

A Syntactic Analysis of Predicate Case Assignment in  
Russian Copular and Copula-like Clauses

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## Abstract

### A Syntactic Analysis of Predicate Case Assignment in Russian Copular and Copula-like Clauses

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This thesis is about Case marking in predicational NPs and APs in Russian, meaning NPs and APs that occur after copular *be* and copula-like verbs. In the course of this thesis I explore the nature of copular *be* itself. I argue that copular *be* in Russian is not ambiguous between a functional and lexical category as shown in earlier proposals. My assumption is that copular *be* is always a lexical verb with different selectional properties and never a functional head. Consequently, the different Case markings on predicational XPs as well as the asymmetry between NPs and APs, found in Russian, stem from these verbal selectional properties as well as Case assigning mechanism and the exact position of the predicational XP within the structure. Thus, there are two structures that I propose for copulative clauses and for clauses with copula-like verbs, one in which the lexical verb selects a PredP (Small Clause) as a complement, and one in which the lexical verb selects a NP as a complement. All the data presented in my thesis can be accounted for by these two structures.

## Foreword

The following is the excerpt from “The Legend of Thyl Ulenspiegel and Lamme Goedzak” by Charles De Coster. I have chosen it as it most closely tells the tale of my own adventure when writing this thesis.

“They bore Ulenspiegel to baptism: on a sudden fell a spouting shower that soaked him through. Thus was he baptized for the first time.

When he came within the church, word was given to godfather and godmother, father and mother, by the schoolmaster beadle, that they were to range themselves about the baptismal font, which they did. But there was in the roof above the font a hole made by a mason where from to hang a lamp from a star of gilded wood. The mason, spying from on high the godfather and godmother stiffly standing around the font covered with its lid, poured through the hole in the roof a treacherous bucket of water, which falling between them upon the lid of the font made a mighty splashing. But Ulenspiegel had the biggest share.

And thus was he baptized for the second time.

The dean arrived: they complained to him; but he told them to make haste, and that it was an accident. Ulenspiegel was twisting about and kicking because of the water that had fallen on him. The dean gave him salt and water, and named him Thylbert, which signifies “rich in movements.”

Thus he was baptized for the third time.

Leaving Notre Dame, they went opposite the church in the rue Longue to the Rosary of Bottles whose credo was a jar. There they drank seventeen quarts of dobbel-cuyt, and more. For this is the true Flanders way of drying drenched folk, to light a fire of beer in the belly. Ulenspiegel was thus baptized for the fourth time.

Going home and zigzagging along the road, their heads weighing more than their bodies, they came to a foot plank thrown across a little pool; Katheline, the godmother, was carrying the child, she missed her footing and fell in the mud with Ulenspiegel, who was thus baptized for the fifth time.

But he was pulled out of the pond and washed with warm water in the house of Claes, and that was his sixth baptism.”

## Acknowledgements

I feel privileged as I finally get to properly thank my thesis supervisor, Dana Isac.

Writing in itself is a solitary task and, speaking in runner's terms, writing your thesis is not a sprint, not even a marathon. It is a grueling and lonely 100K run throughout the trails, full of unexpected turns, ups and downs, and potential injuries. Dana has always been there for me through this race and I am eternally grateful to her for providing me with encouragement, guidance, and inspiration; for teaching me again and again "to put up a fight" against most convoluted linguistics problems and not to settle for ad hoc solutions. Also, just as you think you are ready to give up and stop running, Dana inadvertently helped me find that second (and third, and forth) breath and gave me energy to keep going and keep searching.

I also want to thank members of my thesis supervisory committee for their interest in my work and their most valuable insights: Natasha Fitzgibbons, who has been instrumental in my getting acquainted with the ropes of Slavic linguistics and who has always been a great support, as well as Madelyn Kissock, and Denis Liakin.

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This process would never have been completed without the support of friends and colleagues who asked questions about my progress (thus, letting me complain when the writing was not going as well as I wanted it to), rooted for me and showed compassion when I could not see the

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I am also thankful to my mom, to whom I have dedicated this thesis, for sharing my worries and small victories during this undertaking.

Lastly, I am thankful to the city of Montreal, my favourite city, for providing the perfect linguistics canvas for me to work on.

## Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to my mother, my biggest supporter.



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## Abbreviations

\* sequence is ungrammatical

.../... variants

ACC accusative Case

ADJ adjective

A-LF long form adjective (Russian)

A-SF short form adjective (Russian)

FEM

FUT future tense

GEN genitive Case

ILP individual level predicate

IMPERF imperfective

INSTR instrumental Case

MASC masculine

NOM nominative Case

NP noun phrase

P preposition

PAST past tense

PERF perfective

PL plural

POSS possessive

NULL null lexical item

PRES present tense

PROG progressive

SG singular

SLP stage level predicate

## Chapter 1.

### Predication. Theoretical Overview

#### 1.1. Introduction

In this thesis I will focus on a subset of predicates in Russian, namely predicates that bear Case (expressed by NPs and APs) and follow copular *be* and copula-like verbs. I will call these ‘predicational NPs’ and ‘predicational APs’. Russian predicational NPs/APs display a divergent behaviour when it comes to Case marking - they can be marked either as Nominative or as Instrumental, as illustrated in (1).

- |        |                                                                                      |                 |
|--------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| (1) a. | Ivan        byl        durak.<br>Ivan.NOM be.PAST fool.NOM<br>‘Ivan was a fool.’     | NOMINATIVE NP   |
| b.     | Ivan        byl        durakom.<br>Ivan.NOM be.PAST fool.INSTR<br>‘Ivan was a fool.’ | INSTRUMENTAL NP |
| c.     | Ivan        byl        glupyj.<br>Ivan.NOM be.PAST silly.NOM<br>‘Ivan was silly.’    | NOMINATIVE AP   |
| d.     | Ivan        byl        glupym.<br>Ivan.NOM be.PAST silly.INSTR<br>‘Ivan was silly.’  | INSTRUMENTAL AP |



## 1.2. Predication

From a semantic point of view, any proposition expresses a relation between an individual constant or an individual variable and a predicate.

(3) John left.

*Left* (JOHN)

(4) He left.

*Left* (x)

(5) The sun rises in the east.

*Rise in the east* (THE SUN)

Semantically, the predicates attribute certain properties to the individuals designated by the subject. Syntactically the predicates are expressed by a structure such as [NP XP], where XP can stand for a VP, NP, AP or PP.

## 1.3. Primary vs. Secondary Predication

The distinction between primary and secondary predicates has to do with whether the respective predicate is or contains a verb. According to di Napoli (1992), the defining characteristic of a primary predicate is the presence of a verb. Primary predicates are verbs or elements of other categories accompanied by a copular or copula-like verb.

(6) John sent a letter to the mayor.

(7) This dog is a little devil.

Secondary predicates, on the other hand, do not contain a verb, and are not accompanied by a copular verb. Unlike primary predicates, which can only be predicated of the sentential subject, secondary predicates can be predicated of other phrases in the sentence, not only of the sentential subject. Consider the examples in (8) from Napoli (1992):



- (8) a. *Jack* left her house [*furious*].  
 b. John ate *the meat* [*raw*].  
 c. *The ambassador* arrived [*nude*].  
 d. We considered *John* [*an asset*].

In (8) the secondary predicate (in square brackets) introduces a property in addition to the one expressed by the verbal predicate. For example, in (8.a) *John* is assigned two properties: one of having left his house and an additional one of having been furious. Notice that the secondary predicate can be predicated of the sentential subject, as in (8.a), and (8.c), or of the direct object, as in (8.b) and (8.d). Halliday (1967) was the first to point out that semantically the relation between a secondary predicate and its subject mirrors the relation between the sentential subject and the main (primary) predicate.

From a syntactic point of view, however, the challenge has been to find a correlate of the predication relation. The syntactic correlate of predication could, in principle, turn out to be the same for all predication relations, be they primary or secondary, or else it could be that various types of predication relations have different syntactic correlates. Williams (1980) tried to draw the appropriate structural ties between secondary and primary predicates by proposing that the syntactic correlate of a predication relation is a structure of the type [NP XP] which he labeled a Predicate Structure (PS). In the domain of generative syntax this structure is now referred to as a ‘Small Clause’ (SC). XPs are typically expressed by VPs, but they can also be adjectival, nominal or prepositional. Williams (1980) noted that the predication relation holds between italicized items as in the examples in (9):

- (9) a. *Montreal* is *an interesting city*. (NP predicate)  
 Interesting city(MONTREAL)  
 b. *Montreal* is *interesting*. (AP predicate)  
 Interesting(MONTREAL)  
 c. *Montreal* is *on an island*. (PP predicate)  
 On an island(MONTREAL)  
 d. *Montreal* makes *people crazy*. (AP predicate)  
 Crazy(PEOPLE)

- e. *Montreal rocks.* (VP predicate)  
 Things that rock(MONTREAL)

For Williams (1980) the predication relation is thematic, i.e. it consists of the assignment of theta roles. The subject of the predicate is the argument assigned an external role. Structurally, the relation between a predicate and its external argument is subject to the c-command condition in (10) (Williams 1980:205):

- (10) In a Predication Structure, the NP must c-command any predicate or trace coindexed with it.

Given the c-command theory of control assumed by Williams (1980), the subject is not just the thematic argument of a verb but of a whole predicate. In (9.d) for example, *Montreal* is the external argument of *makes people crazy*. Based on the type of predication environment, Williams (1980) also distinguished between primary predication (the so-called grammatically governed cases of the type *John died*) and secondary predication (the thematically governed cases where predicational XP is predicated over the theme of the VP). For example, (9.d) contains two instances of predication: one between the NP *Montreal* and the primary predicate *makes people crazy* and another one between the NP *people* and the secondary predicate *crazy*. Consequently, according to Williams (1980), Small Clauses and regular clauses could be treated as the same kind of subject-predicate relationship.

Williams (1980), (1983), however, proposed a flat structure in order to account for predication relations and this is at odds with the principle of endocentricity which states that any syntactic phrase XP has a head  $X^0$ . The challenge, then, is to find a plausible candidate for the head of the Predication Structure proposed by Williams (1980).

Stowell (1981), (1983) was the first to use the term ‘Small Clause’ (SC) for secondary predication structures. Stowell (1981), (1983) proposed that the head of such a Small Clause could vary depending on the morphosyntactic nature of the secondary predicate. More specifically, if the secondary predicate is an AP, the head of the Small Clause is an adjective, if the secondary predicate is a PP, then the head of the Small Clause is a preposition, and so on. For

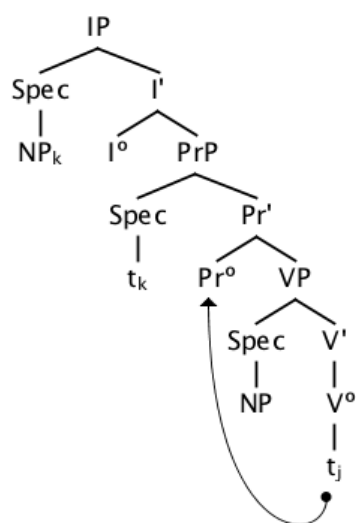
Stowell (1981), (1983) the subject of secondary predicates is always in the Specifier position of the phrase acting as the secondary predicate.

- (11) a. I consider [AP *John* [A' *very stupid*]]  
 b. I expect [PP *that sailor* [P' *off my ship*]]  
 c. We feared [PrtP *John* [Prt' *killed by the enemy*]]  
 d. I saw [VP *John* [V' *come into the kitchen*]]

One drawback of Stowell's (1981) proposal is the lack of unity of all the structures mapping into secondary predicates (PP, AP, etc). Intuitively, there is something that brings together As, Ps, Ns, etc. when these are heads of SCs (under Stowell's proposal). The question is what all these categories share.

Bowers (1993), adopting Williams' (1980) insight that both Small Clauses and regular clauses could be reducible to the predication relation, proposed a new functional projection: the Predication Phrase (PrP). The functional category Pred is posited for every instance of predication and is represented by a syntactic structure in (12) (Bowers 1993:599):

(12)



Bowers (1993) posits an obligatory  $V^0$ -to- $Pr^0$  movement in order to account for the surface order of the clause.

Bowers' (1993) analysis can also be extended to Small Clauses. Thus, the examples in (11) would contain a PrP in this view. This is the assumption I will adopt in this thesis.

## Chapter 2.

### Predicational NPs/APs in Russian copulative clauses. The Data.

In this chapter I will introduce Russian data involving predicational NPs/APs<sup>1</sup> that follow copular *be* and copula-like verbs.

#### 2.1. NPs/APs with copular *Be*<sup>2</sup>

The copula verb *be*/'byt' in Russian can occur in all tenses but when it is marked as present it is covert or silent. Moreover present tense *be* is also different from non-present *be* from the point of

---

<sup>1</sup> I focus my discussion only on Russian APs which show Case marking, i.e. long-form adjectives. In addition to long-form adjectives which are fully inflected, Russian also has short-form adjectives which display zero morphology. Consider (i):

- (i) a. Ivan        byl        sil'nym/        sil'nyj  
       Ivan.NOM be.PAST strong.INSTR/NOM-A-LF  
       'Ivan was strong.'
- b. Ivan        byl        silen.  
       Ivan.NOM be.PAST strong-A-SF  
       'Ivan was strong.'

In Russian, while long-form adjectives can occur both adnominally and postnominally, short form can only occur in a predicate position and never occur adnominally as in (ii):

- (ii) a. Sil'noe            pivo        bylo        penistym/        penistoe.  
       strong.NOM-A-LF beer.NOM is.PAST foamy.INSTR/NOM-A-LF  
       'Strong beer was foamy.'
- b. \*Sil'no            pivo        bylo        penistym/        penistoe.  
       strong.NOM-A-SF beer.NOM be.PAST foamy.INSTR/NOM-A-LF  
       'Strong beer was foamy.'

<sup>2</sup> In this thesis I am only looking at instances of copular *be* that take NPs or APs.

view of the Case marking on the NP or AP that follows the verb. In particular, predicational NPs that co-occur with the copular verb *be*/'byt' show a restriction with respect to Case marking, but only in the present tense, when the copular *be* is covert. Only predicational NPs marked as Nominative are grammatical, as in (13.a), while predicational NPs marked as Instrumental or Accusative are ungrammatical, as (13.b,c).

- (13) a. Katja-           dura.  
           Katja.NOM fool.sg.fem.NOM  
           'Katja is a fool.'
- b. \*Katja-           duru.  
           Katja.NOM fool.sg.fem.ACC  
           'Katja is a fool.'
- c. \*Katja-           duroj.  
           Katja.NOM fool.sg.fem.INSTR  
           'Katja is a fool.'

In contrast, in non-present tenses, when the copular *be* is overt, predicational NPs can be marked with both Instrumental and Nominative Case, as in (14.a,b), which contain the past tense *be*, and in (15.a,b) which show the same alternation but in the future tense. Accusative Case marking appears to be ungrammatical in both past and future tenses with predicational NPs as in (14.c) and (15.c).

- (14) a. Katja       byla       dura.  
           Katja.NOM be.PAST fool.sg.fem.NOM  
           'Katja was a fool.'
- b. Katja       byla       duroj.  
           Katja.NOM be.PAST fool.sg.fem.INSTR  
           'Katja was a fool.'

c. \*Katja byla duru.  
 Katja.NOM be.PAST fool.sg.fem.ACC  
 ‘Katja was a fool.’

(15) a. Katja budet dura.  
 Katja.NOM be.FUT fool.sg.fem.NOM  
 ‘Katja will be a fool.’

b. Katja budet duroj.  
 Katja.NOM be.FUT fool.sg.fem.INSTR  
 ‘Katja will be a fool.’

c. \*Katja budet duru.  
 Katja.NOM be.FUT fool.sg.fem.ACC  
 ‘Katja will be a fool.’

APs co-occurring with copular *be* show the same pattern. With present tense (covert) *be*, APs show the same restriction as NPs, i.e. only Nominative Case is possible. For example, in (16.a) which shows a covert copular *be* in the present tense, the predicational AP has to bear Nominative Case, while Instrumental or Accusative is ungrammatical as in (16.b,c).

(16) a. Katja- glupaja.  
 Katja.NOM silly.NOM  
 ‘Katja is silly.’

b. \*Katja- glupoj.  
 Katja.NOM silly.INSTR  
 ‘Katja is silly.’

- c. \*Katja-        glupuyu.  
       Katja.NOM silly.ACC  
       ‘Katja is silly.’

In contrast, in the non-present tense/with overt copular *be*, APs can bear either Nominative or Instrumental Case but never Accusative. For example, in both (17.a.b) and (18.a.b), which appear to have an overt copular marked past and future tense respectively, the predicational AP can be either Nominative or Instrumental but not Accusative as in (17.c) and (18.c).

- (17) a. Katja        byla        glupaja.  
       Katja.NOM be.PAST silly.NOM  
       ‘Katja was silly.’
- b. Katja        byla        glupoj.  
       Katja.NOM be.PAST silly.INSTR  
       ‘Katja was silly.’
- c. \*Katja        byla        glupuyu.  
       Katja.NOM be.PAST silly.ACC  
       ‘Katja was silly.’

- (18) a. Katja        budet        glupaja.  
       Katja.NOM be.FUT silly.NOM  
       ‘Katja will be silly.’
- b. Katja        budet        glupoj.  
       Katja.NOM be.FUT silly.INSTR  
       ‘Katja will be silly.’



- c. \*Katja budet glupuyu.  
 Katja.NOM be.FUT silly.ACC  
 ‘Katja will be silly.’

## 2.2. NPs/APs with copula-like verbs

Various authors list different verbs under the category of copula-like verbs. Pereltsvaig (2001), for example, includes the following types of verbs under the category of copula-like verbs:

- (1) verbs of manifestation of property such as *byvat’* (‘be’), *okazyvat’sja* (‘turn out’), *javlatsja* (‘be’, formal register);
- (2) verbs of property in somebody’s perception such as *kazatsja* (‘seem’), *stanovit’sja* (‘become’), *sčitat’sja* (‘be reputed as’), *vygljadet’* (‘appear’);
- (3) verbs of change of property or conservation of property such as *stanovit’sja/stat’* (‘become’), *sdelat’sja* (‘become’), *ostavat’sja* (‘remain’), *delat’sja/sdelat’sja* (‘become’);
- (4) verbs of naming a property such as *zvat’sja* (‘be called’); and
- (5) copula-like verbs with lexical meaning of occupation or condition such as *žit’* (‘live as’), *rabotat’* (‘work as’) *rodit’sja* (‘be born as’).

In this thesis, I will subcategorize copula-like verbs depending on the Case marking on the NP/AP that co-occurs with these verbs.

### 2.2.1. NPs/APs with verbs such as *stat’* ‘become’

If the subject and the predicate are linked by a copula-like verb such as *stat’* ‘become’, predicational NPs/APs can take either Nominative or Instrumental, but never Accusative. These morphological Case alternations are illustrated in (19.a,b,c) and (20.a,b,c).

