

UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

The Case of Russian Predicate Adjectives

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates the syntactic structure of Russian sentences with predicate adjectives in the nominative and the instrumental case. I show that these adjectives are part of DPs with null D and N heads, and that they are case-marked by virtue of agreement with the nouns that they modify. I argue that the instrumental case on Russian predicate adjectives is an instantiation of the inherent case of adjuncts, and that instrumental predicate DPs adjoin to the right edge of VP at LF, where they are interpreted as modifiers. I further argue that the nominative case on Russian predicate adjectives is an instantiation of the nominative case of subjects and is checked in Spec,TP position via a spec-head relation. The analysis presented in thesis applies to all types of case-marked predicates in Russian, namely, predicates in copular matrix clauses, predicates in embedded small clauses and secondary predicates.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

1. The Central Issues

The main concern of this thesis is the syntactic representation of Russian sentences with case-marked predicate adjectives. I will focus, in particular, on copular sentences with the verb *byt'* ‘‘be’’.¹ Compared with other copular verbs, such as *byvat'* ‘‘be’’ (habitual, frequentative), *javljat'sja* ‘‘be’’, *dovodit'sja* ‘‘be (related)’’, *stat'* ‘‘become’’ (perfective), *stanovit'sja* ‘‘become’’ (imperfective), *delat'sja* ‘‘become’’, *okazat'sja* ‘‘turn out’’, the copular verb *byt'* ‘‘be’’ is exceptional in that it does not have any aspectual meanings and, according to Lekant (1976: 96,97), has a ‘‘null’’ present tense form.² In fact, I will show that there are reasons to think that this verb is altogether absent from the syntactic structure of copular sentences in the present tense. This assumption will allow us to gain insight into the mechanisms of checking case on Russian predicate adjectives and provide a uniform account of these mechanisms for *all types* of predicate adjectives.

¹ Traditional Russian grammars assume a single lexical verb *byt'* ‘‘be’’ in all contexts (cf., for example, Švedova et al. (1980a: 663)). This is not to say that researchers working in the traditional Russian framework do not recognize the fact that this verb is used differently in different contexts. Lekant (1976), for example, distinguishes between its uses in copular and existential sentences. He assumes, however, the lexical meaning of the verb *byt'* ‘‘be’’ is preserved, albeit ‘‘grammaticalized’’, in copular sentences. A different approach to the verb *byt'* ‘‘be’’ is taken by Chvany (1975), who distinguishes between the copular verb *byt'* ‘‘be’’, which does not have any lexical meaning, and the existential verb *byr'* ‘‘be’’, which does have one. I adopt Chvany’s approach to the verb *byt'* ‘‘be’’ in this thesis.

² Traditional Russian grammars state that in Modern Russian the verb *byt'* ‘‘be’’ has two forms - *est'* (3p sg) and *sut'* (3p pl) (cf., for example, Švedova et al. (1980a: 663)). As Lekant (1976: 97) points out, these forms are part of the conjugational paradigm of the existential verb *byr'* ‘‘be’’, but not the copular one.

Russian predicate adjectives always agree with the subject in gender (in the singular) and number, but they can exhibit three options with respect to case assignment: they may have the same case as that of the subject (nominative), bear a case which is different from that of the subject (instrumental), or receive no case at all, appearing instead in the caseless ‘short form’.³ The three options are illustrated in (1).

- (1)a. Ivan byl veselyj.
Ivan (m sg nom) was cheerful (m sg nom)
“Ivan was cheerful.”
- b. Ivan byl veselym.
Ivan (m sg nom) was cheerful (m sg inst)
- (1)c. Ivan byl vesel.
Ivan (m sg nom) was cheerful (m sg)

The possibility of the instrumental case appears to be related to the presence of the copular verb *byt* ‘be’: the instrumental case option is lacking in present tense contexts, where no copular verb is used:

- (2)a. Ivan veselyj.
Ivan (m sg nom) cheerful (m sg nom)
“Ivan is cheerful.”
- b. *Ivan veselym.
Ivan (m sg nom) cheerful (m sg inst)
“Ivan is cheerful.”

³ Not all adjectives have both long (case-marked) and short forms. Some adjectives have only short forms (e.g. *rad* “glad”, *gorazd* “good (at)”), others have only long forms (e.g. *russkij* “Russian”, *gnedoj* “bony”, *sakarmyj* “sugary”). With respect to short-form adjectives, traditional Russian grammars state that they are used in the invariant nominative case form (cf. Švedova et al. (1980a: 556)). This case, however, is not syntactically active, and short forms of adjectives are generally regarded as caseless in the generative literature (cf., for example, Babby (1973, 1975), Chvany (1975), Nichols (1981), Neidle (1988), Franks (1995)). See also chapter 3 for discussion.

- c. Ivan vesel.
 Ivan (m sg nom) cheerful (m sg)
 "Ivan is cheerful."

It should be pointed out that it is not the case that all three options with respect to case-marking Russian predicate adjectives are always readily available. The factors that determine the choice between these options are complex and have been well described in the literature.⁴ The semantic factors that are relevant for the choice between the two case-marked options for Russian predicate adjectives, which I focus on in this thesis, are summarized in the table in (3) below.⁵

(3) SUMMARY OF SEMANTIC DIFFERENCES BETWEEN COPULAR SENTENCES WITH PREDICATE ADJECTIVES IN THE NOMINATIVE AND THE INSTRUMENTAL CASE:⁶

		Sentences with instrumental predicate adjectives	Sentences with nominative predicates
Temporal interpretation		temporal interpretation of subject noun phrases is independent of the temporal interpretation of the rest of their clause, i.e. their predication time need not intersect with the predication time of the main predicate of their clause	temporal interpretation of subject noun phrases is dependent on the temporal interpretation of the rest of their clause, i.e. their predication time must intersect with the predication time of the main predicate of their clause
Modality	Epistemic modality	straightforward assertion of a fact	attenuation of the factual status of information
	Negation	compatible with negation	incompatible with negation

⁴ To my knowledge, the most comprehensive study of these factors has been undertaken in Nichols (1981).

⁵ For a more detailed discussion of the relevant semantic (and other) factors see Nichols (1981). For the discussion of the temporal interpretation of noun phrases see Musan (1995).

⁶ According to Musan (1995), the predication time of a predicate is the time interval during which a predicate is asserted to hold of an individual. For example, the predication time of the noun *student* is the time interval during which the property of being a student is asserted to hold of an individual.

The semantic differences between Russian copular sentences with predicate adjectives in the nominative and the instrumental case are illustrated by the examples in (4-6) below.⁷

- (4)a. V 2020 godu vse studenty budyt lysymi.
 In 2020 year all (pl nom) students(pl nom) will be bald (pl inst)
 "In 2020 all students will be bald."
- b. V 2020 godu vse studenty budyt lysyje.
 In 2020 year all (pl nom) students(pl nom) will be bald (pl nom)
 "In 2020 all students will be bald (ones)."

The sentence in (4a) can easily mean that all of the individuals who are students today (and will no longer be students in 2020) will be bald in 2020. With (4b), this meaning is not available. In (4b) the times of being a student and of being bald have to coincide for every given individual.

- (5)a. Guby u nego drožali, i op'jat' on byl kakim-to zelenovatym.
 lips at him trembled and again he was somewhat greenish(m sg inst)
 "His lips were trembling, and again he was somewhat greenish."
- b. Guby u nego drožali, i op'jat' on byl kakoj-to zelenovatyj.
 lips at him trembled and again he was somewhat greenish(m sg nom)
 "His lips were trembling, and again he looked somewhat greenish."

The sentence in (5a) straightforwardly asserts that the individual referred to in the sentence was of a particular shade of green. The sentence in (5b), on the other hand, emphasizes the opinion of the speaker about how the individual referred to in this sentence looked, and the assertability of the sentence is attenuated.

- (6)a. Gorod ne byl bol'sim.
 city(m sg nom) NEG was big(m sg inst)
 "The city was not big."

⁷ The examples in (5) are adapted from Černov (1983).

- b. */?? Gorod ne byl bol'soj.
 city(m sg nom) NEG was big(m sg nom)
 "The city was not big."

The instrumental predicate adjective *bol'sim* ‘big’ in (6a) can appear under the scope of negation, whereas the nominative predicate adjective *bol'soj* ‘big’ in (6b) cannot.

It is beyond the scope of this thesis, however, to provide a semantic analysis of Russian copular sentences with case-marked predicate adjectives. The *syntactic* analysis that I undertake in this thesis specifically addresses the following questions.

- (7) Why should some Russian predicate adjectives be case-marked?
- (8) What are the mechanisms of case assignment to Russian case-marked predicate adjectives?
- (9) Why are there two options with respect to case-marking of Russian predicate adjectives?

My goal is to provide answers which are consistent with the Minimalist Program for linguistic theory as developed by Chomsky (1992, 1995) and others. The Minimalist Program advocates an approach to linguistic theory that is free from any conceptually unnecessary assumptions and stipulations. This approach is motivated by an attempt to minimize the language acquisition burden placed on the child: by using conceptually unnecessary apparatus, previous theories often complicated linguistic issues to an extent that made it doubtful that language could be easily acquired by the child. To bridge this gap between linguistic theory and language acquisition reality, the Minimalist Program aims at providing simpler and more unified accounts of language facts that use only conceptually

necessary and empirically well motivated apparatus. To my knowledge, all previous analyses of the issues raised by the questions in (7-9) above made use of an impressive number of *ad hoc* assumptions and mechanisms and, in many cases, failed to provide satisfactory empirical coverage. The analysis that I provide in this thesis is minimalist in spirit: it unifies various instantiations of the same phenomena and uses only apparatus that is conceptually necessary and independently motivated. Compared with the previous analyses, the analysis presented in this thesis has more explanatory power and wider empirical coverage.

In this thesis I first explore the internal structure of Russian adjectival predicates and show that those ‘bare’ predicate adjectives which are case-marked are embedded in DPs with null D and N heads, and that case on these adjectives is licensed by agreement with the nouns they modify. I will argue that these nouns need case in order to be visible as predicates at LF. The welcome consequence of this analysis is that it shows that what appear to be exceptionally case-marked predicate adjectives are, in fact, regular modifying adjectives used in predicative position.

In deriving syntactic representation of Russian copular sentences with predicate adjectives in the instrumental and the nominative case, I will assume, contrary to some previous analyses, that there is only one semantically vacuous copular verb *byt’* ‘be’ in Russian, and that the two different case-marking options for Russian predicates are made available by virtue of two specific configurations in which this verb can appear. I will adopt the insight of the Minimalist Program that case is a feature that lexical items are assigned in

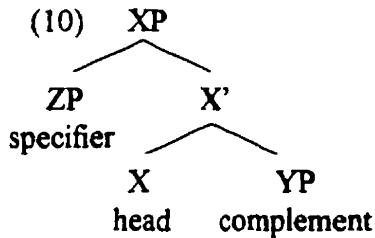
the lexicon, rather than in the syntax, as was previously assumed (cf. Chomsky (1981, 1986a)). According to the Minimalist Program, uninterpretable features have to be checked in the course of a derivation. I will show that the difference between the nominative and the instrumental case on Russian predicate adjectives is that the former, but not the latter, is uninterpretable. Thus, the nominative case, but not the instrumental case has to be checked in the course of a derivation. However, for the instrumental case to be interpreted at LF, it has to meet certain structural conditions. I will argue that the verb *byt* ‘‘be’’ provides the syntactic structure necessary for the interpretation of the instrumental case on Russian predicate adjectives.

This thesis unifies different uses of nominative case, as well as different uses of instrumental case in Russian. In particular, it shows that nominative case on Russian predicate adjectives is checked in the same fashion as the nominative case of subjects, and it treats instrumental case on Russian predicate adjectives as a particular instantiation of the inherent case of adjuncts in this language.

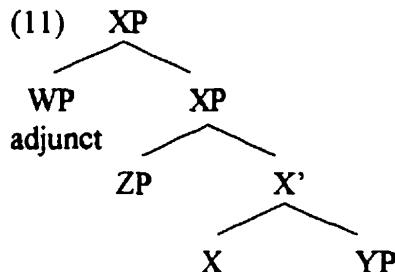
2. Some Structural Assumptions

In this thesis I will be assuming the phrase structure that was developed within the Government and Binding theory (cf. Chomsky (1981, 1986a)), with some modifications introduced by the Minimalist Program for linguistic theory (cf. Chomsky (1992, 1995)). Some structural assumptions that are essential to my analysis are sketched out in this section.

For the purposes of my analysis it is important to introduce the notions of complement, specifier and adjunct. Complements and specifiers are defined here in structural terms. The complement is a sister to a head, the specifier is a sister to an intermediate (X-bar) projection (cf. Chomsky (1981, 1986a)), as illustrated in (10).⁸



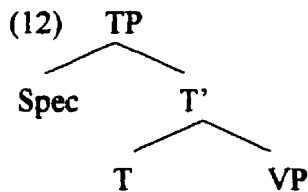
An adjunct is an optional phrase which combines with another phrase XP to form a two-segment category [XP, XP] projected from the head X (cf. Chomsky (1995)):



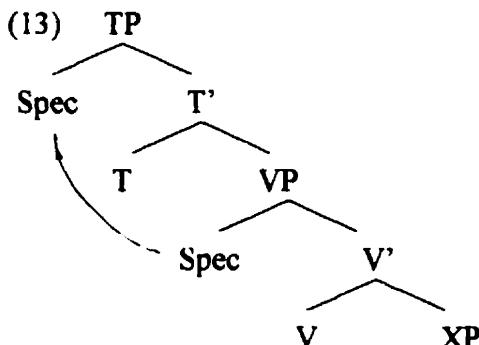
As regards clause structure, I adopt the assumptions made in Chomsky (1995). In the early minimalist literature (Chomsky 1992, following Pollock 1989) it was claimed that Infl (I), the head of a clausal projection, consists of at least two components, T (tense) and Agr (agreement). Accordingly, IP was reanalyzed as two projections, TP (tense phrase) and

⁸ In the “bare” phrase structure theory introduced by Chomsky (1994) nodes do not carry category labels, and the distinction between an XP (i.e. a phrase) and an X (i.e. a head) is defined in purely structural terms. Nonetheless, for exposition purposes in this thesis I will distinguish between Xs and XPs.

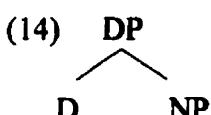
AgrP (agreement phrase). More recently, however, Chomsky (1995) has advocated Agr-less clause structure, illustrated in (12).



With respect to subject position in a clause, I adopt the VP-Internal Subject Hypothesis, according to which the subject of a sentence is base-generated within the verb projection, in Spec, VP, and subsequently raises into Spec, TP, as in (13) below.

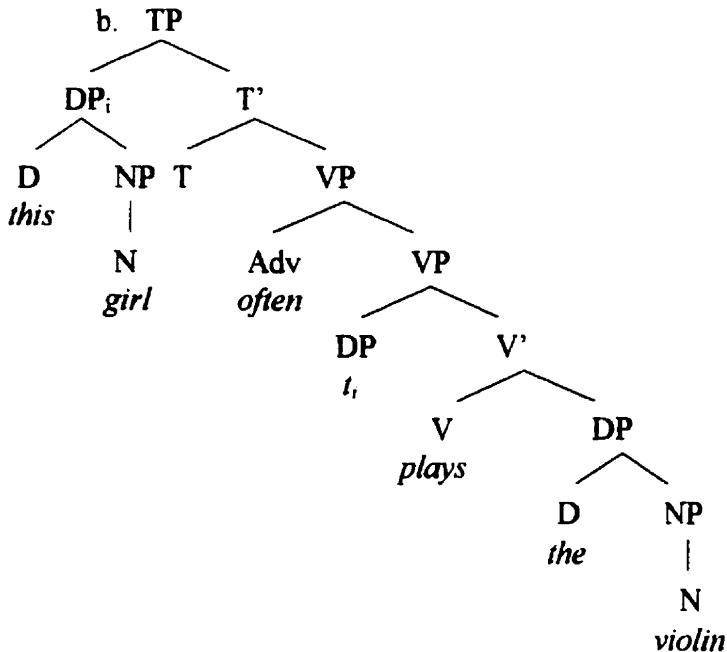


With regard to nominals, I adopt the Determiner Phrase (DP) hypothesis, according to which all nominals are, in fact, complements of determiners, as, for example, in Abney (1987). The internal structure of a DP is represented in (14).



As an illustration of the notions and assumptions introduced above, consider the sentence in (15a) and its syntactic structure in (15b).

(15)a. This girl often plays the violin.



The verb *plays* in (15) takes the DP *this girl* as a specifier and the DP *the violin* as a complement. The maximal projection of the verb *plays* combines with an adverbial constituent *often* to form a two segment category [VP, VP]. The clausal projection is headed by T[ense], which takes a specifier. It is to this Spec,TP position that the DP *the girl* raises from the Spec,VP position.

The structural assumptions outlined in this section form a necessary background for the discussion in the subsequent chapters. The Minimalist Program for linguistic theory will be introduced in the discussion where it becomes relevant. Most of the crucial minimalist assumptions are found in section 2.1 of chapter 4, where I sketch out general assumptions about derivation of sentences, as well as assumptions about features and feature checking

mechanisms, and in section 1 of chapter 5, where I discuss the theory of multiple feature checking.

3. Organization of Thesis

In the chapters that follow I look for answers to the questions in (7-9) above. My analysis builds on previous research of the issues raised by these questions. In chapter 2 I review existing proposals regarding mechanisms of case assignment to Russian predicates. According to these proposals, nominative case is assigned to predicates either structurally or via agreement, whereas instrumental case is assigned either structurally or by the copula *byt* ‘be’. I will show that, although the previous analyses discussed in chapter 2 provide valuable insights into the mechanisms of checking case on Russian predicate adjectives, they all have problems that can be resolved by a minimalist analysis. The questions posed in (7) and (9) have received less attention in the literature than the mechanisms of case assignment to Russian predicates and the relevant proposals are mentioned in the thesis where appropriate.

Chapter 3 investigates the internal structure of Russian adjectival predicates and the distribution of caseless and case-marked adjectives. I will show that “bare” case-marked predicate adjectives modify null nouns and are part of DP constituents, which need case in order to be visible as predicates at LF, whereas caseless adjectives are APs and do not need case, since their visibility as predicates is achieved via agreement in φ-features with the subject of their clause.

Chapter 4 is concerned with syntactic representation of Russian sentences with predicate adjectives in the instrumental case, which is the unmarked option in non-present tense contexts. I will show that the instrumental case on Russian predicates in copular sentences, as well as in other types of sentences, is an instantiation of the inherent instrumental case of adjuncts, which need not be checked due to its modifical content. I will demonstrate that, in order for this case to be interpreted, it has to meet certain structural conditions, which explains the fact that instrumental case is not available to predicates in present tense contexts, where these conditions are not met.

Chapter 5 provides a syntactic account of Russian sentences with predicate adjectives in the nominative case, which is the marked option in non-present tense contexts, and the only option available in the present tense. I will show that Russian is a language which allows multiple specifiers of T, and that nominative predicates, like subjects, check their case in Spec,TP position via a spec-head relation with T.

Chapter 6 provides a summary of the conclusions reached in this thesis and identifies some areas for further research.

CHAPTER 2

Previous Analyses

0. Introduction

In this chapter I discuss how some issues of concern to this thesis have been addressed in previous research. Recall from chapter 1 that this thesis is primarily concerned with the following questions.

- (1) Why should some Russian predicate adjectives be case-marked?
- (2) What are the mechanisms of case assignment to Russian case-marked predicate adjectives?
- (3) Why are there two options with respect to case-marking of Russian predicate adjectives?

The answers that have been given in the literature to the question in (1) will be discussed in chapter 3, which explores the internal structure of Russian adjectival predicates. In this chapter I will focus on the answers given to the questions in (2) and (3). Of these two questions most previous researchers were preoccupied with the former one. With respect to nominative case on predicate adjectives, some authors contend that it is assigned structurally (cf., for example, Freidin and Babby (1984), Maling and Sprouse (1995)), others think that it is assigned by agreement with the subject (cf., for example, Bailyn (1995), Franks (1995)). With respect to instrumental case on predicate adjectives, some authors treat it as structural (cf. Bailyn (1995)), others as inherent (cf. Neidle (1988),

Franks (1995)).¹ The existence of the two case marking options for Russian predicate adjectives in copular sentences is usually attributed to the dual nature of the copular verb *byt'* “be”, which can either have some lexically specified content or not.

The previous analyses that I discuss in this chapter have provided valuable insights into the mechanisms of case assignment to predicate adjectives, which I will discuss in detail in this chapter and adopt in this thesis. However, these analyses are not without problems. The problem that is common to most of them is that they make use of apparatus that is not conceptually necessary. In this thesis I will show that a minimalist account of case-checking mechanisms, which assumes that there is nothing in the syntactic structure that is not conceptually necessary, is simpler and has more explanatory power. A minimalist account allows us to avoid *ad hoc* stipulations and unify various instantiations of the same case. Moreover, it draws our attention and provides solutions to the problems that went unnoticed in previous frameworks. For example, in the light of minimalist assumptions, the question *why* there are (exactly) two case-marking options for Russian predicate adjectives deserves more attention than it has received in the previous analyses. The answer in terms of two homophonous *copular* verbs, which differ in terms of their *lexical* content, appears to be highly questionable. In this thesis I will show that there are no conceptual or empirical reasons to posit two copular verbs in Russian, and that a more elegant account of checking case on predicate adjectives can be made, if we assume the existence of only one copular verb.

¹ Franks (1995) claims that the mechanisms of instrumental case assignment to predicates in copular matrix clauses and to secondary predicates are different. His proposal regarding the latter is discussed in chapter 4.

The chapter is organized as follows. In section 1 I will discuss some previous proposals regarding the Russian copular verb *byt'* "be". In section 2 I will sketch out some proposals regarding nominative case assignment to Russian predicates. In section 3 I will consider some proposals concerning instrumental case assignment to Russian predicates. In section 4 I will summarize the discussion in this chapter.

1. One Copular Verbs vs. Two

It has been argued that there are two copular verbs (or two "uses") of the verb *byt'* "be" in Russian, one of which is merely a tense-marker and does not assign case, and the other has some lexically specified semantic content and assigns inherent instrumental case (cf. Neidle (1988), Franks (1995)). In support of this claim Neidle (1988) gives the examples in (4).

- (4)a. On byl pisatel'.
he(m sing nom) was writer(m sing nom)
"He was a (born) writer."
- b. On byl pisatelem.
he(m sing nom) was writer(m sing inst)
"He was a writer (for some period of time, or by profession)."

Neidle points out that the sentence in (4a) has an equative, definitional reading, whereas the sentence in (4b) has an attributive, predicative reading. She derives the difference in the interpretation of the two sentences in (4) from the difference in the lexical content of the copular verb.

Franks (1995) offers another argument in favor of two verbs *byt'* "be". He notes that the instrumental option for predicate nouns and adjectives is lacking in the present

tense and concludes that the possibility of instrumental case is directly related to the presence of the verb *byt' 'be'*. He further argues that the simplest hypothesis is that the instrumental is an inherent case here and that the verb *byt'* is lexically specified to assign instrumental case to its NP complement. Franks points out that the view that instrumental is an inherent case here is corroborated by the fact that Polish, where the copula *być 'be'* has a complete paradigm, assigns instrumental case to its predicates in the present tense as well.

To my mind, it is not at all clear that the subtly different meanings of the sentences in (4) above are contributed by copular verbs with different lexical semantic content. Note that the glosses provided by Neidle indicate a difference in the temporal interpretation of the two sentences: the two nouns in (4a) have identical temporal reference (the individual referred to in this sentence was a writer during *all his life*), whereas the temporal reference of the two nouns in (4a) overlaps, but does not coincide (the individual referred to in (4b) was a writer for *some period* of his life). The difference in the temporal interpretation of (4a) and (4b) can hardly be attributed to a verb. Moreover, there are other differences in the interpretation of (4a) and (4b) that cannot be related to the different verbs used in these sentences. According to Russian native speakers, the sentence in (4a) is perceived as more "subjective" than the one in (4b). The difference in "subjectiveness" between copular sentences with predicates in the nominative case and those with predicates in the instrumental case is, perhaps, more clear in examples with adjectival predicates. Consider, for example, the sentences in (5) adapted from Černov (1983).

- (5)a. Guby u nego drožali, i op'jat' on byl kakoj-to zelenovatyj.
 lips at him trembled and again he was somewhat greenish(m sg nom)
 "His lips were trembling, and again he looked somewhat greenish."

- b. Guby u nego drožali, i op'jat' on byl kakim-to zelenovatym.
 lips at him trembled and again he was somewhat greenish(m sg inst)
 'His lips were trembling, and again he was somewhat greenish.'

According to Černov, the sentence in (5a), with predicate adjective in the nominative case, emphasizes the speaker's opinion about how the individual referred to in the sentence looked, and the assertability of the sentence is attenuated; the sentence in (5b), on the other hand, straightforwardly asserts that the individual was of a particular shade of green. It, thus, appears that the sentences in (5a) and (5b) differ with respect to the factual status of the information contained in them. In other words, they differ with respect to modality.² Modality is generally associated with the head of a clausal projection, and we have no reason to believe that the semantic difference between (5a) and (5b) resides in the copular verb.³

Given that there is no evidence of any obvious semantic content which could be associated with the copular verb *byt'* "be", there is no need to posit two different copular verbs. The null hypothesis that I adopt in this thesis is that there is only one copular verb in Russian. In chapter 4 I will argue that this semantically vacuous copular verb can appear in two different syntactic configurations, which give rise to two different syntactic structures of copular sentences and two case-marking options made available by these structures.⁴

² Palmer (1986) defines modality as semantic information associated with the speaker's attitude or opinion about what is said.

³ See chapter 1 for a summary of semantic differences between copular sentences with instrumental and nominative predicate adjectives.

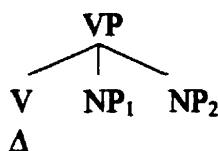
⁴ See chapter 4 for the two configurations in which the copula *byt'* "be" can appear.

