Overt Predicators

John Frederick Bailyn
SUNY at Stony Brook

Leonard Babby has always taught his students to ask whether there is morphological evidence for their syntactic proposals and to provide that evidence whenever possible. Let us refer to this as Babby's Question:

1) Babby's Question: What is the morphological evidence?

He made sure we viewed with skepticism claims about (Russian) syntax made solely on the basis of current theoretical models. He subjected assumed analyses to doubt in several well-known cases where his counter-proposals were later vindicated by general changes in theory. Two well-known examples involving passivization come to mind, one general and one specific. First, Babby challenged the generally accepted notion since the 1960s that Passive was a syntactic transformation. Babby and Brecht (1975) was an early proposal of viewing passive as a (morpho-)lexical operation affecting the argument structure of the verb, rather than a syntactic transformation, and the properties of passive were a side effect of this process. This kind of syntactic "lexicalism", initiated with Chomsky's 1970 "Remarks on Nominalization", has become a hallmark of Leonard Babby's work, which has exposed the complex structure of Russian morpho-lexical operations, and is assumed, in one form or another, in the Minimalist Program of Chomsky (1995), in that the strong claim is now commonly accepted that lexical items enter the derivation fully inflected.[1] This entails the existence of a complex set of morpho-lexical operations in the lexicon of exactly the kind Babby has analyzed so fully and so creatively throughout his career. Unfortunately, the technical demands of work in the morpho-lexicon leave little room for making these connections; conversely, although such operations are assumed to exist by practitioners of Minimalism, their nature is not investigated, and their consequences ignored. Future research must discover their relation.

Babby's second challenge to accepted practice was to point out to the linguistic world that Burzio's Generalization, namely the claimed correlation between the lack of an external theta-role and absence of Accusative case, clearly did not hold for certain Slavic languages (Ukrainian in particular). This is shown in (2):

---

[1]See Lasnik (1999) for interesting discussion of the possibility that this is true for some lexical items but not others.

2) Cerkvu bylo zbudovano
church-Acc was built
"The church was destroyed."

These issues turned out to be directly connected to another accepted principle challenged by Babby, namely the (original) Extended Projection Principle (EPP) which stated that some argument must always be syntactically externalized, assuring that all (English) sentences have overt subjects. The generally assumption was that the EPP was universal. Pro-drop languages, to whom a missing subject is the norm, should also allow "expletive drop", the argument runs, and *apparent* lack of subjects is allowed for without undermining the EPP. This fit nicely under Government and Binding Theory, with its uniform X'-theory, under which there always was a subject position (SpecIP) and with its range of available empty categories: PRO, *pro*, NP trace, and WH trace. It was easy to appeal to *pro* as fulfilling the EPP in pro-drop languages, and so impersonal sentences were also seen in this light. But Babby showed that the argument structure of the verb was directly involved in the derivation of impersonal sentences of various kinds, and in particular that verbs with similar surface possibilities were restricted in their transformational abilities in non-parallel ways. The classic examples involves *tošnit'* ('to sicken') and *korčit'* ('to cause to shake'), exemplified in (3):

3) a. Menja tošnit
me-Acc sickens
"I feel sick."

b. Menja korčit
me-Acc shakes
"I am shaking."

Despite their superficial similarity, (3a) has no available alternate, whereas (3b) does, as shown in (4a,b)

4) a. *On tošnitsja
he-Nom sickens
"He feels sick."

b. On korčitsja
he-Nom shakes
"He is shaking."

On the basis of these and related facts, Babby (1989) argued against the universality of the EPP and for the possibility of true "subjectlessness" for verbs like *tošnit'*, a topic of some controversy, but much more possible since the demise of X'-theory and the advent of

checking theory (see Lavine 1998 for one such attempt).[2] Babby was especially skeptical of the existence of the null-expletives claimed to fill the obligatory subject position in sentences like (3), primarily because they had no overt counterpart (although see Billings (1998) for a discussion of possible overt Slavic expletives). And these null-expletives anyway couldn't account for the difference between the (4a) and (4b).

This skepticism grew to cover all proposals of null-categories, especially functional categories, which were often made on the basis of non-Slavic data. Here too, there is more agreement now, under Minimalism, about the limited nature of the set of functional categories. In Chomsky (1995) and (1998), the only functional categories are CP, DP, TP and vP, primarily because these are the *interpretable* categories. (AgrP has no status under strong Minimalist assumptions.)

In this article, I apply Babby's Question about morphological realization to a proposal of Bowers (1993), namely that the traditional notion of Predication is instantiated by a(nother) functional Category PredP, whose Specifier hosts the external argument and whose complement is the predicate of that subject. Thus for Bowers *all* clauses have the structure given in (5):[3]

5) $[_{TP}\ [_{PredP}\ [_{VP}]]]$

So, for example, the relevant structure of (6a) would be as in (6b).

6) a. John runs.

b. $[_{TP}\ John_k\ [_{PredP\text{-}1}\ t_k\ runs_i\ [_{VP}\ t_i\ ]]]$

Movement of the main verb to the head of PredP, and of the external argument to SpecTP are indicated in (6b). The former movement is required within the PredP theory (see

---

[2]The EPP still exists in Minimalism, of course, but in quite different form, as the feature that forces overt movement into an edge constituent (or Merge in the case of an expletive). It has been discovered that this "subject" requirement is what drives movement of Locative PPs in English Locative Inversion (Collins 1997) as well as the driving force behind the promotion of objects to subject position in various constructions, as in Japanese A-Scrambling of objects (Miyagawa in press).

[3]For Bowers, in analyzing English, all instances of primary PredP take VP complements, as shown here. Of course, secondary predicates may take any lexical category as their complement and we should expect there to be languages in which primary predicates are also non-verbal. We will see below that Russian is such a language.

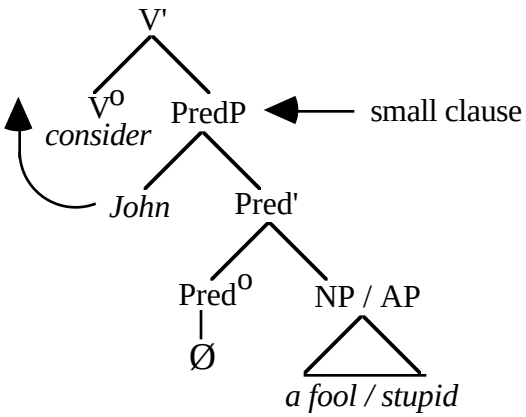
Bowers 1993) and is motivated for Russian in Bailyn (1995b).[4] The latter movement, traditionally analyzed as case-driven, is now seen to fulfillsthe EPP.

Furthermore, small clauses, or "secondary predicates", contain a second instance of PredP, either selected by a verb like *consider*, or as an adjunct. Such constructions then have two occurrences of PredP, the "primary" one between TP and VP (as shown in (6)), and a secondary one -- the "small clause", within VP, as shown in (7a-b). The underlying internal structure of the secondary predicate is given in (7c).

7) a. Mary considers John a fool / stupid.

b. $[_{TP}$ Mary$_k$ $[_{PredP\text{-}1}$ t_k considers$_i$ $[_{VP}$ John$_j$ t_i $[_{PredP\text{-}2}$ t_j $[_{np}$ a fool] / $[_{ap}$stupid]]]]]

c. The secondary predicate in (7b) (the arrow indicates further raising for case.)



