Infinitival Complementation in Russian

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To my family.

Contents

1. Introduction

Infinitival complementation has been present on the linguistic arena since the time of early transformational grammar. This thesis is concerned with a part of this huge field which has traditionally been referred to as control, namely obligatory control (OC):

(1)   a. John$_i$ wanted [PRO$_i$ to leave].

        b. John$_i$ thought that [PRO$_{i/j}$ to leave] would be rude.

In (1a) the understood subject of the infinitive, PRO, is obligatorily controlled by the matrix argument, the structure of the sentence is such that there can be no other reference for PRO. (1b), on the other hand, is a non-obligatory control (NOC) configuration where the structure of the sentence allows there to be an external reference for PRO.

I am considering a number of recent theories of control against the evidence presented by Russian infinitives to see which theory provides us with a better account of the data. The theories to come under our scrutiny are the intricate mechanism of control relations developed in Landau (2000), the neat pattern of infinitival restructuring described in Wurmbrand (2001), the relentless disposal of structure in subject-control infinitives implemented by Babby (1998) and the blunt change of perspective first put forward in Hornstein (1999). Each theory makes strong predictions about the behaviour of infinitival clauses w.r.t. certain properties – observing those properties in interaction I am going to conclude that a restructuring approach is the most capable candidate so far.

2. Lining up the contestants

2.1. Landau (2000)

Landau (2000) presents an elaborate account of the machinery of control. The importance of this work for the present study is an extensive description of the formerly neglected phenomenon of partial control (PC). PC takes place when a controller in the matrix clause is only part of a bigger group of individuals designated by the understood subject of the infinitive, as illustrated in (2):

(2)   a. The chair hated [PRO gathering without a concrete agenda].

        b. The chair was afraid [PRO to gather during the strike].

        c. Mary wondered whether [PRO to apply together for the grant].

(Landau 2000)

In (2) the collective predicates in the embedded clauses make it clear that PRO refers to a group of individuals and is only partially controlled by the matrix argument – this kind of control is licensed only by a particular group of predicates; there are also verbs that do not allow a partial reading of PRO, but require their arguments to establish an exhaustive control (EC) relation with PRO:

(3)   a. *John told Mary that he managed to meet at 6 today.

        b. *Mary said that John began to correspond quite recently.

        c. *John told Mary that he had to separate before it's too late[1]. (Landau 2000)

Landau classifies both PC and EC as types of OC on the basis of the properties that PC and EC share, as opposed to NOC – both PC PRO and EC PRO need a local c-commanding antecedent and have the semantic properties of sloppy reading under ellipsis and *de se* interpretation:

(4)   a. John$_i$ tried [PRO$_i$ to leave early], and Bill$_j$ did [PRO$_j$] too.

        b. John$_i$ preferred [PRO$_{i+1}$ to leave early], and Bill$_j$ did [PRO$_{j+1}$] too.

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[1] Landau includes *Mary* in the higher clauses "so as to supply a salient member in the group reference of PRO" – as can be seen, the examples are nevertheless ungrammatical.

c. John$_i$ thinks that [PRO$_i$ feeding himself] will be difficult, and Bill$_j$ does [PRO$_{i/j}$] too.

(5)   a. The unfortunate$_i$ expects [PRO$_i$ to get a medal].

b. The secretary$_j$ of defense finally arrived. The unfortunate$_i$ expected [PRO$_{i+j}$ to meet soon].

c. The unfortunate$_i$ believes that [PRO$_{i/j}$ getting a medal will be boring].

(Landau 2000)

The ellipsis in the EC environment in (4a) can only be interpreted in a way where it is *Bill* who tried to leave; ellipsis in PC in (4b) also enforces a sloppy reading where it is *Bill* who is obligatorily included in the group of people leaving (*John* can be accidentally included) – these sloppy readings in EC and PC are contrasted by the possible strict reading in the NOC configuration in (4c) where *Bill* can have similar thoughts about himself or *John*. The illustration of a *de se*/*de re* contrast requires some contextual footwork: Landau offers a situation where an amnesiac war hero sees a TV programme about a person who he does not recognize as himself. (5a, b) would be false in this situation, as both sentences, where the *unfortunate* obligatorily controls either the whole PRO or only part of it, can only be satisfied with a *de se* belief. The NOC structure in (5c) allows a *de re* interpretation where the unfortunate has beliefs about someone else.

The distinction between EC and PC infinitives that Landau points out as significant is that EC infinitives lack a tense reference independent from that of the matrix clause, whereas PC infinitives have a distinct tense reference – Landau illustrates this by conflicting temporal modifiers of the matrix and the embedded clauses in the manner illustrated in (6):

(6)   a. *Yesterday, John began to solve the problem tomorrow.

b. *Yesterday, John had to solve the problem tomorrow[2].

c. *Today, John managed to have finished his duties yesterday.

d. Yesterday, John hoped to solve the problem tomorrow.

e. Yesterday, John wondered how to solve the problem tomorrow.

f. Today, John regretted having kissed his aunt last week.

g. Today, John claimed to have lost his car keys last week.

Thus, predicates that only allow EC are shown to take untensed complements – (6a-c), while PC predicates allow their infinitival complements to have their own tense – (6d-g).

Another peculiarity of PC complements to be mentioned is that the grammaticality of a sentence with an intended PC reading depends on the absence of syntactic plurality – only semantic plurality is allowed[3]:

(7)   a. *The chair preferred to consult <u>each other</u> before the vote.

        b. *John told Mary that he regretted having talked about <u>themselves</u>.

        c. *John knew that Mary hoped to become <u>members</u> of the new club.

Landau associates this property of PC complements to whether a language permits syntactically plural elements[4] to be predicated of semantically plural (but syntactically singular) entities, such as *government*, *class*:

(8)   a. *It is impossible for the government to clear themselves/each other of any responsibility.

        b. *The class each submitted a different paper.

Landau connects EC/PC contrast, absence/presence of tense and semantic/syntactic plurality to argue for a particular derivational process in control infinitivals. His analysis rests on the following assumptions: 1) PRO behaves like a

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[2] Landau quotes the example as bad; however, see Section 3.2 for the discussion of how this type of constructions can actually be argued to embed tense.

[3] Note that (7, 8) are ungrammatical in American English, as Landau points out, but are acceptable in British English.

[4] With plurality syntactically/morphologically expressed.

lexical noun in that it enters the derivation with valued φ-features and can be selected from the lexicon "in two "flavors" – semantically plural [+SP] or semantically singular [-SP]"; 2) functional heads enter the derivation with unvalued φ-features; 3) semantic plurality can be +/- on DPs, and +/-/Ø (unspecified) on functional heads, which do not distinguish between the last two specifications of semantic plurality; 4) PRO and infinitival Agr are anaphoric in that they need to be "identified" (the identification is implemented via an Agree operation as formalized in Chomsky 1998); 5) PRO, being anaphoric, cannot value unvalued functional heads.

PC, according to Landau, can take place where the semantic plurality of the matrix controller is matched with an element unspecified for the corresponding feature and intervening between the controller and PRO, so that PRO can have a non-matching [SP] – such an intervening element can be infinitival Agr: this would require Agr to be high enough in the tree to be controlled by the matrix argument over PRO. To argue for this scenario, Landau assumes that in tensed clauses C contains an uninterpretable T-feature, which induces T-to-C movement – this kind of movement is argued by Landau to be represented in other languages in that complementizers can encode mood distinctions and tense agreement. To ensure that Agr is situated above PRO Landau has to make yet another assumption that Agr does not have its own functional head and all φ-features are situated in T, so that "Agr" reaches C as a "free-rider" in PC contexts. PC thus turns out to be, essentially, control of the infinitival Agr by a matrix argument:

(9) <u>PC = Agr-Control</u>
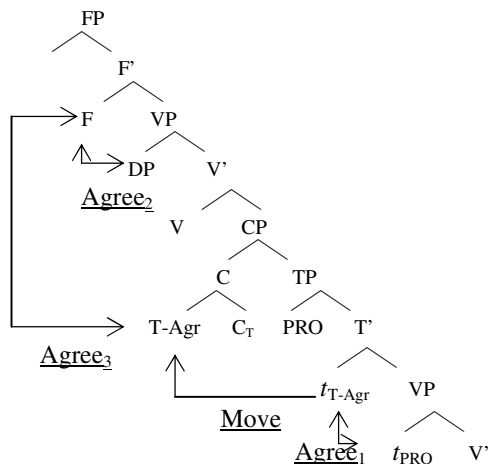
The derivation presented in (9) proceeds as follows: in the embedded clause, an Agree operation takes place between PRO and Agr (Landau assumes that, although PRO supposedly cannot value features on Agr, agreement still does take place[5]) – Agree$_1$; in the matrix clause the controller Agrees with its functional head (T for subject control, small v for object control, and some functional head or other for dative controllers[6]) – Agree$_2$; with the embedded Agr sitting above PRO, Agree$_3$ then connects Agr as a goal and a matrix functional head as the probe. A control relation established between the matrix controller and infinitival Agr ensures that the matrix controller and PRO can differ in their semantic plurality, which licenses a PC reading.

In order to preclude the same happening in EC contexts, Landau has to further assume that untensed clauses (which Landau argues EC complements to be) are headed by C with no uninterpretable T-feature – T-to-C movement is thus not motivated and Agr cannot reach C: this leads to the conclusion that in EC complements agreement takes place directly between a functional head agreeing with

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[5] Landau has to make this assumption to ensure a control relation *per se* between a matrix NP and PRO.
[6] Landau does not take a stand on which functional head is the probe in the case of control by dative arguments, suggesting that "it might be the "applicative" v of Marantz (1993), the prepositional cascade heads of Pesetsky (1995), the Asp heads of Borer 1998, or any other analogue that suits the reader's taste".

the matrix argument and PRO. Note that both DPs and PRO, according to Landau, are selected from the lexicon valued for their semantic plurality and thus any feature mismatch leads to a crash of the derivation, which is why PC is excluded in EC contexts:

(10) <u>EC = PRO-Control</u>
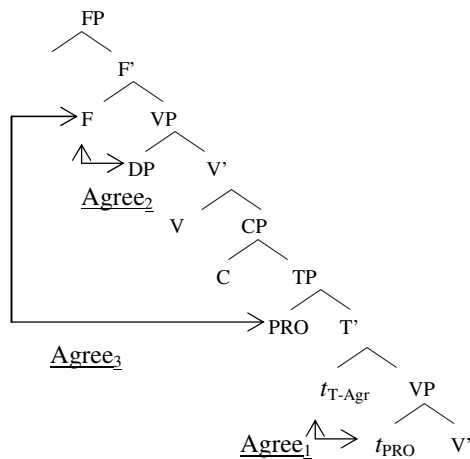
The mechanism Landau introduces thus turns out to be quite intricate and based on a fair amount of stipulations – this in itself is not an argument against a theory, the question is, whether by all these assumptions the author succeeds in creating an empirically truthful picture of syntactic facts and whether his system can make right predictions about what would be possible in relevant constructions.

Landau's theory heavily relies on the generalization that EC complements are untensed and PC complements are tensed. As regards the structure of infinitival complements, Landau prefers to retain what he calls a null hypothesis that all control complements are CPs: all PC complements have a tense specification and thus are considered by Landau as unambiguously CP-clauses. Untensed EC complements introduced by implicatives *dare*, *manage*, etc. are argued to be CP, in that they have overt complementizers in Romance languages. For other EC predicates, modals and

aspectuals, Landau admits that their complements can possibly be analysed as bare VPs; however, he claims that any conclusions reached for implicative complements would automatically extend to modals and aspectuals, since the theory would have to account for untensed CPs anyway. Landau also points out that these verbs may be classified as raising verbs (on which issue he prefers to stay neutral) – which makes these predicates and the size of their complements irrelevant for a theory of control.

2.2. The restructuring analysis - Wurmbrand (2001)

In contrast to Landau, Wurmbrand (2001) takes a stand on the different syntactic architecture for different infinitival complements – the make-up of syntactic structure roughly corresponds to semantic interpretation. Observing infinitival constructions in German, Wurmbrand develops an approach to infinitival complementation, where all infinitives, control and raising, are reshuffled into a classification based on the gradience of the *restructuring configuration*, which is defined as an interaction of different semantic and syntactic properties. The kinds and degrees of restructuring configuration in German are: 1) lexical restructuring; 2) functional restructuring; 3) reduced non-restructuring; 4) full non-restructuring.

Lexical restructuring predicates are characterised by Wurmbrand as those that combine with "syntactically and semantically very "small" predicates": these are verbs like *versuchen* "try", *wagen* "dare", *beabsichtigen* "intend", etc. The restructuring configuration for complements of lexical restructuring predicates is lack of propositional properties (tense, complementizers, negation) and, more radically, lack of a structural object case position, such that the structure of the complement is a bare VP, and the internal argument of the infinitive depends on the higher verb for its case:

(11) Lexical restructuring

　　　a. weil Hans den Traktor　　　zu reparieren versuchte

　　　　 since John the tractor$_{ACC}$ to repair　　　tried

　　　　 "*since John tried to repair the tractor*"