With respect to the facts pointed out by Franks, I will show that that, although the possibility of instrumental case on Russian predicates is, indeed, related to the presence of a verb in the sentence, there is no evidence that it is assigned by the copular verb *byt'* ‘‘be’’. In fact, as I will show in chapter 4, there is evidence to the contrary: instrumental case is used on predicates in embedded small clauses and on secondary predicates in sentences where there is no verb *byt'* ‘‘be’’. I will show that *any* verb can license the use of instrumental case on predicates by virtue of providing the structural conditions which are necessary for the realization of this case. In view of this fact, the assumption that the copula *byt'* ‘‘be’’ can be lexically specified to assign inherent instrumental case appears to be *ad hoc*.

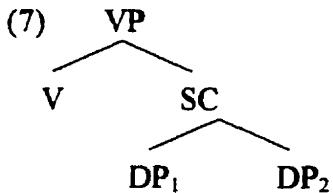
Compared with Neidle and Franks’ approach, my approach to the Russian copular verb *byt'* ‘‘be’’ is minimal in assumptions and correctly predicts the existence of precisely two case-marking options for Russian predicate nouns and adjectives without recourse to two copular verbs. It also allows us to account for different instantiations of the inherent instrumental case in a uniform way.

Proposals to posit only one verb for all types of Russian copular sentences have been made by some previous researchers as well. Thus, Chvany (1975) argues that *byt'* ‘‘be’’ is absent from the underlying structure of both types of copular sentences, and that it is inserted later in the derivation into a node that always takes subject and predicate NPs as sisters:

(6)



In accordance with the current theory, which does not allow late insertion of morphological items into the derivation, and current assumptions about phrase structure, Chvany's proposal can be reinterpreted as a proposal to posit only one (raising) copular verb which takes a small clause complement:⁵



However, as Chvany herself admits, her proposal does not explain the existence of two case-marking options for Russian predicate nouns and adjectives. One of the speculations that she makes is that, perhaps, nominative and instrumental predicates represent different semantic relations.⁶ Although Chvany's proposal is minimal in nature, it lacks explanatory power. In my view, Chvany's approach underestimates the role of syntactic structure in the interpretation of copular sentences. In chapters 4 and 5 I will demonstrate that neither instrumental nor nominative case can be licensed independently of the syntactic structures they appear in.

In this thesis, I will show that positing one semantically vacuous copular verb that appears in different syntactic structures can explain the existence of (exactly) two case-marking options for Russian predicates without invoking any *ad hoc* assumptions, such as

⁵ Recall that according to current assumptions, all nominals are D-projections.

⁶ This suggestion is somewhat similar to Padučeva and Uspenskij's (1979) proposal that the differences in the semantics of different copular sentences can be predicted from the semantics of the "arguments" of the copula, in particular their "denotational" status. According to Padučeva and Uspenskij's (1979), instrumental case merely serves to bring out the semantics of the sentences that are independent of case-assignment.

assumption of two homophonous *copular* verbs with different lexical content, or assumption of case-assignment which is independent of syntactic structure.

2. Nominative Case Assignment to Predicates

With regard to nominative case, it is generally agreed that verbs do not play any role in its assignment to predicates. Some authors invoke mechanisms that allow predicates to agree in case with the subjects, others regard nominative case on Russian predicates as structural, i.e. determined by the position of predicate phrases in the syntactic structure of a sentence, and associate it with the head of a clausal projection Infl (T, in current terms). Each of the proposals that I discuss below in one way or another contributes to our understanding of nominative case assignment to Russian predicates, but is incompatible with current syntactic theory in that they invoke ad hoc stipulations and mechanisms. In this thesis I will reinterpret the insights of these proposals in current minimalist terms.

2.1 Case by Agreement

Franks (1995) argues that nominative case is assigned to Russian predicate adjectives via a Case agreement mechanism. According to Franks, agreement is formally realized in terms of coindexation. Following Williams (1980), who argues that a rule of predication coindexation applies to coindex a subject with its predicate, Franks claims that the identical indices on the subject and the predicate noun or adjective allow for agreement in case between them. Thus, in his view, the structure of a Russian copular sentence with a predicate noun or adjective agreeing in case is like the one shown in (8), where Infl is

realized as the copula *byt* 'be' in the past and future and as \emptyset in the present and takes a small clause complement.⁷

- (8) [IP NP_i Infl [SC t_i NP_i/AP_i]]
 [α case] [α case]

The Case agreement hypothesis correctly captures the type of relationship that holds between the subject and the predicate noun or adjective marked nominative in copular sentences with respect to case, i.e. the fact that they have identical case. Conceptually, however, the Case agreement hypothesis is incompatible with current syntactic theory, which regards agreement as a structural relation (cf. Chomsky (1992, 1995), Roberts (1993)).

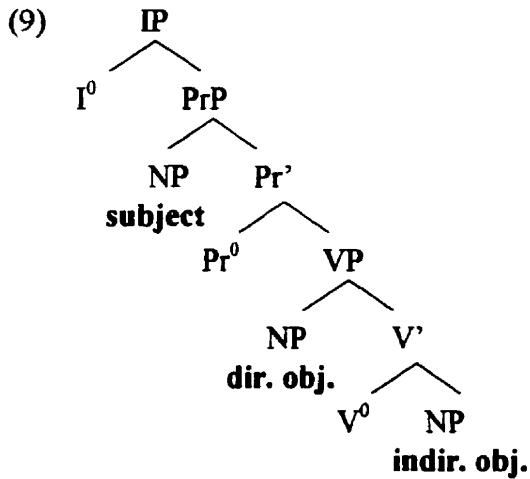
2.2 Structural Case Agreement

An attempt to capture the fact that predicates in copular sentences can have the same case as that of the subject in structural terms is made by Bailyn (1995). Following Bowers (1993), he claims that there is a (universal) Predicate Phrase (PrP) above VP and assumes the following underlying structure of a Russian sentence:⁸

⁷ According to Franks (1995), the subject NP originates in a small clause and raises to Spec, IP for case. The proposal that copular verbs can be raising verbs that take small clause complements was first put forward by Stowell (1978, 1981) and further developed by a number of other authors (cf., for example, Hoekstra and Mulder (1990)).

Franks (1995) assumes that nominative predicate APs, which receive case via Case agreement mechanism, need not be embedded in NPs/DPs, and that they differ in this respect from instrumental predicate APs, which receive case via a different mechanism and are embedded in NPs/DPs.

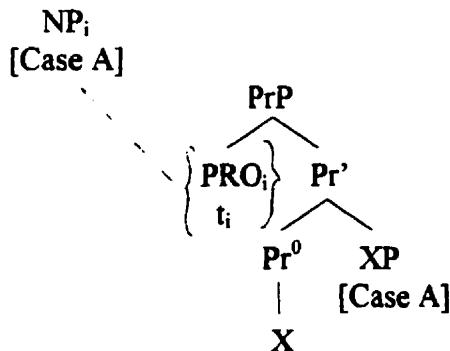
⁸ Bailyn designates the head of a maximal projection as X⁰. For example, the head of a predicate phrase is PrP⁰. According to Bailyn, the subject of a clause originates in Spec, PrP.



Bailyn argues that Old Russian used to have a Configurational Case Agreement Rule, which he calls “Rule A”. He formulates this rule as follows.⁹

(10) “Rule A”:

Pr^0 assigns Case A to any case-bearing complement, where A is the case assigned to the controller of the PRO, or binder of the trace, in its specifier position.

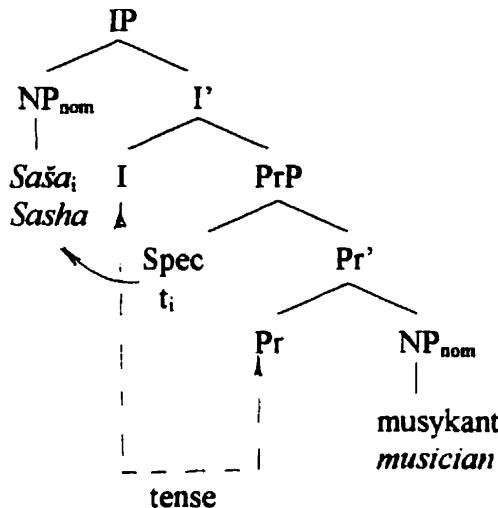


According to Bailyn, this rule still applies in other Slavic languages, like Serbo-Croatian, but has few historical remnants in Russian. Bailyn argues that “Rule A” is still active in double nominative constructions, like the one illustrated in (11) below.

⁹ According to Bailyn, the controller of the PRO or binder of the trace can be either subject or object.

- (11)a. Saša muzykant.
 Sasha (m sg nom) musician (m sg nom)
 "Sasha is a musician"

b. Structure of (11a)

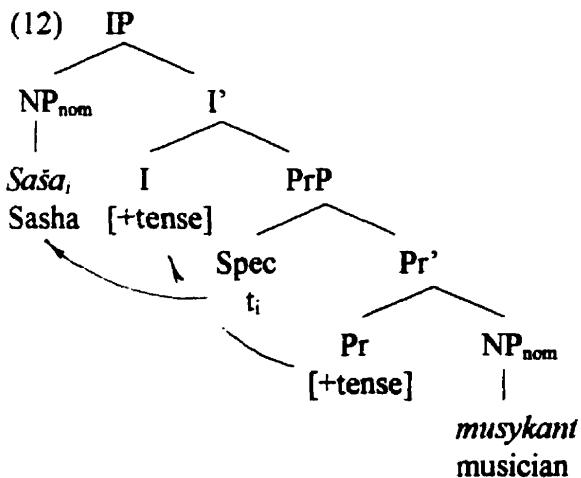


Bailyn argues that ‘Rule A’ applies in Russian only when the head of a predicate phrase has some has syntactic or phonetic content.¹⁰ Under his view, the head of the predicate phrase in (11) has syntactic content, because “matrix Pr^0 is always incorporated with the tense features of I^0 ” (Bailyn (1995: 127, 128)). Thus, the matrix Pr^0 in (11) has a phonetically null [+present] tense feature.

The tense feature sharing phenomenon discussed by Bailyn can be reinterpreted in current terms to mean that that Pr^0 can select a [+tense] feature in the lexicon, in which case this feature moves from Pr^0 to I to be checked against the [+tense] feature of the latter.¹¹ The reinterpreted structure of the sentence in (11) is given in (12).

¹⁰ In Bailyn’s view, the head of a predicate phrase in small clauses is empty (it does not have any syntactic or phonetic content).

¹¹ Feature checking mechanisms are discussed in detail in chapter 4.



Note that the analysis outlined above appears to make wrong predictions about case-marking of predicates in the double nominative construction in the past tense. Since in past tense contexts matrix Pr^0 is, presumably, invested with the [+past] tense feature of I^0 , one would expect to find the nominative, but not the instrumental case on predicate adjectives. This prediction, however, is not borne out, as both nominative and instrumental case can be found on Russian predicate adjectives in past tense contexts. This is illustrated in (13).

- (13)a. Saša byl veselyj.
 Sasha (m sg nom) was cheerful (m sg nom)
 "Sasha was cheerful."
- b. Saša byl veselym.
 Sasha (m sg nom) was cheerful (m sg inst)
 "Sasha was cheerful."

According to Bailyn, "Rule A" does not apply to Russian secondary predicates. He argues that 'true' secondary predicates are always marked with the instrumental case. What appear to be secondary predicates marked with a different case are, in his view, appositive structures that do not contain predicate phrases.

Bailyn's "Rule A" correctly captures the fact that predicates in the nominative case agree in case with the subject of their clause. It is consistent with widely held assumptions about nominative case assignment /checking in that it associates nominative case assignment with Infl. This association, however, is fairly indirect, and his deviation from the current syntactic theory is in need of some additional motivation: proliferation of functional heads and case-assignment mechanisms has proved to be conceptually unnecessary (cf. Chomsky (1995)). As I will show in chapter 5, it is possible to account for all instances of nominative case assignment, including nominative case on secondary predicates, with the same case checking mechanism, without resort to additional functional heads or other *ad hoc* stipulations.

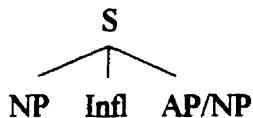
2.3 Structural Nominative Case

The purely structural case hypotheses discussed in this subsection assume that case is determined by the position of a DP in the syntactic structure of a sentence. According to some of these hypotheses, this position alone is sufficient for case assignment (the so-called "configurational case assignment"). According to others, structural case assignment involves a case assigner (the head of a maximal projection).

One of the proposals that treats nominative case on Russian predicates as configurational is that of Freidin and Babby (1984), who argue that nominative case is assigned to predicates by virtue of their being in a certain syntactic position with respect to Infl. They assume that copular sentences with predicate nouns and adjectives in the

nominative case have a clause structure like the one shown in (14), where both the subject and the predicate adjective are governed by Infl.¹²

(14)



Under their view, however, subject NPs, predicate NPs and predicate APs are not assigned case by Infl. They are assigned case purely in terms of syntactic configuration, by virtue of being “immediate constituents of S” (Freidin and Babby 1984: 15).

Freidin and Babby’s (1984) hypothesis about nominative case assignment captures the intuition that subject and predicate NPs (DPs, in current terms) are assigned case in a similar fashion. It is, however, incompatible with current theory in that assignment of a structural case does not involve any case assigner (or checker, in current terms).

Another analysis that associates nominative case assignment to predicates with the head of a clausal projection is that of Maling and Sprouse (1995). Maling and Sprouse analyze case assignment to predicate NPs in a number of Germanic languages. Based on the results of this analysis, they hypothesize that predicate NPs are *universally* assigned structural case.¹³ Under their analysis, the basic parameter dividing languages is whether or not the copula itself is a source of structural case.

¹² Freidin and Babby (1984) adopt the following definition of government:

(i) x governs y iff $\forall \phi$, a maximal projection, ϕ dominates x iff ϕ dominates y .

Recall that the DP hypothesis, which I adopt in this thesis, reanalyzes NPs as DPs. However, for exposition purposes in this chapter, NPs and DPs are equivalent.

¹³ It is generally assumed that structural case is determined by the position of a DP in the syntactic structure of a sentence. Nominative case is reserved for DPs in the subject position of finite clauses. Accusative case is used for the object DP of a transitive verb and preposition, as well as for the subject of an infinitival subordinate clause.

In some languages, e.g. Danish, Norwegian and English, the copula is clearly a case assigner and assigns accusative case to predicate NPs, just as a transitive verb assigns accusative case to its complement:

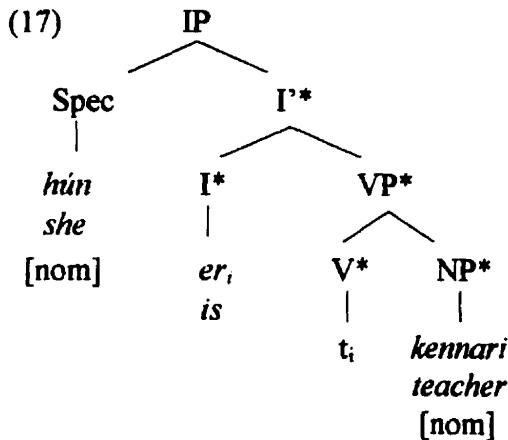
- | | |
|--|---------|
| (15)a. Det er mig/*jeg
it is me(acc/*nom) | Danish |
| b. That's me/*I. | English |

In other languages, such as Icelandic, German and Swedish, copulas do not assign case.

- | | |
|---|-------------|
| (16) Hún er kennari/*kennara.
she (nom) is teacher (nom/*acc)
"She is a teacher." | (Icelandic) |
|---|-------------|

Maling and Sprouse argue that in languages where copular verbs are not Case assigners the domain of the copula is transparent to structural case assignment from an external governor.¹⁴ In other words, the VP projected by the copula in these languages is not a barrier to government by the head of a higher maximal projection. Thus, Infl (I) governs into the VP headed by a non-case-assigning verb and assigns case to the VP complement. Under this view, both the subject and the predicate NPs are dependent on Infl for case, through Spec-head agreement on the one hand, but under government on the other. Consider, for example, the structure of the Icelandic example in (16), given in (17) below.

¹⁴ Governing domain of a node consists of all the constituents governed by that node.



In this example both the subject and predicate NPs are marked with nominative case. The subject receives the nominative case via a spec-head relation that holds between Spec, IP and I. How does the predicate NP get the nominative case? According to Maling and Sprouse, every structural case assigning head is associated with a structural case path, a domain that includes the structural case assigning head itself, the node immediately dominating the head and every node c-commanded by the head, but not contained within a more immediate case path. A case feature can move along a structural case path. In (17) the nodes included in the structural case path of I are marked with asterisks. Since the copula is not a case assigner in Icelandic, the structural case path of I includes the NP *kennari* ‘teacher’. Thus, I assigns nominative case to the predicate NP.

According to Maling and Sprouse, the mechanism they propose for case assignment to predicate NPs does not apply to predicate APs. They fail, however, to provide conclusive evidence for this claim.

Maling and Sprouse’s insight that Infl can assign nominative case twice is a significant contribution to the theory of Case assignment. However, the notion of

government has been abandoned by the current theory for lack of its conceptual necessity, and downward movement of features is generally disallowed for the same reason. In chapter 5 I will show that Maling and Sprouse's proposal that nominative case can be assigned twice can be reinterpreted on the basis of current assumptions about phrase structure. I will argue that, due to the availability of independently motivated multiple specifiers of T, nominative case on the subject and the predicate DPs is checked via *identical* spec-head relations with T.¹⁵ This case checking mechanism can be extended to apply to predicate APs if they prove to be embedded in NPs (DPs), and I will show in chapter 3 that there are reasons to think that they are.

Another problem with Maling and Sprouse's proposal is of an empirical nature. The fact that Russian predicate nouns can appear with the same copula in either the nominative or instrumental case, as shown in (4) above and repeated here as (18), suggests that the case assigning property of a copula cannot be a set parameter in a given language.

- (18)a. On byl pisatel'.
 he(m sg nom) was writer(m sg nom)
 "He was a writer."
- b. On byl pisatelem.
 he(m sg nom) was writer(m sg inst)
 "He was a writer."

Suppose the copula *byt* 'be' in Russian can either be a case assigner or not. Then one could hypothesize that, when the copula does not assign case, Infl governs into the VP headed by the copula and assigns nominative case to the predicate NP; the instrumental

¹⁵ Recall that, according to current theory, the head of a clausal projection is T.

case, on the other hand, is assigned by the copula when it functions as a case assigner. The problem that a purely structural analysis would then run into is that instrumental case, unlike accusative case, can hardly be construed as being assigned *structurally* by the copula.

Having discussed the insights and the problems of some previous analyses regarding nominative case assignment to Russian predicates, I will now turn to proposals that have been made with respect to instrumental case on Russian predicates. The proposals that I discuss in the next section differ significantly from the analysis of instrumental case on Russian predicate adjectives that I will provide in chapter 4 of this thesis.

3. Instrumental Case Assignment to Predicates

Instrumental case on Russian predicate adjectives has been treated by different authors as lexically inherent (quirky) or structural. Although it has not been specifically suggested that instrumental case on predicates is semantic, the view that, in some of its uses, instrumental case can be semantic deserves a special mention here. In the following sections I look in turn at proposals that represent each of these approaches. I will show that these proposals, like proposals regarding nominative case on Russian predicates are non-minimal in spirit, invoking mechanisms that are conceptually unnecessary and can be dispensed with.

3.1 Lexical Inherent (Quirky) Instrumental Case

Instrumental case on Russian predicate adjectives is treated as lexical inherent in the work of Neidle (1988) and Franks (1995). As discussed above, both authors contend that there are two copular verbs *byt'* ‘be’, one of which has “some” lexical content and assigns inherent instrumental case to its complements. According to Franks, the underlying structure of copular sentences with the lexical copular verb is as follows.¹⁶

- (19) [IP[I T [VP DP [v' be [DP_{inst}]]]]]

The verb in (19) assigns inherent instrumental case, and the subject DP raises to Spec,TP in search of case. Since the copula does not have a present tense form, this structure is unavailable in the present.

As I argued above, there is no evidence that the copular verb *byt'* ‘be’ in Russian has any lexically specified semantic content. Even if it did have lexical semantic content and could assign instrumental case, there is no evidence that this instrumental case is determined by the lexical properties of this verb. As the following examples show, some lexical verbs in Russian can assign either accusative or instrumental case to their complements.¹⁷

- (20)a. Čtoby probit' stenu, oni švyrjali v nee kamnjami.
 so-as-to breach wall they threw(past imperf) to it stones(inst)
 ‘To breach the wall, they threw stones at it.’
- b. On bescel'no švyrjal kamni v vodu.
 he aimlessly threw(past imperf) stones(acc) into water(acc)
 ‘He aimlessly threw stones into the water.’

¹⁶ The structure in (19) has been adapted to reflect current assumptions about phrase structure. According to Franks (1995), instrumental predicate APs are embedded within NP/DP constituents, since theta-roles of verbs, including those of the lexical copular verb *byt'* ‘be’, can be assigned only to NPs/DPs. On the other hand, Neidle (1988), given the assumptions of Lexical Function Grammar that she uses as a framework, argues that instrumental APs need not be embedded within NPs/DPs.

¹⁷ The examples in (20) are taken from Jakobsen (1971a).

In (20a) the verb *švyrjat* ‘‘throw’’ assigns instrumental case to its complement, whereas in (20b) it assigns accusative case.

Moreover, instrumental case appears to be freely available to secondary predicates, in sentences without the copular verb:

- (21) Maria prišla na rabotu bol'noj.
 Maria(f sg nom) came to work sick(f sg inst)
 ‘‘Maria came to work sick.’’

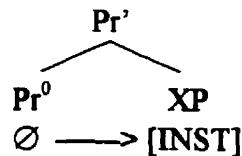
In chapter 4 I will show that the instrumental case in (20a) and (21), as well as the instrumental case on predicates in copular sentences, is an instantiation of the instrumental case of adjuncts in Russian. The analysis offered in chapter 4 allows us to overcome the conceptual and empirical problems that the proposal to treat instrumental case on Russian predicates as lexical inherent runs into.

3.2 Structural Instrumental Case

The proposal to treat instrumental case on Russian predicate adjectives as structural has been put forward by Bailyn (1995). Recall from section 2 that Bailyn assumes a functional category PredP (predicate phrase) between IP and VP. He does not consider copular sentences with instrumental predicates. As discussed in section 2, his theory makes wrong predictions about case-marking in copular sentences: the ‘‘configurational’’ rules that he proposes do not allow for instrumental case on predicates in this type of sentences, contrary to the language facts. With regard to secondary predicates and predicates of

embedded small clauses, he argues that they are assigned instrumental case by the so-called “Rule I”, which is given in (22) below.

- (22) “Rule I”:
Null Pr⁰ assigns **Instrumental** case to any case-bearing complement.

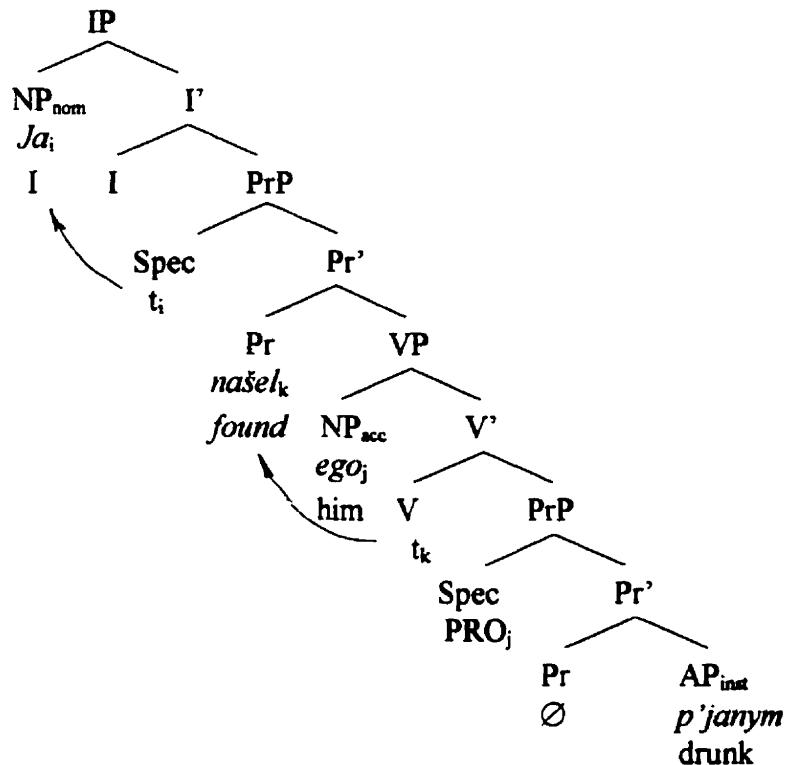


According to Bailyn, the embedded Pr⁰ in (23) does not have any phonetic or syntactic content and, thus, assigns instrumental case to its complement, in accordance with “Rule I”.¹⁸

- (23)a. Ja našel ego p'janym.
 I; (nom) found him; (m sg acc) drunk; (m sg inst)
 “I found him drunk.”

¹⁸ Bailyn (1995) assumes that optional secondary predicates adjoin to V', secondary predicates are embedded in small clauses with PRO and verbs raise to the head of a PrP.

b. Structure of (23)



Bailyn's idea that instrumental case is assigned under certain structural conditions merits consideration. However, his analysis would require a different case-assignment mechanism to explain instrumental case on predicates in copular sentences. Such an analysis is incompatible with current theory which disallows proliferation of case-assignment mechanisms when this is not conceptually necessary. In chapter 4 I will offer a much simpler analysis which unifies instrumental case on all types of Russian predicates.

3.3 Semantic Instrumental Case

The idea that instrumental case can be semantic in some of its uses is advocated by Freidin and Babby (1984). Although they do not specifically address the issue of

instrumental case assignment to predicates, their treatment of instrumental case in other instances can be extended to apply to predicates. Freidin and Babby distinguish semantic instrumental case from lexical instrumental case. They give the following examples of the two uses of instrumental case in Russian.

