The one girl who was kissed by every boy:
Scope, scrambling and discourse function in Russian

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This paper discusses frozen scope in Russian, and links it to discourse function. It is argued that covert QR as well as reconstruction are restricted by the availability of discourse-driven overt movement (Topicalization). It is suggested that short obligatory QR, driven by semantic interpretability, exists in Russian. This paper also discusses the nature of Topicalization in Russian, showing an interaction between Topicalization and definiteness / specificity.

1. Introduction

The English sentence in 1 has two meanings – that a single boy kissed every girl in the relevant set of girls, and that for every girl in the set, there is some boy or other who kissed her. The equivalent Russian sentence as in (2a) has the former reading but not the latter. The scrambled (OVS order) Russian sentence in (2b) similarly has only the surface scope reading.[1]

(1) Some boy kissed every girl.
(some>∀), (∀>some)

(2) a. [Odin mal'čik] poceloval [každuju devočku].
[one boy-NOM] kissed [every girl-ACC]
(one>∀): One (specific) boy kissed every girl.
*(∀>one): For every girl x, x was kissed by some boy.
b. [Odnu devočku] poceloval [každyj mal'čik].
[one girl-ACC] kissed [every boy-NOM]
(one>∀): For one (specific) girl, every boy kissed that girl.
*(∀>one): For every boy x, x kissed some girl.

[1] Throughout this paper, I will use the term *subject* to mean 'the DP marked by nominative case' and *object* – 'the DP marked by accusative case.' As will be clear from the paper, these labels do not correspond to specific positions in overt syntax.

The major goal of this paper is to explain why inverse scope readings are unavailable in Russian sentences such as 2. I will tie scope to discourse function, and propose that the availability of discourse-driven overt movement constrains availability of covert movement in Russian, overt movement being preferred from the discourse standpoint. I will also suggest that covert movement exists in Russian when it is not related to discourse, as in the case of short obligatory QR.

This paper is organized as follows. Section 2 presents the basic scope data to be discussed in this paper. Section 3 looks at the relationship between scope and discourse function. Section 4 examines overt movement in Russian in more detail. And Section 5 concludes the paper.

2. Scope in Russian – the data

The phenomenon of quantifier scope has been of cross-linguistic interest for some time. According to standard assumptions of generative theory, scope interpretation obeys the universal principle in 3, which applies at LF.

(3) An operator c-commands its scope.

In the case of English, the position a quantifier occupies at LF is frequently different from its position in overt syntax. Thus, quantifier interactions in English show an availability of inverse scope readings that do not reflect the surface order of constituents (as in 1). Beginning with Chomsky (1977) and May (1977, 1985), there has been much work motivating covert movement of quantifiers as the means for deriving inverse scope. May (1977) argued that covert movement comes in two forms – quantifier raising (QR) and quantifier lowering (QL), which yields what Fox (2000) terms scope reconstruction.

The data in 2 suggest that in Russian, both QR and scope reconstruction are constrained. The lower QP does not raise above the higher QP in (2a) or (2b); nor does the fronted object QP in (2b) reconstruct to its base position at LF. Thus, two questions need to be answered:

(4) Q1: Does covert QR exist in Russian, and (if so) what is its distribution?
Q2: Does scope reconstruction exist in Russian, and (if so) what is its distribution?

2.1. Basic word order and scope readings in Russian

Russian word order is traditionally analyzed as SVO (see Bailyn 1995, Ch. 1, and the references cited therein).[2] However, various other word orders can be derived through movement processes traditionally termed 'scrambling.'

[2] King (1995) argues that Russian is VSO. See Bailyn (1995, Ch. 3) for counterarguments.

