

Root infinitives with dative subjects

Egor Tsedryk

Saint Mary's University

Background

The subject of an infinitival clause in Russian has to be in the dative case.

(1) a. Mne zavtra rano vstavat'.
me.DAT tomorrow early get.up.IPFV.INF
'I have to get up early tomorrow.'

b. Mne zavtra rano ne vstat'.
me.DAT tomorrow early not get.up.PFV.INF
'I can't get up early tomorrow.'

The standard assumption: 'dative' is the default case value of the infinitive assigned to the grammatical subject of the clause (Babby 1998; Landau 2008).

A dative argument is also possible with a non-agreeing modal predicate, but the aspect does not have to be imperfective.

(2) a. Mne nužno zavtra rano vstat'.
me.DAT need.N tomorrow early get.up.PFV.INF
'I have to get up early tomorrow.'

b. Ja mogu zavtra rano vstat'.
I.NOM can.1SG tomorrow early get.up.PFV.INF
'I can't get up early tomorrow.'

High-applicative analysis of (1) (Tsedryk 2018):

- monoclausal structure (the infinitive is not embedded under a covert modal verb)
- parallel with involuntary state in Slavic
- Appl is merged above TP, relating an individual to a proposition
- the logical subject raises to Spec,AppIP
- Appl has a directional (vector-like) semantics 'to' (Tsedryk, to appear)

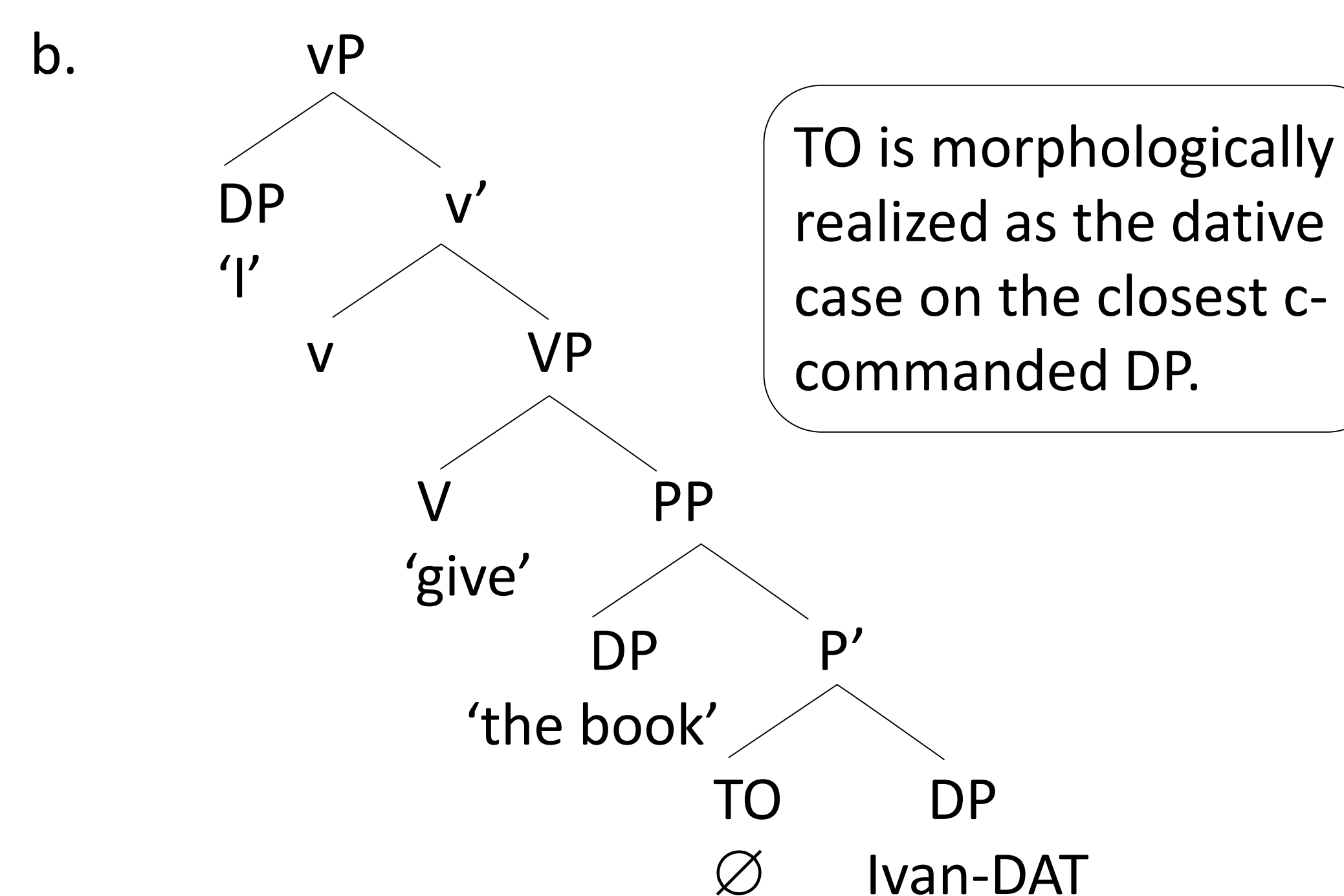
Remaining issues:

- The modal flavour in (1a) is conditioned by the view-point aspect (Fortuin 2007).
- The imperfective aspect (IPFV) is simply stipulated as a modal operator.
- How does IPFV relate to the higher Appl?
- Why is IPFV not a modal operator in Russian otherwise (Arregui, Rivero, and Salanova 2014)?

Proposal

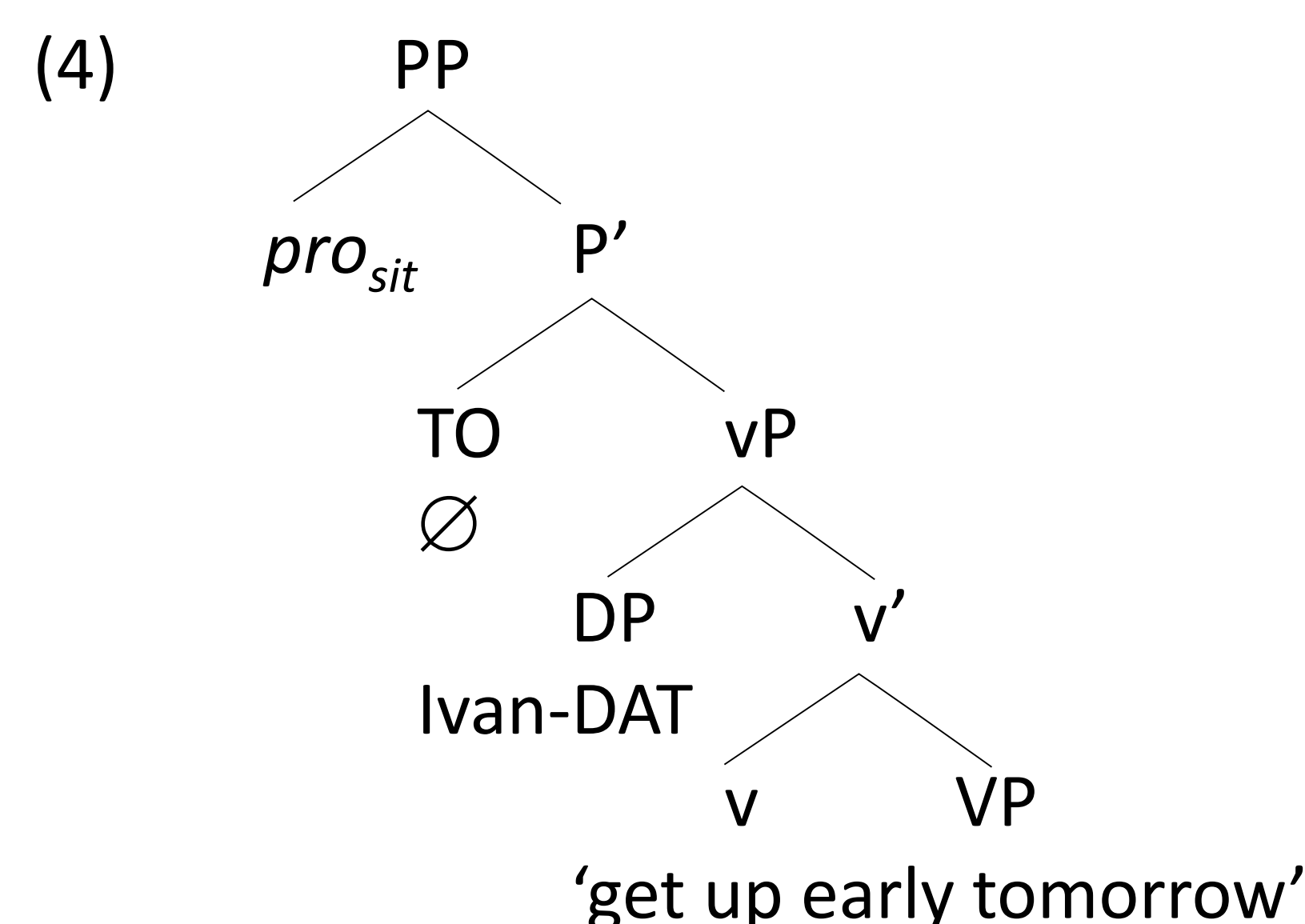
The assumption: the dative case in Russian is assigned by a null directional preposition TO (cf. G in Pesetsky 1995).

