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AGAINST OVERT PREDICATORS IN SLAVIC
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1. ISSUES INVOLVED

Is there a (syntactically or semantically required) mediator between the subject and the non-verbal predicate?

Is it required cross-linguistically?

Some examples of "overt predicators" in Slavic and their analysis:
- *as*: a complementizer
- *for*: a preposition
- *in*: another preposition

Conclusion: **To a person with a hammer everything looks like a nail**. Occam's razor can come in useful.

2. THE SYNTACTIC THEORY OF MEDIATED PREDICATION

Bowers 1993, 2001: APs, NPs and PPs do not denote predicates, but rather must be converted into predicates. The semantic function of Pred is therefore to create a predicate that could be combined with the subject.

(1)
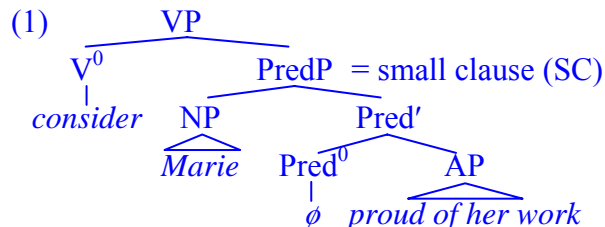
Evidence:

- The constituent containing the predicate and not containing the subject of a small clause can be moved by wh-movement. This constituent (known as an X'-level) is supposed to be unmovable for theory-internal reasons (Svenonius 1994).

- The predicate of a small clause may receive a special predicative case (accusative in Arabic, dative in Hungarian, instrumental in Russian…). A functional head is assumed to be necessary to assign that case (Bailyn 2001, 2002, Bailyn and Citko 1999, Bailyn and Rubin 1991, etc.).

- Coordination of small clause predicates of apparently different lexical categories is possible, which suggests that they should belong to the same category – hence a functional head should be present in the small clause (Bowers 1993, 2001).

2.1. Support: overt predicators

In some languages a functional element appears between the subject and (some categories of) the predicate (Bowers 1993, 2001):

(2) a. Mae Siôn *(yn) ddedwydd.   Welsh (Rouveret 1996:128)
         is   Siôn PRT   happy
         Siôn is happy.

b.   Y   mae Siôn yn   feddyg.
      PRT is   Siôn PRT   doctor
      Siôn is a doctor.

(3)   a.   Tha   Calum 'na   thidsear.   Scottish Gaelic (Adger and Ramchand 2003)
          be-PRES Calum PRT=in-3MSG teacher
          Calum is a teacher.

      b.   Chunnaic mi Calum agus [e   'na   thidsear].
          see-PAST I   Calum and   [him PRT=in-3MSG teacher]
          I saw Calum while he was a teacher.

(4)   a.   Èmèrí   *(yé)   mòsèmòsè.   Edo (Baker 2003)
          Mary   PRT   beautiful.A
          Mary is beautiful.

      b.   Úyì   *(rè)   òkhaèmwèn.
          Uyi   PRT   chief.N
          Uyi is a chief.

(5)   a.   M-kango *(ndì) w-a   u-kali.   Chichewa (Baker 2003)
          3-lion   PRT   3-ASSOC 3-fierce
          The lion is fierce.

      b.   M-kango *(ndì) m-lenje.
          3-lion   PRT   1-hunter
          The lion is a hunter.

Non-verbal predication must be mediated by a functional head Pred^0. The small clause is a projection of this head (PredP).

NB: Both Bowers 1993, 2001 and den Dikken 2006 take the extreme position, though for different reasons: **every** kind of predication must be mediated by a functional head. We will not address this complication here.

2.2.   Question: Universal existence of overt predicators

Bowers 1993: in small clause complements like (6) *as* is, in fact, the lexicalization of the Pred operator (see also Emonds 1985 and Aarts 1992):

(6)   a.   She regards this hypothesis as silly.   English
      b.   They take him for a fool.

Further elaboration (Aarts 1992, Bailyn and Rubin 1991, Eide and Åfarli 1999, Bailyn 2001, 2002, den Dikken 2006): Pred^0 is universally available and projected. Overt instantiations of Pred^0 include *as, for, into* and their cross-linguistic equivalents:

(7)   a.   My sčitaem ego   svoim.   Russian (Bailyn 2001)
          we consider him-ACC self.POSS-INSTR

      b.   My sčitaem ego   **kak**   svoego.
          we consider him-ACC AS   self.POSS-ACC

      c.   My sčitaem ego   **za**   svoego.
          we consider him-ACC FOR   self.POSS-ACC
          We consider him as one of us.

Our proposal: what looks like the preposition *za* 'for' and the complementizer *kao/kak* 'as' are, in fact, a preposition and a complementizer. *What you see is what you get.*

2.3. The definition of a small clause

There are two major classes of hypotheses associated with the notion of a "small clause":

(i) Semantic: small clauses are minimal units of non-verbal predication semantically corresponding to a proposition (or a state of affairs, as in Svenonius 1994; Wilder 1992, etc.)

(ii) Syntactic: small clauses are constituents formed by the combination of two (non-verbal) maximal projections mediated or not by a special (functional) head $Pred^0$. No special semantics is associated with a small clause (e.g., Bennis, Corver and den Dikken 1998: a small clause is assumed to be projected inside an NP)

Against the purely syntactic definition of a small clause: its only prediction is that a small clause should be able to move as a constituent, which it does not do, either in English or in Slavic, presumably for independent reasons.