Russian word order strongly interacts with intonation patterns (see Yokoyama 1986, King 1995, Junghanns and Zybatow 1997, a.o.). In this paper, I will primarily discuss sentences with neutral intonation – where sentence stress falls on the right periphery, and there is wide scope on the entire sentence (i.e., the sentence can be used to answer the question 'what happened?'). Under this neutral intonation, transitive sentences typically exhibit two word orders: the canonical SVO order and the scrambled OVS order. As illustrated in 5, both orders exhibit frozen surface scope.[3]

(5) a. [Odna koška] ukusila [KAŽDUJU SOBAKU].
[one cat-NOM] bit [every dog-ACC]
'One cat bit every dog.'
(one>∀), *(∀>one)

b. [Odnu sobaku] ukusila [KAŽDAJA KOŠKA].
[one dog-ACC] bit [every cat-NOM]
'One dog, every cat bit.'
(one>∀), *(∀>one)

Note that Russian differs from other scrambling languages, such as German and Japanese (see Frey 1993; Kuroda 1971), in which canonical word order exhibits frozen scope while some types of scrambling create scope ambiguity.

2.2. Scope and referential readings of indefinites

In both (5a) and (5b), the indefinite QP is above the universal QP at Spell-Out. When, on the other hand, the universal QP is above the indefinite QP, inverse scope appears to be possible, in both SVO and OVS orders 0.

(6) a. [Každaja koška] ukusila [ODNU SOBAKU].
[every cat-NOM] bit [one dog-ACC]
(∀>one): For every cat x, x bit one dog.
(one>∀): For one (specific) dog, every cat bit that dog.

b. [Každuju sobaku] ukusila [ODNA KOŠKA].
[every dog-ACC] bit [one cat-NOM]
(∀>one): For every dog x, one cat bit x.
(one>∀): For one (specific) cat, that cat bit every dog.

The data in 6 suggest that covert QR is available in Russian after all. However, it has often been argued that wide-scope (specific) readings of indefinites may not be indicative of covert QR. Fodor and Sag (1982) showed that indefinites behave unlike other quantifiers in their ability to scope out of islands, and argued that indefinites are ambiguous between quantificational and

[3] Throughout this paper, I will mark the stressed constituent by small capital letters.

referential readings. Later work (Abusch 1994; Reinhart 1997; Winter 1997; Kratzer 1998) has argued that the referential (wide-scope) readings are derived through choice functions, and are independent of QR.

Russian conveniently provides a way of ruling out the referential readings of indefinites and testing for occurrence of covert QR. The quantifier *kakoj-nibud'* 'some' cannot be referential: it must take narrow scope with respect to some other scope-bearing element, in contrast to its referential counterpart *kakoj-to* 'some', which can take either wide or narrow scope. Thus, *kakoj-to* but not *kakoj-nibud'* can be used in the absence of a higher scope-bearing element (7a). On the other hand, when the indefinite is below the universal QP at Spell-Out (7b), both *kakoj-to* and *kakoj-nibud'* are possible, but only the former can (marginally) have a referential (wide-scope) reading.

(7) a. [Kakaja-to/ *kakaja-nibud' koška] ukusila [každuju sobaku].
[Some cat-NOM] bit [every dog-ACC]
'Some cat bit every dog.'
(∃>∀):A single (specific) cat bit every dog (√*kakoj-to*, **kakoj-nibud'*)
*(∀>∃):*For every dog, some cat bit that dog (**kakoj-to*, **kakoj-nibud')*

b. [Každaja koška] ukusila [kakuju-to/ kakuju-nibud' sobaku].
[Every cat-NOM] bit [some dog-ACC]
'Every cat bit some dog.'
(∀>∃):For every cat x, x bit some dog. (√*kakoj-to*, √*kakoj-nibud'*)
??(∃>∀):For one (specific) dog, every cat bit that dog.
(??*kakoj-to*, **kakoj-nibud'*)

Thus, *kakoj-nibud'* must take narrow scope with respect to another element. However, it does not need to take the narrowest scope in the sentence. Thus, in both (8a) (SVO order) and (8b) (OVS order), *kakoj-nibud'* scopes under the intensional verb but above the universal QP – i.e., it takes the scope corresponding to its surface position.

