'šinstvo* 'majority', *nekotoryje* 'some of', *bol'še sta*, etc.

(61) Non-licensers:

neskol'ko 'several', *odin* 'one', *pjat'* 'five', bare plural, *kto-to* 'someone', *para* 'a couple'

An examination of the above groups of licensers and non-licensers suggests that the relevant criterion involves strength: strong quantifiers license *–nibud'*, but weak ones do not.

Quantifier strength has been defined in term of different properties, such as quantificational (as opposed to cardinal) meaning (Milsark 1974), symmetry (Keenan 1987), acceptability in *there*-sentences (Barwise and Cooper 1981), and presuppositionality (de Jong 1987), yielding somewhat different classifications of quantifiers into strong and weak. I argue that de Jong's definition of strength as presuppositionality is the right one for the quantifiers that license *–nibud'*. I will now show that licensers of *–nibud'* in (60) carry the existence presupposition.

Consider the definition of strength as the possibility of occurrence in an existential sentence. This characteristic of strong quantifiers has also been tied to presuppositionality (Milsark 1977,

de Jong 1983, among others): existential sentences assert what presuppositional determiners presuppose, which results in ungrammaticality (62):

(62) *There is every boy in the room.

An examination of the quantifiers in (60) shows that most of them cannot occur in an existential sentence (63), in contrast to the quantifiers in (61), which are all grammatical in existential sentences (64). As (64)c) shows, *-nibud'*-items are themselves weak quantifiers.

(63) a. *Na etoj kafedre est' nekotorye/vse/vse kak odin ženatye mužčiny.
On this department exist some.of/all/ all like one married men
*'There are some of the / all of the/ all as one married men in this department.'

b. *Na etoj kafedre est' každyj ženatyj mužčina/ bol'šinstvo ženatyx mužčin.
On this department exist every married man/ majority married men
*'There are every married man/ the majority of married men in this department.'

c. Na etoj kafedre est' *po men'šej mere pjat'/ bol'še pjati* ženatyx mužčin.
On this department exist on lesser measure 5/ more than 5 married men
'There are at least five/ more than five married men in this department.'

(64) a. Na etoj kafedre est' *neskol'ko/ pjat'/ para* ženatyx mužčin.
On this department exist several/ five/ couple married men
'There are several/five/c couple married men in this department.'

b. Na etoj kafedre est' *odin* ženatyj mužčina/kto-to ženatyj/
on this department exists one married man/ someone married
kakoj-to ženatyj mužčina.
Some married man
'There is one married man/ someone married/a married man in this department.'

c. V 9 časov v ofise kto-nibud' vsegda est'.
In 9 hours in office who-*nibud*' alsways is
'There is always someone or other in the office at 9 o'clock.'

The only problematic cases are in (63)c) – these quantifiers can appear in existential sentences, but nevertheless they license *–nibud'*, as in (65):

(65) [I have seen the official records of paranormal activity. Last year alone, …]
Bol'še sta čelovek čto-nibud' zdes' videli.
More 100 people what-nibud' here saw
'More than a hundred people saw something or other here.'

I argue that this problem is only apparent; the quantifiers in qustion carry an existence presupposition, but they presuppose the existence of the maximal degree of the standard of comparison, not of the existence of individuals. As existential sentences assert the existence of individuals, the presupposition of existence of degrees is not in conflict with the assertion of existential sentences.

Let us consider the quantifiers *po men'šej mere pjat'* 'at least five', *bol'še sta* 'more than 100', etc. All of them contain the comparative degree morpheme *-e-*; I will refer to it as –ER for clarity of presentation. In the literature, the following conclusions have been reached about the English comparative morpheme *–er*; I assume that they apply to the Russian -ER too:

1. The comparative morpheme establishes a precedence relation > between two maximal degrees (von Stechow 1984, Hackl 2000, among others).
2. The comparative morpheme is a quantifier of degrees and the phrase it heads, DegP, undergoes (covert) QR to a clausal node (Heim 2000).
3. The comparative morpheme presupposes existence of the maximal degree of the standard of comparison (von Stechow 1984).