　　　b.

```
                        TP
                   ┌────┴────┐
                 John        T'
                        ┌────┴────┐
                       vP         T°
                   ┌───┴───┐
                t_SUBJ     v'
                       ┌───┴───┐
                      VP       v°
                  ┌───┴───┐   tried
                 VP       V°
             ┌───┴───┐
            OBJ      V°
         the tractor  to repair
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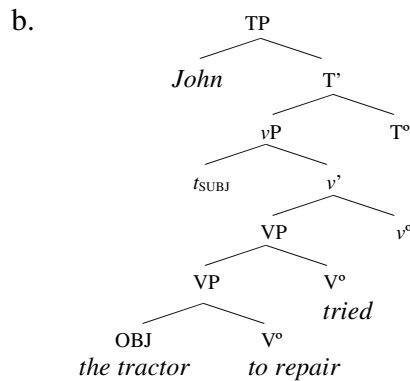
　　　 The claim that the embedded object depends on the matrix verb for its accusative case is supported by the analysis of the phenomenon of *long passive*:

(12)　　a. dass der Traktor　　　zu reparieren versucht wurde

　　　　　that the tractor$_{NOM}$　 to repair　　tried　　was

　　　　　"…*that they tried to repair the tractor.*"

.　　 b. dass die Traktoren　　　zu reparieren versucht wurden

　　　　　that the tractors$_{NOM}$　to repair　　tried　　were

　　　　　"…*that they tried to repair the tractors.*"　　　　　　(Wurmbrand 2001)

The pattern in (12) illustrates that when the matrix predicate is passivised, the object case becomes unavailable and the embedded object has to move to the specifier of the matrix TP to get nominative case; the fact that the object has really moved to the position of the matrix subject can be seen in the agreement effects it induces on the matrix verb (12b).

The analysis of lexical restructuring constructions presented in (11) predicts that such propositional properties as tense and negation should be prohibited in these environments:

(13) a. Dem Kind   wurden nur Kekse   (*morgen)   zu essen erlaubt
          the child$_{DAT}$ were   only cookies$_{NOM}$ (*tomorrow) to eat   allowed
          "*The child was only allowed to eat cookies tomorrow.*"

      b. weil dem Hans   [der Spinat   nicht zu essen] erlaubt wurde
          since the John$_{DAT}$ the spinach$_{NOM}$ not   to eat   allowed was
          "*since John was not allowed to eat the spinach*"
          *"*since John was allowed not to eat the spinach*"

The tense adverb *morgen* cannot be inserted in the infinitival complement in (13a), and negation can only be interpreted as situated in the matrix clause in (13b).

Further evidence supporting the claim about a reduced structure in lexical restructuring environments is provided by the possibility of scrambling and pronoun fronting out of the infinitive into the matrix clause – these operations have been argued to target the CP-layer and if an infinitive lacks its own CP projection the matrix CP becomes a suitable landing site.

Like lexical restructuring, functional restructuring also involves monoclausal constructions – the difference between the two types of restructuring is that lexical restructuring infinitives "result from the option of combining a lexical restructuring verb with a very "small" complement", whereas a functional restructuring verb is the head of the functional domain of a clause where the infinitive is the main (lexical) predicate:

(14) Functional restructuring

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           AuxP
          /  \
             Aux'
            /    \
      ModP      Aux°
      /   \      epistemic modals, raising verbs, beginnen
          Mod'                              ⟵ auxiliaries
         /    \
   vP/AspP    Mod°        ⟵
   /    \      deontic modals
 SUBJ   v'/Asp'
       /      \
     VP      v°/Asp°
    /   \     ability modals, causatives, motion and perception verbs
  DP    V'
       /  \
     DP   V°
          main verb (infinitive)
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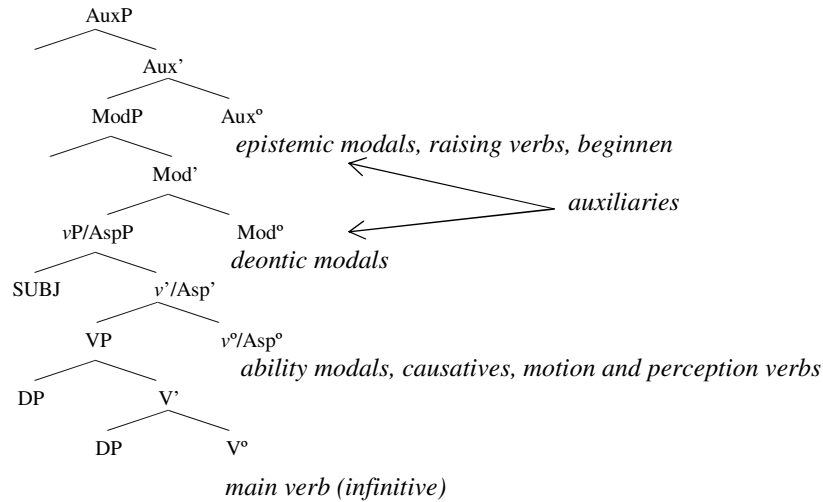
The class includes auxiliaries, raising verbs, modals, causatives, motion verbs and verbs of perception; Wurmbrand employs various tests (such as extraposition, passivisation, combinability with inanimate subjects, stacking the predicates w.r.t. each other) to argue for the structure in (14), where each predicate is associated with a particular functional head. Auxiliaries can be situated either in the Aux or the Mod head; causatives, motion verbs and verbs of perception, together with dynamic/ability modals, are set apart as semi-functional restructuring verbs in that they are functional categories syntactically but assign θ-roles, in contrast to other functional restructuring predicates that are not θ-assigners.

The syntactic characteristics of a functional restructuring configuration are impossibility of extraposition of the infinitive (as opposed to lexical restructuring where it is possible), Infinitivo Pro Participio effect in Dutch and raising. All operations that are argued to require presence of the CP projection (such as relative clause pied-piping) are ruled out in functional restructuring.

Non-restructuring constructions are characterised, first of all, by the impossibility of long passive:

(15) a. dass der Traktor   zu reparieren versucht wurde

      that the tractor$_{NOM}$ to repair   tried   was

    "*that they tried to repair the tractor*"

    b. *dass der Traktor   zu reparieren geplant wurde

      that the tractor$_{NOM}$ to repair   planned was

      "*that they planned to repair the tractor*"

    c. * dass der Traktor zu reparieren beschlossen wurde

      that the tractor to repair   decided   was

      "*that they decided to repair the tractor*"

The ungrammaticality of (15b, c) would be motivated by the presence of a case-assigning position in the infinitive itself, such that movement of the object from the embedded case position to the matrix object case position prior to passivisation would be impossible.

Reduced non-restructuring constructions are characterised by the configuration comprised of the following properties: impossibility of non-focus scrambling and relative clause pied-piping, possibility of pronoun fronting, focus scrambling, and a relative grammaticality of extraposition of the infinitive.

In full non-restructuring infinitives a clausal structure is supported by impossibility of such clause-bounded operations as long passive, scrambling, and pronoun fronting; while relative clause pied-piping and extraposition of infinitive are possible[7].

The main pattern is that once a clause can be argued to lack a certain property, the functional projection associated with that property must be absent from the clausal structure, which means that all the projections above it are also expected to be absent.

The presence of the infinitival subject is also treated as a structure-determining factor: if there is convincing evidence that PRO is available, the functional structure

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[7] For a detailed discussion of the mentioned phenomena and examples see Wurmbrand (2001).

below the projection traditionally associated with the subject is expected to be present, too. PC is one of the cases where presence of PRO is acknowledged by all accounts of control. As Wurmbrand (2001) shows, PC infinitives adhere to non-restructuring configurations:

(16)   a. weil sie   der Hans$_i$ [PRO$_{i+1}$ gemeinsam zu überraschen] beschloss
             since her$_{ACC}$ the John$_{NOM}$ together   to surprise   decided
             "*since John decided that he and somebody else would surprise her together.*"

         b. weil   mit grüner Farbe nur der Hans$_i$ der Maria$_j$ vorschlug
             since with green paint only the John$_{NOM}$ the Mary$_{DAT}$ proposed
             [PRO$_{i+j/i+1}$ den Zaun zu streichen]
                     the fence to paint
             "*since only John suggested to Mary to paint the fence with green paint*"

Pronoun fronting (16a) and scrambling (16b) were argued by Wurmbrand to be possible only in reduced non-restructuring infinitives, and the grammaticality of these phenomena in PC environments is consistent with the predictions.

Wurmbrand (2001) is an extensive study of the syntactic and semantic properties of infinitival complements, which together seem to describe a particular structure in each case. The theory is appealing due to its simplicity and systematic predictiveness; the argumentation is mostly built on empirical observations and any kind of stipulations are generally avoided.

2.3. The SAM theory – Babby (1998)

Babby (1998) develops a system with a different, more radical, type of restructuring. His analysis of control complementation in Russian is based on the evidence presented by the behaviour of floating quantifiers – "adjectives that adjoin to VP and agree in case, gender, and number with the subject of the minimal clause containing them" (Babby 1998). The floating quantifiers observed in Babby's study are *sam* "himself", *ves'* "all" and *odin* "alone" and are collectively referred to by Babby as SAM. The case pattern of SAM is presented in (17):

(17) a. On   ezdit tuda odin.

　　　　he$_{NOM}$ goes there alone$_{NOM}$

　　　　"*He goes there alone.*"

　　　b. Ja uvidel ego   odnogo.

　　　　I   saw   him$_{ACC}$ alone$_{ACC}$

　　　　"*I saw him alone.*"

　　　c. On   xočet èto sdelat' sam.

　　　　he$_{NOM}$ wants this do   himself$_{NOM}$

　　　　"*He wants to do it himself.*"

　　　d. Ona poprosila ego   samomu   peredat' pis'mo Sone.

　　　　She asked   him$_{ACC}$ himself$_{DAT}$ give   letter Sonja$_{DAT}$

　　　　"*She asked him to give the letter to Sonja himself.*"

　　　e. U nego   ne   xvataet [$_{NP}$ mužestva prijti samomu].

　　　　At him$_{GEN}$ NEG enough   courage   come himself$_{DAT}$

　　　　"*He lacks courage to come himself.*"

　　　f. Maša   priexala, čtoby   kupit' maslo samoj.

　　　　Maša$_{NOM}$ came   COMP buy   butter herself$_{DAT}$

　　　　"*Maša came in order to buy butter herself.*"

As seen in (17a, b), SAM in simple sentences agrees in case with the nouns it modifies. When it comes to infinitival constructions, SAM still agrees with the matrix subject if the latter is the understood subject of the infinitive – (17c), while in object control complements SAM is dative, even if the controlling matrix object is in the accusative (17d). When embedded in an NP (17e) or under an overt complementizer (17f), SAM again appears in dative.

Babby (1998) claims to be able to account for this baffling case behaviour of SAM by assuming different syntactic structures for infinitival complements. Subject control, according to Babby, involves bare infinitive predicates, without an external NP: the infinitive's external θ-role is vertically bound[8] by the subject of the matrix clause, so that the floating quantifier agrees directly with the subject, hence the nominative – the structure of the whole sentence in these cases is regarded as one clause.

Object control involves small clause infinitivals whose external θ-role is assigned to a null subject[9] that bears dative case assigned to it by the infinitive-forming suffix – hence the dative on the SAM in object control sentences. The object control relation is established in accordance with the Minimal Distance Principle (MDP): PRO is bound by the nearest c-commanding antecedent.

The null subject is also argued to be present whenever monoclausality is not an option: in infinitives embedded in NPs and under complementizers – it means that the operation of vertical binding is a local operation and the external θ-role of the infinitival phrase has to be assigned within a CP or an NP.

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[8] The notion of vertical binding is adopted by Babby from Williams (1994). Vertical binding is one of the ways of establishing secondary predication.
[9] The nature of this null subject is determined by Babby on the basis of its ability to bear Case – this property, according to Babby, argues for a bound *pro* understanding of the null subject of small clause infinitives in Russian. Note that this does not imply that infinitival small clauses are to be relegated to NOC, Babby simply rejects existence of PRO (in Russian, in any case). I do not think that anyone can take a stand on this point: one would have to posit two kinds of *pro* anyway – one free and one bound, which looks just like the PRO vs. *pro* dichotomy, hence for convenience, I will continue to refer to the understood subject of the infinitive as PRO when discussing Babby's theory.

Thus, the account is quite straightforward: whenever SAM agrees in case with the matrix controller, the infinitive is to be analysed as a bare VP, if SAM is in the dative, then PRO is present and, therefore, the infinitive has full clausal structure. At first glance, the account fully explains the distribution of cases of SAM across different infinitival complements; however, some issues arise at closer observation.

Although Babby (1998) claims that "there appear to be no cases in Russian of a verb that selects a clausal infinitive complement but does not select a matrix object to bind the infinitive's PRO subject", such cases do exist – these are subject-over-object control verbs whose complements display preference for dative SAM:

(18) a. Ja$_i$ obeščala mame ne xodit' po ulicam odna/odnoj$_i$

   I$_{NOM}$ promised mother$_{DAT}$ NEG go on streets alone$_{NOM/DAT}$

   "*I promised mother not to walk alone in the street.*"

  b. Ja$_i$ prigrozil synu pojti v školu samomu/?sam$_i$ i vyjasnit', tak

   I$_{NOM}$ threatened son$_{DAT}$ go in school myself$_{DAT/NOM}$ and find out such

   li   vse bylo na samom dele.

   whether all was on real case

   "*I threatened my son to go to school myself and find out whether everything*

    was as he had told me."

  c. On$_i$ pokljalsja otcu   poexat' v New York samomu/?sam$_i$ i dostat'

   He$_{NOM}$ swore father$_{DAT}$ go in New York himself$_{DAT/NOM}$ and get

   avtograf.

   autograph

   "*He swore to his father that he would go to New York himself and get the*

    autograph."

The way to explain this optionality of case-forms for Babby would be to assume that complements of subject-over-object control have an optional external NP – SAM has the dative case when it is present and nominative when it is absent. However, this

assumption would lead to another problem: remember that for Babby PRO only exists in object-control complements and the control relation is established according to the MDP – between the null subject and the proximate matrix NP. For subject-over-object control predicates, then, there is no way to ensure that PRO is controlled by the subject, since the MDP strategy would pick the matrix object as the controller.

Apart from subject-over-object control predicates, Babby's theory runs into more serious problems w.r.t. the strong predictions it makes about the size of infinitival complements in different control environments.

Babby refers to infinitival complements as InfP – "the extended lexical projection of V, the functional shell in which the external argument of V is merged" – which can be translated into Chomsky's vP[10]. In the case of subject control infinitives it is a vP without a specifier, the verb's external θ-role being transferred to the vP-layer. Babby does not explicitly address the issue of the presence of other functional projections, such as TP and NegP, the only projection that is argued against is the CP, as already illustrated in (17f). Positing vP as the structure of an infinitival phrase means that the infinitive must lack all functional projections above vP and features associated with them – we will see that these predictions are strongly disconfirmed by the data.

As a closing remark in this section I would like to bring up an issue connected with case agreement on the floating quantifier in accusative-object-control complements. Babby (1998) notes that in Colloquial Russian SAM can agree in case with the accusative object controller – compare standard (19a) as opposed to its colloquial variant in (19b):

(19)   a. Ona poprosila ego   ne   ezdit' tuda odnomu.

         she asked   him$_{ACC}$ NEG go   there alone$_{DAT}$

        "*She asked him not to go there alone*."

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[10] Again, for convenience, I will be referring to Babby's InfP as vP.

b. Ona poprosila ego　　　ne　ezdit' tuda odnogo[11].

　　　　she asked　　him$_{ACC}$　NEG　go　　there alone$_{ACC}$

　　　　"*She asked him not to go there alone.*"

Babby attributes this pattern to the reanalysis of accusative-object-controlled complements as bare infinitive VPs under the influence of sentences like (19a), where the dative SAM agrees in case with the controller. One can see how speakers can possibly develop a strategy for assigning case to the floating quantifier based on sentences similar to (19a), however, it is unclear why this would entail that infinitives with an accusative SAM should be analysed as bare VPs – after all, case agreement on the dative SAM is still considered to signal presence of PRO in Babby's theory. The consequence of reanalyzing complements similar to the one in (19b) into bare VPs is a theory-internal conjecture. Kazenin (1999) argues that the case preference depends on the semantics of a verb – matrix verbs with a high degree of "semantic transitivity" prefer case agreement; in (20) *zastavit'* "make" implies more will force directed at an individual, whereas *poprosit'* "ask" denotes a milder influence:

(20)　　　a. Ja zastavil Ivana　pojti tuda odnogo/??odnomu.

　　　　　　I　made　Ivan$_{ACC}$ go　　there alone$_{ACC/??DAT}$

　　　　　　"*I made Ivan go there alone.*"

　　　　　b. Ja poprosil Ivana pojti tuda ??odnogo/odnomu.

　　　　　　I　asked　　Ivan$_{ACC}$ go there alone$_{??ACC/DAT}$

　　　　　　"*I asked Ivan to go there alone.*"

I think that Kazenin's (1999) suggestion might have more ground under it. It would be interesting to check clausal properties of infinitives with accusative SAM, however, this pattern is highly colloquial and informants' judgments break down as examples grow more complicated, that is why I am not considering this phenomenon in my

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[11] This example has been judged by my informants and myself as close to ungrammatical.

study. At this point, however, it seems doubtful that the accusative case on SAM can be induced by any kind of restructuring, as Babby suggests.

2.4. Movement around Control

Another look at the phenomenon of control was presented by Hornstein in his 1999 article *Movement and Control*, where he tries to better accommodate analysis of control to the minimalist framework.

Hornstein scrutinizes the earlier approaches and states that Minimalism cannot possibly adopt the GB PRO Theorem, as the latter is based on the notion of government – a notion that Minimalism has no use for. The Minimalist null-case account of control, in its turn, according to Hornstein, remains as stipulative as its predecessor: instead of being explanatory, the theory invents a null Case which is borne only by PRO and can be assigned only by non-finite I. All of the above points to the necessity of developing a new analysis of control within Minimalism.

