

The Case of Predicates (Revisited): Predicate Instrumental in Russian and its Restrictions

ABSTRACT

The paper addresses the syntax of copular constructions in Russian (Nichols 1973, 1981, Bailyn and Rubin 1991, Bailyn and Citko 1999, Bailyn 2001, 2002, Matushansky 2000, Pereltsvaig 2001, 2007, Citko 2006, inter alia), with a special attention to the prohibition on the appearance of instrumental predicates in present tense copular constructions and their obligatory presence in argument small clauses with null predicators. I argue that copular constructions with instrumental predicates involve an eventive Pred (Bowers 1993, Bailyn and Rubin 1991, Adger and Ramchand 2003, inter alia), which I call 'PredEv'. PredEv introduces an event argument and checks instrumental case on the predicate. In contrast, constructions with nominative predicates involve a non-eventive Pred that has no case to check. I further argue that the event argument introduced by PredEv must be licensed by Asp. However, the present tense form of the Russian verb 'be' (*jest'*) lacks the relevant aspect features. Consequently, instrumental predicates are impossible in present tense copular constructions. In argument small clauses, on the other hand, the event argument is licensed by the Asp of the matrix verb, which makes instrumental predicates possible there. In the course of the discussion I also address predicate case in adjunct small clauses and in constructions with overt predicators. Finally, I briefly compare predicate case phenomena in Russian to those in other Slavic languages.

1. Introduction

Constructions such as (1) and (2) below have been much discussed in the Slavic literature and in the literature on copular constructions in general (Nichols 1973, 1981, Bailyn and Rubin 1991, Bailyn and Citko 1999, Bailyn 2001, 2002, Matushansky 2000, Pereltsvaig 2001, 2007, Citko 2006, Adger and Ramchand 2003, Mikkelsen 2005, Geist 2005, 2006, den Dikken 2006, inter alia). I will refer to (1) and (2) as Nom-Instrumental (Nom-Instr) and Nom-Nom constructions following the notation in Pereltsvaig (2001, 2007).

NOM-INSTRUMENTAL

- (1) Dima byl / budet pisatel'-em
Dima was / will be / writer-instr
Dima was / will be / a writer

NOM-NOM

- (2) Dima \emptyset / byl pisatel'
Dima is was writer-nom
Dima is /was a writer

It is often said in the literature that the instrumental predicate in (1) denotes a temporary, transient, or changeable property, while the nominative predicate in (2) denotes a property that is inherent or permanent (Jakobson 1936/1971, Wierzbicka 1980, Bailyn and Rubin 1991, Fowler 1997, Timberlake 2004, Pereltsvaig 2007, inter alia). While these labels are vague and prone to counter-examples (see Pereltsvaig 2007:96-97 for discussion), they do capture native speakers' intuitions concerning the meaning of Nom-Instr and Nom-Nom constructions.

Since much has been written about predicates case in Russian and other Slavic languages, one may wonder what this paper has to contribute to the existing discourse on the subject. The goal of the current study is to derive the prohibition on the appearance of instrumental predicates

- c. Misha nashel Dimu **p'janym / p'janogo** (object control)
 Misha found Dima-acc drunk-instr/ drunk- acc
 Misha found Dima drunk
- (6) a. Misha schitajet Dimu **za pisatel'-a /* za pisatel'em**
 Misha considers Dima-acc for/as writer-acc /for writer-instr
 Misha schitajet Dima as a writer-acc
- b. Misha zdes' **za glavnogo! / * za glavnym**
 Misha here for main-one-acc! /for main-instr
 Misha is the boss here

The structure of the paper is as follows. In Section 2 I review three rather different proposals on predicate case and show that they do not explain the impossibility of (3a). Section 3 presents the proposal concerning the source of instrumental case in Nom-Instrumental constructions. Section 4 deals with Nom-Nom constructions. Section 5 addresses argument small clauses with null predicators and shows why instrumental case on predicates is required there. Section 6 turns to predicate case in adjunct small clauses. Section 7 takes up the question why overt predicators block instrumental case. Section 8 compares the distribution of predicate case in Russian to that in Polish and Serbo-Croatian. Section 9 concludes the discussion.

2. Prior accounts

2.1 Bailyn and Rubin (1991).

Bailyn and Rubin (1991) (B&R 1991 from now on) argue that instrumental case on predicates is licensed by Pred (Bowers 1993), a head involved in all predication. The authors further argue that instrumental predicates in Nom-Instr constructions (cf1) have the structure of secondary predicates (7a). In contrast, in Nom-Nom constructions (cf2) there is no secondary predication (7b). The predicate NP in (7b) comes under the Pred directly and receives nominative case. This is so because the matrix Pred becomes filled with the features of the nominative Infl, which deprives Pred of an ability to assign instrumental case (Bailyn and Rubin 1991: 122).

- (7) a. [IP Misha-Nom [PredP byl(i) [VP t(i) [PredP Pred [NP (doctor-instr)]]]]]
 b. [IP Misha-Nom [(byl) [NP (doctor-nom)]]]

Thus, according to the authors, only the Pred that is not a direct complement of Infl can assign instrumental case. This move allows the authors to unify constructions such as (1) with other instances of instrumental predicates, such as those in argument and adjunct small clauses, among others. While the idea of unifying all instances of predicate instrumental case under the rubric of 'secondary predication' is interesting, the proposal faces a number of challenges.

First, the claim that Pred loses its ability to license instrumental case by combining with Infl raises the following question: why does the accusative-licensing v not lose its capacity to license case when it combines with Infl in the syntax or at PF? As is clearly evidenced by transitive clauses (8), the object DP gets accusative case, even though the v and the Infl must combine at some point:

- (8) Dima vidit ego
 Dima sees him-acc
 Dima sees him

Second, though the Nom-Nom and Nom-Instr constructions differ in interpretation, the difference does not seem to lie in primary vs. secondary predication. If ‘writer’ is a secondary predicate in (1), what is the primary predicate there? If it is ‘be’, then what distinguishes (1) from (2)? When we take out the predicate ‘writer’ in (1) and in (2), we arrive at identical constructions: ‘*Dima byl*’ = ‘Dima was’, which mean *Dima existed*. In contrast, by taking out the secondary predicate ‘drunk’ in (5b), we are left with primary predication: ‘Dima returned’. If we take out the primary predicate ‘returned’ in (5b), we will be left with just the subject ‘Dima’. So, it is not clear why instrumental predicate in (1) is secondary, while the nominative one in (2) is primary.

Third, what is most relevant for the purposes of the current paper is that the authors do not specifically address the prohibition on the appearance of instrumental predicates in the present tense, as opposed to past or future tenses. So, even if we assume that instrumental case appears when there is secondary predication, and the Nom-Nom constructions are instances of primary predication (B&R 1991:121), we are still left with the question why secondary predication is disallowed only with the *present* tense ‘be’. Importantly, as Matushansky (2000) points out, instrumental predicates in adjunct small clauses are possible with present tense verbs (9):

- (9) Dima xodit domoj p’janym / tantsujet golym
 Dima goes-3rdPr home-instr drunk-instr dances naked-instr
 Dima goes home drunk / dances naked.

The connection between the present tense and the impossibility of predicate instrumental case in copular constructions is not made in B&R (1991). Arguably, it is so because this link was not the focus of their discussion. In contrast, this question is the central topic of the current paper; hence B&R’s account cannot be adopted in full here. I will, however, adopt one of the major insights of their proposal, namely, that Pred (albeit of a certain kind) is responsible for licensing instrumental case on its complement.

2.2 Matushansky 2000

Matushansky (2000) also proposes two structures corresponding to the Nom-Nom and Nom-Instrumental constructions. She argues that Nom-Instrumental constructions involve an AspP where Asp licenses instrumental case on the predicate, while Nom-Nom constructions involve a bare sP, a notation she uses to designate small clauses (Matushansky 2000: 292). The projection XP in Matushansky (2000: 296) corresponds to AspP in (10).

- (10) [AspP [AspP sP [subject [s predicate -instr]]]]

Matushansky (2000: 299) treats the present tense as deficient and hence able to select only the bare sP. However, she does not explain the nature of its deficiency. Matushansky (2000) further argues that a bare sP is a lexical category and cannot be selected by a matrix verb such as ‘consider’, which is also lexical. Hence, a richer structure involving Asp is required in small

clauses. While Matushansky's claim that aspect licenses instrumental case on the predicate accounts for much of the data, it faces the following challenge: every transitive verb in Russian is aspectually specified as perfective or imperfective, but only a handful take instrumental objects (11). Her proposal, on the other hand, predicts that any transitive verb marked for aspect should allow instrumental objects, contrary to the fact (12):

- | | | | |
|--|--------------------------------|--|--------|
| (11) Ego sdelali
him made-3rdPl
They made him a director | nachal'nikom
director-instr | (12) Dima u-videl (*Mishej)/
Dima perf-saw Misha-instr / Misha-acc
Dima saw Misha. | Mish-u |
|--|--------------------------------|--|--------|

Put another way, if Asp licenses instrumental case on the predicate (cf 10), what prevents it from licensing instrumental case on the object in (12)? Furthermore, though Aspect in Russian is often argued to license case, the case it licenses is accusative, not instrumental (cf Svenonius 2001, Szucsich 2000, Pereltsvaig 2000, *inter alia*). In sum, there are two reasons not to adopt Matushansky's proposal. First, the formula *IF ASP* \rightarrow *INSTRUMENTAL* incorrectly predicts that aspectually marked verbs should check instrumental case on their objects. Second, and more importantly, the proposal still does not explain the present tense restriction on instrumental predicates in copular constructions. That said, however, I do agree that Asp plays an important role in determining whether instrumental predicates are possible or not. However, as I will show in Section 3, its role is indirect and does not lie in licensing instrumental case.

2.3 Pereltsvaig (2001, 2007)

Pereltsvaig (2001, 2007) argues that Nom-Nom constructions involve a symmetrical merge between two DPs (13a) a la Moro (1997), while Nom-Instrumental constructions involve a mediating head *v* (13b), which is analogous to Pred.

- (13)a.[FP F(**be**)[DP[DP(**Dima**) DP(**doctor-nom**)]]]
 b.[vP[DP(**Dima**) [v(**be**) [NP(**doctor-instr**)]]]]]

However, there are reasons not to adopt a symmetrical structure for Nom-Nom constructions (see Matushansky 2000, Citko 2006, and den Dikken 2006 for various arguments). For example, as shown in den Dikken (2006), since no DP in a symmetrical structure is the predicate, theta-‘assignment’ has to come from theta-binding (Higginbotham 1985, Pereltsvaig 2007:74). This, in turn, forces an equative interpretation in all Nom-Nom constructions (Pereltsvaig 2001, 2007 den Dikken 2006:67). However, while Nom-Nom and Nom-Instrumental constructions differ in interpretation, the former are not always equatives. For example, the Nom-Nom construction in (2) does not imply that Dima is a unique doctor, something a true equative should do. Rather in (2) the property of being a doctor is ascribed to Dima, much as it is in (1). More importantly, Pereltsvaig also does not propose a specific account of the ban on instrumental predicates in present tense copular constructions, since it is not the main goal of her work. She tentatively attributes it to “a gap in the tense paradigm of the *v* that selects the NP complement.” (Pereltsvaig 2007:94).

To conclude, the three accounts discussed above still leave us with the question why instrumental predicates cannot appear in present tense copular constructions and why they must appear in small clauses with null predicators. Sections 3 through 5 address these questions.

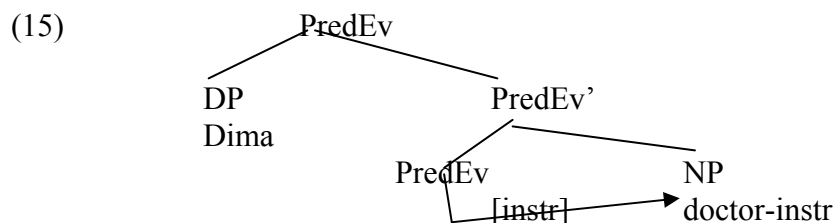
3. Nominative-Instrumental constructions

3.1. Where predicate instrumental case comes from

The proposal I advance concerning the source of instrumental case on predicates shares important features with that in Bailyn and Rubin (1991) and Matushansky (2000). However, it differs from these works in important respects. In particular, while I follow the main insight in B&R (1991) that constructions such as (1) involve a Pred that licenses instrumental case on the predicate, I depart from the authors in two important ways. First, building on Adger and Ramchand's (2003) work on Scottish Gaelic, I propose that the Pred in (1) is eventive, i.e. it introduces a spatio-temporal (event) argument e . I call this Pred 'PredEv' and further propose that only this type of Pred licenses / values instrumental case in Russian. Second, I claim that PredEv licenses instrumental case regardless of whether it appears in primary or secondary predication. These two departures from B&R (1991) are summarized below in (14):

(14) *Predicate NP/APs in Russian receive instrumental case only if embedded under PredEv.*

The initial structure for (1) is given in (15) and will be augmented with AspP and TP shortly:



In Section 8 I will introduce a small refinement into (15) when discussing micro-variation in Slavic, but for now, the current formulation will suffice. I also want to note that I will use 'case licensing', 'case checking', and 'case valuation' interchangeably.