(8) a. Ja xoču,čtoby [kakaja-nibud' koška] ukusila [každuju sobaku].
I want that [some cat-NOM] bite-subj [every dog-ACC]
want>∃>∀: 'I would like for some (specific) cat to bite every dog.'
??/*want>∀>∃: 'I would like for every dog to be bit by some cat or other.'

b. Ja xoču, čtoby [kakuju-nibud sobaku] ukusila [každaja koska].
I want that [some dog-ACC] bite-subj [every catNOM]
want>∃>∀: 'I would like for there to be a dog s.t. every cat bites that dog.'
*want>∀>∃: 'I would like for every cat to bite some dog or other.'

On the other hand, when *kakoj-nibud'* is below the universal QP at Spell-Out, in either SVO order (9a) or OVS order (9b), it cannot scope over the universal. Thus, we see that when the referential reading of the indefinite is

ruled out (by using an inherently non-referential quantifier), the indefinite cannot take scope above its surface position – i.e., cannot undergo QR.

(9) a. Ja xoču, čtoby [každaja koška] ukusila [kakuju-nibud' sobaku]
I want that [every cat-NOM] bite-subj [some dog-ACC]
want>∀>∃: 'I would like for every cat to bite some dog or other.'
*want>∃>∀:'I would like for there to be a dog s.t. every cat bites that dog.'

b. Ja xoču, čtoby [každuju sobaku] ukusila [kakaja-nibud' koška].
I want that [every dog-ACC] bite-subj [some cat-NOM]
want>∀>∃: 'I would like for every dog to be bit by some cat or other.'
*want>∃>∀: 'I would like for some (specific) cat to bite every dog.'

Thus, we see that scope between two QPs is frozen in Russian, regardless of whether the word order is SVO or OVS, and of whether the universal or the indefinite is higher at Spell-Out.

2.3. QP-adverb scope interactions in Russian

However, scope is not frozen everywhere in Russian: it appears that a QP can take scope over an adverb higher in the structure, arguably undergoing covert QR to a position above the adverb. The situation is not straightforward. Sentences like (10a), involving 'often' and a universal QP, sound very artificial in Russian; while the inverse scope reading seems to be preferred, the sentence borders on ungrammaticality. If, however, the universal QP is partitive, as in (10b)[4], the sentence is grammatical and the inverse scope reading is strongly preferred[5]. It is not clear why there should be a difference between (10a) and (10b).

(10) a. ?? Ja často zaxožu k každomu professoru.
I often go to every professors-DAT
?? (∀>often), *(often>∀)

b. Ja často zaxožu k každomu iz moix professorov.
I often go to every-DAT from my professors-GEN
(∀>often): 'For each of my professors, I often go to see her/him.'
*(often>∀): 'I often go to see all of my professors (at the same time).'

With other quantifiers, such as 'all' and 'many', the inverse scope reading is quite easy to get, as in (11a) – the surface scope reading is somewhat infelicitous because of the context, so the inverse scope reading is forced. However, it is not clear that this should be considered a case of covert QR at

[4] Thanks to Ora Matushansky (p.c.) for suggesting this type of example.

[5] The surface scope reading is unavailable both because of the context and because of the distributive nature of *každyj,* which may be more like the English 'each' than like 'every.' For the other examples in this subsection, with 'all' and 'many', surface scope readings are certainly possible, as long as the context is felicitous.

all. Non-quantified collective DPs also appear to distribute over 'often', so that the preferred reading of (11b) is that I go to see each of my professors separately. It is possible that (10a) is another case of such group reading – although this cannot be claimed for (10b), where the QP is clearly distributive.

(11) a. Ja často zaxožu ko vsem / mnogim professoram.
I often go to all / many professors-DAT
(∀/many > often): 'For all/many professors x, I often go to see x.'
#(often > ∀/many): 'I often go to see all/many professors (at once).'

b. Ja často zaxoŽu k moim professoram.
I often go to my professors-DAT
'I often go to see my professors.'