- (19) a. Ona stala izvestnoj pisatel’nicej.  
 she.NOM become.PAST famous writer.sg.fem.INSTR.  
 ‘She became a famous writer.’

b. Ona stala izvestnaja pisatel'nica.  
 she.NOM become.PAST famous writer.sg.fem.NOM.  
 'She became a famous writer.'

c. \*Ona stala izvestnuyu pisatel'nicu.  
 she.NOM become.PAST famous writer.sg.fem.ACC.  
 'She became a famous writer.'

(20) a. Ladon' stala potnoj.  
 palm.sg.fem.NOM become.PAST sweaty.INSTR  
 'The palm became sweaty.'

b. Ladon' stala potnaja.  
 palm.sg.fem.NOM become.PAST sweaty.NOM  
 'The palm became sweaty.'

c. \*Ladon' stala potnuyu.  
 palm.sg.fem.NOM become.PAST sweaty.ACC  
 'The palm became sweaty.'

### 2.2.2. NPs/APs with verbs such as *delat'sja/ sdelat'sja* 'become/turn'

If the subject and the predicate are linked by a copula-like verb such as *delat'sja/ sdelat'sja* 'become/turn', *okazat'sja* 'turn out', *ostavat'sja* 'remain', an asymmetry can be noticed between predicational APs and predicational NPs. Predicational NPs are always marked with Instrumental Case, whereas predicational APs can take either Nominative or Instrumental. These morphological Case alternations are illustrated in (21.a,b,c) where the predicational NP is only grammatical with Instrumental Case as in (21.a), and in (22.a,b), where a predicational AP can alternate between Instrumental and Nominative Case respectively. Accusative Case is ungrammatical with both predicational NPs and APs as in (21.c) and (22.c), respectively.

(21) a. Ona       sdelalas'   izvestnoj   pisatel'nicej.  
 she.NOM turn.PAST famous   writer.sg.fem.INSTR.  
 'She turned out (to be) a famous writer.'

b. \*Ona       sdelalas'   izvestnaja   pisatel'nica.  
 she.NOM turn.PAST famous   writer.sg.fem.NOM.  
 'She turned out (to be) a famous writer.'

c. \*Ona       sdelalas'   izvestnuyu   pisatel'nicu.  
 she.NOM turn.PAST famous   writer.sg.fem.ACC.  
 'She turned out (to be) a famous writer.'

(22) a. Ladon'               sdelalas'   potnoj.  
 palm.sg.fem.NOM turn.PAST   sweaty.INSTR  
 'The palm turned sweaty.'

b. Ladon'               sdelalas'   potnaja.  
 palm.sg.fem.NOM turn.PAST   sweaty.NOM  
 'The palm turned sweaty.'

c. \*Ladon'               sdelalas'   potnuyu.  
 palm.sg.fem.NOM turn.PAST   sweaty.ACC  
 'The palm turned sweaty.'

### 2.2.3. NPs/APs with verbs such as *kazat'sja* 'seem1', *vygljadet* 'appear'

With copula-like verbs as such as *kazat'sja* 'seem1', *vygljadet* 'appear', *predstavljat'sja* 'seem', only predicational NPs marked as Instrumental are grammatical. This is illustrated in (23.a). Nominative and Accusative Case marking is ungrammatical as in (23.b) and (23.c).

(23) a. Ona        kažetsja     pevicej.  
           she.NOM seem.PRES.    singer.sg.fem.INSTR  
           ‘She seems (to be) a singer.’

b. \*Ona        kažetsja     pevica.  
           she.NOM seem.PRES.    singer.sg.fem.NOM  
           ‘She seems (to be) a singer.’

c. \*Ona        kažetsja     pevicu.  
           she.NOM seem.PRES    singer.sg.fem.ACC  
           ‘She seems (to be) a singer.’

Similarly, predicational APs can only take Instrumental Case as in (24.a) while APs marked Nominative or Accusative are ungrammatical as in (24.b) and (24.c).

(24) a. Ona        kažetsja     glupoj.  
           she.NOM seem.PRES.    silly.INSTR  
           ‘She seems (to be) silly.’

b. \*Ona        kažetsja     glupaja.  
           she.NOM seem.PRES.    silly.NOM  
           ‘She seems (to be) silly.’

c. \*Ona        kažetsja     glupuyu.  
           she.NOM seem.PRES.    silly.ACC  
           ‘She seems (to be) silly.’

Note that no differences can be noticed with respect to Case marking when we vary the tense of the copula-like verb. Compare in this sense the examples (23) and (24) which are all in the present tense with the examples listed in (25) and (26) which are all in the non-present tense

(more specifically, in the past tense, but the same principle applies for the data in the future tense as well).

(25) a. Ona kazalas' pevicej.  
 she.NOM seem.PAST singer.sg.fem.INSTR  
 'She seemed (to be) a singer.'

b. \*Ona kazalas' pevica.  
 she.NOM seem.PAST singer.sg.fem.NOM  
 'She seemed (to be) a singer.'

c. \*Ona kazalas' pevicu.  
 she.NOM seem.PAST singer.sg.fem.ACC  
 'She seemed (to be) a singer.'

(26) a. Ona kazalas' glupoj.  
 she.NOM seem.PAST silly.INSTR  
 'She seemed (to be) silly.'

b. \*Ona kazalas' glupaja.  
 she.NOM seem.PAST silly.NOM  
 'She seemed (to be) silly.'

c. \*Ona kazalas' glupuyu.  
 she.NOM seem.PAST silly.ACC  
 'She seemed (to be) silly.'

#### 2.2.4. NPs/APs with verbs such as *kazat'sja* 'seem2'

There is another pattern that is available with the verb *kazat'sja* 'seem2'. With this verb *kazat'sja* 'seem2' predicational NPs are always marked with Nominative as in (27.a), while Instrumental or Accusative is ungrammatical as in (27.b,c).

(27) a. Ona        kažetsja        pevica.  
          she.NOM seem.PRES.    singer.sg.fem.NOM  
          'She seems (to be) a singer.'

b. \*Ona        kažetsja        pevicej.  
          she.NOM seem.PRES.    singer.sg.fem.INSTR  
          'She seems (to be) a singer.'

c. \*Ona        kažetsja        pevicu.  
          she.NOM seem.PRES.    singer.sg.fem.ACC  
          'She seems (to be) a singer.'

Similarly, predicational APs can only take Nominative Case as in (28.a) while Instrumental or Accusative is ungrammatical as (28.b) and (28.c).

(28) a. Ona        kažetsja        glupaja.  
          she.NOM seem.PRES.    silly.NOM  
          'She seems (to be) silly.'

b. \*Ona        kažetsja        glupoj.  
          she.NOM seem.PRES.    silly.INSTR  
          'She seems (to be) silly.'

- c. \*Ona      kažetsja      glupuyu.  
           she.NOM seem.PRES.    silly.ACC  
           ‘She seems (to be) silly.’

Notice that even though *kazat'sja* ‘seem1’+INSTR NP/AP and *kazat'sja* ‘seem2’+NOM NP/AP have the same morphological form, they do not share the same syntactic properties.

More specifically, with *kazat'sja* ‘seem2’+NOM NP, the Nominative Case pattern is only preserved in present tense in (29.a), while in non-present tense it is ungrammatical as illustrated in (29.b):

- (29) a. Ona      kažetsja      pevica.  
           she.NOM seem.PRES.    singer.sg.fem.NOM  
           ‘She seems (to be) a singer.’

- b. \*Ona      kazalas’      pevica.  
           she.NOM seem.PAST    singer.sg.fem.NOM  
           ‘She seemed (to be) a singer.’

With the verb *kazat'sja* ‘seem1’+INSTR NP, the Instrumental Case pattern is stable regardless of tense of the copula-like verb as in (30):

- (30) a. Ona      kažetsja      pevicej.  
           she.NOM seem.PRES.    singer.sg.fem.INSTR  
           ‘She seems (to be) a singer.’

- b. Ona      kazalas’      pevicej.  
           she.NOM seem.PAST    singer.sg.fem.INSTR  
           ‘She seemed (to be) a singer.’

A similar situation is observed with predicational APs with *kazat'sja* 'seem2', the Nominative Case pattern is only preserved in present tense in (31.a), while in non-present tense it is ungrammatical as illustrated in (31.b):

(31) a. Ona        kažetsja        glupaja.  
           she.NOM seem.PRES. silly.NOM  
           'She seems (to be) silly.'

b. \*Ona        kazalas'        glupaja.  
           she.NOM seem.PAST silly.NOM  
           'She seemed (to be) silly.'

With the verb *kazat'sja* 'seem1' followed by predicational APs, the Instrumental Case pattern is stable regardless of tense of the copula-like verb as seen below in (32.a,b):

(32) a. Ona        kažetsja        glupoj.  
           she.NOM seem.PRES. silly.INSTR  
           'She seems (to be) silly.'

b. Ona        kazalas'        glupoj.  
           she.NOM seem.PAST silly.INSTR  
           'She seemed (to be) silly.'

Secondly, seem2, the one that allows only a Nominative predicational XP, has different agreement properties than 'seem1' (which occurs with the Instrumental predicational XP). In particular, seem2 only allows the third person, singular form regardless of the phi features of the subject. This is illustrated in (33):

(33) a. Ty                    kažetsja                    pevica/bol'naja.  
           you.2.sg.NOM seem.3.sg.PRES singer/sick.NOM  
           'You seem (to be) a singer/sick.'



b. Vy                    kažetsja                    pevica/bol'naja.  
 you.2.pl.NOM seem.3.sg.PRES singer/sick.NOM  
 'You seem (to be) a singer/sick.'

c. My                    kažetsja                    deti/                    bol'nye.  
 we.1.pl.NOM seem.1.sg.PRES children/sick.NOM  
 'We seem (to be) children/sick.'

However, with the seem1+INSTR NP/AP, the verb shows agreement with the subject in gender, number and person. This is illustrated in (34):

(34) a. Ty                    kažešsja                    pevicej/bol'noj.  
 you.2.sg.NOM seem.2.sg.PRES singer/ sick.INSTR  
 'You seem (to be) a singer/sick.'

b. Vy                    kažetes'                    pevicej/bol'noj.  
 you.2.pl.NOM seem.2.pl.PRES singer/ sick.INSTR  
 'You seem (to be) a singer/sick.'

c. My                    kažemsja                    det'mi/                    bol'nymi.  
 we.1.pl.NOM seem.1.pl.PRES children/sick.INSTR  
 'We seem (to be) children/sick.'

### 2.3. Concluding remarks on the data

Table 1 summarizes the data presented in this chapter, which this thesis focuses on. In the present tense/with covert *be*, both NPs and APs can only bear Nominative, while in the non-present/with overt *be*, both NPs and APs can appear in either Nominative or Instrumental but never Accusative. Copula-like verb *stat'* 'become' patterns exactly like non-present copular *be* where both NPs and APs can appear in either Nominative or Instrumental. Copula-like verbs of the type *delat'sja/sdelat'sja* 'turn' show a restriction with NPs-only Instrumental is possible

while both Accusative or Nominative are ungrammatical. Predicational APs, on the other hand, can be marked with either Nominative or Instrumental Case but never Accusative. Lastly, there are two patterns with copula-like verb *kazat'sja* 'seem': (i) both NPs and APs can only bear Instrumental, and (ii) both NPs and APs can only bear Nominative.

Table 1: Copular *be* and copula-like verbs: Case alternation summary

Linking Verb	+NP/AP	Present			Non-present		
		NOM	ACC	INSTR	NOM	ACC	INSTR
Copular <i>be</i>	+NP	✓	*	*	✓	*	✓
	+AP	✓	*	*	✓	*	✓
Copula-like <i>stat'</i> (become)	+NP	✓	*	✓	✓	*	✓
	+AP	✓	*	✓	✓	*	✓
Copula-like <i>sdelat'sja</i> (turn)	+NP	*	*	✓	*	*	✓
	+AP	✓	*	✓	✓	*	✓
Copula-like <i>kazat'sja 1</i>	+NP	*	*	✓	*	*	✓
	+AP	*	*	✓	*	*	✓
Copula-like <i>kazat'sja 2</i> (seem2)	+NP	✓	*	*	*	*	*
	+AP	✓	*	*	*	*	*

The main generalizations that could be pointed out from the Table 1 are the following:

- (i) Most of the verbs under consideration are insensitive to tense distinctions, with the exception of copular *be* and seem2. These two verbs show a different Case pattern in the present, compared to non-present tenses
- (ii) Seem2 patterns the same as present copular *be*

- (iii) In general, predicational NPs pattern the same as predicational APs, with the exception of the copula-like verbs of a type *sdelat'sja* 'become/turn'

Based on the data presented in this chapter, I will consider the following questions in the remaining chapters of this thesis:

- (i) what are the mechanisms responsible for the Nominative and Instrumental Case licensing and for the alternation between the two?
- (ii) how can the present/ non-present asymmetry be explained with *be* and *seem*, and why is it that only these verbs show this asymmetry?
- (iii) why do predicational NPs get Case marked differently from APs with the copula-like verb *sdelat'sja* 'turn'?

## Chapter 3.

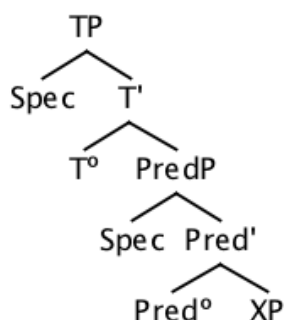
### Previous Accounts of Predicate Case Assignment

In this chapter I will review the existing accounts on the mechanics of Case assignment on Russian predicational NPs/APs. Each view will be briefly described and then I will point out its advantages and shortcomings.

#### 3.1. Bailyn (2012)

Bailyn's account (2012) is based on the original insight from Bowers (1993) and remains influential in Russian syntax. Bailyn and Rubin (1991) were the first ones to propose a connection between Instrumentally marked APs and NPs and Bowers' (1993) functional category PrP. Following Bowers (1993), Bailyn (2012) argues that for each instance of primary predication, there is a functional PredP<sup>3</sup> selected by T°. The main predication corresponds to a syntactic structure in (35).

(35) Primary predication

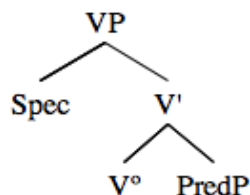



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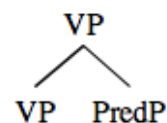
<sup>3</sup> I am following Bailyn's (2012) notation in calling it PredP.

Small Clauses (SC), i.e. instances of secondary predication, also involve a predication relation and thus also project a PredP. In fact, in Bailyn's (2012) analysis Small Clauses are identified with PredPs. Bailyn (2012) assumes two structures associated with SC predication: 1) argument Small Clauses, selected by VP as in (36) and 2) adjunct Small Clauses (non-selected) as in (37).

(36) argument Pred (SC)

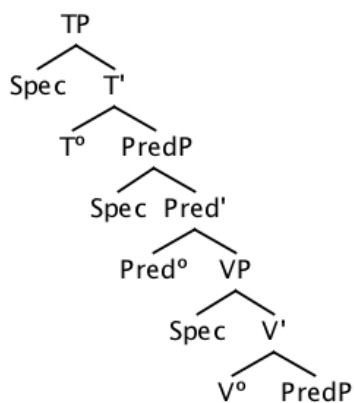


(37) adjunct Pred (SC)

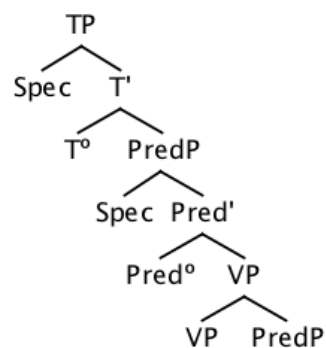


It is important to note that a given structure could contain two Pred°: one that is projected to capture primary predication relation and another one that is projected to capture secondary predication relation. The syntactic structures in (38) and (39) correspond to exactly such cases and demonstrate an instance of primary predication combined with an instance of an argument Small Clause or with an adjunct Small Clause, respectively.

(38)



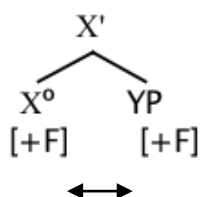
(39)



### 3.1.1. Instrumental Case

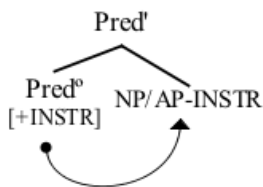
Bailyn (2012) suggests that Instrumental Case<sup>4</sup> on predicational NPs/APs is assigned by a Pred head. In Bailyn's (2012) analysis the complement position is a viable position for feature checking, which allows functional Pred heads to assign Instrumental Case to their complements, whether the PredP itself is selected (as in the argument Small Clauses) or adjoined (as in the adjunct Small Clauses). Bailyn (2012) argues that Pred<sup>o</sup> has an [INSTR] feature which it transmits to its complement in a structure like (40)<sup>5</sup>:

(40) [Bailyn 2012:182]



The structure in (40) is motivated by Bailyn and Citko's (1998) Case-at-Merge mechanism where feature checking is allowed to take place in the complement position. According to this mechanism, the argument Case assignment takes place as follows in (41):

(41) [Bailyn 2012:182]



<sup>4</sup> Bailyn assigns a special status to the Instrumental Case which occurs on predicational NPs/APs and calls it Predicate Instrumental which differs from other occurrences of Instrumental Case semantically and syntactically. I will continue to refer to it as Instrumental Case throughout this thesis.

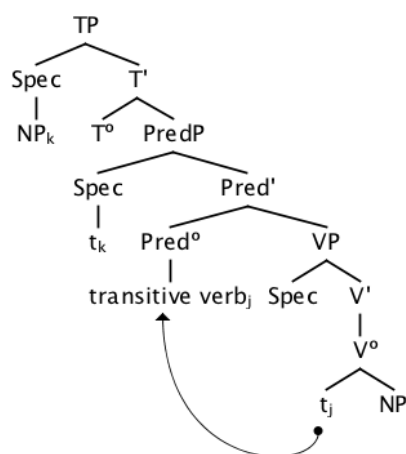
<sup>5</sup> Bailyn (2012) equates the primary PredP with the little vP (for instance, on p.180, diagram (14)). Thus, primary Pred head does not assign Instrumental because it is identified with v head.

This mechanism is posited independently by Bailyn and Citco (1998) to maintain a tight connection between lexical Case assignment and theta-role assignment.

Instrumental Case thus depends on the presence of a Pred head, and in the absence of such a head, no Instrumental is assigned. However, not all Pred heads are able to assign Instrumental in Bailyn's (2012) view. There are two situations<sup>6</sup> in which the Pred head fails to assign Instrumental:

(1) One type of Pred head that does not assign Instrumental is the Pred head that relates to the primary predication and takes a transitive VP as a complement, as in (42).

(42)



Bailyn (2012) claims, following Bowers' (1993) analysis, that in structures like (42) the verb raises out of the V head to the Pred head. In Bailyn's (2012) view primary Pred heads are equated with little v heads, so [Pred°+V°] assigns Accusative rather than Instrumental to its complement with transitive verbs (as long as there is no closer intervening Case assigning head).

