

Comparative Slavic Syntax
EGG 02 (Novi Sad)
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Class 4: Slavic Predicate Case and Structure

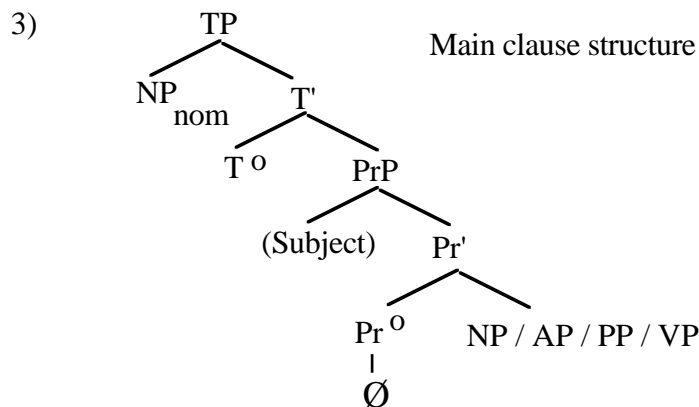
- 1) Ja našel ego p'janym / p'janogo RUS
I_i-Nom found him_k-Acc drunk_k-Instr drunk_k-Acc
"I found him drunk."

2 case patterns:

- (i) **Instrumental**
(ii) **"Sameness" of case** (or "agreement" with a case form present in the structure)

Structure of Predicates: (based on J. Bowers 1993: "The Syntax of Predication")

- 2) a. There exists a **functional category PredP** (PrP) for every instance of "predication"
b. Every T⁰ selects PredP (primary predication), some V's select PredP (secondary predication).
c. Pred⁰ selects any lexical category as its complement; structurally, the traditional "predicate" is the Pred⁰ complement.
d. "Small clauses" are PredP's, either selected (arguments = objects) or adjoined (modifiers).

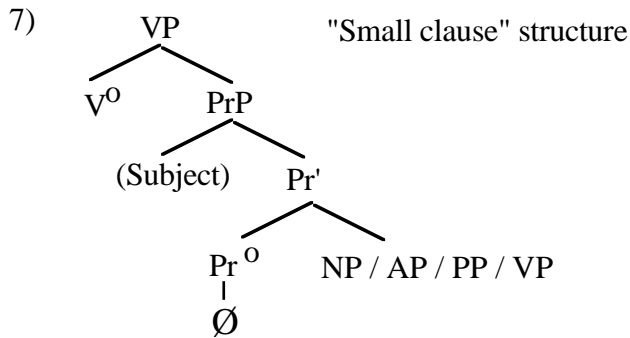


- 4) a. John -- durak. Pr⁰ 1 selects NP RUSSIAN
b. John -- v Novom Sadu Pr⁰ 1 selects PP
c. John -- glup Pr⁰ 1 selects AP
d. John ljubit jazyki Pr⁰ 1 selects VP

• In Russian, a parameter allows PredP NOT to select VP

Some verbs take PredP objects = "secondary predicates"

- 5) a. *I consider John.
b. *Smatram Johna. SC
c. *Ja sčitaju Johna. Rus
- 6) a. I consider [John [a fool]] NP + NP = PredP!
b. I consider [John [out of his mind]] NP + PP = PredP!
c. I found [John [drunk]] NP + AP = PredP!
d. I found [John [playing football]] NP + VP = PredP!



Many Slavic small clause NPs and APs are marked with Instrumental Case!!

8) a. Ivan kažetsja glupym. / *glup / *glupyj.
 Ivan-**Nom** seems stupid-**Instr** stupid-**Nom** (short or long)
 "Ivan seems (to be) stupid."

b. Ivan kažetsja durakom / *durak
 Ivan_i-**Nom** seems fool_i-**Instr** fool_i-**Nom**
 "Ivan seems (to be) a fool."

9) Ja sčitaju Ivana glupym. / *glupogo...
 I consider Ivan-**Acc** stupid-**Instr** stupid-**Acc**
 "I consider Ivan stupid."

10) Ja sčitaju Ivana durakom / *duraka...
 I-**Nom** consider Ivan_i-**Acc** fool_i-**Instr** fool_i-**Acc**
 "I consider Ivan a fool."

• NP adjuncts Only Instrumental.

11) Oni nazvali ego direktorom / *direktora
 they_i-**Nom** named him_k-**Acc** director_k-**Instr** director_k-**Acc**
 "They named him director."

12) On rabotaet vračom / *vrač
 he_i-**Nom** works doctor_i-**Instr** doctor_i-**Nom**
 "He works as a doctor."

BUT NOT ALL: The other pattern is called "sameness" or "case agreement"

• AP modifiers Both, but Sameness restricted.

--> 13) Ja našel ego p'janym / p'janogo [both possible]
 I_i-**Nom** found him_k-**Acc** drunk_k-**Instr** drunk_k-**Acc**
 "I found him drunk."

14) My tancevali golymi / golye [both possible]
 we_i-**Nom** danced nude_i-**Instr** nude_i-**Nom**
 "We danced nude."