The case is further complicated by indefinites. As 12 shows, the indefinite cannot take scope above the adverb (*kakoj-nibud'* is used here in order to avoid a referential reading of the indefinite).

(12) Ja xoču, čtoby Maša často zaxodila [k kakomu-nibud'
I want that Mary often go-subj [to some
professoru].
professor-DAT]
??/*(want>∃>often): 'I want Mary to often go see a specific professor.'
(want>often>∃):'I want Mary to often go see some professor or other.'

Thus, quantifiers do not behave uniformly in their interaction with adverbs. However, there are at least some cases (10b) in which the quantifier apparently takes scope over an adverb higher in the structure.

To summarize, this section showed that scope between two QPs is frozen in Russian, while inverse scope is at least sometimes possible (and even preferred) for QP-adverb interactions. The next section proposes an analysis of these phenomena.

3. Discourse and scope in Russian

In this section, I will link frozen scope in Russian to the presence of overt DP-movement. Russian has relatively free word order, as evidenced by the possibility of object scrambling. Moreover, if the object is raised to a position above the subject, it scopes over the subject (see ex. (5b), (6b)). Thus, scope configurations between two QPs are changed in Russian via overt movement, rather than covert QR. This fact is captured by the generalization in 13.

(13) Availability of overt movement restricts covert movement.

The idea that operations that can be done overtly should not be done covertly is not new. Pesetsky (1989) proposed the *Earliness Principle,* according to which filters should be satisfied as early as possible: thus, a filter that can be satisfied at S-Structure *must* be satisfied there, rather than at LF. A

related proposal concerning scope interactions is due to Beck (1996), who looked at intervention effects in German. She states (p. 44): "German is a language that has scrambling and, accordingly, a relatively free word order. It seems that because scope order *can* be made clear at S-Structure, it has to be, so S-Structural c-command mostly reflects semantic scope. Movement at LF thus has to be severely restricted." While the German data that led Beck to this generalization are not directly comparable to the Russian data in this paper, I believe that Beck's idea captures the difference between scrambling languages such as Russian and German, on the one hand, and rigid word-order languages such as English on the other. Overt movement is preferred: English is forced to use covert QR because of the relative unavailability of overt movement.

3.1. Overt movement and discourse function

Why should overt movement be preferred to covert movement? I would like to suggest, that at least in the case of Russian, this is a discourse preference. Different positions in Russian clauses have often been linked to distinct discourse function, such as topic and focus (see King 1995, Junghanns and Zybatow 1997, a.o.). It is to be expected that overt movement for discourse function would be preferable to covert movement, from the point of view of the hearer. I will now discuss the nature of discourse-driven movement in Russian in more detail. I will look primarily at Topicalization and new-information focus, ignoring contrastive focus for the purposes of this paper.

Preverbal elements in Russian are often described as topics, while the rightmost constituent has been argued to carry new information focus (Junghanns and Zybatow 1997). Consider 14. The questions "Who did Lora visit?" and "Who visited Dora?" are answered by (14a) and (14b), respectively. Thus, the constituent bearing new information and stress is placed postverbally, while the unstressed old information is placed preverbally[6].

(14) a. Lora navestila DORU.
Lora-NOM visited Dora-ACC
'Lora visited Dora'
b. Doru navestila LORA.
Dora-ACC visited Lora-NOM
'Dora was visited by Lora.'