- (24)a. Vy umeete upravljat' avtomobilem?
you(nom) able drive car(inst)
'Do you know how to drive a car?'
- b. Včera Mašu sbilo mašinoj.
yesterday Maša(acc) hit(past, n) car(f sg inst)
'A car hit Maša yesterday.'

Freidin and Babby argue that the instrumental case on the NP (DP) *avtomobilem* "car" in (24a) is lexical: it is determined by the lexical properties of the verb *upravljat'* "drive", which takes this DP as its complement. They argue that the instrumental case on the subject NP (DP) *mašinoj* "car" in (24b) is semantic, because it imparts "an adverse meaning" (Freidin and Babby (1984: 9), in contrast to the nominative case on the subject NP (DP) *mašina* in (25) below.

- (25) Včera Mašu sbila mašina.
yesterday Maša(acc) hit(past, f) car(f sg nom)
'A car hit Maša yesterday.'

Note that, according to current assumptions about phrase structure, the DP *mašinoj* "car" in (24b) is an adjunct (as evidenced by lack of agreement in φ-features between this DP and the verb *sbilo* "hit"), whereas the DP *mašina* "car" in (25) is the subject (it agrees with the verb *sbila* "hit" in φ-features). Thus, not only the cases on the DP *mašina* "car" are different in (24b) and (25), but the syntactic structures of these sentences are different as

well. In Freidin and Babby's view, it is the semantic content of the instrumental case that gives rise to the different interpretation of (24b) and (25). While I adopt Freidin and Babby's view that instrumental case can be associated with some semantic content, in chapter 4 I will show that instrumental case on Russian predicates can be interpreted only in a very specific structural configuration.

4. Conclusion

In this chapter I reviewed how some of the questions raised in chapter 1 have been addressed in the literature. The proposals outlined above have considerably improved our understanding of Russian copular sentences with predicate adjectives in the nominative and the instrumental case. Of particular interest are the insights that (i) there is only one verb *byt* 'be'; (ii) the head of a clausal projection can assign nominative case twice; (iii) the head of a clausal projection assigns nominative case to subjects and predicates in a similar manner; (iv) nominative case on predicates is a case of agreement; (iv) agreement is a structural relation; (v) instrumental case on predicates must meet certain structural conditions; (vi) instrumental case can be associated with some semantic content.

In subsequent chapters I will reinterpret these insights in terms of current syntactic theory. I will demonstrate that a minimalist account of Russian copular sentences with predicate adjectives in the nominative and the instrumental case is conceptually more elegant and has broader empirical coverage than the proposals discussed in this chapter.

CHAPTER 3

Licensing Case on Russian Predicate Adjectives

0. Introduction

As discussed in chapter 1, Russian predicate adjectives can have either the so-called “long-form” (henceforth LF) or the so-called “short-form” (henceforth SF). LF predicate adjectives can have either nominative or instrumental case. As regards SF adjectives, traditional Russian grammars usually state that these adjectives appear only in the nominative case form (cf., for example, Švedova et al. (1980a: 556)).¹ While this view is justified from the historical perspective (in Old Russian SF adjectives were declined), to my mind, there is no reason to believe that SF adjectives have *syntactically active* case in Modern Russian. The distribution of LF and SF adjectives that I examine in this chapter will be shown to support this departure.

Given the well-known fact that cross-linguistically case is normally a property of DPs, the question that needs to be answered is why some predicate adjectives should be case marked. This is the question that I set out to answer in this chapter. I assume that the most reasonable answer to this question is, in fact, the most obvious one. I will argue that both argument and predicate DPs need case in order to be visible at LF.² I will further argue that those predicate adjectives which are case-marked are, in fact, embedded in DPs with

¹ However, not everyone shares this point of view. See, for example, Lekant (1976: 110), who does not regard SF adjectives in Modern Russian as case-marked.

² LF (Logical Form) is the level at which a syntactic derivation interfaces with the conceptual-intentional (semantic) system of cognition. See section 2.1 of chapter 4 for discussion.

null D and N heads.³ It is these predicate DPs that need to have case, and the adjectives that are contained in them have case by agreement with their head nouns.

This chapter is organized as follows. In section 1 I will address the issue of licensing case on predicate DPs. In section 2 I will examine the internal structure of LF and SF adjectival predicates. This section will provide evidence that SF adjectival predicates form AP constituents, whereas LF adjectival predicates are DPs. In section 3 I will summarize the discussion in the previous sections.

1. Case Theory and Predicate DPs

1.1 Case Filter and Chomsky's (1981) Visibility Condition

How is case licensed on a DP? Is the case licensing mechanism the same for DPs in argument position and DPs in predicative position? In the 1970s and 1980s, syntactic theory was more concerned with the former question. Vergnaud (1982) proposed to capture the distribution of overt argument NPs with a Case Filter stated in (1).⁴

- (1) Every phonetically realized NP must be assigned (abstract) case.

An example like (2) is straightforwardly ruled out as a violation of this morphological filter, since the phonetically realized NP *John*, which is the subject of the infinitival clause complement of the raising verb *seem*, is not assigned case.

³ Following Progovac (1998), I assume that the category D (determiner) is a universal property of human language and posit DPs for Russian, despite the lack of definite and indefinite articles (i.e. canonical determiners) in this language. The distinction between DPs and NPs is not, however, crucial to my analysis either in this chapter or elsewhere in this thesis.

⁴ Although I assume that all NPs are complements of D, I give here the original formulation of Case Filter, which makes use of the term NP.

- (2) *It seems [John to be here].

However, as Lasnik (1992) and Chomsky (1995:115) point out, some facts are left unexplained by (1). For example, the lack of case on a wh-trace, which has no phonetic/morphological realization, appears to cause the ungrammaticality of the following sentence.

- (3) *Who does it seem [*t* to be here]?

A similar effect is observed in relative clauses, where the wh-phrase antecedent need not have an overt morphological realization:

- (4)a. the man (who) I see
 b. *the man (who) it seems to be here.

As (4) shows, no requirement on *who* is relevant. Apparently, wh-traces must have abstract case, which undermines (1).

To overcome this difficulty, Chomsky (1981, 1995) offers an alternative view of the Case Filter. He attributes Case Filter effects to θ-theory. In his view, case is a condition of the well-formedness of θ-chains, which he formulates as follows (1995:119).⁵

(5) Visibility Condition

A chain is visible for θ-marking if it contains a case position.

The θ-Criterion then will be violated if an argument (i.e. a θ-marked NP) is caseless. This approach, however, is not without problems.⁶ Safir (1985), for example, points out that

⁵ A θ-chain is the maximal set of positions occupied by a θ-marked argument.

⁶ One problem is that PRO, which is a caseless argument, should violate the Visibility Condition. As the contrast in (i) and (ii) shows, it does not:

- (i) *I tried [[John to be here]].
 (ii) I tried [[PRO to be here]].

since predicate nominals are not in argument positions, they are not in θ -chains. If they are not in θ -chains, they are not subject to the Visibility Condition. This leads Safir to conclude that there is no motivation for a rule of case-assignment to predicate nominals in languages such as English, and that the simplest assumption is, thus, that predicate nominals are caseless. However, the Caselessness hypothesis seems untenable for languages such as Russian, where predicate nominals bear morphological case:

- (6) Ivan byl učitelem.
 (m sg nom) was teacher(ms sg inst)
 "Ivan was a teacher."

Thus, it appears that the Visibility Condition, as stated in (5), is too narrow and must be revised. Several proposals to extend the Visibility Condition have been made. I discuss two proposals that are relevant to my concerns in the following subsection.⁷

1.2 Extension of the Visibility Condition to predicate NPs

1.2.1 Fabb's (1984) Proposal

Fabb (1984) extends Chomsky's (1981) Visibility Condition from a condition on θ -chains to a condition on both the assigner and the assignee of a θ -role. Fabb's extended visibility condition, which he calls the Visibility Requirement on Theta-Assignment, is given in (7).

For discussion of this and other problems with this approach see Lasnik (1992), Chomsky (1995).

⁷ Lasnik (1992), for example, proposes that landing sites for A-movement must be Case positions to account for restrictions on expletive constructions. This proposal, however, has little relevance for the issue of case on predicate nominals, and I will not discuss it here. See Lasnik (1992) for details.

(7) Visibility Requirement on Theta-Assignment

Every node in a theta-indexed chain must be visible.

According to Fabb, a ‘theta-indexed’ chain consists of a theta-assigner and an assignee, both of which must be visible, i.e. have case.⁸

Fabb argues that predicates, too, must be visible. Following Rothstein (1983), Fabb considers predicates to be one place functions. In his view, the subject of a predicate is the argument which saturates this function; predication is a syntactic relation and is independent of θ-role assignment.⁹ He argues that predicates get case and become visible by virtue of being predicated of subjects, which have case.

I will adopt Fabb’s insight that visibility is a condition not only on arguments, but on predicates as well. I will show that, in some instances predicate visibility, like argument visibility, is achieved by case-marking. I will argue, however, that only DPs satisfy the visibility condition on predicates via case-marking; other categories satisfy it by different means.

⁸ According to this principle, verbs also have case. This is in violation of Stowell’s (1981) Case Resistance Principle, given in (i).

(i) Case may not be assigned to a category bearing a Case-assigning feature.

Stowell’s principle appears to hold for Russian, where, presumably, all abstract case is realized morphologically, and case-assigning categories, like verbs and prepositions, are not case-marked. However, since this principle is not relevant to predicate nouns and adjectives, which, of course, do not assign case, I will not discuss the problems which Stowell’s Case Resistance Principle presents for Fabb’s claim that verbs have case. See Stowell (1981) and Fabb (1984) for details.

⁹ Thus, predication may hold between a predicate and a ‘pleonastic’ subject which has no semantic content.

1.2.2 Rapoport's (1987) Proposal

Rapoport (1987) follows Williams (1980) in assuming that predication is the assignment of a theta-role to an external argument by a maximal projection through coindexation. Like Fabb, she argues that Chomsky's (1981) Visibility Condition should be extended to theta-role assigners. In her view, however, an extended visibility requirement is imposed on theta-role assigners in certain languages, but not in others. She formulates her Extended Visibility Requirement on theta-role assigners in terms of the notion "functional head":

(8) **Extended Visibility Requirement**

In some languages, a functional head is required to mediate the relation of theta-role assignment by a lexical head.

Under this view, English is one language in which Extended Visibility holds. In the case of English predicative copular sentences, the functional head Infl is, presumably, required to satisfy the Visibility Condition on theta-role assigners/predicates.¹⁰ Thus, VPs in English must merge with Infl by the level of LF, as is evident from their tense inflection:

(9) John visited his parents.
 past

English nominal predicates, too, must merge with Infl by the level of LF, as evident from the obligatory copula:

- (10)a. The boy is a student.
- b. *The boy a student.

¹⁰ According to the assumptions adopted in this thesis, Infl is, in fact, just T[tense].

Rapoport (1987) claims that in languages such as Hebrew and Russian, on the other hand, there is no Extended Visibility requirement, i.e. the mediation of a functional head for visibility of its predators is not required. The following Hebrew sentence is grammatical, despite the fact that it does not contain a copula.

- (11) ha-yeled student.
 the-boy student
 "The boy is a student."

Rapoport points out that in Russian, as in Hebrew, the copula is not used in the present tense:

- (12) Etot mal'čik student.
 this(m sg nom) boy(m sg nom) student(m sg nom)
 "This boy is a student."

While it is true that in the present tense Russian does not require the mediation of Infl realized as *byt* 'be' in matrix predicative sentences with nouns and adjectives in the nominative case, comparable matrix predicative sentences with nouns and adjectives in the instrumental case are impossible, as illustrated by the contrast in (12) and (13).

- (13) *Etot mal'čik studentom.
 this(m sg nom) boy(m sg nom) student(m sg inst)
 "This boy is a student."

This fact is surprising, considering that it is instrumental case that makes post-copular nouns unambiguously predicative in past and future tense contexts (cf., for example, Nichols (1981), Chvany (1975), Partee (to appear)). As Rapoport points out, instrumental case is also required in other environments without *byt* 'be', such as embedded small clauses. This is illustrated in (14).

- (14)a. Ja sčitaju Ivana durakom.
 I consider Ivan(m sg acc) fool(m sg inst)
 "I consider Ivan a fool."
- b. *Ja sčitaju Ivana duraka.
 I consider Ivan(m sg acc) fool(m sg acc)
 "I consider Ivan a fool."

Rapoport concludes that, although Russian does not have Extended Visibility, it does have a particular case requirement on its predicates.¹¹ It seems to me that a more elegant account of requirements on predicates can be made, if a particular case requirement is subsumed under a revised visibility condition on predicates. In the next section I will propose such a revised visibility condition.

1.2.3 Visibility of Russian DPs

Let us examine Russian data more closely. It turns out that in Russian only DPs (nouns, modifying adjectives inside DPs, pronouns) have morphological case.¹² DPs are case-marked in both argument and predicate positions. This is illustrated in (15) and (16):

- (15)a. Student byl bolen.
 student(m sg nom) was(past m sg) sick(m sg)
 "The student was sick."
- b. Bol'noj student ne prišel na lekciju.
 sick(m sg nom) student(m sg nom) NEG came(past m sg) to lecture(f sg prep)
 "The sick student did not come to the class."

¹¹ In the next chapter I will show that (13) is ungrammatical, because predicates in the instrumental case must meet certain configurational conditions.

¹² In the next section I will show that "bare" case-marked adjectives, too, are part of DPs.

- c. Kto byl bolen?
 who(nom) was(past m sg) sick(m sg)
 "Who was sick?"
- (16)a. Ivan byl studentom.
 Ivan(m sg nom) was(past m sg) student(m sg inst)
 "Ivan was a student."
- b. Ivan byl xorosim studentom.
 Ivan (m sg nom) was(past m sg) good (m sg inst) student(m sg inst)
 "Ivan was a good student."
- c. Kem byl Ivan?
 who(inst) was(past m sg) Ivan(m sg nom)
 "Who was Ivan?"

I suggest that it is case that allows argument and predicate DPs to be visible at LF as theta-role receivers and theta-role assigners, respectively.¹³ In other words, case-marking in Russian is reserved for DPs, the only category that can both assign and receive a theta-role. Predicate adjectives, verbs and prepositions can only be theta-role assigners. Thus, they do not have morphological case in Russian, as the examples in (15) and (16) above illustrate. However, these categories have other features which, presumably, make them visible at LF. Adjectives, for example, are marked with φ-features. Verbs are marked with tense and φ-features. It would be reasonable to suppose that it is these features that make them visible. I propose that visibility of both arguments and predicates is achieved when they occupy certain syntactic positions at LF. As I will show in chapter 4, it is the need to check features such as case, tense, person and number that drives movement of lexical items to certain

¹³ Like Williams (1980) and Rapoport (1987), I assume that predication is assignment of a theta-role to an external argument. Given the VP-internal subject hypothesis (see chapter 1) adopted by the current theory, I assume that an external argument, as well as an internal one, can be assigned a theta-role inside a VP. In chapter 4, however, I will show that, in those cases where the verb is semantically vacuous, external arguments can be assigned theta roles by the maximal projection of the verb, rather than by the verb itself.

syntactic positions. In other words, all these features can be used to make a category visible as either an argument or a predicate. The following generalization appears to capture the facts described above.

(17) Revised Visibility Condition

- (i) All argument and predicate categories must be visible at LF.
- (ii) Categories which can bear case become visible as arguments or predicates iff they are case-marked accordingly.
- (iii) Categories which do not bear case are visible iff they have other features that make them visible.

It follows from (17) that case allows Russian DPs to be interpreted at LF as either arguments (theta-role assignees) or predicates (theta-role assigners). Russian APs and VPs, on the other hand, are visible due to their φ -features (and tense features, in the case of VPs).

Like Rapoport's Extended Visibility Condition, the Revised Visibility Condition in (17) requires that predicates be visible at LF. I suggest, however, that mergers with functional heads are only one of the means that can be used by a language to make a predicate category visible.¹⁴ The visibility requirement on Russian predicate DPs, for example, is satisfied by morphological case-marking.

In this section I have determined why predicate DPs need case. In the next section I will turn to Russian predicate adjectives. I will focus on the internal structure of adjectival predicates and show how it is related to the distribution of case-marked and caseless adjectives.

¹⁴ Following Rapoport (1987), I use the term "merger" very loosely here. In chapter 4 this term will be used in a more specific (and technically defined) sense.

2. Internal Structure of Russian Adjectival Predicates

Having established that DPs in argument and predicate position need case, I will now show that LF adjectives are DPs with null D and N heads, whereas SF adjectives are APs. The issue of the constituent structure of LF and SF adjectives has been debated in the literature. As discussed in chapter 2, one of the views on the constituent structure of Russian adjectival predicates is represented by Babby (1973, 1975) and Chvany (1975), who argue that SF predicate adjectives form their own constituents, whereas LF ones are embedded in NPs (DPs, in current terms). Another view is represented by Neidle (1988), who holds that only LF adjectives in the nominative case are embedded in NPs (DPs). Still another view is advocated by Franks (1995), who claims that only LF adjectives in the instrumental case are embedded in NPs/DPs. In this thesis I will adopt Babby and Chvany's insight with respect to the internal structure of LF adjectival predicates. In the following subsections I provide evidence that supports their claim.

2.1 Interpretation of LF and SF Predicate Adjectives

The interpretation of LF and SF predicate adjectives suggests that LF adjectives are part of DPs with null D and N heads, whereas SF adjectives are APs. Traditional Russian grammar abounds in intuitive statements about the interpretation of LF Russian predicate adjectives as opposed to that of SF adjectives (cf., for example, Vinogradov (1947: 270),

Švedova (1952), Isačenko (1976), Švedova et al. (1980b:289)).¹⁵ Isačenko (1976)

considers sentences like the one in (18) below.

- (18)a. Kitajskij jazyk očen' trudnyj.
Chinese(m sg nom) language(m sg nom) very difficult(m sg nom)
“The Chinese language is (a) very difficult (one).”
- b. Kitajskij jazyk očen' truden.
Chinese(m sg nom) language(m sg nom) very difficult(m sg)
“The Chinese language is very difficult.”

Upon analyzing the semantic difference between the sentences in (18a) and (18b), Isačenko (1976: 327) concludes that the only statement about this difference that can be made “without resort to subjective and therefore untestable interpretations” is that in (18a), with the LF predicate adjective *trudnyj* “difficult”, the entity denoted by the subject (*kitajskij jazyk* “the Chinese language”) is related to the class of other entities characterized by the same property, whereas in (18b), with the SF predicate adjective *truden* “difficult”, the property of “difficulty” is simply assigned to the entity denoted by the subject. According to Isačenko, the sentences in (18a) and (18b) can be paraphrased as (19a) and (19b), respectively.

- (19)a. Kitajskij jazyk otnositja k klassu trudnyx jazykov.
“Chinese belongs to the class of difficult languages.”
- b. Trudnost' - odno is svojstv kitajskogo jazyka.
“Difficulty is one of the properties of Chinese.”

¹⁵ I was not able to obtain a copy of Švedova's (1952) influential work on Russian predicate adjectives and had to rely on citations of it in the literature.

To my mind, the interpretation of sentences like (18a) and (18b) above suggests that the predicate in (18a), unlike the one in (18b), contains a null noun, which refers to the domain circumscribed by the subject of the sentence, the domain of languages.

In the next subsections I look at the distribution of LF and SF adjectives, which provides syntactic evidence in support of the claim that LF adjectives, unlike SF ones, are part of DPs.

2.2 Distribution of LF and SF Adjectives

2.2.1 Use of LF Adjectives in Argument Position

DPs with null D and N heads, like DPs with overt N heads, should appear in argument, as well as predicate, position. If LF adjectives modify null predicate nouns, one might expect to find these adjectives in argument position as well. This prediction is borne out, as the examples in (20) illustrate.

- (20)a. V komnatu vošli dve devočki.
 in room came two girls(pl nom)
 “Two girls entered the room.”

Vysokaja podbežala ko mne.
 tall (f sg nom) ran up to me
 “The tall one ran up to me.”

- b. V komnatu vošli dve devočki.
 in room came two girls(pl nom)
 “Two girls entered the room.”

Ja znal vysokuju.
 I knew tall(f sg acc)
 “I knew the tall one.”

- c. V komnatu vošli dve devočki.
 in room came two girls(pl nom)
 "Two girls entered the room."

Ja posmotrel na vysokuju i uznal ee.
 I looked at tall(f sg acc) and recognized her
 "I looked at the tall one and recognized her."

- d. V komnatu vošli dve devočki.
 in room came two girls(pl nom)
 "Two girls entered the room."

Ja znal imja vysokoj.
 I knew name(n sg acc) tall(f sg gen)
 "I knew the name of the tall one."

In (20a) an LF adjective appears as the subject of the sentence; in (20b), as an object of the verb *znal* "knew"; in (20c), as an object of the preposition *na* "at"; in (20d), as a possessor.

SF adjectives, on the other hand, cannot appear in argument position, as the examples in (21) illustrate.

- (21)a. V komnatu vošli dve devočki.
 in room came two girls(pl nom)
 "Two girls entered the room."

*Vysoka podbežala ko mne.
 tall (f sg) ran up to me
 "The tall one ran up to me."

- b. V komnatu vošli dve devočki.
 in room came two girls(pl nom)
 "Two girls entered the room."

*Ja znal vysoka.
 I knew tall(f sg)
 "I knew the tall one."

- c. V komnatu vošli dve devočki.
 in room came two girls(pl nom)
 “Two girls entered the room.”
- *Ja posmotrel na vysoka i uznal ee.
 I looked at tall(f sg) and recognized her
 “I looked at the tall one and recognized her.”
- d. V komnatu vošli dve devočki.
 in room came two girls(pl nom)
 “Two girls entered the room.”
- *Ja znal imja vysoka.
 I knew name(n sg acc) tall(f sg)
 “I knew the name of the tall one.”

2.2.2 Exclusively Predicative Use of SF Adjectives

Unlike LF adjectives, which appear in both predicative and attributive position, Russian SF can be used *only* in predicative position:

- (22)a. Mal'čik veselyj.
 boy(m sg nom) cheerful(m sg nom)
 “The boy is cheerful.”
- b. Mal'čik vesel.
 boy(m sg nom) cheerful(m sg)
 “The boy is cheerful.”
- c. Ja uvidel veselogo mal'čika.
 I saw cheerful(m sg acc) boy(m sg acc)
 “I saw a cheerful boy.”
- d. *Ja uvidel vesel mal'čika.
 I saw cheerful(m sg) boy(m sg acc)
 “I saw a cheerful boy.”

One might argue that there is counter-evidence to the claim that Russian SF adjectives can only be used predicatively. Wade (1992), for example, gives examples of sentences with what at first sight appear to be attributive SF adjectives.¹⁶

- (23)a. U tebja net čeloveka bliže.
to you no person(m sg gen) closer
“There is no person closer to you.”
- b. Pokažite plat’e podeševle.
show dress(n sg acc) slightly cheaper
“Show me a slightly cheaper dress.”

However, in view of the fact that Russian adjectives normally precede the nouns they modify, whereas relative clauses normally follow their head nouns (cf. Švedova et al. (1980b: 198, 515)), it seems reasonable to suppose that the SF adjectives in (23) are part of reduced relative clauses. The corresponding relative clauses are given in (24).

- (24)a. U tebja net čeloveka, kotoryj tebe bliže.
to you no person(m sg gen) which to you closer
“There is no person who is closer to you.”
- b. Pokažite plat’e, kotoroe podeševle.
show dress(n sg acc) which slightly cheaper
“Show me a dress which is slightly cheaper.”

In Modern Russian there are a few expressions where SF adjectives occur in what appears to be an attributive position:¹⁷

- (25)a. sred’ bela dnja
in white(m sg gen-OR) day(m sg gen)
“in broad daylight”

¹⁶ Use of SF adjectives in this position is restricted to comparative forms, where gender and number distinctions are neutralized (i.e. not only is there no agreement in case between the noun and the “modifying” adjective, but there is no agreement in φ-features either).

¹⁷ I am grateful to Olga Mladenova for pointing out these examples to me. I designate the Old Russian forms of adjectives used in (25) as OR.

- b. po belu svetu
prep white(m sg dat-OR) world(m sg dat)
“in the wide world”
- c. na bosu nogu
on bare(f sg acc-OR) foot(f sg acc)
“on (one’s) bare feet”

Note, however, that in standard Modern Russian, parts of these expressions cannot be substituted with other words:¹⁸

- (26)a. *sred’ bela snega
in white(m sg gen-OR) snow(m sg gen)
“in white snow”
- b. *po belu polu
prep white(m sg dat-OR) floor(m sg dat)
“on a white floor”
- c. *na malu nogu
on small(f sg acc-OR) foot(f sg acc)
“on a small foot”

Thus, the expressions like the ones in (25) do not represent a productive pattern in standard Modern Russian and can be reanalyzed as compounds. I conclude that SF adjectives in Russian have lost their ability to modify nouns.

The fact that LF adjectives can occur both in attributive and predicative position, whereas SF adjectives are found only in predicative position can be explained, if LF adjectives are embedded in DPs, and SF adjectives are APs. If this is, indeed, the case, the ungrammaticality of (22d) is to be expected: in order to be licensed as attributes, Russian adjectives generally agree with the nouns they modify, not only in gender and number, but

¹⁸ In standard Modern Russian, the adjective *belyj* “white” no longer has the meanings “wide” and “broad.”.

in case as well (cf. Švedova et al. (1980b: 56)). Since SF adjectives do not have case, they do not satisfy this condition and cannot be used attributively.