Observing the properties of PRO, Hornstein points out that the latter, in fact, does not have to be ambiguous between an anaphor and a pronominal, as suggested in GB – as a matter of fact, it behaves like an anaphor in OC and like a pronominal in NOC, and these two behaviours can be connected to different entities.

In OC environments PRO behaves like an NP-trace in that it also needs a local c-commanding antecedent. The only thing that distinguishes PRO from an NP-trace is that it has a θ-role – the retaining of PRO (and thus multiplication of empty elements in the grammar) is thus motivated by the restrictions imposed on the argument structure by the θ-criterion. Hornstein argues that once Minimalism claims to have done away with D-structure, one of its central assumptions, the θ-criterion, must also be removed from the system – which would reduce OC PRO to NP-traces. NOC PRO, on the other hand, can plausibly be analysed as *pro* – a null pronominal. This would make it possible to remove the control module from the grammar, which would thus,

according to Hornstein, become more restricted and simpler in the sense of having less theoretical stipulations.

As a step in this direction, Hornstein offers a theory free of θ-restrictions – the movement theory of control (MTC): according to the MTC, OC is none other than movement to a θ-position, where the subject of the matrix clause originates in the embedded clause and ends up with two θ-roles higher in the tree - θ-roles being represented in this theory as checkable features that can be accumulated by an NP without any restrictions on their number. A derivation process for a sentence like "*Takahiro tried to sleep*" would thus be as follows:

(21)   [$_{TP}$ Takahiro [$_{VP}$ <Takahiro> tried [<Takahiro> to [$_{VP}$ <Takahiro> sleep]]]]

Takahiro moves up from the lower θ-assigning SpecVP to SpecTP – as its Case feature cannot be checked in the Specifier of a non-finite TP, the NP moves further to the SpecVP of the matrix clause, collecting another θ-role, and then on to SpecTP where it finally checks its Case feature.

OC is predicted to obtain only in positions from which movement is possible – and this is mostly a correct empirical generalization[12]. NOC, in turn, is analysed by Hornstein as the "elsewhere case" – it obtains only in islands blocking movement and NOC PRO can be replaced by a pronoun, which together argues for a pronominal interpretation of NOC PRO.

However active the research before it, Hornstein's minimalist "exercise in grammatical downsizing" spawned a greater movement around control which took the form of a series of reciprocally defying articles[13], whose authors, by the way, seem to

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[12] An exception is control into adjuncts, which are considered to be islands. Hornstein turns to a fancy mechanism of sideward movement to account for this problem – this move caused much controversy which is not going to be discussed in the paper.
[13] Culicover & Jackendoff (2001), Boeckx & Hornstein (2003), Landau (2003), Boeckx & Hornstein (2004).

be holding an unannounced competition on who will be the last person to manage to create a title for his article out of two basic words: movement and control.

There are a couple of issues that arose in the debate that I would like to comment on.

2.4.1. Reflexives and implicit control

Landau (2003) points out that the MTC has no way to account for the inability of implicit controllers to bind: Rizzi (1986) suggested that implicit controllers have to be represented as thematic slots in the lexicon, since they can control but cannot bind. Now that Hornstein (1999) reduces all cases of control to syntax, implicit controllers have to be syntactically represented and are expected to be able to bind, so that sentences like (22) should be grammatical:

(22)   *John said (to the visitors) [to wash themselves].

Boeckx & Hornstein (2003)[14] offer to explain the problem by introducing a condition on the lexicalization of reflexives. It is suggested that a reflexive is generated via movement, it is a copy of its antecedent: the lower copy has to be spelled out separately, as a reflexive, because an NP-chain supposedly cannot bear two Cases. In a case of implicit control, *pro*'s inability to bind can be explained by a tentative condition on the lexicalization of reflexives: a reflexive cannot be lexicalized if its antecedent is not, which is the case with *pro*. However, by this explanation Hornstein rules out structures like (23):

(23)   To undress oneself in public is fun.

Here we have a case of arbitrary control, the subject position of the infinitival clause is presumably filled with a null pronominal, but nevertheless binding of the reflexive is a possible option here, which casts doubt on the solution employed by B&H (2003) w.r.t. reflexives in implicit control.

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[14] Henceforth – B&H (2003).

2.4.2. Partial control

The phenomenon of partial control was presented by Landau (2003) as one of the arguments against a raising/control unification analysis, as there cannot possibly be such a thing as "partial raising" – and the presence of an additional θ-role cannot explain this difference away. B&H (2004) argue that what is called "partial control" exists in raising/simple clause contexts, too, and on the basis of the only example in (24) claim that the phenomenon is actually a property of particular <u>verbs</u>, and cannot be attributed to control – thus cannot serve as evidence against the MTC:

(24)   John is a really busy professor, his days are filled with meetings, with students, deans, colleagues, lunch appointments, etc. Can you imagine?! Yesterday John met at 8 a.m., 9 a.m., 10 a.m., noon, and 7 p.m. His wife told me, "John seems to be meeting all the time!" (B&H 2004)

However, I would like to point out that the above example is quite idiosyncratic and might not be even PC. B&H (2004) overgeneralize when saying that PC is a "special lexical property of *meet* and a handful of other verbs". It is to be understood that PC is determined not by the embedded predicate, but by the matrix one – most verbs can only receive a PC interpretation in control constructions where the matrix verb allows such an interpretation. It seems that PC is the main counterargument that the MTC cannot handle.

2.4.3. Secondary predication and the MTC

Grebenyova (2005) presents a movement account of the Russian secondary predication data. By secondary predicates we refer to adjectival depictives that refer to a state of an argument during the event denoted by the verb. Russian secondary predicates in simple clauses agree in case with the nouns they modify or bear the instrumental case (25a,b); when we turn to control clauses, subject control constructions duplicate the pattern found in simple sentences (25c), while object

control constructions prohibit a case-matching option and allow only the instrumental case on the secondary predicate (25d,e):

(25)   a. Včera   Boris   prišel domoj p'janyj/p'janym.
            yesterday Boris$_{NOM}$ came   home drunk$_{NOM/INST}$
            "*Yesterday Boris came home drunk.*"

        b. Ja redko videla ego   p'janogo/p'janym.
            I   seldom saw   him$_{ACC}$ drunk$_{ACC/INST}$
            "*I have seldom seen him drunk.*"

        c. Ja   staraus' ne   xodit' na trenirovki golodnyj/golodnym.
            I$_{NOM}$ try   NEG go   on trainings hungry$_{NOM/INST}$
            "*I try not to go to my trainings hungry.*"

        d. Ja ubedil   ego   ne   idti domoj p'janym/*p'janogo
            I persuaded him$_{ACC}$ NEG go   home drunk$_{INST/*ACC}$
            "*I persuaded him not to go home drunk.*"

        e. Ja zapretil emu   prixodit' ko mne p'janym/*p'janomu.
            I forbade him$_{DAT}$ come   to me drunk$_{INST/*DAT}$.
            "*I forbade him to come to my place drunk.*"

Grebenyova (2005) offers an analysis of the pattern in (25) that is supposed to argue for the MTC. According to this analysis, case agreement between the matrix subject and the secondary predicate in (25c) signals an OC scenario, where the subject is base-generated directly with the predicate adjective and then moves to SpecVP to receive its θ-role, further derivation proceeding as described in the MTC:

(26)   [$_{TP}$ DP T° [$_{VP}$ *t'''* V° [$_{TP}$ *t''* T° [$_{VP}$ *t'* V° [*t* Adj]]]]]

Instrumental on the secondary predicate in (25c) is treated as an instance of NOC where the adjectival predicate has its own subject in the form of a null pronominal, and the matrix subject is generated in the specifier of the embedded verb:

(27)   [$_{TP}$ DP T° [$_{VP}$ *t''* V° [$_{TP}$ *t'* T [$_{VP}$ *t* V [$_{SC}$ pro[$_{AP}$ *t* Adj]]]]]

To ensure that the required instrumental in object control sentences in (25d,e) is not interpreted as NOC by the same reasoning as above, Grebenyova offers a timing restriction on the licensing of case on secondary predicates in these environments: secondary predicates can only agree with a noun that has had its case checked, so that if a relevant noun has not checked its case by the time of spell-out, the secondary predicate can only appear in the instrumental – Grebenyova emphasizes that she does not treat instrumental as a "default" case for it would then be impossible to explain why this case does not step in as a default option when an argument fails to be assigned case. Instead, she treats it as an "uninterpretable" Case.

It is unclear how Grebenyova's analysis captures one of the main points of the MTC – complementary distribution of OC and NOC PROs: whereas it is crucial for Hornstein's theory that NOC obtains only in cases where movement is impossible, Grebenyova offers the same clause structure as a scenario for both OC and NOC. The analysis also makes certain predictions w.r.t. the semantic properties that the sentence in question is supposed to have, namely, if (25c) with the secondary predicate in the instrumental is to be analysed as NOC, such properties of NOC as *de re* interpretation and strict reading under ellipsis should be available:

(27)   Postradavšij   ožidaet polučit' medal' pervym.

unfortunate$_{NOM}$ expects get   medal first$_{INST}$

"*The unfortunate expects to be the first person to get a medal.*"

Above is an example similar to those in Landau (2000, 2003), although these "amnesiac war hero" examples are constructed so that to license a *de re* belief about another individual, (27) can only be interpreted with a *de se* belief of the unfortunate about himself – so that (27) cannot be regarded as an instance of NOC.

(28)   Ivan popytalsja [$_{VP}$ ujti [$_{AP}$ pro pervym], i Borya tože [$_{VP}$ [$_{AP}$ *pro*]].

Ivan tried   leave first$_{INST}$, and Borya too.

"*Ivan tried to leave first, and Borya did, too.*"

If, according to Grebenyova's analysis, there is *pro* in the elided AP, then a strict reading of *pro* should be possible, where the elided *pro* is coreferent with *Ivan* – the elided *pro*, however, can only be interpreted as *Boris*.

The sloppy reading under ellipsis and the impossibility of the *de re* interpretation argue against analysing the instrumental on the secondary predicates as an instance of NOC.

As regards the nominative case on the secondary predicate in (25c), an argument that it cannot be straightforwardly analysed as the result of the matrix subject originating in the embedded clause will be presented in Section 3.6, when discussing nominative secondary predicates in PC complements.

3. Infinitival complements in Russian

3.1. Defining the area of the survey

Before delving into the description of Russian infinitival facts it is important to define what kind of predicates I am going to be dealing with. For ease of reference I have grouped all predicates according to their semantics, taking as a base the semantic classification proposed in Landau (2000) which I have modified to accommodate the Russian data:

(29)   *Predicates taking infinitival complements in Russian*

<u>Implicatives</u> – assert/deny the truth of their complement:

>   *umudrit'sja* "contrive*", dogadat'sja* "think of*", uspet'* "manage*", derznut'*
>   *"*dare*", osmelit'sja* "dare", *risknut'* "dare, risk*"*; weak implicatives *: pomešat'*
>   *"*hinder*", pomoč* "help*"*;

Aspectuals:

> *načat'* "begin", *prinjat'sja* "start, set to", *povadit'sja* "get into the habit of",
> *pustit'sja* "start, set out", *udarit'sja* "start, break into", *brosit'sja* "start",
> *prodolžit'* "continue", *perestat'* "stop", *prekratit'* "stop", *brosit'* "quit";

Modals:

> *moč* "can, may", *umet'* "be able";

Habit verbs:

> *ljubit'* "love, like", *nenavidet'* "hate", *ustat'* "get tired", *privyknut'* "get used
> to", *otvyknut'* "get out of the habit of";

Try-verbs – untensed desideratives:

> *starat'sja* "try", *pytat'sja* "attempt";

Desideratives – "intensional", take "irrealis" complements; express positive/negative
desires, intentions, commands, all of which are "non-objective" descriptions of reality:

> *xotet'* "want", *nadejat'sja* "hope", *rešit'* "decide", *rešit'sja* "resolve",
> *namerevat'sja* "intend", *soglasit'sja* "agree", *otkazat'sja* "refuse", *obeščat'*
> "promise", *prigotovit'sja* "prepare", *sobirat'sja* "intend", *vyzvat'sja*
> "volunteer", *objazat'sja* "undertake", *ožidat'* "expect", *rassčityvat'* "expect",
> *otčajat'sja* "despair", *uslovit'sja* "arrange, settle on", *dogovorit'sja* "arrange",
> *dumat'* "think, intend", *mečtat'* "dream", *zamyšljat'* "contemplate, plan",
> *bojat'sja* "fear", *opasat'sja* "fear", *prigrozit'* "threaten", *grozit'sja* "threaten",
> *pokljast'sja* "swear", *predložit'* "offer", *razrešit'* "allow", *pozvolit'* "allow",
> *zastavit'* "force", *vynudit'* "force", *potrebovat'* "demand", *zapretit'* "forbid",
> *prikazat'* "order", *velet'* "order", *predpisat'* "instruct", *poručit'* "charge",
> *ugovorit'* "persuade", *ubedit'* "convince", *poprosit'* "ask", *pozvat'* "call",
> *priglasit'* "invite, call", *otpravit'* "send", *poslat'* "send".

Landau (2000) notes that *try* looks like a desiderative, but is untensed; I have brought *starat'sja* "try" and *pytat'sja* "attempt" into a separate group, not to confuse them with other desideratives that are all tensed.

I have introduced habit verbs as a group of predicates that require their complements to denote a habitual, repeated event. These predicates also pattern together w.r.t. the clausal properties that I am going to consider in the paper.

In his semantic classification Landau (2000) also mentions factives, propositionals and interrogatives. Factive and propositional predicates take realis complements, that is, the event denoted by the non-finite complement temporally precedes the matrix event. Factive predicates presuppose the truth/falsity of their complements and are represented in English by such verbs as *hate*, *like*, *regret*, *glad*, as used in (30):

(30)   a. John regretted having kissed Mary last week.

b. The chair hated/liked gathering without a concrete agenda.

c. John was glad to have cleaned the kitchen earlier.

Factive predicates in Russian take finite clauses as complements:

(31)   a. Vanja požalel,   čto poceloval Mašu na prošloj nedele.

Vanja regretted that kissed$_{3Sg}$ Maša on last   week

 "*Vanja regretted having kissed Maša last week.*"

b. Predsedatelju ne   ponravilos', čto oni   sobralis' bez   konretnoj

Chair$_{DAT}$ NEG like   that they gathered without   concrete

programmy.

agenda

"*The chair hated gathering without a concrete agenda.*"

c. Vanja byl   rad, čto ubral   kuxnju do   prixoda gostej.

Vanja was glad that cleaned$_{3Sg}$ kitchen before arrival guests$_{GEN}$

 "*Vanja was glad that he had cleaned the kitchen before the guests arrived.*"

Factive *hate* and *like* must not be confused with the Russian habit verbs *ljubit'* "love, like" and *nenavidet'* "hate", because in the case of Russian habit verbs the matrix event does not follow the event denoted by the complement, but quantifies over a set of events, as will be shown in Section 3.2.1.

Propositional predicates are epistemic or declarative and predicate the truth/falsity of their complements – these are *claim*, *believe*, *think*; in English these predicates are hardly represented in control and are observed in ECM/raising environments instead, for this reason Landau draws most examples of propositional predicates from such languages as German, Italian and French:

(32)   a. John claimed to have solved the problem.

        b. Maria hat gehört, dass Hans überall   **herumerzählte** [die letzte Nacht
           Mary has heard   that John everywhere around-told   the last   night
           gemeinsam verbracht zu haben].
           together   spent   to have
           "*Mary heard that John had **said** everywhere to have spent the last night
            together.*"

Again, as with factives, Russian propositional predicates take finite clause complements:

(33)   a. Vanja skazal,   čto rešil   problemu.
           Vanja claimed that solved$_{3Sg}$ problem
           "*Vanja claimed to have solved the problem.*"

        b. Maša slyšala, čto Vanja vsem rasskazal, čto oni   proveli vmeste   noč.
           Maša heard   that Vanja all   told   that they spent   together night
           "*Maša heard that Vanja had told everyone that they had spent a night
            together.*"

As both factive and propositional predicates in Russian take finite complements, they fall out of the scope of this paper.

Interrogative predicates of the type *wonder*, *ask*, *find out*, *understand*, *know*, those that take an infinitival complement with a *wh*-word, do exist in Russian – however, I am not going to consider them in this paper, as they seem to display NOC properties. Consider the following.

Landau (2000) argues that despite the common assumption that interrogative predicates display non-obligatory arbitrary control[15], the binding properties[16] within an interrogative complement indicate that the observed control relation is actually of the PC type. However, in Russian, the scale tips to the NOC side, as interrogative complements in this language allow overt dative subjects which can also have a reference disjoint from that of the matrix argument:

(34)   a. Borja ne   znajet, kak mne   ego nazyvat'.

         Borja NEG knows, how me$_{DAT}$ him call

         "*Borja does not know what I should call him.*"

This is the main reason for me not to include interrogative complements into the survey.

The group of predicates which, as I put it at the beginning of the paper, "has been traditionally referred to as OC" includes those that can be analysed as raising predicates. These are some modals and aspectuals, which behave as raising predicates w.r.t the classic tests for distinguishing between control and raising predicates. Embedded passive, idiom interpretation and pleonastic subject tests show that modals and aspectuals in Russian do not have an external θ-role to assign.