Let us take a closer look at the property in (3), which will shed light on the contrast between (66)a) and (66)b) below. Von Stechow (1984) observes that (67)b) is ungrammatical. He argues that the set of degrees d such that no one drinks d-much has no maximum (no one drinks 1 million pints of alcohol, 1^n million pints of alcohol, etc.) We thus cannot compare the amount Ede can drink (which is finite and hence has a maximum) to the amount nobody can drink (which is infinite, hence has no maximum). Thus, in (66)a), both maxima being compared exist, but in (66)b) the maximal degree of the standard of comparison does not exist, so (66)a) involves a presupposition failure. (67) a,b) show the semantic structures of (66) a,b).

(66) a. Ede drinks more than Eve.
b. *Ede drinks more than no one of us. (Von Stechow 1984)

(67) a. the maximal d[Ede drinks d-much] > **the maximal d**[Eve drinks d-much]
b. the maximal d[Ede drinks d-much] > **the maximal d**[no one of us drinks d-much]

The comparative morpheme, then, is a presuppositional (strong) quantifier.

Consider now how the superlative quantifier *po men'šej mere pjat*''at least five',[15] which is morphologically comparative, licenses *–nibud'*:

(68) Po men'šej mere pjat' malčikov čto-nibud' pročitali.
On lesser measure five boys what-nibud' read
'At least five boys read something or other.'

The suggestion will be tentative at this point because this quantifier is a fixed expression and it is not quite clear how to analyze it. Stateva (2002) argues that Slavic superlative adjectival/adverbial phrases are headed by overt comparative morphemes. In the case at hand, this morpheme would be the same comparative morpheme as in (65) - ER. Suppose that this comparative morpheme in *po men'šej mere* still has the presupposition of existence, but his time of a non-empty minimum (the maximum on the opposite edge). We can see from (69) that this is a plausible assumption.

(69) #Po men'šej mere nol' malčikov čto-nibud' pročitali.
On lesser measure zero boys what-*nibud'* read
#'At least zero boys read something or other.'

[15] Ora Matushansky (p.c.) observes that there is another expression in Russian that is translated as 'at least' and licenses *–nibud' - po krajnej mere*' (literally, 'on edge measure') (i).

(i) Po krajnej mere 3 čeloveka čto-nibud' prinesli.
On edge measure 3 people what-nibud' brought
'At least three people brought something or other.'

Since *po krajnej mere* does not contain the comparative morpheme, the fact that it licenses *–nibud'* requires an explanation.

I suggest that (i) is well-behaved with respect to my account because *po krajnej mere* is a modal expression that modifies propositions, whereas *po men'šej mere* modifies quantified phrases. We can see that the two expressions are different from the following example, where *po men'šej mere* is degraded but *po krajnej mere* is fine (ii):

(ii) Po krajnej mere/ ??/?po men'šej mere, ja eto poproboval.
On edge measure/ on lesser measure, I it tried
'At least I have tried it.'

Judgments are subtle and I leave it to future research to refine the difference between *po krajnej mere* and *po men'šej mere*.

I suggest that the reason why (69) is very degraded is that it involves a presupposition failure: the superlative quantifier expression *po men'šej mere* presupposes the existence of a non-empty minimum, but the set *nol' malčikov* 'zero boys' is empty.

Finally, weak quantifiers on strong readings do not license *–nibud*, as the two examples below testify:

(70) a. (I myself heard how …)
?/??/*dva popugaja iz trëx čto-nibud' skazali.
Two parrots of three what-*nibud'* said
'Two parrots out of three said something or other.'

b. (I have been here all the time. There were at first ten boys in the room).
*Dva kuda-*nibud'* ušli, no ostal'nye eščë zdes'.
Two where-nibud' left, but rest still here
'Two of them left, but the rest are still here.'

To license *–nibud'* a quantifier has to be inherently, not contingently, presuppositional. It is not completely clear what is responsible for the difference but scope seems to be a very plausible candidate given that there is independent evidence that weak QNPs even on strong readings have scopal differences from strong QNPs. The evidence comes from Lechner's (1998) work on German.