2.2.3 Coordination of LF Adjectival Predicates and DPs

One of the standard tests used to determine syntactic structure is coordination. It is based on the cross-linguistic observation that only like constituents can be conjoined. If LF adjectival predicates are DPs and SF adjectival predicates are APs, then it should be possible to conjoin the former, but not the latter with DPs which have overt N heads. This prediction is borne out, as the sentences in (27) illustrate.¹⁹

- (27)a. On byl lenivyj i zanuda.
he(m sg nom) was lazy(m sg nom) and bore (sg nom)
“*He was lazy and a bore.”
- b. On byl lenivym i zanudoj.
he(m sg nom) was lazy(m sg inst) and bore (sg inst)
“*He was lazy and a bore.”
- c. *On byl leniv i zanuda.
he(n sg nom) was lazy(m sg) and bore(sg nom)
“*He was lazy and a bore.”

2.2.4 Substitution with Pronouns

Substitution can also be used to determine the constituency of LF and SF adjectival predicates. If “bare” LF adjectives are contained in DPs with null D and N heads, it should

¹⁹ Qualitative nouns such as *zanuda* “a bore” in Russian do not have gender distinctions.

be possible to replace them with interrogative pronouns, which typically replace DPs. As (28) shows, they can, indeed, be replaced by such interrogative pronouns.²⁰

- (28) Ty ne znaeš', kto iz etix studentov Ivan?
 You NEG know who (m sg nom) out of these students Ivan(m sg nom)
 "Do you know which of these students is Ivan?"

Ivan vysokij.
 Ivan(m sg nom) tall(m sg nom)
 "Ivan is the tall one."

On the other hand, APs cannot be replaced by pronouns. The example in (29) shows that SF adjectival predicates, which are APs, cannot be pronominalized.

- (29) Ty ne znaeš', kto iz etix studentov Ivan?
 You NEG know who (m sg nom) out of these students Ivan(m sg nom)
 "Do you know which of these students is Ivan?"

*Ivan vysok.
 Ivan(m sg nom) tall(m sg nom)
 **Ivan is tall."

In view of the facts discussed in this section, I conclude that the optionality of case-marking on Russian adjectives in predicative position is only an illusion: LF adjectives always function as noun modifiers. In those cases where they appear in predicative position without an overt noun, they modify a null noun.

²⁰ Instrumental LF adjectival predicates cannot normally be pronominalized. The following example from Chvany (1975) is exceptional and intended to create a special (humorous) effect.

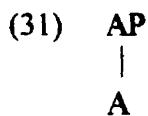
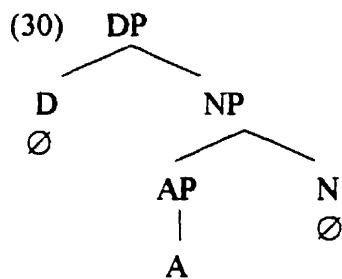
- (i) Esli xočeš' byt' sčastlivym, bud' im.
 if you want to be happy(m sg inst) be him(3p m sg inst)
 "If you want to be a happy person, be one."

In order to be pronominalized, DPs need to be sufficiently individuated in the discourse at hand (i.e. they need to be specific). It seems to me that instrumental adjectival predicates cannot be pronominalized, because they are non-specific DPs. I leave investigation of this possibility to further research.

3. Conclusion

This chapter has established that predicates, as well as arguments, must be visible at LF, a condition I formulated as the Revised Visibility Condition. Different kinds of predicates satisfy the Revised Visibility Condition by specification for different kinds of formal features. In particular, APs satisfy revised visibility if they have number and gender features, and DPs satisfy revised visibility if they have case features.

In this chapter I have shown that SF adjectives are, in fact, predicate APs, and as such are visible by virtue of their number and gender features. On the other hand, LF adjectives that appear in predicate position are APs embedded in predicate DPs, albeit DPs with null D and N heads, and as such are visible by virtue of their case features. The internal structures of predicates with “bare” LF and SF adjectives are given in (30) and (31), respectively.



Having established why “bare” LF adjectives need case, I will now address the issue of why there should be two case-marking options for these adjectives. This is the focus of

the next two chapters. I will begin in chapter 4 by exploring the properties of Russian predicate adjectives in the instrumental case.

CHAPTER 4

Instrumental Case on Russian Predicate Adjectives

0. Introduction

In the previous chapters we have seen that “long-form” predicate adjectives in Russian can be marked with either instrumental or nominative case. My main objective in this chapter is to provide a syntactic account of predicate adjectives in the instrumental case. I will argue that instrumental case is the inherent case of adjuncts, and that Russian predicate adjectives in the instrumental case are contained in DPs which are VP-adjuncts at a certain level of the derivation.¹ I will further argue that there is only one privileged position at the periphery of VP, namely, the right edge of VP, where a DP can be interpreted as an adjunct simply because it has instrumental case, and that this explains the well-known fact that there cannot be two instrumentals in the same Russian clause. Although I will focus on predicate adjectives in copular matrix clauses, I will show that the analysis can be extended to embedded small clause predicates and secondary predicates as well.

The syntactic analysis of predicate adjectives in the instrumental and nominative case, which I undertake in this chapter and chapter 5 respectively, assumes the minimalist

¹ See chapter 3 for discussion of the constituent structure of Russian predicate adjectives and a proposal that case-marked predicate adjectives are embedded in DPs with null D and N heads. Chomsky (1995) shows that the Projection Principle adopted by the Government and Binding Theory (cf. Chomsky (1981, 1986a)), which requires that complements be theta-positions, theta-marked the same way at each level of the derivation, is dubious on conceptual grounds, and that theta-roles are, in fact, assigned at LF. The abandonment of the Projection Principle makes it possible for DPs which originate in complement position to be interpreted as adjuncts at LF. As we will see later in this chapter, although all Russian instrumental predicates are interpreted as adjuncts at LF, some of them are base-generated in complement position.

program for linguistic theory, as outlined in Chomsky (1992, 1995). Compared with the previous syntactic theories, this framework is better suited to elegantly explain how a particular case is licensed on Russian predicate adjectives, because it allows us to achieve broad empirical coverage with fewer (and only conceptually necessary) assumptions. Based on current minimalist assumptions, I will argue that, like any other inherent case, instrumental case on Russian predicate adjectives (and the DPs they are contained in) need not be checked syntactically. My claim is that it is the modifical semantic content of the instrumental case on Russian predicate adjectives that allows it to be interpreted at LF. I will further argue that the instrumental case on Russian predicate adjectives is different from the inherent case of theta-marked complements in that, in order to be interpreted, it must meet a certain configurational condition: the DPs which contain instrumental Russian predicate adjectives must be in adjunct position at the right edge of VP by LF.

This chapter is organized as follows. In section 1 I discuss the use of instrumental case in Russian and argue that it is the inherent case of adjunct DPs in this language. In section 2, after introducing some basic minimalist assumptions crucial to my analysis, I argue that the instrumental case on predicate DPs, like the case of other adjuncts, does not need to be checked in a spec-head configuration. In this section I account for the lack of the instrumental option for predicate nouns and adjectives in present tense contexts in structural terms and show that the analysis advocated in this chapter can accommodate the use of instrumental case on predicates of embedded clauses, as well as secondary predicates. In section 3 I summarize the results of the analysis.

1. Use of Instrumental Case in Russian

It is generally agreed that the instrumental case is the most complex case in Russian in terms of the range of meanings it can express and the diversity of its functions. In an effort to describe the use of the instrumental case, most linguists have taken a semantic approach the result of which has usually been a long and heterogeneous list of specific meanings, such as Instrument, Means, Agent, Manner, Time, Location, Predicate Nominal (cf., for example, Švedova, Arutjunova, Bondarenko, Ivanov, Lopatin, Uluxanov, Filin (1980a: 482-483)), or a very general statement to the effect that the instrumental case is marked for peripherality (*pereferijnost'*) and unmarked for directionality (*napravlennost'*) and delimitation of extent (*ob ''emnost'*) (cf. Jakobson (1971b)). From a theoretical standpoint, it is desirable to have a unified analysis, rather than a descriptive statement of uses. To my mind, a unified analysis of its uses other than the quirky (lexically specified) instrumental case on objects of some verbs and prepositions can be made in structural terms. While it is beyond the scope of this thesis to provide a comprehensive analysis of instrumental case in Russian, I would like to suggest that in those cases where the instrumental case is not determined by lexical properties of verbs and prepositions, it is the case of DPs which are adjuncts at some level of the derivation. In this section I will survey some of the more frequently observed uses of the instrumental case and argue in favor of this hypothesis. I will specifically argue that Russian predicate adjectives in the instrumental case are part of DPs which adjoin to the right edge of VP at some level of the derivation.

In the next three subsections I consider in turn instrumental case on DPs which are base-generated as adjuncts, on DPs which are found in complement position and on DPs which are base-generated as complements, but subsequently move to adjunct position.

1.1 Base-Generated Adjunct DPs

Recall from chapter 1 that an adjunct is an optional phrase which combines with another maximal projection to form a two segment category projected from the head of the latter. In this section I look at some examples of base-generated adjunct DPs. The relevant examples are given in (1) below.²

- (1)a. Oxotnik ubil olenja streloj.
hunter killed deer arrow(f sg inst)
“The hunter killed the deer with an arrow.”
- b. Olen' byl ubit oxotnikom.
deer was killed hunter(m sg inst)
“The deer was killed by the hunter.”
- c. Ivan rabotal noč'ju.
Ivan worked night(f sg inst)
“Ivan worked at night.”
- d. My šli beregom.
we walked shore(m sg inst)
“We walked along the shore.”
- e. Oni peli xorom.
they sang chorus(inst)
“They sang in chorus.”

In (1a) the DP which is marked with the instrumental case denotes an instrument, in (1b) it denotes an agent, in (1c) - time, in (1d) - location, in (1e) -manner. The DPs marked

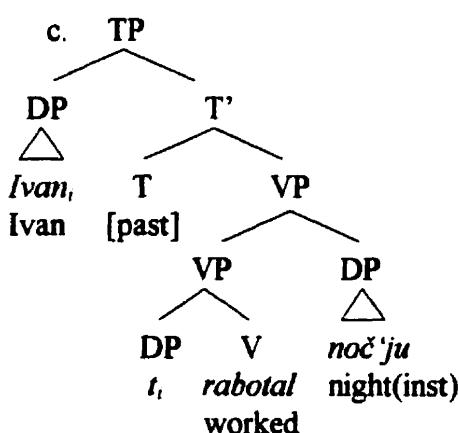
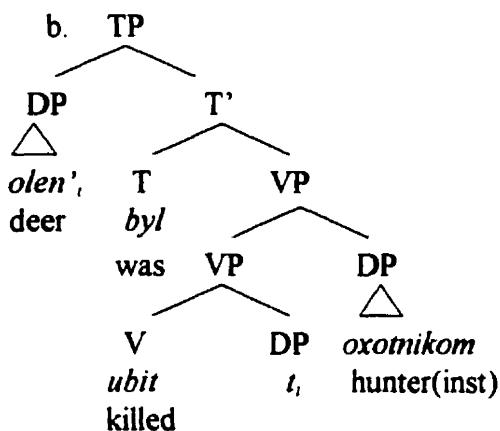
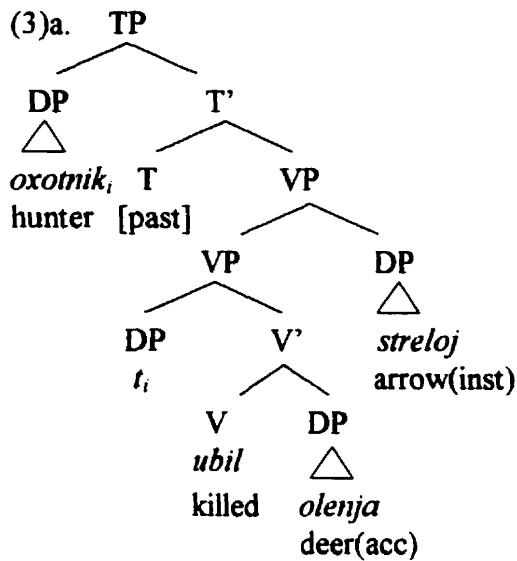
² The examples in (1a) and (1b) are taken from Channon (1987).

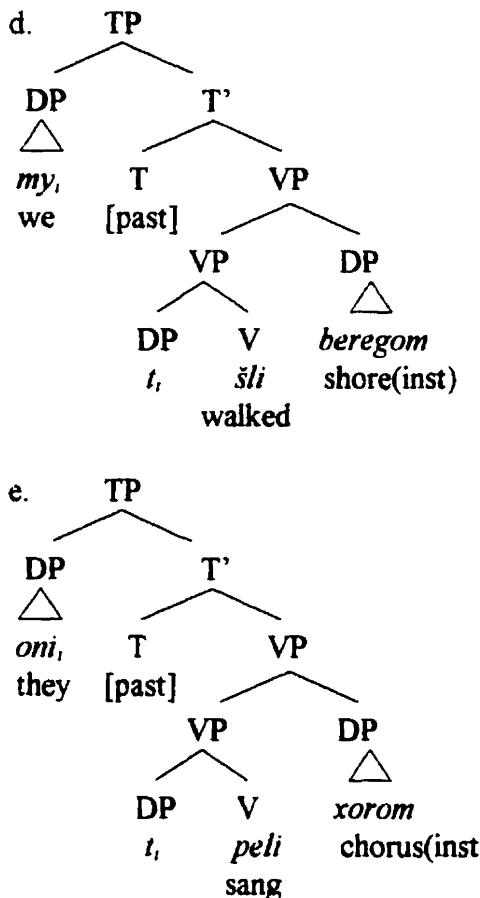
instrumental in (1) modify VPs and are optional constituents: the sentences are grammatical without them, as (2) illustrates.

- (2)a. Oxotnik ubil olenja.
hunter killed deer
“The hunter killed the deer.”
- b. Olen’ byl ubit.
deer was killed
“The deer was killed.”
- c. Ivan rabotal.
Ivan worked
“Ivan worked.”
- d. My šli.
we walked
“We walked.”
- e. Oni peli.
they sang
“They sang.”

I assume that the DPs marked instrumental in (1a) - (1e) are all base-generated in their surface position, as depicted in (3).³

³ In accordance with current syntactic theory I assume that a clause is headed by T, the subject is base-generated in Spec, VP, and all nominal constituents are DPs. I do not show the internal structure of DPs, as it is not relevant to the discussion here.





Note that all DPs in the instrumental case are found on the right periphery of VP. If this is a privileged position, then one might predict that a sentence with two DPs in the instrumental case will be ungrammatical. As the following example from Channon (1987) illustrates, the prediction is borne out.⁴

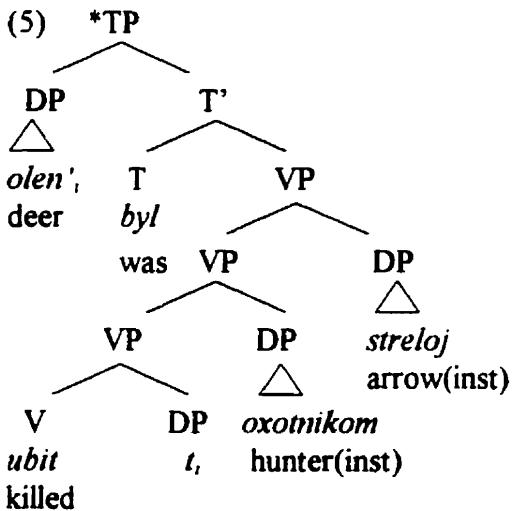
⁴ As Hotze Rullmann points out (p.c), one of the hall-marks of adjuncts is their iterability. In fact, it is not unusual to find Russian sentences in which an instrumental adjunct DP appears to be buried inside a VP, as illustrated below.

- (i) On rabotal etoj nod'ju v svoem kabinetē.
 he(m sg nom) worked this(f sg inst) night(f sg inst) in his study.
 "He worked in his study this night."

As one can see, out of the two adjunct phrases in the grammatical sentence in (i), the instrumental DP *etoj nod'ju* "this night" and the PP *v svoem kabinetē* "in his study", it is the PP that appears to be at the right edge of VP at the level of surface structure (Spell-Out, in current terms). I assume that the instrumental DP moves to the right edge of VP at LF. Crucially, the constraint on iterability of adjuncts in Russian applies only to instrumental adjunct DPs, which compete for the privileged position on the right periphery of VP.

- (4) *Olen' byl ubit oxotnikom streloj.
 deer was killed hunter(inst) arrow(inst)
 "The deer was killed by the hunter with an arrow."

The surface structure of the ungrammatical sentence in (4) is given in (5) below.



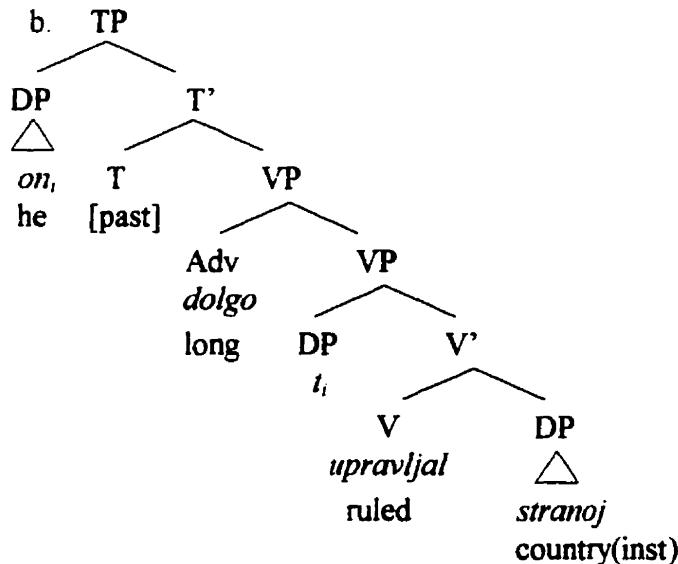
Additional evidence in support of the hypothesis that there is only one position on the right periphery of VP where DPs marked instrumental can be interpreted is provided in the next subsection, where I focus on instrumental DPs which occur in complement position.

1.2 Complement DPs

Not all DPs in the instrumental case are found in adjunct position. DPs marked instrumental can be complements of verbs and prepositions.⁵ Recall from chapter 1 that a complement is a sister to the head of a maximal projection. Thus, the DP *stranoj* "country" marked instrumental in (6) is a complement of the verb *upravljaj* "ruled":

⁵ I will not discuss instrumental case on objects of prepositions here, as it is not relevant to the issues of concern in this thesis.

- (6)a. On dolgo upravljal stranoj.
 he long ruled country(f sg inst)
 "He ruled the country for a long time."



Complements have a close semantic relation to their heads and are usually obligatory (cf., for example, Chomsky (1995)).⁶ As expected, the instrumental complement in (6) cannot be omitted:⁷

- (7) *On dolgo upravljal.
 he long ruled
 "He ruled for a long time."

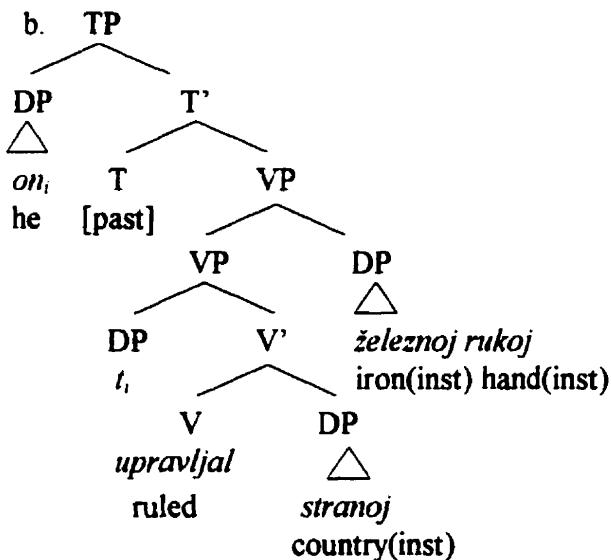
Crucially, the complement DP *stranoj* "country" marked instrumental does not compete with adjunct DPs for the right edge on the periphery of VP. Thus, the sentence in (8), with both complement and adjunct DPs marked instrumental, is grammatical:⁸

⁶ Complements normally bear a thematic role assigned to them by the head. For example, the DP *stranoj* "country" in (6) plays the thematic role of PATIENT/THEME argument of the verb *upravljal* 'rule'.

⁷ The Russian verb *upravljal* 'rule', unlike the English verb *rule*, can only be transitive.

⁸ I assume here that the complement DP *stranoj* "country" remains in situ. Another possibility is that it moves to a position where the structural accusative case on object DPs is checked. Nothing in my analysis hinges on its exact position at LF. What is important is that it does not move to adjunct position.

- (8)a. On upravljal stranoj železnoj rukoj.
 he ruled country(f sg inst) iron(f sg inst) hand(f sg inst)
 "He ruled the country with an iron hand."



In the next subsection I will look at DPs on which instrumental case alternates with structural accusative case. I will show that these DPs have properties of both complements and adjuncts.

1.3 Non-Optional Adjunct DPs

There exists a second class of instrumental case-marked DPs which are realized as complements of the verb at Spell-Out. Like the instrumental case-marked complements discussed in section 1.2, these instrumental DPs are obligatory. However, I shall argue that, unlike true complement DPs, the instrumental DPs under consideration move to adjunct position at LF. Consider, for example, the sentences in (9) and (10).⁹

- (9)a. Čtoby probit' stenu, oni švyrjali v nee kamnjami.
 so-as-to breach wall they threw(past imperf) to it stones(inst)
 "To breach the wall, they threw stones at it."

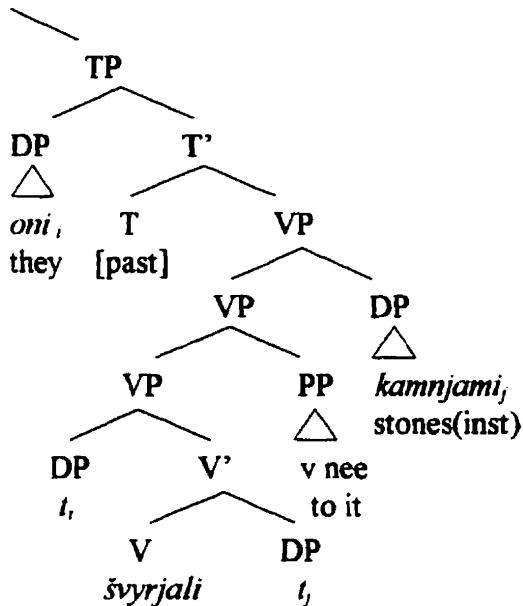
⁹ The grammatical sentences in (9) and (10) are taken from Jakobson (1971a).

- b. *Čtoby probit' stenu, oni švyrjali v nee.
 so-as-to breach wall they threw(past imperf) prep it
 "*To breach the wall, they threw at it."
- (10) On bescel'no švyrjal kamni v vodu.
 he aimlessly threw(past imperf) stones(acc) into water(acc)
 'He aimlessly threw stones into the water.'

The ungrammatical sentence in (9b) shows that the verb *švyrjat'* "throw" must take a complement. In (10) it takes a DP complement marked with accusative case. As the sentence in (9a) illustrates, it can alternatively take a DP complement marked with instrumental case. Why is this alternation of the instrumental and accusative case possible on complements of the verb *švyrjat'* "throw"? We certainly do not want to say that verbs can have more than one case to check. Let us turn to the interpretation of the sentences in (9a) and (10) in search for an answer to this question.

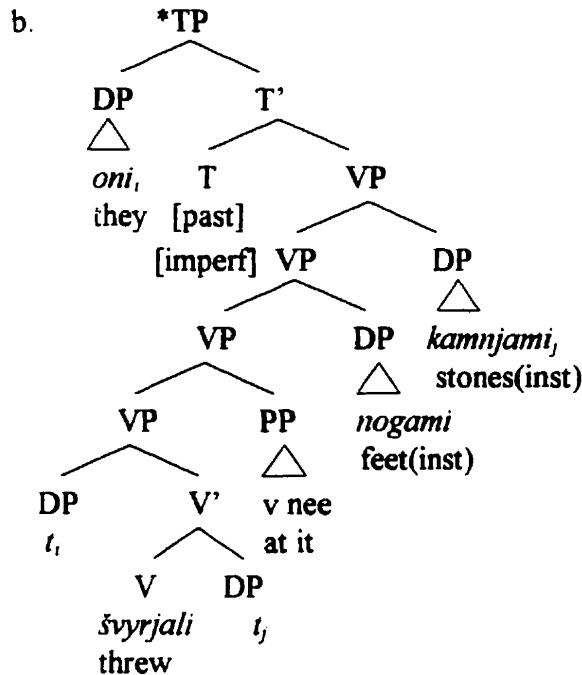
According to Jakobson (1971a), in (9a) we have a purposeful action, and the role of the stones is secondary - they are used to perform an action which does not primarily relate to them, whereas in (10) the stones are the point of action. To my mind, this interpretation of the sentences suggests that the DP in the accusative case is a true argument of the verb *švyrjat'* "throw", but that the DP in the instrumental case is not. I propose that though the DP in the instrumental case originates as a complement of V, it subsequently moves to an adjunct position at the right edge of VP. This dual status of the instrumental DP accounts for the fact that, like a complement, it is obligatory and, like an adjunct, it is interpreted as a modifier of the VP, rather than a theta-marked argument of the verb. The relevant part of the LF structure of (9a) is given in (11).

(11)



Evidence in support of the structure in (11) comes from the ungrammatical sentence in (12), which is different from the matrix clause in (9a) in that it has a base-generated adjunct DP *nogami* "feet":

- (12)a. *Oni švyrjali v nee kamnjami nogami.
 they threw(past imperf) at it(f sg acc) stones(pl inst) feet(pl inst)
 "They threw stones at the wall with their feet."



The sentence in (12) contains two DPs in the instrumental case (*kamnjami* “stones” and *nogami* “feet”) that must be interpreted as VP modifiers. Since there is only one position on the right periphery of VP where a modifying DP can be interpreted, one of these DPs remains uninterpreted, which leads to the ungrammaticality of (12).