This is why we adhere to a more restricted hypothesis where a small clause corresponds to a proposition and contains a subject (type e or $\langle e, \langle e, t \rangle \rangle$) and a predicate (type $\langle e, t \rangle$, setting aside intensionality).

NB: For many authors the notion of a small clause also includes verbal predicates, as in 'I heard **Callas sing**'. In Slavic linguistics such is usually not the case, possibly because such constructions are not grammatical in Slavic

3. WHAT IS 'FOR' FOR?

Now-standard assumption: **a small clause is involved**:

(8) a.   ECM, *for* is $Pred^0$

b.   ECM, *for* is F^0
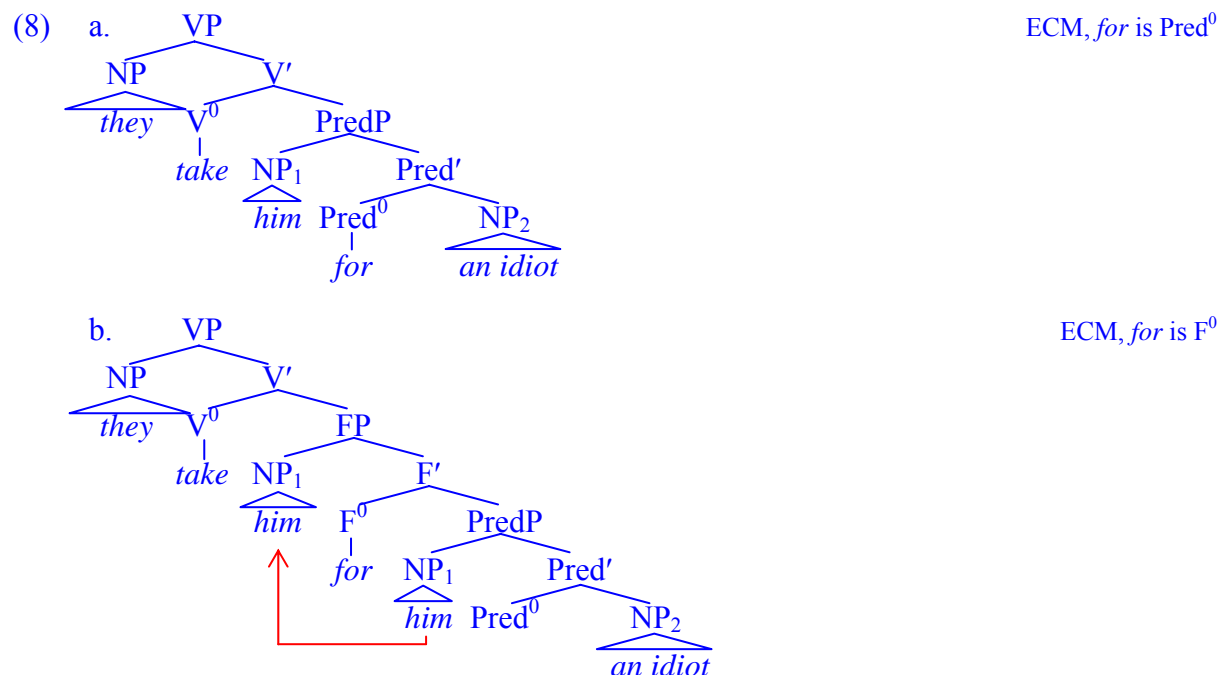
NB: Not all entertained structural options are exemplified

More traditional assumption (ours, too): ***for*-PP is an adjunct**:

c.   VP   adjunct

(tree diagram: VP branches to NP [they] and V′; V′ branches to V′ and PP [for an idiot]; V′ branches to V⁰ [take] and NP₁ [him])
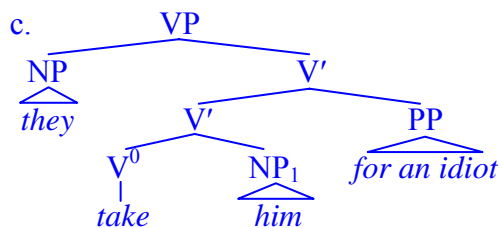
Another possibility: the *for*-PP is a second argument of the verb (not to be discussed).

Assuming a small clause structure makes the following predictions:

> **Status of NP₁:** if the NP₁-*for*-NP₂ string is a small clause, NP₁ is its subject. If we are dealing with a single predicate, then the NP₁ is an object of the verb

> **The status of *for*:** under the analysis in (8a, b) *za* 'for' is either a $Pred^0$ or some sort of C^0: Under the single predicate analysis in (8c), it is a regular preposition. We expect prepositions to combine with NPs and to assign case.

> **Status of NP₂:** under the small clause analysis (8a) the complement of *za* 'for' is a semantic predicate (type $\langle e, t \rangle$)

> **Propositionality**: under a small clause analysis (8a, b) the main verb combines with a semantic proposition: (i) verbs that combine with *for* should also take other canonical realizations of propositions, i.e., more regular small clauses and CPs; (ii) conversely, verbs that normally take small clauses (verbs of change of state or intensional verbs) should combine with *for*.