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[15] Williams (1980), Chomsky (1981), Bresnan (1982), Manzini (1983), Bouchard (1984), Koster (1984), Kawasaki (1993), Hornstein (1999), Manzini & Roussou (2000) – as referred to in Landau (2000).

[16] The following examples are supposed to show that interrogative complements should be classified as OC, namely PC:

(i)   a. John$_i$ wondered [who PRO$_{i+1}$ to introduce *him$_i$/himself$_i$ to].
           b. Mary$_i$ didn't know [where PRO$_{i+1}$ to hide *her$_i$ /herself$_i$].

Landau argues that a pronoun co-indexed with the controller is ruled out of interrogative complements due the Condition B of the Binding Theory, because the controller is obligatorily included into the reference of PRO denoting a bigger group of individuals.

(35)   a. Vse dolžny pročitat' knigu   k ponedel'niku.

        All must   read   book_{ACC} to Monday

        "*Everyone must read the book by Monday.*"

        b. Kniga   dolžna byt' pročitana (vsemi)   k ponedel'niku.

        Book_{NOM}   must   be   read   (all_{INST}) to Monday

        "*The book must be read (by everyone) by Monday.*"

        c. Ran'še byl bardak s   raspisaniem uborki,   no teper' kabinet

        Before was mess   with schedule   cleaning_{GEN} but now   classroom_{ACC}

        načali   ubirat'.

        start_{3PL}   clean

        "*It used to be a mess with the cleaning schedule but now they have started to*

        clean the classroom."

        d. ...no teper' kabinet   načal   ubirat'sja.

          but now   classroom_{NOM} start_{3Sg} wash-refl

          "*…but now the classroom started to get cleaned.*"

In (35b) and (35d) the interpretation is the same as in (35a) and (35c) respectively.
This is contrasted with (36) where the control predicate forces there to be a conscious
effort taken by the subject of the sentence, and (36b) is thus not equivalent in meaning
to its active counterpart in (36a):

(36)   a. Ja xoču ego   ponjat'.

        I   want him_{ACC} understand

        "*I want to understand him.*"

        b. On xočet byt' ponjatym.

        he wants be   understood

        "*He wants to be understood.*"

    Idiom chunks cannot be combined with normal control verbs, but are grammatical
with aspectuals and modals:

(37) a. Ja listaju tetradku, i   u menja glaza na lob   načinajut lezt'.

      I leaf notebook and at me   eyes on forehead start   climb

      "*I am leafing through the notebook and my eyes are getting wide with
       surprise/shock*."

      b. Volosy dybom mogut vstat', kogda vidiš   takoe.

      hair   on end can   stand when see$_{2Sg}$ such

      "*One's hair can stand on end when one sees such things*."

      c. *Volosy dybom starajutsja vstat'…

       hair   on end try$_{3PL}$ stand

       "**Hair tries to stand on end.*"

Another test for raising is usually associated with pleonastic subjects, in Russian
this is the situation when there is no overt subject and the predicate is in neuter 3Sg:

(38) a. Samoe opasnoe v razvitii   obščestva vremja – èto ne   togda, kogda

      Most dangerous in development society$_{GEN}$ time$_{NOM}$ is NEG then   when

      vse ploxo, a   togda, kogda načinaet   byt' xorošo.

      all bad   but then   when begins$_{3Sg,n}$ be   good.

      "*The most dangerous times in the development of a society are not when
      everything is bad, it's when it starts getting better*."

      b. Skoro možet   poxolodat'.

      soon can$_{3Sg,n}$ get cold

      "*It can get cold soon*."

      c. *Skoro postaraetsja poxolodat'.

       soon try$_{3Sg,n}$ get cold

       "*It will try to get cold soon*."

Note that not all modals and aspectuals in Russian pass these tests:

(39) a. *Kabinet prinjalsja ubirat'sja.

       classroom$_{NOM}$ started clean-refl

"*The classroom started to be cleaned*."

b. *Volosy brosajutsja vstavat' dybom.

   Hair   begin   stand   on end

   "*Hair begins standing on end*."

c..*Skoro pustitsja   xolodat'.

   soon begin$_{3Sg,n}$ get cold

   "*It will start getting cold soon*."

d. *Éta kniga   umeet bystro čitatsja.

   this book$_{NOM}$ can   quickly read-refl

   "*This book can be read quickly*."

e. *Za èti   gody my stol'ko naudivljalis', čto glaza na lob   lezt'

   in these years we so much were surprised that eyes on forehead   climb

   uže   ne   umejut.

   already NEG can

   "*In these years we had so many surprises that eyes cannot get wide any*
    more."

f. *Zdes' umeet bystro xolodat'.

   here can$_{3Sg,n}$ quickly get cold

   "*It can get cold quickly here*."

These predicates require an animate subject to assign their external θ-role, they thus have to be treated as control predicates; the type of the modal in (39d-f) is referred to as ability modal, or root/dynamic, as opposed to epistemic and deontic modals – ability modals will be shown to have a syntactic behaviour distinct from that of the epistemic and deontic modals.

    Quantifier scope was presented in Wurmbrand (2001) as evidence for a raising analysis of modals: they pattern with classic raising predicates like *scheinen* "seem" in

allowing wide scope of the embedded quantifier, in contrast to control predicates that only display narrow scope:

(40)   a. Ein   Professor scheint jeden Studenten zu betreuen.

         Some professor seems   every student   to supervise

       "*Some professor seems to supervise every student.*"

                Some>every; every>some

    b. Gemäß   Universitätsbestimmungen muss mindestens ein Professor jeden

      According university regulations   must at least   one professor every

      Studenten zu betreuen

      student   to supervise

      "*According to university regulations, at least one professor must supervise every student.*"

                Some>every; every>some

    c. Ein   Professor beschloss jeden Studenten zu betreuen.

       Some professor decided   every student   to supervise

      "*Some professor decided to supervise every student.*"

               Some>every; *every>some

In (40a) there are two possible scope readings: *some>every* and *every>some* – traditionally this is explained as due to the fact that the subject in raising constructions has two positions at LF, in Wurmbrand (2001) the two scope readings are possible because a raising verb like *scheinen* would be situated in the functional projection of the infinitive, so that the whole structure is one clause and the lower quantifier can easily take scope over the higher one. Modal predicates pattern with raising constructions w.r.t. scope interpretation, as can be seen in (40b), rather than with control constructions. The control construction in (40c) allows only the *some>every* reading. This argument could have been used to argue for a raising analysis of Russian modals as well, as the paradigm is the same in Russian w.r.t. quantifier scope as

described in (40), however, the logic of the quantifier scope argument is flawed. Note that all control predicates Wurmbrand gives in her scope examples (*hope*, *want*, *decide* for English and *beschließen* "decide" for German) belong to what she calls a non-restructuring class. Assuming that it is the non-restructuring configuration that prohibits QR into the matrix clause, a question to ask is whether lexical restructuring infinitives, analysed as monoclausal constructions (see the structure in (11)), display inverse scope. As a matter of fact, German lexical restructuring constructions do not display any scope ambiguity:

(41)　Ein　Junge　hat jede　Frau　in diesem Kurs　zu　verführen versucht.
　　　some boy　　has every woman in　this　course　to　seduce　　tried
　　　"Some boy has tried to seduce every woman in this course."

　　　　　　　some>every; *every>some

The only available reading in (41) is the "Casanova" reading, where one particular boy has tried to seduce every woman, whereas inverse scope in similar examples is consistently rejected by German speakers. Assuming that monoclausality is a sufficient condition for inverse scope, it is unclear why it is prohibited in lexical restructuring infinitives. It would thus be necessary to reconsider the importance of the quantifier scope argument for a raising analysis of modals.

　　　The rest of the evidence, however, unmistakably favours a raising analysis of some modals and aspectuals – I am including them in the paper however, because they are often referred to as OC predicates.

3.2. Infinitival Tense

Tense is regarded as a basic property of all finite clauses, to what extent non-finite clauses can be argued to have a tense specification has consequences for the structure of these clauses.

In this section I am going to consider the stand of different theories of infinitival complementation on the matter of tense; we will see to what extent a particular theory can derive the observed patterns and whether the empirical evidence gathered from the area of temporal specification has any implications for the viability of each theory's explanation of control relations.

In the literature there are two approaches to the question of what it means for an infinitive to be tensed: one approach concentrates on the future (irrealis) orientation of some infinitives w.r.t. the matrix event (Stowell 1982, Boškovič 1995), the other approach regards the presence of a temporal modifier in the embedded clause as an indicator that the infinitive has an independent tense specification (Landau 2000, Wurmbrand 2001). In this paper I am going to pursue the latter approach, which I think is more consistent with the data than the irrealis approach that does not display unity in the treatment of certain groups of predicates[17].

Landau (2000) and Wurmbrand (2001) take the possibility of embedded tense specification to be the indication that the infinitive is tensed.

Landau (2000) conflicts temporal modifiers in the matrix and the embedded clauses and takes the (un)grammaticality of a sentence to indicate (absence/)presence of an independent [tense] feature in the embedded clause – (6) is repeated as (42) here:

(42) a. *Yesterday, John began to solve the problem tomorrow.

b. *Yesterday, John had to solve the problem tomorrow.

c. Yesterday, John hoped to solve the problem tomorrow.

d. Yesterday, John wondered how to solve the problem tomorrow.

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[17] See Appendix 1 for a comparative analysis of the descriptive abilities of different theories w.r.t. tense.

e. Today, John regretted having kissed his aunt last week.

f. Today, John claimed to have lost his car keys last week.

g. *Today, John managed to have finished his duties yesterday. (Landau 2000)

Landau states that modal and aspectual complements come out as untensed, although they are "in some sense "irrealis" (both the beginning of the action and the obligation for the action have to precede the action itself), and claims that the constructions have to be analysed as "a singular event located in a singular point in time"[18]. I agree with the statement w.r.t. aspectuals, but think, however, that Landau might have drawn hasty conclusions about modal complements, as they can actually be tensed in certain contexts:

(43)   a. Yesterday afternoon John could get/have gotten her into his bed already today, but his ugly behaviour later in the evening blew it for him.

b. Yesterday John had to move out of his apartment today, but the accommodation office called him this morning and said that he could stay a couple of days more.

(43a) tells us that at a certain point in the past the situation was such that, given a natural development of events, a certain event was expected; in (43b) the subject has an obligation referring to the future – in both examples something happens at a later point in time and that precludes both the event in (43a) and the obligation in (43b) from being realised. Classifying complements of modals as untensed is crucial for Landau's explanation of the fact that these predicates allow only EC, so this piece of data might cause serious damage to Landau's theory of control. Recall that the analysis of control relations in Landau (2000) relies, first and foremost, on the tense specification of the infinitive: in untensed infinitives T does not move to C and thus nothing intervenes between PRO and the controller – hence the obligatory EC

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[18] This statement, however, does not preclude him from saying that modal and aspectual complements are CPs.

interpretation of PRO, whereas in tensed clauses T above PRO allows there to be a number mismatch between PRO and the controller – hence PC interpretation of PRO is available. Now that we have found that modal predicates allow their complements to have an independent tense specification, Landau must make additional stipulations to exclude PC in modal complements. However, as has been noted in Section 2.1, Landau allows for the possibility of analysing modals as raising predicates, so that excluding modal constructions from the area of control is motivated for Landau not only w.r.t. the question of the size of the infinitival complement, but also w.r.t. tense specifications of the infinitive.

Wurmbrand (2001) also employs a temporal specification test, although she does not try to conflict the temporal modifiers the way Landau does it, simply modifying the embedded event instead. The restructuring approach allows Wurmbrand to predict whether an infinitive with a certain degree of restructuring is going to allow a tense specification. Traditionally, TP has been understood to be the projection associated with tense[19]: depending on a degree of restructuring some infinitives may lack a tense projection. Thus, lexical and functional restructuring predicates are predicted to disallow an independent tense specification in their complements, as they have a common TP with the infinitive (see the structure in 11):

(44)   a. Dem Kind   wurden nur Kekse   (*morgen)   zu essen erlaubt
           the child$_{DAT}$ were   only cookies$_{NOM}$ (*tomorrow) to eat   allowed
           "*The child was only allowed to eat cookies tomorrow.*"

        b. Hans hat   (*morgen)   den Brief zu lesen begonnen.
           John has   (*tomorrow) the letter to read   begun
           "*John started to read the letter (*tomorrow).*"

(44a) contains an example with long passive, which was argued by Wurmbrand to be possible only in lexical restructuring configurations, and embedded tense is not

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[19] Wurmbrand points out that her analysis does not rely on any special label.

possible there, as expected. (44b) is a construction with an aspectual predicate *beginnen* "begin", which, as shown in the structure in (14), is situated in the Aux head and there cannot possibly be another TP between AuxP and the infinitive.

Non-restructuring predicates predictably allow embedded tense, this is illustrated in the sentence with pronoun fronting in (45a) and scrambling in (45b):

(45)   a. dass ihn   der Hans [morgen   zu reparieren] beschlossen hatte

that him$_{ACC}$ the John   tomorrow to repair   decided   had

"*that John had decided to repair it tomorrow*"

b. %weil   nur den Wagen der Hans [morgen   zu reparieren]

since only the car$_{ACC}$ the John   tomorrow to repair

beschlossen hatte

decided had

"*since John had decided to repair only the car tomorrow.*"

Similarly to Landau (2000), Wurmbrand (2001) might also have problems with modals: analysed as functional restructuring predicates, modals are expected to prohibit embedded tense, in the fashion of *beginnen* in (44b). However, German modals do allow independent tense specification in their complements:

(46)   a. Gestern   konnte ich noch morgen   ausreisen, aber dann ist mein Visum

yesterday could I   still tomorrow leave   but   then is my   visa

ungültig gemacht worden.

invalid   made   was

"*Yesterday, I still could leave tomorrow, but then my visa was invalidated..*"

b. Gestern   sollte ich heute zu Hause bleiben, und jetzt soll   ich

   yesterday had to I   today at home stay   and now have to I

    doch   ins Institut gehen.

   after all   in institute go

   "*Yesterday I had to stay at home today (didn't have to go to work), and*

    now I have to go to the institute."

It is unclear how one could implement the tensedness of modals in Wurmbrand's system. Wurmbrand (p.c.) admits that modal constructions might have a more complex temporal structure than has been suggested in Wurmbrand (2001), and the cases where an independent temporal specification is possible, contrary to prediction, have to be set aside at the present stage of research.

It can be argued that the apparent tense effects in certain infinitival complements result from the meaning built into the matrix predicate and have nothing to do with the structure of the complements. Condoravdi (2001)[20] discusses cases parallel to (43a) and (46a) referring to them as *modals for the past with the counterfactual reading*:

(47)   At that point he might (still) have won the game but he didn't in the end.

The above example communicates "that we are now located in a world whose past included the (unactualised) possibility of his winning the game". Condoravdi argues that there is no tense in the scope of modals and examples like (47) can be attributed to "the contributions the modal and the perfect make to the temporal interpretation of the sentences they combine with".

If one wants to attribute infinitival tense effects solely to the semantics of the matrix predicate then the question is whether infinitives can be claimed to have tense at all. Wurmbrand (2006) departs from her earlier stand on infinitival tense and argues that all infinitives are to be regarded as tenseless, suggesting that the properties that in previous studies were associated with tense need be accounted for in terms of

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[20] I thank Susanne Wurmbrand for bringing the paper to my attention.

modality. It is unclear how the policy suggested in Wurmbrand (2006) would deal with realis infinitives, as it is oriented towards irrealis infinitives exclusively; until further research is done in this direction, the restructuring analysis of infinitival tense seems to present a fuller account of the data.

The way one should probably treat tensed modal complements within Wurmbrand's (2001) theory is set them aside as raising predicates whose structure cannot be (so far) analysed in the way presented in (14) – the basic structure in (48) can accommodate both the infinitival tense and the raising properties of modal constructions, as discussed in Section 3.1.:

(48)