(3) a. Ja otdal etu knigu Ivanu.
I.NOM gave this.ACC book.ACC Ivan.DAT
'I gave this book to Ivan.'



See Bailyn 2013, among others, that the indirect object is base-generated lower than the direct object in Russian.

Extension to (1): TO is merged above vP.

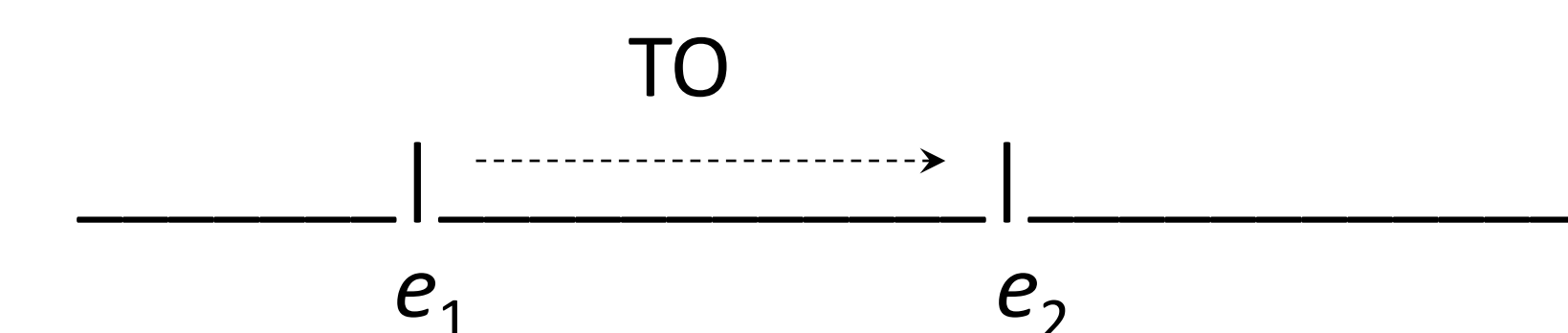


The similarities and the differences between (3b) and (4):

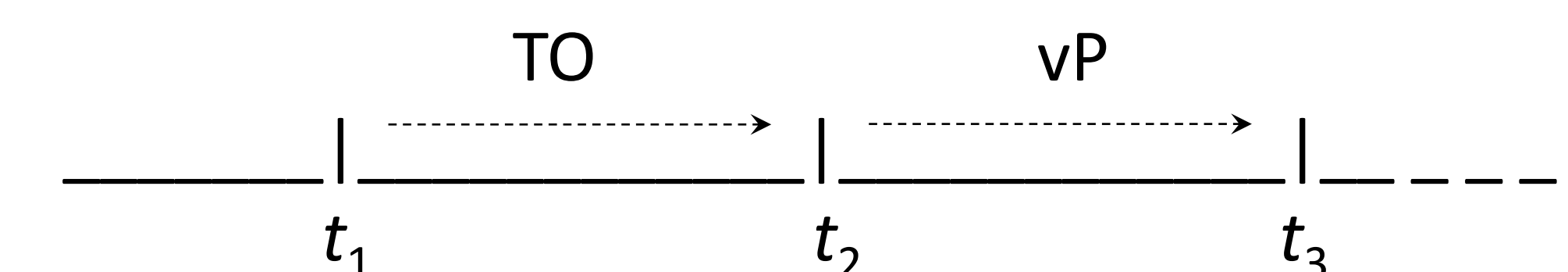
- TO establishes a relationship between two arguments
- the arguments in (3b) are individuals (e_1 and e_2)
- the arguments in (4) are situations with time coordinates (t_1 and t_2)
- pro_{sit} in (4) is a situation pronoun (Percus 2000)

The semantics of TO in (3b) and (4):

(5) *Spatial distancing between two individuals in (3b)*



(6) *Temporal distancing between two time coordinates in (4)*



The IPFV Aspect, merged with the PP in (4) places the reference time inside the time interval $\tau(t_1, t_2)$, and IPFV is interpreted as a "progressive futurate", which is otherwise unavailable in Russian (Arregui, Rivero, and Salanova 2014).

TO in (4) semantically corresponds to Copley's (2009:34) ALL_b function "that is responsible for universally quantified, bouletically ordered modal meaning of progressive futurates."

(7) $ALL_b(d)(q)(w)(t)$ is defined iff d directs q in w at t .
If defined, $ALL_b(d)(q)(w)(t) = 1$ iff $\forall w'$ metaphysically accessible from w at t and consistent with d 's commitments in w at t : $[\exists t' > t: [q(w')(t')]]$
(Copley 2009:35, (57))

Conclusion

The dative case is not assigned/valued by the infinitival inflection. The structure in (4) ends up being non-finite because of the TO-merger above vP. An infinitival clause can be a root clause (Haug, Jøhndal, and Solberg 2019).

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