However, the preverbal position is not reserved for explicitly old information. Consider (15a), which may be used to answer 'What happened?' In this case, *Dora* is not old information (since the entire sentence is new information); yet the sentence is in some intuitive way *about* Dora – i.e., *Dora*

[6] The situation is actually more complex than this, since constituents bearing stress may be preverbal, as I'll discuss in Section 0. However, the orders in 0 are the only ones possible under neutral intonation (stress on the right periphery).

is the topic. In contrast, (15b), which may also answer 'What happened?', is not about *Dora,* but rather is about 'the cat'. In Section 4, I will discuss the properties of Russian topics in more detail. For now, I assume, given the examples in 14 and 15, that leftward movement of a (non-stressed, non-focussed) object DP in Russian is an instance of Topicalization. I adopt the terminology of King (1995, p. 64), who describes topics as being "usually loosely defined as what the sentence is about."

(15) a. Doru ukusila KOŠKA.
Dora-ACC bit cat-NOM
'Dora was bitten by a cat.
b. Koška ukusila DORU.
cat-NOM bit Dora-ACC
'The cat bit Dora.'

There is reason to believe that the Topic position occupied by the object in sentences like (15a) is higher than the position of the postverbal subject. The topicalized object can bind a pronoun inside the postverbal subject, as shown in (16b).

(16) a. *Ego$_i$ sobaka ljubit [každogo mal'čika]$_i$.
his dog-NOM loves every boy-ACC
b. [Každogo mal'čika]$_i$ ljubit ego$_i$ sobaka.
every boy-ACC loves his dog-NOM
"Every boy is loved by his dog."

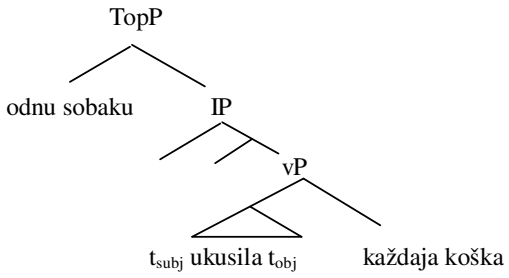
The topicalized object is thus in some high position, such as [spec, TopP] or [spec, IP]. As for postverbal subjects, I will follow Junghanns and Zybatow (1997) in saying that they are vP-adjoined. An alternative would be to say that the subject is in [spec, vP] and the verb has raised to INFL. However, this is unlikely, since verbs do not raise to INFL in Russian (see also Bailyn 1995). Russian verbs follow frequency/manner adverbs, which are usually assumed to be vP-attached (see Pollock 1989); this is just as true in OVS order as in SVO order.

(17) a. Loru [$_{vP}$ často naveščaet PODRUGA].
Lora-ACC often visits friend-NOM
'Lora is often visited by (her) friend.'
b. ??/*Loru naveščaet často PODRUGA.
Lora-ACC visits often friend-NOM

Thus, an OVS sentence like (5a), repeated as (18a), has the structure in (18b).

(18) a.[Odnu sobaku] ukusila [KAŽDAJA KOŠKA].
[one dog-ACC] bit [every cat-NOM]
'One dog, every cat bit.' (∃>∀), *(∀>∃)

b



Thus, in Russian, different discourse configurations are expressed through different word orders (e.g., SVO vs. OVS); scope is 'read off' the resulting configuration. It is not necessary to employ covert QR to, for instance, raise the object from its base position. This movement would be superfluous, given the availability of overt Topicalization, which results in the tree in (18).

Just as covert QR is superfluous (given the availability of overt movement), so is reconstruction of the Topic in (18b) unnecessary. The reconstructed object DP would take scope under the subject DP, and would no longer function as a topic. Such vacuous application of Topicalization should not be allowed by Economy. This is captured in 19.

(19) *Preservation of Discourse Function:*
Topics cannot undergo reconstruction at LF.

While the above discussion suggests an explanation for why covert movement is restricted in Russian, it also makes an interesting prediction for when covert movement is allowed. Covert movement should be allowed when no overt counterpart is available – when the movement bears no relationship to discourse function. I turn to this prediction next.

