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AGAINST OVERT PREDICATORS IN SLAVIC
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1.   PLAN FOR THE TALK

The minimal unit of non-verbal predication: a small clause.

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

Is it available 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.   HOW SMALL CAN A CLAUSE BE?

Stowell 1981, 1983: not only verbs have subjects. Predication is possible in the absence of a verb:

(1)   a.   Alice became [$_{SC}$ t$_i$ president/the head of the association].   NP predicate

 b.   This proposition is/seems [$_{SC}$ t$_i$ preposterous/out of the question.   AP/PP predicate
 c.   [$_{CP}$ That Jessie should fight] **was considered** [$_{SC}$ t$_i$ obvious].   CP subject/ECM verb

Small clause: a minimal unit of non-verbal predication:

(2)   SC
          subject   predicate
          NP/CP   AP/PP/NP
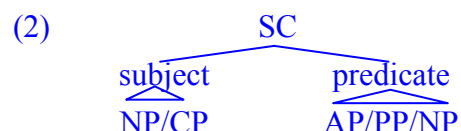
The internal structure of a small clause will be discussed later.

2.1. Propositional complements with and without tense

There are good reasons to think that in examples like (3) the matrix verb takes the bracketed constituent as its sole internal argument:

(3)   a.   I consider [John to be very stupid].
 b.   I expect [that sailor to be off my ship (by midnight)].
 c.   We feared [John to have been killed by the enemy].

Verbs that take such infinitivals frequently also appear with finite clauses which contain also tense and mood markers:

(4)   a.   I consider that [John is very stupid].
 b.   I expect that [that sailor would be off my ship (by midnight)].
 c.   We feared that [John had been killed by the enemy].

The subject of the infinitive is not an argument of the matrix verb: e.g., the matrix verb does not determine any properties of the subject, while the infinitival verb does:

(5) a.   I believed Updike/^{??}the Rosetta Stone to have died already.
     b.   I considered this book/^{??}this tree to be instructive.
     c.   I suspected this man/^{??}this woman/^{??}this table to have fathered the child.

Similar patterns can be observed for such verbs as *seem* and *appear* (known as raising verbs) and for adjectival predicates like *likely*:

(6) a.   Luke/^{??}the Rosetta Stone seems to have died/to be the father.
     b.   The Rosetta Stone is not likely to be a fake.
     c.   I considered the Rosetta Stone likely to be a fake.

For these case an additional argument exists: with finite clause complements they require an expletive subject, which has no referent and receives no thematic role from the predicate:

(7) a.   It seems that Luke has died.
     b.   It is likely that the Rosetta Stone is a fake.

In order to maintain one lexical entry for intensional verbs, it seems reasonable to assume that they always take a propositional argument.

2.2.   Complement small clauses

Raising predicates and ECM verbs can also appear with a complement that is smaller than an infinitive but has a very close meaning:

(8) a.   I consider [John very stupid].
     b.   I expect [that sailor off my ship (by midnight)].
     c.   We feared [John killed by the enemy].

(9) a.   This theory seems very promising.
     b.   A new war appears imminent.

These examples also clearly establish a relation between the matrix subject and a proposition:

(10) a.   I consider [that John is very stupid].
      b.   I expect [that that sailor is off my ship (by midnight)].
      c.   We feared [that John had been killed by the enemy].

No matrix adverbial may intervene between the subject and the predicate of the small clause, which would have been inexplicable if they had both been arguments of the matrix verb:

(11) a.   *I consider John **myself** very stupid.
      b.   *I expect that sailor **sincerely** off my ship by midnight.
   c.   *We feared John **with great concern** killed by the enemy.

No such constraint exists for structures where the verb takes two internal arguments: an NP and an infinitive:

(12) a.   Janice reminded Jenny **repeatedly** [PRO to turn down the music].
      b.   Barbara told us **herself** [PRO to leave and never to come back].