3.2 On being 'eventive'

The question I address in this section is this: can the presence vs. absence of e account for the meaning differences between Nom-Instr and Nom-Nom constructions? First, I must note that I adopt the view in Adger and Ramchand (2003:8) who argue, building on Higginbotham (1985) and Parsons (1990), that NPs inherently lack an event argument. However, I will remain neutral here as to whether NPs have a state argument.⁴

⁴ Assuming that APs have their own state argument, I propose here that when PredEv appears with an AP complement, the AP's state variable is identified with (mapped onto) an event argument by PredEv. A derivation for *Masha byla krasivoy* = Masha was pretty-instr is in (i)

(i) $PredEvP \rightarrow \lambda e' Beautiful(masha, e')$

Masha - > *masha*

$PredEv'$ - > $\lambda x \lambda e' Beautiful(x, e')$

$PredEv$ - > $\lambda P \lambda x \lambda e' P(x, e')$

$AP(Beautiful)$ - > $\lambda y \lambda s Beautiful(y, s)$

I further assume that PredEv checks instrumental case on AP complements, as it does on NPs. (But see Bailyn and Citko (1999) for a view that APs do not need case, only agreement). Finally, for reasons of space I will not address long vs. short adjectives in Russian (cf Babby 1975, Siegel 1976, Bailyn 1994 for discussion).

It may appear initially that the interpretive distinction between Nom-Instrumental and Nom-Nom constructions is the same as that between ‘stage’-level (s-level) and ‘individual’-level (i-level) predicates introduced in Carlson (1977) and extensively discussed in Kratzer (1995), Fernald (2000), Filip (2001) among others. However, as argued in Filip (2001) and Pereltsvaig (2007: 97-98) the distinction between Nom-Instr and Nom-Nom constructions is not identical to that between i-level and s-level predicates.⁵ Rather, to say that (1) has an event argument introduced by PredEv is to say that the property of being a writer does not hold inherently of the individual ‘Dima’, but instead is true of Dima with respect to some eventuality (cf Adger and Ramchand 2003:8). Hence, when used in the past tense, Nom-Instr constructions do not entail that Dima is no longer alive; rather, they mean that the relevant eventuality has ended. The presence of *e* in Nom-Instr constructions is, thus, responsible for the intuition that instrumental predicates denote non-inherent properties.

This argument is very similar to the one made in Adger and Ramchand (2003) for Scottish Gaelic copular constructions. They write: “The lack of any eventuality variable signifying a spatio-temporal location is what results in the distinction in interpretation between the defective copula [*is*] and the substantive auxiliary [*bith*]” (Adger and Ramchand 2003: 12). Constructions with the defective copula signify that the predicate holds inherently of the subject, rather than accidentally (Adger and Ramchand 2003:10). Importantly, the authors also do not equate the distinction between these two copular constructions with the distinction between i-level and s-level predicates.⁶

⁵ Following Carlson (1977), i-level predicates denote properties of individuals, while s-level predicates are predicates of ‘stages’. As Carlson puts it: “a stage is ... roughly a spatially and temporally bounded manifestation of something... An individual, then, is (at least) that whatever-it-is that ties a series of stages together to make them stages of the same thing.” (Carlson 1977: 68; quoted in Fernald 2000: 13). There are various tests that distinguish i-level from s-level predicates given in Carlson (1977) and Milsark (1977) (among others). For example, s-level but not i-level predicates can be codas in the existential *there* construction (e.g. *there were people sick vs. *there were people intelligent*); only s-level predicates can appear in small clauses that are complements of perceptual verbs (e.g. *Peter saw Mary *intelligent / intoxicated*).

Now, importantly, though the current proposal takes the event argument to be introduced by PredEv, it is in principle compatible with the view that i-level predicates, like s-level predicates, have an eventuality argument (e.g. Parsons 1990, Chierchia 1995, and Higginbotham 1985, 1988; see Kratzer 1995 for a different view). It is, thus, also compatible with the claim that Nom-Instr and Nom-Nom constructions can involve either i-level or s-level predicates, as is argued in Filip (2001), for example. Here is why: Nom-Instr constructions will have an event argument introduced by PredEv, and can be i-level or s-level predicates. That is, an event does not have to be short-lasting; we can say: *Dima was intelligent-INSTR all his life*. Nom-Nom constructions lack an event argument, but may have a state argument, and hence can also be i-level or s-level. Thus, i-level predicates, like s-level predicates, can have an eventuality argument, under the current assumptions, as long as the argument in question need not necessarily be an event argument. Thank you to H. Filip for discussion on this point.

⁶ The Scottish Gaelic constructions in question are presented below. The Substantive Copula Construction involves an extra particle ‘*nam*, which is a preposition (‘in’) that contains an incorporated possessive pronoun that agrees in phi-features with the subject (Adger and Ramchand 2003)

SCOTTISH GAELIC (Adger and Ramchand 2003: 7)

- | | | | | |
|------|--------------|----------|----------|-----------------------------------|
| (i) | Tha mi | ‘nam | thidsear | [SUBSTANTIVE COPULA CONSTRUCTION] |
| | be-pres I | in-1stSg | teacher | |
| | I am a | | teacher | |
| (ii) | Is /Bu | tidsear | Calum | [DEFECTIVE COPULA CONSTRUCTION] |
| | Cop-Pres/was | teacher | Calum | |
| | Calum is a | | teacher | |

Crucially, there is no necessary limit on the duration of the event in Nom-Instr constructions. Instrumental predicates are perfectly fine in sentences of the type shown in (16):

- (16) Dima byl idiotom vsju zhizn'
 Dima was an idiot-instr his entire life
 Dima was an idiot his entire life

There is nothing in principle preventing the event from holding over an arbitrarily long period of time. However, in constructions that involve identity, which is permanent by definition, the use of instrumental case is decidedly odd. Nominative case on the predicate is needed to get the identity interpretation in (17a). In contrast, (17b) means that Dima was *pretending* to be Misha (cf Pereltsvaig 2001, 2007 for further discussion of similar examples):

- | | |
|---|---|
| (17)a. Dima byl Misha
Dima was Misha
Dima was Misha | b. Dima byl Mishej
Dima was Misha-instr
Dima pretended to be Misha (??/#Dima was Misha) |
|---|---|

In sum, PredEv introduces an event argument into the structure it appears in. As a result, the predicate does not hold of the individual per se, but only of the individual with respect to an eventuality, which may happen to be long or short lasting.

3.3 Eventiveness, aspect, and tense

3.3.1 Eventiveness and Aspect

Crucially, the argument e introduced by PredEv has to be assigned a spatio-temporal location. I propose that this is accomplished by Asp (18). The e introduced by PredEv can be viewed as corresponding to inner aspect, also known as Aktionsart (Vendler 1957) or situation aspect, while Asp corresponds to outer or viewpoint aspect (cf Smith 1991/1997, Filip 1993, 1999, Travis 2000, Svenonius 2004a,b inter alia for discussion on inner vs. outer aspect).

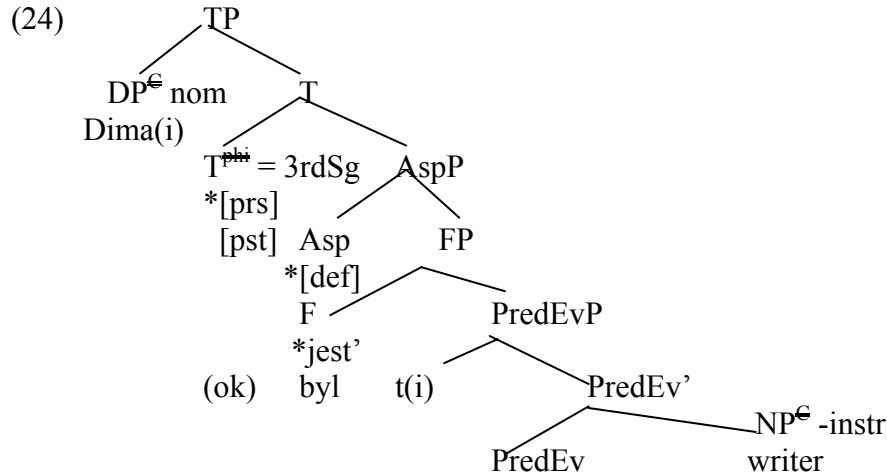
- (18) [AspP [Asp ...[PredEvP DP(Dima) [PredEv NP(writer-instr)]]]

The semantics of the Nom-Instr construction (1) is given in (19). A full tree structure for (1), augmented with a TP, is shown in (24) in Section 3.3.2.

In (19), Asp introduces existential closure over the event variable e , provides a run-time for e via the temporal trace function τ , and introduces a reference time interval t (cf Borik 2002). The reference time t may precede, follow, or overlap with the run-time of e . The nature of the relation between the t and the $\tau(e)$, (e.g. overlap, precedence, etc) is the viewpoint that Asp defines.

Why is a run-time required for an event? Rothstein (1999), developing an analogy between nominal and verbal domains, views events as countable or atomic entities and states as non-atomic, mass-like ones. Adopting her intuition that events are discrete, I propose that a run-time introduced by Asp serves to individuate the event. So, the presence of Asp makes it possible to

Adger and Ramchand (2003) propose that the particle ‘*nam*’ in SG introduces the eventuality variable otherwise missing in NP predicates and argue that the variable is bound by the null Pred head. The function of the particle ‘*nam*’, thus corresponds to that of our PredEv.



Importantly, as we can see from the structure in (24), ‘be’ does not occupy PredEv. It is merged higher into a head I call ‘F’ in part following Pereltsvaig (2007:13) who treats F as the position of ‘be’ in Nom-Nom constructions.¹⁰ ‘Be’ may then raise as high as Asp, but not higher (cf Bailyn 1995, Sekerina 1997 for arguments that there is no v-to-T raising in Russian¹¹). Moreover, whether ‘be’ raises to Asp or combines with Asp at PF via PF-merger (Bobaljik 2002) is not crucial for the purposes of the current discussion. The sole purpose of ‘be’ is to support the features or tense or aspect, if the latter are present.

One may wonder why ‘be’ does not occupy PredEv. There are two reasons for it. First, if ‘be’ occupies PredEv, then something else must be said about the position of an overt predicator such as ‘za’ which can occur together with ‘be’. Specifically, to accommodate (25) we would have to either treat ‘za’ as heading some lower Pred, or find another location for it, which would not be desirable (cf Bailyn 2002).

- (25) Dima zdes’ byl za glavnogo
 Dima here was as main-acc
 Dima was the boss here

merged into the derivation with no features at all; so that whether it is spelled-out as past, present, or future depends solely on the features in T and Asp. If so, then merging ‘be’ into a derivation that involves present tense and non-default aspect features will result in a conflict between syntax and PF: there is no element in the paradigm of the verb ‘be’ in Russian (null or overt) that can match this bundle of features.

¹⁰ In Nom-Instr constructions, according to Pereltsvaig ‘be’ originates in a lexical head ‘v’ and raises to F (Pereltsvaig 2007:74). My approach to Nom-Nom and Nom-Instr constructions does not necessitate treating ‘be’ as originating in different positions, so there is no need to complicate the structure with different positions of ‘be’. ‘F’ is the analogue of the light v, but I use a different label to avoid confusion with the verbal agent-introducing v.

¹¹ According to Bailyn (1995), the verb in Russian does move, but only up to some functional category such as the light v (short-movement). As seen from the Pollockian adverb placement tests, ‘be’ cannot occupy T (Bailyn 1995):

- | | | |
|-----|----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| (i) | a. Dima chasto b’jet Mishu | b. #/* Dima b’jet chasto Mishu |
| | Dima often hits Misha-acc | Dima hits often Misha-acc |
| | Dima often hits Misha | Dima often hits Misha |

Under the current account, the highest position to which the verb moves can be Asp. Thank you to an anonymous reviewer for bringing this point to my attention.

Second, if ‘be’ were to head a PredEvP, we would expect it to appear in argument small clauses in order to theta-mark the embedded subject, but it never does in Russian (cf 4).¹² I thus conclude that ‘be’ always starts out higher than Pred(Ev), in F (Cf B&R 1991: 123) and never theta-marks the subject.