3.2. Obligatory short QR in Russian

One case of movement for non-discourse reasons involves semantic interpretability. In the framework of Heim and Kratzer (1998), QPs are of type <et, t>. This means that the subject of a transitive verb or the object of an unaccusative verb are interpretable in their base-generated position, as sister to a predicate of type <e, t>, as well as in their derived position (where they have moved by an operation other than QR – e.g., to satisfy the EPP feature on Tense). Objects of transitive verbs, on the other hand, undergo obligatory QR

to a clause-denoting expression of type *t,* with this movement forming a one-place predicate through λ-abstraction over the position of the trace. Fox (2000) distinguishes this obligatory type of QR from optional QR. Thus, in a sentence like (20a) (from Fox 2000), the object QP *must* under QR to [Spec, vP] in order to be interpretable – note that this configuration (20b) does not invert the scope reading. The inverse scope reading is a result of either optional QR to a higher position (20c), or optional reconstruction of the subject QP (20d).

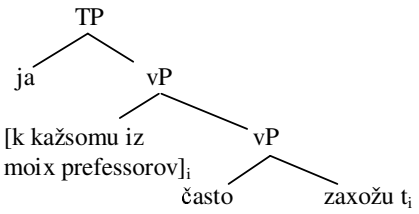
(20) a. A boy loves every girl.
b. obligatory QR: $[_{TP}$ a boy_1 …$[_{VP}$ every $girl_2$ $[_{VP}$ t_1 loves $t_2]]]$
c. optional QR: $[_{TP}$ every $girl_2$ $[_{TP}$ a boy_1…$[_{VP}$ t_2' $[_{VP}$ t_1 loves $t_2]]]]$
d. reconstruction: $[_{TP}$ ____ …. $[_{VP}$ every $girl_2$ $[_{VP}$ a boy_1 loves $t_2]]]$

I have argued that optional QR and reconstruction are both ruled out in Russian by the availability of overt movement. However, nothing in my analysis rules out obligatory QR, which has nothing to do with information structure. In fact, obligatory QR must exist in Russian, if object QPs which have not moved for discourse reasons are to be interpreted.

If obligatory QR moves the object to [spec, vP] (Heim and Kratzer 1998), then it may be possible for the object to take scope over vP-attached adverbs. Recall the sentences in Section 2.3. While the data on QP-adverb interactions are not straightforward, there appear to be at least some cases where a QP object takes scope over a vP-attached adverb – an example of this was (10b), repeated here as (21a). I propose that the LF for this sentence is (21b), in which the (PP) object has moved to a vP-attached position above the adverb.

(21) a. Ja často zaxožu k každomu iz moix professorov.
I often go to every-DAT from my professors-GEN
'I often go to see each of my professors.' (∀>often), *(often>∀)

b.



Thus, it may be possible to account for the inverse scope that exists in Russian via short obligatory QR. This account is tentative, however, given the complex pattern of data in Section 2.3.

Given the semantic framework of Heim and Kratzer (1998), short interpretability-driven QR must exist in Russian, as in any other language. Whether this short QR enables the object to scope over an adverb like 'often' is not completely certain however. The data in Section 2.3 clearly warrant further investigation.

To summarize, this section examined overt and covert movement in Russian, and argued that the availability of discourse-driven overt DP-movement restricts covert movement in Russian. This section has provided answers to the questions posed in 4. I have argued that only short QR to [spec, vP] is available in Russian, while long QR and reconstruction are unavailable. Both of these processes would result in changes to information structure (i.e., changes in what is interpreted as Topic); however, such changes should be done overtly, an option preferred by the discourse.

4. Information structure and overt DP movement in Russian

In the previous section, I assumed that the leftmost constituent of a Russian sentence is a topic. In this section, I will examine topics in more detail, and I will further link Topicalization to scope. I concentrate on intonation-neutral, wide-scope sentences, which may answer the question 'what happened?'

While stress typically falls on the right periphery of these sentences, it is also possible to have stress on a preverbal constituent, as long as it is not the leftmost constituent. This is illustrated in 22 for stressed objects, and 23 for stressed subjects. The judgments are given in the context of wide scope (i.e., in answer to "what happened?" or "what's going on?").