Once we begin on this train of thought, it becomes obvious that *be* is a raising verb (Stowell 1978, Burzio 1981, Couquaux 1981, among others):

(13) a.   The tree/^{??}the table is dead.
      b.   Jack/^{??}Jane/^{??}the Rosetta Stone is Linda's son.

The standard assumption is that *be* is merely a host for tense and agreement morphemes with no semantics whatsoever. Its inchoative counterpart is *become*, whose transitive counterpart is *make*. As a result we obtain a unified look at non-verbal predication:

(14) a.
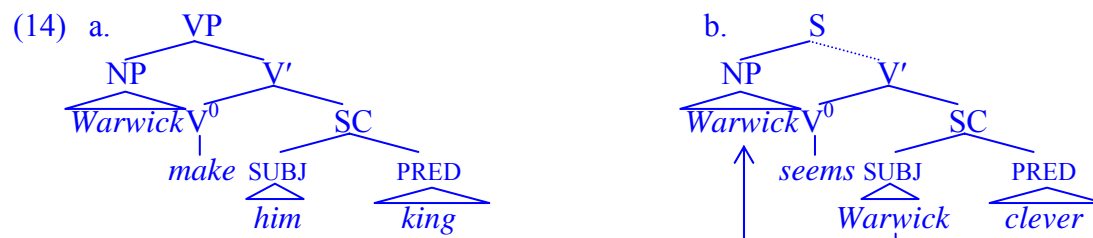
Syntactically a small clause is a unit of non-verbal predication. Semantically it corresponds to something akin to a proposition.

2.3. Further arguments for small clauses

Small clauses need not be complements of intensional verbs (cf. Moro 1995, Rothstein 2000):

(15) a.   [With John sick], we'll never get the job done on time.
     b.   John left the room [PRO angry].
     c.   [Me mad]?! Ridiculous!
     d.   They hammered [the metal flat].

Matushansky to appear: naming verbs frequently appear with SC complements.

Across many languages the predicate shows the same morphological case as the subject:

(16) a.   Ciceronem   clarum   habent.   Latin
           Cicero-**ACC** famous-**ACC** consider/hold
           They consider Cicero famous.

     b.   Cicero   clarus   habetur.
           Cicero-**NOM** famous-**NOM** consider/hold-**PASS**
           Cicero is considered famous.

(17) a.   Ciceronem   consulem   facit.
           Cicero-**ACC** consul-**ACC** make-3**SG**
           S/he makes Cicero consul.

     b.   Cicero   fit   consul.
           Cicero-**NOM** is.made-3**SG** consul-**NOM**
           Cicero is made consul.

(18) a.   Hún er kennari/*kennara.   Icelandic, Maling and Sprouse 1995
           he   is teacher-**NOM**/**ACC**
           He is a teacher.

     b.   Ég taldi   hana/*hun   vera   kennara/*kennari.
           I   believed   her-**ACC**/**NOM** to-be   teacher-**ACC**/**NOM**
           I believe her to be a teacher.

(19) a.   theoro   to   Yani   ilithio.   Modern Greek
           consider-1**SG** the.**ACC** Yani-**ACC** idiot-masc-**ACC**
           I consider Yani an idiot.

     b.   o   Yanis   theorite   ilithios.
           the.**NOM**   Yanis-**NOM** consider-**PASS**.3**SG** idiot-**NOM**
           Yani is considered an idiot.

(20) a.   diorisa   to   Yani   diefthindi.
           appointed-1**SG**   the.**ACC** Yani-**ACC** director-**ACC**
           I appointed Yani (the) director.

b. o   Yanis   dioristike   diefthindis
    the.**NOM** Yanis-**NOM** appoint-PASS.3SG director-**NOM**
   *Yani was appointed (the) director.*

Further arguments can be found in Kitagawa 1985, Chung and McCloskey 1987, Hornstein and Lightfoot 1987, Aarts 1992 and much other work.