```
        TP
       /  \
     DP    VP
          /  \
         V    TP
       modal /  \
           t_DP  vP
                 /\
              infinitive
```
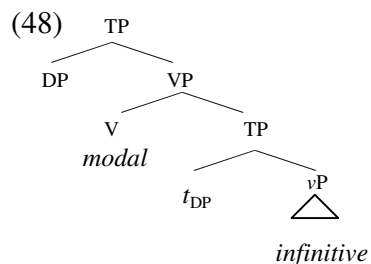
Landau (2000) and Wurmbrand (2001) thus can have a common way of solving the problem of tensed complements of modal predicates.

3.2.1. Tense in Russian infinitives

I have applied the temporal modification test to Russian infinitives with the following results:

(49)   *Table 1. (Un)tensedness of Russian infinitives*

Predicates	Tense
Aspectuals	-
Implicatives	-
Try-verbs	-
Habit verbs	-
Modals (ability)	-
Modals (epistemic, deontic)	+
Desideratives	+

Table 1 is instantiated in (50)[21]:

(50)   a. *Včera   on perestal est' mjaso s   segodniašnego dnja.
            Yesterday he stopped eat   meat from today
            "*Yesterday he stopped eating meat from today*."

        b. *Včera   on osmelilsja zagovorit' s   nej segodnja v avtobuse.
            Yesterday he dared   talk   with her today   in bus
            "*Yesterday he dared to talk to her on the bus today*."

        c. *Včera   on popytalsja vstretit'sja s   nej segodnja.
            yesterday he tried   meet   with her today
            "*Yesterday he tried to meet her today*."

---

[21] See Appendix 2 for a full list of examples.

d. *Segodnja ja ustal   pisat' ves' den' včera.

   today   I   am tired write whole day yesterday

   "*Today I am tired of writing for the whole day yesterday."

e. *Včera   Boris umel   plavat' segodnja.

   yesterday Boris was able swim   today

   "*Yesterday Boris was able to swim today."

f. Včera   Boris mog zakončit' diplomnuju uže   segodnja, no

  yesterday Boris could finish   thesis   already today   but

  večerinka smešala   vse ego plany.

  party   messed up all his   plans

  "Yesterday Boris could finish his thesis already today, but the party
   messed up all his plans."

g. Včera   ty   mog poexat' v gorod zavtra,   a   segodnja ja

  yesterday you could go   in town tomorrow but today   I

  peredumala   i   ne   razrešaju.

  changed mind and NEG allow

  "Yesterday you could go to town tomorrow, but today I changed my mind
   and do not allow you."

h. Včera   on soglasilsja pojti segodnja v kino.

  yesterday he agreed   go   today   in cinema

  "Yesterday he agreed to go to the cinema today."

Modal predicates divide according to readings w.r.t. embedded tense: epistemic and deontic modals allow an independent tense specification of the infinitive and ability modals prohibit it.

Infinitival complements also show a certain preference for tense specifications depending on what matrix argument is the understood subject of the infinitive: almost all object-control infinitives are tensed – this preference of object-control

complements for tense signals that these complements generally have a big structure. The only exception are two object-control predicates (weak implicatives) that demand a simultaneity of events – *pomoč* "help" and *pomešat'* "hinder":

(51)   *Včera   ja pomog/pomešal emu$_j$ [PRO$_j$ zakončit' diplomnuju
        yesterday I   helped/prevented him$_{DAT}$ finish   thesis
        segodnja].
         today
         "*Yesterday I helped him to finish/prevented him from finishing the thesis
          today.*"

One thing that might be worth noting here: both predicates in (51), which exceptionally select for an untensed complement, take a dative argument. This might be relevant to the fact that object-control predicates in Wurmbrand (2001) are represented only by those where the object is in the dative – Wurmbrand observes that only dative-object-controlled infinitival complements in German allow restructuring, while accusative-object-controlled infinitival complements generally prohibit transparency effects[22]. This observation might be true for Russian, too.

   Note that although the majority of untensed complements are thus represented by subject-control complements, there is no correlation in the opposite direction – subject-control complements are abundant in the tensed group as well (e.g. desideratives). Absence of the opposite correlation is relevant for our discussion of Babby (1998): remember that under Babby's account subject-control infinitives with nominative SAM are bare VPs – however, as can be seen in (52), such infinitives can bear an independent tense specification:

(52)   a. Včera   on   rešil   trenirovat'sja segodnja odin.
           yesterday he$_{NOM}$ decided train   today   alone$_{NOM}$
           "*Yesterday he decided that he would train alone today.*"

---

[22] Wurmbrand refers to Sabel (1996), Haider (1993) and Grosse (2000) with this observation.

b. Včera   on   bojalsja   vystupat' segodnja odin.

    yesterday he$_{NOM}$ was afraid talk   today   alone$_{NOM}$

    "*Yesterday he was afraid to give a talk alone today.*"

Thus, those Russian subject-control infinitives that can be specified for tense can be argued to have a TP projection, contrary to Babby's analysis.

3.3. Negation

The issue of infinitival negation is relevant for the discussion of Wurmbrand (2001), who makes specific claims about the presence/absence of negation in certain infinitival constructions. This section also has some consequences for Babby (1998/2000), who posits deficient structure for subject-control infinitives.

Russian infinitival complements pattern in the following way w.r.t. embedded negation[23]:

(53) Table 2. *Embedded Negation*

Embedded Negation	Predicates
*	thematic aspectuals, *uspet'* "manage", *pomešat'* "hinder", *poslat'* "send", *otpravit'* "send", *priglasit'* "invite, call", *pozvat'* "call", *otčajat'sja* "despair"
√	raising aspectuals, modals, implicatives (including *pomoč* "help"), *try*-verbs, habit verbs, desideratives,

As can be seen, the group of predicates incompatible with embedded negation is quite small and, as will be shown below, not homogeneous.

First of all, aspectuals that assign θ-roles to their subjects disallow embedded negation (54a), in contrast to aspectuals that are analysed as raising predicates (54b):

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[23] For a full list of examples see Appendix 3.

(54)   a. *Paša prinjalsja ne   est' mjasa.

         Paša start   NEG eat meat

         "*Paša stopped eating meat.*"

     b. Paša načal ne   est' mjasa.

         Paša began NEG eat meat

         "*Paša stopped eating meat.*"

As was shown in the previous section, all aspectual complements lack a tense specification; the fact that raising aspectual predicates allow embedded negation and thematic aspectuals do not is compatible with Wurmbrand's analysis. Raising aspectual predicates are analysed as situated in the functional domain of the infinitive and whereas there should be no tense projection interfering between the aspectual and the infinitive, a negation projection is totally expected. Thematic aspectuals, on the other hand, would be assigned a position in the *v* head of the infinitive and no functional projection should be possible in between:

(55)
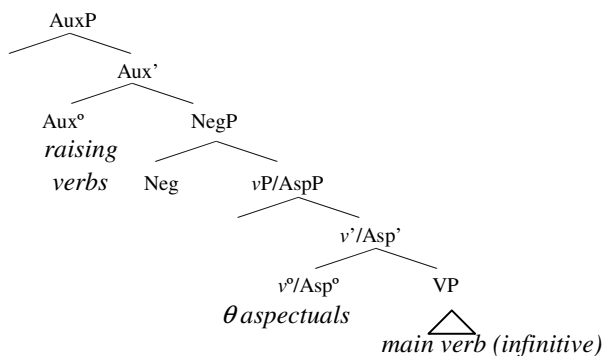
The implicative *uspet'* "manage" is also a well-behaved case within the restructuring approach: this predicate prohibits embedded tense and the fact that it prohibits embedded negation would point to the small size of its complement.

Likewise, *pomešat'* "hinder", which has already been mentioned in the previous section as one of the two object-control predicates that disallow embedded tense, can be suggested to select for a small complement – *v*P, in this case.

The four object-control predicates *poslat'* "send", *otpravit'* "send", *priglasit'* "invite", *pozvat'* "call", however, display baffling behaviour: their complements can be specified for tense and negation is expected to be possible, contrary to fact:

(56)   a. Včera   ja poslal ego$_j$ v gorod [PRO$_j$ predotvratit' segodnja
             yesterday I   sent   him$_{ACC}$ in town   prevent   today
             vozmožnyj konflikt].
             possible   conflict
          "*Yesterday I sent him to town to prevent a possible conflict today.*"

        b. *Včera   ja poslal ego$_j$ v gorod [PRO$_j$ ne   dopustit' segodnja
             yesterday I   sent   him$_{ACC}$ in town   NEG allow   today
             vozmožnogo konflikta].
             possible   conflict
          "*Yesterday I sent him to town not to allow a possible conflict today.*"

The fact is even more inconvenient as these predicates take accusative objects – and accusative-object-control predicates have been noted to disallow restructuring.

The desiderative *otčajat'sja* "despair" creates similar problems: it allows an independent tense specification and disallows negation in the infinitive:

(57)   a. Na prošloj nedele Pentagon otčajalsja polučit' v bližajšem buduščem
             on last   week   Pentagon despaired get   in nearest   future
             novyj samolet-razvedčik.
             new   plane-spy
          "*Last week the Pentagon despaired to get a new spy-plane in the nearest future.*"

b. *On otčajalsja ne   provalit' ekzamen.

   he despaired NEG fail   exam

   "*He despaired not to fail the exam.*"

There might be some common solution for the problem illustrated in (56-57) – for that we have to appeal to the semantics of the predicates. As can be noticed, complements of *otčajat'sja* and the four object-control predicates *poslat'*, *otpravit'*, *pozvat'*, and *priglasit'* (which from now on I will be referring to as SEND-verbs for convenience) denote events – states are ruled out in these environments:

(58)   a. *Ja priglasil ego$_j$ [PRO$_j$ znat' anglijskij jazyk].

        I   invited   him$_{ACC}$ know English language

        "*I invited him to know English.*"

.   b. *Ja otčajalsja znat' anglijskij jazyk.

        I   despaired know English   language

        "*I have despaired to know English.*"

It might be objected that (58a) is ruled out on independent grounds, namely – the complement is pragmatically infelicitous, and once the combinability criteria are satisfied the predicate can combine with a state:

(59)   a. Ja priglasil ego$_j$ [PRO$_j$ žit' v Pariže].

        I invited   him   live in Paris

        "*I invited him to live in Paris.*"

I am going to argue, however, that the complement in (59) is not a state and the sentence actually means – "I invited him <u>to come</u> to live in Paris", where the superficially stative complement denotes a transition between states. The suggestion thus is that sentences like (59) are grammatical because predicates *priglasit'*, *pozvat'*, *poslat'* and *otpravit'* are able to change the event structure of their complements, or rather, can only take superficially stative complements if those have changed their structure – this process can take place on the level of AspP:

(60)　　AspP　　*transition*

　　　　　　　VP　　*state*
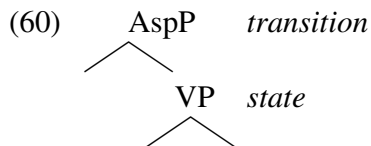
Thus, to illustrate the ungrammaticality resulting from combining these predicates with true states (58) is more appropriate.

　　Now, to return to the question of what might be the reason that negation is impossible with SEND-verbs and *otčajat'sja*. There are proposals in the literature about a special effect resulting from the interaction of negation and events, namely – negation turns events into states (Bennett and Partee (1972), Dowty (1979), Verkuyl (1993)). In Verkuyl (1993), in particular, negation is analysed as being able to change the aspectual specification of a predicate. If negated phrases can be analysed as states, then we have an explanation for why this particular group of predicates disallows embedded negation, while allowing embedded tense. At this point another objection might arise, namely – if SEND-verbs are able to change the event structure of their complements, why is it not possible for them to turn a negated state-phrase into a transition, say, from a state into non-state? The answer here would come from the architecture of a clause:

(61) *　　SEND

　　　　　　TP

　　　　　　　　NegP　　　*state*

　　　　　　　　　　AspP　　*transition*

　　　　　　　　　　　　VP　　*state*
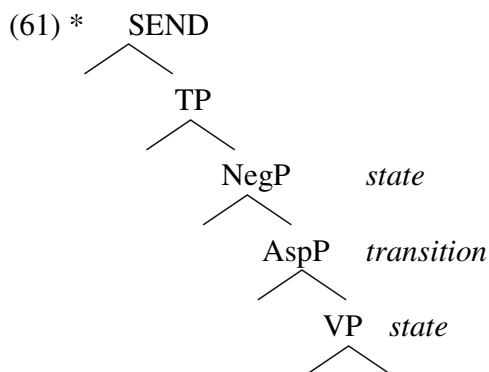
With AspP situated below negation, even if the embedded predicate changes its event structure in the AspP, negation changes it back into a state and there is no head above

it where the event structure of the complement can be modified again – that is why the derivation crashes.

Thus, we have an independent explanation for the deviant behaviour of SEND-verbs and *otčajat'sja*, so that they do not posit a challenge to Wurmbrand's view of restructuring.

Turning to predicates that allow embedded negation, we can see that desideratives and raising aspectuals behave as expected: desiderative predicates allow independent tense in their complements and thus are expected by Wurmbrand to allow negation, whereas raising aspectuals license negation by their own presence. Implicatives, habit verbs and *try*-verbs, however, might pose a problem if we stick to the view that negation should be licensed by a tense head:

(62)   a. *Včera   on risknul vozrazit' šefu segodnja.

         yesterday he dared   object   boss today

         "**Yesterday he dared to object his boss today*."

      b. On risknul ne   javit'sja na sobranie.

       he dared NEG appear   on meeting

       "*He dared to ignore the meeting.*"

      c. *Včera   on popytalsja zakončit' diplomnuju segodnja.

         yesterday he tried   finish   thesis   today

         "**Yesterday he tried to finish the thesis today*."

      d. Kapitan popytalsja ne   pustit' inspektora na bort   sudna.

       captain tried   NEG let in inspector   on board ship

       "*The captain tried not to let the inspector on board the ship.*"

      e. *Segodnja ja ustal   rabotat' celyj den' včera.

         today   I am tired work   whole day yesterday

         "*Today I am tired of working the whole day yesterday.*"

f. Ja ustal   ničego   ne   delat'.

   I   am tired nothing NEG do

   "*I am tired of doing nothing.*"

Note however, that the restructuring analysis *per se* does not demand there to be a special relation between negation and tense, in fact, in accordance with the ordered deletion of structure, negation is supposed to occur without tense and Wurmbrand has to posit additional stipulations for German where such a situation is not possible. Russian, therefore, can be argued to display a more fine-grained type of restructuring in the functional domain, where NegP is also considered a possible level of restructuring.

As for modals, all readings – epistemic, deontic and ability modals – allow embedded negation:

(63)   a. Tanja možet ničego   ne   est' sutkami.

       Tanja can   nothing NEG eat days$_{INST}$

        "*Tanja can eat nothing for several days in a row.*"   (ability)

       b. Ona umeet ne   zamečat' ploxogo v ljudjax.

       she can   NEG notice   bad   in people

       "*She is able not to notice the bad in people.*"   (ability)

       c. Ty možeš ničego ne prinosit'.

       You may nothing NEG bring

       "*You can bring nothing.*"   (deontic)

       d. Tebe   lučše vzjat' taksi: avtobus možet ne   prijti vovremja.