<sup>6</sup> I only discuss two main scenarios under which predicational XPs fail to be assigned Instrumental Case. However, Bailyn (2012) also lists one additional, seemingly idiosyncratic situation where Russian Predicate Instrumental Case is replaced by the same Case for predicates like *odin*/'alone' and *sam*/'self' (see also Madariaga 2006).

(2) A second situation in which a Pred head fails to assign Instrumental is when the Pred head is filled by an overt predicator (such as *kak* and *za*<sup>7</sup>) or some other overt morphology, which, according to Bailyn, blocks Instrumental Case. The general rule that is responsible for this blocking is given in (43).

(43) Overt morphology in Pred<sup>o</sup> absorbs Instrumental Case (Bailyn and Citko, 1998)

These overt predicators (or other overt morphological material) are claimed to fill the Pred head position and absorb Instrumental Case. This means that Instrumental Case will never occur with *kak* and *za* as shown in (44.a,b) and (45.a,b) (Bailyn 2012:192):

(44) a. On            vygljadit    durakom/    \*durak.  
           he.NOM look.PRES. fool.INSTR/\*fool.NOM  
           ‘He looks (like) a fool.’

          b. On            vygljadit    kak durak/    \*kak durakom  
           he.NOM look.PRES. like fool.NOM/\*fool.INSTR  
           ‘He looks like a fool.’

(45) a. My            sčitaem            ego            svoim/        \*svoego  
           we.NOM consider.PRES him.ACC self’s.INSTR/\*self’s.ACC  
           ‘We consider him (as) one of us.’

          b. My            sčitaem            ego            za svoego/    \*za svoim.  
           we.NOM consider.PRES him.ACC as self’s.ACC/\*self’s.INSTR  
           ‘We consider him as one of us.’

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<sup>7</sup> The overt predicator *za* is homophonous with a locative preposition *za* ‘behind’, which assigns Instrumental Case as in (i):

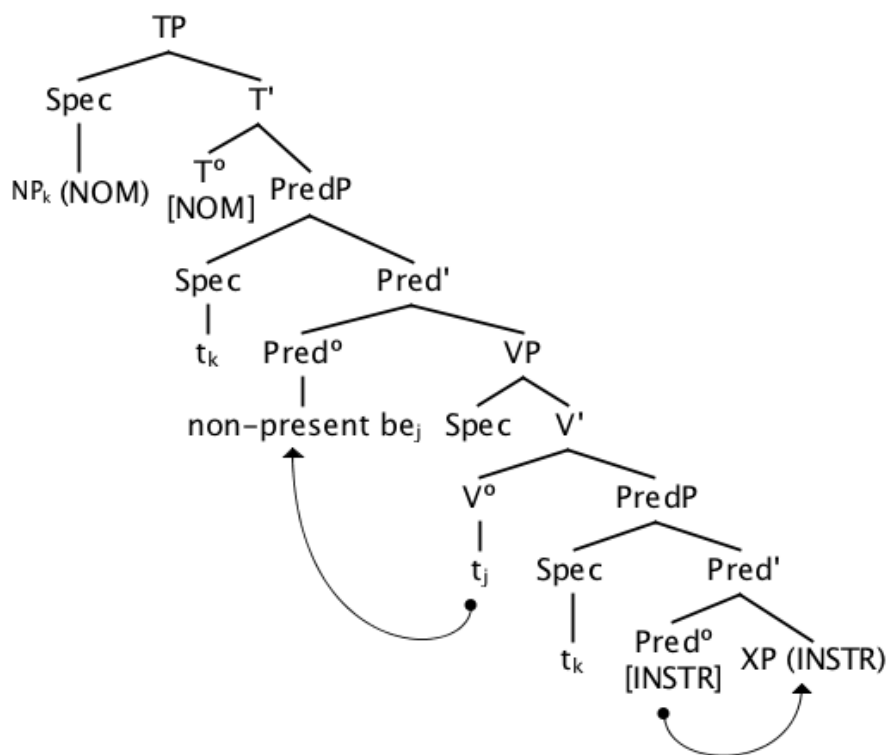
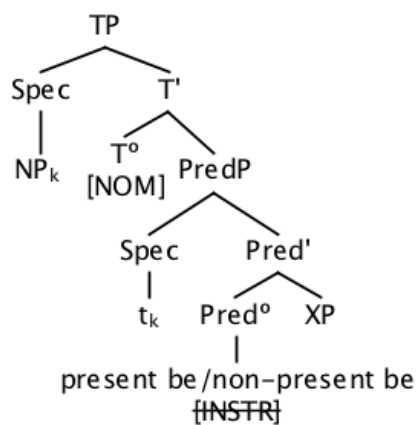
(i) On            za            nim            kak za            kamennoj    stenoj.  
       he.NOM behind he.INSTR as behind stone.INSTR wall.INSTR  
       ‘He is as safe with him as behind a stone wall.’



In (44.a) and (45.a), we find Instrumentally marked predicational NP and AP respectively, where Instrumental Case gets assigned in a Case-at-Merge configuration by the Pred head endowed with [INSTR] feature according to Bailyn (2012). However, in (44.b) and (45.b), when the overt predicators *kak* and *za* are present, the Instrumental Case assignment is not possible.

Apart from overt predicators such as *kak* and *za*, the Pred head could also host copular *be* (present or non-present). Even though present *be* is phonologically covert, for Bailyn (2012) it is still morphologically overt, because present *be* is assumed to be a morphologically overt lexical item with null phonology. The crucial distinction here is between covert phonology and covert morphology. What absorbs Instrumental Case according to the rule in (43) is lexical items with overt morphology merged in the Pred head. The phonological overtness or covertness of this lexical item is irrelevant for Case absorption. Thus, the fact that present *be* has overt morphology (in spite of its phonological covertness) explains why the Instrumental Case is blocked with this verb, on a par with non-present *be*, which also blocks Instrumental.

In Bailyn's (2012) view, sentences containing the copular *be* could include only one (primary) predication as in (35), or both an instance of primary predication and an instance of secondary predication, as in (38). While both present and non-present *be* can be primary predicators and fill the Pred head position in (35), when a secondary predication relation is involved, present *be* differs from non-present *be* in Bailyn's (2012) view. In particular, non-present *be* is merged in the V head and then moves to the higher Pred head as in (46), while present *be* is merged in the Pred head as in (47). This explains why XPs following present *be* never get Instrumental; present *be* always absorbs the Instrumental Case of the Pred head it is merged in.

(46) Non-present *be* structures with secondary predication(47) Present and non-present *be* structures with primary predication only

Present *be* thus differs from non-present *be* in that Instrumental Case is always blocked with present *be*. This is because in Bailyn's (2012) view present *be* is always merged in the Pred

head in the primary predication structure such as (47). Thus, Pred head is always filled since the Instrumental Case feature is absorbed. In contrast, non-present *be* allows Instrumental because unlike present *be*, non-present *be* could be inserted in the secondary predication structure such as (46), in which case the predicational XP is assigned Instrumental by the empty (secondary) Pred head.

This distinction in the two structures associated with non-present *be* is supported by extraction facts, first reported in Bailyn and Rubin (1991) (Bailyn 2012:195):

(48) Ja hotel, čtoby Saša byl muzykantom.  
 I.NOM want.PAST that Sasha.NOM be.PAST musician.INSTR  
 ‘I wanted Sasha to be a musician.’

(49) Ja hotel, čtoby Saša byl muzykant.  
 I.NOM want.PAST that Sasha.NOM be.PAST musician.NOM  
 ‘I wanted Sasha to be a musician.’

(50) Kem ty hotel, čtoby Saša byl?  
 who.INSTR you.NOM want.PAST that Sasha.NOM be.PAST  
 ‘Who did you want Sasha to be?’

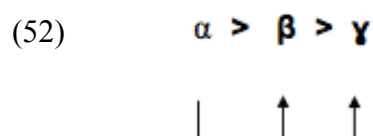
(51) \*Kto ty hotel, čtoby Saša byl?  
 who.NOM you.NOM want.PAST that Sasha.NOM be.PAST  
 ‘Who did you want Sasha to be?’

As seen above in (51), wh-movement causes ungrammaticality when the wh-element is marked Nominative, while when it is Instrumental, as in (50), it is grammatical. It is not clear, however, how these extraction facts license structures in (46) and (47). Bailyn (2012) simply speculates that copular *be*+Nominative vs. copular *be*+Instrumental must be underlyingly two different structures based on two sets of facts: 1) interpretative differences between *be*+Nominative and *be*+Instrumental and 2) wh-clause extraction differences illustrated above.

### 3.1.2. ‘Same’ Case (i.e. Nominative or Accusative)

The standard assumption is that the functional head responsible for assigning Nominative is the T head, while the one assigning Accusative is little *v* head. Predicational XPs that bear ‘same’ Case will thus get Case from one of these two heads.

According to Bailyn (2012), the mechanism that allows Nominative or Accusative Case assignment is Multiple Agree (multiple feature checking), following Ura (2000), Hiraiwa (2001), Chomsky (2000) (Hiraiwa 2001:69, quoted in Bailyn 2012:188). This is shown in (52):

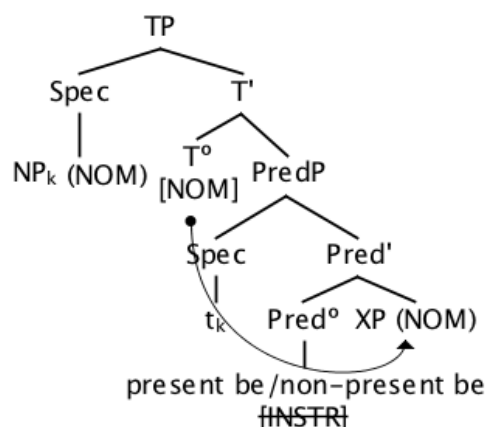


In (52), a feature of the probe  $\alpha$  AGREES with multiple goals as long as the goals are in the same checking domain and as long as there is no other probe hosting the respective feature, that intervenes between  $\alpha$  and its probes.

Thus, the multiple Case assignment hypothesis allows for complements to check Case against the closest Case assigning head, provided that there is no other intervening head bearing Case features. One such head that could intervene is the Pred head, which could bear an [INSTR] Case feature. If this happens, the complement of the Pred head will get Instrumental. However, if no Pred head is present, or if the Pred head contains no [INSTR] feature, MULTIPLE AGREE can check the Case feature of multiple NPs against the [NOM] feature in T head or against the [ACC] feature in *v* head (or Pred head). In this situation a same Case pattern occurs.

Recall that there are two types of structures associated with copular *be* in Bailyn’s (2012) view: one that involves an instance of primary predication only, and one that involves secondary predication. Both present *be* and non-present *be* can be merged as a primary Pred head, as in (53).

(53)



In (53), Instrumental Case is blocked because the verb *be* is morphologically overt (whether it is non-present or present) and is merged in the Pred head, where it absorbs the Instrumental Case feature of the Pred head. On the other hand, the XP complement of the Pred head will get marked as Nominative from T° by multiple AGREE. Pred° does not count as a potential intervening Case assigner because the Case feature of Pred has been absorbed by the morphologically overt *be* that is merged in Pred°. The only Case assigner in this situation is T° and this is why the XP complement of Pred° gets Nominative.

Finally, according to Bailyn (2012) Nominative cannot be assigned when *be* is associated with a secondary predication structure like (46) because the Pred head is always null in these instances and it will thus always be able to assign Instrumental. In other words, the Pred head in these instances will count as an intervening head in between the T head bearing the [NOM] feature and the predicational XP.

### 3.1.3. Applying Bailyn's (2012) account to my data

Let us now see how Bailyn's system can be applied to the predicational NPs/APs that are of interest to this thesis.

### 3.1.3.1. Instrumental Case

As seen above in the Table 1, Instrumental Case is possible on the predicational NPs/APs with non-present *be*, the copula-like verb *stat* ‘become’, copula-like verbs of a type *sdelat’sja* ‘turn’, and copula-like verb of a type *kazat’sja1* ‘seem1’. It is ungrammatical with present copular *be* and non-present *kazat’sja2* ‘seem2’. In his analysis, Bailyn talks about copular *be* and verb *seem* only. He does not consider copula-like verbs of the type *stat* ‘become’, *sdelat’sja* ‘turn’, and even though he discusses *seem*, he does not distinguish between the two *seem*.

The challenge of extending Bailyn’s (2012) analysis to verbs he did not consider is to test whether all of the instances in which Instrumental is possible correspond to instances in which the Pred head is not filled (and thus that all these verbs are merged in a V head). At the same time, one needs to test whether in all the instances in which Instrumental is ungrammatical the Pred head is filled.

While one could perhaps assign the right structure to each copula-like verb, it is not clear why *kazat’sja2* ‘seem2’ is the only one that patterns like present *be* in that it does not allow the Instrumental. Why is it that *kazat’sja2* ‘seem2’ must be merged in a Pred head, while all the other copula-like verbs are lexical heads?

### 3.1.3.2. Same Case

Recall from Chapter 2 that we find the occurrence of the same, i.e. Nominative Case on predicational NPs/APs with the present or non-present tense copular *be*, as well as with copula-like verb *stat* ‘become’, and with predicational APs following copula-like verb *sdelat’sja* ‘turn’. All the other copula-like verbs do not allow Nominative on the predicational XP. Relevant examples are given below. In (54), present tense copular *be* is followed by the predicational NP/AP marked obligatory Nominative while in (55) past tense copular *be* is followed by the predicational NP/AP also marked Nominative.

- (54) Katja-           dura/glupaja.  
       Katja.NOM fool/silly.NOM  
       ‘Katja is a fool/silly.’

- (55) Katja byla dura/glupaja.  
 Katja.NOM be.PAST fool/silly.NOM  
 ‘Katja was a fool/silly.’

In (56), the copula-like verb *stat* ‘become’ is followed by a predicational NP/AP marked as Nominative.

- (56) Ona stala izvestnaja/ pisatel’nica.  
 she.NOM become.PAST famous/ writer.NOM.  
 ‘She became a writer/famous.’

Consider also (57), where copula-like verb *turn* ‘sdelat’sja’ is followed by the predicational AP marked Nominative.

- (57) Ladon’ sdelalas’ potnaja.  
 palm.NOM turn.PAST sweaty.NOM  
 ‘The palm turned sweaty.’

Recall that for Bailyn (2012) Nominative Case is possible only if Instrumental is blocked. It is clearly problematic to extend Bailyn’s (2012) analysis of Nominative Case assignment to copula-like verbs, since according to the data summarized in Table 1, this correlation does not hold. In particular, none of the copula-like verbs, with the exception of *kazat’sja2* ‘seem2’ block the Instrumental and yet some of them allow Nominative. One solution to this would be to assume that copula-like verbs that allow both Instrumental and Nominative are lexically ambiguous, just like non-present *be*, and thus that these verbs could be merged either as a V head or as a Pred head. However, the distinction between those verbs that are lexically ambiguous in one way such as copula-like verb *stat* ‘become’ which allows Nominative on both predicational NPs and APs and those verbs like copula-like *sdelat’sja* ‘turn’ that only allow Nominative on predicational APs seems ad-hoc.

A second problem with extending Bailyn’s (2012) analysis to copula-like verbs is that non-present *kazat’sja2* ‘seem2’, which does block Instrumental, also does not allow Nominative

in non-present tenses, as expected under Bailyn's analysis (2012). This could be due to independent factors, but clearly this fact needs to be accounted for and Bailyn's (2012) analysis does not straightforwardly apply to this kind of data.

Last but not least, Bailyn's (2012) analysis cannot account for the asymmetry between the Case marking on NPs vs. APs following copula-like verbs of the type *sdelat'sja* 'turn'.

### 3.2. Matushansky (2010)

Matushansky (2010) proposes a theory of Russian Case assignment. Her analysis also includes a discussion on the predicational Case assignment. Predicational Case is the Case found on the predicational NPs/APs. Matushansky describes two Case patterns: Instrumental Case found on Russian predicational NPs/APs and Nominative Case found on predicational NPs/APs which follow null present tense copular *be* in the primary predication constructions.

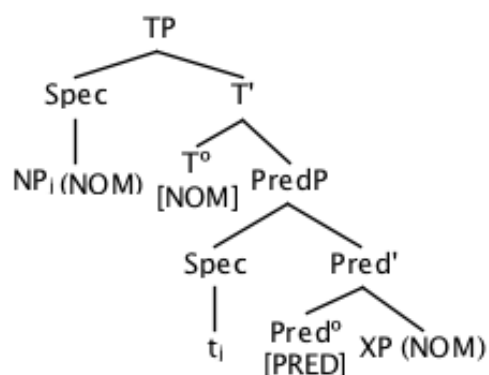
Matushansky's (2010) account discusses the Case assignment with predicational NPs in more detail compared to the one with predicational APs. The starting assumption is that Russian predicate Case assignment depends on the presence of the verb which always introduces a relation of predication. This relation syntactically translates into the presence of a PredP. This is similar to Bailyn's (2012) analysis.

According to Matushansky (2010), if the verb is present, i.e. phonologically overt, predicational NPs are marked Instrumental. If the verb is absent, i.e. phonologically covert, predicational NPs are marked Nominative as in present tense primary predication with null copular *be*.

In the instance of Nominative NPs which follow the covert copular *be*, Matushansky (2010) claims that the PredP merges directly as the complement of T°, just as in Bailyn's (2012) analysis. Consider (58):



(58)



In Matushansky's (2010) view, all formal features of a head are copied/assigned to its complement (an idea she takes from Stowell 1981) and percolate down to all the constituents in the domain of the complement. In (58) for example,  $T^\circ$  bears a [NOM] feature that it assigns to its complement and which can percolate down in the domain of the complement, to all the constituents, including the ones inside the PredP (i.e. to the NP in the Spec of PredP and to the XP complement of  $\text{Pred}^\circ$ ). At the same time, the Pred head also assigns its features ([PRED], for example) to its complement. Thus the XP complement of the Pred head will have both a [PRED] feature (by virtue of being a complement of a head that has this feature, and a [NOM] feature (by virtue of being part of a complement to a head that has this feature).

Case in Matushansky's (2010) view is the spell-out of a bundle of features. The spell-out is subject to the following morphological rule:

(59) The Morphosyntax of Case (Matushansky 2010:3)

- (1) Morphological Case corresponds to a syntactic bundle of features rather than a single feature (cf. Jakobson 1936/1971, 1958/1984; Neidle 1982; Halle 1994; Halle and Vaux 1997)
- (2) The PF realization of each particular bundle of Case features (the morphological Case) is resolved by language-specific vocabulary insertion rules.

This proposal is combined with standard Distributed Morphology assumptions such as impoverishment and underspecification in vocabulary insertion (see Halle and Marantz 1993, 1994). Once these factors are taken into account, the resulting bundles of features are subject to vocabulary insertion rules of the following type.