(22) a. Galina čitaet KNIGU.
Galina-NOM reads book-ACC
'Galina is reading a book.'
b. Galina KNIGU čitaet.
Galina-NOM book-ACC reads
c. #KNIGU Galina čitaet.
book-ACC Galina-NOM reads

(23) a. Loru navestila PODRUGA.
Lora-ACC visited friend-NOM
'Lora was visited by a friend.'
b. Loru PODRUGA navestila.
Lora-ACC friend-NOM visited
c. # PODRUGA Loru navestila.
friend-NOM Lora-ACC visited

I will not go issues concerning the stress pattern in Russian any further in this paper, although it would make an interesting subject for further investigation. The remainder of this section examines cases with stress on the right periphery, such as (22a) and (23a), but the discussion should generalize to sentences with

preverbal stress like (22b) and (23b)[7]. My main concern will be with the leftmost (unstressed) element in the sentence.

4.1. The nature of topicalization

In this subsection, I will examine the nature of Topics in Russian. I propose the following condition on what may become a Topic in Russian:

(24) *Condition on Topicalization (for Russian):*
An XP may be scrambled to Topic position only if there is no other phrase that is more definite / specific than the scrambled XP.

The association of Topics with definiteness/specificity is certainly not new (see, e.g., Szabolcsi 1997, who proposes a Topic position that is occupied only by specific DPs in Hungarian). What I propose for Russian, however, is not a one-to-one mapping between specific DPs and Topic position: rather, the Topic is one of the most specific (or definite) elements in the sentence.

Consider 25. In the canonical SVO order in (25a), 'cat' may be either definite or indefinite, and the postverbal 'mouse' is indefinite; however, if the object 'mouse' is topicalized, in (25b), it must be definite. (25b) is felicitous only if there is a salient mouse in the discourse context.

(25) a. Koška pojmala MYŠKU.
cat-NOM caught mouse-ACC
'A/the cat caught a mouse.'
b. Myšku pojmala KOŠKA.
mouse-ACC caught cat-NOM
'The mouse was caught by a cat.'

However, it is not the case that a topicalized DP must always be definite. For instance, an indefinite DP modified by 'one' or 'some' may be topicalized, as long as it receives a specific reading, and as long as there is no definite DP in the sentence. This is illustrated in 26: in (26a), 'one cat' must be specific, while 'some child' may be either specific or non-specific; the reverse is true for (26b)[8]. Intuitively, (26a) is about a particular cat, while (26b) is about a particular child.

[7] It should be noted that the position of the stressed constituent does not affect scope: the sentences in 0 will continue to exhibit frozen scope if the stressed universal QP is placed in a preverbal position, as long as it follows the unstressed indefinite DP.

[8] This raises the question of why 'mouse' in (25b) cannot be construed as a specific indefinite, with 'cat' being a non-specific indefinite. This may stem from an interaction between properties of bare DPs and the Topic position: when a DP is topicalized, the preference is to interpret is as definite, and in the absence of modifiers such as 'one' or 'some', this interpretation is adopted. The nature of bare DPs in Russian warrants further investigation.

(26) a. Odnu košku pogladil KAKOJ-TO REBËNOK.
one cat-ACC stroked some child-NOM
'One cat was stroked by a child.'
b. Odin rebënok pogladil KAKUJU-TO KOŠKU.
one child-NOM stroked some cat-ACC
'One child stroked a cat.'

Note that if the postverbal DP is definite, as in (27a), it is usually infelicitous to topicalize the indefinite object. On the other hand, it is fine to topicalize a definite object DP, as in (27b), over a definite subject, as long as the object DP is more salient than the subject (e.g., Lora is more likely to be salient in the discourse than her unnamed friend).

(27) a. #Odnu košku pogladil RODION.
one cat-ACC stroked Rodion-NOM
'One cat was stroked by Rodion.'
b. Loru navestila EË PODRUGA.
Lora-ACC visited her friend-NOM
'Lora was visited by her friend.'

