

In this paper I take as my point of departure a glaring gap in comparative Slavic aspectology—namely, that represented by the infinitive. In the most comprehensive comparative account of aspect use in Slavic to date, Dickey (2000), 10 Slavic languages are considered based on seven parameters of use, but two important verb forms are left unaccounted for: the imperative and the infinitive. The imperative was dealt with in Benacchio (2010), von Waldenfels (2012), and Alvestad (2013). As far as the infinitive is concerned, there are the works of Dobrušina (2012), Fortuin (2000, 2007), and Israeli (2013), but they concern only Russian, and only certain subsets of infinitives. Thus, it is time the infinitive too receives its fair share of attention within comparative Slavic aspectology. To get some steps further in this task is one of the aims of this paper. Specifically, I will present a corpus-based comparative investigation of how aspect is used in Slavic infinitives, taking the following 12 modern Slavic languages into consideration: Russian (Ru), Ukrainian (Uk), Belarusian (By), Polish (Pl), Upper Sorbian (US), Czech (Cz), Slovak (Sk), Bulgarian (Bg), Macedonian (Mk), Serbian (Sr), Croatian (Hr), and Slovene (Sn). An example is given below, where, first, the Russian original is presented followed by its correspondents in the other Slavic languages.

- (1) a. Ru: Ты говоришь, товарищ Ермаченко, что здесь надо будет драться, а я думаю – надо утром **отходить**^{IPF}. (ParaSol.¹ Ostrovskij: *Kak zakaljalas' stal'*)
 “Comrade Ermačenko, you are saying that we will have to fight here, but I think that it’s necessary **to leave** in the morning.”
 b. By: (...) *трэба раницай адыходзіць*^{IPF}.
 c. Uk: (...) *треба вранці відходити*^{IPF}.
 d. Pl: (...) *trzeba się będzie rano wycofać*^{IPF}.
 e. Sr: (...) *ujutru treba otići*^{PF}.
 f. Hr: (...) *ujutro treba otići*^{PF}.
 g. US: (...) *dyrbimy jutře wottud woteńc*^{PF}.
 h. Sk: (...) *by sme ráno mali odísť*^{PF}.
 i. Cz: (...) *musíme zítra ráno odejít*^{PF}.
 j. Sn: (...) *moramo zjutraj odriniti*^{PF}.

Since I have included Mk and Bg in the investigation I will have to be concerned with *da*-constructions too, as Mk does not have infinitives and Bg only has a short form of the infinitive that is in very restricted use, cf., e.g., Mišeska-Tomić (2006). The construction both languages use instead is the subjunctive complementizer *da* (cf., e.g., Mišeska-Tomić 2006, Todorović 2012) + a present tense verb form—as seen in k. and l. below.

- k. Mk: (...) *утре треба да си одиме*^{IPF}.
 l. Bg: (...) *утре сутрин трябва да отстъпим*^{PF}.

Examining two parallel-annotated novels in the Parasol corpus the first question I ask is this: How is aspect used in Slavic infinitives and corresponding *da*-constructions? In light of existing literature, one could hypothesize that i) in the infinitive, the freedom of choice is significant as far as aspect use is concerned (see, e.g., Galton 1976), and ii) the East-West divide in aspect use (i.e., the West-Slavic branch being a perfective-oriented group and the East-Slavic languages an imperfective-oriented group), highlighted by Dickey (2000), can be observed in the infinitive as well. I show, however, that i) must be refuted and ii) must be modified; in East Slavic, the perfective aspect is far more widespread in the infinitive than in the other verb forms. I explain my findings within a formally oriented framework along the lines of Grønn (2004) and Alvestad (2013).

The picture of how aspect is used in the Slavic languages is not complete until infinitives, and the corresponding *da*-constructions, are accounted for.

¹ <http://www.slavist.de/>, cf. von Waldenfels (2006).