In (7), the verb *consider* takes a PredP (small clause) complement, whose "subject" then raises to matrix object position to get structural case,[5] and whose complement is the secondary predicate. The fact that secondary predicates can be any (lexical) category (NP, AP, PP, VP), and that they can be coordinated despite the usual restriction on coordination to unlike categories, provides additional evidence for the uniform functional category analysis. Thus in (8), we find two apparently unlike categories coordinated.

8) I consider John [stupid] and [a fool].

---

[4]Note that the verb raising to Pred^0 does not entail that Russian is a verb-raising language in the sense of Pollock (1989). In fact, standard adverb tests show Russian not to be a verb-raising language (see Bailyn 1995b for discussion).

[5]The structure in (7b) assumes that Accusative case is checked in Spec VP, in the spirit of Larson (1988) and Bowers (1993). The exact mechanism of Accusative case checking is not crucial at this point and this approach is given for expository simplicity only.

On the lexical category view of small clauses, we would be forced to have an NP coordinated with an AP although in other constructions such coordination would be impossible. With the PredP hypothesis, however, we can see that (8) contains two coordinated secondary PredPs. Without PredP, (8) would remain a problem.

However, Babby's Question is not systematically examined with respect to the PredP analysis. In arguing for any category, we must ask ourselves: can we *see* examples of this category? It is a natural question and one that must be taken seriously. In this article, I argue that there are indeed overt instances of the head of PredP in Russian, which I call **Overt Predicators**, such as the Russian word *kak* ('as') and that such words exist in many languages. I discuss and reject other possible categorizations of these words (in predicative usage) and show that all **overt predicators** have common properties, especially with respect to (lack of) feature checking. The existence of **overt predicators** provides support for Bowers (1993) and its application to Russian, while generally supporting the Minimalist Program's requirement for all expressions to contain only "legitimate objects", such as semantically relevant functional categories, including PredP, whose overt realizations are described in this article.

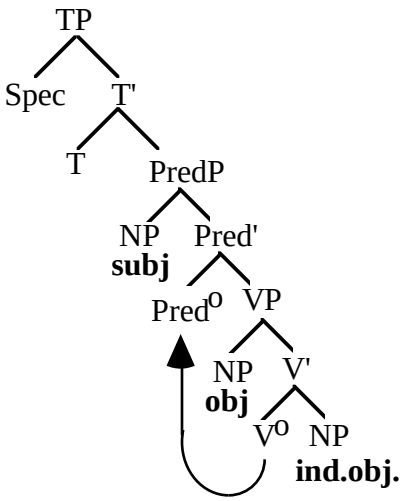
The article is structured as follows. In section 1, I present a brief overview of the Bowers (1993) analysis of predication and its application to Russian. This includes an analysis of case patterns on Russian predicates -- both the predicate Instrumental and "Sameness of Case", which are analyzed in PredP terms. The PredP Feature Checking account is fully expected given standard assumptions about Structural and Inherent case. In section 2, I analyze the lexical item *kak* in Russian as an overt realization of PredP, labeling it an **overt predicator**, and discussing the featural properties of this element. I then show that other categorizations do not apply. In Section 3, I discuss several other possible **Overt Predicators** in Russian, including *za*, *v*, *byt'*, and several from other languages, including Polish *jak*, *jest* and *to*.

1. The PredP Theory (Bowers 1993)

Bowers (1993) proposes a functional-category analysis of predication, following Chomsky (1957), and a traditional of literature on the syntax of small clauses, whereby all predicates, primary and secondary, are the complements of a unique functional category Pred(ication), unifying the syntax of predication with its semantics. I follow Bowers (1993) because the PredP theory has several advantages over other, possible, functional category analyses of predication. First, it unifies primary and secondary predication; second, it allows a uniform syntax/semantics mapping for predication; third it solves a

range of syntactic problems including English *as*, ATB constructions, adverb placement, short-verb raising and various others. Under this theory, clauses have the underlying structure indicated in (9):

9) Basic phrase structure under the PredP analysis



(Note that for Bowers, PredP essentially serves the same role as vP does in VP-shell analyses such as Larson (1988) and Chomsky (1995).)[6] It is this functional category whose specifier hosts the external argument (see Huang 1993 for tests showing the subject is *not* base-generated inside (minimal) VP). PredP has the additional advantage of accounting for a range of adverb placement and other facts in English, French and elsewhere. (See Bowers (1993) for extensive justification of this category for English. Other arguments are provided for PredP in Russian in Bailyn 1995a,b.)

1.1 PredP in Russian

In Bailyn & Rubin 1991 and Bailyn 1995a,b a PredP analysis of the Russian predicate Instrumental is proposed, under which Pred^0 assigns Instrumental case to its complement.[7] The Russian equivalent of (7) is given in (10):

---

[6]In certain other frameworks, the "work" of PredP is accomplished by AgrP, AspectP, or some other category. However, none of these analyses has the breadth of the PredP analysis, and supporters can easily transform the given generalizations into their favorite frameworks, while keeping in mind the issue of categorization of **overt predicators**, which this articles seeks to address.

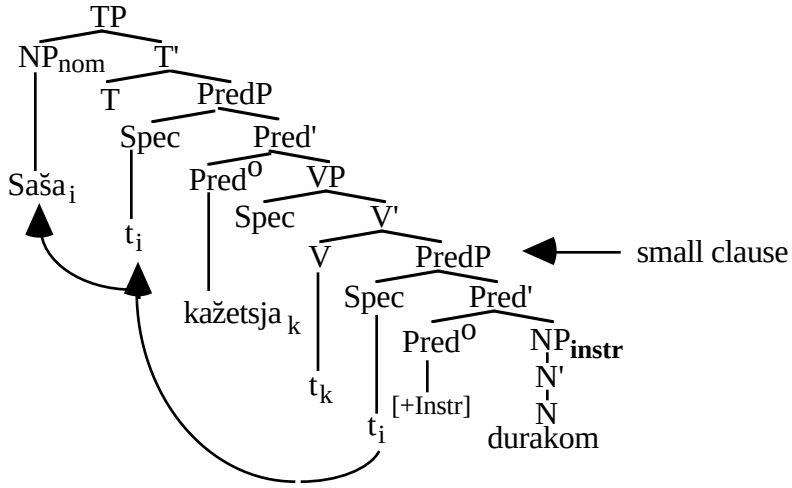
[7]The only other configurational analysis of Instrumental case I am aware of in the literature is Franks 1990, where Instrumental is seen as a default case assigned to sister of any XP. This analysis is probably too strong (due to the many NP- adverbial constructions that are *not* Instrumental) and is also incompatible with Minimalist assumptions about case checking.

10) a. Saša$_i$ kažetsja [$_{PredP}$ t$_i$ durakom]
Sasha-Nom seems fool-Instr
"Sasha seems to be a fool."

b. My sčitaem ego$_i$ [$_{PredP}$ t$_i$ svoim]
We consider him-Acc self's-Instr
"We consider him one of us."

In (10a), the subject of the small clause PredP raises to main clause Nominative case position, where it gets (checks) Nominative case. (10b) shows another instance of a selected PredP whose subject raises for case, this time to object position (see Lasnik 1999 for discussion of Raising to Object). This is the standard analysis for English as well, (see Bowers 1993). A tree structure, taken from Bailyn and Rubin 1991, is given in (11):

11) Structure of Russian argument small clause in (10a):[8]



Adjunct small clauses also show Instrumental case, as shown in (12a-b).