Lechner (1998) discusses scope properties of German QNPs. He observes that, although scope ambiguity generally results from overt word order permutations, this is not the whole story. For a sentence with topicalization or scrambling, the number of scope interpretations it has depends on the properties of the quantifiers involved. If the topicalized or scrambled quantifier is weak, even on a strong reading, the sentence is ambiguous; weak quantifiers, even on a strong reading, allow the lower scope interpretation. If, however, the scrambled or topicalized QNP is strong, the strong tendency is for it to get the wide scope reading.

In (71)a), the semantically weak object *irgendein Buch* 'some book' undergoes topicalization over the strong subject *jeder* 'everybody', and the sentence is ambiguous . In

(71)b), the strong object *fast jedes Buch* 'almost every book' topicalizes over the weak subject *irgenwer* 'someone', giving rise to a sentence where the strong object has only wide scope:

(71) a. [Irgendein Buch]$_i$ hat fast jeder t_i mit Freude gelesen ∀>∃, ∃>∀
some book has almost everybody with pleasure read
`Almost everybody has read some book with pleasure'

b. [Fast jedes Buch]$_i$ hat irgendwer t_i mit Freude gelesen ∀>∃, *∃>∀
almost every book has someone with pleasure read
`Somebody has read almost every book with pleasure'

(72)a,b) shows that the same effect is found with weak partitives, i.e. partitives headed by weak determiners. Weak partitives are weak quantifiers on a strong reading. Topicalized weak partitives freely allow for both wide and narrow scope interpretation (72)a). In contrast, partitives headed by strong determiners must take wide scope (72)b).

(72) a. [Irgendeines/zwei von den Büchern)$_i$ hat fast jeder t_i QP>∃, ∃>QP
Any /two of the books has almost everybody
mit Freude gelesen
with pleasure read
`Almost everybody has read some/two of the books with pleasure

b. [Jedes/die meisten von den Büchern]$_i$ hat irgendwer t_i QP > ∃, *∃>QP
each /most of the books has someone
mit Freude gelesen
with pleasure read
`Someone has read each/most of the books with pleasure'

Scrambled QNPs show the same behavior. As (73) demonstrates, if a weak QNP or weak partitive is scrambled, the resulting sentence is ambiguous (73)a), (74)a). The scrambled strong QNPs and partitives yield only a wide scope interpretation (73)b), (74)b).

(73) a. dass [irgendein Buch]$_i$ fast jeder t_i mit Freude gelesen hat ∀>∃, ∃>∀
that some book almost everybody with pleasure read has
`that almost everybody has read some book with pleasure'

b. dass [fast jedes Buch]$_i$ irgendwer t_i mit Freude gelesen hat ∀>∃, *∃>∀
that almost every book someone with pleasure read has
`that somebody has read almost every book with pleasure'

(74) a. dass [irgendeines /zwei von den Büchern]$_i$ fast jeder t_i ∀>∃, ∃>∀
that any /two of the books almost everybody
mit Freude gelesen hat
with pleasure read has
'…that almost everybody has read any/two of the books with pleasure.'

b. dass [jedes/die meisten von den Büchern]$_i$ someone t_i ∀>∃, *∃>∀
that each /most of the books someone
mit Freude gelesen hat
with pleasure read has
'that someone has read each/most of the books with pleasure.'

These German data provide support for the conclusion that strong QNPs share some property to the exclusion of weak QNPs and weak QNPs on strong readings. I speculate that it is this property of strong QNPs that the *–nibud'*-series must be sensitive to.

Russian is generally scope-rigid and counterparts of Lechner's German examples are very difficult if not impossible to come by. Nevertheless, there is evidence that *–nibud'* affects the scope of its licenser. [16] Consider (75)a,b). (75)a) is an ambiguous sentence with two quantifiers, one of

[16] Importantly, this ability of *–nibud*' to affect the scope of the licenser is limited. A presuppositional quantifier in the object position does not license *–nibud'* in the subject (with the exception of the quantifier *každ*y*j* 'every, each', which does so marginally):

(i) [I saw with my own eyes how …]
*Kto-nibud' vsë s"el.
Who-nibud' everything ate.PERF
'Someone or other ate everything.'