3.4 Instrumental case on predicates in the present tense?

In this section I turn to the exceptional constructions in (26) that allow instrumental predicates in the present tense (cf Bailyn and Rubin 1991, Nichols 1981: 125):

- (26) a. Dima zdes’ / tam studentom b. Dima u nas / v etom sele učitelem
 Dima here / there student-instr Dima at our/ in this town teacher-instr
 Dima is here as a student At our place / in this town Dima is a teacher

Capitalizing on the fact that the argument *e* is *spatio-temporal*, I propose that *e* can be anchored to a specific spatial location by a locative adverbial such as ‘here’ or by a modifier such as ‘at our place’ when it is not temporally located by Asp. Crucially, ‘here’ or ‘u nas’ are the only types of modifiers that can occur with instrumental predicates in the present tense main clauses. It is not possible to use such adverbs of quantification as ‘always’, ‘usually’, ‘often’, etc instead. Moreover, if the locative adverbial does not provide a narrow enough location, the resulting construction will be ungrammatical:

- (27)??/ *Dima v Amerike taxistom-om
 Dima in America taxi driver-instr
 Dima is a taxi-driver in America

(27) should be in principle conceivable in a context where Dima was a doctor in Russia, but in America he is a taxi-driver. However, it is highly odd, if not impossible.¹³

Furthermore, the predicate in (26) must denote an occupation or ‘capacity’ (Nichols 1981:125). For example, replacing “teacher”/ “student” with “friend” in (26) yields an ungrammatical construction (28) even in the presence of a narrow locative adverbial:

- (28) */?/?Dima u nas / zdes’(nashim) drugom
 Dima to us / here (our) friend-instr
 Dima is as our friend here

(28) can only have a bizarre interpretation that Dima is in the *capacity* of a friend here. The construction becomes grammatical with the addition of the verb ‘stal’ = ‘became’, which is

¹² In English ‘be’ does appear in constructions analogous to the Russian (4), e.g. (i) *I consider John to be a fool*. This may be due to the fact that Russian, unlike English, allows only small clauses (PredPs) or full CPs (*Ja schitaju čto Dima byl durak = I believe / consider that Dima was a fool-nom*) as complements of *consider*. That is, *consider* cannot take a TP complement in Russian, but can in English. If so, then the ‘be’ in (i) may also start out higher than Pred, just as it does in Russian. I will set the nature of this variation aside here.

¹³ I do not have an explanation here as to why the spatio-temporal argument *e* needs to be so narrowly located. The adverbial has to be crucially deictic or ‘pronominal’: *here, there, at our place*, etc. (Thank you to S. Malamud for pointing this out). While enormously interesting, this restriction is beyond the scope of the current discussion.

clearly eventive, or with the addition of ‘byl’ = ‘was’. Thus, the possibility of instrumental predicates in the present tense crucially depends on (a) the presence of a narrow locative modifier that locates the event with respect to the speech context and (b) on the predicate being related to a profession/occupation or status.

Interestingly, predicates of capacity or occupation unlike predicates such as “friend” shift more easily from denoting permanent characteristics of individuals to denoting those that are temporary/ accidental. In this respect, the sentences in (26) are parallel to the ‘interruptible’ i-level predicates in (29) discussed in Fernald (2000). In (29) an i-level property that usually holds permanently becomes ‘intermittent’ in the presence of an adverb of quantification.

- (29) a. When Marti is an American, he always approves capitalism (Fernald 2000: p.81).
 b. When Sam is a California resident, he is usually optimistic

Intuitively, interruptible i-level predicates involve taking something that is a state or a permanent property and introducing a temporal boundary to it via ‘when’, which allows the predicate to hold for some time and cease for other times. Giving spatio-temporal boundaries to predicates which are by nature ‘temporally persistent’ (Fernald 2000:80) makes them event-like. Similarly, locative adverbials introduce a boundary for the predicate ‘student’/ ‘teacher’ in (26) and thus allow it to be eventive. The modifier ‘here’ does the same job as Asp does – it provides a location for the event, which is analogous to a run-time. However, some predicates may resist such an interruption (cf28), resulting in infelicity.

A situation which further highlights the similarity between these examples is one where Dima is a teacher ‘here’ and not a teacher when he is somewhere else. Specifically, in (26b) there is no commitment to whether Dima has the (i-level) property of being a teacher when he is not here (he may or may not be a teacher somewhere else). Similarly, while Sam is optimistic when he is in California, when he is not in California, he may or may not be optimistic. A property generally conceived of as permanent, thus can be interruptible in (26) and (29).¹⁴ (Thank you to H. Filip for bringing this point to my attention).

Bailyn and Rubin (1991) present a very different explanation of (26) and attribute the possibility of instrumental case in (26) to secondary predication. They claim that the adverbial ‘here’ acts as a primary predicate, while ‘student’/ ‘teacher’ acts as a secondary predicate. However, though the authors do note that the adverbial ‘here’ is not optional in (26a) (B&R 1991: 121, ft-note 10), they do not predict that the adverbial must be necessarily a narrowly locative one. All that is needed on their view is to have *some* primary predicate to enable secondary predication. The primary predicate just happens to be ‘here’/ ‘u nas’ in (26). The current proposal, on the other hand, predicts that only certain types of adverbials -- the narrow locative ones -- will allow instrumental case. Thus, I conclude that the appearance of instrumental case on certain predicates in the present tense does not threaten the current account because the modifier ‘here’ does the job of spatially locating the event introduced by PredEv.

¹⁴ Present tense Nom-Instr constructions also include those in (ia,b) (Nichols 1981:207). However, these may be of a different origin as they seem to be non-compositional and highly idiomatic.

(i)a. Vsemu vinoj – p’janstvo b. Druzhiba druzhboj, a sluzhba sluzhboj
 All-instr fault-instr – drunkenness Friendship friendship-instr, but duty duty-instr
 Drunkenness is the root of all problems Friendship is friendship, but duty is duty!

It is not possible to replace ‘fault’ with a similar word such as ‘problem’ in (29a) (e.g. */?? Vsemu problemoj – p’janstvo). I set these aside here.

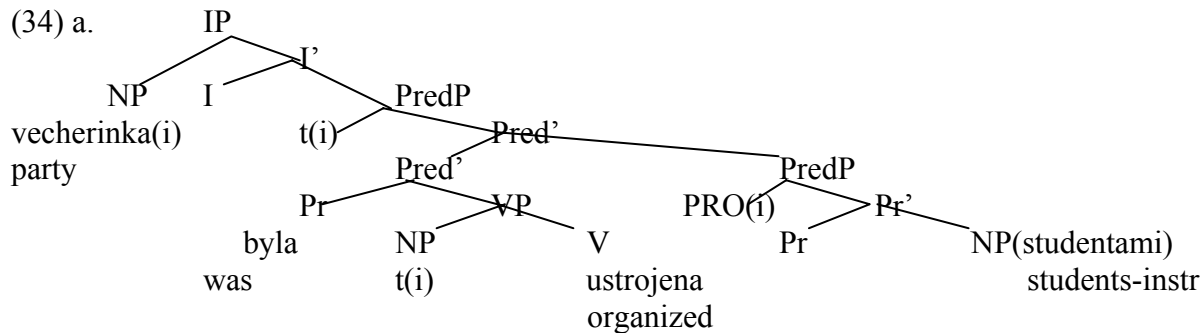
3.5 On unifying predicate instrumental

In this section I would like to justify the claim that while some unification of predicate instrumental case is desirable, not all instances of it should be unified. This view contrasts with that in Bailyn and Rubin (1991) who attempt to unify predicate instrumental in copular constructions with other instances of instrumental case as in (30,31) and (32a,b) by proposing structures in (33) and (34) respectively. (Below I give the linearized versions of their tree diagrams with some details omitted for the sake of brevity).

- (30) Sasha pishet karandashom (31) Oni nazvali ego Petrom (Bailyn and Rubin 1991)
 Sasha writes pencil-instr They named him Peter-instr
 Sasha writes with a pencil They named him Peter

- (32)a. Vecherinka byla ustrojena studentami b. On rabotajet vrachom
 Party was organized students-instr He works doctor-instr
 The party was organized by the students He works as a doctor

- (33)a. [IP NP(Sasha(i)) .. [I PredP [Pred(pishet) [PredP (PRO(i) [Pred NP(karandashom)]]]]]]
 b. [IP NP(Oni(i)) I [PredP t(i) [Pred(nazvali) [VP NP(ego(j) [V PredP [PRO(i) Pred [NP(Petrom)]]]]]]]]



- b. [IP NP(On (i)) [I [PredP t(i) [Pred(rabotajet) [VP [V PredP [PRO(i) Pred [NP(vrachom)]]]]]]]]

The structures in (33a) and (34a), for example, make certain counter-intuitive predictions. By treating instrumental case on real instruments such as ‘karandashom’ = ‘pencil-instr’ ‘with a pencil’ as an instance of secondary predication it is predicted that ‘Sasha’ should have the property of being a ‘pencil’. This is so because ‘pencil’ is predicated of PRO which, in turn, is co-indexed with ‘Sasha’, much like ‘doctor’ is predicated of the subject ‘he’ in (34b). This kind of predication makes sense in (34b) because ‘he’ indeed has the property of being a doctor, but not in (33a) since Sasha does not have the property of being a pencil. Similarly, intuitively, ‘party’ does not have the property of being ‘students’, but this is what happens in (34a). These results are semantically odd, despite the initial appeal of unifying all instances of instrumental case. That said, the current proposal can capture the link between instrumental case in copular constructions with that on the predicate in (35a) as in (35b). I will return to instrumental secondary predicates in detail in Section 6.

- (35)a. Dima kazhetsja durakom
 Dima seems fool-instr
 Dima seems to be a fool

as holding inherently of the individual, in the past tense the construction means that the person is no longer alive. The same is argued in Adger and Ramchand (2003:10) for defective copula constructions in Scottish Gaelic.^{15 16}

4.2 The source of nominative case in Nom-Nom constructions

Now we come to the question of how exactly *nominative* case is licensed on the predicate in the Nom-Nom construction. There are several possible approaches to this issue. One is to argue along the lines of Matushansky (2000) in favor of Case Agreement. A problem with the Case Agreement approach, however, is that it cannot easily block case identity in argument small clauses (40) nor between the subject and the object in a transitive clause (41):

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>(40) Misha schitaejt Dim-u * idiot-a
 Misha considers Dima-acc idiot-acc
 Misha considers Dima an idiot</p> | <p>(41) Misha vidit *Dima / Dim-u
 Misha sees Dima-nom/ Dima-acc
 Misha sees Dima</p> |
|--|---|

Another possibility is that nominative case on the predicate appears via some version of Multiple Agree (Bailyn and Citko 1999; Citko 1999; Bailyn 2001, 2002, Hiraiwa 2001). Hiraiwa (2001) argues that the probe can check case on two goals in parallel, provided that both of them are accessible to the probe (Hiraiwa 2001: p. 4). Importantly, unlike case agreement, Multiple Agree can be blocked by the *v* in (41) because the *v* marks a phase, making the object inaccessible to T. I will explain what blocks Multiple Agree in argument small clauses (40) in Section 5.

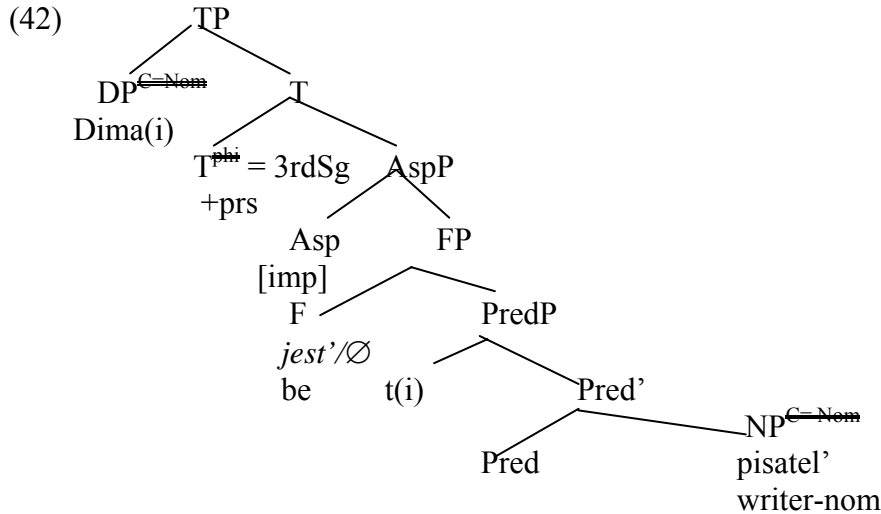
To implement the operation of nominative case checking under Multiple Agree, I combine some aspects of Hiraiwa's proposal with a recent proposal in Pesetsky and Torrego (2001). Pesetsky and Torrego (2001) argue that the probe is not de-activated immediately after it performs a case deletion, but only at the spell-out of the CP. It can thus perform several case-deletions on accessible goals. In (42), the T first agrees with the subject of the predicate nominal construction. The T's phi-features are valued and marked for deletion, but are not erased until the CP is built. In principle, before the C is merged, the phi-features on T can perform another case deletion on an accessible goal, provided that the initial value of the phi-features on T is not changed. The predicate NP in (42) is just the right candidate for the job:

¹⁵ The equative / identity interpretation of Nom-Nom constructions is more rare than the predicative one. The identity interpretation appears in examples such as:

- | | | |
|--|---------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <p>(i) Dima byl / i
 Dima was/ emph
 Dima was/ IS(focused) Misha</p> | <p>jest'
 be-pres</p> | <p>Misha
 Misha-nom</p> |
|--|---------------------------|-----------------------------|

I assume that the denotation of Pred in the equative construction is distinct from that in predicative construction (cf Adger and Ramchand 2003). In (i) Pred denotes the identity function: $\lambda x \lambda y [x=y]$. The predicate would have to be type-shifted via an iota operator into type $\langle e \rangle$ (Partee 1987). As a result, the post-copular NP is always definite in equative constructions. This interpretation is quite marked for copular sentences without a pronominal element 'eto', which are addressed in Section 7.4 Therefore, I will focus primarily on the predicative reading here. See Heycock (1994), Heycock and Kroch (1999), Adger and Ramchand (2003), also Pereltsvaig (2007) inter alia for further discussion on predicative vs. equative copular constructions.