12) a. My$_i$ tancevali [$_{PredP}$ PRO$_i$ golymi.]
we danced nude
"We danced nude."

b. Jel'cina$_i$ vybrali [$_{PredP}$ PRO$_i$ prezidentom]
Yeltsin-Acc elected-3pl president-Instr
"They elected Yeltsin president"

---

[8]This structure assumes that Nominative case checking occurs in SpecPred (consistent with Bobaljik & Jonas' 1996 SpecT Parameter) and that movement to SpecT is for EPP purposes. Theories that assume Nominative case is checked in the highest IP level functional category would move the small clause subject directly to case position.

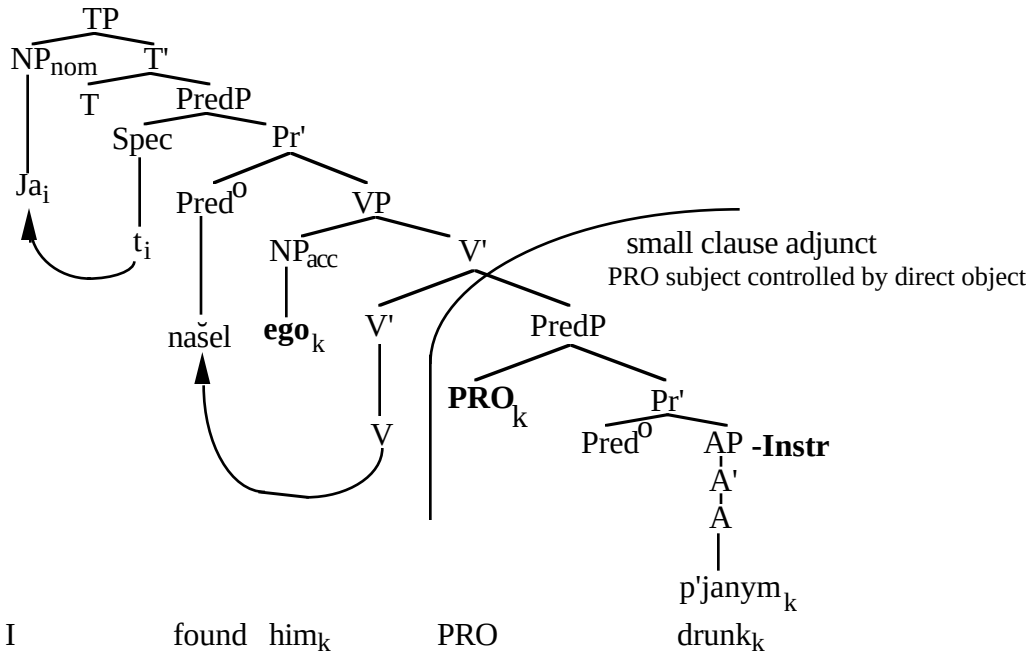
(12) c. Ja našel ego p'janym
I_i-Nom found him_k-Acc $drunk_k$-Instr
"I found him drunk."

(12a) exemplifies an adjunct small clause controlled by the subject and (12b-c) ones controlled by the direct object. I assume a theory of control that meets the Minimal Distance Principle (MDP):

13) Minimal Distance Principle:
PRO is controlled by the nearest c-commanding potential antecedent

Their restriction to subject and object controllers falls out from this account on the assumption that adjunct PredPs are adjoined to V'. Thus the structure of (12c) is (14).

14) Structure of (12c):



1.2 PredP and the Predicate Instrumental

The original advantage of the PredP analysis of Russian was that it allowed for a configurational account for predicate Instrumental case marking.[9] Under Government and Binding Theory, we could say that the head of this category "assigns" Instrumental case

[9]I assume here, following Bailyn & Rubin (1991) and Maling & Sprouse (1995), that predicates are not exempt from the Case Filter, and require case in the same way as other nominals. If lexical items enter a derivation fully inflected, but in need of a checker for various features, this is exactly as we would expect.

under government. Such a analysis was fully consistent with Inherent case assignment on the one hand, and Structural case mediated by a functional category on the other (such as Nominative being assigned/checked by INFL and structural Accusative case being assigned/checked by AgrO.) The analysis given here for Instrumental predicates maintains aspects of these GB approaches under Minimalist assumptions, namely that there is a single fixed case, *not otherwise present* in the sentence, selected by the functional head. Thus it is an Inherent case, checked by a functional category.

The exact nature of Inherent Case checking within Minimalism remains somewhat unclear. I assume here that the Government and Binding generalization that Inherent (but not Structural) case is directly related to theta-marking is maintained under Minimalism by being checked at Merge in complement position (that is, in the same configuration in which theta-roles are assigned). For the "Inherent" case (Instrumental), therefore, Bailyn & Citko (1999) introduce the notion of Check-on-Merge and the Complement Checking Domain as shown in (15):

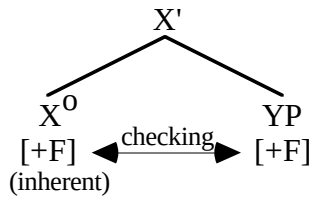
15) Lexical case checking (under Minimalism):

a. **Check-on-Merge** (Bailyn & Citko 1999)

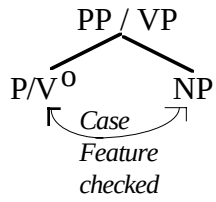
Strong Inherent Case features must be checked on Merge

b. **The Complement Checking Domain:**

i. <u>General Schema</u>

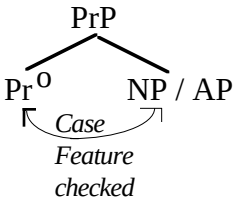


ii. <u>Argument Case</u>



(replaces lexical case assignment)

iii. <u>Predicate Case</u>



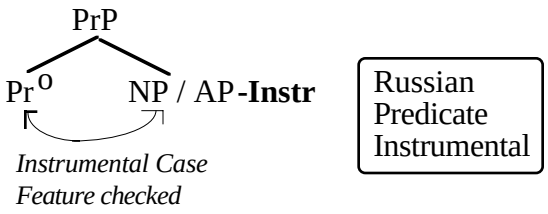
(15c) checks one consistent case on predicates if a strong case feature is present in Pred^0. The Russian predicate Instrumental thus arises from the following parameter setting for Russian:

16) Predicate Instrumental Rule (Russian)

Pred^0 carries the feature [+Instr]

The unmarked case checking situation with Russian predicates, a sub-case of (15c), is shown in (17):

17) Configuration for Russian Predicate Instrumental



1.3 PredP and Non-Instrumental Predicates

Imagine, however, a situation in which Pred^0 does *not* have any case feature to check, for whatever reason (see discussion immediately below). We would expect nominal and adjectival predicates to be possible only in a structural case form which is checked as a result of movement. Furthermore, we might expect this case form to vary, depending on the configuration in which the predicate occurs. This is exactly what we find with the "sameness" pattern. Examples from Serbo-Croatian are given below:

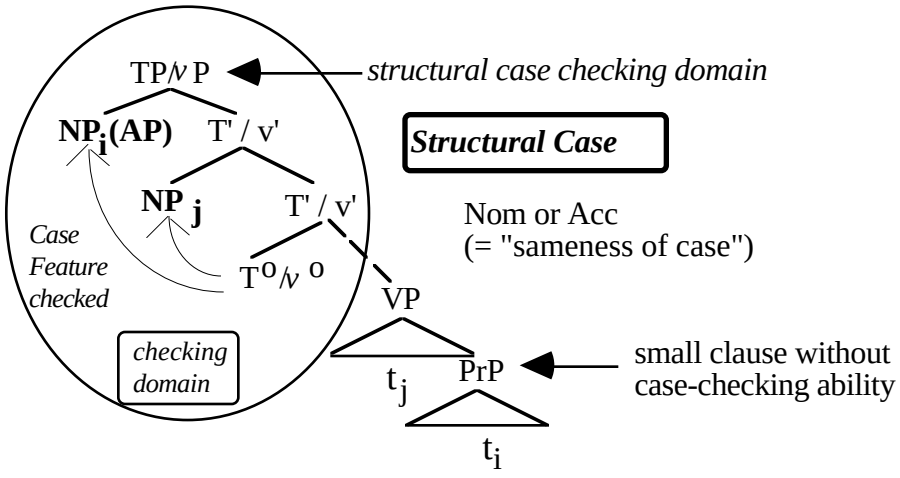
18) a. (Ja) plešem go / *golim
I$_i$-**Nom** dance nude$_i$-**Nom** *-**Instr**
"I dance nude."

b. Našao sam ga pijanog / *pijanim
found aux him$_k$-**Acc** drunk$_k$-**Acc** *-**Instr**
"I found him drunk."

(18) shows that the predicate Instrumental is impossible in these Serbo-Croatian constructions. In the acceptable sentences, the case marked on the predicate is the same as the case marked on its antecedent, which can be Nominative, Accusative or Dative, depending on the structure. For this reason, Bailyn & Citko (1999) designate this pattern "Structural" case, which results from movement.

Two questions arise. First, why is Instrumental impossible in such cases? Second, what is the movement involved? In terms of the movement, I claim that it is LF movement to a multiple specifier position of the closest case position, where case is checked along with the antecedent. This is what is schematized in (19).

19) Configuration for "sameness of case" on Predicates:



An anonymous reviewer raises the important question of the bijectivity of the checking theory -- namely how is it possible that the Accusative or Nominative case feature on T or *v* *survives* after checking that feature once on the argument? (It should then delete, on standard assumptions). I assume that multiple checking is the unmarked possibility, which is only absent when other factors conspire. I also assume that movement to a multiple Specifier position is not possible for a theta-marked element if the Spec already contains a theta-marked constituent, because such movement would violate the theta-criterion at LF. Therefore the only items that in fact can have case checked by the same structural case checker would be an argument and a predicate, or perhaps multiple Topics, which are not theta-marked by a particular predicate, such as in Japanese mutliple subject constructions.

Structurally, then, "Sameness of Case" effects will obtain exactly when Pred^0 itself does not have case checking ability. This brings us to the second question: What would cause such a situation? One potential source of such a situation would be if the (inherent) case feature of Pred is parameterized. This appears to be the case in Serbo-Croatian, which shows a different pattern from Russian.[10] Recall that in Serbo-Croatian small-clause adjuncts the unmarked situation is "Sameness", as shown in (20b) (cf. Russian (20a)).

---

[10]Serbo-Croatian does allow Instruemntal complements of raising verbs, such as *seem* and *consider*. I assume that these are lexical cases required by the particular verbs. In their absence, predicate Instrumental is impossible. It is notable that Serbo-Croatian is very similar to Old Church Slavonic in this regard, and it is possible that these lexically-marked Instrumental complements were the source of the historical reanalysis that led to Predicate Instrumental becoming unmarked in Russian and elsewhere. See Bailyn (1998) for discussion of this historical change.

20) a. Ja našel ego p'janym (Russian)
I found him$_i$-**Acc** drunk$_i$-**Instr**
"I found him drunk."

b. Našao sam ga pijanog / *pijanim (Serbo-Croatian)
found aux him$_i$-**Acc** drunk$_i$-**Acc** *-Instr
"I found him drunk."

The two sentences are identical in meaning. (20a) obtains with Instrumental in Russian because Pred^0 in Russian has strong Inherent case features which must be checked on Merge. Serbo-Croatian Pred^0 simply does not have case features, and only "Sameness of Case" obtains, as shown in (20b).[11]

The case checking ability of Pred^0 may also vary within a given language. Thus the Russian semi-predicates *odin* and *sam* are well known for their "Sameness" of Case effects (see Franks 1990), regardless of the nature of the Pred^0 that selects them:

21) a. Ja našel ego odnogo / *odnim (Russian)
I found him$_i$-**Acc** alone$_i$-**Acc** *-Instr
"I found him drunk."

b. I devuški tancujut odni / *odnimi
and girls$_i$-**Nom** dance alone$_i$-**Nom** *-Instr
"And the girls dance alone." (Chorus of B. Grebenshchikov song)

c. On prišel sam / *samim
he$_i$-**Nom** arrived self$_i$-**Nom** *-Instr
"He arrived by himself."

---

[11]Interestingly, Russian equivalents of (20b) are not always impossible, as shown in (i) and (ii):

i) a. Videli ego$_i$ golym$_i$
saw him-**Acc** nude-**Instr**
"We saw him nude."

b. Videli ego$_i$ gologo$_i$
saw him-**Acc** nude-**Instr**
"We saw him nude."

ii) a. My$_i$ tancevali golymi$_i$
we-**Nom** danced nude-**Instr**
"We danced nude."

b. My$_i$ tancevali golye$_i$
we-**Nom** danced nude-**Nom**
"We danced nude."

The (b) sentences in (i-ii) are possible in a restricted range of contexts where the agreeing pattern is acceptable in Russian. However, the (b) sentences are both syntactically and semantically restricted in Russian (as opposed to Serbo-Croatian). The nature of the difference between (ia/iia) and (ib/iib) is important, but it is an issue for a separate article. See Bailyn (in press) for one attempt at unifying the situation with what is known about argument case. For present purposes it is enough to note that Instrumental is the unmarked and general situation in Russian and that the "sameness" effects in Russian are marked in various ways.

(21) d. Tjaželo rabotat' odnomu / *odnim
difficult PRO$_i$-**Dat** to work alone$_i$-**Dat** *-Instr
"It is difficult to work alone."

(21) shows that Instrumental is impossible on these two elements. Something about them neutralizes the Instrumental case checking ability of PredP. In (21a-c) we see standard "sameness" effects. Discussion of *odin* and *sam* in the literature often center on their case marking in infinitival constructions (the so-called "second dative"), which is a secondary occurrence of the Dative associated with PRO, shown in (21d). However, less attention has been given to the fact that all *other* adjectives in such constructions in Russian are marked Instrumental. And nowhere, to my knowledge, is there a complete analysis of how (not to mention why) these two elements *cannot* be marked Instrumental in the usual way. This exception is presumably lexical. I assume here that *odin* and *sam* are incompatible with a Pred with strong inherent case features, for reasons not yet fully understood. Since Instrumental marking could therefore never be checked on these elements, they undergo the raising for structural case under discussion, and Dative infinitival are simply a sub-case of this. If something like this is correct, we have a grasp now on the "how" (but not the "why") of their exceptional behavior. I leave other issues regarding *odin* and *sam* open.