(60) Vocabulary insertion rules for Nominative Case in Russian (Matushansky 2010:10)

[NOM] → NOMINATIVE

[PRED, NOM] → NOMINATIVE

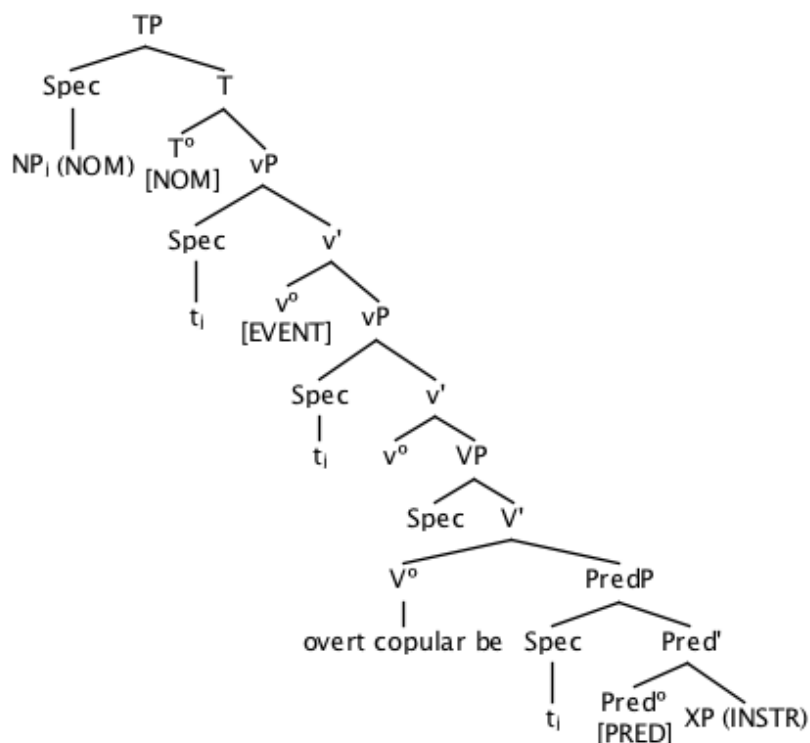
According to these rules, an item bearing [NOM], such as the NP in the Spec of PredP in (58) will be spelled out as NOMINATIVE, and an item bearing [NOM, PRED], such as the predicational XP in (58), will also be spelled out as NOMINATIVE (given the way underspecification works). Thus, if the predicational NP is part of a configuration like (58) (i.e., if it co-occurs with a covert copular), it will always be marked as Nominative.

Following the data reported in Matushansky (2010), in non-present tenses, predicational NPs which follow an overt (i.e. non-present) copular *be* are marked Instrumental<sup>8</sup>. Thus, since the copular *be* is overt, the PredP/SC is merged as a complement to a lexical verb, as in (61).

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<sup>8</sup> Matushansky (2010) considers the structures with overt non-present copular *be* followed by Nominative NPs/APs to be equative and not predicative.

(61)



Note that even though Matushansky (2010) does not explicitly mention it, the syntactic structure in (61) could be extended to all instances containing predicational NPs/APs and overt verbs.

The crucial difference between (58) and (61), and thus between covert verb sentences (i.e. present tense copular *be*) and overt verb ones (all other verbs, including non-present tense copular *be*), is that a lexical verb is necessarily associated with a *v* head that introduces the verb's eventuality argument (apparent in the fact that *v* bears an [EVENT] feature). Thus, the predicational NP will be associated with a more complex bundle of features in these situations. In particular, the predicational NP will bear a [NOM] feature (by virtue of being part of the complement of T<sup>o</sup>, which assigns Nominative Case to its complement), it will also bear an [EVENT] feature (by virtue of being part of the complement of *v* EVENTIVE), and it will also bear a [PRED] feature (by virtue of being the complement of the Pred head). Given Distributed Morphology assumptions on Impoverishment, this bundle of features reduces to ([EVENT], [PRED]), and the vocabulary insertion rule in this case looks like (62).

(62) [PRED, EVENT] → INSTRUMENTAL

In other words, the presence of [NOM] does not affect the Case marking of the predicational nominal. According to the vocabulary insertion rule in (62) the Case of the predicational NP in (61) will be spelled out as INSTRUMENTAL.

### 3.2.1. Applying Matushansky's (2010) account to my data

Matushansky's (2010) analysis has one empirical advantage compared to Bailyn's (2012) account. She argues that the same Pred head is projected for each instance of predication and the Case of the predicational NPs/APs correlates instead with the overt/covert of the lexical verb. This differs from Bailyn's (2012) account which posits two types of Pred heads: either null, or filled with morphological material.

However, it is not clear how Matushansky's (2010) analysis accounts for the Nominative Case marking on the predicational NPs with overt non-present copular *be* reported in my Table 1 since she considers these structures to be equative and therefore, she does not discuss them. As illustrated in the Table 1, non-present copular *be* could also be followed by Nominative NPs. Following Matushansky's (2010) account, overt copular *be* is considered to be a lexical verb, and consequently, it projects a v head which introduces an eventuality argument, associated with an [EVENT] feature<sup>9</sup>. In addition, predication is always mediated via projecting a Pred head which is endowed with the [PRED] feature. Thus, these two features will obligatory percolate down when the verb is overt, precluding the Nominative Case from being assigned to a predicational NP.

Lastly, while Matushansky's (2010) analysis accounts for the Nominative Case assignment with predicational APs which follow covert *be*, it incorrectly predicts the impossibility of Nominative APs with overt verbs. Recall from my Table 1, that we find Nominative Case marking on predicational APs with overt non-present copular *be* as well as on

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<sup>9</sup> Matushansky's (2010) account assumes that the projection of a lexical verb is necessarily associated with the projection of a v head which triggers the eventuality argument. This head is projected higher than all other thematic arguments in the syntactic representation such as functional v head which usually introduces Accusative Case feature. Note that since copular *be* is an unaccusative verb, this lower little v head does not bear Accusative Case feature in this instance.

predicational APs with overt copula-like verbs. If we were to apply Matushansky's (2010) proposal to account for Nominative on predicational NPs/APs following non-present copular *be*, we would most likely have to propose that non-present *be* is lexically ambiguous between a V and a functional head (either T head, as in Matushansky (2010), or Pred head). The problem with that claim is that the question remains as to why this ambiguity is not seen with both present and non-present copular *be*.

### 3.3. Pereltsvaig (2001)

Pereltsvaig's (2001) analysis accounts for sentences like (63) and (64), where copular *be* is either predicative or equative and is always overt. Similar to my data reported in Table 1, Pereltsvaig (2001) looks at occurrences of non-present copular *be* followed by predicational NPs/APs which could be marked either Nominative, as in (63) or Instrumental, as in (64).

(63) a. Katja            byla/budet        dura.  
           Katja.NOM be.PAST/FUT   fool.NOM  
           'Katja was/will be a fool.'

b. Katja            byla/budet        glupaja.  
           Katja.NOM   be.PAST/FUT   silly.NOM  
           'Katja was/will be silly.'

(64) a. Katja            byla/budet        duroj.  
           Katja.NOM be.PAST   fool.INSTR  
           'Katja was/will be a fool.'

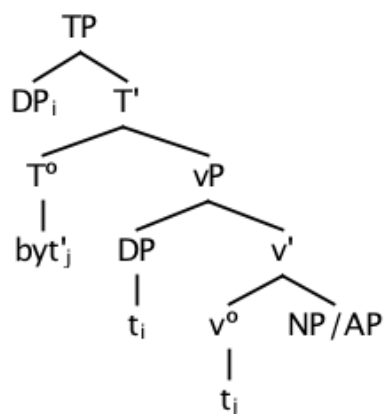
b. Katja            byla/budet        glupoj.  
           Katja.NOM be.PAST/FUT   silly.INSTR  
           'Katja was/will be silly.'

Note that Pereltsvaig (2001) only accounts for instances of overt copular *be* followed by the predicational XP where the Case marking alternates between Instrumental or Nominative Case and she does not consider present copular *be* followed by Nominative predicational XPs as reported in Table 1.

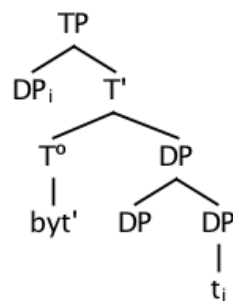
For Pereltsvaig (2001), copular sentences with Instrumental NPs/APs differ from copular sentences followed by Nominative NPs/APs both semantically and structurally. Syntactically, copular *be* followed by Instrumental predicational NPs/APs is a lexical head that selects a NP/AP in an asymmetrical structure as in (65). Semantically, these copular clauses express attribution of property.

In contrast, copular *be* followed by Nominative NPs/APs is a functional T head and involves a symmetrical structure as in (66). Semantically, these sentences express identity and are equative sentences. The above mentioned syntactic structures are illustrated below (Pereltsvaig 2001:47):

(65) copular *be*+Instrumental



(66) copular *be*+Nominative



The syntactic structure in (66) is an instance of a symmetrical structure or so-called bare copular clauses, mediated via a functional category. Notice that in this structure there are two DP which mutually c-command each other. The syntactic structure in (65), on the other hand, is an asymmetrical structure, or so-called rich copular clauses, where an additional syntactic category  $v^0$  is projected. Moreover, in (66) the predicational XP that gets Nominative is a DP, as opposed to the predicational XP that gets

Instrumental in (65) which is an NP/AP. This difference is crucial for Pereltsvaig (2001). I will come back to it later.

### 3.3.1. Instrumental Case Assignment

Pereltsvaig (2001) follows Franks (1995) in proposing that Instrumental Case on post-copular XP is an instance of inherent Case. Copular *be* is a lexical verb in this situation and it assigns inherent Instrumental Case to its argument in a structure like (65). In (65) a vP is projected in the rich structure because the AP/NP cannot assign a theta role to its specifier, thus triggering the projection of the little *v* head. In other words, it is the thematic properties of AP/NP that require the copular *be* to be a lexical category to enable it to assign a theta role to its argument.

### 3.3.2. Nominative Case Assignment

Pereltsvaig (2001) proposes that copular *be* is a functional category  $T^{\circ}$  when Nominative Case is assigned to the post-copular XP in a structure like (66). This post-copular XP is a DP where  $D^{\circ}$  takes NP/AP as a complement. Nominative Case in this bare structure is argued to be a morphological default, rather than a syntactic Nominative Case. The status of Nominative Case as an unmarked morphological default form is supported by four sets of facts discussed in Pereltsvaig (2001). First of all, the special status of Nominative follows from facts found in fusional languages as noted by Blake (1994), Dixon (1994), Weerman (1996), Falk (1997), Neeleman and Weerman (1999) (from Pereltsvaig 2001:205), who point out that there is a cross linguistic correlation between Nominative Case and the lack of overt morphemes. The so-called Nominative morphemes are actually expressions of declension class, gender, number, rather than Case. In this theory, Case marking is related to thematic status, and Case marks (only) nominals which are arguments. Second, following Blake (1994), Dixon (1994), Falk (1997), Pereltsvaig (2001) points out that the nominals that appear outside of any syntactic context (left dislocations, tag questions, vocatives, XP utterances) are in default Nominative Case. Third, as discussed in Weerman (1996), Neeleman and Weerman (1999) cited in Pereltsvaig (2001:207), generally there is agreement between Nominative nominal and the verb. Forth, as observed by Weerman (1996), Neeleman and Weerman (1999), in Russian relative clauses sometimes there a mismatch

in Case between the nominal and a corresponding relative clause operator. Interestingly, if matrix clause NP is Nominative, the related operator must be Nominative as well, while if the matrix clause NP is marked any other Case, the related operator could be either matching Case or Nominative. Lastly, Pereltsvaig (2001) provides evidence from language acquisition and L2 facts where Nominative Case is usually the first one to be acquired in L1 and retained the longest in L2.

Thus, given Pereltsvaig's (2001) view on the special status of Nominative in Russian where it is an unmarked morphological form, she maintains that there are two situations in which a nominal could be marked as Nominative: 1) if the nominal is in a particular structural configuration such as in the SpecTP position (Nominative is assigned from T°), or 2) if the respective nominal is not an argument, as in the structures with copular *be* followed by Nominative predicational DP.

### 3.3.3. Concluding Remarks

As noted above, Pereltsvaig (2001) argues that Nominative Case is the default Case in a DP-*be*-DP structure which is a symmetrical equative structure. This view is against Kayne (1994) who argues that all structures must be asymmetrical in nature. Kayne's (1994) proposal is based on his Linear Correspondence Axiom where antisymmetric c-command of the phrase structure is what determines linear order. This would pose a problem for Pereltsvaig's (2001) analysis of copular clauses with Nominative DPs as symmetrical structures.

Next, Pereltsvaig (2001) argues that Nominative-Instrumental Case alternation on the post-copular XP is correlated with the nature of this XP. Thus, in Nominative copular sentences, predicational XPs are DPs. To support her analysis, Pereltsvaig (2001) provides evidence where if the nominal includes a demonstrative or a quantifier (numeral), there is no Case alternation and only Nominative is possible. Consider (67.a,b,c). (Pereltsvaig 2001:78, ex. 81):



(67) a. Ivanuška- duračok byl, [DP tot brat, kotoryj vseгда popadal v bedu].

Ivanuška.NOM fool.NOM be.PAST that.NOM brother.NOM which.NOM always get.PAST into trouble

‘Ivanushka the Fool was that brother who always got into trouble.’

b. \*Ivanuška- duračok byl, [DP tem bratom, kotoryj vseгда popadal v bedu].

Ivanuška.NOM fool.NOM be.PAST that.INSTR brother.INSTR which.NOM always get.PAST into trouble

‘Ivanushka the Fool was that brother who always got into trouble.’

c. Oleg okazalsja, [DP tem bratom, kotoryj vseгда popadal v bedu].

Oleg turn.PAST out that.INSTR brother.INSTR which.NOM always get.PAST into trouble

‘Oleg turned out (to be) that brother who always got into trouble.’

Following Pereltsvaig (2001), the examples in (67.a,b) show that the Nominative-Instrumental Case alternation disappears with non-present copular *be* if the post-copular phrase is headed by the demonstrative *that* while Instrumental Case marking is still available in the (67.c) even though it mismatches in Case agreement with the matrix NP it refers to.

However, more recent research on DPs (Alexiadou, Haegeman, and Stavrou (2007), Leu (2008), Alexiadou (2014), among others) shows that Demonstratives are not in D, and that Qs are not merged in D, either. Under the assumption that both Demonstratives and Quantifiers are lower than D, the examples above do not actually show that the Nominative vs. Instrumental distinction can be correlated with the DP vs. NP distinction, as Pereltsvaig (2001) suggests.

### 3.4. Filip (2001)

In this section, I will examine how useful semantics would be when motivating a choice of Case in predicative structures when Case marking on the predicational NP/AP alternates between Nominative or Instrumental.

Based on my Table 1, with non-present copular *be* and copula-like verb *stat* ‘become’, either Nominative or Instrumental Case marking could be found on the predicational NPs/APs as repeated in (68) and (69):

(68) a. Katja        byla/        budet        dura/glupaja.  
          Katja.NOM be.PAST/FUT        fool/ silly.NOM  
          ‘Katja was/will be a fool/silly.’

b. Katja        byla/        budet        duroj/glupoj.  
          Katja.NOM be.PAST/FUT        fool/ silly.INSTR  
          ‘Katja was/will be a fool/silly.’

(69) a. Ona        stala        pisatel’nica/izvestnaja.  
          she.NOM become.PAST writer/        famous.NOM.  
          ‘She became a writer/famous’

b. Ona        stala        pisatel’nicej/izvestnoj.  
          she.NOM become.PAST writer/        famous.INSTR.  
          ‘She became a writer/famous’

Additionally, with copula-like verb *sdelat’sja* ‘turn’, either Nominative or Instrumental Case marking could be found on the predicational APs as repeated in (70.a,b):

(70) a. Ladon'      sdelalas'      potnoj.  
 palm.NOM turn.PAST sweaty.INSTR  
 'The palm turned sweaty.'

b. Ladon'      sdelalas'      potnaja.  
 palm.NOM turnPAST sweaty.NOM  
 'The palm turned sweaty.'

There have been numerous accounts which invoke semantics to explain the choice of Case in these predicational constructions. One attractive option would be assume that there is a correlation between Case marking and stage-vs. individual-level distinction for nominals and adjectives. It was Carlson (1977) who first proposed a temporally-based distinction between English adjectives into stage-level adjectives (SLA) and individual-level adjectives (ILA). For example, English stage-level adjectives such as *dirty, clean, wet, dry, hot, cold, happy, sad, sick*, denote a temporary, transient property and English individual-level predicates such as *tall, straight, altruistic, pretty, ugly, long, green* are considered to denote a permanent property. If a correlation does indeed exist between Case marking and the stage-vs. individual-level distinction in Russian predicational XPs, then we would expect to see the stage-level interpretation to map to one of the two alternating Cases and the individual-level interpretation to correlate with the other of the two alternating Cases. Moreover, this correlation would be useful for predicting the Case marking on a predicational XP if the direction of the correlation went from semantics to Case marking. In other words, if the correlation captured something along the following lines:

A predicational AP/NP describes:

(a) a permanent property, if it is an individual-level predicate (ILP), therefore,  
 Nominative Case applies

(b) a temporary property, if it is a stage-level predicate (SLP), therefore,  
 Instrumental Case applies

Thus, the fact that certain nouns or adjectives allow only for either Instrumental or Nominative Case pattern would follow from the fact that they are intrinsically SL or IL.

Filip (2001) puts a version of this hypothesis to the test<sup>10</sup>. Filip's (2001) version of this relationship hypothesis between Case and SL/IL distinction reads as follows in (71) (Filip 2001:193):

- (71) a. AP denotes a permanent property, if(f) it is in the Agreement (Agr)<sup>11</sup> Case; and therefore it is an ILP;  
 b. AP denotes a temporary property, if(f) it is in the Instrumental Case, and therefore it is a SLP.

One way to implement this hypothesis will be: if an AP bears the Instrumental Case, interpret the AP as a SLP and if it bears Nominative Case, interpret AP as an ILP. In her analysis, however, Filip (2001) shows that individual- vs. stage-level distinction does not allow one to reliably predict the choice of Nominative or Instrumental Case on the predicational XP, and thus it cannot motivate the choice of Case. More specifically, Filip (2001) shows how this correlation between Case and meaning could be invalidated by combining individual-level predicates with adverbial modifiers.

Consider the following examples with past tense variant *byl* 'was' of copular *be* which can be followed by either Nominative or Instrumental NP/APs in (72) (Filip 2001:194, ex. 7):

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<sup>10</sup> Filip's (2001) proposal examines whether the correlation between Case marking and stage-vs. individual-level interpretation within a larger context of looking at the properties of adjectives in general. More specifically, the aim of Filip's proposal is to demonstrate, using Russian depictive clauses data, that 1) adjectives are inherently either stage-level or individual-level contrary to Kratzer (1989), (1995). Kratzer's (1995) proposal is to show that English adjectives and nominals can undergo a shift from stage-to-individual-level or vice versa. This is despite the fact that stage-level adjectives appear in the context that requires individual-level ones. The second aim of Filip's (2001) proposal which is contingent upon (1) is show that consequently, the relation between Case found on predicational nominals and adjectives and stage- vs. individual-level distinction is tangential at best. For example, it is an oversimplification to assume that all Instrumental predicational nominals and adjectives are stage-level while all Nominative nominals and adjectives are individual-level, a view followed by Geist (1999), Pereltsvaig (1999), and Becker (2000).