¹⁶ Importantly, the past tense of 'be', *byl*, used in the Nom-Instr construction (1) is also imperfective, but it is not default. That is, while the default aspect in Russian is the imperfective, the imperfective aspect is not always default.



Case ‘agreement’ in Nom-Nom constructions is thus a result of Multiple Agree.

4.3 Aspect and Case – revisited

Interestingly, when *byt'* is augmented by an aspectual prefix or suffix, the case of the predicate cannot be nominative, as noted in Matushansky (2000) (43). This is the converse of the situation we observe with *jest'* and instrumental predicates.

- (43)a. Dima pobyl / pro-był doctor-om/ *doctor paru let
 Dima perf-was /perf-was doctor-instr / doctor-nom several years
 Dime was a doctor for several years
- b. Dima byval sekretarem /* sekretar'
 Dima was-imp secretary-instr / secretary-nom
 Dima was a secretary from time to time

Matushansky (2000) attributes this to the fact that when aspect is present, it will necessarily license instrumental case on the predicate. As argued in Section 2, this generalization is not quite accurate: while ‘be’ requires instrumental case on the predicate in the presence of an overt aspectual prefix, other verbs inflected with the same aspectual prefixes do not (44):

- (44) Dima pro-pil vsju zarplat-u /*vsej zarplat-oj
 Dima perf-drink all salary-acc / all-instr salary-instr
 Dima spent the entire salary on alcohol

Under the current account, the facts in (43) can be explained as follows. When Asp is overtly realized by a prefix or a suffix, it is no longer default, and hence introduces a run-time for *e*. Crucially, the temporal trace function $\tau(e)$ is undefined in the absence of *e*. As a result, any structure containing an overt aspectual marker and no event argument is ungrammatical.¹⁷ PredEv, not Pred, must be used in (43).

¹⁷ Returning to AP predicates for a moment, since APs have a state argument, there is a question of what happens to the run-time of the state argument when Asp is default, as in the present tense. To that end, I propose that states, like properties of individuals denoted by NPs, and unlike events, need not be given an explicit run-time. The time during which a state holds may be inferred. As stated in Section 3.3, this may be due to the fact that states denoted by APs are mass-like entities, unlike events, and need not be individuated. See Rothstein (1999) for extensive discussion.

4.4 The ban on A' extraction from Nom-Nom constructions

The proposed structures for the Nom-Instr and Nom-Nom constructions explain why A' extraction such as wh-movement and scrambling is impossible from Nom-Nom clauses, but allowed from Nom-Instrumental ones (46-47) (Bailyn and Rubin 1991; Matushansky 2000; Citko 2006):

- (46)a. Misha znajet chto Dima byl doktorom
 Misha knows that Dima was doctor-instr
 Misha knows that Dima was a doctor
- b. %/? Kem/ chem(i) Misha znajet chto Dima byl t(i)?
 Who-instr/ what-instr(i) Misha knows that Dima was t(i)?
 Who does Misha knows that Dima was?
- (47)a Misha znajet chto Dima byl doktor
 Misha knows that Dima was doctor-nom
 Misha knows that Dima was a doctor
- b.* Kto/ chto(i) Misha znajet chto Dima byl t(i)?
 Who-nom/ what-nom(i) Misha knows that Dima was t(i)?
 Who does Misha knows that Dima was?

As Bailyn and Rubin (1991) note, some speakers do not allow this kind of extraction at all, but even these speakers find that (46b) is significantly better than (47b). Under our assumptions, the extraction facts can be explained by treating the instrumental-licensing PredEv as having an EPP feature. Moving to the spec of PredEv provides the needed 'escape hatch' for the predicate NP and allows it to be extracted from the embedded clause. (This is similar to the argument made in Matushansky (2000) and Citko (2006)). In contrast, the non-eventive Pred involves no EPP feature and does not allow the NP to be moved from under a Pred-head. (48) illustrates this:

(48)a. [CP **kem(k)** D.znajet [CP chto [TP Misha(i) [T byl **t(k)**] [PredEvP t(i) [PredEv **t(k)**]]]]

b. [... [CP chto [TP Misha(i) [T byl [PredP t(i) [Pred **doctor(k)**]]]]

The predicate is too deeply embedded to be wh-moved without going through intermediate landing sites. In (48a) such a site is available – the spec of PredEvP. In contrast, in (48b), there is no intermediate landing site for the nominative predicate. Hence, extraction is not possible.¹⁸

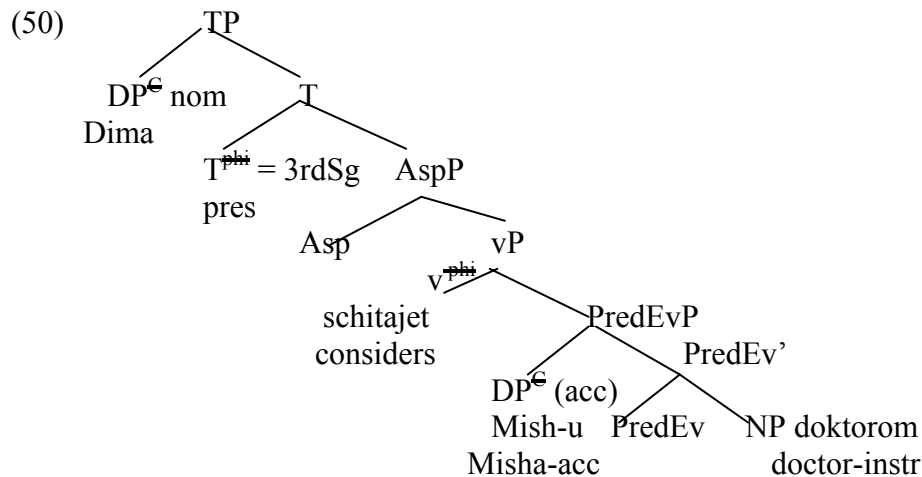
5. Argument Small Clauses

In this section I turn to the question why in argument small clauses with null predicators such as (49) the predicate must receive instrumental case, regardless of the matrix verb's tense.

¹⁸ See Bailyn and Rubin (1991) for a different explanation of the extraction facts.

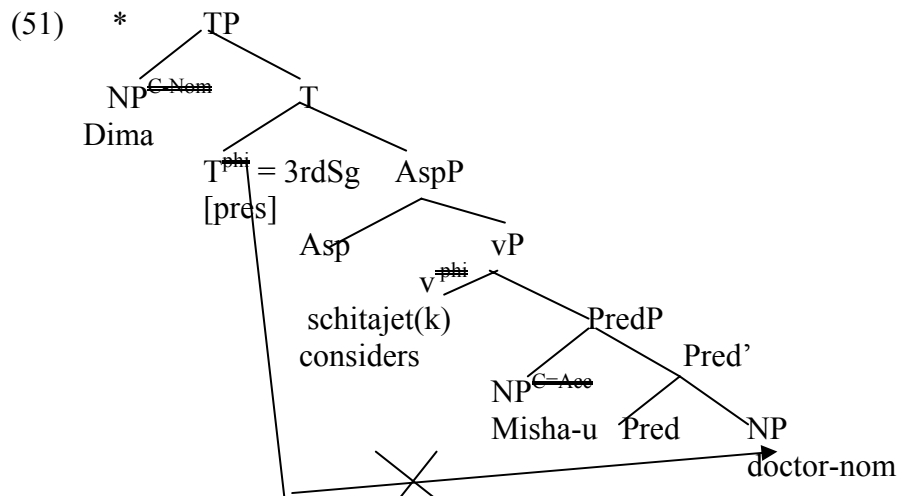
- (49) Dima schitajet Mish-u doktor-om / * doktor / * dotor-a
 Dima considers Misha-acc doctor-instr doctor-nom / doctor-acc
 Dima considers Misha a doctor

We ask: why is instrumental case possible in (49)? Why is nominative or accusative impossible there? The answer to the first question falls out quite naturally from the current proposal: in small clauses, the run-time for the argument introduced by PredEv is provided by the aspect of the matrix verb (50), making PredEv possible.



Since the run-time of e is given by the matrix Asp, it is the same as the run-time of ‘consider’, which corresponds to native speakers’ intuitions.

Let us now see why nominative and accusative predicates are disallowed in argument small clauses. Recall that in Nom-Nom constructions the nominative case on the predicate appears as a result of Multiple Agree. However, Multiple Agree is blocked by the phase-marking head v in ‘consider’ (51).



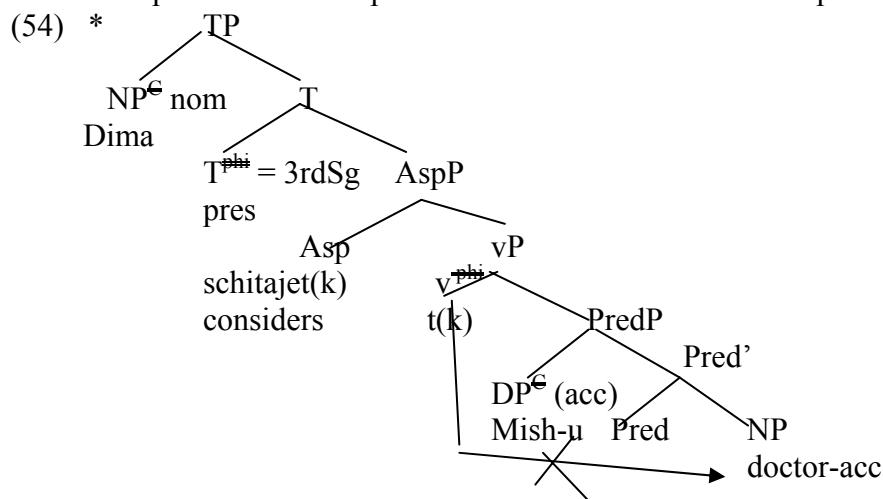
Crucially, the v in ‘consider’ cannot check accusative case on the small clause predicate via Multiple Agree either. Recall that the T can enter in Multiple Agree with two goals because its phi-features, though valued, are not erased until the spell-out of the phase (CP) (Pesetsky and

Torrego 2001). Now, the *v*, unlike the *T*, is a phase-marking head (Chomsky 2001). Once the *v* values its phi-features via agreeing with the small clause subject, the phi-features are immediately erased, rendering the *v* incapable of performing another deletion operation.

Importantly, the *v* can delete several case features in single case-checking operation if all of the case features are contained within one complex DP/ NP. That is, once a relation between the probe *v* and a goal *G* is established, the *v* can delete several active case features within *G* (in parallel, a la Hiraiwa 2001), unless there is some goal-internal probe to check these features. This kind of Multiple Agree is independently needed in order to ensure successful case checking on complex DPs, conjoined DPs (52), or on DPs with AP modifiers (53).¹⁹

- (52) Ja znaju doktor-a Dim-u / Dimu i Mishu (53) Dima videl tolstuju koshku
 I know doctor-acc Dima-acc Dima-acc and Misha-acc Dima saw fat-acc cat-acc
 I know Doctor Dima / Dima and Misha Dima saw a fat cat

With this in mind, let us return to argument small clauses. In (54), once Agree between the *v* and the DP(Misha) is established, the *v*'s phi-features are valued and erased. It cannot delete case on the predicate 'doctor' because 'doctor' is not a part of the same DP as 'Misha'. Hence, accusative predicates are impossible in small clauses with null predicators.



Since neither the matrix *v* nor the matrix *T* can license case on the small clause predicate, PredEv (or some other case-licenser) *must* be present. In section 6.2, I turn to adjunct small clauses and show why they do allow sameness of case between the object / subject and the predicate.