Thus we have a consistent syntactic analysis of predication, whereby every predicate is the complement of a functional head Pred^0, which, in addition to having free range over lexical categories in selection of its complement, also has strong inherent case features in Russian (which surface as Instrumental in unmarked cases). Whenever this feature is not active, "Sameness" becomes the only option allowed by the grammar. We have seen two cases in which predicate Instrumental does not occur on the complement of Pred^0: Parameterization (Serbo-Croatian) and lexical idiosyncracy (Russian *odin* and *sam*). There is, however, a third instance, and that involves the introduction of our hero -- the **overt predicator**, whose happy task it is to answer Babby's question in the affirmative with regard to PredP, and put to rest the understandable skepticism felt by many whenever abstract functional category analyses are proposed.

2. *kak* as an Overt Predicator

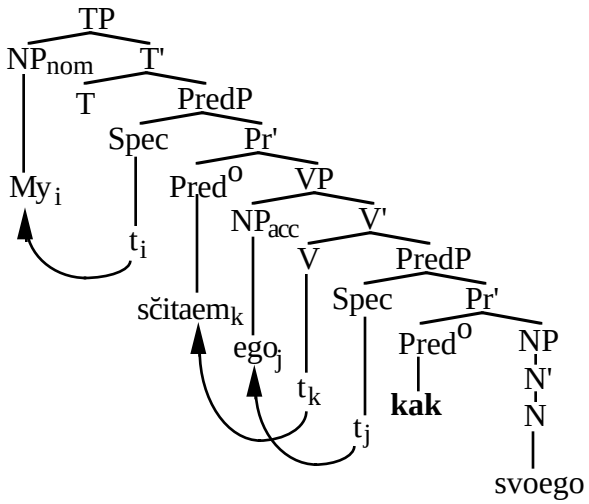
The central claim of this article is that Russian *kak* ('as') is an **overt predicator**. As such, it heads the category PredP, and has selectional responsibilities (as does any Pred head). Examples are given in (22):

22) a. My sčitaem ego kak svoego / *svoim
We consider him$_i$-Acc PRED self's$_i$-Acc *-Instr
"We consider him (as) one of us."

(22) b. My nabljudali ego kak direktora / *direktorom
we observed him_i-Acc PRED $director_i$-Acc *-Instr
"We observed him as the director."

(22a) is structurally identical to (10b) except for the overt nature of the Pred head (and the case of the predicate itself, of course.) The structure of (22a) is given in (23):

23) Structure of (22a)



2.1 *kak* and Case

(24) is the central claim of theoretical importance in this article, and is taken to hold universally, in the spirit of Bailyn & Rubin (1991). In (24a) it is stated as a pre-theoretical generalization holding of Russian (from Bailyn & Citko (1999)), whereas in (24b) it is stated in universal terms.

24) a. The Morphological Pred Rule (MPR) (Bailyn & Citko 1999)
Overt morphology in Pred^0 absorbs Instrumental Case

b. **Overt Predicators** absorb case

If (24) holds, constructions with **Overt Predicators** should *never* show predicate Instrumental Case. And they don't. This is shown in (25-27)

25) a. My sčitaem ego svoim
we consider him_i-**Acc** $self's_i$-**Instr**
"We consider him as one of us."

b. My sčitaem ego kak svoego
we consider him_i-**Acc** PRED $self's_i$-**Acc**
"We consider him as one of us."

(25) c. **My sčitaem ego kak svoim
we consider him$_i$-**Acc** PRED self's$_i$-**Instr**
"We consider him as one of us."

26) a. On vygljadit durakom
he$_i$-**Nom** looks fool$_i$-**Instr**
"He looks (like) a fool."

b. On vygljadit kak durak
he$_i$-**Nom** looks PRED fool$_i$-**Nom**
"He looks like a fool."

c. **On vygljadit kak durakom
he$_i$-**Nom** looks PRED fool$_i$-**Instr**
"He looks a fool."

27) a. My tancevali p'janymi.
we$_i$-**Nom** danced drunk$_i$-**Instr**
"We danced drunk."

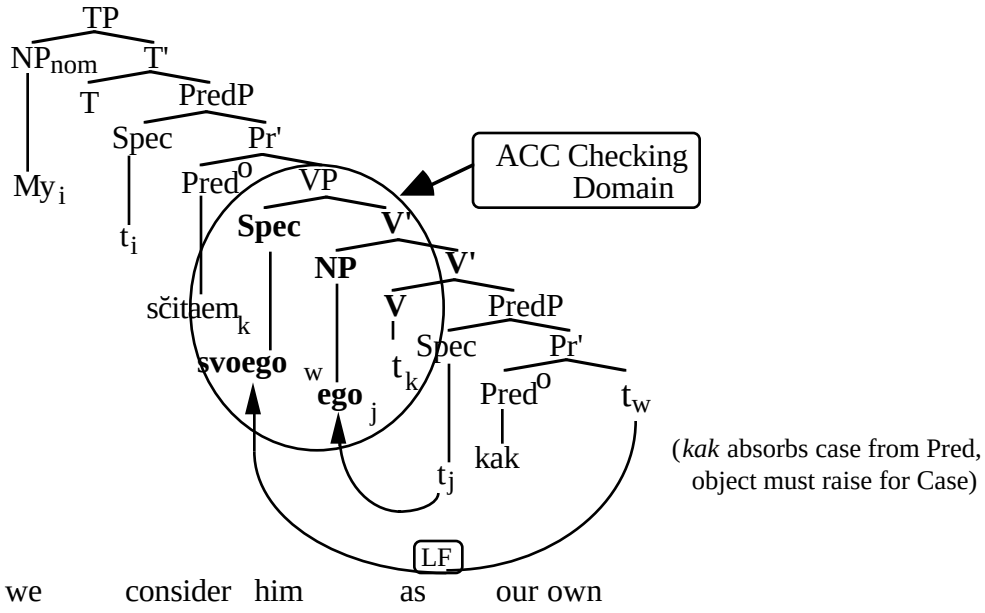
b. My tancevali kak p'janye
we$_i$-**Nom** danced PRED drunk$_i$-**Instr**
"We danced as if drunk."

c. **My tancevali kak p'janymi.
we$_i$-**Nom** danced PRED drunk$_i$-**Instr**
"We danced (as if) drunk."

In each of the (a) sentences above, we observe the Predicate Instrumental. In (25), for example, we have a small clause verbal complement of a transitive verb whose antecedent is the Accusative direct object. In (26) we have a small clause complement of an intransitive verb with an NP secondary predicate. (27) is an example of a small clause adjectival adjunct, also modifying the Nominative subject in accordance with the Minimal Distance Principle (13). In all of the (a) sentences, the secondary predicate (complement of Pred) is marked Instrumental, as predicted by the above analyses of predicate instrumental case marking/checking. However, in the (b) sentences, the Instrumental fails, as shown by the complete impossibility of the (c) sentences (the double asterix indicates absolutely no speaker variation here, despite the ability for the two case-marking strategies to (sometimes) coexist with null-predicators (see footnote 11)). When the predicator is overt, Instrumental marking is simply impossible. Thus we have striking evidence in favor of the claim in (24) that the independent case features of Pred are "absorbed" (checked) by the **overt predicator**. The secondary predicate is deprived of its source of case. The only other source of case for the secondary predicate is from elsewhere in the sentence (structural Nominative or Accusative) in a multiple Spec configuration. The (b) sentences show successful movement for structural case with the **overt predicator** *kak* present.