<sup>11</sup> Filip (2001) defines Agreement (AGR) Case as the Case on the respective predicational NP/AP which agrees with controlling argument in the matrix clause. For example, if the predicational NP/AP refers to a subject of the matrix clause marked Nominative, then this predicational NP/AP is also marked Nominative. For the purpose of my thesis, I will continue to maintain a two-way Nominative-Instrumental Case distinction on predicational NPs/APs.

- (72) a. Boris        byl        golodnyj        v sem' časov / v sadu.  
 Boris.NOM be.PAST hungry.NOM at seven o'clock / in garden  
 'Boris was hungry at seven o'clock / in the garden.'
- b. Boris        byl        golodnym        v sem' časov / v sadu.  
 Boris.NOM be.PAST hungry.INSTR at seven o'clock / in garden  
 'Boris was hungry at seven o'clock / in the garden.'

If we were to adopt the view that predicational Instrumental APs found in copular clauses are always stage-level while Nominative APs are always individual-level, it would mean that Nominative AP would not be compatible with adverbial modifiers since individual-level adjectives cannot combine with locative and temporary adverbials. However, in (72.a) a Nominative AP is grammatical, which means that it behaves like a stage-level adjective since it is modified by locative and temporal adverbials *at 7 o'clock* and *in the garden*.

To summarize, in Filip's (2001) view examples in (72.a) and (72.b) show that adverbial and locative modifiers interact with the inherent individual-level and stage-level status of predicates and not their morphological Case form. Most importantly, stage-level predicational adjectives in the Nominative Case retain their stage-level status and individual-level predicational adjectives in the Instrumental Case retain their Individual-level status. Consequently, Filip (2001) concludes that individual vs. stage-level distinction does not reliably predict Nominative or Instrumental Case assignment in copular clauses and it cannot motivate the choice of Case.

I consider Filip's (2001) version of the relationship hypothesis to be weak but for another reason other than the ability of individual-level predicates marked Nominative to appear in the contexts which license stage-level predicates. Filip's (2001) version of the Case-meaning correlation hypothesis is not bi-directional and, therefore, it does not predict when a particular Case gets assigned. Rather, Case seems to be a prerequisite for NPs/APs to receive a particular interpretation such as individual or stage-level.

Interestingly, Filip's (2001) analysis introduces another hypothesis on the correlation between Case marking and a particular semantic meaning. In her view, the Instrumental Case found on

predicational APs signals a change in the property described by the main (verbal) predicate. Consider (73):

- (73) Change is understood as the reversal of the truth of the predicate of one distinct situation (s1) compared to another distinct situation (s2) provided that situation (s2) strictly precedes (s1).

Whether this change is located before or after the situation time established by the main predicate depends on the context according to Filip (2001). In Filip's (2001) view, Nominative Case pattern is applied when the predicate does not necessarily convey the meaning of a "change".

In other words:

- (a) if a predicational AP is marked with Instrumental Case, then the predicational AP denotes a change in the property denoted by the AP
- (b) if a predicational AP is marked with Nominative Case, then the predicational AP does not necessarily mean a change in the property denoted by the AP ("not necessarily" means that an AP marked with Nominative might indicate "change" if conversational implicature supported by the context invokes such an interpretation)

Consider the example in (74) (Filip 2001:197, ex. 15):

- (74) Boris            urodilsja            veselym.  
           Boris.NOM get.PAST born happy.INSTR  
           ‘Boris was born happy.’

In (74), the Instrumental Case on *happy* in this particular context indicates a change of state according to Filip (2001), i.e. Boris was born cheerful but stopped being cheerful at some point after his birth.

Nominative Case is possible although it is less preferred as per Filip (2001) as in (75):

- (75) Boris urodilsja veselyj.  
 Boris.NOM get.PAST born happy.NOM  
 ‘Boris was born happy.’

Although Filip (2001) does not discuss which interpretation is associated with Nominative Case marking in (75), we could assume the following interpretation based on (74): Boris was born cheerful and never stopped being cheerful to the present moment.

Since Case marking is flexible depending on the context, there are contexts in which, only one Case marking is allowed, according to Filip (2001). One such situation is with non-raising verbs which have progressive reading and are in imperfective aspect. Filip (2001) claims that Nominative Case marking is obligatory on the predicational APs with such verbs. For example, in (76), the speaker intends to convey that the situation time of the main imperfective predicate and depictive are simultaneous and both situations are on-going at moment of the conversation.

- (76) Vidiš- Ivan spit odetyi/ \*odetym  
 see.IMPERATIVE Ivan.NOM sleep.PRES.IMP dressed.NOM/\*INSTR  
 ‘See, Ivan is sleeping dressed.’

According to Filip’s (2001) analysis, the Instrumental Case is ungrammatical on the depictive in (76), because the evaluation time of (76) is restricted to the single present situation of the utterance. The Instrumental Case marking on the predicational AP requires access to information about two successive non-overlapping situations, as stated in (73) and therefore, Instrumental would be ungrammatical. Thus, in (76), the speaker intends to convey that the situation time of the main imperfective predicate and depictive are simultaneous and both situations are on-going at the moment of the conversation.

### 3.4.1. Applying Filip's (2001) account to my data

Let us turn to my data with predicational NPs/APs in (68), (69) and (70) where both Nominative and Instrumental are possible. Recall that the question I am interested in is whether associating Case with a particular interpretation will allow to reliably predict a Case assignment on the predicational NPs/APs.

First of all adopting Filip's (2001) hypothesis in (73) would pose exactly the same problem as adopting Filip's (2001) null hypothesis in (71). More specifically, the direction of the correlation in (73) is the same as with the null-hypothesis in (71), that is:

- (i) If an AP bears Instrumental Case, then the AP is interpreted as a "change of property"
- (ii) If an AP bears Nominative Case, then the AP is interpreted as a "change of property" or "absence of change of property", depending on the context.

In other words, the hypothesis is still unidirectional since Case triggers a particular meaning but a particular meaning does not trigger Case.

Moreover, Filip's (2001) hypothesis in (73) is even weaker than her version of the null-hypothesis in (71) since meaning is dependent on a conversational implicature, thus (73) is not a logical deduction. Conversational implicature is a pragmatic inference, it cannot be encoded in a grammar and computed.

### 3.4.2. Conclusion

Summarizing, Filip's (2001) proposal does not allow us to make any predictions on the choice of Case marking on the predicational XPs in the instances where both Instrumental and Nominative Case pattern is available.



### **3.5. Conclusion on the literature review**

In this chapter I discussed previous accounts of Case assignment on predicational XPs and concluded that they are not without their shortcomings. However, this discussion will provide the basis for my proposal in chapter 4 and make an important contribution to my own proposal.

## Chapter 4.

### The Proposal

In the previous chapter, I have argued that Bailyn's (2012) and Matushansky's (2010) accounts of predicate Case assignment on predicational NPs/APs with copular *be* present both theoretical and empirical problems.

Similar to Matushansky (2010) and Bailyn (2012), I will assume that the predicative NPs/APs are included inside a Small Clause headed by a Pred head. However, my analysis departs from both Matushansky (2010) and Bailyn (2012) insofar as (1) in my analysis, predicative XPs are not always part of a Small Clause, and are sometimes merged directly as sisters to V, and (2) my assumption is that copular *be* is always a lexical verb and never a functional head.

The different Case markings on the predicational XPs, as well as the asymmetry between NPs and APs will follow in my analysis from the Case assigning mechanism and from the exact position of the NP/AP within the Small Clause. Moreover, my proposal will also incorporate insights from Moro's (1997) analysis of copular constructions in the sense that the availability of an inverse predicate analysis (which in Moro's (1997) view is restricted to copular *be*) will play a role in my account.

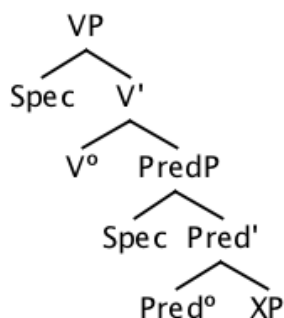
Last but not least, my analysis will build on the observation that not only predicative APs can occur at a distance from NPs that they modify but also attributive ones. In particular, I will propose that in some instances what looks like predicative AP is in fact an attributive AP split from its NP (i.e. a discontinuous NP).

#### 4.1. Basic assumptions of the proposal

##### 4.1.1 The structures

Following Bailyn's (2012 and earlier work) and Matushansky's (2010) analysis, I am assuming that a Pred head is involved in the assignment of Instrumental Case in a Small Clause structure. More specifically, I will assume, together with Bailyn (2012) and Matushansky (2010) that predicative XPs marked as Instrumental are part of a Small Clause headed by a Pred head, and are merged as complements (sisters) to the Pred head as in (77):

(77)



##### 4.1.2 Case assignment

Following Matushansky (2010), I am also assuming that:

- (i) Structural Case is a feature that is assigned by a head to its sister and percolates down (cf. Stowell 1981). Since a terminal is Case-marked by each Case-assigning head that c-commands it, an NP can have more than one Case feature (cf. Merchant 2006; Caha 2007; Richards 2007) and nodes other than NPs can be Case-marked.

- (ii) The resulting bundles of Case features are spelled out by Vocabulary Insertion rules, which include impoverishment rules and can be both specified as to the context of application or underspecified with respect to some features (Halle and Marantz 1993, 1994) in Matushansky (2010).

The relevant heads that can assign features are in this system:

- The T head, which assigns [NOM]
- The Pred head, which assigns [PRED]
- The v head, which assigns [ACC]
- The eventive v head, which assigns [EVENT]

The relevant feature complexes and Case Spell-out are presented in the Table 2 below:

Table 2: Feature complexes and Case spell-out (fragment)

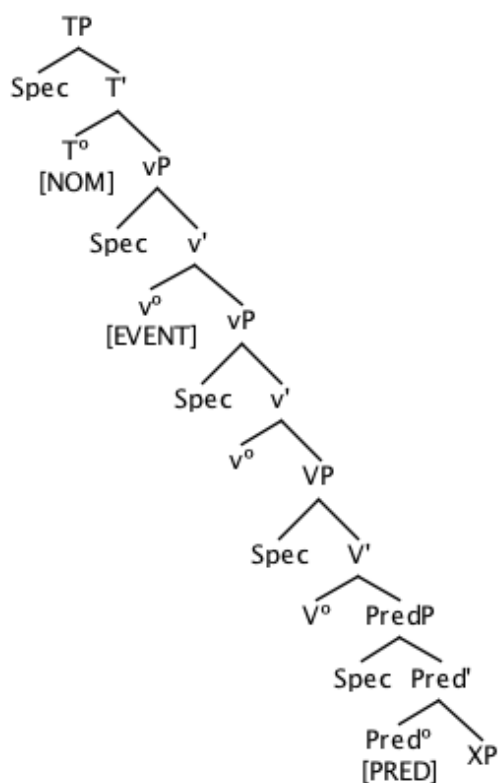
<b>Feature Complex</b>	<b>Case Spell-out</b>
[PRED], [EVENT]	INSTRUMENTAL
[ACC]	ACCUSATIVE
[NOM]	NOMINATIVE

Since in this system features which will eventually spell out as Case are assigned to (all the) nodes that are in the c-command domain of a head possessing such a feature, structural relations are crucial.

### 4.1.3 The [EVENT] feature

Moreover, I will adopt Matushansky's (2010) proposal that a lexical verb is associated not only with a little *v* that assigns Accusative (as most analyses assume), but also with an additional *v* head that introduces the verb's eventuality argument (apparent in the fact that *v* bears an [EVENT] feature). Following Matushansky (2010), this head is the highest head compared to all other thematic arguments and above the little *v* responsible for Accusative Case assignment. Since the relevant verbs that are the focus of this thesis are all unaccusative, the regular little *v* will bear no Accusative feature in my analysis.<sup>12</sup> Thus, the structure of an SC that includes all the relevant Case assigning heads will look like (78):

(78)



<sup>12</sup> Alternatively, we could assume that there is no little *v* with unaccusative verbs. This choice has no bearing on my analysis.

In what follows I will detail the proposed analysis first for predicational XPs occurring with copular *be* sentences (first non-present *be*, followed by present *be*), and then I will turn to copula-like verbs.

## 4.2. Copular Sentences in non-present tenses

The proposal I will make for copular *be* is that the latter is not lexically ambiguous, but is always a V. For the specific case of non-present *be*, the proposal is that non-present *be* takes a PredP as a sister, as in (77).

Recall that what we need to account for is that the predicational NPs/APs that follow non-present copular *be* can take either Instrumental or Nominative Case as repeated in Table 3:

Table 3 Case alternation on predicational NPs/APs with non-present copular *be*

Copular <i>be</i>	+NP/AP	Non-present		
		NOM	ACC	INSTR
	+NP	✓	*	✓
	+AP	✓	*	✓

The section is structured into three parts; the first one deals with predicational XPs marked as Instrumental, the second one with predicational XPs marked as Nominative, and finally a third one talks about why predicational XPs are never marked as Accusative.

### 4.2.1 Predicational XPs marked as Instrumental

In situations in which the predicational NP/AP gets Instrumental, the subject of the SC/PredP raises to SpecT (as also assumed by Bailyn 2012 and Matushansky 2010) where it is assigned Nominative Case by T°. The sister of the Pred head receives several features by virtue of it being in the scope of several heads that assign Case relevant features. In particular, the XP sister to the Pred head gets assigned the feature [EVENT] - by being in the scope of eventive v head, [NOM] - being in the scope of T head, and [PRED] - by being in the complement position of the Pred

head. This is illustrated in (78). Following Matushansky's (2010) vocabulary insertion rules, the combination of two features such as [PRED] and [EVENT] is realized as Instrumental Case. Given the way underspecification works, the presence of other features, such as [NOM], does not affect Case marking of the predicational NP/APs.

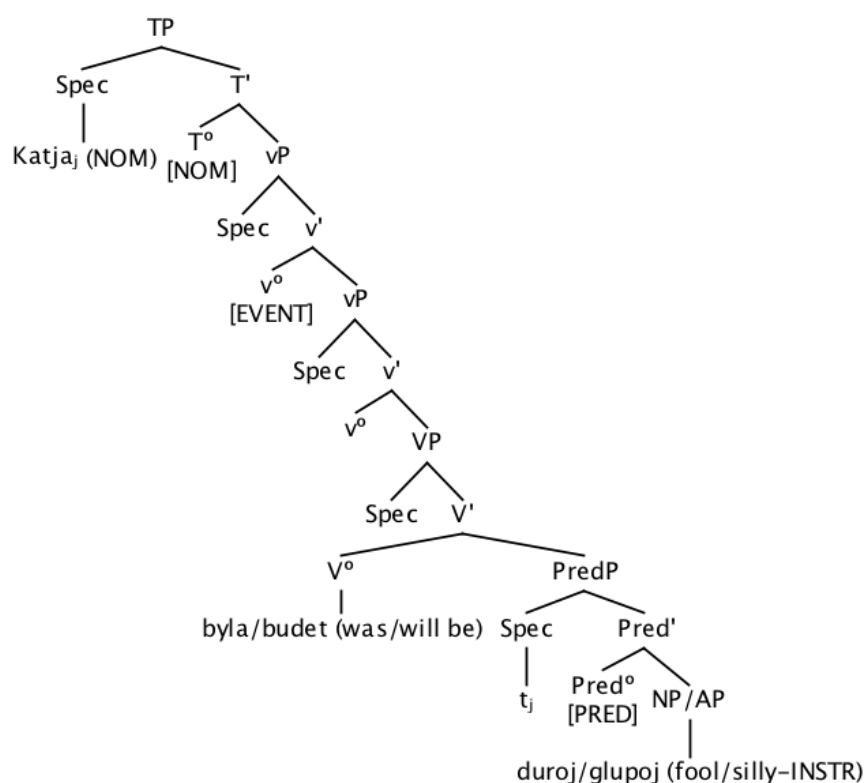
Consider the example of an Instrumental predicational NP/AP with non-present copular *be* from our dataset, repeated below:

(79) Katja byla/ budet duroj.  
 Katja.NOM be.PAST/FUT fool.INSTR  
 'Katja was/will be a fool.'

(80) Katja byla/ budet glupoj.  
 Katja.NOM be.PAST/FUT silly.INSTR  
 'Katja was/will be silly.'

The examples in (79) and (80) have a syntactic representation below in (81):

(81)



In the syntactic derivation (81), the subject of the Small Clause *Katja*, headed by the Pred head raises out of SpecPredP position into SpecTP and is assigned Nominative Case. The predicational NP/AP *duroj/glupoj* receives [NOM] from being in the scope of T head, [EVENT] from being in the scope of the eventive *v* head, and [PRED] from being a complement of Pred head. Given vocabulary insertion rules and underspecification, as long as [PRED] and [EVENT] features are available, they are realized as Instrumental Case on the predicational NP/AP *duroj/glupoj*.

Let us now turn to the situations in which predicational NPs/APs get Nominative Case.

#### 4.2.2. Predicational XPs marked as Nominative

Recall that non-present copular *be* can be followed not only by XPs marked as Instrumental, but also by XPs marked as Nominative and that it applies to both NPs and APs. While the account for XPs in the Instrumental is unified, regardless on whether the XP is a NP or an AP, the account I propose for NPs marked as Nominative will be different from the analysis proposed for APs in the Nominative. Consider first example with predicational NPs marked as Nominative in (82):

- (82) *Katja byla/ budet dura.*  
 Katja.NOM be.PAST/FUT fool.NOM  
 ‘Katja was/will be a fool.’