6. Adjunct Small Clauses

6.1 Instrumental adjunct small clauses

Instrumental case on the secondary predicate implies that the subject / object has undergone a change with respect to the property denoted by the secondary predicate (Filip 2001, Nichols 1981: 156). I repeat the relevant data in (55):

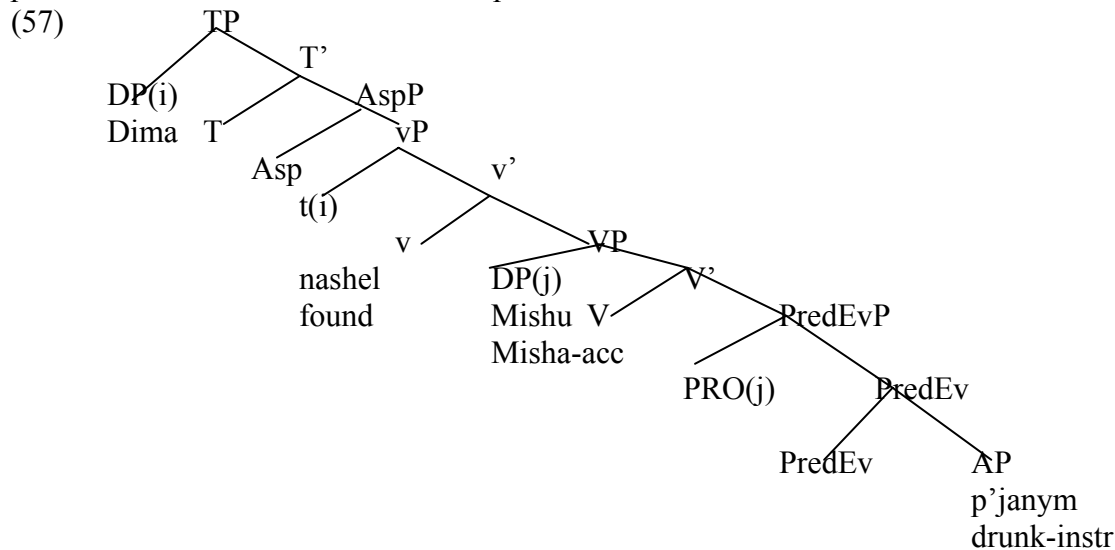
¹⁹ The current proposal uses the same Multiple Agree mechanism for simplex and complex DP instead of positing an extra mechanism of case spreading or percolation to account for case licensing on complex or coordinated DPs. See Munn (1993) for further discussion on the syntax of coordinate structures.

- (55) a. Dima vernulsja golym
 Dima returned naked-instr
 Dima returned naked
- b. Misha nashel Dimu pjanym
 Misha found Dima-acc drunk-instr
 Misha found Dima drunk

Secondary instrumental NP predicates are possible as well:

- (56) Dima vernulsja iz Evropy vrachem
 Dima returned from Europe doctor-instr
 Dima returned from Europe a doctor

(55a) strongly implies that Dima was not naked when he left and naked when he returned²⁰ (Nichols 1981, Filip 2001, Richardson 2001, 2003, inter alia). Extending the proposal in Section 3 for Nom-Instrumental copular constructions to adjunct small clauses such as (55) and (56), I argue that the instrumental case there is also licensed by PredEv. The presence of *e* introduced by PredEv in (55) and (56) is responsible for the intuition that instrumental secondary predicates involve a change with respect to the property in question. That is, constructions with instrumental depictives are bi-eventive. (See Richardson 2001 for discussion of bi-eventiveness from a slightly different angle). The structure for (55b) is in (57). The aspect of the main verb provides existential closure and a temporal location for *e*:²¹



The structure for (56) would differ from the one above only in that it would involve an NP in the complement of PredEv as opposed to an AP.

6.2 Sameness of case in adjunct small clauses

Adjunct small clauses repeated in (58), unlike argument small clauses discussed in Section 5, can show sameness of case between the predicate and the subject/object. The question is why?

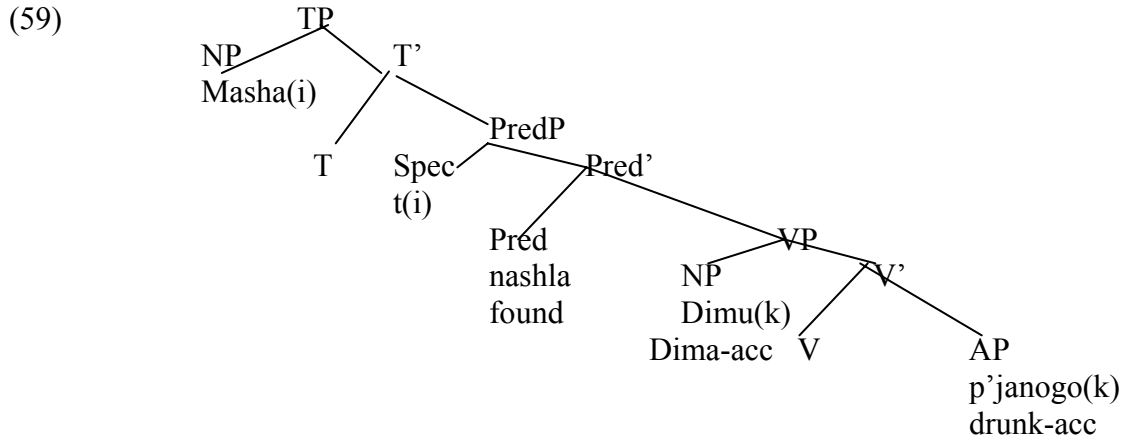
- (58) a. Dima prishel p'janyj (subject control)

²⁰ Since secondary predication is not the main topic of this paper, I will focus on depictive secondary predicates. For discussion of secondary predicates used as situation anchors and restrictors see Filip (2001).

²¹ For extensive discussion of the semantics of secondary predication constructions see Filip (2001), Hinterhoetzl (2001), and Richardson (2001, 2003), inter alia.

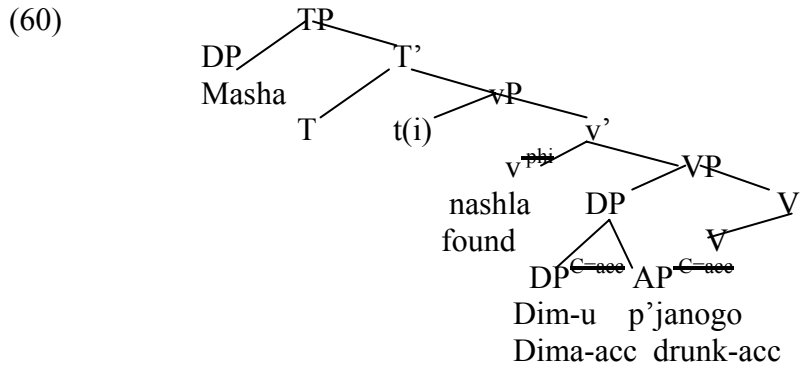
Dima arrived	drunk-nom		
Dima arrived drunk			
b. Masha nashla	Dimu	p'janogo	(object control)
Masha found	Dima-acc	drunk-acc	
Masha found	Dima drunk		

Bailyn (2001) argues that same-case APs are appositive adjuncts that are syntactic complements of the VP. The structure for (58b) Bailyn (2001) offers is given in (59).



In (59) the appositive adjunct raises at LF to the second spec of vP for accusative case (also Bailyn and Citko 1999).

Below I depart from Bailyn's specific treatment of appositive adjuncts and argue that they involve a structure in which the appositive modifier AP adjoins to the subject or object. The motivation for this departure will become clear shortly. In (60) the v checks case on the complex DP that contains the object and the appositive adjunct 'drunk',²² resulting in sameness of case.

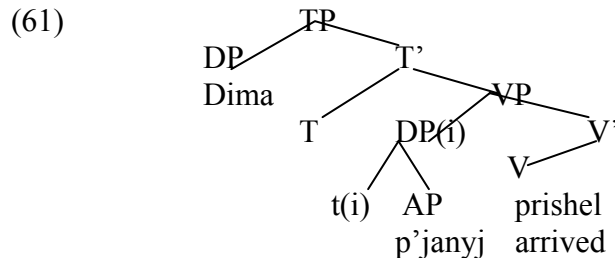


²² An AP adjoined to the DP is analogous to an AdvP adjoined to the VP: it does not change the category of the phrase. The theory of merge that I am assuming here views merge as costless (cf Chomsky 1995). Merging a phrase by adjunction is allowed unless it is barred as a Theta-Criterion violation, for example, for two DPs in the subject position, e.g. **John Bill came in*. (cf Pereltsvaig (2001, 2007)). Importantly, since the syntax of adjunction is not the main topic of this paper, the structure I propose lacks the syntactic finesse of the recent work dealing with the placement of adjectives in the DP (Pereltsvaig 2006) or adverbial adjuncts in the VP (cf Kayne 1994, Cinque 1999 and subsequent work). However, the proposal is compatible with a view that the appositive AP is sitting in a spec of some xP that hosts modifiers inside the DP, something along the lines of (i):

(i) [[DP D [xP AP(drunk) [x NP (Dima)]]].

I am also abstracting away from questions of left vs. right adjunction for reasons of space.

The *v* in (60) can check case on the DP and the appositive AP because it enters into Agree with only one goal – the complex DP. Agreeing with a DP that contains several case-bearing elements constitutes a single instance of Agree (cf Section 5). Similarly, in (58a) the AP is base-generated as an adjunct to the subject DP. The T checks case on both of them and attracts the DP to spec TP to check the EPP, while the AP remains low (61):



The absence of an additional event introduced by PredEv in (61) is responsible for the fact that same-case constructions do not entail that the controlling argument has undergone a change with respect to the property denoted by the secondary predicate. That is, in (61) there is only one event (cf Nichols 1981, Filip 2001).

Turning to the reasons for my departure from Bailyn’s account of same case adjunct small clauses, these include a theory-internal one and an empirical one. On the theoretical side, given what was said in Section 4 and 5 concerning Multiple Agree by the *v*, if the appositive modifier were a complement of the VP in (60), the *v* could not check its case. Recall, the *v* can delete several case features only within one goal. On the empirical side, the view of appositive adjuncts advocated here explains why same-case appositives can be APs, but not NP/DPs (62). A nominal, unlike an adjective cannot be adjoined to a DP for theta-theoretic reasons: replacing the AP with the semantically similar DP results in there being two DPs and only one theta-assigner.

(62) Dima vernulsja *kaleka / kalekoj / izurodyvannyj / izurodyvannym
 Dima returned cripple-nom/ cripple-instr / disfigured-nom/ disfigured-instr
 Dima returned from the trip a cripple

NP secondary predicates are possible if they appear as complements of PredEv (cf 57) because an instrumental predicate NP is no longer a ‘dangling’ theta-less nominal. Whether we assume that all nominals need theta-roles (cf Baker 2003) or whether only arguments do, a structure where an NP is embedded under PredEv or V is not problematic. Either it does not need a theta-role because it is a predicate, or it does need a theta-role and gets one from PredEv. Crucially, an NP/DP generated as a DP-adjoined appositive modifier is not a predicate and hence does need a theta-role, but finds no way to get it in (62).^{23 24} Nominal same case secondary predicates are

²³ Importantly, topicalized DPs as in (ib), pronounced with a marked intonation break, do not violate the Theta-Criterion because the topic is co-indexed with the argument pronoun. This is quite different than just having a dangling DP as in (ia). In (ia), the DP is theta-less, while in (ib) it is related to a theta-bearing pronoun.

(i)a. ?/* This mountain, the trees are beautiful b. This mountain, the trees on it are beautiful (Baker 2003:155)

As Baker (2003) shows dangling nominals, unlike Topics, are disallowed even in such non-configurational languages as Mohawk.

Similarly, DPs of the type: “John, the idiot” are ok because they satisfy the Theta Criterion via theta-binding (cf Higginbotham 1985, Pereltsvaig 2001, 2007). Finally, the English sentences of the type “John returned a hero”

prohibited even in languages such as Serbo-Croatian that disallow instrumental predicates in adjunct small clauses. To express the meaning of (62) an overt predicator such as ‘as’ would have to be used to introduce an NP predicate (Progovac, pc). The difference between NPs/DPs and APs in small clause adjuncts is unexpected under Bailyn’s (2001) proposal where appositives are treated as complements of the verb. In (59) the appositive modifier is not dangling in an adjoined position, and hence a DP should be possible just as an AP is. In contrast, treating appositive modifiers as adjuncts to the DP explains the restrictions on DP/NP modifiers by appealing to the Theta-Criterion.^{25 26 27}

In sum, I have proposed that instrumental secondary predicates, much like instrumental primary ones involve an event introducing PredEv. The presence of *e* is responsible for the sense of change that these constructions involve. For same-case secondary predicates, an adjunction structure was proposed where the appositive modifier adjoins to the subject or object. The T or v then checks case on the complex DP via Multiple Agree.

6.3 Why instrumental case is impossible on ‘semi’-predicates

would be analyzed as involving a null Pred, akin to PredEv in Russian, but which fails to license instrumental case in English.

²⁴ Pereltsvaig (2007:133) notes that preposing same case depictives is easier than preposing the instrumental ones, a fact which supports the adjunction view (also Nichols 1981:359).

²⁵ Pereltsvaig (2007) proposes that same case predicates in adjunct small clauses involve appositive modifiers with a D-layer, e.g. [[DP(Dima)] [DP(p’janyj)]] The two DPs then symmetrically merge (cf Pereltsvaig 2007: Ch 4), which resembles her structure for the Nom-Nom constructions. However, the proposal that the appositive is a DP, not an AP, also raises the question why other DPs cannot appear in same case adjunct small clauses. Though Pereltsvaig does allow symmetrical DP merge by modifying the Theta-Criterion (Pereltsvaig 2007: Ch3), she does not address the question why the AP cannot be replaced with a nearly-synonymous DP in (62).