The case patterns that emerges is the "Sameness of Case" effects described above -- the pattern that is unmarked in languages like Serbo-Croatian.[12] The LF checking structure of (25b) is shown in (28):

28) LF Structure of (25b)



A few words should be said regarding the mechanics of (24). How, within Minimalism, could something like "case absorption" possibly work? Two possibilities come to mind. First, it is possible that we are dealing with a kind of lexical redundancy rule, that is, one that covers a class of lexical items, namely overt heads of Pred. Within the lexicon, these overt heads all lack a case feature, whereas the null head of Pred, also a lexical item, has the instrumental case feature. The generalization describes a class of lexical items and nothing more. A more interesting possibility is that *kak* and the Ø-Pred head cooccur in constructions with **overt predicators.** The Numeration contains both. *kak* is a Pred with a [+N] feature, which therefore checks the case feature of the Ø-Pred as they combine in an initial Merge process. (If *kak* is not merged with Ø-Pred, it can either surface within CP, in appropriate circumstances, or the derivation crashes because a single syntactic object is not formed.) Case "absorption" thus reduces to case checking at the beginning of the derivation.

---

[12]Of course the reader will notice that the (a) and (b) sentences are not identical in meaning -- the (b) sentences (often) providing a "simile" meaning. This is consistent with our analysis, but depends on an analysis of the semantic contribution of the particular **overt predicator** in question, and lies outside the scope of this article.

Remarkably, **overt predicators** in Slavic appear to always have the property (24). In this sense, **overt predicators** are similar to passive morphology, in that both have a direct effect on the case marking in the sentence, taking away one particular structurally induced possibility and forcing movement for case purposes. In passives this involves moving an internal argument to a Nominative case checking position. In **overt predicator** sentences, it involves losing Predicate Instrumental and moving to the closest structural checking position. The presence of an **overt predicator** in the derivation eliminates the strong case feature of Pred, so that when Pred merges with its complement, an Instrumental form will not have its strong inherent case feature checked and the derivation will crash immediately. However, should a "Sameness of Case" form merge with the **overt predicator**, no case features will be checked on Merge, and the derivation will continue, with the (weak) structural case feature being checked after LF movement into a multiple Spec configuration of the kind described above. I leave aside the issue of why something like (24) should hold, although it is interesting to note that a PF reality ("overtness" of Pred) seems to be in complementary distribution with another piece of uninterpretable morphology (Instrumental case on its complement). In both cases, the existence of Pred is morphologically encoded. For current purposes, it is enough that we have identified an overt member of the category $Pred^0$. This categorization has provided an explanation for the Predicate case patterns found in Slavic. We now turn to the question of other possible categorial analyses of *kak*. If we can show that they are less viable than $Pred^0$, we will have successfully answered Babby's Question with respect to Bowers 1993 PredP analysis.

2.2 The category of *kak*

What other analysis is available if *kak* is not an **overt predicator**? The obvious possibilities that come to mind are C, P, and *wh*-phrase. We will see in turn that each of these categorizations is inappropriate.

Let us begin with Prepositions. This is the most important possibility, because it is the one that has received attention in the literature, notably in Rappaport (1986), where *kak* in various usages is analyzed as a non-case assigning preposition. The first difficulty with such an approach, as Rappaport states himself, is in accounting for why *kak* alone, of all the prepositions, has no case assigning ability. This is a stipulation in Rappaport, and one that the current theory allows us to do without. But this is not the only reason to disfavor an analysis of *kak* as a preposition. The other major reason has to do with selectional properties. As is well known, Prepositions only take NP complements. However, *kak* can precede NPs, APs, TPs, full PPs, etc. Thus we saw examples with an AP

complement (22a) and an NP complement (22b). Examples with a PP complement are a bit marginal, as shown in (29), but are generally acceptable (note that English equivalent *as* also takes a PP complement in the translation.)

29) ?Ego prinimajut kak bez bašni.
him-Acc take PRED without tower
"They take him as out of his mind."

Thus *kak* shows a wider range of possible complements than a preposition would, and therefore the PP analysis is difficult to maintain, in light of the appearance of a more satisfactory alternative.

Next let us consider the possibility that *kak* is a complementizer or *wh*-phrase. To begin with, it must be noted that *kak* does indeed have a WH-phrase usage in which it begins as an adverbials and undergoes standard WH-movement into SpecC.[13] This usage is shown in the questions in (30):

30) a. Kak ty poživaeš'?
how you live
"How are you doing?"

b. Kak ty uznal, čto ja zdes'?
How you found out that I here
"How did you find out that I was here?"

Secondly, there are certainly usages where a phrase introduced by *kak* introduces a CP adverb, as in (31):

31) [Kak [$_{tp}$ ja uže govoril]], zavtra budet večerinka.
As I already said tomorrow will be party
"As I already said, tomorrow there will be a party."

Clearly, *kak* here is like English *because* or *as* taking (only) a TP complement and serving as a adverbial clause. It is possible, furthermore, that some of the *kak* + NP usages we have seen double as adjunct clauses (in fact they must do so in adjunct small clauses), but to claim that *kak always* introduces a CP adverb runs into various difficulties. First, the AP cases would be inconsistent with this analysis for selectional reasons. Second, the small clause complements of verbs like *consider* would require one subcategorization for

---

[13]Citko (2000) analyzes the Polish equivalent of *kak* (*jako*) as a WH-phrase in some cases, rather than as a complementizer, but these cases are not equivalent to the usages given, which Polish shares, but which are not treated in Citko (2000). Similarly, the Russian Academy Grammar (Svedova 1980), categorizes all usages of *kak* as *sojuzy* (a category that covers both conjunctions and complementizers) but again the given examples are only those usages of *kak* that introduce full sentences and not the predicative usages.

non-*kak* usages (PredP complement to V) and a separate one for *kak* usages (a CP complement), which would make the analysis of case assignment and selection in these constructions quite idiosyncratic and a generalization would be lost. Third, such an analysis would require significant ellipsis in those cases where only an NP complement is (overtly) present.

This is not to say that some elliptical constructions may not exist with *kak*. An anonymous reviewer points out, indeed, that there are cases such as (32), in which *kak* introduces a Nominative NP although the apparent controller is in a non-structural case.

32) [$_{pp}$ o glazax kak višni]
with eyes-Prep kak cherries-Nom
"about eyes like cherries"

In the PP in (32), the noun *eyes* is assigned lexical Prepositional by the preposition *about*. The *kak* phrase *like cherries* modifies *eyes*, but its complement is marked Nominative (this is the only case marking possible in such instances). Here, I assume that the *kak* phrase is located within a reduced relative clause. The fuller structure would therefore be as in (33):

33) s glazami, kotorye kak višni]
with eyes-Instr which-Nom kak cherries-Nom
"with eyes that are like cherries"

In (33), the relative pronoun *kotorye* is marked Nominative and moves to SpecCP from its Nominative case position. Thus there is an existing Nominative case checker (the T of the relative clause) that can also check the case of *cherries* in the manner described above. Nominative case marking in such instances is thus predicted by this account. The relative clause is then reduced by dropping the relative pronoun, producing (32).