Claims:
- *za* 'for' behaves like a preposition
- The NP₁-*for*-NP₂ string does not behave as a small clause.

3.1. Anaphor binding

In Slavic languages the subject orientation of reflexives is absolute, i.e., only the local subject can serve as a binder for a reflexive:

(9) a. $Tristram_j$ tvrdi   [da [je $Lorens_i$ video $sebe_{i/*j}$]].   Serbo-Croat
         Tristram claims   that is Laurence saw   self
         $Tristram_j$ claims that $Laurence_i$ saw $himself_{i/*j}$.

    b. $Tristram_i$ je Lorensu_j   pokazao $sebe_{i/*j}$ u   ogledalu.
         $Tristram_i$ is Laurencej-DAT showed self_{i/j}   in   mirror
         $Tristram_i$ showed $Laurence_j$ $himself_{i/*j}$ in the mirror.

Only a local subject can bind the reflexive.

Like the subjects of *that*-clauses in (9a) and (10a) and unlike the indirect object in (9b), the small clause subject in (10b) is a legitimate binder for the reflexive in the predicate in Serbo-Croat:

(10) a. $Tristram_j$ smatra   da   je $Lorens_i$ ljut   na $sebe_{i/*j}$.   Serbo-Croat
         Tristram considers that is Laurence-NOM angry on self
         $Tristram_j$ believes that $Laurence_i$ is angry at $himself_{i/*j}$.

     b. $Tristram_j$ smatra $Lorensa_i$ ljutim na $sebe_{i/*j}$.
         Tristram considers Laurence-ACC angry on self
         $Tristram_j$ considers $Laurence_i$ good/kind at $himself_{i/*j}$.

    c.   Tristram$_j$ čini   Lorensa$_i$ nezadovoljnim sobom$_{i/*j}$.
        Tristram makes Laurence-ACC dissatisfied   self-INSTR
        Tristram$_j$ makes Laurence$_i$ dissatisfied with himself$_{i/*j}$.

The same facts obtain for the possessive reflexive *svoj*.
NB: Russian does not permit small clause subjects to bind reflexives, so we restrict ourselves to Serbo-Croat.

(11) a.   Tristram$_j$ je   greškom   zamenio Lorensa$_i$ za sebe$_{*i/j}$.   Serbo-Croat
           Tristram AUX mistake-INSTR took   Laurence-ACC for self
           Tristram$_j$ mistook Laurence$_i$ for himself$_{*i/j}$.

      b.   Tristram$_j$ je   greškom   zamenio Lorensa$_i$ za svog$_{*i/j}$ neprijatelja.
           Tristram AUX mistake-INSTR took   Laurence-ACC for self's   enemy
           Tristram$_j$ mistook Laurence$_i$ for his$_{*i/j}$ enemy.

The inability of *Laurence* to bind the reflexive in either (11a) or (11b) clearly indicates that in (11) *Laurence* is an object of the matrix verb rather than a subject of a small clause.

3.2.   The status of *za* 'for'

Regular small clauses can have predicates of any lexical category:

(12) a.   Jane considers her friends [$_{AP}$ smart]/[$_{PP}$ in love]/[$_{NP}$ idiots].
      b.   My sčitaem   ego   [$_{AP}$ umnym]/   [$_{PP}$ vne   sebja]/ [$_{NP}$ idiotom].   Russian
           we consider him-ACC smart-POSS-INSTR/ beside self/   idiot-INSTR
           We consider him smart/beside himself with anger/an idiot.

Putative *for*-small clauses can only have an NP predicate:

(13) a.   Oleg prinjal ego   **za vrača/**   ***francuzskogo**.   Russian
           Oleg took   him for doctor-ACC/ French-ACC
           Oleg took him for a doctor.

      b.   Proglasili   su   ga   **za izdajnika/**$^{??}$**/* za krivog.**   Serbo-Croat
           proclaimed-PST-PL AUX him-CL for traitor-ACC/   for guilty-ACC
           He was announced a traitor.

In other words, *za* 'for' behaves like a preposition.
NB: Some apparent exceptions in Bailyn 2001 actually involve NP-ellipsis, i.e., an omitted noun.
NB: In Dutch and French *for* can appear with APs (though not PPs) with the same set of verbs (cf. Starke 1995). However, the construction still behaves mysteriously.
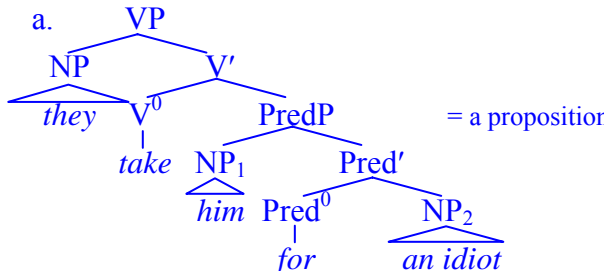
In addition, *za* 'for' assigns accusative case just like it does in its normal use as a preposition:

(14) a.   Prvi poljubac se uzima   za godišnjicu.   Serbo-Croat
           first kiss   SE take-3SG for anniversary date-ACC
           The first kiss is counted as the anniversary date.

      b.   On   možet sojti   za advokata.   Russian
           he-NOM can   pass-INF for lawyer-ACC
           He can pass for a lawyer.