Thus, I conclude that the DP *kamnjami* “stones”, which is marked with instrumental case, has properties of both complements and adjuncts: like complements, it is obligatory and cannot be omitted; like base-generated adjuncts DPs, it is interpreted as a modifier in adjunct position on the right periphery of VP and cannot be used in the same clause with other instrumental adjunct DPs.

We have seen that DPs can have instrumental case when they are either in adjunct or complement position of particular verbs. I would like to suggest that instrumental case in both positions is inherent. At this point, a definition of inherent case is in order.

Chomsky (1986a) argues that, unlike structural case, which is subject only to structural requirements, inherent case is sensitive to thematic relations as well:

(13) Inherent Case Condition

If A is an inherent case assigner, then A assigns case to an NP if and only if A theta-marks the NP. (Chomsky 1986a:194)

According to Chomsky (1986a), case to NPs is always assigned under government, a notion which has been abandoned by the current syntactic theory, as it does not appear to be conceptually necessary. Still, structural case is largely reserved for DPs which check their case syntactically. According to Chomsky (1992), inherent case, unlike structural case of subjects and objects, need not be checked syntactically. Presumably, this property of inherent case is due to its inherent semantic content. I would like to suggest that the semantic content of inherent case can be specified either lexically or syntactically. For example, the semantic content of the instrumental case on the DP *stranoj* “country” in (6a) above, repeated below as (14), is specified in the lexicon in relation to the verb *upravljat'* “rule”, which takes this DP as its complement:

(14) On dolgo upravljal stranoj.

he long ruled country(f sg inst)
“He ruled the country for a long time.”

There is nothing in the syntactic structure of the sentence that allows us to predict the instrumental case on the direct object *stranoj* “country” in (14). This type of case, which, following Freidin and Babby (1984), I will call lexical, does not alternate with structural accusative case, as (15) illustrates.¹⁰

¹⁰ Other cases that can have lexically specified semantic content are dative and genitive; prepositional case is always lexical (see Freidin and Babby (1984) for examples and discussion).

- (15) *On dolgo upravljal stranu.
 he long ruled country(f sg acc)
 ‘He ruled the country for a long time.’

I would like to suggest that case can be also inherent in certain syntactic configurations. This proposal appears to be similar to the one put forward in Franks (1995). According to Franks, phrases can receive case by virtue of their syntactic position. He specifically argues that instrumental case can arise in Russian in a “sister of VP” configuration by default.¹¹ In my view, however, the instrumental case of adjuncts is not a default, but inherent case in that has certain (modificational) semantic content and is interpretable at LF. Moreover, as we have seen above, the configuration in which instrumental adjuncts can appear is more specific than the one described by Franks: the instrumental case of adjuncts is licensed only on the right edge of VP.¹²

Configurational inherent instrumental case is different from lexical inherent case in that (i) it is predictable, and (ii) it can alternate with structural accusative case of direct objects (see examples in (9a) and (10)). Given the facts observed in (8) and (12) above, it seems reasonable to assume that DPs marked with lexical inherent instrumental case and those marked with configurational inherent instrumental case are interpreted in different

¹¹ This proposal is reminiscent of Chomsky’s (1981: 50) account of genitive case assignment in English: according to Chomsky, genitive case in phrases like *John’s book*, *his reading the book* is assigned to NPs (DPs, in current terms) in “the context” where they are in a sister of X’ position.

¹² Germanic languages also have bare DP adjuncts. Larson (1985) looks at NP (DP, in current terms) adverbs in English sentences like the following:

- (i) I saw John that day.

He argues that a certain feature borne by a limited class of nouns, like *day* (but not, for example, *period* or *interval*), optionally assigns default abstract oblique case to the NP (DP, in current terms) headed by these nouns in the absence of any structural case assigner. Since, unlike instrumental case on Russian adjunct DPs, this seems to be a lexical property of the nouns in question, I assume that the mechanisms of case assignment (checking) to the two types of adjunct DPs are different.

syntactic positions: DPs marked with lexical inherent instrumental case are interpreted in situ as objects of certain verbs, whereas DPs marked with configurational inherent instrumental case are either base-generated on the right periphery of VP or move there in the course of the derivation in order to be interpreted as VP-modifiers.¹³ The examples in (8) and (12) above show that a sentence cannot have more than one DP marked with configurational inherent case. On the other hand, a sentence can have DPs marked with different types of inherent instrumental case.

In the next three subsections I will show that predicate DPs marked instrumental, including those in copular sentences, are adjoined to VP at some level of the derivation.

¹³ If DPs marked with lexical inherent instrumental case remain in their base-generated complement position, one might predict that these DPs do not passivize. The prediction is borne out: verbs that take non-alternating instrumental complements (*dorozit'* "value", *grozit'* "threaten with", *obladat'* "possess", *zloupotreblyat'* "abuse, misuse", *bolet'* "be sick", etc.) do not have short form perfective passive participle forms, which are used to form passive constructions. If DPs marked with the structural inherent case move to adjunct position at LF, the prediction is that they do not passivize either. This is indeed so, since verbs that take structural inherent instrumental case (such as *brosat'* "throw") are imperfective (imperfective aspect in Russian is used to describe an action in progress or repeated actions, whereas perfective aspect is used to denote a completed action):

- (i) Oni brosali kamni v stenu.
they (pl nom) threw(past imperf) stones(acc) at wall(acc)
"They threw stones at the wall."
- (ii) Oni brosili kamni v stenu.
they (pl nom) threw(past perf) stones(acc) at wall(acc)
"They threw stones at the wall."
- (iii) Oni brosali kamnjami v stenu.
they (pl nom) threw(past imperf) stones(inst) at wall(acc)
"They threw stones at the wall."
- (iv) *Oni brosili kamnjami v stenu.
they (pl nom) threw(past perf) stones(inst) at wall(acc)
"They threw stones at the wall."

Imperfective verbs do not form passive constructions with participles.

1.4 Predicate Adjunct DPs in Copular Sentences

1.4.1 The Verb *Byt'* “Be”

The instrumental option for predicate nouns and adjectives is lacking in the present tense, where the verb *byt'* “be” is not used in Modern Russian. Therefore, many linguists conclude that the possibility of instrumental case is directly related to the presence of this verb.¹⁴ Neidle (1988) and Franks (1995), for example, claim that in *some of its uses* the verb *byt'* “be” is lexically specified to assign instrumental case to its complement. This leads them to distinguish between two verbs *byt'* “be” in copular sentences: one which is a mere tense marker and another one which has some semantic content and is, thus, able to theta-mark its complement. Neidle (1988: 27) illustrates different uses of the verb *byt'* “be” with the examples in (16). According to Neidle, (16a) has an identity reading, whereas (16b) has a predicative reading.¹⁵

- (16)a. On byl pisatel'.
 he(m sing nom) was writer(m sing nom)
 “He was a (born) writer.”

- b. On byl pisatelem.
 he(m sing nom) was writer(m sing inst)
 “He was a writer (for some period of time or by profession).”

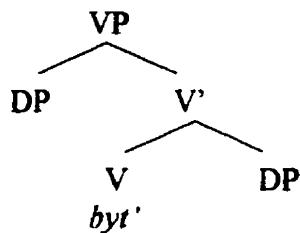
As I showed in chapter 2, the subtly different readings of the sentences in (16a) and (16b) cannot be attributed to the copula *byt'* “be”. I assume that the copula is always semantically vacuous. As such, it can *never* theta-mark its complement and can *never* have

¹⁴ See chapter 2 for more discussion of this issue.

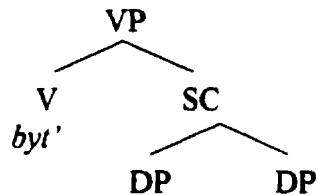
¹⁵ According to Chvany (1975), in the 19th century, the distinction between nominative and instrumental predicates corresponded more or less to a distinction between permanent and temporary class membership. In the modern language this distinction is blurred. An extensive descriptive study of modern Russian adjectival predicates in copular sentences by Gustavsson (1976) has shown that both permanent and temporary properties can be expressed by predicate adjectives in either the nominative or the instrumental case.

any inherent case to check on (or assign to) its complement. This is not to say that the semantically vacuous verb *byt'* ‘be’ cannot be syntactically transitive. An examination of Russian data suggests that it can subcategorize for a DP, as well as a small clause complement.¹⁶ I assume that the copular verb *byt'* ‘be’ appears in different syntactic configurations which allow it to set up different relations between the subject and the predicate. The two syntactic configurations in question are illustrated in (17) below.

(17)a.

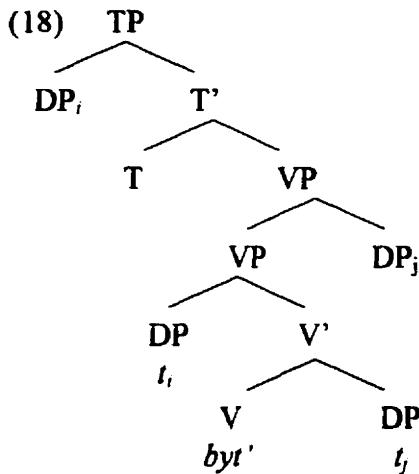


b.



Although the copular verb *byt'* ‘be’ does not itself assign a theta-role to the subject when the predicate is in the instrumental case, it provides additional structure which allows the subject to receive a theta-role from the maximal projection of this verb, which crucially includes a modifier:

¹⁶ The idea that a semantically vacuous verb can appear in different syntactic configurations which result in its different semantic interpretations is not a novel one. For example, Ritter and Rosen (1997) show that there is only one verb *have* in English and that, although it lacks lexically specified semantic content, it acquires different interpretations as a consequence of the relation it sets up between the subject and the predicate.



On the other hand, when the verb *byt* ‘be’ takes a small clause complement, it behaves as a raising verb and plays no role whatsoever in theta-role assignment. I will discuss use of *byt* ‘be’ as a raising verb in chapter 5

In the next subsection I will discuss the syntactic structure of copular sentences with predicate nouns and adjectives in the instrumental case.

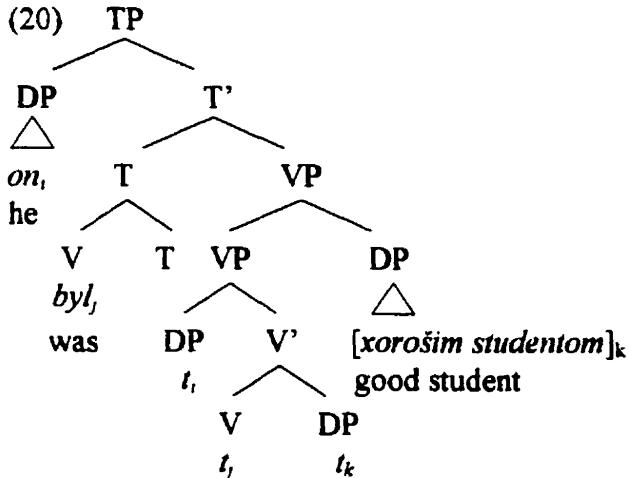
1.4.2 Syntactic Position of Predicate DPs in the Instrumental Case

Consider the following sentence with predicate DPs in the instrumental case.

- (19) On byl xorošim studentom.
 he(m sg nom) was good(m sg inst) student(m sg inst)
 ‘He was a good student.’

If my analysis is along the right lines, the predicate DP *xorošim studentom* ‘a good student’ is base-generated as a complement of the verb *byl* ‘was’. The semantically vacuous verb *byl* ‘was’ cannot theta-mark its complement. Thus, the instrumental case on the predicate DP *xorošim studentom* ‘a good student’ can be only of the configurational inherent type. In order to receive interpretation at LF, the predicate DP adjoins to the

maximal projection of the verb, where it is able to modify it, thereby “filling” it with semantic content. The subject of the sentence is assigned a theta-role by the maximal projection of the verb, which includes the modifier DP *xorošim studentom* “a good student”. The LF structure of the sentence in (19) is given in (20).¹⁷



Evidence that the predicate DP *xorošim studentom* “good student” is in adjunct position on the right periphery of VP in (20) comes from the fact that sentences, like the one in (21), which contains an instrumental predicate DP and an instrumental adjunct DP that denotes a time expression, are ungrammatical, when pronounced with neutral intonation.¹⁸

¹⁷ In accordance with the current theory I assume that the verb in (20) adjoins to T[ense] at LF.

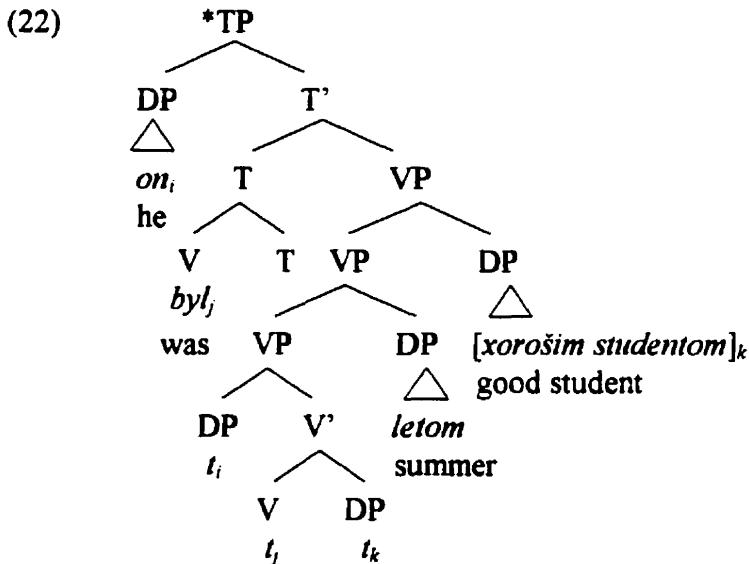
¹⁸ Note that a sentence containing an instrumental predicate DP and an instrumental time expression is grammatical, if the time expression appears in the beginning of the sentence:

- (i) Letom on byl xorošim studentom.
 summer(inst) he was good(inst) student(inst)
 “In the summer he was a good student.”

I would like to suggest that the temporal expression in (i) above is base-generated and interpreted in its surface position outside VP. It is, perhaps, adjoined to TP.

- (21) *?? On byl xorošim studentom letom.
 he(m sg nom) was good(m sg inst) student(m sg inst) summer(inst)
 "He was a good student during the summer."

The LF structure of the sentence in (21) is given in (22) below.



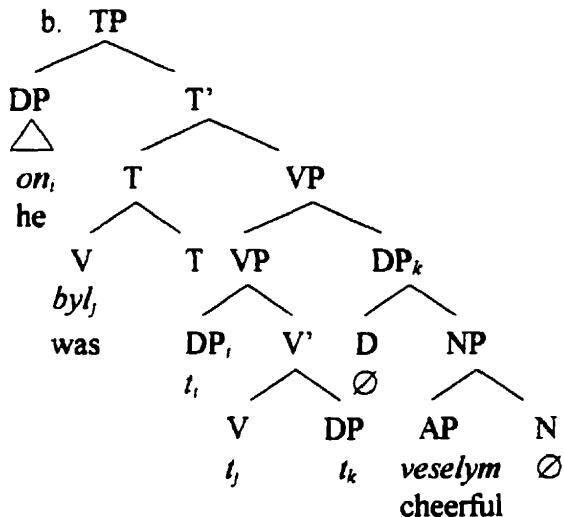
If my analysis is correct, and there is only one position at the right edge of VP where a DP marked with the configurational inherent instrumental case can be interpreted, the sentence in (21) is ungrammatical, because there are two DPs that need to be interpreted in this position, and one of them remains uninterpreted.

Under this analysis, DP complements of the verb *byt* "be" behave in a manner similar to that of other non-optional adjunct DPs which originate as complements of verbs. The former, like the latter, are interpreted as verb modifiers which are essential to assignment of a theta-role to the subject of a sentence.

Recall from chapter 3 that Russian case-marked adjectives are always embedded in DPs. What appears to be a bare case-marked adjectival predicate in Russian is, in fact, an

adjective embedded in a DP with null D and N heads. Thus, according to my analysis, the LF structure of the sentence in (23a) is the one illustrated in (23b).

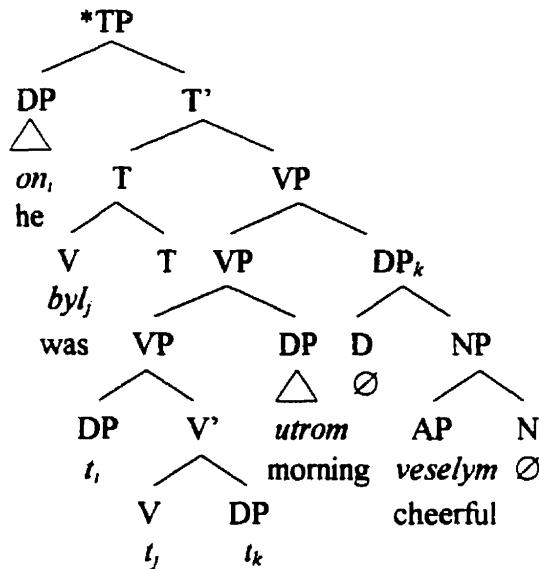
- (23)a. On byl veselym.
 he(m sg nom) was cheerful(m sg inst)
 "He was cheerful."



As expected, a sentence containing a "bare" predicate adjective in the instrumental case and another adjunct DP in the instrumental case is ungrammatical. This is illustrated in (24).

- (24)a. *On byl veselym utrom.
 he(m sg nom) was cheerful(m sg inst) morning(inst)
 "He was cheerful in the morning."

b. LF structure



1.5 Predicate DPs Marked Instrumental in Embedded Clauses

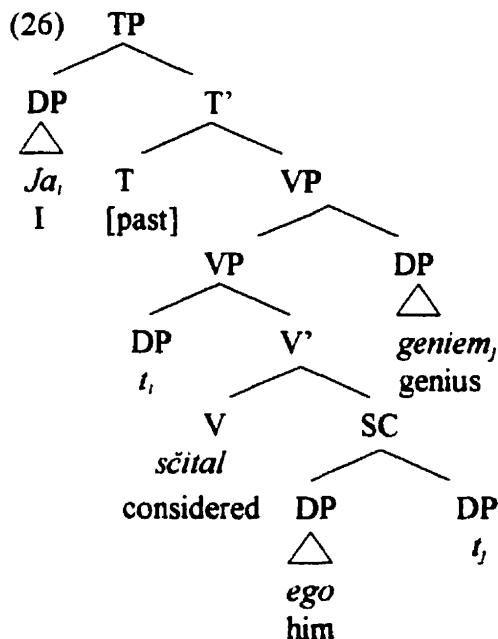
If the analysis in the previous subsection is correct, then it should be possible to extend it to predicate DPs marked instrumental in embedded clauses. Consider the sentence in (25).

- (25) Ja sčítal ego geniem.
 I considered him(m sg acc) genius(m sg inst)
 "I considered him a genius."

Following Rapoport (1995), I argue that the small clause predicate *geniem* "genius" modifies the verb *sčítaju* "consider" in (25). Rapoport argues that small clause predicates complete the description of the verb introducing them. While I agree with Rapoport on this point, I am not convinced by her proposal that small clause predicates are projected from the complement position in the *lexical* structure of the verb which they modify.¹⁹ I would

¹⁹ See Hoekstra and Mulder (1990) for discussion of problems with proposals similar to the one made in Rapoport (1995).

like to suggest that small clause predicates move to adjoin to the maximal projection of this verb.²⁰ In this respect small clause predicates are similar to the non-optional adjuncts discussed in subsection 1.3 above. Under this approach, the LF structure of the sentence in (25) is the one given in (26), where the small clause predicate DP *geniem* “genius” adjoins to the VP *sčitaju* “consider”.²¹ If this analysis is along the right lines, it is the VP augmented by the adjunct DP *geniem* “genius” that assigns theta-roles to the subject DP *ja* “I” and the object DP *ego* “him”.



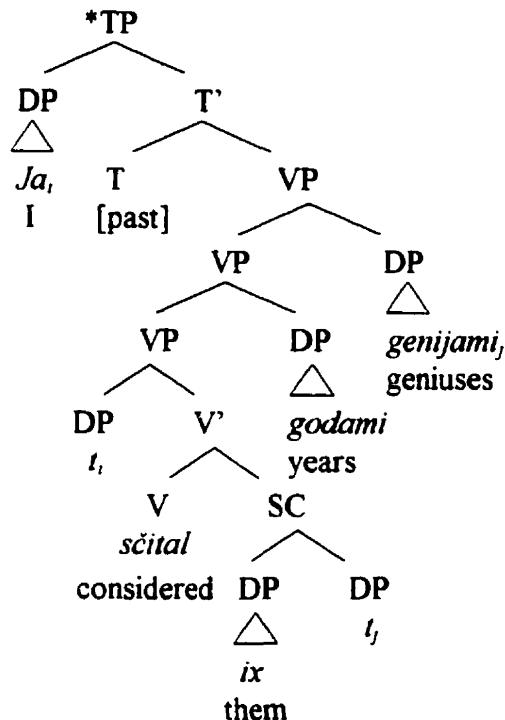
²⁰ According to current syntactic theory (cf. Chomsky, 1995), a maximal projection can adjoin only to another maximal projection. Thus, small clause predicate DPs cannot adjoin to the verb they modify. Interestingly, Carnie (1996, 1997) argues that, at least in some languages, phrase-like nominal predicates are treated by the grammar like X^0 and can undergo head movement. I do not, however, have evidence that this is possible in Russian.

²¹ I am simplifying the structure here in that I do not show the movement of the verb *sčitaju* ‘consider’ to T, as well as the movement of DP *ego* ‘him’ to Spec, *v*, where *v* stands for the higher verb in the two-layered VP-shell of transitive verbs, as showing this movement in (26) would unnecessarily complicate the exposition.

An embedded instrumental predicate DP can be interpreted only if there is no other instrumental adjunct vying for the position at the right edge of VP. Thus, the sentence in (27) is ungrammatical, when pronounced with a neutral intonation.

- (27)a. */??Ja sčital ix genijami godami.
 I considered them(pl acc) geniuses(pl inst) years(pl inst)
 “I considered them geniuses for years.”

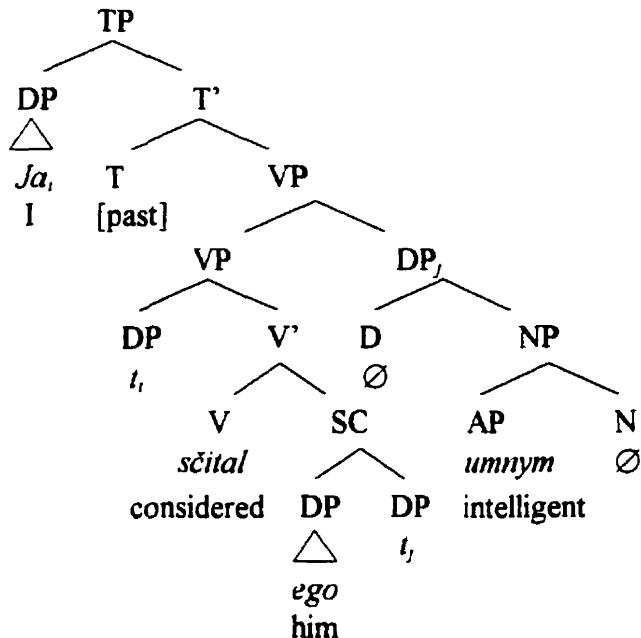
b. LF structure



The analysis outlined above for embedded predicate DPs with overt N heads holds for embedded predicate DPs with null N heads, as the sentences in (28) and (29) below illustrate.

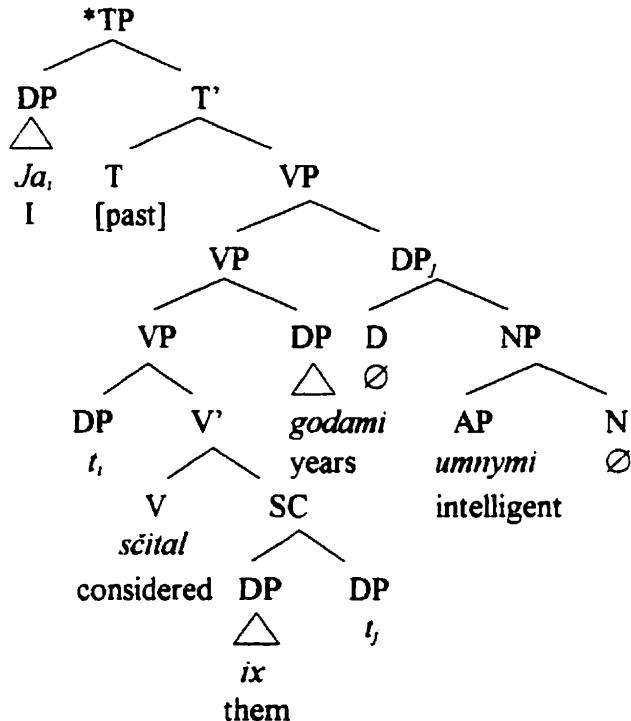
- (28)a. Ja sčital ego umnym.
 I considered him(m sg acc) intelligent(m sg inst)
 “I considered him intelligent.”

b. LF structure



- (29)a. */??Ja scítal ix umnymi godami.
 I considered them(pl acc) intelligent(pl inst) years(pl inst)
 “I considered them intelligent for years.”

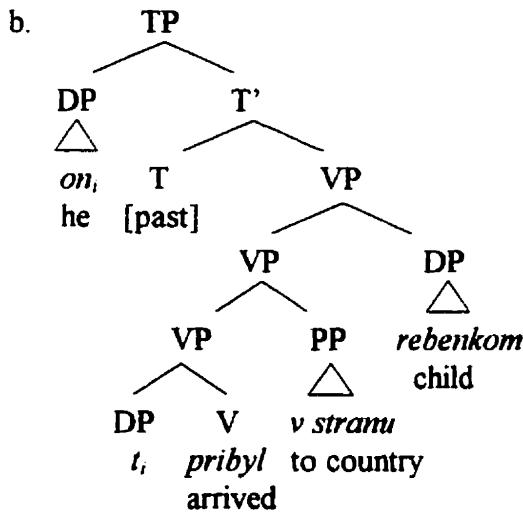
b. LF structure



1.6 Secondary Predicate DPs Marked Instrumental as Adjuncts

The analysis made above can accommodate secondary predicate DPs in the instrumental case as well. To illustrate this point, I consider the sentence in (30a) and give its (simplified) LF structure in (30b).