A possible explanation is that QR in Russian is very short and is launched from the last A-position of the quantifer (Žejko Bošković, p.c.) The higher the last A-position, the higher the quantifier can QR (leaving aside considerations of quantifier strength for the moment). So, in the case of QNP arguments, the final A-position of the subject is higher than the final A-position of the object; for this reason, the subject QRs to a higher position than the object does. This is also the reason why, in the general case, a sentence like the English *Someone loves everyone* is not ambiguous in Russian.

These considerations receive support from the observation that in Russian, a quantified subject can never be interpreted in the scope of sentential negation, whereas the object can freely be so interpreted. (ii) is an illustration:

(ii) a. Vse deti ne prišli (vse deti) v školu (vse deti).
All children not came (all children) in school (all children)
∀> not'All the children did not come to school.'
*Not>∀'Not all children came to school.'

b. Maša ne pojmala vse mjači.
Maša not caught all balls
'Maša did not catch all the balls.'

which, *vse* 'all' licenses *–nibud'*, and the other one, *čto-to* 'something' does not.[17] The surface order of these quantifiers is *all > something*. (75)b) is the same sentence with surface order of quantifiers reversed to *something > all*. For those speakers who accept this word order, the sentence is scopally ambiguous exactly the same way as (75)a).

(75) a. Vse čto-to sprjatali ot roditelej. ∀>∃, ∃>∀
All what-to hid from parents
'Everyone hid something from their parents.'

- every child hid the same thing (for example, cigarettes) from their parents;
- every child hid a different thing (one hid cigarettes, one hid pot, etc.) from their parents

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∀> not: 'all the balls were such that Maša did not catch them.' (she did not catch a single one)
Not>∀: 'Not all the balls were such that Maša did not catch them.' (she caught some of the balls.)

c. Pjat' mal'čkov ne prišli v školu.
Five boys not came in school
'Five boys did not come to school.'
5> not: 'five boys did not come to school.'
*Not>5: 'Not five boys came to school.'

d. Maša ne pojmala pjat' mjačej.
Maša not caught five balls
'Maša did not catch five balls.'
5> not: 'five balls were such that Maša did not catch them.'
Not>5: 'The number of balls that Maša caught was less than 5.'

I suggest that the contrast between (iia,b) and (iic,d) can be traced to the launching cite of QR. Namely, in (iia) the quantified subject launches from the last site of A-movement, which is above sentential negation. It thus cannot reconstruct to a position below sentential negation be interpreted in its scope. On the other hand, the object QP in (iib) launches from its case-checking position, which is below sentential negation. Thus, the QP object is interpreted in the scope of negation if it reconstructs to the pre-QR position. The following partial structures where the copies involved in QR are in bold print, illustrate:

(iii) a. Vse deti ne prišli v školu.
All children not came in school
Vse deti$_i$ [~~**vse deti$_i$**~~ [$_{NegP}$ ne ~~vse deti$_i$~~ prišli v školu]

b. Maša ne pojmala vse mjači.
Maša not caught all balls
Maša [**vse mjači$_i$** [$_{NegP}$ ne ~~**vse mjači$_i$**~~ pojmala vse mjači$_i$]].

This raises the question how a postverbal subject QR's high enough to license *–nibud'*. One possibility is that the post-verbal subject is a result of lower copy pronunciation in the sense of Stjepanović (1999).
In in this case, the subject raises to AgrsP and launches QR from that position, but the lowest copy is chosen for pronunciation.

[17] The surface scope reading is preferred.

b. (?)Čto-to ot roditelej spjatali vse. ∀>∃,∃>∀
What-to from parents hid all
'Everyone hid something from their parents.'