²⁶ Filip (2001) proposes that nominal predicates are disallowed in constructions such as (62) because constructions such as these most naturally mean that something must have *happened* to the subject to make him acquire the property denoted by the secondary predicate (in this case becoming a cripple). The change undergone by the subject, in turn necessitates the use of instrumental case on the depictive. However, this still does not explain why a same-case AP predicate that is nearly synonymous to the NP can be used in this construction. For additional semantic arguments on why nominal predicates are unsuitable as same-case depictives see Hinterhoelzl (2001), Filip (2001).

²⁷ Bailyn (2001) points out that instrumental case is impossible on secondary predicates with ‘oblique’ controllers (Bailyn 2002:13), while same case predicates are allowed:

- (i)a. Dima(i) dal Mishe(k) den’gi ?pjanomu(k) / *pjanym(k)
 Dima(i) gave Misha(k) money drunk-dat(k) /*drunk-instr(k)
 Dima gave Misha money drunk (Misha is drunk)
- b. Dima(i) pozvonil Mishe(k) ?pechal’nomy / *pechal’nym(k)
 Dima(i) called Misha(k) sad-dat(k) / sad(k)
 Dima called Misha sad (Misha is sad)

He attributes the impossibility of instrumental predicates modifying dative arguments to the fact that oblique arguments are not high enough to control the PRO involved in secondary predication and hence are not compatible with instrumental predicates. Appositive adjuncts do not involve a PredP and consequently, there is no PRO that needs to be controlled (cf Richardson 2001 for a different explanation of these facts). The current account is fully compatible with Bailyn’s prediction since instrumental case is licensed by PredEv which involves a PRO in secondary predication. Same case predicates are adjoined to the DP and, hence, are ok with obliques.

The so called ‘semi-predicates’ ‘*odin*’ and ‘*sam*’, discussed extensively in Madariaga (2006), pose an interesting problem because they consistently resist instrumental case and require sameness of case (Comrie 1973, Franks 1990, Franks and Hornstein 1992, Bailyn 1995):

- (63)a. Ja poprosil Tarasa priti odnogo / *odnim (Madriaga 2006)
 I asked Taras-gen come one-gen/one-instr
 I asked Taras to come alone
- d. Taras tantsujet odin / sam / *odnim / *samim
 Taras dances one-nom/ alone-nom / one-instr/ alone-instr
 Taras dances alone

This is quite the opposite from what happens in all other predicates that tend to prefer instrumental case over sameness of case (Bailyn 2001, 2002). To address this problem Madariaga (2006) argues that predicative *odin* and *sam* are of a category Q – Quantifier -- which prevents them from being placed into the predicate position, and consequently from getting instrumental case from Pred. Instead, they must get case via case agreement.

Madariaga’s account is highly compatible with the current proposal: PredEv cannot select bare quantifiers as complements because an event argument cannot be added to a QP (cf Madriaga 2006: 8). Crucially, Madriaga independently argues that *odin* and *sam* are “non-transitional” and have “no event structure” (Madariaga 2006:21). Thus, under our assumptions, being QPs, these semi-predicates cannot get instrumental case from PredEv, but can appear adjoined to the DP. Similarly to appositive AP modifiers (cf 60), their case is checked via Multiple Agree with the v or the T. Moreover, as QPs and not DPs, *odin* and *sam* do not need a theta-role, which makes the adjunction possible. I refer the interested reader to Madariaga (2006) for further interesting discussion of these semi-predicates. (Thank you to an anonymous reviewer for directing my attention to this issue).

7. Overt predicators and case

7.1 Overt predicators: Bailyn (2002)

Bailyn (2002) proposes that ‘*za*’ and ‘*kak*’ in (64) are overt predicators, i.e. overt realizations of Pred (also see Nichols 1981: Ch6 for a different approach). He then argues that when Pred is filled with overt material, its instrumental case feature is ‘absorbed’. As a result, constructions with overt predicators show case agreement:

- (64)a. Misha derzhit Dimu **za** idiota /(***za**) idiot-om
 Misha holds Dima-acc as idiot-acc / as idiot-instr
 Misha holds Dima as an idiot
- b. Misha schitajet Dim-u **za** doktora / (***za**) doktorom
 Misha considers Dima-acc za doctor / za doctor-inst
 Misha considers Dima as a doctor
- (65)a. Dima byl **kak** idiot /**kak** *idiotom
 Dima was like idiot /like *idiot-instr
 Dima was like an idiot
- b. Dima tantseval **kak** p’janyi /**kak** *p’janym
 Dima danced like drunk /kak *drunk
 Dima danced like a drunk

To explain how ‘case absorption’ works in Minimalism, Bailyn (2002) offers two possible options. One, is to imagine that there is a case-licensing null Pred and an overt Pred, realized as ‘kak’ or ‘za’ that lacks a case feature. The second possibility, for which Bailyn (2002) opts, is to argue that both the null Pred and the overt Pred are merged into the derivation. In constructions involving overt predicators, “the Numeration contains both. *kak* is a Pred with a [+N] feature, which therefore checks the case feature of the zero-Pred as they combine in an initial Merge process... Case ‘absorption’, thus reduces to case checking at the beginning of the derivation” (Bailyn 2002: 16). This is what Bailyn (2002) calls ‘check-on-merge’.

While interesting, the second option is also potentially problematic as it involves merging together two theta-assigning heads into a structure that involves only one argument. If, however, the overt predicator is not a theta-assigning head, then it cannot be a predicator. Below I depart from Bailyn (2002) in two respects. First, I will argue that ‘za’ is a different Pred head that carries a different meaning than the null Pred and has an accusative case feature. Second, I will show that ‘za’ and ‘kak’ are more different than they seem to be. That said, I do agree with Bailyn (2002) that ‘kak’ has nominal [+ N] features, a property that will play an important role in my analysis.

7.2 About ‘za’...

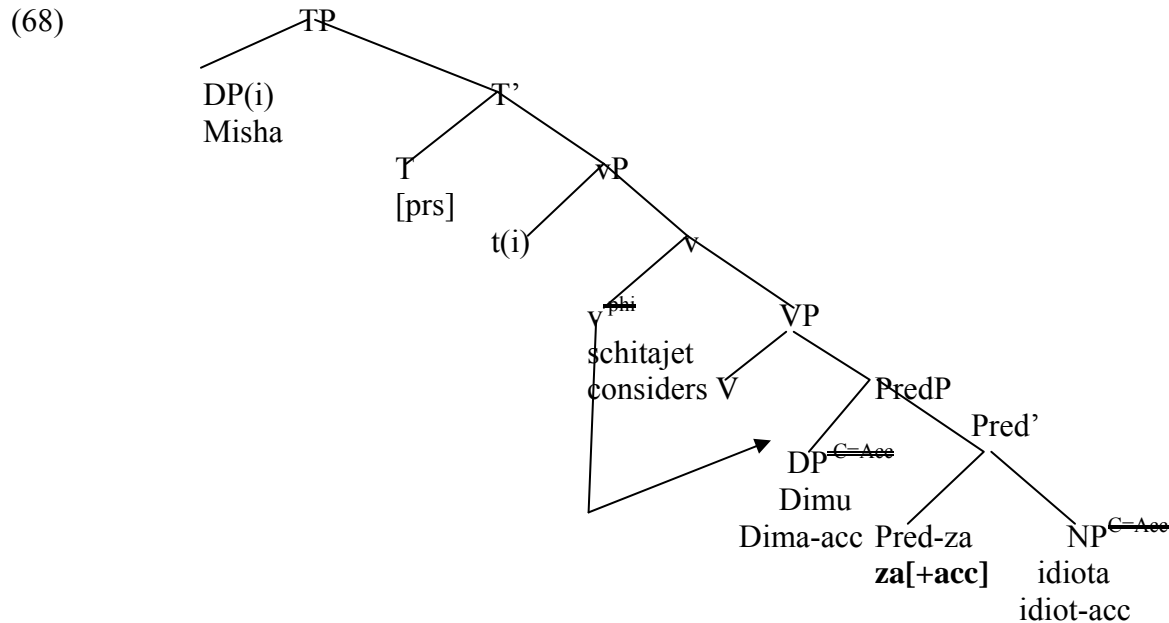
The support for treating ‘za’, the null Pred, and PredEv as different tokens of the same type – Pred - is that constructions involving these predicators are not synonymous. Constructions with ‘za’ are stylistically restricted and are used in contexts suggesting mistaken identity (Nichols 1981: 342) or sarcasm. For example, in (64b) the use of ‘za + NP’ strongly implies that Dima is not really a doctor. Instrumental or nominative predicates carry no such implication. Furthermore, some verbs that take PredP complements headed by ‘za’ are incompatible with the instrumental licensing PredEv:

- | | |
|---|--|
| (66)a. Ty menja derzhish za idiota! /*idiotom
You I-acc hold as idiot-acc/ idiot-instr
You take me for an idiot | b. Oni vydajut ego za artista /*artistom
They pass off him as actor/ actor-instr
They are trying to pass him off as an actor |
|---|--|

That ‘za’ has an accusative case feature that needs to be checked with the predicate is evidenced by the fact that the predicate embedded under ‘za’ always gets accusative case (but see ft-note 3):

- (67) Dima u nas za *durachok / durachka
Dima-nom to us as *fool-diminuat-nom / fool-dim.-acc
We have Dima for a dummy = we treat Dima like a dummy
#Dima is a dummy

According to Bailyn (2002), in a construction such as (67) the predicate should undergo LF raising to the spec of the closest case assigner, here the TP, since ‘za’ checks Pred’s case on merge. However, this is problematic because the case on the predicate in (67) is accusative, while there is no accusative-checking v present. Departing from Bailyn, I propose the structure (68) for (64a). In (68) ‘za’ licenses accusative case on the predicate, while the v licenses accusative on the object. I am omitting AspP in (68) for the sake of brevity.



Case agreement is, thus, once again epiphenomenal.

7.3 About ‘kak’...

Unlike ‘za’, ‘kak’ takes nominative or accusative complements depending on the case of the subject /object:

- (69) **Dima** odet kak **idiot!** / *idiota
Dima-nom dressed like **idiot-nom!** /*idiot-acc
 Dima is dressed like an idiot

- (70) Director nabljudal **Dimu(i)** kak **uchitel’ja(i)** /* uchitel’(i)
 Principal observed **Dima-acc** like **teacher-acc** /* teacher-nom
 The principal observed Dima as a teacher

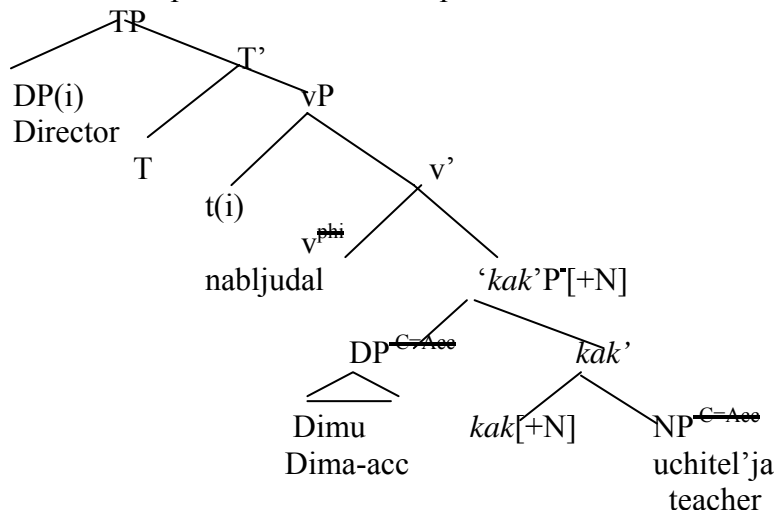
I view these case differences between ‘kak’ and ‘za’ as significant. Specifically, I propose that unlike ‘za’, ‘kak’ cannot check the predicate’s case. In addition, I follow Bailyn (2002) in treating ‘kak’ as having nominal features, possibly owing to its wh-roots. The presence of the [+N] feature on ‘kak’ makes the ‘kak’-phrase a suitable goal for the v / T. (71) illustrates this for (70).²⁸ (72) is a derivation for (69).

In (71), the v treats the ‘kak’-phrase as a goal, enters into Agree with it, and checks case on all the case-bearing XPs within the ‘kak’-phrase. Similarly, in (72), the T is able to check nominative case on the NP under ‘kak’. The [+N] feature on ‘kak’ make the entire phrase it

²⁸ The predicator ‘v’ = ‘into’ in Russian as in (i) *Ego vybrali v prezidenty* = Him selected IN presidents-Nom = He was elected President” presents an interesting challenge for the current account as well as for that in Bailyn (2002), as it requires a nominative predicate even with an accusative antecedent (Bailyn 2002). It also requires the predicate to be plural even if the subject is singular (cf i). In line with Bailyn (2002) I view ‘v’ as another overt predicator, but set the highly interesting issues surrounding it aside for future research. See Bailyn (2002) for discussion.

heads an accessible domain for case-checking. As a result, we see case identity between the subject/ object and the complement in the ‘kak’-phrase.