I propose that here we are dealing with an ‘inverse’ copular construction, following Moro (1997). In other words, the predicational NP is actually in the Spec of PredP position and stays in situ, and it is the complement of the Pred head that raises to SpecTP and gets Nominative Case. Following Moro (1997) I take it for granted that in inverse copular sentences the further NP (i.e. the NP in the complement position of the Pred head) is able to raise to SpecTP and possibly further<sup>13</sup>, despite the fact that it violates locality constraints. Moreover, I will also follow Moro

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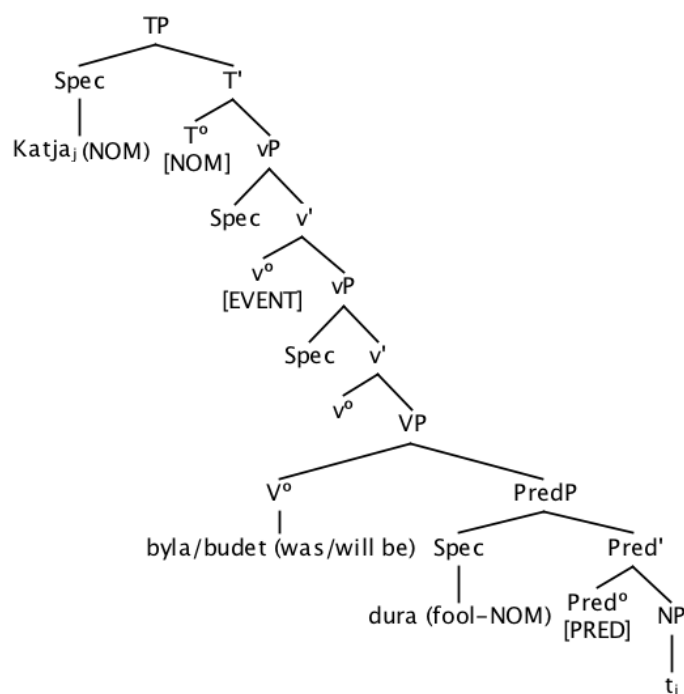
<sup>13</sup> Moro (1997) suggests that that the preverbal DP in an inverse copular sentence can potentially raise as high as a Spec-position of a functional projection (i.e. Focus Phrase or Topic Phrase, following the terminology of Rizzi 1995).



(1997) in assuming that inverse constructions are possible only in a NP V NP configuration and only with certain verbs. Given that in my analysis the Nominative predicatives are accounted for by an inverse structure, the restricted use of Nominative with predicatives can thus be explained by the restrictions on the type of verbs that allow the inverse construction, as well as by the fact that the inverse can only affect an NP V NP configuration.

The proposed syntactic representation for (82) is as in (83):

(83)



In (83) the subject of the Small Clause, the predicational NP *dura*/'fool' is in the SpecPredP position and, therefore, is not under the scope of the Pred head. Being under the scope of the T head, it will receive [NOM] feature, thus, given Matushansky's (2010) vocabulary insertion

rules, this NP will not get Instrumental but Nominative. The complement of the Pred head, NP *Katja* raises to SpecTP and possibly further<sup>14</sup> and will also receive Nominative from the T head.

Before we move any further, I will consider the question of whether there is any evidence for postulating two structures for non-present *be*: (i) an inverse copular structure for sentences involving Nominative predicational NPs and (ii) a canonical copular structure for sentences involving Instrumental predicational NPs.

According to Moro (1997), if wh-raising is applied to the postverbal<sup>15</sup> NP in copulative clauses, it will yield different results, depending on whether the respective structure is canonical or inverse.

In a canonical structure illustrated in (84.a) (Moro 1997:3, ex.8), the extraction from a postverbal NP is grammatical as shown in (85.a) while in an inverse structure illustrated in (84.b) the extraction from a postverbal NP is ungrammatical as shown in (85.b)

- (84) a. A picture of the wall was [ ~~a picture of the wall~~ [the cause of the riot] ]. (canonical)  
 b. The cause of the riot was [ [a picture of the wall] ~~the cause of the riot~~ ]. (inverse)

- (85) a. Which riot was a picture of the wall the cause of? (from canonical (84.a))  
 b. \*Which riot was the cause of a picture of the wall? (from inverse (84.b))

The same finding could be extended to Russian. In (86.a), where the predicative is marked as Instrumental, extracting from a postverbal NP is grammatical as shown in (87.a). In contrast, in (86.b), where the predicative is marked as Nominative, extracting from the postverbal NP is ungrammatical, as in (86.b).

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<sup>14</sup> I am assuming together with Bobaljik (2008) and references therein, that Case assignment is a post-syntactic operation. Therefore, movement which is a syntactic operation will always precedes Case assignment in my analysis.

<sup>15</sup> Moro (1997) applies wh-raising to both preverbal and postverbal NPs. For Moro (1997), extracting from preverbal NPs in both canonical and inverse structures is ungrammatical and is explained by the usual restrictions that apply to left branch extraction. Since this restriction is not extended to Russian data, I am only applying wh-raising test to postverbal NPs for illustrative purposes.

- (86) a. Fotografija Berlinskoj steny byla [ [~~fotografija Berlinskoj steny~~]  
 [pričinoj vosstanija] ]. (canonical)  
 picture.NOM Berlin.GEN wall.GEN be.PAST ~~picture.NOM Berlin.GEN wall.GEN~~  
 cause.INSTR riot.GEN  
 ‘A picture of the Berlin wall was the cause of the riot.’
- b. Fotografija Berlinskoj steny byla [ [pričina vosstanija] [~~fotografija  
 Berlinskoj—steny~~] ]. (inverse)  
 picture.NOM Berlin.GEN wall.GEN be.PAST cause.NOM riot.GEN ~~picture.NOM  
 Berlin.GEN wall.GEN~~  
 ‘A picture of Berlin wall was the cause of the riot.’
- (87) a. Kakogo vosstanja byla fotografija Berlinskoj steny pričinoj? (from canonical  
 (86.a))  
 which riot.GEN be.PAST picture.NOM Berlin.GEN wall.GEN cause.INSTR  
 ‘Which riot was a picture of the wall the cause?’
- b. \*Kakogo vosstanja byla fotografija Berlinskoj steny pričina? (from inverse  
 (86.b))  
 which riot.GEN be.PAST picture.NOM Berlin.GEN wall.GEN cause.NOM  
 ‘Which riot was a picture of the wall the cause?’

This asymmetry provides evidence that examples like (86.b) involve an inverse structure. Thus, an inverse analysis in the spirit of Moro (1997) for Russian NOM-*be*-NOM sequences is on the right track.

I will now turn to instances in which the Nominative XP that follows non-present *be* is an AP, rather than a NP, as in (88):

- (88) Katja            byla/        budet        glupaja.  
           Katja.NOM be.PAST/FUT        silly.NOM  
           ‘Katja was/will be silly.’

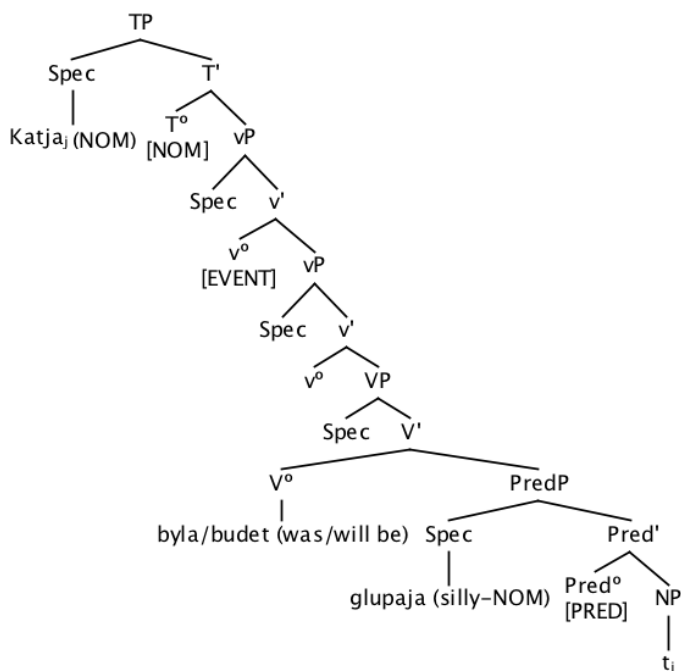
One cannot extend to these instances the same analysis proposed above for Nominative NPs. Even though Moro (1997) does not discuss APs co-occurring with copular *be*, in his view only NP-*be*-NP sequences allow for the inverse construction.

My account for examples like (88) is that the AP is merged in the SpecPredP position, just like Nominative predicational NPs, but that unlike in NP(Nom)-*be*-NP(Nom) sequences involving two NPs, the NP(Nom)-*be*-AP(Nom) sequences do not count as inverse constructions, because they do not violate locality restrictions on movement. In particular, in order to account for the Nominative Case marking on APs in sentences with copular *be*, I will assume that what drives movement to SpecTP is a nominal feature (a [D] feature], for example). Thus, T° always attracts the closest NP to its Spec position, and it will never attract APs, which lack a [D] feature<sup>16</sup>. In other words, if an AP is present, it will never be attracted to SpecTP, whether the AP is the sister to the Pred head or sits in its Spec position. Unlike in inverse constructions, in copulative constructions with Nominative APs, locality is preserved. In (89) T° attracts the closest NP and there is only one NP in the SC, while the predicational AP *glupaja*/‘silly’ stays in SpecPredP. In contrast, in (83) which involved two NPs, the ‘inverse’ copular clause violates locality, because the furthest NP (nested in the complement Pred position) raises to T° and the closest one stays in SpecPredP.

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<sup>16</sup> Alternatively, the motivation for the raising of the NP could be related not to the [D] feature but to a Topic or a Focus feature.

(89)



Summarizing our discussion so far, there are four possibilities for how Case gets assigned on predicational NPs/APs with non-present copular *be*.

- T [NP Pred NP]-the higher NP gets attracted to SpecTP or higher and the lower one gets Instrumental
- T [NP Pred NP]-the lower NP gets attracted to SpecTP or higher and the higher NP gets Nominative (the ‘inverse’ construction)
- T [NP Pred AP]-the NP raises to SpecTP or higher and the AP gets Instrumental
- T [AP Pred NP]-the NP raises to SpecTP or higher and the AP gets Nominative

Correlating canonical vs. inverse copular structures with Instrumental vs. Nominative Case marking on a predicational NP/AP can also potentially explain the differences in interpretation between *byl/budet* ‘was’/‘will be’+Instrumental and *byl/budet* ‘was’/‘will be’+Nominative that are discussed in the literature. For example, the examples with Instrumental vs. Nominative Case alternation have been described as something similar to the individual-level vs. stage-level distinction (Carlson 1977, Bowers 1997) whereby the Instrumental denotes a more temporary

or stage-level property while the Nominative implies a more permanent state. However, as I argued earlier in section 3.4., these semantic differences are not reliable when predicting a choice of Case on the predicational XP.

### 4.2.3. Predicational XPs marked as Accusative

Predicational XPs are ungrammatical if marked as Accusative in non-present copular *be* structures. This restriction applies both to predicational NPs and to predicational APs. This is quite easy to explain given that copular *be* is an unaccusative verb and as such its little *v* bears no [ACC] feature. Thus, there is no source for the Accusative Case.

### 4.3. Copular sentences in the present tense

Predicational XPs that occur with present *be* can only be marked as Nominative, but never as Instrumental or Accusative. The Case alternation is summarized below in Table 4:

Table 4: Case alternation on predicational NPs/APs with present tense copular *be*

	+NP/AP	Present		
		NOM	ACC	INSTR
Copular <i>be</i>	+NP	✓	*	*
	+AP	✓	*	*

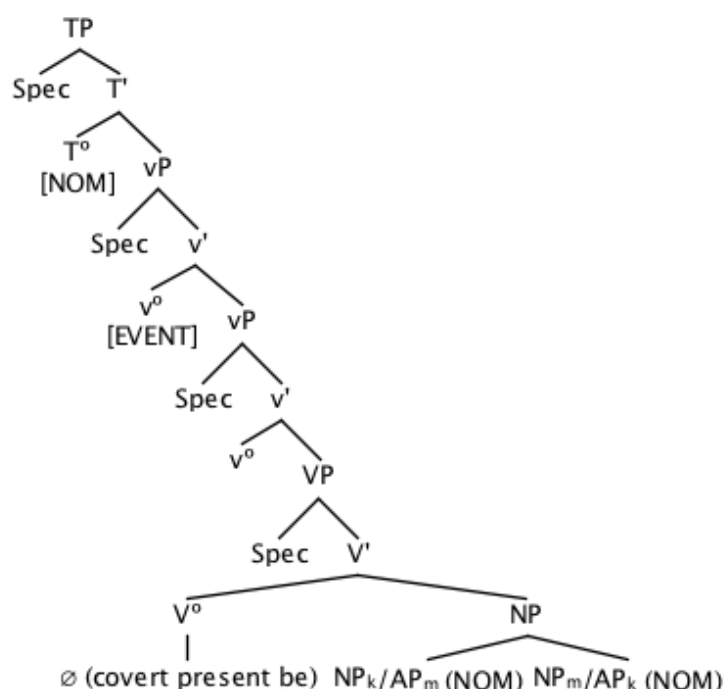
The goal of this section is to explain not only Nominative Case assignment on predicational XPs co-occurring with present *be* but also why present copular *be* behaves differently from non-present *be*, with respect to Instrumental, in other words why Instrumental is impossible with present *be* as in (90):

- (90) \*Katja-           duroj/glupoj.  
           Katja.NOM fool/ silly.INSTR  
           ‘Katja is a fool/silly.’

### 4.3.1. Predicational XPs marked as Nominative

In order to explain Nominative Case Assignment on predicational NP/AP with present tense covert copular *be*, I will assume that the semantic relation between the two Nominative XPs is not one of predication, but one of apposition. The second XP serves to rename or to provide more information about the first XP. Syntactically, appositional phrases could be analyzed as an adjunction structure. Since there is no predication relation, the Pred head is absent in the structure and instead V selects an NP as its complement, as in (91). The two NPs in an appositional relation receive Nominative Case by the usual percolation of the [NOM] feature from the T head.

(91)



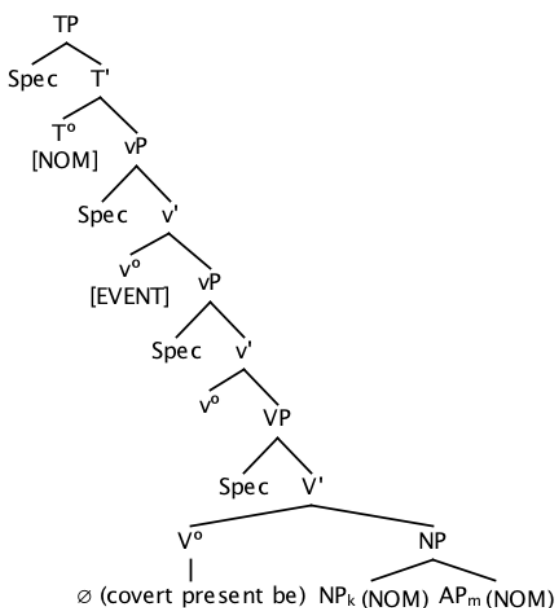
Note that since present tense copular *be* is covert, one does not have to assume that any of the two NPs raises to SpecTP. However, I leave it open whether any of the two NPs in (91) raise to SpecTP and in fact precede the silent *be*. Raising to SpecTP is not a necessary condition for the assignment of Nominative Case in Russian, and Nominative can be assigned under c-

command by the T head. The raising vs. non-raising choice seems to depend on independent factors related to whether an XP is attracted to the preverbal field for topicalization or focalization.

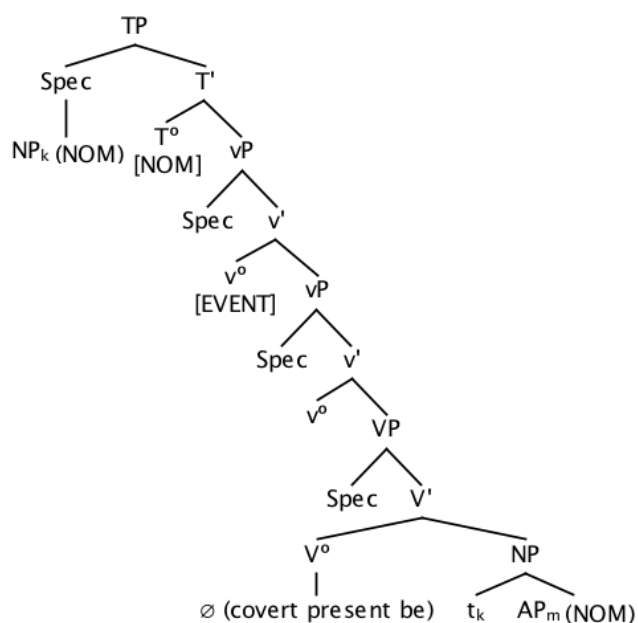
#### 4.3.1.1. NP-*be*-AP constructions as Split NPs

The same analysis applies to the NP-*be*-AP sequence. Due to present copular *be* being silent, both the in-situ option as in (92) and the option involving raising of the NP to the preverbal field as in (93) are compatible with the observed word order:

(92)



(93)



The raising option will result in a split NP which is indeed possible in Russian. In fact, not all the APs that occur at a distance from the NP they are coindexed with are predicative. I propose that Russian also allows for an analysis in which such APs are actually attributive.

The literature distinguishes between two types of adjectives from the point of view of their syntactic distribution: attributive adjectives and predicative adjectives. Attributive adjectives occur to the left or to the right of the noun they modify, while predicative adjectives occur as part of the VP next to copular *be* or to a copula-like verb.



(94) a. John read a tedious book. (attributive adjective)

b. The book is tedious. (predicative adjective)

Russian behaves like other languages from this point of view, as it shows both attributive and predicative adjectives. Attributive adjectives directly modify a noun and they can occupy a prenominal position, as in (95) and (96), or a postnominal position, as in (97):

(95) Ja igrayu želtym mjačikom.  
I.NOM play.PRES. yellow.INSTR ball.INSTR  
'I play with the yellow ball.'

(96) Holodnyj sup byl otvratitel'nym/ otvratitel'nyj.  
cold.NOM soup.NOM be.PAST disgusting.INSTR/NOM  
'Cold soup was disgusting.'

(97) Sup holodnyj byl otvratitel'nym/ otvratitel'nyj.  
soup.NOM cold.NOM be.PAST disgusting.INSTR/NOM  
'Cold soup was disgusting.'

On the other hand, Russian adjectives can also occur in a predicative position, as part of the main predicate (after a copular) as in (98), or as a copula-like verb, as in (99):

(98) Mjačik byl želtyj/ želtym.  
ball.NOM be.PAST yellow.NOM/INSTR  
'The ball was yellow.'

(99) Mjačik sdelalsja želtyj/ želtym.  
ball.NOM turn.PAST yellow.NOM/INSTR  
'The ball turned yellow.'

At first glance, it seems that all the APs that are part of my data in Table 1 are predicative, since all of these APs are disjoint from the NPs they refer to, and none of them occurs next to a noun. However, I will claim that these APs are not necessarily predicative and that their position is also compatible with an analysis in which the AP is in fact attributive. The reason why an attributive analysis is possible for the adjectives in Table 1 is that nominal constituents can be split in Russian<sup>17</sup>. What this means is that if a NP, for example, undergoes movement, movement can affect the whole NP, as in (100.b) below, or just parts of it, as in (100.c). In the latter case the result is a split or discontinuous nominal constituent.

- (100) a. *be* [AP NP]  
       b. [ AP<sub>j</sub> NP<sub>j</sub>] *be* [~~AP<sub>j</sub>~~ ~~NP<sub>j</sub>~~]  
       c. NP<sub>j</sub> *be* [AP ~~NP<sub>j</sub>~~]

In (100.a) and (100.b) I show only the unmarked order, consistent with the prenominal position of the respective AP. However, the same word order permutations apply if the AP is postnominal. The AP in (100.c) does follow the copula *be*, but in spite of that, it is an attributive AP which is in fact a remnant of a nominal constituent that contains a NP and an AP and that has been split.