Once again *za* 'for' behaves like a preposition.

3.3.   The semantic status of the NP$_1$-*for*-NP$_2$ sequence

If (8a) is correct, the NP$_1$-*for*-NP$_2$ sequence must have the semantic type of a proposition:

(8)   a.   VP   ECM, *for* is Pred^0

```
        VP
       /  \
     NP    V′
    they  /  \
        V⁰    PredP        = a proposition
       take  /   \
          NP₁    Pred′
          him   /    \
            Pred⁰    NP₂
             for    an idiot
```
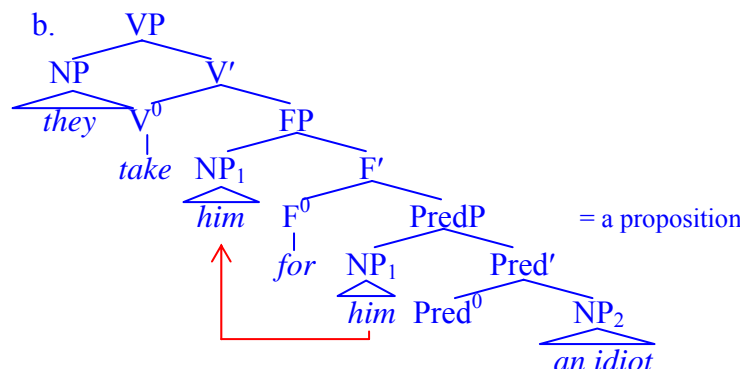
However, such sequences appear exactly with those verbs (*take, pass, mistake, count*, etc.) that are incompatible with regular small clauses:

(15)   a.   *We took [him smart/an idiot/in love].
       b.   *He can pass [t_i smart/an idiot/in love].

Conversely, verbs that normally take small clauses (intensional verbs or verbs of change of state) systematically do not appear with *for*-PPs:

(16)   a.   Jane made/considered him (*for) an idiot.
       b.   He seems/became (*for) an idiot.

Possible hypothesis: it is precisely *za* 'for' that enables verbs like *take* and *pass* to take small clause complements and stops it from combining with intensional and change-of-state verbs that normally take small clause complements ⇒ (8b), cf. Starke 1995

(8)   b.   VP   ECM, *for* is F^0

```
        VP
       /  \
     NP    V′
    they  /  \
        V⁰    FP
       take  /  \
          NP₁    F′
          him   /  \
            F⁰    PredP        = a proposition
            for  /    \
              NP₁    Pred′
              him   /    \
                Pred⁰    NP₂
                       an idiot
```

If (8b) is correct, NP$_2$ must be a predicate.

3.4.   The semantic status of NP$_2$

Regular small clauses consist of a subject and what is recognizable as a semantic predicate:

(17)   a.   I consider [John **very stupid/*each student**].
       b.   I expect [that sailor **off my ship/drunk/*every visitor** (by midnight)].
       c.   We feared [John **killed by the enemy/dead/*some poor corpse**].

Whatever the semantic function of the putative Pred^0, it can't combine with a quantified NP and return a predicate.

The putative Pred^0 *za* 'for' can combine with a proper name, a pronoun or a quantified NP:

(18)   a.   Tristram$_i$ je u mraku greškom   zamenio Lorensa$_j$ za **sebe$_{i/*j}$**.   SC
          Tristram   is in dark   mistake-INSTR took   Laurence-ACC for   self
          Tristram$_j$ took Laurence$_i$ for himself$_{i/*j}$ by accident in the dark.

    b.   Uzima   me za **nekog idiota**.
            take-3SG me for some idiot
            He takes me for some stupid idiot.

(19) Podopytnyj   poočerëdno prinimal Lenu za **každuju devočku**.   Russian
     experimental.subject one.by.one took   Lena for every   girl
     The experimental subject look Lena for each of the girls, one by one.

Assuming some semantic uniformity of small clauses, *za* 'for' cannot be either Pred^0 or F^0 in an extended small clause.

3.5. Make it simple

What if the *for*-PP is an adjunct (an adverbial modifier)?

One of the standard meanings of *za* 'for' in Russian is 'in exchange for, instead of, in place of' (just like in English):

(20) a.   My nemalo   zaplatili za ètu   privilegiju.   Russian
         we not.little   paid   for this   privilege
         We paid a lot for this privilege.

     b.   Ja zdes' za direktora.
         I   here   for director
         I'm the director's stand-in here.

     c.   Kto èto za vas sdelaet?
         who this for you do-PRF-PRES-3SG
         Who will do it for you?

     d.   Imam   ludaka za muža.   Serbo-Croat
         have-1SG fool   for husband
         I have an idiot for a husband.

In other words, in *take-for* constructions the intake becomes figurative (perceptual rather than physical) as a result of adverbial modification.

Adjuncts can be obligatory:

(21) a.   He worded the letter *(carefully).
     b.   We took the matter *(seriously).
     c.   They treated him *(shamefully).

The perceptual meaning becomes more directly linked to the prepositional adjunct with verbs *mistake* and *pass*.

3.6. What for?

In the Russian equivalent of *waß für* constructions, *za* 'for' does not assign case, even though it still requires an NP complement:

(22) a.   Čto za   knigu   ty   kupila?   Russian
         what for   book-ACC you-NOM   bought
         What kind of book did you buy?

     b.   Čto èto   za kniga?
         what this   for book-NOM
         What kind of book is this?

