Case and aspect in sentence-initial depictives in Russian

In Russian, case-marking on sentence-initial, or high, depictives is more restricted than in low depictives. I propose a syntactic/semantic analysis for this pattern, where the depictive's syntactic position itself is enough to account for the observed alternations.

Case on depictives. Russian AP and NP depictives are morphologically marked either with the instrumental case, or the case agreeing with that of their antecedent:

(1) Ona tancevala   p'jan-**aja**   / p'jan-**oj**.
     She dance-PAST drunk-**NOM** / drunk-**INSTR**
     She danced drunk. / She was dancing drunk.

The alternation reflects an aspectual distinction (Matushansky 2000, Richardson 2007), where the instrumental case corresponds to the perfective, and agreeing case, to the imperfective.

The puzzle. Both cases are not always allowed when the depictive is high:

(2) P'jan-aja,   / (*P'jan-oj,)   ona tancevala.
     Drunk-NOM / (*Drunk-INSTR) she dance-PAST
     (When she is) drunk, she dances.

(3) Rebjonk-om, / (*Rebjonok-∅,) ja igrala   v futbol.
     Child-INSTR / (*Child-NOM)   I play-PAST at soccer.
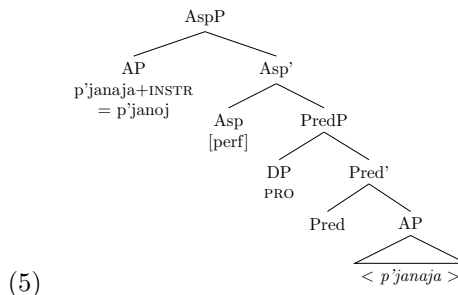   *When I was a child, I played soccer.*

This restricted case-marking pattern is partly due to the contrast between *stage-level* (SL) and *individual-level* (IL) predicates. IL depictives can only be marked by the instrumental whether in high or low positions (see Filip 2001, Hinterhölzl 2001). When the main clause denotes a habitual activity, a SL high depictive (e.g. "drunk"), unlike its low counterpart, can only be marked by the nominative case, while an IL high depictive (e.g. "child") can still be marked by the instrumental case.

In addition, we observe that instrumental in high depictives does not co-occur with present tense:

(4) *Rebjonkom, / *Rebjonok, ja igraju   v futbol.
     Child-INSTR / Child-NOM I play-PRES at soccer.

Analysis. In this section, I outline my argument for how tense and IL/SL semantics account for case-marking patterns in high vs low depictives.

Adapting Matushansky 2001 and Richardson 2000's analyses, depictives are "extended small clauses" containing an aspectual projection above a PredP. When the Asp head is specified with perfective, it assigns instrumental case to the depictive that moves up to spec AspP, as in (5). Imperfective corresponds to an unspecified Asp head, assigning no case; the depictive then receives the same case as the DP it is coindexed with (Bailyn 2014).

(5)

```
                    AspP
                   /    \
                 AP      Asp'
         p'janaja+INSTR  /   \
          = p'janoj    Asp    PredP
                      [perf]  /    \
                            DP      Pred'
                            PRO    /    \
                                 Pred    AP
                                      < p'janaja >
```
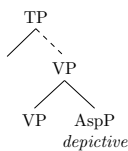
I argue that high depictives are base-generated inside a TP to the left of the TP of the main clause, while low depictives are right-adjoined to the VP of the main clause:

(6) High depictive

```
           FP
          /  \
        TP    F'
        |    /  \
      AspP  F    TP
    depictive  main clause
```

(7) Low depictive
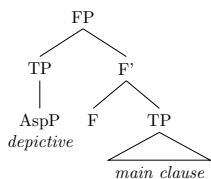
```
        TP
         \
          VP
         /  \
       VP    AspP
           depictive
```

Why a TP in high depictives? The AP or DP depictive has a uT feature (as argued for DPs by Pesetsky & Torrego 2001): if low, it is deleted by the iT on the Tense head of the main clause (via multiple agree); if high, the T head no longer c-commands the AP/DP, motivating the need for another TP.

Present tense blocks instrumental case. According to Rothstein 2000, the situation described in the matrix clause is a part of the situation in the depictive; thus, the tense of the high TP is the same as that of the matrix TP. Perfective morphology on Russian verbs never occurs with present tense: according to Matushansky 2000, present corresponds to a deficient tense head, which can only select for an unspecified AspP. Therefore, in high depictives, present tense prevents instrumental from appearing. In low depictives, any type of AspP can adjoin to the VP, allowing sentences such as (2) to occur.

SL high depictive cannot be instrumental. I use Filip 2001's INSTR (for us, the perfective operator!) that modifies a predicate P to denote a pair of situations $\{s_1, s_2\}$, where

      (a) $P(s_1)$ entails $\neg P(s_2)$ or vice versa
      (b) s_1 strictly precedes s_2 in runtime

SL situations have short runtimes, so they occur with INSTR only if the reference time is small enough to be divided into two parts corresponding to runtimes of situations described by P and $\neg$P.
- Low depictives are attached to the VP, they take as reference time the runtime of the situation described in the VP (before any specification of viewpoint aspect). If this reference time is small enough, INSTR can apply. Imperfective may later iterate the situation (as in (1)).
- High depictives are attached to the fully formed main clause. If a habitual activity is described, as in our data, its runtime is large, disallowing SL depictives from occuring.

Note that IL, or "once-only" (Carlson 1977, DeSwart 1991) depictives, are compatible with INSTR.