Following Pereltsvaig (2008), split phrases in Russian come in two varieties:

- (i) “simple splits” where the phrase appears to be split apart but the order of the split parts corresponds to the default order such that adjective precedes the noun it modifies, and
- (ii) “inverted splits” where the phrase is not only split but also inverted relative to the default order, i.e. adjective follows the noun it modifies. Examples of simple and inverted splits are shown below (Pereltsvaig 2008:7, ex 1.a,b):

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<sup>17</sup> I would like to thank Natalia Fitzgibbons for pointing out the possibility of this analysis to me.

(101) Vologodskogo net masla, devuška?

Vologda.ADJ.ACC not.there.is butter.ACC girl.VOC

‘Do you have Vologda [place name] butter, Miss?’

(102) Brillianty u tebjā (est’) xorošie, neskol’ko karat.

diamonds.NOM to you.GEN be.NULL.PRES.POSS good.NOM several.NOM carats.NOM

‘You have good diamonds, several carats.’

In (101), the NP ‘butter’ is split from the adjective that modifies it and which is fronted. In (102), the Nominative NP ‘diamonds’ also occurs split from the modifying adjective and is inverted relative to the modifying adjective, also marked with Nominative, i.e. with the same Case as the noun it applies to.

Summarizing, the proposed structure for present *be* thus differs from our analysis of non-present *be* in that the Pred head is involved only with non-present *be*. The semantic correlate of this structural difference would be that present tense copular *be* clauses are interpreted existentially, as opposed to non-present tense copular clauses, which involve the attribution of a property.

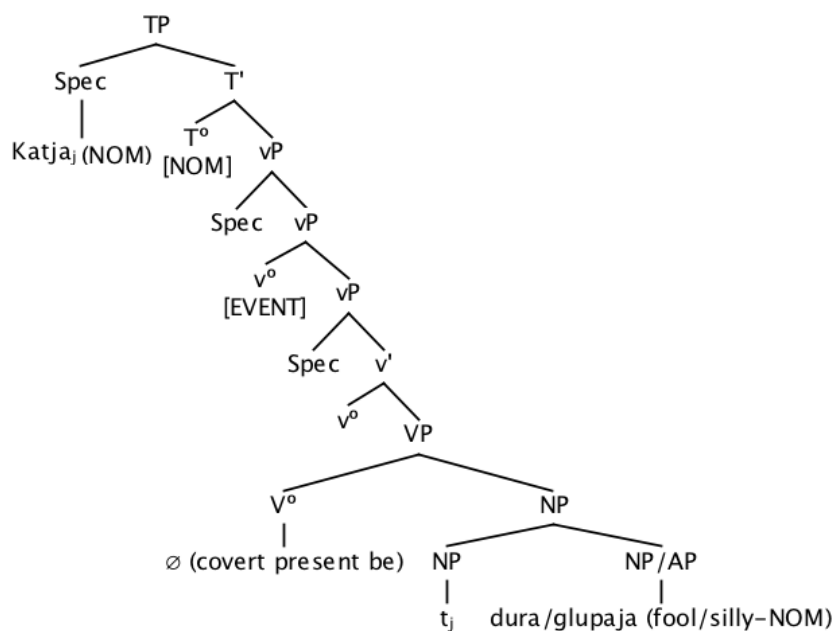
Based on the on the structures presented above, the example in (103) below which involves Nominative predicational NP/AP following present copular *be* has a possible syntactic representation in (104):

(103) Katja- dura/ glupaja.

Katja.NOM fool/ silly.NOM

‘Katja is a fool/silly.’

(104)



A suitable paraphrase for present copular *be*+AP in (103), would thus be 'silly Katja exists', whereas a suitable paraphrase for the non-present copular *be*+AP in (89) would be 'Katja had the property of being silly at time *x* in the past'. I leave it for further research to confirm whether these semantic differences are measurable.

#### 4.3.2. Predicational XPs marked as Instrumental

In order to account for the ban on Instrumental Case with present copular *be* we can pursue either of the two options:

- (i) posit that present *be* is lexically different from non-present *be*: while non-present *be* is a lexical head, present *be* is a functional head (T<sup>o</sup> or Pred<sup>o</sup>). This is essentially the view proposed by Bailyn (2012) and Matushansky (2010).
- (ii) assume that there is no Pred head in the structure, the head responsible for the relevant set of features which result in the Instrumental Case marking.

Given the proposed analysis for predicatives marked as Nominative that co-occur with present tense *be*, I will adopt hypothesis (ii). The absence of a Pred head (in fact the absence of a Small Clause altogether) will allow for a unified account of both the availability of Nominative with present *be*, and the restriction on Instrumental with present *be*.

Moreover, this approach will allow us to maintain the hypothesis that present and non-present copular *be* are the same category, i.e. V, but with different selectional properties: non-present *be* selects a Small Clause (PredP) as its complement, whereas present *be* selects a NP as its complement.

### 4.3.3. Predicational XPs marked as Accusative

Predicational XPs are ungrammatical if marked Accusative in the present copular *be* structures. This restriction applies both to predicational NPs and to predicational APs. This is quite easy to explain given that copular *be* is an unaccusative verb and as such its little *v* bears no [ACC] feature. Thus, there is no source for the Accusative Case.

### 4.4. Predicational XPs with copula-like verbs

Case alternation with copula-like verbs is summarized in Table 5 below. What our data suggest, is that copula-like verbs behave according to four patterns from the point of view of the Case marking on the predicational XP that follows the copula-like verb:

- (i) Copula-like verb *stat* 'become' patterns exactly like non-present copular *be*.
- (ii) Copula-like verb *kazat'sja 2* 'seem2' patterns exactly like present copular *be*.
- (iii) Copula-like verbs of a type *sdelat'sja* 'turn' pattern exactly like non-present copular *be* when it comes to predicational APs, while with predicational NPs they disallow Nominative
- (iv) copula-like verbs of a type *kazat'sja 1* 'seem1' appear to behave quite differently from present and non-present copular *be* when it comes to both predicational NPs and APs. More specifically, only the Instrumental Case marking is available for the predicational XP.

Table 5: Case alternation on predicational NPs/APs with copula-like verbs

Linking Verb	+NP/AP	Present			Non-present		
		NOM	ACC	INSTR	NOM	ACC	INSTR
Copula-like <i>stat'</i> (become)	+NP	✓	*	✓	✓	*	✓
	+AP	✓	*	✓	✓	*	✓
Copula-like <i>sdelat'sja</i> (turn)	+NP	*	*	✓	*	*	✓
	+AP	✓	*	✓	✓	*	✓
Copula-like <i>kazat'sja 1</i> (seem1)	+NP	*	*	✓	*	*	✓
	+AP	*	*	✓	*	*	✓
Copula-like <i>kazat'sja 2</i> (seem2)	+NP	✓	*	*	*	*	*
	+AP	✓	*	*	*	*	*

In what follows, I will discuss each copula-like verb in turn.

#### 4.4.1 Copula-like verb *stat'* 'become' with predicational XPs

If the subject and the predicate are linked by a copula-like verb such as *stat'* 'become' predicational NPs/APs can take either Nominative or Instrumental, but never Accusative. Since this verb patterns exactly like non-present tense copular *be*, the analysis and structure discussed in section 4.2. for non-present copular *be* could be extended to predicational NPs/APs with this copula-like verb.

More specifically, I propose that the Instrumental Case on the predicational NPs/APs that follow this copula-like verb can be explained by the canonical structure (88) where the subject of the SC/PredP raises to SpecT and is assigned Nominative Case by T<sup>o</sup> while the sister of the Pred

head stays in-situ. In this structure, the XP in the Pred head complement position receives several features by virtue of it being in the scope of several heads that assign these Case relevant features. Following Matushansky's (2010) vocabulary insertion rules, the combination of two such features as [PRED] and [EVENT] is realized as Instrumental Case on these predicational XPs.

The Nominative Case on predicational NPs which follow copula-like verb *stat* 'become' can be explained by the inverse construction, following Moro (1997) such as (90) where it is the predicational NP that is actually in the SpecPredP position and stays in situ, and it is the complement of the Pred head that gets attracted to SpecTP and receives Nominative Case from T°.

As argued earlier, the inverse structure applicable for Nominative predicational NPs cannot be extended to the predicational APs which follow this copula-like verb. In order to account for the Nominative Case marking on the AP, I will assume that the AP is merged in SpecPredP (similar to NP) and that the T head attracts the closest NP to its Spec position. If an AP is present, it will never be attracted to SpecTP but instead it remains in a SpecPredP position and will get [NOM] Case feature from T° which spells as out as Nominative Case based on the Matushansky's (2010) vocabulary insertion rules.

The ban on Accusative Case can be explained by the fact that copula-like *stat* 'become' similarly to copular *be* is an unaccusative verb and as such its little *v* bears no [ACC] feature. Thus, there is no source for the Accusative Case.

#### **4.4.2. Copula-like verbs *delat'sja/ sdelat'sja* 'become/turn' with predicational XPs**

If the subject and the predicate are linked by a copula-like verb such as *delat'sja/ sdelat'sja* 'become/turn', *okazat'sja* 'turn out', *ostavat'sja* 'remain', an asymmetry can be noticed between predicational APs and predicational NPs.

##### **4.4.2.1. Copula-like verbs *delat'sja/ sdelat'sja* 'become/turn' with predicational NPs**

Predicational NPs are always marked with Instrumental, and never with Nominative or Accusative, as in (105) below:

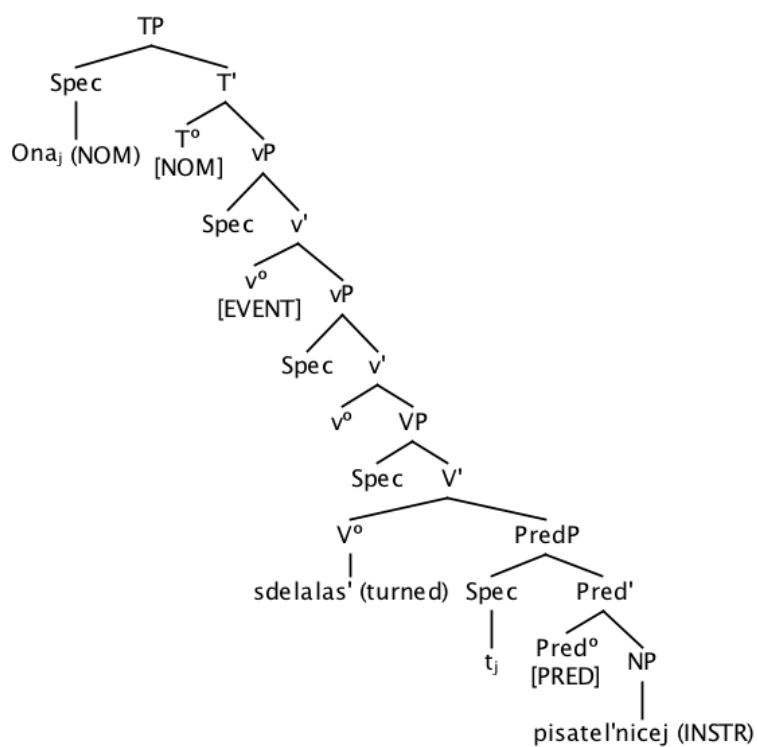
(105) a. Ona           sdelalas'           pisatel'nicej.  
 she.NOM turn.PAST   writer.INSTR  
 'She turned out (to be) a writer.'

b. \*Ona           sdelalas'           pisatel'nica.  
 she.NOM turn.PAST   writer.NOM  
 'She turned out (to be) a writer.'

c. \*Ona           sdelalas'           pisatel'nicu.  
 she.NOM turn.PAST   writer.ACC  
 'She turned out (to be) a writer.'

In order to account for the Instrumental Case on the predicational NPs following these verbs, I propose that these verbs select a PredP, just as non-present *be*, illustrated in (106):

(106)





The predicational NP is merged as the complement of the Pred head and thus accumulates both the [PRED] feature from the Pred head and the [EVENT] feature from the v-eventive head. This will result in the Instrumental Case marking.

In order to account for the impossibility of a Nominative NP in the position that follows copula-like verbs of a type *delat'sja/ sdelat'sja* 'become/turn', I propose that such verbs don't allow for the inverse construction (in the sense of Moro 1997). In other words, such verbs do not allow for the predicational NP to raise to the subject position and for the subject of the Small Clause to stay in situ.

While I have no explanation as to why inverse constructions are limited to certain verbs only (and neither does Moro 1997), the Russian data confirm that the restrictions on which verbs allow the inverse construction are language particular, and that in Russian only verbs like the copular verb *be* and copula-like verb *stat'* 'become' allow it.

Finally, the ungrammaticality of Accusative marked NP in (105.c) can be accounted for by the lack of the Accusative feature on the little v associated with copula-like verbs of a type *delat'sja/ sdelat'sja* 'become/turn'. This is unsurprising, since these verbs are unaccusative.

#### 4.4.2.2. Copula-like verbs *delat'sja/ sdelat'sja* 'become/turn' with predicational APs

Recall as per Table 5 that with predicational APs following copula-like verbs of a type *delat'sja/ sdelat'sja* 'become/turn' both Nominative and Instrumental Case marking is possible as in (107):

- (107) a. Ladon'        sdelalas'    potnoj.  
           palm.NOM    turn.PAST    sweaty.INSTR  
           'The palm turned sweaty.'
- b. Ladon'        sdelalas'    potnaja.  
           palm.NOM    turn.PAST    sweaty.NOM  
           'The palm turned sweaty.'

- c. \*Ladon' sdelalas' potnuyu.  
 palm.NOM turn.PAST sweaty.ACC  
 'The palm turned sweaty.'

The example in (107.a) contains the predicational AP *potnoj*/'sweaty' marked as Instrumental. In order to account for the Instrumental, I propose that the structure for (107.a) is as in (88). The subject of the Small Clause (PredP) NP *ladon*/'palm' starts off in a SpecPredP position, and then gets attracted to SpecTP and receives the [NOM] feature which spells out as Nominative Case. The predicational AP *potnoj*/'sweaty' is in a complement position of the Pred head and receives the [EVENT], [PRED], and [NOM] features which, under the rules of impoverishment and underspecification, spell out as Instrumental Case.

In order to account for the Nominative Case marking on the AP in (107.b), I will assume the structure as in (100) where the AP is merged in SpecPredP while the T head attracts the closest NP to its Spec position, i.e. the NP in the complement Pred head position. This AP in the SpecPredP position receives the [NOM] feature from T head and the [EVENT] feature from v-eventive head. Based on the Matushansky's (2010) vocabulary insertion rules, the combination of these features spell out as Nominative Case.

Thus, similar to non-present *be* clauses, even though Nominative Case is possible with APs, it is not an inverse structure since it does not break locality conditions.

Finally, the lack of Accusative marked APs in (107.c) and similar contexts can be accounted for by the lack of the Accusative feature on the little *v* associated with these copula-like verbs.

#### 4.4.3. Copula-like verbs *kazat'sja* 'seem1', *vygljadet* 'appear' with predicational XPs

Recall that with copula-like verbs *kazat'sja* 'seem1', *vygljadet* 'appear', *predstavljatsja* 'seem', only predicational NPs/APs marked as Instrumental are grammatical as in (108):

- (108) a. Ona kažetsja pevicej/glupoj.  
 she.NOM seem.PRES singer/silly.INSTR  
 'She seems (to be) a singer.'

b. \*Ona        kažetsja        pevica/glupaja.  
          she.NOM seem.PRES    singer/silly.NOM  
          ‘She seems (to be) a singer.’

c. \*Ona        kažetsja        pevicu/glupuyu.  
          she.NOM seem.PRES    singer/silly.ACC  
          ‘She seems (to be) a singer.’

While a structure like (88) proposed for non-present copular *be* with copular *be* taking a PredP as a complement can account for Instrumental on predicational XPs with these copula-like verbs, another problem remains. More specifically, the structure in (88) cannot explain why predicational NPs cannot get Nominative Case or, in other words, why predicational NPs cannot be merged in SpecPredP and why the inverse structure is not available. Moreover, a structure like (88) would also fail to account for why Nominative predicational APs (in other words, why APs can't be merged in SpecPredP) are ungrammatical with copula-like verbs of a type ‘seem1’. I thus propose that the structure that can account for the Instrumental in these cases is an embedded clause structure, as in (109). In doing that, I am assuming that these verbs are like raising to subject verbs, which have been analyzed in the literature as taking a clausal complement.

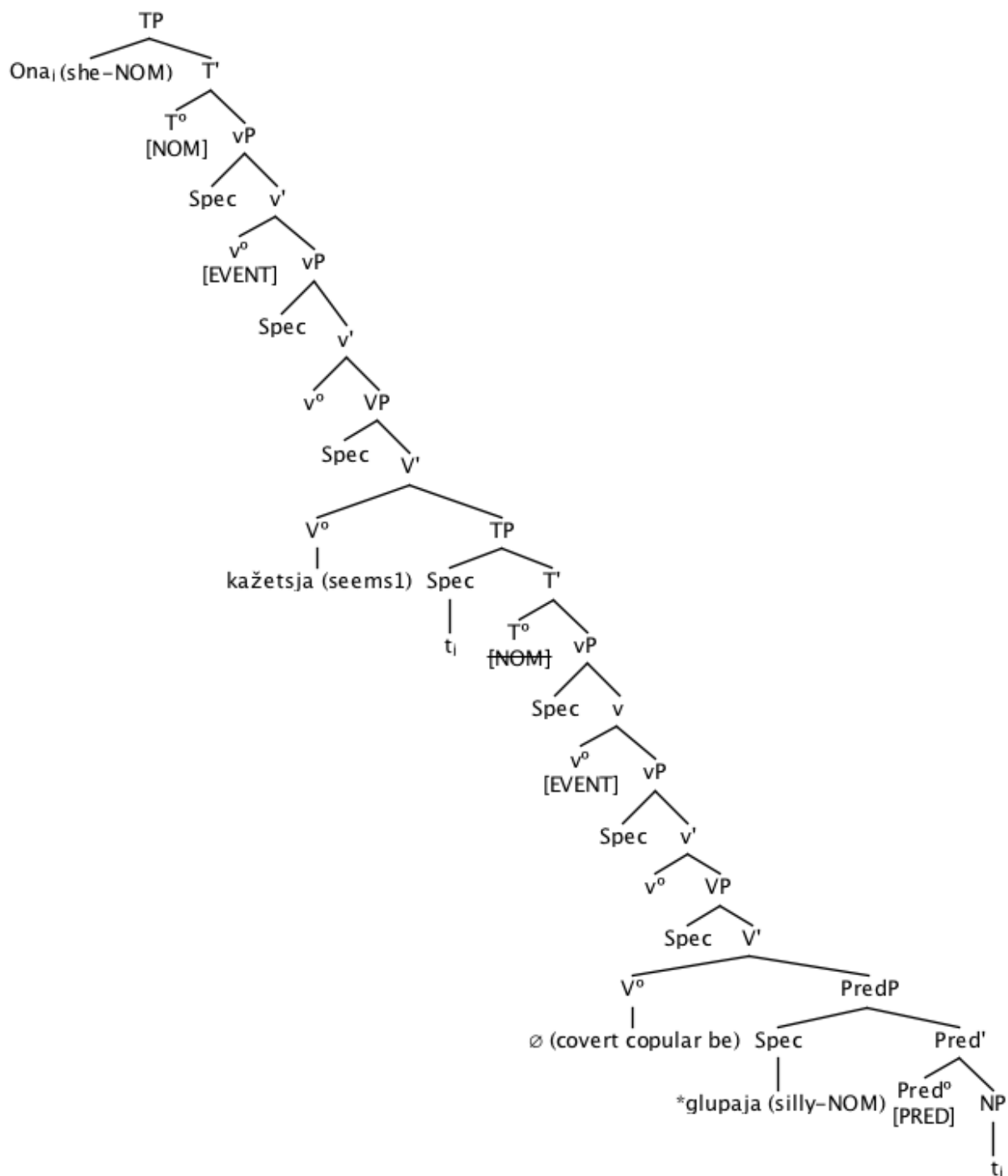
(109)



Several remarks are in order with respect to this structure. First of all, this structure can explain the Instrumental marking on the predicational NP/AP. If these constituents are merged as complements to the Pred head in this structure, they will get assigned the [PRED] feature from the Pred head and the [EVENT] feature from the v-eventive head, and will thus bear Instrumental Case.