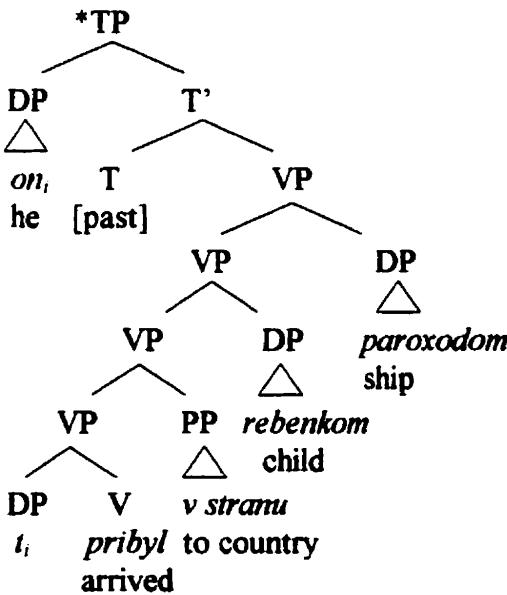
- (30)a. On pribyl v stranu rebenkom.
 he(m sg nom) arrived to country child(m sg inst)
 "He came to the country when he was a child."



In (30) the secondary predicate DP *rebenkom* "child" is base-generated at the right edge of the VP. It is incompatible with another instrumental adjunct DP, as the sentence in (31) illustrates.

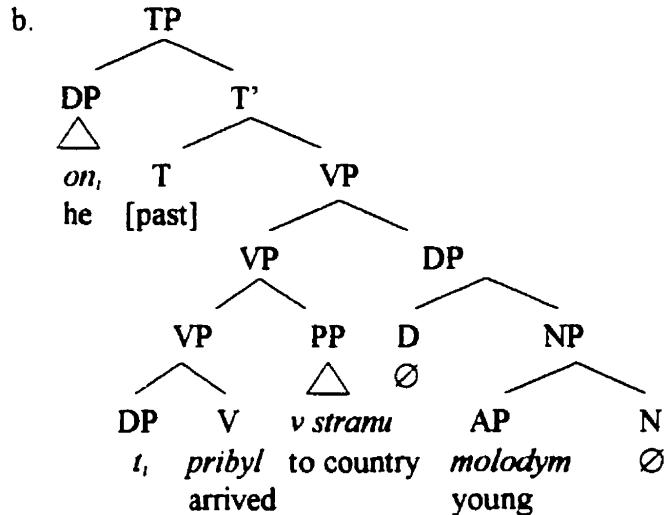
- (31)a. *On pribyl v stranu rebenkom paroxodom.
he(m sg nom) arrived to country child(m sg inst) ship(m sg inst)
 "He came to the country by ship when he was a child."

b. LF structure



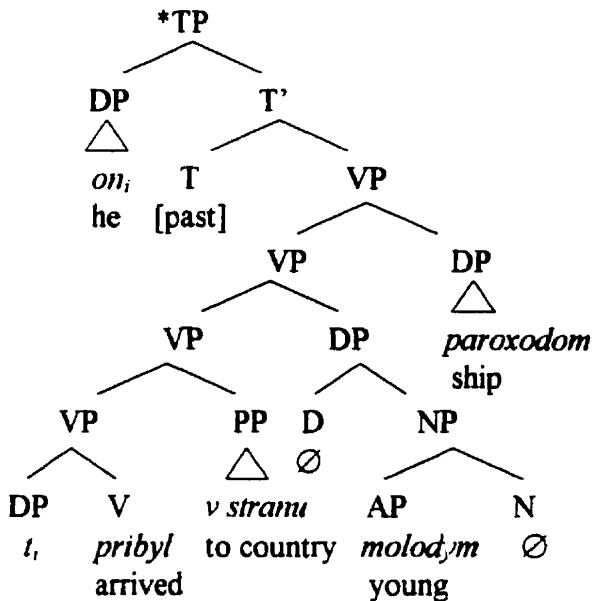
The analysis applies to secondary predicate DPs with null N heads, as well as secondary predicate DPs with overt N heads. This is illustrated in (32) and (33) below.

- (32)a. On pribyl v stranu molodym.
 he(m sg nom) arrived to country young(m sg inst)
 "He came to the country young."



- (33)a. *On pribyl v stranu molodym paroxodom.
 he(m sg nom) arrived to country young(m sg inst) ship(m sg inst)
 "He came to the country by ship when he was young."

b. LF structure



We have seen above that in copular sentences predicate DPs, including those with embedded adjectives and null D and N heads, raise from the complement position of the copular verb and adjoin to its maximal projection at LF, in order to be interpreted as non-optimal verb modifiers. In this respect they are similar to those “objects” of verbs which can be marked with instrumental case which alternates with accusative case and small clause nominal predicates. Predicate DPs marked instrumental in copular sentences differ from secondary predicates and other optional modifiers in that the latter, but not the former, are base-generated as VP-adjuncts.

To my mind, it is in adjunct position at the right periphery of VP that predicate DPs marked with the inherent instrumental case are interpreted. In the next section I will argue that, since inherent instrumental case of adjuncts has semantic content, it does not need to

be checked syntactically. I will start by introducing minimalist assumptions which are crucial to the discussion.

2. Minimalist Account of Instrumental Case on Predicate Adjectives in Copular Sentences

2.1 Some Minimalist Assumptions

2.1.1 General Assumptions

In order to minimize the acquisition burden placed on the child, the linguistic theory advocated by Chomsky (1992, 1995) postulates only minimal assumptions that are necessary for an adequate description and explanation of human language. It dispenses with some of the theoretical apparatus of the Principles and Parameters theory which appears to be unwarranted by language facts. Thus, the minimalist theory no longer privileges DS (Deep Structure) and SS (Surface Structure). Only two linguistic levels are postulated, namely, LF (Logical Form) and PF (Phonological Form). LF interfaces with the conceptual-intentional (C-I) performance system, whereas PF interfaces with the articulatory-perceptual (A-P) system. At some point of the derivation, an operation called Spell-out applies to the already formed structure and strips away from it those elements that are relevant only to PF, leaving the residue to be mapped to LF by syntactic operations. The pre-Spell-out component, which is subject to phonetic realization is called “overt”. The post-Spell-out component, on the other hand, is called “covert”, since it has no effect on the phonetic realization of an utterance.

It is assumed that there is a single computational system C_{HL} for all human languages; variations are essentially morphological, including variation in overt realization of certain parts of a computation. A particular language, which is an instantiation of the initial state of the cognitive system of the language faculty with options specified, determines a set of derivations. A derivation **converges** at one of the interface levels if it yields a representation satisfying **Full Interpretation**, a condition which requires that every entity at an interface level be interpreted. A derivation must converge at both interface levels, otherwise, it **crashes**.

The derivation of a sentence involves the following operations. The operation **Select** takes lexical items from the lexicon and introduces them into the derivation. The operation **Merge** combines pairs of syntactic objects to form a new syntactic object. The operation **Move** forms a new syntactic object from already formed syntactic objects by raising one of them and either substituting or adjoining it to the other. Syntactic structures are built derivationally in a bottom-to-top fashion.

According to the minimalist theory, all movement is driven by the need to check morphological features. Assumptions regarding morphological features are outlined in the next subsection.

2.1.2 Interpretable and Uninterpretable Features

In the minimalist program the morphological properties of words are characterized in terms of sets of formal features which are assigned to lexical items in the lexicon. Consider, for example, the morphological form of the subject in (34).

(34) He ran home.

The formal features of the subject *he* in (34) indicate that it is a third person masculine singular nominative pronoun. The categorial feature and φ-features (person, gender, number) of *he* are *interpretable* at LF, since they have semantic content.²² For example, the φ-features tell us that *he* can refer to *a boy*, but not *a girl* or *boys*. On the other hand, the case feature of *he* is *uninterpretable* at LF, since it does not contribute to determining its meaning. The fact that case features are uninterpretable can be illustrated by the sentences in (35), where the subject of the complement clause plays the same semantic role in both sentences, even though it has the nominative form *he* in (35a) and the objective form *him* in (35b).

(35)a. We expect he will run home.

b. We expect him to run home.

Uninterpretable features play an important role in the syntax. As mentioned above, the principle of full interpretation (Chomsky 1995) requires that every entity at an interface level be interpreted. In terms of features, the principle of full interpretation requires that the representation of an expression contain all and only those features which contribute to its interpretation at the relevant level. Thus, the PF representation for a given expression must contain only phonetically interpretable features, whereas the LF representation must contain

²² As Hotze Rullmann (p.c.) points out, it is not obvious that categorial features are interpretable. For instance, nouns, verbs, adjectives and prepositions can all function as predicates semantically ('he is (the) mayor', 'he walks', 'he is tall' and 'he is out'). So this might lead one to think that syntactic categories are not important for interpretation. On the other hand, it has been proposed that all and only NPs are (generalized) quantifiers (Barwise and Cooper 1981). There has been some debate in the literature about how flexible the relationship between syntactic category and semantic type is. Partee (1987) has noted that NPs are predicates as well (e.g. 'he is a jerk), and argues for a flexible, but systematic relationship between syntactic category and semantic type. Williams (1983) proposes a stricter mapping between the two. Detailed discussion of this issue is beyond the scope of this thesis.

only semantically interpretable ones. If a phonetically uninterpretable feature is present at PF or a semantically uninterpretable feature is present at LF, the derivation will crash. In order for the derivation to converge, uninterpretable features must be checked and deleted in an appropriate manner. According to Chomsky (1992, 1995), it is this need to check an uninterpretable feature that drives syntactic movement.

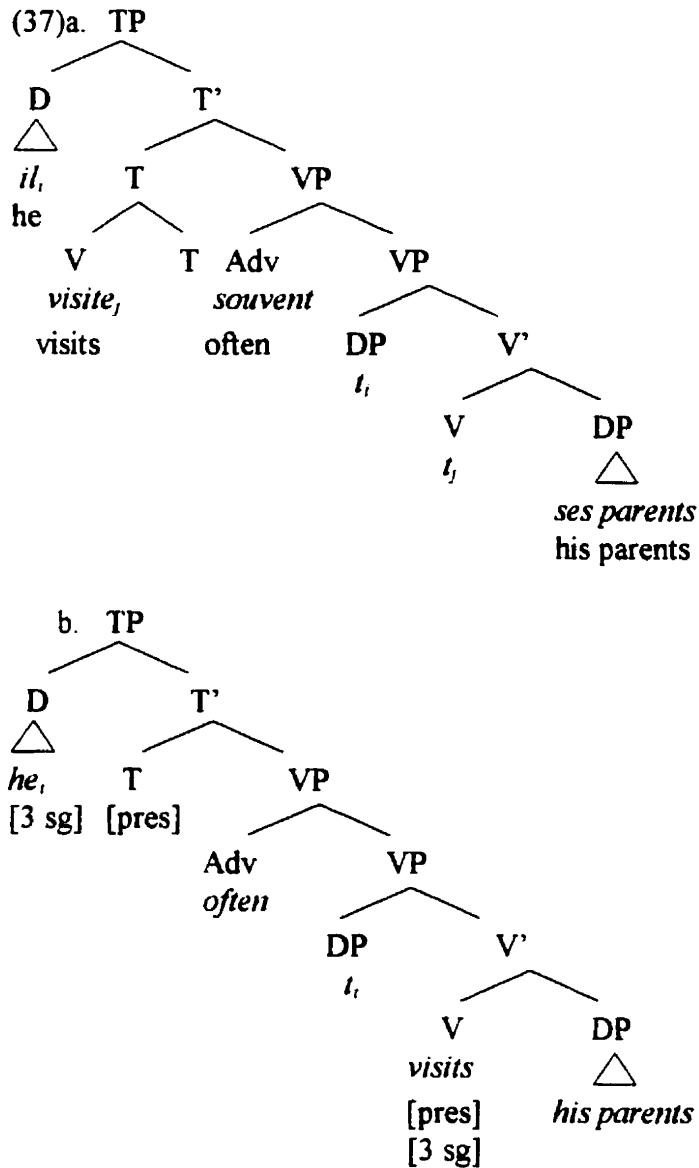
As Chomsky (1992:9) points out, inherent case, unlike structural case of subjects and objects, need not be checked in a spec-head configuration. I assume that inherent case need not be checked when it has semantic content, which allows it to be interpreted at LF. As discussed above, I distinguish two types of inherent case: (i) lexical inherent case and (ii) configurational inherent case. The former is interpretable due to the inherent semantic content of a specific lexical item, such as the theta-marking verb or the case-marked noun itself. The latter is interpretable because it appears in a particular position which is associated with a particular semantic function. In particular, instrumental case-marked DPs in Russian are interpreted as VP modifiers just in case they appear in a modifier position, i.e. an adjunct position at the right edge of the VP. In order to meet this structural condition a DP marked with the configurational inherent instrumental case may be forced to move at LF.

Uninterpretable features are subject to cross-linguistic variation with respect to their strength, i.e. their ability to be “tolerated” by the derivation. Strong features cannot be tolerated by the derivation and trigger overt movement (movement before Spell-Out), whereas weak features can be tolerated by the derivation and trigger covert movement

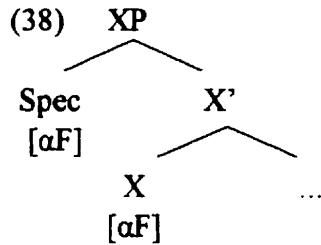
(movement after Spell-Out). For example, French finite verbs have strong phi-features (person and number), whereas their counterparts in English have weak phi-features. Thus, French finite verbs move to T to check their phi features against the phi features of its specifier before Spell-Out, whereas English finite verbs hold off on movement till after Spell-Out, since covert movement, which does not affect PF, requires less effort and is, thus, more economical. Evidence for this difference between French and English comes from the relative positions of finite verbs and VP-adjoined adverbs. In French, finite verbs appear to the left of the VP-adjoined adverb. English finite verbs occur to the right of the VP-adjoined adverb, as in (36) below.

- (36)a. Il visite souvent ses parents.
he visits often his parents
- b. He often visits his parents.

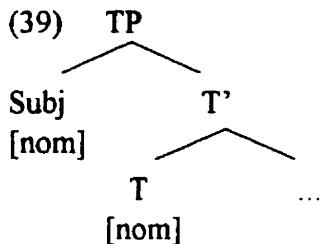
The French verb *visite* “visits” in (36a) has strong φ-features and has to move to T, where it can check these features against the specifier of T, in overt syntax. The fact that the VP-adjoined adverb *souvent* “often” appears to the right of the verb shows that the verb, indeed, has moved out of its VP before Spell-Out. The English verb *visits* in (36b) has weak φ-features and does not have to move to T in overt syntax. The fact that the VP-adjoined adverb *often* occurs to the left of the verb shows that this verb has not moved out of its VP before Spell-Out. The Spell-Out structures of (36a) and (36b) are given in (37a) and (37b), respectively.



Let us now look at the mechanisms through which features can be checked. One way to check a feature is through a spec-head relation, which holds between the head of a maximal projection and its specifier, as in (38).

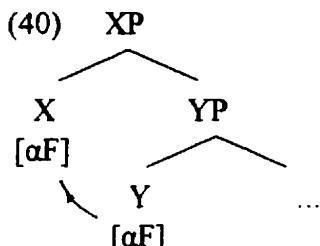


For example, the subject of a sentence checks its case in Spec, TP:

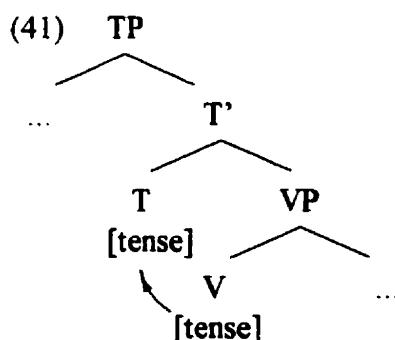


Another way to check a feature is through adjunction of one head to another, as in

(40).



For example, verbs check their tense feature by adjunction to T:



The assumptions mentioned above form the necessary background for the discussion in the next subsection, where I look at the derivation of copular sentences with predicate adjectives in the instrumental case from a minimalist perspective.

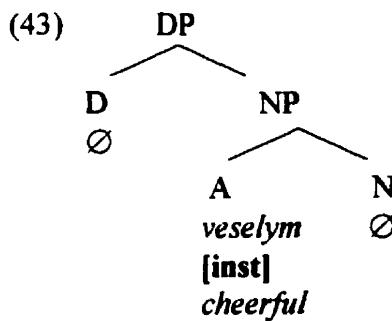
2.2 Deriving Syntactic Structure of Copular Sentences with Predicate Adjectives in the Instrumental Case

2.2.1 Syntactic Structure of Copular Sentences with Predicate Adjectives in the Instrumental Case at Spell-Out

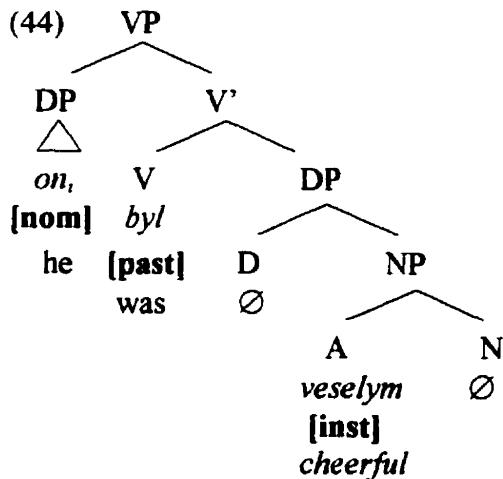
Consider the sentence in (23) repeated here as (42).

- (42) On byl veselym.
 he(m sg nom) was cheerful(m sg inst)
 “He was cheerful.”

The syntactic structure of the sentence in (42) is derived as follows. A null D merges with an NP which contains a null head N and a modifying adjective *veselym* “cheerful”. The resulting DP is given in (43).



The DP in turn merges with the verb *byl* “was”, with the DP *on* “he”, which bears the nominative case feature, as its specifier, forming the structure in (44) below.

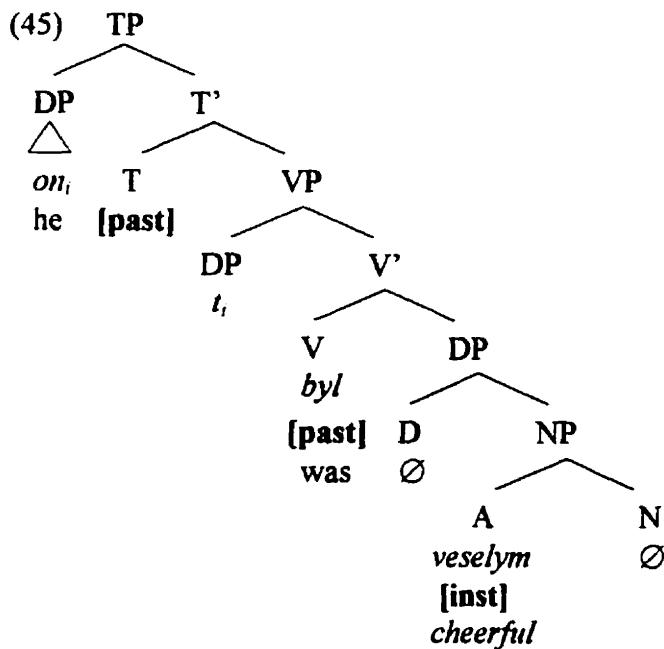


The VP in (44) then merges with the abstract tense affix T, and the DP *on* “he” raises to Spec, TP, where its nominative case feature is checked against the nominative case feature of T, in accordance with the mechanism in (38/39) above. The Spell-Out structure of the sentence in (42) is given in (45) below.²³

²³ In Russian sentences with unmarked word-order VP-adjoined adverbs occur to the left of the verb:

(i) On často naveščaet svoix roditelej.
he often visits his parents
“He often visits his parents.”

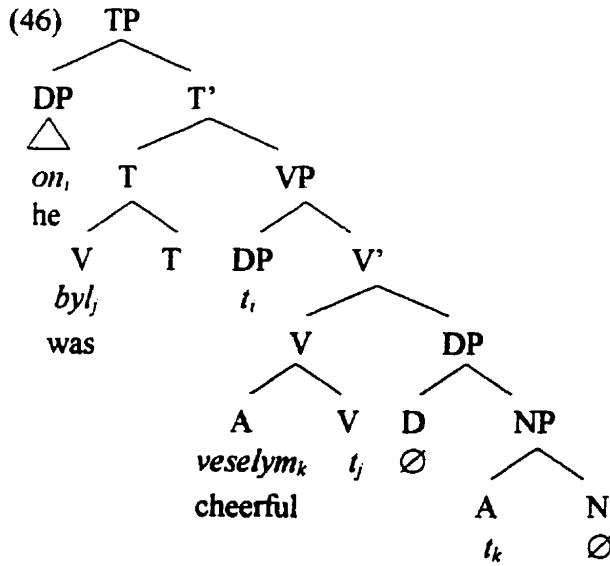
Thus, I assume that φ- and tense features of the verb in Russian are weak, and V raises to T, where these features are checked against the φ-features of the subject DP and the tense feature of T, after Spell-Out.



2.2.2 Syntactic Structure of Copular Sentences with Predicate Adjectives in the Instrumental Case after Spell-Out

2.2.2.1 Why Instrumental Case Cannot Be Checked

Recall from chapter 2 the proposals regarding inherent case assignment independently made by Neidle (1988) and Franks (1995). According Neidle and Franks, the copular verb *byr* ‘‘be’’ is transitive in some of its uses and can assign inherent instrumental case to its complement. In minimalist terms, this amounts to a claim that the copular verb *byr* ‘‘be’’, in some of its uses, has the instrumental case feature against which the instrumental case feature of its complement is checked. Let us suppose that this is so, contrary to our assumptions about inherent case made above. Then the LF structure of the sentence in (42) is as follows.



As the structure in (46) illustrates, in covert syntax, the adjective *veselym* “cheerful” raises to adjoin to the verb *byl* “was”, where it checks its instrumental case in accordance with the mechanism in (40). The verb subsequently raises to adjoin to T, where it checks its φ-and tense features. If we adopt this account, however, we will run into problems trying to account for the checking of the instrumental case on predicates of embedded sentences, as well as on secondary predicates. Consider again the sentences in (25) and (30a), repeated here as (47) and (48), respectively.

- (47) Ja sčítal ego geniem.
 I considered him(m sg acc) genius(m sg inst)
 “I considered him a genius.”

- (48) On pribyl v stranu rebenkom.
 he(m sg nom) arrived to country child(m sg inst)
 “He came to the country when he was a child.”

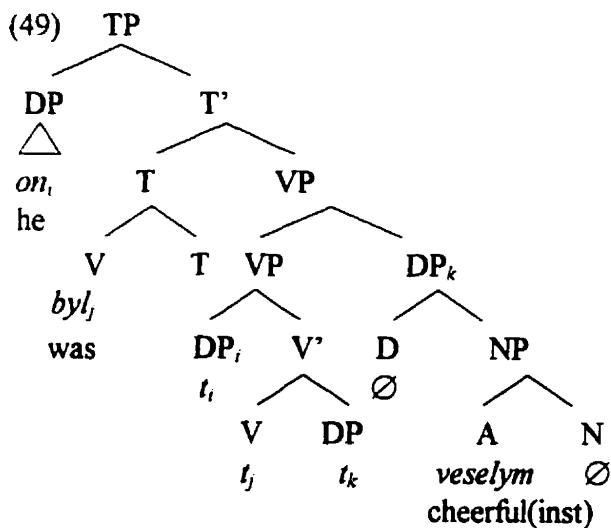
The verb *sčítal* “consider” in (47) checks the accusative case of the subject of the small clause *ego geniem* “him a genius”. There is no other verb or functional category which

could check the instrumental case on the DP *geniem* “a genius”. Thus, we conclude that, for the sentence in (47) to be grammatical, the case on the predicate of the embedded clause need not be checked formally. Similarly, in (48) there is no verb or functional category which could check the instrumental case on the secondary predicate *rebenkom* “child”: there is only one verb in the sentence - the unaccusative verb *pribyl* “arrived”, which does not check any case. Obviously, for the sentence in (48) to be grammatical, the instrumental case on its secondary predicate need not be checked.

The sentences in (47) and (48) are evidence in support of the claim that configurational inherent case is not checked in the syntax. An alternative account, which assumes that the instrumental case feature on predicates is interpretable, is given in the next subsection.

2.2.2.2 Instrumental Case Interpreted

DPs marked with instrumental case are interpreted as modifiers. In copular sentences, predicate DPs modify a semantically vacuous copular verb, “filling” it with semantic content. I assume that, like other non-optional adjuncts, predicate DPs in the instrumental case originate in complement position. I would like to suggest that the LF structure of (23a/41) is as given in (23b) above, repeated here as (49).

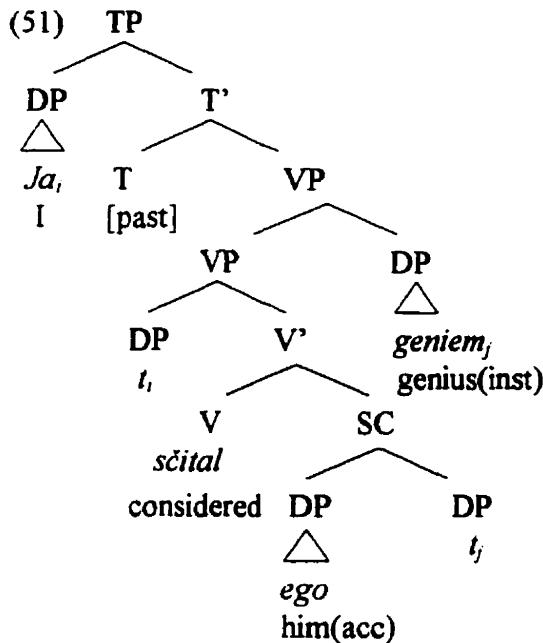


The account advocated here allows us to explain why the instrumental option is unavailable to predicates of copular sentences in the present tense. If this analysis is correct, in present tense contexts, there is no verb with which a predicate DP can merge as its complement, and no adjunct position in which it can be interpreted.²⁴ Thus, sentences such as (50) are ungrammatical.