This construction (clearly different from those above) is absent from South Slavic.

3.7. Summary

The hypothesis that *za* 'for' introduces a small clause has nothing to recommend it and much to disprove it.

The alternative hypothesis, (8c), has numerous advantages:
- ➢ natural transition from the ordinary meanings of the verbs *take*, *pass* and *count*: just add a manner adverbial (cf. *seriously*, *lightly*, *for granted*; some adjuncts are obligatory, so no problem there)
- ➢ no modification of the argument structure or thematic grid is required
- ➢ *za* 'for' remains a preposition
- ➢ impossibility with proposition-taking verbs follows automatically

WYSIWYG. QED.

4.   WHAT'S IN 'IN'?

Bailyn 2002: Another candidate for an overt predicator: *in* is the head of a small clause in the unusual construction in (23):

(23) a.   On   rešil   vybrat'sja   v prezidenty.   Russian
           he   decided elect-INF-REFL in presidents-ACC=NOM
           He decided to get elected as president.

     b.   On sobralsja   v soldaty.
           he   collected-REFL   in soldiers.ACC=NOM
           He decided to become a soldier.

Bailyn 2002: *v* 'in' here is extremely unusual in that it takes a nominative, obligatorily plural NP complement. This is an instance of case-absorption by Pred^0.

Mel'čuk 1985:461-482, Franks and Pereltsvaig 2004: the case on the NP is accusative and it is realized as nominative (rather than the genitive that usually appears with animates) because the plural NP (denoting here the entire class or profession) is treated as inanimate.

NB: Mel'čuk 1985 provides other cases in Russian where morphological and syntactic (or semantic) animacy do not coincide, claiming that in this construction animacy is removed.

Mel'čuk 1985: mass nouns denoting the entire profession are possible with exactly the same set of verbs and the same meaning. With a first declension noun the case is clearly accusative:

(24) On pošel/xočet v aviaciju.   Russian
     he went/wants   in aviation-ACC
     He went/wants (to go) into aviation.

The same facts hold for Serbo-Croat:

(25) a.   Otišao je   u penziju/penzionere.   Serbo-Croat
           left   AUX   in retirement-ACC.SG/pensioner-ACC.PL
           S/he retired/He become a pensioner.

     b.   Želi   u avijaciju/avijatičare.
           wants in aviation-ACC.SG/airline.pilot-ACC.PL
           S/he wants (to go) into aviation/to become an airline pilot.

Mel'čuk 1985 observes that this construction involves a change-of-state meaning (*become X*).

NB: This is why the complement of the preposition appears in the accusative (directional) case. When it is made stative, the case becomes instrumental

There are parallel construction of persistence in state and discontinuation of the state, which behave as locatives:

(26) a. On   služil   v soldatax.
          he   served in soldiers.LOC
          He served as a soldier.

    b. Ego vygnali iz   lëtčikov.
          him chased from pilots-GEN
          He was kicked out of aviation.

Conclusion: *v* 'in' is a regular preposition introducing a directional complement of a motion verb.

WYSIWYG. QED.

5. WHAT DOES 'AS' FUNCTION AS?

In Russian and Serbo-Croat what otherwise looks like a complementizer or an adverbial wh-operator can appear followed by nothing more than an NP (just like in English):

(27) a. Ja čuvstvuju   sebja   **kak inostranec**.   Russian
          I   feel-PRES-1SG SELF-ACC as   foreigner
          I feel like a foreigner.

    b. Osećam   se   **kao pijana**.   Serbo-Croat
          feel-1SG REFL AS   drunk-NOM
          I feel drunk.

In Slavic languages the NP following *as* (NP_2) shows the same morphological case as the NP that it semantically combines with (NP_1).

This looks like case-agreement in small clauses (cf. Latin, Greek, Icelandic, etc.)

Aarts 1992, Bailyn and Rubin 1991, Bowers 1993, 2001, Bailyn 2001, 2002, etc.: *as* is $Pred^0$ (an overt instantiation of the functional head of a small clause)

5.1. Dissimilarities

What follows *as* need not look like a predicate.

5.1.1. Oblique and prepositional *as*-XPs

There is no direct case restriction on the complement of *kao/kak* 'as':

(28) a. Ona govorit   so   mnoj **kak rebenok**.   Russian
          she speak-PRES-3SG with me   AS   child-NOM
          She speaks with me as a child does/as if she were a child.

    b. Ona govorit   so   mnoj **kak s   kakim-nibud' rebenkom**.
          she speak-PRES-3SG with me   AS   with some.FC   child-INSTR
          She speaks with me as she does with a child/as if I were a child.

    c. Ona izbegaet   menja   **kak prokažennogo**.
          she avoid-PRES-3SG me-ACC AS   leper-ACC
          She avoids me as if I were a leper.

    d. On   ej   vse   prinosit   **kak princesse**.
          he-NOM her-DAT everything bring-PRES-3SG AS   princess-DAT
          He brings her everything as if she were a princess.