Second, the complement of the matrix verb in this structure is a TP rather than a full CP. This reduced structure of the embedded clause can explain the fact that no inverse analysis is possible in the embedded clause of these verbs. In other words, the assumption that the complement clause is a TP can explain why a structure in which the predicational NP is merged in the SpecPredP position and the NP object of the Pred head moves across the predicational NP is excluded. This can be related to Moro's (1997) observation (footnote 56, page 270) that inverse structures involve raising of NP sister of Pred head to a position that is higher than TP, i.e. a discourse related position like Topic or Focus. Under the assumption that clauses that are complements to 'seem1' type of verbs are TPs, and do not contain Topic or Focus projections, we can explain why no inverse analysis is possible with these verbs and hence why NPs marked as Nominative are excluded with these verbs. While the assumption that the complement of 'seem1' type of verbs is a TP rather than a CP can account for the lack of inverse structures and thus explain why predicational NPs cannot be marked as Nominative, it cannot also account for why APs cannot be marked as Nominative. There is no reason why the AP couldn't be merged in SpecPredP and why the NP complement of the Pred head couldn't raise to SpecTP and then out of the embedded clause to a position preceding the matrix verb, and yet these structures are ungrammatical as in (108.b). In order to exclude predicational APs marked as Nominative, I propose that the AP is indeed merged in SpecPredP, as in (109) and similar (100) but that the T head of the embedded clause is defective and contains no [NOM] feature. Thus, even though the AP is in the scope of the T head, it will not get Nominative because of the defective nature of T head, which lacks the [NOM] feature. Since this NP is not under the scope of the Pred head, it cannot get Instrumental Case either, thus resulting in an ungrammatical structure in (110):

(110)\* Non-convergent derivation of (109)



Finally, the lack of Accusative marked NP/APs in (108.c) and similar contexts can be accounted for by the lack of the Accusative feature on the little *v* associated with these copula-like verbs.

#### 4.4.4. Copula-like verb *kazat'sja* ‘seem2’ with predicational XPs

Recall that the copula-like verb *kazat'sja* ‘seem 2’ patterns exactly like present tense copular *be*. More specifically, only predicational NPs/APs marked Nominative are grammatical as in (111):

(111) a. Ona        kažetsja        pevica/glupaja.  
           she.NOM seem.PRES    singer/silly.NOM  
           ‘She seems (to be) a singer/silly.’

b. \*Ona        kažetsja        pevicej/glupoj.  
           she.NOM seem.PRES    singer/silly.INSTR  
           ‘She seems (to be) a singer/silly.’

c. \*Ona        kažetsja        pevicu/glupyu.  
           she.NOM seem.PRES    singer/silly.ACC  
           ‘She seems (to be) a singer/silly.’

To account for the distributional facts and Case assignment with copula-like ‘seem2’, I propose that ‘seem2’ is also a raising verb<sup>18</sup>, just like ‘seem1’. In other words, ‘seem2’ takes a TP as a complement, just as ‘seem1’. However, unlike ‘seem1’, whose complement clause contains a silent verb *be* that selects a PredP (the silent equivalent of the non-present *be*), the

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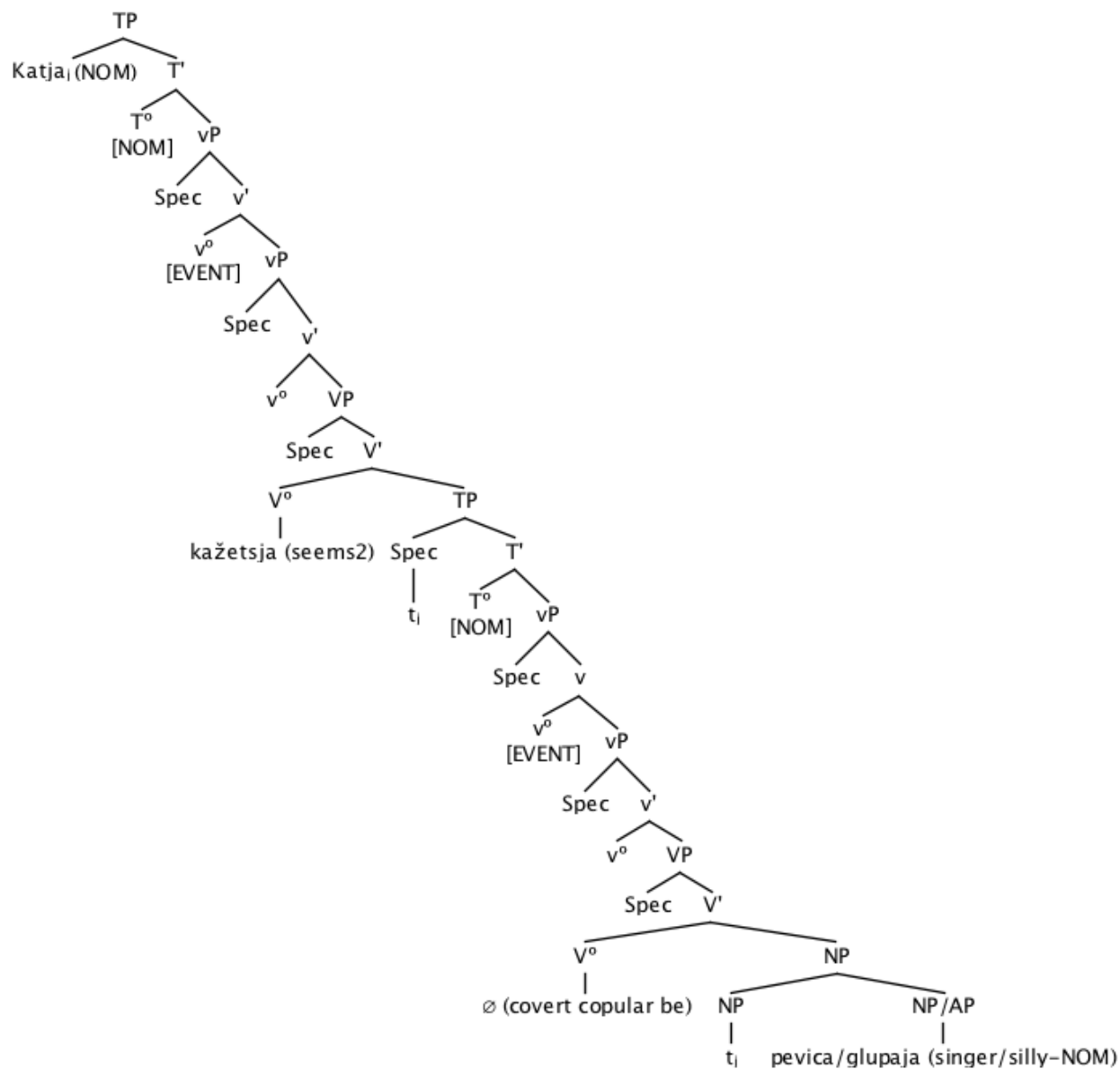
<sup>18</sup> As Natalia Fitzgibbons has been pointed, seem2 can be analyzed as a modal adjunct since it is possible for it to modify another lexical verb. Consider:

(i) Ona,        kažetsja,        potom uexala        v Kanadu.  
       she.NOM it.seem.PRES later    leave.PAST        in Canada  
       ‘I think she later left for Canada.’

This is still compatible with my proposed analysis, the only difference is that it will be a mono-clausal structure with covert copular *be* which takes a NP as a complement. The adjunct will attach at the VP level.

complement clause of *seem2* contains a (silent) present *be*. In other words, the embedded verb does not select a PredP in the case of ‘*seem2*’, but a NP. Consequently, a sentence in (111.a) has a syntactic representation in (112):

(112)





In (112), the T head of the embedded clause is not defective, i.e. it is endowed with the [NOM] feature. Thus, the [NOM] feature percolates down to the NPs which are in the V complement positions and, following Matushansky's (2010) vocabulary insertion rules, these NPs receive Nominative Case. Alternatively, one of the NPs can raise out of the embedded clause to the SpecTP position of the matrix clause (a scenario illustrated in (112)).

#### 4.5. Concluding Remarks

Summarizing, my proposal builds on the assumption that copular *be* in Russian is not lexically ambiguous. I have argued that copular *be* is always a V, similarly to all other lexical verbs.

All instances of Instrumental Case on predicative XPs have been explained by the presence of a Pred head. Unlike previous proposals, what leads to Instrumental Case marking is not simply being in the c-command domain of a Pred head, but also acquiring an [EVENT] feature from a c-commanding v head. Under Matushansky's (2010) view, which I have adopted, functional heads assign features to their complements, as well as to all the nodes included in the complement node, and Case marking is the result of the compilation of several features on one and the same head. Instrumental Case is the Case marking on an XP that bears [EVENT] and [PRED].

To account for the situations where predicational NPs/APs receive Nominative Case with non-present overt copular *be* and copula-like verb *stat'* 'become', I proposed to adopt Moro's (1997) inverse copular construction. In this instance, following Moro (1997), the subject of the Small Clause stays in situ while the complement of the Pred head raises to SpecTP to receive Nominative Case. Instrumental predicational NPs/APs are impossible in inverse constructions. Furthermore, it explains why Nominative Case is not available with all other types of verbs: the inverse structure is not available to these verbs.

Lastly, my proposal accounts as to why Instrumental Case is never available with covert copular *be*. As pointed out earlier, sentences with covert copular *be* are appositional structures where the set of relevant features which participate in Instrumental Case assignment simply is not available.

Case assignment on predicational NPs/APs ultimately depends on the selectional properties of the V head (the copular verb *be* or the copula-like verbs). The following possibilities have been discussed: (i) the lexical verb selects a PredP as a complement; (ii) the

lexical verb selects a NP as a complement; and (iii) the lexical verb selects a TP as a complement.

Several scenarios can arise if the verb selects a PredP as a complement. First, the predicational XP can be merged as a sister of the Pred head. In this case, the predicational XP receives an [EVENT] feature, as well as a [PRED] feature and will eventually be marked as Instrumental. Second, the predicational XP can be merged in the Spec of the PredP. In this case the NP sister to Pred head raises to the preverbal field, across the XP in SpecPredP, and the predicational XP receives Nominative from T head. The availability of this possibility (the so-called inverse structures) is lexically restricted to some verbs only.

If the lexical verb selects a NP as a complement, the predicational XP is merged as part of the NP complement, in an appositive structure. The predicational XP can potentially be split from its (appositional) sister, but in either case the predicational XP ends up being marked as Nominative, from T head, as no Pred head is present in the structure.

Finally, if the lexical verb selects a TP as a complement, Case is assigned inside the embedded TP and depends on the properties of the embedded verb. I assumed that the embedded verb is a silent copular *be*, whose selectional properties are exactly the same as the selectional properties of the copular *be* occurring in matrix clauses. The embedded verb could thus select a PredP as a complement, in which case the predicated XP will be assigned Instrumental. I proposed that the absence of Nominative Case marking with raising copula-like verbs can be accounted for by the fact that inverse structures are not available with these verbs. This is because inverse structures depend on the presence of a TopicP and FocusP, both of which are absent in this case (raising copula-like verbs select TPs as complements). On the other hand, the embedded copular *be* could also select a NP as a complement. In this case the predicational XP is marked only as Nominative, since no Pred head is available in the embedded clause.

Finally, my analysis also explains why predicational XPs are never marked as Accusative when they follow copular *be* or copula-like verbs. This is because all of these verbs are unaccusative, and thus the little *v* associated with these verbs contains no Accusative feature.

## Chapter 5.

### Conclusion

In this thesis, I have attempted to show how the Nominative-Instrumental Case alternation on predicational NPs/APs in copulative structures can be accounted for by relying on a structural view of Case.

One general conclusion is that the Case marking of predicatives following copula-like verbs is not as uniform as has previously been thought of. More specifically, some copula-like verbs such as *stat* ‘become’ behave like true copular *be*, and thus could be assigned the same underlying structure. However, other copula-like verbs such as *delat’sja/ sdelat’sja* ‘become/turn’ behave like copular *be* when it comes to APs only, and still other copula-like verbs (*kazat’sja* ‘seem1’, *vygljadet* ‘appear’ or *kazat’sja* ‘seem2’) behave nothing like copular *be* whereas they block either Nominative or Instrumental Case with both NPs and APs.

In the introductory chapters I have identified three questions that were raised by the data:

- (i) what are the mechanisms responsible for the Nominative and Instrumental Case licensing, as well as for the alternation between these two Cases?
- (ii) how can the present/ non-present asymmetry be explained with some of the verbs (*be* and *seem*), and why is it that only these verbs show this asymmetry?

- (iii) why is there an asymmetry with some verbs (i.e. with the copula-like verb *sdelat'sja* ‘turn’) between predicational NPs and predicational APs from the point of view of their Case marking?

The answers to these questions I have provided in this thesis are as follows:

- (i) what are the mechanisms responsible for the Nominative and Instrumental Case licensing, as well as for the alternation between these two Cases?

Rather than assuming that Case is a feature that gets checked or assigned by a functional head, I have adopted Matushansky's (2010) proposal that Nominative and Instrumental are the spell-out of a cluster of features that can accumulate on a predicational XP as a result of percolation under c-command. More specifically, I have assumed that Instrumental Case is the spell-out of the abstract features [EVENT] and [PRED] that accumulate on a predicational XP, and that Nominative Case is the spell-out of the abstract feature [NOM] on that XP.

One factor that explains the alternation between Nominative and Instrumental on predicational XPs is the availability of inverse constructions. In a canonical construction the predicational XP is merged as a complement to Pred head and is marked as Instrumental, whereas in an inverse construction, the predicational XP is merged in SpecPredP and is marked as Nominative. The availability of inverse constructions depends on the lexical properties of the verb, as well as on the presence of discourse related projections such as TopicP and FocusP.

Another factor that accounts for the alternation between Nominative and Instrumental Case marking has to do with the selectional properties of the verb (i.e. whether the verb selects a PredP, a NP, or a TP as a complement). The situation in which the verb selects a PredP as a complement has been discussed above.

If the lexical verb selects a NP as a complement, the predicational XP is merged as part of the NP complement, in an appositive structure. The predicational XP can potentially be split from its (appositional) sister, but in either case the predicational XP ends up being marked as Nominative, from T head, as no Pred head is present in the structure.

If the lexical verb selects a TP as a complement, Case is assigned inside the embedded TP and depends on the properties of the embedded verb. I assumed that the embedded verb is a silent copular verb, whose selectional properties are exactly the same as the selectional properties of the copular *be* occurring in matrix clauses. The embedded silent copular *be* could thus select a PredP as a complement, in which case the predicational XP will be assigned Instrumental. This is

the scenario available with copula-like verbs of a type 'seem1'. I proposed that the absence of Nominative Case marking with such raising copula-like verbs as 'seem1' can be accounted for by the fact that inverse structures are not available with these verbs. This is because inverse structures depend on the presence of a TopicP and FocusP, both of which are absent in this case (raising copula-like verbs select TPs as complements). On the other hand, the embedded silent copular *be* could also select a NP as a complement. In this case the predicational XP is marked only as Nominative, since no Pred head is present in the embedded clause. This is the scenario available with copula-like verbs of a type 'seem 2'.

- (ii) how can the present/ non-present asymmetry be explained with some of the verbs (*be* and *seem*), and why is it that only these verbs show this asymmetry?

The present/non-present asymmetry with the copular *be* has been accounted for by positing two different lexical verbs, with two different selectional properties. The non-present copular *be* selects a PredP as a complement, whereas present copular *be* is always covert, and selects an appositional NP as a complement. Copula-like verb *seem* shows a similar asymmetry, i.e. Case marking on the predicational XP appears to be tense-dependent. This has been explained by assuming that Russian copula-like *seem* is a raising verb which in turn selects a TP as a complement containing the silent copular *be*. This silent copular *be* inside the embedded TP can either select a PredP or an appositional NP. Therefore, depending on whether the copular *be* that occurs in the embedded TP clause patterns as a present or non-present copular *be*, the predicatives following *seem* will inherit the same apparent asymmetry between the present and the past.

- (iii) why is there an asymmetry with some verbs (i.e. with the copula-like verb *sdelat'sja* 'turn') between predicational NPs and predicational APs from the point of view of their Case marking?

The NP/AP asymmetry can be observed with verbs that select a PredP as a complement. I proposed that this asymmetry has to do with the fact that only Nominative NPs depend on the availability of inverse structures, while Nominative APs do not. More specifically, the only way in which an XP (be it a NP or an AP) could get marked as Nominative with these verbs is if the respective XP is merged in SpecPredP. If the predicative is a NP that is merged in SpecPredP,

the NP complement of Pred head can be attracted to the preverbal field only if an inverse structure is possible. This in turn depends on the type of lexical verb, and copula-like verbs of a type *sdelat'sja* 'turn' are not among the verbs that allow such a construction. If, on the other hand, the predicative is an AP that is merged in SpecPredP, the NP complement of Pred head can easily be attracted to the preverbal field, as this type of movement is triggered not by a discourse related feature that can violate locality but by a nominal feature on T head. Since the NP complement of the Pred head is the only available NP, locality is observed, and no inverse structure is necessary.

Clearly many questions still remain unanswered, such as, for example, how my analysis could be extended to other lexical verbs that take Instrumental predicational NP/AP as their complement or their adjunct.

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