(71)



(72) [TP Dima(i)^{-C=Nom} [T^{-phi} t(i) [vP v(odet) [[kakP PRO (i) [kak NP(idiot^{-C=Nom})]]]]]]

Another conceivable approach to the odd behavior of ‘kak’-phrases is to treat ‘kak’ as having the syntax of conjunctions. Like ‘kak’-phrases, conjunctions also allow the probe to check case on the XP in the complement and the spec position. In fact, Nichols (1981: 350-352) does treat ‘kak’ as a rather unique conjunction, with a similar meaning to other higher-register conjunctions such as ‘*tochno*’, ‘*slovnno*’, and ‘*budto*’ = ‘as if’. Similarly, other traditional Russian grammars treat ‘kak’ as ‘*sojuz*’- a category that unifies complementizers and conjunctions (Svedova 1980, noted in Bailyn 2002). That said, I adopt Bailyn’s approach to ‘kak’ because his view captures the intuitive semantics of ‘kak’-phrases as predication structures. Still, the category of ‘kak’ is difficult to pinpoint. In addition to being treated as a Pred and a conjunction it has been treated as a preposition (Rappoport 1986), a complementizer, and a wh-word (Citko 2000). I refer the reader to Bailyn (2002) for further discussion of the nature of ‘kak’.

7.4 Some remarks on ‘eto’

One may wonder why the pronominal copula ‘eto’ was not mentioned in the previous section on overt predicators, given that it too disallows instrumental predicates. However, as Markman (in press) shows, ‘eto’ cannot appear as low as Pred. Below I summarize the major points of her proposal concerning the syntax of the Pronominal Copula Construction (PCC), i.e. those constructions that involve ‘eto’.

At first, it may seem that the prohibition on instrumental predicates²⁹ in the PCC (73) is similar to that exhibited by constructions with overt predicators:

(73) a. Dima eto nash doktor / *nashim doctor-om

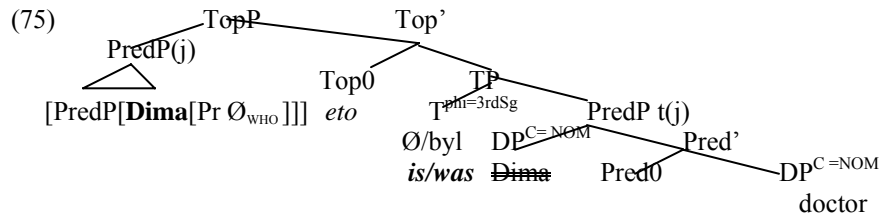
²⁹ In addition to disallowing instrumental NP predicates, copular constructions with ‘eto’ prohibit agreeing AP predicates and PP predicates. I refer the reader to Markman (in press) for an account. Thank you to an anonymous reviewer for bringing up the importance of the discussion on ‘eto’ to my attention.

- Dima this our doctor-nom our-instr doctor-instr
 Dima is our doctor
 b. Denis eto moy brat / *moim bratom
 Denis this my brother-nom / *my-instr brother-instr
 Denis is my brother

However, at a closer look, things are more complex. Unlike ‘za’ or ‘kak’s ‘eto’ never appears in any argument or adjunct small clauses (74a,b). A full CP must be used if ‘eto’ is present:

- (74) a. *Dima schitajet Denisa eto moy brat
 Dima considers Denis this my brother
 Dima considers Denis to be my brother
 b. *Dima nashel Denisa eto p’janyj / *Dima vernulsja eto p’janyj
 Dima found Denis-acc this drunk Dima returned this drunk
 Dima found Denis drunk Dima returned drunk
 c. Dima schitajet chto Denisa eto moy brat
 Dima considers that Denis this my brother
 Dima thinks/ believes that Denis is my brother

The impossibility of ‘eto’ in (74) indicates that it is not Pred, since Pred must appear in small clauses. Now, if ‘eto’ does not head Pred, where is it located and why does it disallow instrumental predicates? To explain this, Markman (in press) argues that ‘eto’ heads a Topic phrase (Junghans 1997, Blaszczak and Geist 2000, Geist 2005, and Cover 2006). This immediately explains why ‘eto’ cannot appear in small clauses: since small clauses by definition lack the T, they cannot involve any structure that appears higher than the T, such as the TopP. To address the question why instrumental predicates are disallowed with ‘eto’, Markman (in press) proposes that the structure of the pronominal copula construction is akin to that of a Specificational Pseudo-Cleft of Type A discussed in Den Dikken et al (2000).³⁰ However, she further argues that Pronominal Copula Constructions differ from Specificational Pseudo-Clefts in two respects. First, they involve *copying* the PredP into spec TopP (75) a la predicate clefts (Koopman 1984, Abels 2001), as opposed to *base-generating* the question in the Topic position. Second, they involve a *null* wh-element that remains in-situ. She proposes the following structure for PCCs:



The derivation in (75) involves the following steps. First the PredP [*PredP [Dima [Pred [NP]]]*] is copied into spec TopP. Second, the predicate [*doctor*] is replaced with the *null* ‘who’. Third, the lower copy of the PredP is deleted, leaving only the ‘answer’ phrase [*doctor*] behind. With

³⁰ Den Dikken et al (2000), adopting an intuition of Higgins (1979), argue that Specificational Pseudo-Clefts have a question-answer structure with the wh-question merged into the spec of TopP, headed by *be* in English (and *eto* in Russian), and a partially-elided TP that retains only the phrase that ‘answers’ the wh-question.

(75) in mind, we come to the question why the predicate cannot have instrumental case in the PCC. In Russian, the answer to a question has the same case as the *wh*-word, as seen in (76):

- (76) a. **Kakim** doctor-om byl Dima? b. **Xorosh-im!** *Xoroshij/ *ploxo
 What-instr doctor-instr was Dima? **Good-instr** **good-nom** / bad-nom
 What kind of a doctor was Dima? A good one

Now, since the PCC involves a null *wh*-element, it can only match a noun phrase with the morphologically unmarked nominative case, as shown in (77):

- (77) [Top [PredP[Dima [Pred \emptyset_{WHO}]] Top(eto) [IP doctor-nom]]]

Instrumental case on the null *wh*- will induce a *Stray Affix Filter(SAF)* violation (Lasnik 1981 /1995) stated in (78). The ungrammatical structure is given in (79).

- (78) *Stray Affix Filter (SAF) = Affixes must have phonologically overt hosts*

- (79) [Top [PredP[Dima [Pred * \emptyset_{WHO} -im] Top(eto) [IP doctor-instr]]]

Nominative case on the predicate in the PCC is checked via Multiple Agree, as in the Nom-Nom constructions (cf Section 4). In sum, the ungrammaticality of (79) is due to the more complex syntax of the PCC, and not due to ‘eto’ being an overt predicator.

8. On micro-variation in Slavic

8.1. Polish

Since the current proposal relates the presence of PredEv to the presence of Asp, it predicts that in languages where ‘be’ is not deficient, instrumental predicates will be allowed in the present tense (all things being equal). The prediction is borne out in Polish, where the present tense form of ‘be’, *jest*, is a robust verb and instrumental NP predicates are allowed. The data is provided by B. Citko, pc.

POLISH

- (80) a. My *jestesmy lekarzami/* *studentami*
 We are-1stPl *doctors-instr/* *students-instr*
 We are *doctors / students’*
 b. Oni *sa* *lekarz-ami/* *studentami*
 They are-3rdPl *doctors-instr /* *students-instr*
 They are *doctors/ students*
 c. Jan *jest* *lekarz-em/* *student-em*
 Jan is-3rdSg *doctor-instr /* *student-instr*
 Jan is a *doctor/ student*

Moreover, Polish disprefers Nom-Nom constructions with nominal predicates (81):

- (81) Jan *jest lekarzem / *lekarz* (Citko 2006)
 Jan is *doctor-instr / doctor-nom*
 Jan is a *doctor*

Bailyn and Citko (1999) propose that in Polish “primary Pred does not select NP complements”(p.32) but does select APs, which blocks nominative NP predicates. However, the claim that Nom-Nom constructions with NP predicates are *impossible* is too strong. Przepiorkowski (2000a,b) provides several examples of nominative NPs appearing as predicates (82). Citko (2006) also notes that nominative predicates are acceptable in identity statements and obligatory in constructions with the pronominal ‘copula’ *to*, analogous to the Russian *eto* (83):³¹

(82) a. *Jestes osiol* (Klemensiewicz 1927 quoted in Przepiorkowski 2000a)

You ass-nom

You are an ass

b. *Jestesmy dobry fachowcy* (Heinz 1965,p.68 in Przepiorkowski 2000a)

we are good-nom professionals-nom

we are good professionals

(83) a. *Jestem Nowak* b. *Jan to student / *studentem*(Citko 2006; Przepiorkowski 2000a)

am Nowak

Jan this student-nom /student-inst

I am Nowak

Jan is a student

The above data illustrate that Polish, much like Russian, has a non-eventive null Pred in addition to PredEv. The non-eventive Pred, though more restricted than PredEv, still appears in some copular constructions and may even be required, as in (83b). Though instrumental predicate case on NPs in Polish is the more common option, it is not the only option. I propose that as in Russian, predicate instrumental in Polish is licensed by PredEv, while Asp provides the run-time for the event argument PredEv introduces.³² (84) is the derivation for (80c):

(84) [TP **Jan(i)** T(prs) [AspP [FP F(**jest**) [PredEvP **t(i)** [PredEv(+inst) **studentem**]]]]]

Interestingly, Polish also disprefers instrumental APs (85), again unlike Russian.

(85) *Jan jest glodny / * glodnym* (Bailyn 2001: 21)

Jan is hungry-nom/ hungry-instr

Jan is hungry

However, much like there are some Nom-Nom constructions with NP predicates, there are Nom-Instrumental constructions with AP predicates. As argued in Przepiorkowski (2000a,b) contra Bailyn and Citko (1999), the ban on instrumental APs is not absolute in Polish (86):

(86) *Kiedys bylo sie milym / * mily* Przepiorkowski (2000a)

sometimes was RM nice-instr/ nice-nom

One used to be nice once

³¹ Citko (2006) does not treat *to* as Pred, unlike Bailyn (2001), who treats it as an overt predicator. I would extend Markman’s account of *eto* to the Polish *to* since both place identical restrictions on their complements.

³² The Polish *jest* does not take any aspectual prefixes (Citko, pc). However, this fact does not endanger our argument: *jest*, like the Russian *javljat’sja* = ‘to appear’/ ‘to be’, which is also obligatorily imperfective, nonetheless involves non-default aspect that can introduce a run-time for *e*.

So, it appears that the differences between Russian and Polish lie more in the preferences of a given language for using one predicate case over another. Reasons for these preferences are interesting, but space limitations do not permit me to address them.

In argument small clauses NPs have instrumental case in Polish (87,88), a fact Bailyn and Citko (1999:33-34) attribute to the ‘strong instrumental features on Pred:

(87) Mianowali go prezydentem (Bailyn and Citko 1999:33)
 Nominate he-acc president-instr/*acc
 We nominated him for president

Extending the account of predicate case in Russian argument small clauses to Polish, I propose that instrumental case in (87) also comes from PredEv. PredEv is required there since it is the only means of checking case on the predicate. Furthermore, in Polish, much like in Russian, when the predicator ‘za’ is present, the case on the predicate must be accusative and cannot be instrumental (88) (cf Przepiorkowski 2000a,b for an analysis of ‘za’ as an accusative-licensing preposition).

(88) Uwazam go za glupca /*glupcem
 I-consider him-acc as fool-acc fool-instr
 I consider him as a fool

Importantly, as Przepiorkowski (2000a:6) shows, contra Bailyn and Citko (1999), predicates in adjunct small clauses can be instrumental or show sameness of case (89):

(89) Zastalem go pijanym / pijanego (instr is ‘*’ for Bailyn and Citko 1999)
 found1stSgMsc him drunk-instr / drunk-acc
 I found him drunk

I extend what was said in Section 6 for Russian secondary predicates in adjunct small clauses to account for Przepiorkowski’s data. Namely, instrumental case in (89) appears as a result of the predicate being embedded under PredEv, while sameness of case arises when the AP appears as an appositive adjunct. Though the former option is dispreferred, it is not impossible (cf Przepiorkowski 2000).³³

8.2 Serbo-Croatian (SC)

Serbo-Croatian (SC) differs from both Polish and Russian: main clause copular constructions in SC allow only nominative predicates, regardless of tense and of the robustness of the copula (90). All things are *not* equal!

SERBO-CROATIAN (Progovac, pc)
 (90) Jovan je budala / *budal-om
 John be-pres fool-nom /fool-instr

³³ As for the judgments reported in Bailyn 2001 and Bailyn and Citko 1999, I would have to say that Polish verbs such as ‘find’ cannot select a secondary PredEvP. So, depictive secondary predicates can only appear as appositives.

John is a fool

In adjunct small clauses the secondary predicate must also show sameness of case:

SC Adjunct small clauses

- (91) a. Ja pleshem go / *golim (Bailyn 2001:6)
I dance nude-nom naked-instr
I dance nude
b. Nashao sam ga pijanog /*pijanim
I-found aux-1st him-acc drunk-acc / *drunk-instr
I found him drunk

Surprisingly, instrumental case is not only possible, but obligatory on predicates in argument small clauses (93). It also appears on unbounded durative temporal adverbials³⁴ (94) (Szucsich 2001:9-11).