- every child hid the same thing (for example, cigarettes) from their parents;
- every child hid a different thing (one hid cigarettes, one hid pot, etc.) from their parents

Consider now what happens if a *–nibud'*-item is present in (75)a,b). The licensing quantifier is predicted to scope over the quantifier that is not a licenser, that is, the scopal ambiguity we saw in (75)a,b) must disappear. This is exactly what we see in (76)a,b). In (76)a), the only available interpretation is the one where the universal has wide scope, which corresponds to the surface order of the quantifiers. More surprisingly, for the speakers who accept this word order, the same interpretation is the only one available in (76)b), where the surface order of quantifiers is reversed to *something* > *all*. The surface scope interpretation is not available for (76)b). This is only possible if the *vse* 'all', the licenser of *–nibud'*, obligatorily undergoes QR in the presence of *–nibud'* to a position that is higher than the position *čto-to* 'something' can ever reach.

(76) a. Vse ot kogo-nibud' čto-to sprjatali. *∃>∀, ∀>∃
All from who-*nibud'* what-to hid
'Everyone hid something from someone or other.'

- *Everyone hid the same thing from different individuals.
- Different individuals hid different things from different people.

b. (?)Čto-to ot kogo-nibud' spjatali vse. *∃>∀, ∀>∃
What-to' from who-*nibud'* hid all
'Everyone hid something from someone or other.'

- *Everyone hid the same thing from different individuals.
- Different individuals hid different things from different people.'

Another test that shows this is embedding under *deny*, which reverses entailments.[18] As the following example shows, wide scope for the existential is not available in the presence of –

[18] *Deny* is not a licenser for *–nibud'*-items in general, although there is a confounding factor here that I have not yet pinned down. Some sentences with *deny* are good for some Russian speakers, for example (i):

nibud' under *deny*. The sentences with no *–nibud'* are ambiguous (77)a,b), but the sentences that contain *–nibud'* are unambiguous (77)c,d), the wide scope of the existential object not being available.

(77) a. Ja sama slyšala, kak Vanja otrical, čto vse ot roditelej čto-to sprjatali.
I self heard how Vanja denied that all from parents something hid
'I myself heard that Vanja denied that everyone hid something from their parents.'

√there were people who did no hiding;
√there was no one thing such that everyone hid that thing.

b. Ja sama slyšala, kak Vanja otrical, čto čto-to ot roditelej sprjatali vse.
I self heard how Vanja denied that something from parents hid all
'I myself heard that Vanja denied that everyone hid something from their parents.'

√there were people who did no hiding;
√there was no one thing such that everyone hid that thing.

c. Ja sama slyšala, kak Vanja otrical, čto vse ot kogo-nibud' čto-to sprjatali.
I self heard how Vanja denied that all from who-*nibud'* something hid
'I myself heard that Vanja denied that everyone hid something from their parents.'

√there were people who did no hiding;
*there was no one thing such that everyone hid that thing.

d. Ja sama slyšala, kak Vanja otrical, čto čto-to ot kogo-nibud' sprjatali vse.
I self heard how Vanja denied that something from who-*nibud'* hid all
'I myself heard that Vanja denied that everyone hid something from their parents.'

√there were people who did no hiding;
*There was no one thing such that everyone hid that thing.

The above data indicate that a QNP that has both a high and a low scope option loses the low scope option when it licenses *–nibud'*, which may follow for the examples under consideration given that *–nibud'* must be in the scope of its licenser.

(i) %Boris otrical, čto Ivan kogo-nibud' ubil.
Boris denied that Ivan who-*nibud*' killed
'Boris denied that he killed anybody.'

There is also evidence that *–nibud'* can give its licenser a scope that it otherwise does not have, although the judgments are far less clear here. (78) - (79) illustrate.[19] Suppose that there are 4 boys and seven days on which they visited people at a hospital. Two kinds of situations are possible: (1) each boy went somewhere exactly five times, but it is not the case that there were five days on which all the boys went somewhere, and (2) there were five days on which all the boys came to the hospital, but there were two boys who came to the hospital more than five times. The two situations are illustrated in (78):

(78) Situation 1

Boys	Mon	Tue	Wed	Thu	Fri	Sat	Sun
a	√	√	√	√	√		
b			√	√	√	√	√
c	√	√			√	√	√
d	√	√	√	√		√	

Situation 2

Boys	Mon	Tue	Wed	Thu	Fri	Sat	Sun
a	√	√	√	√	√		
b	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
c	√	√	√	√	√	√	
d	√	√	√	√	√		

[19] The judgment reported here for (79) below is from me and one other speaker; two speakers gave inconsistent judgments, changing them on different days and for different minimal pairs. Two more found the sentences with *–nibud'* ungrammatical or unintepretable.