How do we know, however, that (32) does not simply contain a PredP adjunct whose case properties are a counterexample to what has been claimed here? The primary evidence comes form the fact that PredP adjuncts are impossible within PP generally, regardless of case structure. This is best seen with adjectival predicates. Thus both (34a) and (34b) are impossible:

34) a. *o glazax čistymi
about eyes-Prep pure-Instr
*'about eyes pure' (cf. 'I consider his eyes pure')

b. *o glazax čistyx
about eyes-Prep pure-Prep
*'about eyes pure'

(34a-b) show that within PP adjectival small clauses are excluded, whether in the Instrumental (34a) or the agreeing form (34b).[14] Therefore we can conclude that small clauses adjuncts cannot occur within PP. This being the case, the *kak* phrase in (32) can also not be a small clause within PP and must therefore be part of a larger constituent that has undergone ellipsis. This is consistent with the Nominative case marking. However, we also predict ellipsis cases to be restricted to Nominative. Thus we are left with the conclusion that although some usages of *kak* are related to CP structure, with or without ellipsis, others certainly are not, and without the PredP analysis remain a categorial mystery.

3. Other Overt Predicators

In this section, we *briefly* look at some other possible instances of overt Pred in Russian and elsewhere. These sketches are not complete analyses, they are simply included to show that **overt predicators** are a widespread phenomenon, once properly analyzed, and that there is nothing peculiarly Russian about them.

3.1 English *as* and Russian *za*

Bailyn & Rubin (1991) analyze Russian *za*, in predicative constructions, as something equivalent to an **overt predicator**. Similarly, Bowers (1993) proposes such an analysis of English *as*. Thus alongside sentences like (25b), repeated as (35a), we also find (35b) with *za* playing the role of the **overt predicator** rather than *kak*.

35) a. My sčitaem ego kak svoego
we consider him-**Acc** PRED self's-**Acc**
"We consider him as one of us."

b. My sčitaem ego za svoego
we consider him-**Acc** PRED self's-**Acc**
"We consider him as one of us."

Given this analysis, we now have something to say about the strange *za*+Nominative constructions found in Russian and Polish and exemplified in (36):

---

[14](34b) is possible as a poetic inversion construction, in which adjectives may follow the noun they modify (a historical remnant). Suich usages do not involve predication, and are irrelevant to present purposes.

36) Cto èto za pesnja?
what this PRED song-NOM
"What kind of song is this?"

Typically, *za* has been analyzed as a preposition. However, there are no known Slavic prepositions that take Nominative complements. Furthermore, we have seen already that a PP analysis is problematic, due to the ability to take non-NP complements. Given the case absorption generalization (24) of **overt predicators**, the Nominative case marking in (36) falls out (since the only structural case available for "sameness" effects is, in fact, Nominative. Thus the existence of constructions such as (36) provides additional evidence for **overt predicators**.[15,16]

3.2 Russian *v*

The Russian preposition *v* ('in', 'into', 'to') has two case patterns; it can take a Prepositional NP complement or a Accusative o\ne. However, there is one mysterious usage of *v* where the complement appears as Nominative. This is shown in (37):

37) On rešil vybrat'sja v prezidenty
he decided to run to presidents-Nom
"He decided to run for president."

This usage is restricted to "running for office", and is used exclusively with plural complements in the Nominative case. My claim is that this is a small clause complement selected by the verb with q unique **overt predicator** as its head. This head absorbs case, and Nominative "sameness" effects follow.[17]

---

[15]Needless to say, this analysis is not meant to imply that there are no cases of *za* used as a preposition. On the contrary, it is commonly used as a preposition taking both Accusative and Instrumental complements. However, those cases are restricted to NP complements, as expected, and are not predicative in meaning. The **overt predicator** analysis remains.

[16]Bailyn & Citko (1999) analyze Polish *za* in similar constructions as the head of Pred as well. However, Przepiórkowski (2000) argues that *za* is always an Accusative case assigner in Polish, regardless of configuration, and therefore either cannot head Pred or else represents a counter-example to (24). I assume that Polish *za* is base-generated as a Preposition (within PredP) and then raises to the head of Pred. The Instrumental feature is thus absorbed, but the lexical Accusative assigned by this particular P remains, accounting for the strict Accusative pattern. Such elements miught be termed Predicative Prepositions. I leave their exact description to future research.

[17]This analysis requires further research, of course, because even the antecedent is Accusative, the NP plural complement of *v* appears Nominative. So the sameness effects are somewhat limited. Still, the **overt predicator** analysis remains preferable to the PP analysis for case reasons.

3.3 Forms of the verb *to be*

There remains the important issue of predicative usages of the verb 'to be' in Russian, Polish and other languages. Bowers (2000), for example, argues on the basis of English evidence that some usages of *be* are in fact not verbs but heads of PredP, an approach that would imply another occurrence of **overt predicators**. This is consistent with the analysis of Russian double Nominative constructions as non-verbal sentences, where the only possible lexical element linking the two nominatives is the verb 'to be'. Examples are given in (38):

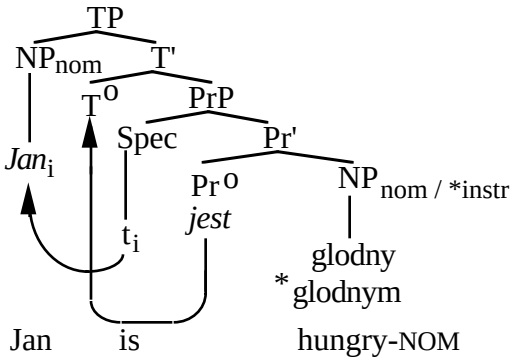
38) a. Boris byl muzykant. (Russian)
Boris-Nom was musician-**Nom**
"Boris was a musician (in his very nature).

b. Jan jest glodny (Polish)
Jan-Nom is hungry-**Nom**
"Jan is hungry"

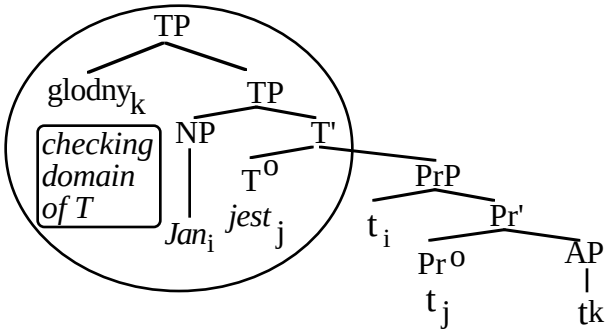
c. Jan to student. (Polish)
Jan-Nom ? student-**Nom**
"Jan is a student."

These constructions are analyzed in Bailyn (1995a) for Russian and in Bailyn & Citko (1999) for Polish as instantiating verbless structures where the 'to be' element occupies the head of (primary) PredP. In these cases, therefore, *be* serves as an **overt predicator**. These cases therefore do not involve secondary predication, and as a result have the interpretation of primary predication. The alternative Instrumental forms found in Russian and with Polish NPs do not share this meaning, and are such justified in being analyzed as small clause raising construction similar to what we have already seen, where the 'to be' element is indeed a verb taking a small clause complement. Indeed, in Švedova (1980), the predicate instrumental in such cases is described as the "Instrumental of additional characteristics". The surface and LF structures of (38b) are given in (39a-b):

39) a. Surface (spell-out) structure of (38b) *Jan jest glodny* "Jan is hungry."