- (50) *On veselym.
 he(m sg nom) cheerful(m sg inst)
 "He is cheerful."

The analysis of instrumental case on predicate DPs in copular sentences can be extended to predicate DPs and "bare" adjectives in embedded sentences. Consider again the LF structure of (25/47) illustrated in (26) and repeated here as (51).

²⁴ Recall that the paradigm of the copular verb *byt'* "be" in Russian is incomplete (there is no present tense form). There is no evidence that there is a null verb *byt'* "be" in the present tense.



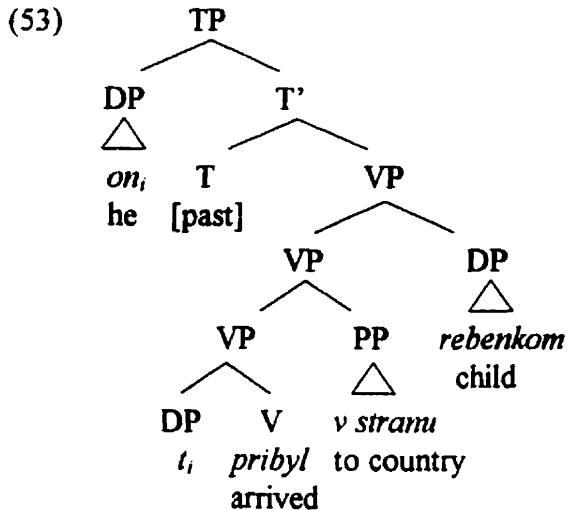
The DP *geniem* “a genius” marked with the instrumental case is base-generated in the small clause complement of the verb *scítal* “considered” and subsequently raises to the VP-adjoined position, where it is interpreted as a modifier of the main predicate. Like other adjuncts which originate in complement position (see the example in (9) above), this adjunct DP cannot be omitted:

- (52) *Ja scítaju ego.
I consider him(m sg acc)
“*I consider him.”

As to “bare” predicate adjectives in embedded sentences, recall that they are part of DPs with null D and N heads. These DPs are interpreted in a manner similar to the one described above for DPs with overt N heads. A relevant example is given in (28) above.

The analysis outlined in this chapter also allows us to account for the instrumental case on secondary predicates. To the extent that the LF structure of (30a/48), which is

given in (30b) above and repeated below as (53), is correct, it explains the occurrence of instrumental case on secondary predicates.



The VP-adjoined DP *rebenkom* ‘child’ in (53) is interpreted as a modifier of the main predicate. Unlike the predicate DPs in copular sentences, this DP originates in adjunct position and is, thus, optional:

- (54) On príbyl v stranu.
he(m sg nom) arrived to country
"He came to the country."

Likewise, “bare” secondary predicate adjectives are interpreted as optional modifiers of the main predicate. The relevant example is given in (32) above.

3. Conclusion

In this chapter I offered an analysis of Russian predicate adjectives marked instrumental in copular sentences. I showed that in Russian copular sentences predicate adjectives in the instrumental case are part of DPs which are base-generated as complements of the copular verb *byr'* "be", which is always semantically vacuous, and

subsequently adjoin to its maximal projection. I argued that it is in this VP-adjoined position that these adjectives are interpreted.

I showed that there are reasons to believe that inherent instrumental case of adjuncts, unlike structural case of subjects and objects, need not be checked formally. Inherent instrumental case of adjuncts allows predicate DPs with embedded adjectives which are marked with it to be interpreted as VP-modifiers at the interface with the conceptual-intentional system. These DPs can be base-generated either in adjunct position, or in complement position. However, in order to be licensed, these predicate DPs must be in adjunct position on the right periphery of VP at LF. This configurational condition explains the lack of the instrumental case option for predicate adjectives in copular sentences in present tense contexts: in these contexts, there is no VP for predicate DPs to adjoin to.

The analysis of main predicate adjectives presented in this chapter can be easily extended to predicate adjectives in embedded clauses and to secondary predicates. I demonstrated that, like main nominal predicates in the instrumental case, DPs containing predicate adjectives in embedded clauses, as well as DPs containing secondary predicate adjectives, adjoin to a VP at LF, where they are interpreted as VP modifiers. The three types of predicate DPs differ with respect to the position they are base-generated in: main predicate DPs originate as complements to a copular verb, predicate DPs in embedded clauses originate as part of small clause complements to some transitive verbs, secondary predicate DPs are base-generated in the adjunct position they are interpreted in. Thus,

secondary predicates are optional, whereas main nominal predicates and predicates of embedded clauses are not.

The analysis presented in this chapter has an advantage over the previous analyses in that it provides a unified account of instrumental case on all types of predicate adjectives.

CHAPTER 5

Nominative Case on Russian Predicate Adjectives

0. Introduction

We have seen that predicative adjectives in Russian copular sentences can be marked with the instrumental case. In non-present tense contexts instrumental case is the unmarked option for “long-form” adjectives. In this chapter I focus on the other option – nominative case, which is the only one available in the present tense and is usually perceived as marked elsewhere. My goal here is to provide a syntactic account of Russian predicate adjectives in the nominative case that is free from any conceptually unnecessary assumptions and devices. I will show that, in order to achieve this goal, we need not assume a case-checking mechanism that is different from the one that is used for checking case on subjects. I will argue that nominative case on both subjects and predicates, including predicate adjectives which are embedded in DPs with null D and N heads, is checked in identical specifier positions of T[ense] via a spec-head relation.¹

Nothing in a phrase structure theory that is free from any stipulation disallows multiple specifiers of a single head. In fact, it allows one to explain the phenomenon of multiple subjects observed in a number of languages (cf. Ura (1994), Chomsky (1995), Ura (1996), Doron and Heycock (to appear)). I will show that, although Russian does not have multiple subjects in overt syntax, it does have multiple subjects in covert syntax. I will argue

¹ See chapter 3 for arguments that Russian “bare” case-marked predicate adjectives are embedded in DPs with null D and N heads.

that the difference between a language with overt multiple subjects and covert ones lies in the strength of features that drive movement of phrases to multiple subject positions.

This chapter is organized as follows. In section 1 I will sketch out the theory of multiple feature checking. In section 2 I will discuss some generalizations made about languages that have been established to have multiple subjects. In section 3 I will show that, despite the fact that some of the generalizations discussed in section 2 do not hold for Russian, there are reasons to believe that Russian copular sentences with predicate adjectives in the nominative case have two specifiers of T[ense] in covert syntax. In section 4 I will show how these sentences can be derived, given minimalist assumptions. In section 5 I will extend the analysis to secondary nominative predicates. Section 6 reviews the results of the analysis presented in this chapter.

1. The Theory of Multiple Feature Checking

Chomsky (1994, 1995) points out that minimalist assumptions about phrase structure, unlike ‘conventional’ X-bar theory, permit multiple specifiers to be projected by a single head. In this section I discuss how multiple specifiers are derived from minimalist assumptions.

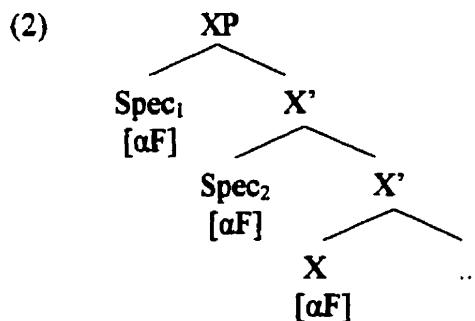
As discussed in chapter 4, in order for a derivation to converge, all uninterpretable features of the lexical items selected for it from the lexicon must be checked and deleted in an appropriate manner. Consider the sentence in (1).

- (1) *John; seems that t_i is intelligent.

The sentence is ungrammatical, because the uninterpretable nominative case feature of T in the matrix clause is not checked: the DP *John* cannot check this feature because its own nominative case feature has already been checked and deleted in the embedded clause.

For the purposes of the analysis in this chapter, a more detailed discussion of the status of a checked feature is in order. Chomsky (1995) argues that it is not the case that a checked feature is always deleted. For example, interpretable features, like φ features of nouns, must be accessible to the computation after they are checked and cannot be deleted. As for uninterpretable features, they are deleted after they are checked. However, Chomsky differentiates between two forms of deletion. He argues that deletion can be either recoverable, in which case an uninterpretable feature can be accessed several times in the course of the derivation, or unrecoverable, in which case an uninterpretable feature is *erased* once it is checked and can no longer be accessed. According to Chomsky, recoverability of deletion is a parameterized property: some languages, like Japanese and Korean, allow it, others, like English, do not.

Recoverability of deletion allows a language to have multiple specifier positions. A structure with multiple specifiers is illustrated in (2) below.



If an uninterpretable feature of X in (2) is not erased after it is checked and deleted, then this feature can check off a matching feature in each Spec, optionally erasing at some point to ensure convergence.

Chomsky (1995: §10) further speculates that availability of multiple specifiers in a language could be related to a parameter setting that allows the language to violate the principle **Procrastinate**, which is one of the economy principles that prefers derivations that hold off on movement until Spell-Out, so that movement results do not affect PF. Chomsky distinguishes between two kinds of violation of **Procrastinate**, *forced violations* (required for convergence) and *unforced violations* ('true economy violations'). Languages with overt multiple specifiers tolerate both kinds of violation. The argument goes as follows. Suppose that X has a strong feature that must be checked off before Spell-Out. If the language has a negative setting for the parameter that allows X to tolerate an unforced violation of **Procrastinate**, then X can project only one specifier position, to which the checker of the X's strong feature is attracted. If the language has a positive setting for the above-mentioned parameter, X can have another specifier position, to which another checker is attracted.

To my mind, this approach to multiple specifiers has a logical consequence that heads with weak features can also project multiple specifiers. Suppose that a head X has a weak feature that is checked in overt syntax as a "free rider", after a checking relation between X and an element in its specifier position has been established in order to check off

some other (strong) feature of X.² Upon checking the strong feature that has driven the overt movement is deleted and erased. Suppose also that the weak feature does not erase after it is checked (a parameterized property) and can enter into another checking relation in covert syntax, in full compliance with Procrastinate. This scenario is consistent with Ura's (1996) conclusion that the multiple specifier parameter is not set upon each head, but upon each formal feature of a head. In other words, a head X can have formal features, some of which can enter into multiple checking relations, whereas others cannot. Later in this chapter I will show that Russian is a language where multiple specifiers accommodate the checking needs of weak features.

Ura (1994, 1996), Doron and Heycock (to appear), among others, provide empirical evidence that some languages have multiple specifiers of T[ense], to which multiple checkers of the nominative case feature are attracted. In the next section I will briefly discuss some of the properties that these languages have been reported to have in common.

2. Some Properties of Languages with Multiple Subjects

Doron and Heycock (to appear) examine multiple subject constructions in Japanese, Modern Hebrew and Modern Standard Arabic. The relevant examples from these languages are given in (3) below.

(3)a. Japanese

Mary-ga kami -ga nagai (koto)
 Mary(nom) hair(nom) long
 "Mary has long hair."

² See Chomsky (1995: 282) for discussion of "free rider" feature checking.

b. Modern Standard Arabic

?al-bayt-u ?alwa:n-u-hu za:hiyat-un
 the-house(nom) colors(nom)-its bright(nom)
 “The house has bright colors.”
 Literally: “The house, its colors are bright.”

c. Hebrew

Ruti yeS la savlanut
 Ruti there-is to her patience
 ‘Ruti has patience.’

It is not always the case in Arabic that both nominative phrases in multiple subject constructions appear sentence-initially, as the example in (4) illustrates:

- (4) hind-un yuqa:bilu-ha T-Tulla:b-u
 Hind(f nom) meet(3 m)-her the-students (m nom)
 “The students are meeting Hind.”
 Literally: “Hind, the students are meeting her.”

Doron and Heycock assume that the nominative phrase that appears inside VP in (4) raises to Spec,TP in covert syntax.

Doron and Heycock provide convincing evidence that the initial nominative phrase in multiple subject constructions in Japanese, as well as in Semitic languages, is neither in a designated focus position, nor in a left-dislocated position, as is sometimes argued, but has properties of a ‘true’ subject. For example, the initial nominative phrase in Japanese can bind the subject oriented reflexive *zibun*, as the sentence in (5) illustrates:³

- (5) sono hito;_i-ga kodomo-ga zibun;_i-yori atama-ga ii (koto)
 that person;_i(nom) child(nom) self;_i-than head(nom) good (fact)
 “(The fact that) that person;_i [is such that his/her] child is more intelligent
 than him;_i/her;_i.”

³ See Doron and Heycock (to appear) for other evidence that the initial nominative noun phrase in these constructions is a ‘true’ subject.

Having established that the initial nominative phrase in multiple nominatives is indeed a subject, Doron and Heycock argue that the initial nominative phrase (the so-called “Broad subject”) differs from the one that follows it (the so-called “Narrow subject”) in that the former is merged in Spec,TP, whereas the latter is base-generated within VP and occurs in Spec,TP due to movement. One of the pieces of evidence adduced by Doron and Heycock in support of this claim is that in Arabic only Narrow subjects induce verb agreement, as (6) illustrates.⁴

- (6)a. ?*aT-Tulla:b-u yuqa:bilu-una hind-an*
the-students(m nom) meet(3 m pl) Hind(f acc)
“The students are meeting Hind.”
- b. *hind-un yuqa:bilu-ha T-Tulla:b-u*
Hind(f nom) meet(3 m)-her the-students(m nom)
“The students are meeting Hind.”
Literally: “Hind, the students are meeting her.”

According to Chomsky (1995), no element can check its features in its base-generated position. Doron and Heycock argue that, since Broad subjects are merged in Spec,TP, and Narrow subjects are merged in Spec,VP, the latter, but not the former can enter into a checking relation with the verb that adjoins to T and check its agreement features. This argument would explain the agreement facts in (6). However, this analysis is not without problems: in order to explain how nominative case on Broad subjects is checked, Doron and Heycock are forced to make a stipulation that nominative case, being a

⁴ The basic structure of Arabic sentences is VSO, which is, presumably, due to a weak D-feature of T:
(i) *yuqa:bilu T-Tulla:b-u hind-an*
meet(3 m) the-students(m nom) Hind(f acc)
“The students are meeting Hind.”

In (6) only one nominative phrase, the Broad Subject, appears in sentence-initial position, the second nominative phrase, the Narrow Subject, moves to Spec,TP in covert syntax.

weak feature, is allowed to be checked in the position of merger by a head-head relation at LF, rather than by a specifier-head relation.⁵

In the next section I will show that in Russian double subject constructions either subject can induce verb agreement. I will argue that Doron and Heycock's generalization that one of the subjects in double subject constructions is merged in Spec,TP, whereas the other moves to Spec,TP in the course of the derivation, does not hold for Russian.

Another generalization about languages that have multiple subjects is made by Ura (1994). According to Ura, those languages that allow multiple subjects, also allow A-scrambling to take place.⁶ Consider, for example, the Japanese sentences in (7) below.

- (7)a. *[IP[DPOtagai-no; sensei]-ga [VP karera-o; hihansita]] (koto)
each other(gen) teacher(nom) they(acc) criticized (fact)
“(The fact that) each other’s_i teachers criticized them_i.”
- b. [IPKarera-o; [IP[DPotagai-no; sensei]-ga [VP t_i; hihansita]] (koto)
they(acc) each other(gen) teacher(nom) criticized (fact)
“*(The fact that) each other’s_i teachers criticized them_i.
Literally: “Them; each other’s_i teachers criticized.”

According to Condition A of the Binding Theory (Chomsky (1981)), reciprocals must be bound within their clause by an antecedent in an A-position. The sentence in (7a) is ungrammatical, because it violates Condition A: the reciprocal *otagai-no* “each other” is not

⁵ See Doron and Heycock (to appear) for other evidence in support of the claim that Broad subjects are merged in Spec,TP.

⁶ Scrambling is an operation which reorders maximal projections internally within clauses, moving them further to the front of the clause. The term was introduced by Ross (1967). A-scrambling is scrambling to an A-position. A-positions are those to which thematic roles *could* be assigned (Chomsky (1981)).

Ura (1994) also proposes a generalization which states that if a language allows multiple subjects, then it also allows superraising, i.e. an operation by which an NP (or DP) is moved up beyond the subject of a clause to an argument position in a higher clause, to take place. However, Ura (1996) admits that more research is needed to establish the validity of this generalization.

c-commanded by its antecedent *karera-o* “they” and is, thus, not bound in its clause.⁷ The sentence in (7b) is grammatical. Thus, it must be the case that the scrambled DP *karera-o* “they” that binds the reciprocal *otagai-no* “each other” in this sentence is in an A-position.

Russian, too, has A-scrambling. As an illustration, consider the sentences in (8).⁸

- (8)a. *[IP[DPUčitelja drug druga;_i] [VP kritikovali [DPix;_i]]].
 teachers(nom) each other(gen) criticized they(acc)
 “*Each other’s_i teachers criticized them_i. ”
- b. [IP[Ix;_i [DPučitelja drug druga;_i] [VPkritikovali t;_i]]].
 they(acc) teachers(nom) each other(gen) criticized
 “Each other’s_i teachers criticized them.”
 Literally: “*Them_i; each other’s_i teachers criticized.”

The sentence in (8a) is ungrammatical, because the reciprocal *drug druga* “each other” is not c-commanded by its antecedent *ix* “they” and is, thus, not bound in its clause. The sentence in (8b) is grammatical, because the antecedent of the reciprocal has scrambled to an A-position and can bind the reciprocal.

Since Russian, like languages with multiple subjects, allows A-scrambling, one might expect to find multiple subject constructions in this language as well. In the next section I will show that such constructions do, indeed, exist in Russian.

⁷ Recall that A binds B iff (i) A c-commands B, (ii) A and B are coindexed. A c-commands B iff (i) A does not dominate B, (ii) B does not dominate A, (iii) the first branching node dominating A also dominates B (cf. Chomsky (1981, 1986b)).

⁸ In (8) I do not show the traces left by the subject movement, as they are not relevant to the discussion here.

3. Double Subject Construction in Russian

3.1 Agreement Facts

It has been assumed that sentences with two subjects do not exist in Russian (cf., for example, Padučeva and Uspenskij (1979)). While it is true that in most binominative copular sentences one of the phrases is less referential than the other and can appear in the instrumental case, i.e. the canonical case of predicates, instead of the nominative case, there is no reason why both nominative phrases cannot occupy identical *syntactic* positions at some point in the derivation. I would like to suggest that both nominative phrases are in Spec, TP position at LF. Evidence for this claim derives from the fact that either phrase in Russian binominative copular sentences can induce verb agreement, as the following examples illustrate.⁹

- (9)a. Ego ljubimoe zanjatie bylo
 his(m sg gen) favorite(n sg nom) pastime(n sg nom) was(past n sg)
 igra v šaxmaty.
 game(f sg nom) prep chess(pl prep)
 "His favorite pastime was chess."
- b. Ego ljubimoe zanjatie byla
 his(m sg gen) favorite(n sg nom) pastime(n sg nom) was(past f sg)
 igra v šaxmaty.
 game(f sg nom) prep chess(pl prep)
 "His favorite pastime was chess."
- (10)a. Kabinet byl bol'saja komnata.
 study(m sg nom) was(m sg) big(f sg nom) room(f sg nom)
 "The study was a big room."

⁹ The sentences in (9) and (10) are taken from Peškovkij (1956) and Revzin (1978), respectively.

- b. Kabinet byla bol'saja komnata.
 study(m sg nom) was(f sg) big(f sg nom) room(f sg nom)
 "The study was a big room."

In (9a) and (10a) the verb agrees in φ-features with the pre-copular DP, in (9b) and (10b) it agrees with the post-copular phrase. Recall from chapter 4 that the tense and φ-features on Russian verbs are weak and, thus, need not be checked until after Spell-Out, where both DPs occupy Spec,TP positions. Either of the two DPs can check φ-features on the verb, which adjoins to T after Spell-Out, via a spec-head relation.

Recall that no feature checking can take place in the position of merger (cf. Chomsky (1995)). The fact that either nominative phrase in Russian binominative sentences can induce verb agreement shows that none of them is merged in Spec,TP. In this respect the double subject construction found in Russian copular sentences is different from the Semitic multiple subject construction described by Doron and Heycock (to appear).

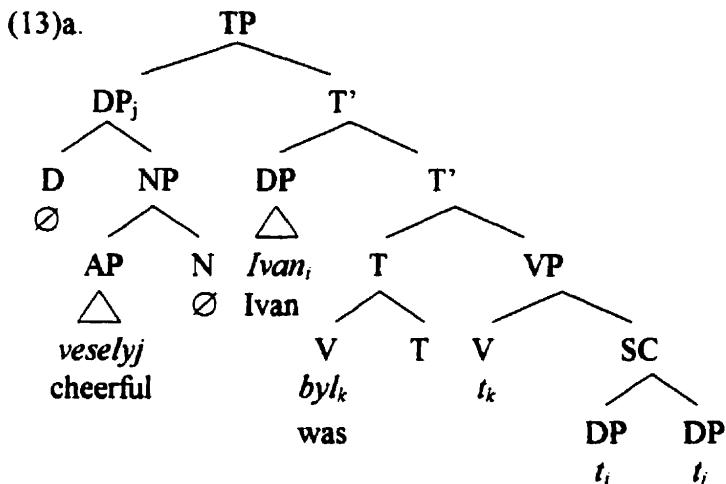
3.2 Sentences without a Verb

Another argument in favor of multiple specifier constructions in Russian copular sentences is based on the fact that in those sentences which do not have a verb nominative case is the only available option for case-marked predicates. Recall from chapters 1, 2 and 4 that the copular verb *byt'* "be" is not used in present tense contexts, and that instrumental case on predicates in these contexts is not licensed because there is no VP for instrumental predicates to adjoin to, which makes them uninterpretable at LF. On the other hand, the absence of a verb in the present tense does not affect the availability of multiple specifier positions of T. Thus, Russian copular sentences with predicate nouns and adjectives in the

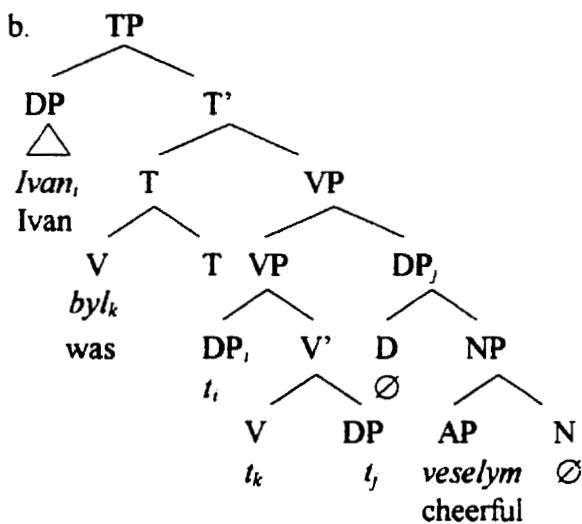
nominative case are grammatical, whereas those with predicate nouns and adjectives in the instrumental case are ungrammatical. Compare the sentences in (11) and (12) below.

- (11)a. Ivan byl veselyj.
 Ivan(m sg nom) was cheerful(m sg nom)
 “Ivan was cheerful.”
- b. Ivan byl veselym.
 Ivan(m sg nom) was cheerful(m sg inst)
 “Ivan was cheerful”
- (12)a. Ivan veselyj.
 Ivan(m sg nom) cheerful(m sg nom)
 “Ivan is cheerful.”
- b. *Ivan veselym.
 Ivan(m sg nom) cheerful(m sg inst)
 “Ivan is cheerful.”

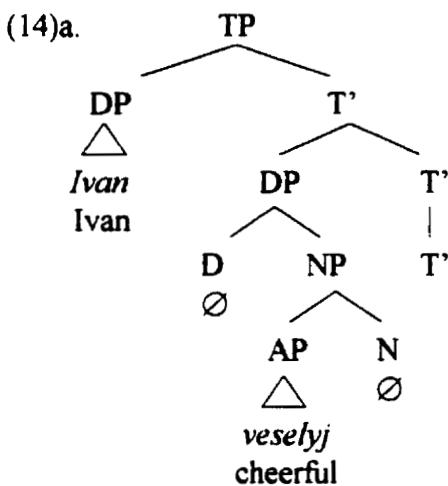
The LF structures of (11a) and (11b) are given in (13a) and (13b) respectively.¹⁰



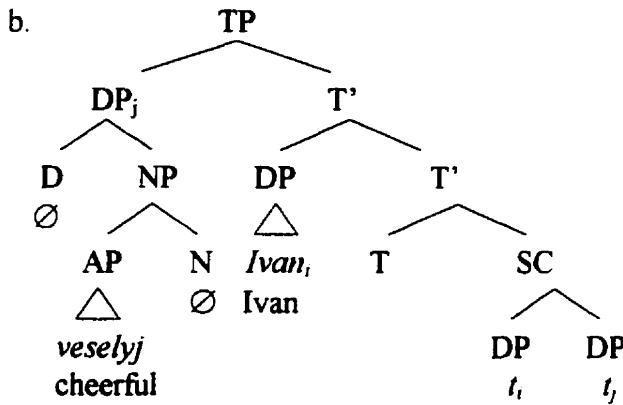
¹⁰ Recall from chapter 4 that the verb *byt'* “be” can take either a small clause complement or a DP complement.