Primary predicates Only Sameness. [Nom]

15) a. Ivan -- durak. *b. Ivan -- durakom/duraka...
 Ivan-**NOM** fool-**Nom** Ivan-**NOM** fool-**Instr/Gen** etc.
 "Ivan is a fool"

c. Ivan -- glup(yj) *d. Ivan -- glupym/glupogo...
 Ivan-**NOM** stupid-**Nom** Ivan-**NOM** stupid-**Instr/Gen** etc.
 "Ivan is stupid"

POLISH: Primary Predicates APs = Sameness, NP = Instrumental.

- 16) a. Jan-**Nom** jest glodny-**Nom** *b. Jan-**Nom** jest glodnym-**Instr**
 Jan is hungry Jan is hungry
- 17) *a. Jan-**Nom** jest student.-**Nom** b. Jan-**Nom** jest studentem.-**Instr**
 Jan is a student Jan is a student

Secondary predicates Sameness.

18) POLISH: (from Bailyn & Citko 1998)

- a. Znalazlem go pijanego / *pijanym
 I-found him-**Acc** drunk-**Acc** drunk-**Instr**
 "I found him drunk."
- b. Uwazam go za glupca / *glupcem
 I-consider him-**Acc** as fool-**Acc** fool-**Instr**

SERBO-CROATIAN:

Arguments Instrumental (lexically selected by verbs asuch as *smatrati* ('to consider')).

- 19) a. (Ja) smatram ga budalom / budala
 I-**Nom** consider him-**Acc** a fool-**Instr** a fool-**Acc**
 "I consider him a fool."

Adjuncts Sameness. Instrumental impossible.

- 20) a. (Ja) plešem go *b. (Ja) plešem golim.
 I-**Nom** dance-1sg nude-**Nom** I-**Nom** dance-1sg nude-**Instr**
 "I dance nude."
- 21) a. Našao sam ga pijanog *b. Našao sam ga pijanim
 found aux-1sg him-**Acc** drunk-**Acc** found aux-1sg him-**Acc** drunk-**Instr**
 "I found him drunk."

SLOVAK: Sameness.

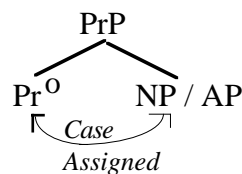
- 22) Mat' ju našla vyplakanú
 mother-**NOM** her-**ACC** found crying-**ACC**
 "Mother found her crying"

- 23) • Instrumental -----> Lexical Case
 • Sameness of case -----> Structural Case

24) **Predicate Instrumental Rule** "Rule I" (Russian) (Bailyn & Rubin 1991)

Pred⁰ assigns Instrumental Case to its complement

25) Predicate Case

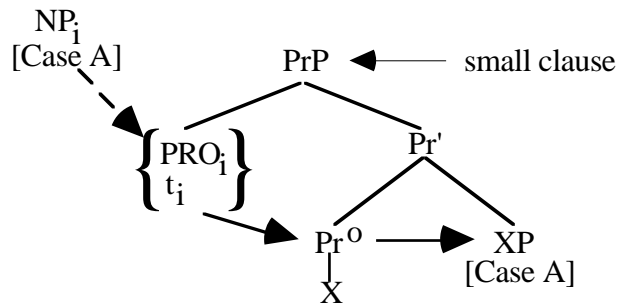


Structural Case results from no case feature on the relevant Pred⁰

STRUCTURAL PREDICATE CASE (= "Sameness" of Case)

- not associated with a particular lexical head
- actual case occurrence depends on structure

- 26) Structural case on arguments:
 a. Nominative agrees with NOM from tensed T⁰
 b. Accusative agrees with ACC from V
- 27) A schematic view of Predicate Case by Agreement



Consequences for the analysis of Slavic

- The source of predicate structural case is explained, = multiple specs
 - Sameness of Nominative and Accusative marking in small clauses (Pol, SC, some R)
 - Sameness of Nominative marking in (Russian) primary predicates

• Language variation is, as expected, variation in feature of Pred:
28) Pred ⁰ case: <u>Russian</u> <u>Polish</u> <u>Serbo-Croatian</u> <u>Germanic</u>
[+Instr] [+Instr] [-Instr] [+Acc]

7. Mysterious morphological category is explained

- 29) a. On vygljadit durakom
 he-**Nom** looks fool-**Instr**
 "He looks (like) a fool."
- b. On vygljadit kak durak
 he-**Nom** looks PRED fool-**Nom**
 "He looks like a fool."

30) Morphological Pred Rule (MPR): (from Bailyn & Citko 1998)
 Overt morphology in Pred⁰ absorbs Instrumental Case

- 31) **On vygljadit kak durakom
 he-**Nom** looks PRED fool-**Instr**
 "He looks a fool."

- NP/AP distinction (Russian adjuncts, Polish) is explained
- Nature of historical change is explained

Theoretical Consequences

- Predicates are case marked. Predicates are "objects" of Pred
- Agreement = no case on Pred, Instr = case on Pred
- No direct connection between morphology and semantics
- Semantic distinctions in Russian primary predicates correlate with structure
- Semantic distinctions in Russian small clause adjuncts with adjectives correlate with structure

Over for bibliography:

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