For me and another speaker, the two sentences in (79) show different scope interpretations: (79)a), which does not contain *–nibud'*, is true on Situation 2, but not on Situation 1; (79)b), which contains *–nibud'*, is true on Situation 1, but not on Situation 2.

(79)(I know for sure that…)

a. Rovno pjat' raz menja navestili v bol'nice vse mal'čiki. 5>∀, *∀>5
Exactly five times me visited in hospital all boys
'Five times all boys visited me at the hospital.' (*Situation1, OK Situation 2)

b. ?/*Rovno pjat' raz kogo-nibud' navestili v bol'nice vse mal'čiki. *5>∀, ∀>5
Exactly five times who-*nibud'* visited in hospital all boys
'All boys came somewhere or other five times.' (OK Situation 1, *Situation 2.)

The above data indicate that the licenser of *–nibud'* takes (or may take) very high scope. It is then possible that only strong QNPs can be scopally interpreted this high, hence only strong QNPs can be the licensers.[20]

[20] A possible alternative is that it is not the case the licenser QRs to an exceptionally high position, but that *–nibud'* reconstructs from its surface TP-adjoined position to find itself in the scope of the licenser. Such reconstruction is independently required to account for the interpretation of *–nibud'* in irrealis infinitives (see examples in (35) above). Nevertheless, the reconstruction alternative does not capture the observation that *–nibud'* influences the interpretation of the licensing quantifier. Consider (i), where *vse* has only the collective reading in (a), where *–nibud'* is absent, and only the distributive reading in (b), in the presence of *–nibud'*.

(i) a. Kto-to isportil prazdnik vsem mal'čikam. Boys affected as a group
Who-*to* spoiled holiday all boys
'Someone spoiled the holiday for all the boys.'
b. Kto-to isportil čto-nibud' vsem mal'čikam. Boys affected only as individuals
Who-*to* spoiled what-*nibud'* all boys
'Someone spoiled each of the boys something or other (of their stuff)'.

If *–nibud*' got licensed by reconstruction into the scope of the licenser, we would have no explanation for why the meaning of the licenser is influenced by *–nibud'*. On the extraordinary QR assuption, however, we have a way of talking about it: the interpretation of the licenser changes because its syntactic position changes.

A plausible hypothesis is that reconstruction of *–nibud'* is always available but dispreferred because *–nibud*'-itself is a quantifier and its movement to a TP-adjoined position is QR. Reconstruction of *–nibud*' then only takes place as Last Resort when there is no licenser present that can QR around *–nibud*', which is exactly the case with irrealis infinitives. In irrealis infinitives, the licenser and *–nibud*' are in different CPs. For this reason, the licenser cannot QR to c-command *–nibud*', and instead *–nibud*' reconstructs into the scope of the licenser.

4.5 Conclusion

In this paper, I discussed the distribution of the Russian *–nibud'*-series of non-specific indefinite pronouns. I showed that *–nibud*'-items are not NPIs and argued that they are licensed by quantificational operators. With respect to licensing *–nibud'* by QNPs, I argued that the licensers are inherently presuppositional strong quantifiers. I argued that *–nibud'*-items are adjoined to TP if they are objects or adjuncts and are possibly in Spec,AgrsP if they are subjects, which, given the low scope requirement on their interpretation, points to the conclusion that clausemate licensers of *–nibud'* are in the CP field. I also discussed the licenisng of *–nibud'*-items in irrealis infinitives. I discussed data that showes that Russian irrealis infinitives can be either CPs or TPs, and the ones where *–nibud*'-items are licensed are CPs. The liceser of *–nibud'* in these cases is similar to Stowell's (1982) irrealis C.

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