        you$_{DAT}$ better take   taxi   bus   can   NEG come on time

        "*You'd better take a taxi: the bus can be late.*"   (epistemic)

In fact, negation can also precede the modal:

(64)   a. Vanja ne   umeet/možet plavat'.

       Vanja NEG can   swim

"*Vanja cannot swim.*" (ability)

b. Vanja ne možet bolše k nam prixodit'.

Vanja NEG may more to us come

"*Vanja may not come to our place any more.*" (deontic)

c. Avtobus ne   možet opozdat', on vsegda prixodit vovremja.

Bus   NEG can be late he always comes on time

"*The bus can't be late, it always comes on time.*" (epistemic)

Moreover, Russian modal constructions allow two negative markers – in the matrix and the embedded clause:

(65)   a. On ne   umeet/možet ne   čitat' – eto dlja nego uže   stalo

he NEG can   NEG read   this for him already became

fizičeskoj potrebnost'ju.

physical   necessity

"*He cannot stay away from reading – this has already become a physical necessity for him.*" (ability)

b. Ty   ne   možeš ne   prijti – ty v čisle   vystupajuščix.

you NEG can   NEG come   you in number speakers$_{GEN}$

"*You cannot ignore the event – you are one of the speakers.*" (deontic)

c. Sčast'e   est' – ego ne   možet ne   byt'.

happiness exists it$_{GEN}$ NEG can   NEG be

"*Happiness exists – it cannot not exist.*" (epistemic)

Considering that Russian allows only sentential negation, the examples above suggest that Russian modal constructions should probably be analysed as biclausal.

Apart from modals, Russian negation data on the whole seem to provide support for the restructuring analysis.

Babby's analysis of subject-control infinitives, on the other hand, is again disconfirmed, since these infinitives with the nominative SAM can certainly host negation, which argues for a structure bigger than VP:

(66)   a. Ja   rešil   ne   xodit' tuda odin.

    I_{NOM} decided NEG go   there alone$_{NOM}$

    "*I decided not to go there alone.*"

    b. On   staraetsja ne   pojavljat'sja na publike odin.

    he$_{NOM}$ tries   NEG appear   on public alone$_{NOM}$

    "*He tries not to appear alone in public.*"

3.4. PC and Tense

Partial control constructions are interesting to look at because of the predictions that the availability of the PC reading makes for the clausal properties. The presence of a null subject in these infinitives is indisputable across all theories of control so far, because PRO in these cases has to denote a group bigger than and including the controller.

Landau's (2000) account of PC relies on the alleged parallelism between the availability of a PC reading of PRO and an independent tense specification of the infinitive. It is crucial for Landau's analysis that PC is possible in tensed clauses and exhaustive control obtains in untensed clauses.

Russian constructions where a PC reading is unmistakably present include predicates of collective motion as in (67), where *raz''exat'sja* can be translated as "drive apart, leave in different directions":

(67)   a. My raz''exalis'   na služebnyx mašinax.

    we apart-drove on office   cars

    "*We left on office cars.*"

b. *Ja raz''exalsja na služebnyx mašinax.

   I   apart-drove on office   cars

   "I left on office cars."

c. *Predsedatel' možet raz''exat'sja na služebnyx mašinax.

   Chair   can   apart-drive on office   cars

   "The chair can leave on office cars."

d. Predsedatel'$_i$ ne   xočet [PRO$_{i+1}$ raz''ezžat'sja na služebnyx mašinax],

   chair   NEG wants   apart-drive   on office   cars

   t.k. demonstranty mogut ix   ne   propustit'.

   as   demonstrants might them NEG let through

   "The chair does not want to leave on office cars as the demonstrants might

   not let them through."

As can be seen from the examples, the predicate *raz''exat'sja* needs a plural subject in

simple sentences (compare the grammaticality of (67a) to the ungrammaticality of

(67b)). Embedding the predicate under a raising verb leads to ungrammaticality –

(67c), whereas combining it with a predicate that allows PC gives a grammatical

example – (67d).

   Another way to control for a possible PC reading is introducing an instrumental

measure phrase *vsem klassom* "as a whole class", *vsej tolpoj* "as a (whole) crowd",

vsemi našimi "with the guys"[24]:

---

[24] In a sense, instrumental measure phrases behave like secondary predicates. Note that instrumental
measure phrases must not be confused with "with + INST" phrases – those are simple comitatives and
are grammatical in all environments when the controller is a singular entity, note that a plural subject in
these cases is also interpreted as distinct from the group denoted by the *with*-phrase, as it is normally
expected with comitative constructions:

(i)   a. Ja pošel v poxod so   vsem   klassom.
            I   went in hike   with whole$_{INST}$ class$_{INST}$
            "I went on a hike with the whole class."
         b. My pošli v poxod so   vsem   klassom.
            We went in hike   with whole$_{INST}$ class$_{INST}$
            "We went on a hike with the whole class."

(68)   a. My pošli v poxod vsem   klassom.

   we went in hike   all$_{INST}$ class$_{INST}$

   "*We went on a hike as a whole class*."

  b. *Ja pošel v poxod vsem   klassom.

   I   went in hike   all$_{INST}$ class$_{INST}$

   "*I went on a hike as a whole class*."

  c. *Ja načal xodit' v poxod vsem   klassom.

   I   began go   in hikes   all$_{INST}$ class$_{INST}$

   "*I began going on hikes as a whole class*."

  d. Ja xoču pojti v poxod vsem   klassom.

   I   want go   in hike   all$_{INST}$ class$_{INST}$

   "*I want to go on a hike as a whole class*[25]."

The paradigm of (un)grammatical constructions is the same as in (67); as can be seen

from the pair of examples (68a, b), an instrumental measure phrase requires there to be

a plural subject, and predicates taking infinitives as complements differ in a familiar

fashion w.r.t. whether they allow the understood subject of the infinitive to have a

larger reference than the controlling matrix argument or not.

  Turning to the interaction of PC and tense, it appears that both tensed and untensed

complements can allow PC:

---

   c. Ja načal xodit' v poxody so   vsem klassom.
    I began go   in hikes   with all$_{INST}$ class$_{INST}$
    "*I began going on hikes with the whole class*."
   d. Ja xoču pojti v poxod so   vsem klassom.
    I want go   in hike with all$_{INST}$ class$_{INST}$
    "*I want to go on a hike with the whole class*."

[25] As a matter of fact, the Russian notion of *poxod* "(collective) hike" can also be regarded as a PC
construction, because there should be at least three people involved in this event. However, I prefer to
stick to syntactically more visible signs.

(69)   *Table 3. PC and tense*[26]

	PC	*PC
Tensed	a) desideratives	c) modals, desideratives
Untensed	b) habit verbs	d) implicatives, aspectuals, *try*-verbs

Table 3 is instantiated in (70):

(70)   a. Ja$_i$ otkazalsja [PRO$_{i+1}$ idti zavtra   vsej   tolpoj   v Driv].

I   refused   go tomorrow all$_{INST}$ crowd$_{INST}$ in Driv

"I refused to go to Driv as a whole crowd tomorrow."

b. Ja$_i$ ne   ljublju [PRO$_{i+1}$ xodit' v aut tolpoj].

I   NEG love   go   in out crowd$_{INST}$

"I don't like going out as a crowd."

c. *Včera   mèr   ugovoril   predsedatelja$_j$ [PRO$_{j+1}$ ne   sobirat'sja

yesterday mayor convinced chair$_{ACC}$ NEG   meet

tomorrow]

zavtra

"Yesterday the mayor convinced the chair not to meet tomorrow."

d. *Vanja$_i$ umudrilsja [PRO$_{i+1}$ zalezt'   v polumetražku vsej   vatagoj].

Vanja managed   get into in small car   all$_{INST}$ crowd$_{INST}$

"Vanja managed to get into the small car with the guys."

The presence of desideratives in (69c) is a problem for Landau[27], because, according to him, "only PC complements may denote events that do not coincide with the matrix event" (Landau 2000, p.6), that is, if a complement is tensed, it should allow PC.

---

[26] For a full list of predicates and examples see Appendix 4.

[27] Modals do not present a problem, because we have decided to treat them as raising predicates.

Habit verbs in (69b) are a big issue both for Landau and Wurmbrand, as PC is not expected in untensed sentences in both theories. The restructuring analysis, although it does not attribute any theory-internal significance to the interdependence of PC and tense the way Landau (2000) does, cannot account for (69b) either: remember that in Wurmbrand (2001) PC is allowed only in non-restructuring infinitives, because the presence of PRO ensures there is a TP-layer at least.

Habit verbs have already displayed some distinctive behaviour w.r.t. negation: together with such implicatives as *pomoč* "help", *risknut'* "risk", *osmelit'sja* "dare", etc., they have been noticed to disallow independent tense specification of the infinitive but allow embedded negation; my suggestion at that point was that Russian negation is seemingly not licensed by tense, so that NegP might also be a viable cutting-off point in a restructuring analysis. In this section complements of habit verbs come out as the only presumably untensed infinitives that allow PC[28]:

(71)   a. Ja$_i$ ljublju [PRO$_{i+1}$ otmečat' Novyj God vsej sem'jëj].

      I   love   celebrate New   Year whole$_{INST}$ family$_{INST}$

      "*I love celebrating the New Year as a whole family.*"

    b. Ja$_i$ nenavižu [PRO$_{i+1}$ xodit' v aut tolpoj].

      I   hate   go   in out crowd$_{INST}$

      "*I hate going out as a crowd.*"

    c. Ja$_i$ privyk   [PRO$_{i+1}$ na Pervoe Maja vyjezžat' kollektivom   na prirodu].

      I   am used to   on 1st   May   out-drive collective$_{INST}$ on nature

      "*I am used to celebrating the 1st May by going on a picnic with all the people from work.*"

    d. Ja$_i$ otvyk   [PRO$_{i+1}$ otdyxat' kollektivom].

      I   fell out of habit   rest   collective$_{INST}$

---

[28] For ungrammatical examples with an independent tense specification in the infinitive see Section 3.2.1 and Appendix 2.

"*I have fallen out of the habit of spending free time with the people from work*."

    e. Ja$_i$ ustal [PRO$_{i+1}$ xodit' po gorodu tolpoj   v poiskax ideal'nogo restorana].

      I am tired   walk on town crowd$_{INST}$ in search ideal   restaurant

      "*I am tired of walking around the town as a crowd in search of the ideal restaurant*."

At the moment, we have two conflicting pieces of evidence: on the one hand, the independent tense specification test shows that complements of habit verbs are untensed, which speaks in favour of the small (up to NegP) size of the complement, on the other hand, we have found that PC is clearly a grammatical option with these verbs, which means that their complements should be at least TP to host a PRO that should be present because it is referentially distinct. Unless we can explain the conflict in some other way, the logical strategy would be to check whether one of the conflicting facts can be proven wrong or irrelevant. In particular (as there is no question that a PC reading is present in the complements of habit verbs), I want to argue that the complements of habit verbs actually have a TP, but an independent tense specification of the infinitive is not possible due to some other factors, namely:

(72)   a. the complement is comprised of a set of events, not just one event – thus it cannot be modified by a punctual temporal modifier;

        b. the semantic relation between the matrix event and the embedded event is such that the former quantifies over the times the latter was true.

    Consider the following. Habit verbs can take CP-complements, but even then they disallow a disjoint time reference:

(73)   a. Ja privykla, **čto** on prixodit ni   svet ni   zarja.

        I am used   that he comes NEG light NEG dawn

        "*I am used to his coming in the early hours of the night*."

b. On otvyk,   **čto** ne   vse emu podčinjajutsja s   poluslova.

He fell out of habit that NEG all him obey   from half word

"*He fell out of the habit of not having everybody obey him instantly.*"

c. Ja ljublju, **kogda** šumjat   berëzy.

I love   when rustle   birches

"*I love the rustling sound of birch leaves.*"

d. Ja nenavižu, **kogda** sosedi   rugajutsja.

I hate   when neighbours quarrel

"*I hate it when my neighbours quarrel.*"

e. Ja ustal,   **čto** ne   mogu videt' ee ežednevno.

I am tired that NEG can$_{1Sg}$ see   her every day

"*I am tired of the fact that I cannot see her every day.*"

   In (73), the complements of habit verbs are full CPs, which is shown by the presence of a complementizer or a *wh*-word[29]. However, even these full structures cannot be modified for tense independently of the tense of the matrix clause – the ungrammatical examples in (74) sound very unnatural and counterintuitive no matter how much contextual work is done to make them sound better:

(74)   a. *Sejčas ja uže   privykla, **čto** on prixodil pozdno v prošlom mesjace.

          Now I already am that he came   late   in last   month

          "*Now I have already got used to the fact that he used to come home late last month.*"

       b. *V takom tempe on uže   v sledujuščem mesjace otvyknet,

          in such rate   he already in next   month   will fall out of habit

          čto mesjac nazad emu ne   vse podčinjalis' s   poluslova.

---

[29] Note that other predicates whose complements come out as untensed according to the test, namely implicatives, aspectuals, *pomoč* "help" and *pomešat'* "hinder" – are not able to combine with full CPs.

that month ago   him NEG all obeyed   from half word

"*At such a rate he will already next month fall out of the habit of not having had everyone obey him instantly last month.*"

c. *Sejčas ja ljublju, kogda/čto v detstve   za   moim oknom šumeli

now   I love   when/that in childhood behind my   window rustled

berëzy.

birches

"*Now I love it when/that birches rustled behind my window when I was a child.*"

d. *Segodnja ja nenavižu, čto sosedi   rugalis'   včera.

today   I hate   that neighbours quarreled yesterday

"*Today I hate it that my neighbours quarreled yesterday.*"

e. *Segodnja ja ustal,   čto ne   mog   videt' ee ežednevno v prošlom

today   I am tired that NEG could$_{1Sg}$ see   her every day in last

mesjace.

month

"*Today I am tired of the fact that I could not see her every day last month.*"

(72a) alone cannot explain the failure of the independent tense specification test to reveal tense in the complements of habit verbs, because absence of punctuality can be attributed to complements of aspectual verbs, which do seem smaller than TP. (72b) adds to the explanation. If we look at the constructions where matrix predicates allow embedded tense we can see that the matrix event and the embedded event are temporally ordered w.r.t. each other in one way or another: irrealis complements of desideratives and modals are situated in future w.r.t. the matrix predicates, whereas the realis complements of factive and propositional predicates[30] precede the matrix event.

---

[30] Which were mentioned in Section 3.1.