(29) a. Zaobilazi   me   **kao   propalicu**.   Serbo-Croat
         avoid-PRES-3SG   me-ACC AS   bum-ACC
         He avoids me as if I were a bum.

     b. Ona   govori   sa   mnom **kao sa   detetom**.
         she   speak-PRES-3SG with   me   AS   with child-INSTR
         She speaks with me as with a child/as if I were a child.

     c. On   joj   sve   donosi   **kao princezi**.
         he   her-DAT everything bring-PRES-3SG AS   princess-DAT
         He brings her everything as if she were a princess.

Regular small clauses only appear associated with subject and direct object positions.

5.1.2. Quantification

The NP following *kak*/*kao* 'as' can be quantified. Pejorative connotation surfaces as a result:

(30) a. Ja čuvstvuju   sebja   **kak   inostranec**.   Russian
         I   feel-PRES-1SG   SELF-ACC   as   foreigner
         I feel like a foreigner.

     b. Ja čuvstvuju   sebja   **kak   kakoj-nibud'inostranec**.
         I   feel-PRES-1SG   SELF-ACC   as   some   foreigner
         I feel like some stupid foreigner.

Predicates cannot be quantified (except in certain specific cases, cf. Partee 1986).

5.1.3. Referential NP$_2$

The NP following *kak*/*kao* 'as' (NP$_2$) can be a proper name or a deictic demonstrative:

(31) a. Osećam   se   **kao Štrumpfeta/Luka**.   Serbo-Croat
         feel-PRES-1SG REFL.CL as   Smurfette/Luke
         I feel like Smurfette/Luke.

     b. Osećam   se   **kao ova/ona budala**.
         I   feel-PRES-1SG REFL.CL as   this/that fool
         I feel like this/that fool.

Predicates are not referential.

5.1.4. Non-constituents

What follows *kak*/*kao* 'as' may not even form a constituent:

(32) a. Ona govorit   so   mnoj **kak odin rebenok s   drugim**.   Rus
         she speak-PRES-3SG with   me   AS   one child-NOM with   other-INSTR
         She speaks with me like one child with another.

     b. Razgovara   sa   mnom   kao psihijatar   sa   pacijentom   SC
         speak-PRES-3SG with   me   AS psychiatrist-NOM with   patient-INSTR
         She speaks with me like a psychiatrist with a patient

Regular small clauses cannot contain NPs of semantic types other than ⟨e, t⟩:

(33) a. *My sčitaem ego Ljukom.   Russian
         we   consider him Luke-INSTR

b.   *On kažetsja   odnim   mal'čikom.
      he seems   one-INSTR boy-INSTR

Whatever it is that *as* does, it can combine with a variety of semantic and syntactic elements. Such freedom is not expected of Pred[0].

5.2.   **Clausal instances of *as***

The Russian *kak* 'as, how' seems to allow all the options that the English *as* does in its usage. The Serbo-Croat *kao* 'as' is somewhat more restricted (due to the presence of an alternative wh-item *kako* 'how'), though it also appears in equatives:

(34) a.   Kak ty sebja   čuvstvueš'?   Russian
          how you self-ACC   feel-PRES-2SG
          How do you feel?

   b.   Kak ona s   toboj govorit?
        how she with you   speak-PRES-3SG
        How does she talk to you?

(35) a.   Èta   gora takaja že   vysokaja   kak i   ta.
          this-F.SG mountain   such JUST   tall   how AND that-F.SG
          This mountain is as high as that one.

   b.   Ego   ostavili   zdes' kak načalnika.
        him-ACC leave-PAST-PL here AS   supervisor
        He was left here as a supervisor.

(36) Beo   je   kao sneg.   Serbo-Croat
     white-3SGMASC is-PRES-3SG AS snow
     He is as white as snow.

Both in Russian and in Serbo-Croat *kao/kak* 'as' can introduce clausal complements:

(37) a.   Ja postuplju s   vami kak postupajut   s   malen'kimi det'mi.   Rus
          I   treat-PRF with you as treat-IMPF-3PL with small   children
          I will treat you as they do small children.

   b.   Osećam se   kao da   sam   pijana.   Serbo-Croat
        feel-1SG REFL AS   COMP   BE.PRES.1SG drunk-NOM
        I feel as if I were drunk.

NPs introduced by *kak*/*kao* 'as' are interpreted as manner adjuncts, but can also acquire an idiomatic interpretation:

(38) a.   Radi   kao singerica.   Serbo-Croat
          works-3SG AS Singer-NOM
          He works like a Singer sawing machine/He works dilligently.

   b.   On rabotaet   zdes' kak lošad'.   Russian
        he work-PRES-3SG   here AS horse
        He works here like a horse/He works a lot here.

Both in Russian and in Serbo-Croat *kao/kak* 'as' can introduce manner appositives:

(39) a.   On vedёt   sebja na redkost' **naglo,   kak inoj belyj v Afrike**.   Rus
          he behaves SELF on rarity   impudently as   other white in Africa
          He is behaving incredibly impudently, like some white people do in Africa.

    b.   Ona govori   sa   mnom **polako kao sa detetom**.   Serbo-Croat
          she   speak-PRES-3SG with me   slowly AS   with child-INSTR
          She speaks with me slowly as with a child/as if I were a child.

Thus *kao/kak* 'as' looks like a wh-operator of manner here, which correlates with the more general interpretation of *kak* 'as' as a non-entity wh-operator.