With respect to the LF structure of (12a), there appear to be two possibilities, illustrated in (14a) and (14b).¹¹



¹¹ For exposition purposes, I use a unary branching node in (16a). It should be borne in mind, however, that the “bare” phrase structure theory introduced by Chomsky (1994) has abolished intermediate projections for nodes without internal structure for lack of their conceptual necessity.



In (14a) both nominative DPs are merged in Spec,TP positions, whereas in (14b) they move to these positions from a small clause complement of T. However, if Chomsky's (1995) conclusion that no feature-checking takes place in the position of merger is correct, the nominative case feature on the two DPs in (14a) cannot be checked, which causes the derivation to crash. Since the sentence in (12a) is grammatical, I assume that the correct LF structure of (12a) is the one given in (14b).

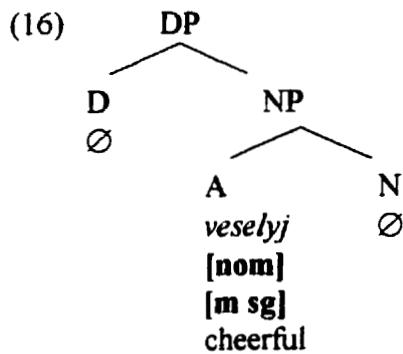
We have seen that there are reasons to believe that Russian binominative copular sentences have two subjects. In the next section I consider in detail the derivation Russian copular sentences with “bare” predicate adjectives in the nominative case.

4. Deriving Syntactic Structure of Copular Sentences with Predicate Adjectives in the Nominative Case

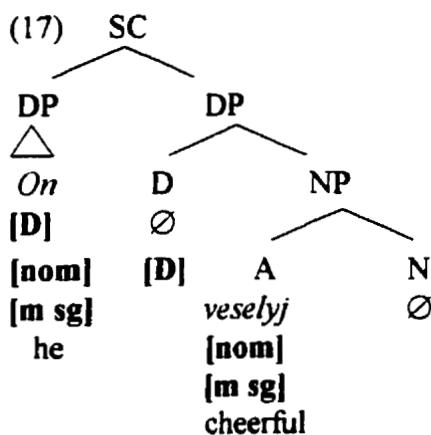
Consider the sentence in (15).

- (15) On byl veselyj.
 he(m sg nom) was cheerful (m sg nom)
 “He was (a) cheerful (one).”

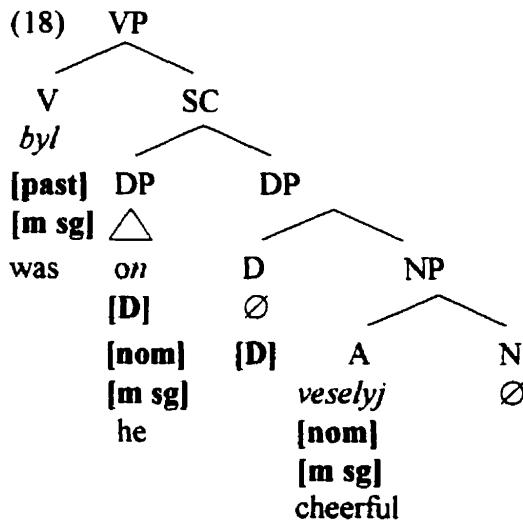
The derivation of the sentence in (15) is as follows. A null D merges with an NP which contains a null head N and a modifying adjective *veselyj* “cheerful”. This is illustrated in (16) below.



The DP thereby formed then merges with the DP *on* “he” to form a small clause, as in (17) below.



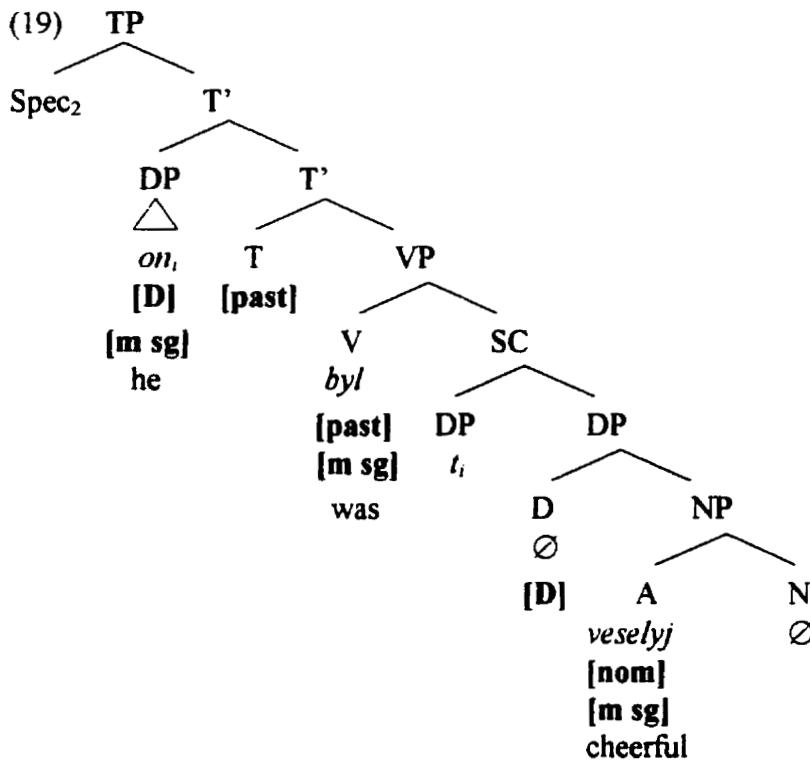
The resulting small clause in turn merges with the copular verb *byl* “was” and becomes its complement, as in (18) below.



Subsequently, VP in (18) merges with an abstract tense affix T, which has two specifier positions, and the DP *on “he”* raises to one of these positions, where its nominative case feature is checked against the nominative case feature of T via a spec-head relation.¹² The nominative case feature of the DP *on “he”* is erased after it is checked, whereas the nominative case feature of T is deleted in such a way that it can be recovered. The Spell-Out structure of the sentence in (15) is illustrated in (19).

¹² See chapter 4 for the discussion of case-checking mechanisms.

For the purposes of the analysis in this thesis, I assume that it is the need to check the categorial D feature of T that drives this movement, and the nominative case feature of the DP is checked as a “free rider” (cf. Chomsky (1995)). It is a well-known fact, however, that not all Russian sentences have (overt) subjects. Investigation of “subjectless” sentences, however, is beyond the scope of this thesis.



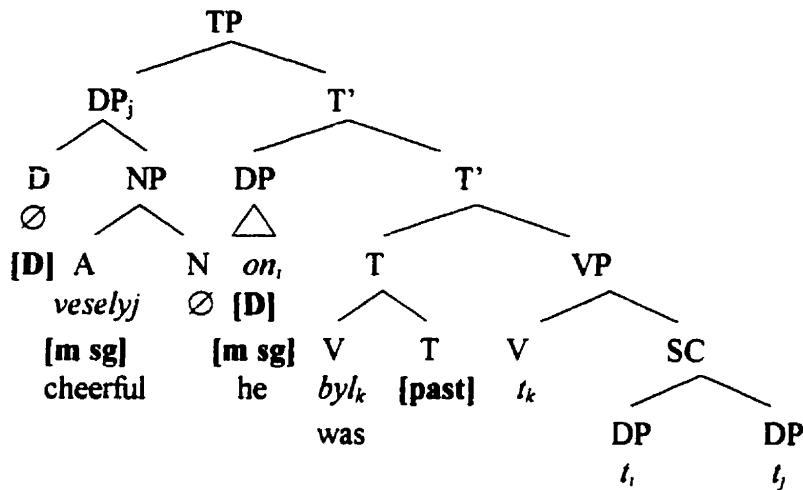
In covert syntax, the DP containing the predicate adjective *veselyj* “cheerful” moves to the other available Spec,TP position, where the nominative case feature of this DP it is checked against the recovered nominative case feature of T. Both checked nominative case features are erased and can no longer be accessed by the computation.¹³ The verb *byl* “was” raises to adjoin to T and its past tense feature is checked against the past tense feature of T via a head adjunction mechanism.¹⁴ I assume that it is the tense feature of T that plays a role in the semantic interpretation of the sentence (it indicates that the situation described is observed at a particular point in time) and is not deleted after it is checked. The tense

¹³ According to Chomsky (1995), uninterpretable features are erased whenever possible.

¹⁴ Recall from chapter 4 that the tense and φ-features of Russian verbs are weak, i.e. they can be checked in covert syntax, after Spell-Out. Although it could be the case that it is the need to check its φ-features that drives the movement of the verb, in which case the tense feature is checked as a “free rider” (cf. Chomsky (1995)), I do not discuss this possibility here. The issue appears to be completely speculative.

feature of the verb, on the other hand, is redundant and uninterpretable. Thus, it is erased after it is checked.¹⁵ As to the φ-features of the verb, they are checked against the φ-features of one of the DPs in Spec,TP position via a spec-head relation and erased as well.¹⁶ The LF structure of the sentence in (15) is illustrated in (20) below.

(20)



Now let us consider the derivation of a binominate sentence without a verb, like the one in (12a), repeated here as (21).

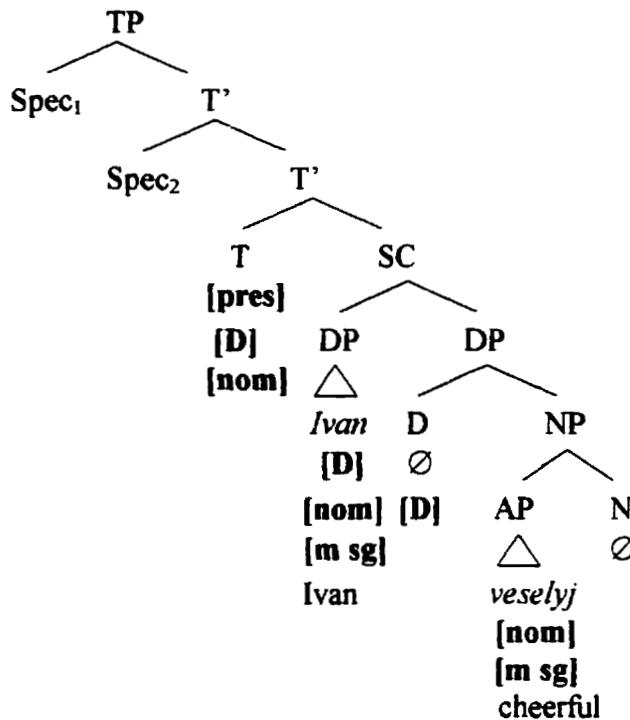
- (21)a. Ivan veselyj.
 Ivan(m sg nom) cheerful(m sg nom)
 ‘Ivan is cheerful.’

An abstract tense affix T, which has two specifier positions, merges with a small clause complement, which consists of two DPs, *Ivan* ‘Ivan’ and *veselyj* ‘cheerful’ (the latter with null D and N heads), forming the structure in (22) below.

¹⁵ One might argue that it is the other way around: the tense feature of the verb is interpretable, whereas the tense feature of T is not. Recall, however, that in present tense contexts there is no verb. Thus, one would have to make an additional assumption that the present tense feature is inherent in the verb-less structure. Nothing in my analysis hinges on the assumption that it is the tense feature of T, rather than the verb, that is interpreted. What appears to be important is that only one of the present tense features can be interpreted in the sentence, the other is superfluous and uninterpretable.

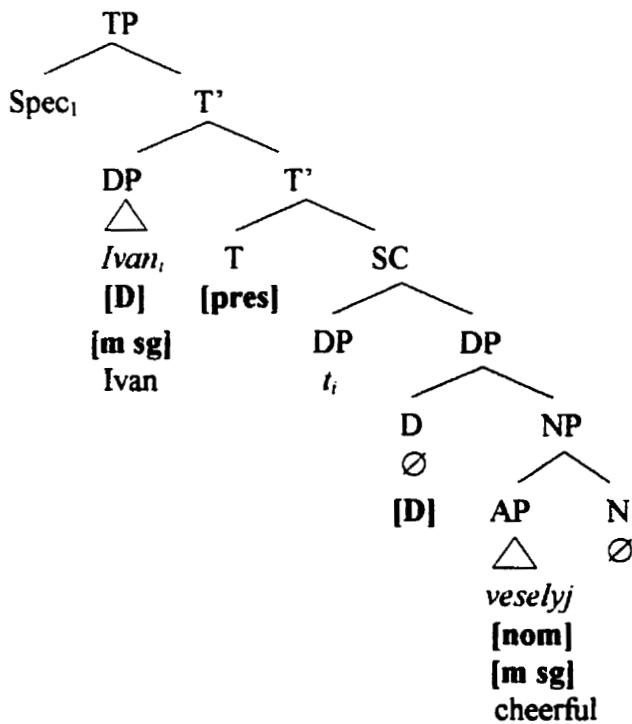
¹⁶If Chomsky (1995) is correct that φ-features of nouns are always interpretable, then the φ-features of the two DPs in (20) are also interpretable. Consequently, they cannot be deleted in the course of the derivation.

(22)



Assuming that the D-feature of T is strong, the DP *Ivan* “Ivan” raises to check this feature in overt syntax. The nominative case feature on this DP is checked against the weak nominative case feature of T as a “free rider”. Upon checking the nominative case feature on T is deleted, the nominative case feature on the DP *Ivan* “Ivan” is deleted and erased. The Spell-Out structure of the sentence in (21) is given in (23) below.

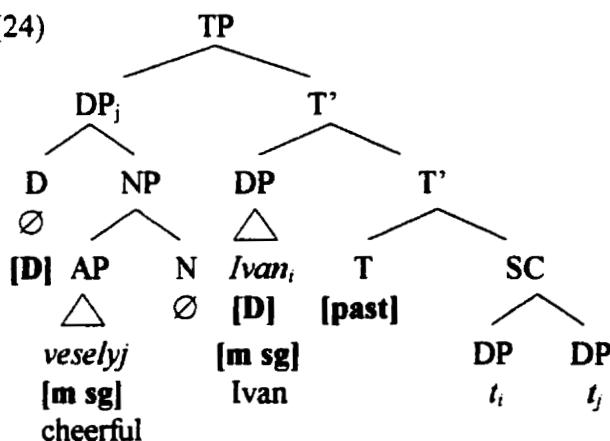
(23)



In covert syntax, the DP *veselyj* "cheerful" raises to the second available Spec, TP position and checks its nominative case feature against the recovered nominative case feature of T. Upon checking the nominative case features on T and the DP "Ivan" are deleted and erased.

The LF structure of the sentence in (21) is illustrated in (24) below.

(24)

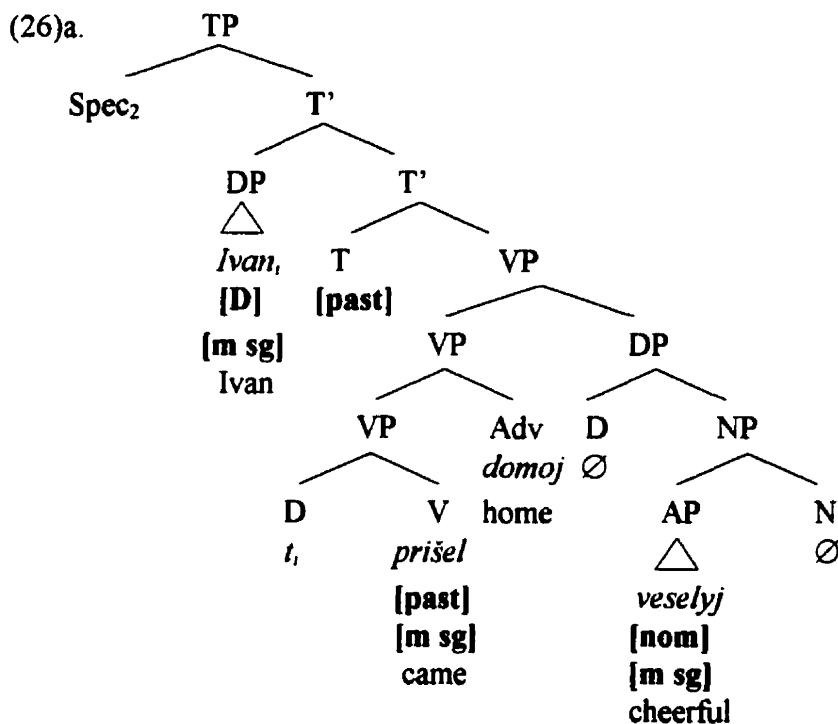


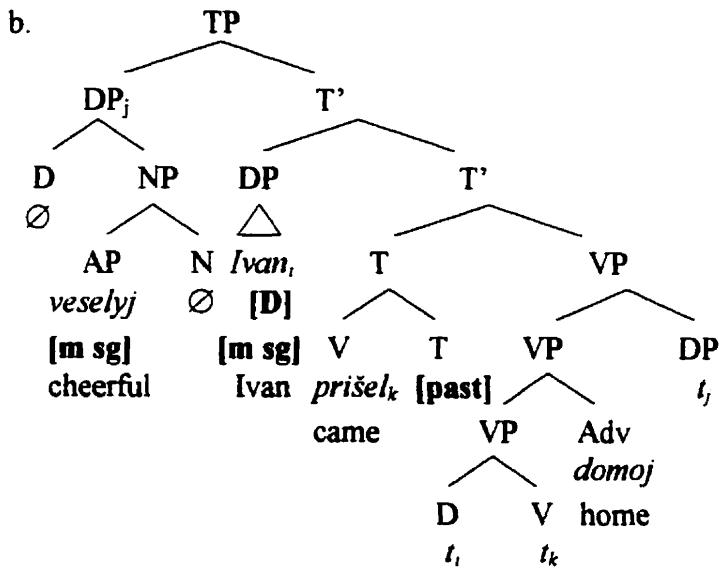
5. Extending the Analysis

The analysis outlined in the previous section can be easily applied to Russian secondary predicate adjectives marked nominative. Consider, for example, the sentence in (25).

- (25) Ivan prišel domoj veselyj.
 Ivan(m sg nom) came home cheerful(m sg nom)
 "Ivan came home cheerful."

The Spell-Out and LF structures of the sentence in (25) are given in (26a) and (26b), respectively.





The nominative DP *Ivan* “Ivan” raises overtly to Spec,TP position, where it checks the strong D-feature of T, as well as its nominative case feature, via a spec-head relation. The nominative DP *veselyj* “cheerful” is base-generated in VP-adjoined position and, in covert syntax, raises to the second available Spec,TP position, where it, too, checks its nominative case feature against the recovered nominative case feature of T via a spec-head relation.¹⁷

¹⁷ One might expect that secondary nominative DP predicates with overt N heads could optionally trigger verb agreement like matrix predicates with overt Ns, as shown in (9) and (10) above. However, unlike instrumental DPs with overt N heads, nominative DPs with overt N heads are not normally used as secondary predicates, unless they are part of phrases headed by the “comparative conjunction” *kak* “as”, in Švedova, Arutjunova, Bondarenko, Ivanov, Lopatin, Uluxanov, Filin’s (1980b: 177) terms:

- (i) On prišel domoj geroem.
he(m sg nom) came home hero(m sg inst)
“He came home as a hero.”
- (ii) On prišel domoj kak geroj.
he(m sg nom) came home as hero(m sg nom)
“He came home as a hero.”
- (iii) *On prišel domoj geroj.
he(m sg nom) came home hero(m sg nom)
Intended meaning: “He came home as a hero.”

It is not clear to me why this is so, and I leave this issue for further research.

The derivation of Russian sentences with predicate adjectives in the nominative case outlined in this section is based on the assumption that the nominative case feature of T in Russian is weak, i.e. it can be tolerated by the derivation and be checked after Spell-Out, in accordance with the principle “Procrastinate”, and that it can be recovered after deletion, a parameterized property. Recall that in languages with overt multiple subjects the nominative case feature of T is, presumably, strong. All that is required for convergence in these languages is that it be checked *once* by a nominative phrase. According to Chomsky (1995), the fact that the nominative case feature of T is repeatedly checked by multiple subjects suggests that this strong feature can be recovered after checking and deletion, and that these languages can tolerate unforced (i.e. not required for convergence) violations of “Procrastinate”. If my analysis is along the right lines, Russian differs from languages with overt multiple subjects in that it does not have either forced or unforced violations of the principle “Procrastinate” with respect to nominative case checking. The analysis suggests that, in some languages, a weak feature, as well as a strong one, can license multiple specifiers of a single head.

6. Conclusion

In this chapter I have shown that predicate DPs that contain adjectives in the nominative case check their case via the same mechanism as subject DPs: like subject DPs, they raise to Spec,TP, where their nominative case feature is checked against the nominative case feature of T via a spec-head relation. The analysis holds true for both

nominative predicate adjectives in copular sentences and secondary nominative predicates.

This is a welcome result, as it allows us to account for nominative case assignment in different types of sentences in a uniform way, dispensing with the unnecessary apparatus and ad hoc stipulations used in previous analyses.

I showed that the difference between languages with overt multiple subjects and Russian double subject construction lies in the strength of the nominative case feature of T: it is strong in the former and weak in the latter. Unlike languages with overt multiple subjects, Russian observes the principle “Procrastinate” in its nominative case checking throughout the derivation: where the weak nominative case feature cannot be checked as a “free rider”, it is checked in covert syntax. The analysis suggests that, in some languages, weak features, as well as strong ones, can be recovered after checking and can enter into multiple checking relations.

CHAPTER 6

Conclusion

0. Introduction

In this thesis, I investigated various issues related to case-marking of Russian predicate adjectives. Throughout the thesis, I was guided by the idea that, in most cases, things are what they appear to be, and that we need not complicate the issues by making unnecessary assumptions. My belief is that syntactic analysis should unify various instantiations of the same linguistic phenomenon. With this in mind, I offered an account of case on Russian predicate adjectives which uses only those mechanisms that are independently motivated in this language. Compared with the previous analyses, it has the advantage of drastically reducing the theoretical apparatus needed to account for a wide range of relevant language facts.

I first present a brief summary of the conclusions reached in this thesis. This is followed by a discussion of some areas for further research.

1. Summary

There exist different views on the internal structure of Russian adjectival predicates. In this thesis, I showed that Russian “bare” case-marked predicate adjectives are always embedded in DPs with null D and N heads, and that these DPs need case in order to be

visible at LF. In this respect, case-marked predicate adjectives are different from caseless ones, which are predicate APs and are visible at LF by virtue of their number and gender features. I suggested that predicates, as well as arguments, can only be visible for interpretation in certain syntactic positions, and that the features that they have drive their movement to these syntactic positions.

Having established why some Russian predicate adjectives need case, I addressed the question why there exist two case-marking options for these predicates. In order to provide a comprehensive answer to this question, both syntactic and semantic factors need to be considered. Due to the limited scope of this study, I explored only syntactic factors and left semantic factors to further research.

I argued that instrumental and nominative case on Russian predicate adjectives are checked by two different mechanisms. I first looked at copular matrix clauses and argued that, contrary to the claim made in some previous analyses, there is only one semantically vacuous verb *byt'* “be” in Russian. I argued, however, that this verb can appear in different syntactic configurations: it can either take a DP or a small clause complement. Predicate DPs in the instrumental case, which is the inherent case of adjuncts in Russian and need not be checked formally, are base-generated as complements of the copular verb and subsequently raise to adjoin to the right edge of its maximal projection, where they can be interpreted as VP-modifiers. Predicate DPs in the nominative case, which is the structural case of subjects in Russian, originate in small clause complements of the copular verb and subsequently move to one of the multiple Spec,TP positions, where their nominative case is

checked in the same fashion as the nominative case of subject DPs, via a spec-head relation with T. This analysis of predicate adjectives in copular matrix clauses is supported by the fact that in present tense contexts, where there is no verb, nominative case is the only available option: instrumental case on predicate DPs is not licensed, because there is no VP for DPs marked instrumental to adjoin to, whereas nominative case on predicate DPs can still be checked, since lack of a verb does not affect availability of multiple Spec,TP positions.

I demonstrated that the account of case on predicate adjectives in copular matrix clauses can be easily extended to predicate adjectives in embedded small clauses and secondary predicate adjectives. Predicate adjectives in embedded small clauses are always marked with instrumental case, which allows them to be interpreted as VP-modifiers at LF. The DPs that contain these predicate adjectives are non-optimal constituents: they originate in small clause complements of a higher verb and subsequently raise to adjoin to the maximal projection of this verb, thereby forming a two-segment category which assigns theta-roles to the external and internal arguments. As to secondary predicate DPs (and adjectives contained in them), they can be marked with either instrumental case or nominative case. Secondary predicate DPs are generated in VP-adjunct position and are optional constituents. Secondary predicate adjectives which are marked with the inherent instrumental case of adjuncts can remain in this position at LF and be interpreted as VP modifiers, whereas secondary predicate adjectives in the nominative case are forced to

move to Spec, TP position, where their structural nominative case can be checked off against the nominative case feature of T via a spec-head relation at LF.

2. Areas for Further Research

One of the questions that has been left unanswered by this study is the role of semantic factors in the choice between the two case-marking options for Russian predicate adjectives in non-present tense contexts. The differences in the interpretation of Russian sentences with predicate adjectives in the nominative case and predicate adjectives in the instrumental case have been described in detail in the literature (cf., for example, Nichols (1981)).¹ However, to my knowledge, no attempt has been made to relate these differences to the syntactic structures of these sentences.

The role of the semantic factors in the choice between the two case-marking options is especially interesting in view of the ongoing debate in the literature about the nature of the interface between syntax and semantics. One view on the relation between syntax and semantics is represented by Diesing (1992), who analyzes the relation between syntax and semantics as a strict mapping from syntactic structure onto semantic representations. Another view is represented by De Hoop (1996), who argues that, if this relation is analyzed as mapping, it should be a mapping that takes into account not only structural positions, but other information as well, such as type of Case and focus. Investigation of the

¹ See chapter 1 for a summary of semantic differences between copular sentences with predicate adjectives in the nominative and the instrumental case.

relation between the syntax and semantics of Russian sentences with case-marked predicate adjectives can provide evidence in support of one of these views.

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