The relation of habit predicates to their complements is not that of precedence or subsequence, rather, the matrix event quantifies over the times when the type of event denoted in the complement was true. The intuition tells us that for the matrix predicate to be true there has to be at least two times when the type of event denoted in the complement is true:

(75)   a. Ja ljublju obedat' v kantine.

        I love   eat   in canteen

        "*I love eating in the canteen.*"

    b. Ja privyk xodit' v bassejn   po voskresen'jam.

        I am used go   in swimming pool on Sundays

        "*I am used to going to the swimming pool on Sundays.*"

Privyknut', *otvyknut'* and *ustat'* require a more habitual pattern of events, than *ljubit'* and *nenavidet'*, but still, neither of the sentences in (75) can be true if one has eaten in the canteen or gone to the swimming pool just once; the matrix event accumulates over the set of embedded events. This can be some kind of event quantification, in a similar manner to how modals quantify over possible worlds. Modifying a sentence with a temporal adverb is pin-pointing an event deictically, which means that there is just one single event – no plurality of events for habit verbs to quantify over.

The intuition outlined above is a mere conjecture which I am not going to pursue in this paper but which I leave as a possible analysis for this type of constructions. If we can maintain a TP structure for the complements of habit verbs and explain their "untensed" behaviour by some peculiarity of the semantic derivation, then we can retain the correlation between the possibility of PC and tensedness of the infinitival complements. This would thus mean that PC is not possible in untensed clauses and Table 3 should be reorganized into Table 4, where the pattern in (76b) is non-existent:

(76) Table 4. *PC and tense reviewed*

	PC	*PC
Tensed	a) desideratives, habit verbs	c) modals (raising), desideratives
Untensed	b) *	d) implicatives, aspectuals, *try*-verbs

The evidence suggests that there is only a one-way correlation between PC and infinitival tense: PC is allowed only in tensed complements, whereas tensed clauses do not necessarily license PC – it is the desideratives in (76c) that require an explanation.

The question that is left for future research is what makes desideratives split w.r.t. whether they allow or disallow PC. If we look at where the split lies, we might have an idea about where to look:

(77) Table 5. *The PC/*PC split in desideratives*

√PC	*xotet'* "want", *ožidat'* "expect", *dumat'* "think, intend", *rešit'* "decide", *mečtat'* "dream", *zamyšljat'* "contemplate, plan", *rassčityvat'* "expect", *soglasit'sja* "agree", *otkazat'sja* "refuse", *namerevat'sja* "intend", *nadejat'sja* "hope", *bojat'sja* "fear", *opasat'sja* "fear", *pokljast'sja* "swear", *prigotovit'sja* "prepare", *prigrozit'* "threaten", *predložit'* "offer", *poprosit'* "ask", *ubedit'* "convince", *ugovorit'* "persuade"
*PC	*vyzvat'sja* "volunteer", *objazat'sja* "undertake", *sobirat'sja* "intend", *rešit'sja* "resolve", *uslovit'sja* "arrange", *dogovorit'sja* "arrange"; *vynudit'* "force", *zastavit'* "force, make", *zapretit'* "forbid", *prikazat'* "order", *velet'* "order", *predpisat'* "instruct", *poručit'* "charge", *razrešit'* "allow", *poslat'* "send", *otpravit'* "send", *pozvat'* "call", *priglasit'* "invite, call"

The first thing one notices is that the predicates in the *PC group are either object-control verbs or subject-control verbs with a reflexive –*sja* ending – the argument structure of the control predicate might be in some degree responsible for the possibility of a PC reading in its complement. Second, if we compare object-control predicates in the two groups, we can see that the *PC-group generally consists of verbs of the *force* type, whereas the √PC-group includes predicates denoting milder influence. Thus, the semantics of the predicate might also be able to set preferences for a certain type of control relation[31].

To sum up, the possibility of a PC reading in a control infinitive does not seem to be the direct consequence of the availability of infinitival tense, as Landau (2000) suggests (as not all tensed infinitives allow PC), it might be due to some additional factors, like the argument structure and semantic specifications of a control predicate.

3.5. PC and SAM

We have already seen PC in the interaction with infinitival tense and confirmed that the presence of PC PRO undoubtedly requires a big infinitival structure. In the course of this paper I have taken issues with Babby's analysis of floating quantifiers showing that the presence of a nominative floating quantifier in a subject-control complement cannot be regarded as a clear indication of a bare VP-structure of the complement – the arguments so far have been the obvious presence of infinitival tense and negation. This section considers whether the TP-size can be confirmed for the subject-control complements in question by the possibility of PC there.

---

[31] The idea that the degree of "semantic transitivity" might matter for syntax has already been mentioned in Section 2.3 in connection with case agreement on the floating quantifier in object-control infinitives.

(78) Ja$_i$ xoču [PRO$_{i+1}$ pojti v poxod vsem   klassom samim/*sami,

I want   go   in hike   all$_{INST}$ class$_{INST}$ ourselves$_{DAT.PL/*NOM.PL}$

bez učitelja].

without teacher

"*I want to go on a hike as a whole class all by ourselves, without the*

teacher."

(78) shows that a nominative SAM is not possible in PC environments, and instead a

dative SAM is preferred, as would be predicted by Babby. Note however, that the

nominative SAM in (78) might be ungrammatical due to other reasons – clash of

number features, for example. We can control for that possible conflict by having a

plural controller denoting a group of individuals included into a still bigger group

denoted by PC PRO:

(79)   a. [$_{DP}$Borja s   Lenoj]$_{j\&k}$ xotjat [PRO$_{i\&k+1}$ pojti v poxod vsem klassom

Borja with Lena   want$_{PL}$ go   in hike   all$_{INST}$ class$_{INST}$

sami/?samim, bez učitelja].

themselves$_{NOM.PL/?DAT.PL}$

"*Borja and Lena want to go on a hike as a whole class all by themselves,*

without the teacher."

b. My   s   Lenoj rešili   pojti vse/?vsem   k klassnomu   domoj.

We$_{NOM}$ with Lena decided go   all$_{NOM.PL/?DAT.PL}$ to class teacher home

"*Me and Lena decided that we all should go to the teacher's place.*"

The nominative SAM in this context is even more preferable than the dative SAM,

thus, once we control for number, a floating quantifier agreeing in case with the

controller becomes possible in PC environments. I have to admit, however, that the

difference in the distribution of the dative and the nominative SAM still stays: as can

be seen in (78), a dative SAM is grammatical even when there is a number mismatch between SAM and the controller.

In this section I have not shown what a nominative SAM is, what I have done is show what it is not: namely, nominative SAM cannot be straightforwardly analysed as a signal of restructuring in subject-control sentences.

3.6. The MTC and SAM/secondary predicates

For Russian infinitives the most obvious prediction made by the MTC concerns floating quantifiers: if there is any material in the embedded clause associated with its understood subject, that material is supposed to agree with the subject in certain features. For floating quantifiers it is case features that come to mind. It can already be seen from the previous discussion of SAM presented by Babby (1998), that the Russian floating quantifier data defy the MTC:

(80)   a. On   xočet eto sdelat' sam.

    he$_{NOM}$ wants this do   himself$_{NOM}$

    "He wants to do it himself."

    b. Ona poprosila ego   samomu   peredat' pis'mo Sone.

    She asked   him$_{ACC}$ himself$_{DAT}$ give   letter   Sonja$_{DAT}$

    "She asked him to give the letter to Sonja himself."

Object control sentences bring an unexpected pattern: while the case of the matrix controller is accusative, the floating quantifier, which also would be expected to be accusative if we are to assume that the object has moved out of the embedded clause, is in the dative[32]. Hornstein would have to admit that there is a separate entity at least in object control infinitives that the floating quantifier agrees with – and that entity

---

[32] Accusative floating quantifiers in Colloquial Russian as seen in examples (19, 20) can be argued by the proponents of the MTC to be an argument for a raising analysis, however, this would be a very weak argument, since accusative case agreement is a marginal phenomenon.

cannot be *pro*, since that appears only in NOC environments. Thus, dative floating quantifiers are a serious issue for the MTC.

The case of the floating quantifier in the subject control sentence in (80a) seems to be expected by the MTC – in the same way as nominative secondary predicates are[33] – the floating quantifier in the infinitival complement agrees in case with the matrix controller, which is compatible with the view that the matrix subject started out in the embedded clause and functions as the head of the chain that bears nominative case, which is why the floating quantifier, situated at the bottom of the chain, also appears in the nominative. However, in the discussion of the clausal properties of subject-control complements we have already seen that the nominative case does not quite meet the expectations connected with it (Babby's (1998)): the fact that nominative SAM is possible in PC constructions, as illustrated in (79) is an obstacle for the MTC; the same is true for secondary predicates:

(81) My   s   Lenoj   rešili   zajavit'sja p'janye vsem klassom   na
      we$_{NOM}$ with Lena   decided come   drunk$_{NOM.PL}$ all$_{INST}$ class$_{INST}$ on
      matematiku.
      maths

      "*Me and Lena decided that we all should come to the maths lesson drunk.*"

---

[33] Recall the discussion of Grebenyova (2005) in Section 2.4.3.

3.7. Summary

We have observed the interaction of various clausal properties in Russian infinitives and considered which theory of control/infinitival complementation can provide a better account of the data. Below is the general picture of the explanatory competence of the three of the theories:

(82) Table 6. *Rounding up*

Theory	Prediction	Data
The SAM theory (Babby 1998)	Subject-control complements with nominative SAM are bare VPs.	Subject-control complements with nominative SAM can have independent tense, negation and PC interpretation – and thus can be argued to be bigger than VP.
The MTC	The controller and the embedded material associated with it should display agreement phenomena.	A floating quantifier in an object-control complement bears dative, even if the controller is in the accusative. The case-matching behaviour of the nominative floating quantifiers and secondary predicates in subject-control complements is observed in PC environments and thus does not provide much support for a movement analysis.
Landau (2000)	Exhaustive control is observed in untensed clauses, while partial control can obtain in all and only tensed clauses.	Exhaustive control is observed in tensed clauses, too.

The data described in this study do not seem to do any serious damage to the restructuring analysis of Wurmbrand (2001), the only question is how to treat modal constructions where the infinitive seems to have an independent tense specification. I have decided that for the moment those cases have to be set aside as raising constructions that so far cannot be reduced to a restructuring structure. On the whole, however, the restructuring analysis seems to be the most competent theory in terms of its explanatory power. The next (and last) section is a preview of what a (non)restructuring picture of Russian infinitival complementation might look like considering the data we have seen in this study.

4. Restructuring in Russian Infinitives

Restructuring predicates. Russian seems to lack lexical restructuring the way it was described in Wurmbrand (2001) – the Russian verb phrase seems to always be able to assign object case to its internal argument so that there are no reasons so far to believe that an infinitival complement in this language can be of the VP size. Functional restructuring, however, seems to be represented by aspectual predicates. Raising aspectuals, which do not impose thematic restrictions on their subjects, are functional restructuring predicates situated in the functional domain of the infinitive (Aux); whereas the semi-functional thematic aspectuals can be placed in the *v* head of the infinitive:

(83)
```
                TP
              /    \
            DP      T'
                  /    \
                 T     AuxP
                      /    \
                   Aux'
                  /    \
               Aux      NegP
            raising    /    \
           aspectuals Neg    vP/AspP
                            /    \
                         t_DP     v'/Asp'
                                 /     \
                              v/Asp      VP
                            thematic     /\
                           aspectuals   /  \
                                       /____\
                                 main verb (infinitive)
```
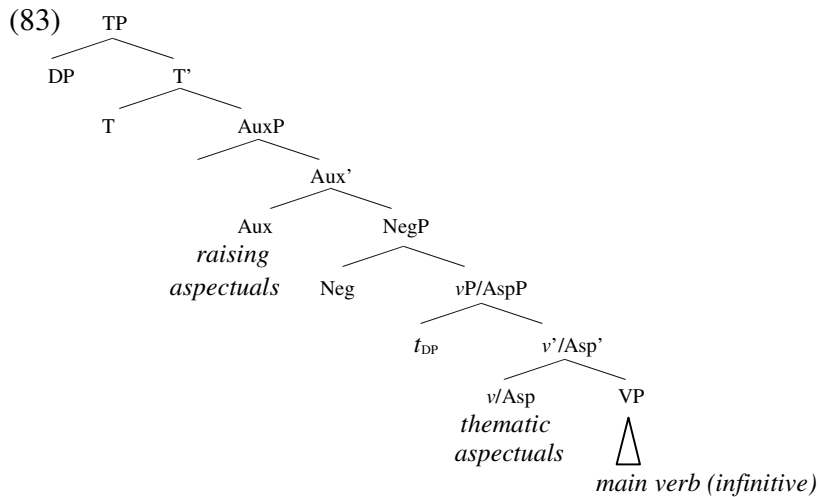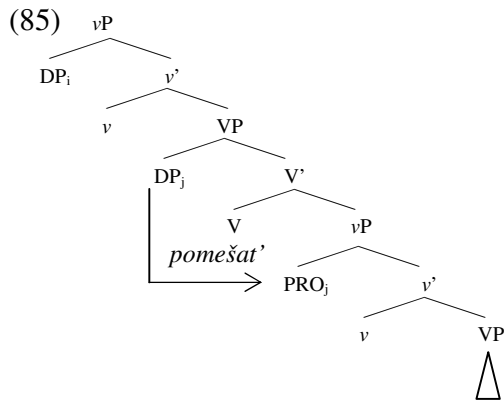
The structure in (83) is motivated by the fact that both raising and thematic aspectuals do not allow independent tense in their complements and thus their complements have to be smaller than TP. Raising aspectuals differ from thematic aspectuals in that they can embed negation.

   Epistemic and deontic modals that were analysed as functional restructuring predicates in Wurmbrand (2001) will have to retain the status of raising predicates for the moment:

(84)
```
              TP
            /    \
          DP      NegP
                /    \
             Neg      VP
                    /    \
                   V      TP
                 modal   /    \
                      t_DP     NegP
                              /    \
                           Neg      vP
                                    /\
                                   /  \
                                  /____\
                                infinitive
```
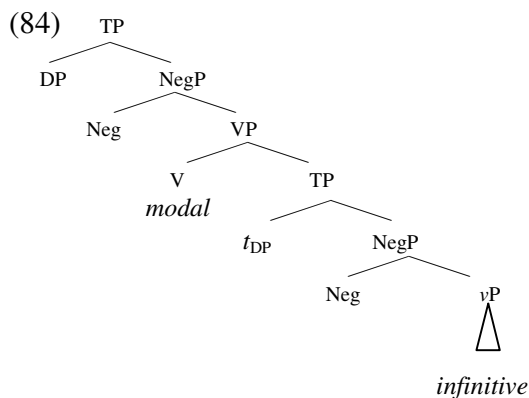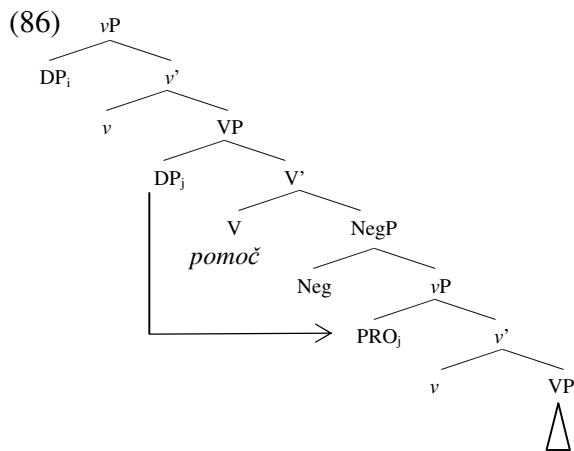
This structure reflects the availability of independent tense in the complements of epistemic and deontic modals and the fact that negation in Russian modal construction can either precede or follow the modal (with a change in meaning), and even occur simultaneously in the matrix and the embedded clause.
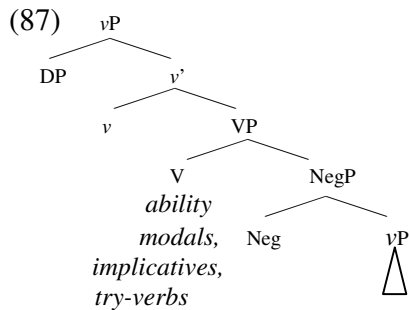
Non-restructuring predicates. Reduced non-restructuring constructions in Russian include *pomešat'* "hinder", an object-control implicative that takes *v*P as its complement (85), and also other implicatives (including *pomoč* "help"), *try*-verbs and ability modals that take NegP as their complements (86):

(85)