(39) b. LF structure of (38b) *Jan jest glodny* "Jan is hungry."



Similarly, we now have an analysis of Polish *to* in constructions like (38c) that explains both its category, and the required double Nominative case marking as another example of "sameness of case" arising from the effect of the **overt predicator**. The primary advantage of this analysis is that it predicts all verbless sentences to show "sameness of case" effects (any Instrumental case assignment ability being absorbed by the **overt predicator**) This will then cover Russian double Nominative constructions and their equivalent in other languages, including Arabic as well as Polish *to* constructions even with NPs. The restriction on Polish *jest* construction to AP complements is a selectional restriction on the **overt predicator.** *jest* only takes AP complements. The other **overt predicator** in Polish, *to*, does not have such a restriction. *to* does not double as a verb, therefore *to* with Instrumental is impossible -- it is always an **overt predicator** so it always absorbs case. *jest* on the other hand doubles as a verb, in which case it takes a small clause PredP object whose complement appears marked Instrumental.

There remains the issue of Russian present tense double nominatives (*Ivan -- student*), which have no overt form of *to be*. There are two possible approaches to this problem, similar in spirit. Both accounts assume, following Bailyn & Rubin 1991 and Bailyn 1995a, that these too are non-verbal sentences, similar in structure to (39), in which Pred is filled with the predicator *to be*, whose present tense form happens to be (morphologically) null. On one view, this is enough for (24) to remove Instrumental case checking ability from these sentences. From the point of view of (24), the null-copula can be seen as an **overt predicator**, simply one that is null on the surface. The other account relates the double Nominative to *primary* predication in particular. The argument runs as follow: Primary Pred is *always* selected by T. In verbal sentences, the verb raises overtly to Pred and covertly to Tense. Extending this to all sentences, we can assume that primary Pred must always raise to T by LF to check the tense of the predicate. After this raising occurs, Pred is filled with the features inherited by adjunction to T. Under both approaches, the head of primary Pred is filled with overt material, whose PF form happens

to be zero. However, it is LF relevant, implying that (24) might in fact be a general interface condition -- the Instrumental feature survives (in Russian-type languages) exactly when there is neither a PF nor an LF record of the head of Pred, which will limit such cases to secondary predicates, where there is nothing at all in the head of Pred (except the strong Instrumental case features). For more discussion see Bailyn (in press).

3.4 Other languages

Bowers (1997) discusses the widespread evidence of **overt predicators** in various other languages. Particles such as Norwegian *som*, German *als*, Welsh *yn*, and the Korean suffix *-kye* are other systematic realizations of Pred. More research is needed to determine the exact properties of these items, but they have also resisted coherent categorization in previous literature, an the **overt predicator** analysis should be taken very seriously for them as well.

4. Conclusion

In this article, we have applied Babby's Question to Bowers (1993) PredP analysis and determined that lexical items may be instantiations of the category Pred and have uniform case absorbing qualities. The Russian element *kak* is analyzed in these terms, as is Polish *to*, some usages of the verb *to be* in various languages, and the path is cleared for better categorial understanding of mysterious predicative items in various languages. The PredP analysis in general is strengthened as is our understanding of the working of case checking on predicates. Without Leonard Babby's Question about morphological evidence, such advances would surely not be possible.

John Frederick Bailyn
Department of Linguistics
SUNY at Stony Brook
jbailyn@notes.cc.sunysb.edu

References

Babby, L. (1989) "Subjectlessness, External Subcategorization and the Projection Principle" ms., Cornell University.

Babby, L. (1994) "A Theta-Theoretic Analysis of Russian **en**" Paper given at 3rd Annual Formal Approaches to Slavic Linguistics Workshop, University of Maryland, College Park, Md.

Babby, L. and R. Brecht (1975) "The Syntax of Voice in Russian" *Language*

Bailyn, J. (1995a) *A Configurational Approach to Russian 'Free' Word Order* Doctoral Dissertation, Cornell University.

Bailyn, J. (1995b) "Underlying Phrase Structure and 'Short' Verb Movement in Russian" *Journal of Slavic Linguistics*.

Bailyn, J. (1998) "Modern Syntactic Theory and the History of the Slavic Languages" in A. Timberlake, ed. *American Contributions to the 12th International Congress of Slavists*, Slavica.

Bailyn, J. (in press) "The Syntax of Slavic Predicate Case" in A. Strigin et al (eds) *ZAS Occasional Papers in Linguistics: Proceedings of the Workshop on Predication*, Zentrum für allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft, Berlin.

Bailyn, J. and B. Citko (1999) "The Morphology of Slavic Predicates" Proceedings of FASL VII, Michigan Slavic Publications.

Bailyn, J. and E. Rubin (1991) "The Unification of Instrumental Case Assignment in Russian" *Cornell Working Papers in Linguistics* 9.

Billings, L. "Overt Expletives" ms. ??

Bowers, J. (1993) "The Syntax of Predication" *Linguistic Inquiry 24*, 591-656.

Bowers, J. (2000) "Predication Structures" Handout of Talk Princeton University.

Chomsky, N. (1957) *Syntactic Structures* The Hague: Mouton.

Chomsky, N. (1995) *The Minimalist Program* MIT Press.

Chomsky, N (1998) *Minimalist Inquiries*. MIT Occasional Papers in Linguistics.

Citko, B. (2000) "On the Syntax and Semantics of Polish Adjunct Clauses" ms, SUNY, Stony Brook.

Collins, C. (1997) *Local Economy* MIT Press

Franks, S. (1990) "Case, Configuration and Argumenthood: Reflections on the Second Dative" *Russian Linguistics* 14: 231-255.

Huang, C-T James. 1993. Reconstruction and the VP internal subject hypothesis. *Linguistic Inquiry* 24: 103-138.

Larson, Richard. 1988. On the double object construction. *Linguistic Inquiry* 19: 335-392.

Lasnik, Howard. 1999. *Minimalist Analysis*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Lavine, J. (1998) "Null Expletives and the EPP in Slavic: A Minimalist Analysis" *Formal Approaches to Slavic Linguistics: The Connecticut Meeting*, Michigan Slavic Publications.

Miyagawa, S. (in press) "EPP, Scrambling and *WH*-in situ" in *Step by Step: Essays in Honor of Howard Lasnik*, MIT Press.

Nichols, J. (1973) *The Balto-Slavic Predicate Instrumental: A Problem in Diachronic Syntax*, Ph.D Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley.

Nichols, J. (1981) *Predicate Nominals: A Partial Surface Syntax of Russian*, University of California Press, Berkeley.

Przepiórkowski, A. (2000) "Case and Agreement in Slavic Predicates" Proceedings of FASL

Rappaport, G. (1986) "On the Grammar of Simile: Case and Configuration" In Brecht and Levine, eds. *Case in Slavic*, Columbus, OH: Slavica.

Švedova, N. (ed.) (1980) *Russkaja Grammatika* vol. 2, Academy of Sciences, Nauka, Moscow.