5.3.   Proposal

The simplest and most evident way of dealing with NPs preceded by *kak*/*kao* 'as' is via CP-ellipsis: the relevant NP is moved to the (right?) periphery of the clause and the rest of the clause is deleted:

(40) a.   Ja čuvstvuju   sebja   kak ~~čuvstvuet   sebja~~   inostranec.   Russian
          I feel-PRES-1SG SELF-ACC as   feel-PRES-3SG SELF-ACC foreigner
          I feel like a foreigner (does).

      b.   Zaobilaze   me   kao ~~što   zaobilaze~~   propalicu.   Serbo-Croat
          avoid-PRES-3PL me-ACC AS COMP avoid-PRES-3PL bum-ACC
          They avoid me like (one avois) a bum.

> We are glossing over the possibility of an alternative (subjunctive?) source for nominative NPs remnants, since a sentence like (41b) cannot be a source for other types of remnants.
>
> (41) a.   Osećam se   kao što   se   oseća   gubitnik.   Serbo-Croat
>   feel-1SG REFL AS COMP REFL feel-PRES-3SG loser-NOM
>   *I feel as a loser feels.*
>
>   b.   Osećam se   kao da   sam   gubitnik.
>   feel-1SG REFL AS COMP BE.PRES.1SG loser-NOM
>   *I feel as if I am a loser.*

Such treatment immediately derives the case-matching effect.

Similar phenomena: gapping and comparative ellipsis.

(42) a.   Ja ljublju jabloki, a   mama – gruši.   Russian
          I like   apples and Mom   pears
          I like apples, and Mom does pears.

      b.   Lena kupila takuju že   doroguju knigu, kak i   Vera.
          Lena bought such-F.SG JUST expensive book how AND Vera
          Lena bought as expensive a book as Vera did.

There is only one *kao/kak* 'as' and it always introduces propositional complements, which are interpreted as λ-abstracts of different sorts (depending on the size of the complement).

Advantages:
- Lack of restriction on the case and interpretation of the NP_2 is explained
- Discontinuous remnants explained
- Choice of lexeme explained
- Required ellipsis independently attested
- Unification over different-sized *as*-remnants

Disadvantage: we now have to work out the detailed semantics for *as*.

General hypothesis: *as* always indicates λ-abstraction over non-entities
NB: Matushansky 2010: *as* in comparison clauses (in equatives or with *as*) also correlates with λ-abstraction over properties.

What non-entity are we concerned with?

5.4. Small clause complements of *kak*/*kao* 'as'

There exist examples where the NP following *kak*/*kao* 'as' does seem to be a predicate and alternates with instrumentals with the same meaning:

(43) a. Ivan rabotaet zdes' kak vrač.   Russian
Ivan work-PRES-3SG here AS doctor

    b. Ivan rabotaet zdes' vračom.
Ivan work-PRES-3SG here doctor-INSTR
Ivan works here as a doctor (in the capacity of a doctor).

(44) a. Ego ostavili zdes' kak načalnika.   Russian
him-ACC leave-PAST-PL here AS supervisor

    b. Ego ostavili zdes' načalnikom.
him-ACC leave-PAST-PL here supervisor-INSTR
He was left here as a supervisor (in the capacity of a supervisor).

This is about predicates of capacity (see Roy 2001, 2006, de Swart, Winter and Zwarts 2005 among many others). It is the only instrumental in Russian that can appear with the present tense null copula:

(45) On zdes' vračom.
he here doctor-INSTR
He is here in the capacity of a doctor.

As noted by de Swart et al. 2005, 2007, bare NP predicates can appear with **overt qualifiers**:

(46) a. Jan en Sofie zijn leraar **van beroep**.
Jan and Sofie are teacher of profession
Jan and Sofie are teachers by profession.

    b. Jan is Belg **van nationaliteit**/ christen **van religie**.
Jan is Belgian of nationality/ Christian of religion
Jan is of Belgian nationality/of the Christian faith.

Hypothesis: The fact that the relevant qualifiers are adverbial further supports our view that *as* always quantifies over non-entities: here, λ-abstraction over such capacity qualification.

The adjunct in (43a) could then have the meaning in (47a), with the whole sentence meaning approximated in (47b):

(47) a. λx [x is a capacity of y and x is a doctor]
    b. $\exists x$ [x is a capacity of Ivan and Ivan is a doctor in the capacity x and Ivan works here in the capacity x]

In other words the *kak*/*kao* 'as' adjunct involves the movement of a null operator over a PRO subject (controlled by the matrix argument that it shares the Case with):

(48)   CP   [tree simplified]
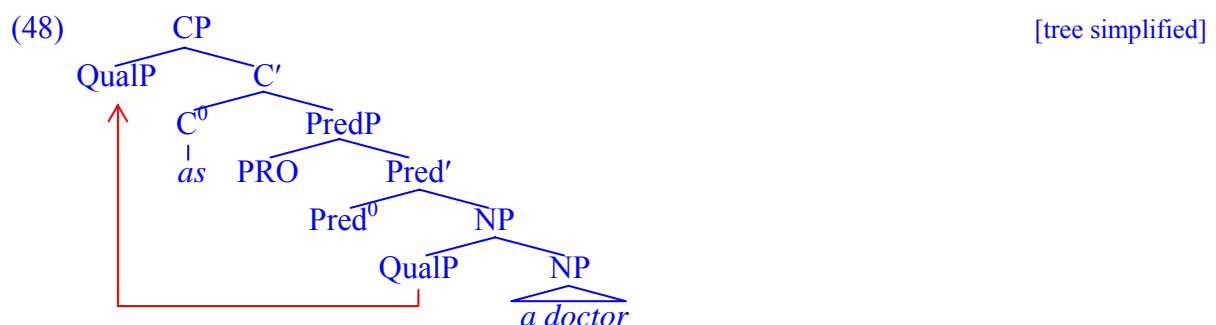
NB: The exact syntactic position of the qualifier inside the small clause is unclear, but note that it cannot appear inside an argument NP.