```
           vP
         /    \
      DPᵢ      v'
             /    \
            v      VP
                 /    \
              DPⱼ      V'
               |     /    \
               V    V      vP
            pomešat'      /    \
               └──────→ PROⱼ    v'
                              /    \
                             v      VP
                                    /\
                                   /__\
```

Pomešat' disallows embedded tense, negation and PC interpretation of PRO.

(86)

```
           vP
         /    \
      DPᵢ      v'
             /    \
            v      VP
                 /    \
              DPⱼ      V'
               |     /    \
               V    V      NegP
             pomoč       /    \
               |       Neg      vP
               └──────────→   /    \
                          PROⱼ      v'
                                  /    \
                                 v      VP
                                        /\
                                       /__\
```
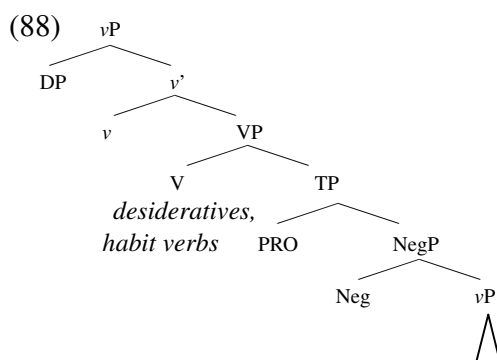
Pomoč also disallows embedded tense and PC interpretation of PRO, but allows embedded negation.

(87)
```
            vP
          /    \
        DP      v'
              /    \
            v       VP
                  /    \
                 V      NegP
            ability    /    \
            modals,  Neg     vP
          implicatives,     /\
            try-verbs      /__\
```

Ability modals impose thematic restrictions on their subjects, they cannot be grouped alongside thematic aspectuals as semi-functional predicates because they allow embedded negation; their complement has to be smaller than TP because embedded tense is prohibited with ability modals. Implicatives and *try*-verbs (dis)allow the same clausal properties in their complements as ability modals.

Desideratives and habit verbs can be classified either as reduced non-restructuring predicates that take TP as their complements, or full non-restructuring predicates with CP complements: there is no evidence at this point for us to favour one or the other analysis. Wurmbrand (2001) uses evidence from scrambling operations that infinitives might or might not have a CP projection – this does not seem to work for Russian: here scrambling out of the embedded into the matrix clause can take place even when a complementizer is present. With no positive evidence for the CP layer, I present these constructions as involving TP complements:

(88)
```
            vP
          /    \
        DP      v'
              /    \
            v       VP
                  /    \
                 V      TP
          desideratives, /   \
          habit verbs  PRO    NegP
                            /    \
                          Neg     vP
                                 /\
                                /__\
```

Desideratives and habit verbs allow embedded negation (with the exception of five desiderative predicates: SEND verbs and *otčajat'sja* "despair", which, as I have argued, prohibit negation in their complements on independent grounds); a group of desideratives and all habit verbs allow PC interpretation of PRO, and although habit verbs, unlike all desideratives, do not allow an independent tense specification in their complements, I have suggested that this is due to other factors and that the complements of habit verbs are actually tensed.

This is a descriptive account of the data from Russian infinitival complementation and I hope that future research can support the account by providing evidence for the structures given above in the form of various syntactic operations that are (im)possible in those structures.

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Appendix

1. Irrealis approach vs. independent tense specification approach

Irrealis approach is represented by Stowell (1982) and Boškovič (1997). Stowell (1982) takes the future, irrealis orientation of the infinitival complement to be the indication of tensedness, thus automatically classifying all realis predicates as untensed. Certain infinitives that could be irrealis but are judged untensed have the option of being grouped with gerunds which are untensed in Stowell's classification[34]. Boškovič (1997) likewise divides infinitives into irrealis and propositional, where only irrealis infinitives are considered tensed. Tensed clauses in this theory are distinguished by the impossibility of truth/falsity predication and possibility of VP ellipsis.

Table 7 summarizes how different studies classify predicates w.r.t. tense:

(89) Table 7. Infinitival tense

	Stowell (1982)	Boškovič (1997)	Landau (2000), Wurmbrand (2001)	Present study
Desiderative	+	+	+	+
Implicative	+	+	-	-
Aspectual	-	+	-	-
Modal	+	+	-	+/-
Propositional	-	-	+	(+)
Factives	-	+	+	(+)
Habit verbs	-	+	+	+

Stowell (1982) is oriented towards irrealis property of infinitives and thus realis complements of factives and propositionals would come out as untensed for him. Aspectuals take gerundial complements in English and thus automatically will be grouped as untensed – infinitival complements of some aspectuals can be equated to gerunds by Stowell.

Boškovič (1997) classifies implicatives and factives as tensed because they pattern with *try* – the central irrealis verb in Boškovič's study – w.r.t. truth/falsity predication and VP ellipsis tests. Aspectuals and habit verbs also come out as tensed according to these tests. Note that although both Stowell (1982) and Boškovič (1997) are irrealis-oriented analyses, they treat aspectuals, factives and habit verbs differently.

The independent tense specification approach has already been discussed in the main text of the paper. Factives and propositionals are marked with "(+)" in the

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[34] For a full analyses see the respective studies.

"present study" column, because these predicates are irrelevant for the study since they take finite complements. Modals are marked with "+/-" as different modal readings display different behaviour w.r.t. whether they allow embedded tense.

2. Infinitival tense

Implicatives:
90. *Včera on **umudrilsja** dopisat' diplomnuju segodnja.
    "*Yesterday he contrived to finish the thesis today."
91. *Včera on **dogadalsja** podarit' ej segodnja buket cvetov.
    "Yesterday he thought of giving her a bouquet of flowers today."
92. *Včera on **uspel** podat' segodn'a zajavlenie.
    "*Yesterday he managed to apply today."
93. *Včera on **derznul/osmelilsja** podojti k nej segodnja.
    "*Yesterday he dared to come up to her today."
94. *Včera on **risknul** polezt' segodnja na goru bez nadležaščej ekipirovki.
    "*Yesterday he took the risk of climbing the cliff without proper gear."
95. *Včera ja **pomešal** emu zakončit' rabotu segodnja.
    "*Yesterday I prevented him from finishing the work today."
96. *Včera ja **pomog** emu vyigrat' segodnja.
    "*Yesterday I helped him to win today."

Aspectuals:
97. *Včera on **načal** rabotat' na novom meste s ponedel'nika.
    "*Yesterday he started working at the new place from Monday."
98. *Včera on **prinjalsja** delat' v kvartire remont segodnja.
    "*Yesterday he set to refurbishing his flat today."
99. *Včera on **povadilsja** xodit' ko mne s segodnjašnego dnja.
    "*Yesterday he started coming to my place from today."
100. *Polčasa nazad on **pustilsja** rasskazyvat' nam sejčas etu istoriju.
    "*Half an hour ago he started telling us this story now."
101. *Neskol'ko let nazad vse **udarilis'/brosilis'** izučat' sejčas lingvistiku.
    "*A few years ago everybody started studying linguistics now."
102. *Včera ja **prodolžila/prekratila** delat' meditacii segodnja.
    "*Yesterday I continued/stopped doing the meditation today."
103. *Polgoda nazad ja **brosil** kurit' sejčas.
    "*Half a year ago I quit smoking now."

Try-verbs:
104. *Včera on **popytalsja** vstretit'sja s nej segodnja.
    "*Yesterday he tried to meet her today."
105. *Včera on postaralsja zakončit' vse segodnja.
    "*Yesterday he tried to finish everything today."

<u>Modals:</u>

106. *Včera on **umel/mog** ponravit'sja roditeljam nevesty segodnja.   (ability)

    "Yesterday he was able to make a good impression on the bride's parents today."

107. Včera ty **mog** poexat' zavtra v gorod, a segodnja ja peredumala i ne razrešaju.

                                                     (deontic)

    "Yesterday you could go to town tomorrow, but today I have changed my mind and do not give you my permission any more."

108. Včera Vanja **mog** sdat' diplomnuju uže segodnja, zrja on v Driv pošel.

                                                  (epistemic)

    "Yesterday Vanja could hand in his thesis already today, he shouldn't have gone to Driv."

<u>Habit verbs:</u>

109. *Segodnja ja **ljublju/nenavižu** xodit' v bassejn včera.

    "*Today I like/hate going to the swimming pool yesterday."

110. *Včera ja **ljubil/nenavidel** xodit' v bassejn zavtra.

    "*Yesterday I liked/hated going to the swimming pool tomorrow."

111. *Sejčas ja **privyk** ne videt' ee v prošlom godu.

    "Now I am used to the fact that I didn't see her (much) last year."

112. *Sejčas ja **otvyk** xodit' v detstve v školu za 5 kilometrov.

    "*Now I got out of the habit of walking 5 km to school when I was a child."

113. *Segodnja ja **ustal** igrat' v futbol včera.

    "Today I am tired of playing football yesterday."

<u>Desideratives:</u>

114. V prošlom godu my **xoteli** poexat' na more etim letom.

    "Last year we wanted to go to the sea this summer."

115. Mesjac nazad ja **nadejalsja** žit' zdes' v sledujuščem godu.

    "A month ago I hoped to live here next year."

116. Na prošloj nedele my **rešili** poexat' na Sommarøy v èti vyxodnye.

    "Last week we decided to go to Sommarøy this weekend."

117. Včera posle dolgogo razgovora on nakonec **rešilsja** podojti k nej segodnja.

    "Yesterday after a long talk he finally resolved to come up to her today."

118. Včera Lena **namerevalas'** pojti zavtra na trenirovku.

    "Yesterday Lena intended to go to the training session tomorrow."

119. Včera on **soglasilsja** pojti s nami segodnja v kino.

    "Yesterday he agreed to go to the cinema with us today."

120. Včera on vdrug **otkazalsja** idti segodnja s nami v kino.

    "Yesterday he suddenly refused to go to the cinema with us today."

121. Na prošloj nedele on **obeščal** vyvezti sem'ju na more v èti vyxodnye.

"Last week he promised to drive the family out to the sea this weekend."

122. Pozavčera on **prigotovilsja/sobiralsja** let' zavtra v New York, no obstojatel'stva na rabote zastavili ego otložit' poezdku.
"The day before yesterday he prepared/intended to go to New York tomorrow, but work circumstances made him postpone the trip."

123. Na prošlom sobranii Maša **vyzvalas'/objazalas'** dežurit' na etoj nedele.
"In the last meeting Maša volunteered/obligated herself to be in charge of the order this week."

124. Včera on **ožidal/rassčityval** vstretit' Alënu segodnja na sobranii.
"Yesterday he expected to meet Alëna today at the meeting."

125. Na prošloj nedele on **otčajalsja** zakončit' diplomnuju v etom mesjace.
"Last week he despaired to finish the thesis this month."

126. Včera oni **uslovilis'/dogovorilis'** vstretit'sja segodnja v 5 u Lenina.
"Yesterday they agreed/arranged to meet at Lenin's monument at 5 today."

127. Včera ja **dumal** pojti segodnja na diskoteku.
"Yesterday I thought of going to a disco today."

128. V detstve on **mečtal** ženitsja na ètoj pevice, kogda vyrastet.
"When he was a child, he dreamt of marrying this singer when he grew up."

129. Na prošloj nedele oni **zamyšljali** bežat' segodnja.
"Last week they planned to escape today."

130. Včera ja **bojalas'/opasalas'** vstretit' ee segodnja.
"Yesterday I was afraid to meet her today."

131. Včera on **prigrozil/grozilsja/pokljalsja** rasskazat' vsem ob ètom segodnja
"Yesterday he threatened/swore to tell everyone about this today."

132. Včera šef **predložil** Lene perejti v drugoj otdel v sledujuščem mesjace.
"Yesterday the boss offered Lena to move to another department next month."

133. Včera ja **predložil** Lene sxodit' za nee zavtra na sobranie.
"Yesterday I offered Lena to go to the meeting instead of her tomorrow."

134. Mama mne včera **razrešila/pozvolila** nočevat' segodnja u Inny.
"Yesterday mother allowed me to stay the night at Inna's place today."

135. Včera ja **zastavila** Borisa izvinit'sja pered nim segodnja.
"Yesterday I made Boris to apologize to him today."

136. Včera moi šumnye sosedi **vynudili** menja idti segodnja v samšipnaden žalovat'sja.
"Yesterday my noisy neighbours forced me to go to the accommodation office today to complain."

137. Včera ja **potreboval** vydat' mne zavtra zarplatu.
"Yesterday I demanded that they should give me my wages tomorrow."

138. Včera gubernator **prikazal/velel/predpisal/poručil** privesti ukaz v ispolnenie uže v sledujuščem mesjace.

"Yesterday the governor ordered/instructed to carry out the order already the
    next month."

139. Včera ja **ugovorila/ubedila** Žannu ne exat' zavtra na Sommarøy.
    "Yesterday I persuaded Žanna not to go to Sommarøy tomorrow."

140. Včera ona **poprosila** menja sdat' za nee zavtra diplomnuju.
    "She asked me to hand in the thesis for her tomorrow."

141. Na prošloj nedele on **priglašal/zval** menja pogostit' u nix v èti vyxodnye.
    "Last week he invited me to visit them this weekend."

142. Včera ja **poslal/otpravil** ego v gorod kupit' segodnja ètu kartinu.
    "Yesterday I sent him to town to buy this painting today."

3. Negation

Thematic aspectuals:

143.   *On **prinjalsja** ne slušat' učitelja.
    "*He started not listening to the teacher."

144.   *Mal'čik **brosilsja/pustilsja** ne bežat' so vsex nog.
    "*The boy started not running as fast as he could."

145.   *Vse pogolovno **udarilis'** ne platit' nalogi.
    "Everyone started not paying taxes."

146.   *Bros' ne govorit' po suščestvu.
    "Stop beating around the bush."

147.   *Kot **povadilsja** myšej ne lovit'.
    "*The cat started not catching the mice."

148.   *On **prekratil** ne zamečat' menja.
    "He stopped ignoring me."

SEND-verbs:

149.   *Ja **pozvala/priglasila** Lenu ne skučat' so mnoj.
    "*I invited/called Lena not to bored with me."

150.   *Ja **otpravil/poslal** ego ne udarit' v grjaz' licom.
    "*I sent him not to make a fool of himself."

Otčajat'sja:

151.   *Ja **otčajalas'** ne provalit' ètot èkzamen.
    "I have despaired not to fail this exam."

Uspet':

152.   *On **uspel** ne opozdat' na poezd.
    "He managed not to be late for the train."

Pomešat':

153.   *Ja **pomešal** emu ne vljapat'sja v očerednuju avantjuru.
    "*I prevented him from not getting involved in another scam."

<u>Raising aspectuals:</u>
154. On **načal/prodolžaet** ne zamečat' menja.
      "He began/continues not to notice me."
155. Ja **perestal** ne spat' nočami.
      "I sleep at night again."

<u>Modals</u>: the full paradigm of negation patterns is given in the paper (examples 63-65).

<u>Implicatives:</u>
156. On **umudrilsja** ne zametit' stula.
      "He somehow failed to see the chair."
157. On **dogadalsja** ne ostavit' okno otkrytym.
      "He luckily thought of closing the window."
158. Ètot naglec **derznul/osmelilsja** ne poklonit'sja xanu.
      "This arrogant (fool) dared not to bow to the khan."
159. Petrov **risknul** ne javit'sja na obščee sobranie.
      "Petrov dared not to come to the meeting."
160. Akterskij talant Ringo **pomog** emu ne poterjat' sebja.
      "Ringo's actor talent helped him not to lose himself."
Try-verbs:
161. Ja **staralsja** ne smotret' v tu storonu.
      "I tried not to look in that direction."
162. Žirinovskij **pytalsja** ne dat' Seleznevu podvesti itogi sessii.
      "Žirinovskij tried to hinder Seleznev from summarizing the session."
Habit-verbs:
163. Mal'čik **ljubil** ne slušat'sja guvernantku i nabljudat' pristupy ee bessil'noj jarosti.
      "The boy like disobeying the governess and observe her fits of helpless rage."
164. On **nenavidit** polnost'ju v čem-libo ne razbirat'sja.
      "He hates not to know everything about something."
165. Ja **privyk** ničemu ne udivljat'sja.
      "I have got used to not being surprised by anything."
167. Ja **otvyk** ne vysypat'sja.
      "I have gotten out of the habit of not sleeping enough."
168. Ja **ustal** ne doverjat' ljudjam.
      "I am tired of not trusting people."

Desideratives:

169. Ja **prigotovilsja/soglasilsja/otkazalsja/objazalsja/vyzval'sja** ne spat'
     segodnja noč'ju, storozhit' koster.
     "I **prepared/agreed/refused/obligated myself/volunteered** not to sleep
     tonight, in order to look after the fire."
170. Ja **obeščal** ne spuskat' s rebenka glaz.
     "I promised to keep an eye on the child."
171. Ja **rassčityval/nadejalsja/bojalsja** ne vstretit' tam nikogo.
     "I thought/hoped/was afraid that I would not meet anyone there."
172. Èta kniga dlja tex, kto **rešilsja** ne prinosit' sebja v žertvu sem'je, obščestvu..
     "This book is for those who decided not to sacrifice oneself to the family,
     society."
173. On **namerevalsja** ne obraščat' vnimanija na ženu.
     "He intended not to mind his wife."
174. Prezident **opasaetsja** ne spravit'sja s ètim "podarkom sud'by".
     "The president is afraid not to cope with this "destiny's present.""
175. Ja **prigrozil** ne javit'sja zavtra na rabotu.
     "I threatened not to come to work tomorrow."
176. Ja **pokljalsja** ne zabyt' ètoj obidy, poka ne otomšču.
     "I swore not to forget this insult, until I had my revenge."
177. Ja snačala **xotel** ne obraščat' na èto vnimanija..
     "At first I wanted not to pay my attention to it.."
178. Ja **sobiralsja** ne otdelyvat' voobšče vnutri.
     "I intended to leave the inside of the house undecorated."
179. Ja **ožidal** ne vstretit' nikakogo soprotivlenija.
     "I expected to find no resistance."
180. My **uslovilis'/dogovorilis'** nikomu ob etom ne govorit'.
     "We agreed not to tell anyone about it."
181. Ja **dumal** ne pojti zavtra v školu.
     "I intended not to go to school tomorrow."
182. On **mečtal** ni v čem ne nuždat'sja i ni ot kogo ne zaviset'.
     "He dreamt about living wealthy and independent."
183. On **zamyšljal** ne vypolnit' svoju čast' dogovora.
     "He intended to wiggle out of his part of the agreement."
184. Mama mne **razrešila** ne idti zavtra v školu.
     "Mother allowed me not to go to school tomorrow."
185. Ja **predložil** emu ne vkladyvat' vse den'gi v èto meroprijatie.
     "I suggested that he should not invest all the money into that affair."
186. Putin **zapretil** ne zapreščat' etu partiju.

"Putin forbade to leave the party on the political arena."
187. Vsem **prikazali/veleli** ne vyxodit' iz doma.
"Everybody was ordered to stay indoors."
188. Vlasti **predpisali** ne pomogat' repressirovannym.
"The authorities advised not to help the exiled."
189. Prezident **poručil** ne mešat' meždunarodnoj konferencii.
"President ordered not to hinder the international conference."
190. Ja **sovetoval** emu ne xodit' tuda.
"I advised/told him not to go there."
191. Liš instinkt **zastavil** ego ne povtorit' etogo šaga.
"Pure instinct kept him from taking that step again."
192. Sokrativšijsja razryv meždu kandidatami **vynudil** ego ne toropit'sja s ob''javleniem pobedy.
"The shortened interval between the two opponents made him wait with the announcement."
193. Ja **ugovoril/ubedil/poprosil** ego ne podavat' zajavlenie ob uxode.
"I persuaded/convinced/asked him not to resign from the job."

4. Partial Control

4.1. PC reading impossible:
Aspectuals:
194. *Ja **načal/prodolžaju/prekratil/perestal** xodit' v aut tolpoj.
"I started/continue/stopped going out as a crowd."
195. *Ja **prinjalsja** pet' vse vmeste.
"*I started singing all together."
196. *Ja **pustilsja/udarilsja/brosilsja** bežat' vse srazu.
"*I started running all together."
197. *On **povadilsja** prixodit' k nam bol'šoj kompaniej.
"*He started coming to our place as a big company."
198. *On **brosil** begat' po utram vse vmeste.
"*He stopped jogging in the morning all together."
Implicatives:
199. *Vanja **umudrilsja** vlezt' v polumetražku vsej vatagoj.
"Vanja managed to get into the small car as a whole crowd."
200. *On **dogadalsja** prijti na mesto bol'šoj gruppoj.
"*He luckily thought of coming to the meeting point as a big group."
201. *Ja **uspel** zalezt' v poezd vsej gruppoj.
"*I managed to get into the train as a whole group."

202. *Borja **osmelilsja/risknul/derznul** javit'sja k prepodavatelju na dom vsem klassom.
"*Borja dared to come to the teacher's place as a whole class."

202. *Ja **pomešal** emu otmetit' sobytie kollektivom.
"I prevented him from celebrating this event with all the people from work."

203. *Ja **pomog** emu vstretit'sja klassom na Novyj God.
"*I helped him to meet as a whole class for the New Year."

Try-verbs:
204. *Predsedatel' **staraetsja** raz''ezžat'sja na taksi, t.k. demonstranty mogut uznat' služebnye mašiny.
"The chair tries to all leave on taxis, as the demonstrators can recognize office cars."

205. *Ja uže stol'ko raz **pytalsja** sobrat'sja klassom.
"*I have tried to meet as a whole class so many times already."

Modals:
206. *Ja **umeju/mogu** otdyxat' kompaniej.   (ability)
"*I can relax as a company."

207. *Ty **možeš** sobrat'sja vsej kompaniej u nas.   (deontic)
"*You can meet as a whole company at our place."

208. *Ty **možeš** opozdat' na poezd vse vmeste.
"*You$_{Sg}$ can be late for the train all together."   (epistemic)

Desideratives:
209. *Ona **vynudila/zastavila** Borju pojti na bal vmeste.
"She forced Borja to go to the ball together."

210. *Petja **vyzvalsja/objazalsja** prijti vsem klassom i pomoč veteranu.
"*Petja volunteered/obligated himself to come as a whole class and help the war veteran."

211. *Ja **sobiraus'** zajavit'sja k tebe segodnja tolpoj, tak čto zapasajsja pivom.
"*I am planning to come to your place as a crowd, so start stocking up beer."

212. *My s Lenoj **uslovilis'/dogovorilis'** pojti vsem klassom k klassnoj domoj i pozdravit' ee s vos'mym marta.
"*Lena and I agreed to visit the teacher at home by the whole class and wish her a happy Women's day."

213. *Predsedatel' **rešilsja** vstretit'sja vo vremja zabastovki.
"*The chair resolved to meet during the strike."

214. *Posle dolgix razdumij služba bezopasnosti **razrešila** predsedatelju sobrat'sja.
"After long thinking the security service allowed the chair to convene."

215. *Demonstranty **zapretili** predsedatelju sobirat'sja.
"*The demonstrators prohibited the chair to convene."

216. *Sud **prikazal/predpisal/velel** Ivanovu pokinut' gorod vsej sem'jej.
   "The court ordered Ivanov to leave town with the whole family."
217. *Komitet **poručil** Timuru pomoč veteranu vsem klassom.
   "*The committee ordered Timur to help the veteran as a whole class."
218. *Ja **pozval/priglasil** Borisa otobedat' u nas vsej semjej.
   "I called Boris to have dinner at our place with his family."
219. *Ja **otpravil/poslal** Vitju razobrat'sja v etom dele tolpoj.
   "*I sent Vitja to sort this business out as a whole crowd."

4.2. PC reading possible
<u>Desideratives:</u>

220. Predsedatel' **soglasilsja** vstretit'sja v 6.
   "The chair agreed to meet at 6."
221. Ja **otkazalsja** idti v aut tolpoj.
   "I refused to go out as a whole crowd."
222. Ja **xoču** otmetit' Novyj God vsem klassom.
   "I want to celebrate the New Year as a whole class."
223. Ja **ožidal/mečtal** otdoxnut' na more vsej sem'ej.
   "I expected to go to the sea as a whole family."
224. Ja **dumal** sobrat'sja vsem klassom na pjatiletie.
   "I intended to gather as a whole class for the 5-year anniversary."
225. On **zamyšljal/namerevalsja** bežat' iz tjur'my vsem vmeste.
   "He planned/intended to escape from prison all together."
226. Ja **rassčityval/nadejalsja** pojti vsem klassom v poxod na Pervoe Maja.
   "I intended/hoped to go hiking as a whole class on the May 1."
227. Predsedatel' **opasalsja/bojalsja** sobirat'sja vo vremja zabastovki.
   "The chair was afraid to convene during the strike."
228. Ja **prigotovilsja** vstrečat' Novyj God vsej družnoj kompaniej.
   "I prepared to see the New Year in with all the friends."
229. Ja uže **otčajalsja** kogda-nibud' sobrat'sja polnym sostavom.
   "I have already despaired to meet as a whole group some day."
230. Vožatyj **poobeščal** veteranu prijti vsem otrjadom i pomoč s uborkoj sada.
   "The team leader promised the veteran to come by the whole team and help cleaning the garden."
231. Načal'nik služby bezopasnosti **predložil** predsedatelju sobrat'sja v drugom zale.
   "Head of the security suggested to the chairman that they convene in another room."
232. Predvoditel' bastujuščix rabotnikov **prigrozil** ustroit' kollektivnuju golodovku.

"The leader of the striking workers threatened to start a collective hunger-strike."

233. Oleg **pokljalsja** vernut'sja rat'ju i otomstit' za gibel' brata.
"Oleg swore to come back with an army and revenge for brother's death."

234. Mèrija **poprosila** predsedatelja ne sobirat'sja vo vremja zabastovok.
"The municipality asked the chair not to convene during the strikes."

235. Sledopyt **ubedil** voždja pokinut' stojanku, vsem do poslednego.
"Persuaded the tribe-leader to leave the anchorage, all of them."

236. Maša **ugovorila** Borju pojti na bal vmeste.
"Maša persuaded Borja to go to the ball together."

Habit verbs:
237. Ja **ustal** xodit' ogromnoj tolpoj po gorodu v poiskax restorana.
"I am tired of walking around the city as a huge crowd trying to find a restaurant."

238. Ja **privyk** vyezžat' na more vsej sem'ëj.
"I am used to go to the sea as a whole family."

239. Ja **otvyk** vyezžat' na daču tolpoj, mne nužen pokoj.
"I have gotten out of the habit of going to the dača as a crowd, I need peace and quiet."

240. Ja **ljublju** sobirat'sja vsej kompaniej.
"I like when we all get together."

241. **Nenavižu** xodit' v aut tolpoj.
"I hate going out as a crowd."