Finally, I address the case where both DPs are clearly non-specific indefinites. An example is given in 28, where the context and the plurality of the DPs make a non-specific reading the only one available.[9]

(28) V Rossii vsë kak obyčno…
'In Russia everything is as usual…'
a. …Milicionery po-prežnemu presledajut GANGSTEROV.
…policemen-NOM as old chase gangsters-ACC
'… Policemen are still chasing gangsters.'
b.(#)…Gangsterov po-prežnemu presledajut MILICIONERY.
gangsters-ACC as old chase policemen-NOM

In (28a), the non-specific subject can easily precede the non-specific object. It is somewhat infelicitous to put the object before the subject (28b). However, it is possible to force a non-specific object to be a topic, when the subject is even 'less specific' – i.e., when the subject is a neg-phrase. This is illustrated in 29[10]. Note that *nikto* is preverbal here (perhaps in [spec, NegP]), with stress falling on the sentence-final verb.

(29) Milicionerov po-prežnemu nikto NE SLUŠAET.
policemen-ACC as old no one-NOM NEG listens
'As always, no one listens to policemen.'

[9]Thanks to David Pesetsky (p.c.) for suggesting this example.
[10]Thanks to Ora Matushansky (p.c.) for suggesting this type of example.

In the previous discussion, I have not addressed the question of whether a sentence *must* have a topic. There is evidence that fronted objects are necessarily topics, but the case is less clear for preverbal subjects. For instance, it is well-known (see, e.g. Rizzi 1997) that bare quantifiers without a lexical restrictor, such as *no one* or *all,* may not be topics. In Russian, it is indeed the case that an object *no one* may not be a topic. This is illustrated in (30a) – compare to (30b), where the topic is a neg-phrase with a lexical restrictor. On the other hand, it is quite possible to have a preverbal subject neg-phrase, as long as the postverbal object is a non-specific indefinite (30c).

(30) a. #Nikogo ne ukusila SOBAKA.
No one-ACC NEG bit dog-NOM
'No one was bit by a dog.'
b. Ni odnogo mal'čika ne ukusila SOBAKA.
Neg one boy-ACC NEG bit dog-NOM
'No boy was bit by a dog.'
c. Nikto ne el KAŠI.
No one-NOM NEG ate porridge-GEN
'No one ate (any) porridge.'

This suggests that while the moved object is necessarily in Topic position, the preverbal subject may be in a canonical subject position such as [spec, TP].

4.2. Topicalization and scope

In this section, I have shown that Topicalization in Russian obeys certain restrictions – that the topic must be more specific / definite than, or at least as specific / definite as, other DPs in the sentence. This ties in with the discussion of Russian scope in Section 3. If an indefinite DP is in Topic position, it must be specific (and hence scope over the universal); a non-specific indefinite would not Topicalize over a universal DP, since this would violate 24. Thus, scope readings in Russian should to some extent reflect the specificity hierarchy, which is exactly what the data in Section 5 show.

5. Conclusion

In this paper, I have looked at scope and discourse properties of intonationally neutral Russian sentences. I have linked frozen scope to the availability of overt discourse-driven movement in Russian, suggesting, following proposals such as Pesetsky (1989) and Beck (1996), that overt movement is preferable to covert movement. Specifically, I have argued that leftward DP-movement in Russian is an instance of Topicalization, and that Topicalization is sensitive to the definiteness and specificity of the constituents. Scope in Russian reflects

this specificity hierarchy. When one QP takes scope over another, it is typically more specific; thus, it is Topicalized – i.e., undergoes overt movement. Covert movement processes like optional QR and reconstruction are not employed by Russian, since overt movement is preferred from the standpoint of discourse. However, I have suggested that obligatory short QR, which is not related to discourse, is available in Russian, resulting in inverse scope between adverbs and object QPs.

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