Semantically this is very similar to the locatives in (49) ((49a) is from von Stechow 2001 who attributes it to David Lewis, p.c.):

(49) a. Look at this pipe. It's square **in the ground** but it is round **in the first floor**.
      b. He is wide **in the shoulders**.

Capacities are thus treated as subparts of the individual in question.
NB: This is a simplification, since "capacities" (a.k.a. *roles*) can be treated as separate individuals and even be named (Matushansky, work in progress). This aspect is, however, not relevant for our purposes here.

Hypothesis: the main predication functions as the capacity qualifier for the *as*-XP, and the *as*-XP supplies the role for the relevant argument.

The entire *as*-XP still functions as an adjunct to the main clause. Can it be a complement or an NP-modifier?

5.5. Remaining issues

As with *for*-PPs, **as-XPs can be obligatory and/or alternate with instrumentals**:

(50) a. Pokazao   se   **kao dobar   istraživač**.   Serbo-Croat
          showed-PART-SG REF.CL   AS   good-NOM   researcher-NOM

      b. Pokazao   se   **dobrim   istraživačem**.
          showed-PART-SG REF.CL   good-INSTR   researcher-INSTR
          He proved himself to be a good researcher.

(51) a. Ja čuvstvuju   sebja   **kak   inostranec**.   Russian
          I   feel-PRES-1SG SELF-ACC   as   foreigner

      b. Ja čuvstvuju   sebja   **inostrancem**.
          I   feel-PRES-1SG SELF-ACC   foreigner-INSTR
          I feel like a foreigner.

The obligatory character is again unsurprising, given that some manner adjuncts (especially with verbs like *feel*) can be obligatory.

Alternation with instrumental is also expected – but only with the verbs that can take clausal complements as well.

These observations can account also for cases where XPs introduced by *kak*/*kao* 'as' seem to appear in the complement position:

(52) a. Znam/poznajem ga   **kao   poštenog   čoveka**.   Serbo-Croat
          know-PRES-1SG him-ACC AS   honest-ACC   man-ACC
          I know him as an honest man.

      b. Ja znaju   ego   **kak   porjadočnogo   čeloveka**.   Russian
          I know-PRES-1SG him-ACC   AS   decent-ACC   man-ACC
          I know him as a decent man.

      c. Vidim   te   **kao šefa   instituta**.   Serbo-Croat
          see-PRES-1SG you-ACC AS   head-ACC institute-GEN
          I see you as a head of the institute/I expect you to become...

Contrary to the first impression, **the phonological sequence "him as NP" does not form a small clause constituent here**; the *as*-XP is still an adjunct.

> ➢ Our semantics does not allow an *as*-XP to function as a (primary) predicate.

> ➢   The verb *know* is not factive in this use and can be neither negated nor modified; the verb *see* resists passivization

Case is still not restricted to direct cases, but PPs seem to be impossible (as expected, if the *as*-XP corresponds to a small clause):

(53) a.   Ja   vam   èto   **kak vraču**   govorju.   Russian
           1SG-NOM 2PL-DAT this-ACC   AS   doctor-DAT   say-PRES-1SG
           I'm telling this to you as a doctor (in your capacity of a doctor).

    b.   Ja   s   vami   **kak   s   vračom**   govorju.
           1SG-NOM with 2PL-INSTR   AS   with   doctor-INSTR   say-PRES-1SG
           I'm talking to you as with a doctor (as I would with a doctor).

Intuition: (52a,b) are cases of **coercion** – the predicate in the *as*-XP does not properly express a capacity, nor does the verb – a way of being. (52c) is a natural extension of the meaning of the verb *see*.

Alternation with instrumental is as with *for*-PPs: only with the verbs that can take clausal complements as well.

5.6. Summary

As-XPs always correspond to a clausal adjunct, either finite or non-finite, with movement of a null operator over non-entities.

With finite clauses the remnant introduced by *as* corresponds to an argument or an adjunct – these can be detected by the fact that the remnant may be referential or quantified.

With small clauses nothing is deleted; *as* quantifies over the qualifier (*by profession*) property of the NP predicate.

6.   CONCLUSION

Slavic languages provide no evidence whatsoever for treating the Slavic equivalents of *as*, *for* and *in(to)* as small clause heads (Pred^0):
- *as* is better treated as a wh-operator over non-entities
- *for* can't be treated as either Pred^0 or a functional head introducing a small clause
- *in* actually alternates with other locative prepositions

NPs in none of these constructions show neither syntactic behavior nor semantic properties expected under the small clause analysis.

There are no "overt predicators" in Slavic.

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