SC Argument small clauses

- (92) a. Ja smatram [ga budal-om/ * budal-a] (Bailyn 2001)
I consider [him-acc fool-instr /fool-acc]
I consider him a fool
b. Hocu vas vidjeti sretnima (Szucsich 2001)
Want1stSg you see happy-instr
I want to see you happy

SC Temporal adverbials

(Szucsich 2001)

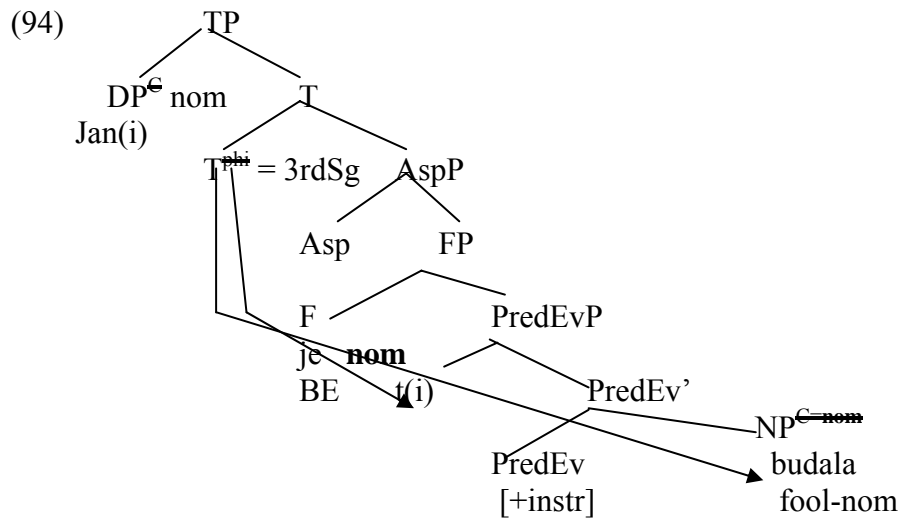
- (93) Petar je mjesecima trazhio onu knigu
Petar Aux3sg months-instrq look-for one book
Petar was looking for that book for months

The above data indicate that instrumental case cannot be absent from the language across the board, as it is in Scottish Gaelic, Icelandic, or English for example. Bailyn (2001:15) accounts for the distribution of instrumental case in argument small clauses by proposing that the instrumental case feature is simply not carried by the Pred in SC, a property that the language has in common with Old Church Slavonic (B&R1991, Bailyn 1998). To explain why predicate instrumental is required in argument small clauses, Bailyn (2002: ft-note 10) proposes that “these are lexical cases assigned by the particular verbs [*seem* and *consider*]. In their absence, predicate instrumental is impossible”(ibid). Bailyn (2002) building on Bailyn (1998) further argues that this feature dates back to the Old Church Slavonic and that predicate instrumental is a result of historical re-analysis. However, Bailyn’s explanation is challenged by the fact that *consider* in (92a) does not select the predicate, which is normally required for lexical case assignment.

³⁴ As argued in Szucsich (2001), in Russian and SC durative temporal adverbials are instrumental if they are unbounded, e.g. “for months” (93), and are accusative if they are bounded, e.g. “all evening”. He further argues that durative adverbials adjoin to AspP. I will set aside the topic of durative adverbials and the mechanisms of case-checking they involve, as it is beyond the scope of the current paper. See Szucsich (2001) for discussion.

Lexical case is restricted to themes/ internal arguments, as argued in Woolford (2006:17). So, it is odd for *seem/ consider* to lexically case-mark the predicate.

In light of the facts in (92) and (93), I argue that PredEv in SC *can* check instrumental case on the predicate. However, unlike Russian or Polish, PredEv in SC will do so only as a last resort, when no other head can check the predicate's case. Here's how this works. In a situation where the T and PredEv can check the predicate's case a question arises as to which option should be chosen. On the one hand, having PredEv check case is good because the uninterpretable case feature of the predicate gets valued immediately. On the other hand, checking predicate's case via Multiple Agree with the T takes care of two case features in a single operation (Recall, the T's phi-features are not erased immediately upon being valued, as the T is not a phase-marking head). So, doing an immediate case-checking via an extra step, or waiting to do case checking in one step seem to be two equally economical options. Suppose then, that while Russian chooses the former option (cf Section 3), SC chooses Multiple Agree, when it is available. This is shown in (94). This optionality is reminiscent of the choice faced by languages when it comes to satisfying the EPP on the T via constituent movement (cf Bailyn 2004a) or via merging an expletive into spec TP.



Importantly, to prevent the derivation in (94) from crashing due to an unchecked case feature on PredEv, I adopt the view argued for in Pesetsky and Torrego (2001, 2004) (also Bailyn 2004b, Richardson 2001, inter alia) that case features are interpretable features on the functional heads that carry them. For example, the T does not have an uninterpretable case feature. What it has is an interpretable Tense feature. Thus, ‘nominative case’ is a result of an *interpretable* Tense feature valuing the uninterpretable case feature on the DP/NP. Similarly, accusative case is the result of an interpretable Asp/v feature valuing the uninterpretable case feature on the object (Richardson 2001, Szucsich 2001, Bailyn 2004b, inter alia). Developing this line of thought further, I introduce a refinement into an earlier proposal, so that instrumental predicate case is treated as a result of PredEv’s interpretable (event) feature valuing the uninterpretable case feature on the predicate NP/AP.³⁵ Nothing that was said in the previous sections concerning

³⁵ A case feature on the DP/NP is still an uninterpretable variable that needs to be valued by the interpretable features of *some* head. Whether it is PredEv, T, or v that does the valuation is determined only by the factors of locality and accessibility. I refer the reader to Pesetsky and Torrego (2001) for the discussion.

predicate case changes with the introduction of this refinement. As an interpretable feature, the event feature need not be checked on PredEv, only on the predicate. So, if a language chooses to wait until the T is merged to check predicate's case via Multiple Agree, as does SC, PredEv's (event) feature will not value the case feature on the embedded NP/AP, but the derivation won't crash because of that (94).³⁶ Crucially if PredEv values the predicate's case feature immediately, as in Russian, Multiple Agree becomes impossible in matrix copular constructions because the NP/AP becomes an unsuitable goal. Therefore, Russian constructions with PredEv cannot surface as Nom-Nom.

Now in argument small clauses, the situation is quite different. The *v* loses its case-checking ability once it checks case on the subject of the small clause (cf Section 5). The predicate's case can now only be checked by PredEv (unless there is an overt predicator 'za'). The option of choosing Multiple Agree does not exist in argument small clauses in SC, much like it does not exist in Russian. PredEv checks instrumental case on the predicate in SC, resulting in the Acc-Instr pattern in argument small clauses (92). For adjunct small clauses (91), I propose that a selectional restriction is imposed by SC verbs such as 'found' or 'returned': they prohibit PredEvP complements, so only appositive APs are allowed. The distinction between predicate case options in adjunct and argument small clauses in SC, Russian, and Polish, thus reduces to the selectional properties of the verbs involved.³⁷

8.3 When *PredEv* cannot license instrumental...

What would a language where PredEv does not license instrumental case look like? Crucially, unlike SC, such a language would not exhibit instrumental case on temporal adverbials nor on any predicates, including on those in argument small clauses. In the Slavic family, such languages appear include Old East Slavic (Bailyn 1998, Lunt 1974, Lomtev 1956), Old Church Slavonic (Bailyn 1998, Bailyn and Rubin 1991, Bailyn 2001) and Modern Slovene. In (95) predicates in argument and adjunct small clauses are accusative, not instrumental.

OLD EAST SLAVIC

- (95) a. Postavi Mefod'ja jepiskopa
 Set Methodius-acc bishop-acc
 They made Methodius a bishop
- b. Videli sut' Volodimera naga
 Saw3rdPI 3rdAuxPI Vladimir-acc naked-acc
 We saw Vladimir naked

Modern Slovene lacks instrumental case in copular constructions and in adjunct and argument small clauses. In addition, it also lacks instrumental temporal adverbials (Szucsich 2001).

³⁶ The Nom-Nom vs. Nom-Instrumental contrast that exists in Russian copular constructions is thus neutralized on the surface in SC. However, it is predicted that since PredEv still exists in the language alongside with the non-eventive Pred, the surface Nom-Nom constructions may have an ambiguous interpretation with respect to the property denoted by the predicate. Specifically, they may have an inherent and a non-inherent interpretation. This predication is supported by speaker intuitions (Progovac, pc).

³⁷ Another possibility suggested in Bailyn and Rubin (1991) is that instrumental case in argument small clauses in SC is licensed by a null preposition. I leave it as possible option, though I won't pursue it here.

SLOVENE (Szucsich 2001:17)³⁸

- (96) a. Knjizhevnost mu je bila samo sredstvo / * sredstvom
Literature CL-dat aux-3rd cop-psr only means-nom / means-instr
Literature was only a means to an end for him
- b. Peter je smatral Janeza za lenobo / *lenobo
Peter Aux3rd considered Janez za layabout-insrt/ layabout-instr
Peter considered Janez a layabout
- c. Peter je mesece iskal tisto knjigu (cf 93)
Peter Aux3rdSg monthsAccPL look-for that book
Peter was looking for that book for months

If PredEv in SC were unable to value instrumental case on the predicate (i.e. lacked [+instr] case feature in Bailyn's terms), we would expect it to behave in the same way as Old East Slavic and Slovene. However, in SC predicate instrumental is impossible in main clauses and adjunct small clauses, but possible in argument small clauses and on temporal adverbials (Szucsich 2001).

The inability of some modern Slavic languages to check instrumental case on the predicate is arguably a historical remnant. As Bailyn (1998, 2002) puts it, Pred (our PredEv) went from [-instr] to [+instr]. Though I agree with his overall conclusion, I disagree with him with respect to the languages affected by the change. In this section I have argued that, surprisingly, PredEv in Serbo-Croatian can value instrumental case; it simply chooses Multiple Agree in copular constructions. Instrumental case surfaces in SC only where Multiple Agree cannot apply, as in argument small clauses. The language, thus, patterns more like Russian and Polish than it does with Slovene.

9. Conclusion

In this paper I have examined the syntax of copular constructions in Russian with a particular attention to the impossibility of instrumental predicates in main clauses and their obligatory presence in argument small clauses with null predicators. Building on much prior work (Nichols 1981, Bailyn and Rubin 1991, Bailyn and Citko 1999, Bailyn 2001, 2002, Matushansky 2000, Pereltsvaig 2001, 2007, Adger and Ramchand 2003, inter alia) I have argued that Nom-Instr constructions involve an eventive Pred, PredEv, that introduces an event argument *e* and licenses instrumental case on the embedded NP. The event argument has to be given a temporal location, which is accomplished by a non-default Asp. Crucially, the present tense form of 'be', *jest*, has only the default aspect features and cannot provide a run-time for *e*. As a result, PredEv and *jest* are incompatible. Exceptions to this are restricted constructions with a modifier such as 'here' that provides a narrow spatial location for *e*. Nom-Nom constructions, on the other hand, lack the instrumental-licensing PredEv, leading the predicate's case to be checked via Multiple Agree with the T. Since Nom-Nom constructions have no event argument, they are also compatible with the aspectually deficient *jest*.

In argument small clauses with null predicators the situation is different: the matrix Asp introduces a run-time for *e*, which makes the appearance of PredEv possible. The presence of

³⁸ In addition to Slovene, other languages that lack predicate instrumental case include Upper Sorbian and Burgenland-Croatian.

the matrix *v*, in turn, blocks Multiple Agree between the T and the small clause predicate, which makes PredEv obligatory. If an overt predicator ‘*za*’ is merged instead of PredEv, however, the case on the predicate will be accusative since ‘*za*’ has a [+acc] feature. Turning to adjunct small clauses, I have argued that instrumental predicates there are embedded under PredEv, while same-case secondary predicates are appositive adjuncts whose case is checked via Multiple Agree. Finally, I have compared predicate case phenomena in Russian to those in Polish, Serbo-Croatian, and Slovene and concluded that of those only the latter language lacks predicate instrumental case.

The account presented in this paper is both syntactic and semantic. It is semantic in that the *e* PredEv introduces crucially requires a run-time, which is in turn provided by Asp. If Asp cannot provide such a run-time, the construction will be ill-formed. It is syntactic, or rather morpho-syntactic in that the present tense form of the Russian ‘be’, *jest’*, has default aspect features. Hence, *jest’* cannot introduce a run-time for *e*. Thus, semantic factors such as the event’s need to have a run-time and morpho-syntactic factors such as featural deficiency may so conspire as to enable or prevent a predicate from getting instrumental case. Clearly, many interesting and important questions remain unaddressed. I hope that future research will answer these and other questions, thus furthering our understanding of copular constructions and predicate case not only in Russian, but in other languages as well.

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