3.   THE INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF A SMALL CLAUSE

Stowell 1981, 1983: small clauses are maximal projections of the predicate:

Evidence from subcategorization: different verbs require different lexical categories:

(21) a.   I expect [that sailor off the ship (by midnight).
      b.   *I expect [that sailor very stupid].
      c.   *I expect [that sailor killed by the enemy].

(22)
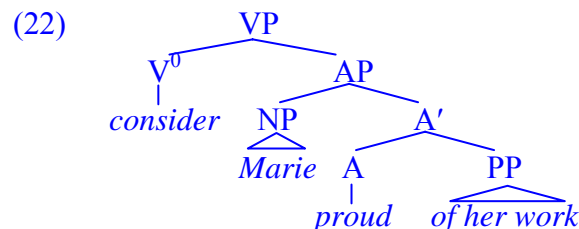
Theory-internal objections:

- It is possible to have small clauses with predicates containing a possessive, which is generally assumed to occupy [Spec, NP] – a position that would be reserved for a subject in Stowell's approach.

- 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).

The syntactic theory of mediated predication (Bowers 1993, 2001):

(23)
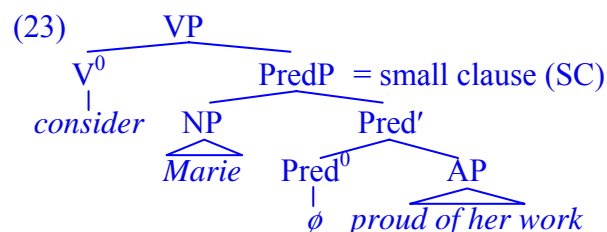
Bowers' proposal: APs, NPs and PPs do not denote predicates, but rather must be converted into predicates. The semantic function of Pred is therefore to create a predicate that could be combined with the subject.

3.1. Support: overt predicators

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

(24) 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.

(25) 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.

(26) 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.

(27) 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.

3.2. Question: Universal existence of overt predicators

Bowers 1993: in small clause complements like (28) *as* is, in fact, the lexicalization of the Pred operator (see also Emonds 1985 and Aarts 1992):

(28) 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:

(29) 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.*

3.3. 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

4. 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):

(30) 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. section 2.3)

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)

4.1. Dissimilarities

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

4.1.1.   Oblique and prepositional *as*-XPs

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

(31) 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.

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

4.1.2. Quantification

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

(32) 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

4.1.3. Referential NP$_2$

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

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

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

4.1.4. Non-constituents

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

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

      b. Ona   govori   sa   mnom kao dete   sa   detetom.   SC
           she   speak-PRES-3SG with me   AS   child-NOM   with child-INSTR
           She speaks with me like one child with another

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

(35) a. *My sčitaem   ego   Ljukom.
            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 $Pred^0$.

4.2. 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:

(36) 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?

(37) 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.

(38) 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:

(39) 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:

(40) 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.

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

(41) a.   On vedët 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.

This correlates with the more general interpretation of *kak* 'as' as a wh-operator in Russian and as a degree operator in Serbo-Croat.

4.3. 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:

(42)	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	pro avoid-PRES-3PL	bum-ACC	

They avoid me like (one avois) a bum.

Such treatment immediately derives the case-matching effect.

Similar phenomena: gapping and comparative ellipsis.

(43)	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*.

4.4. 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:

(44)	a.	On	rabotaet	zdes'	kak	vrač.	Russian
		he	work-PRES-3SG	here	AS	doctor	

	b.	On	rabotaet	zdes'	vračom.	
		he	work-PRES-3SG	here	doctor-INSTR	

He works here as a doctor (in the capacity of a doctor).

| (45)	a.	Ego	postavili	zdes'	kak	načalnika.	Russian
		him-ACC	stand-PAST-PL	here	AS	supervisor	

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

This is 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.

Case is still not restricted to direct cases:

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

Proposal: the *kak/kao* 'as' adjunct is syntactically similar to a reduced relative or a depictive:

(47)
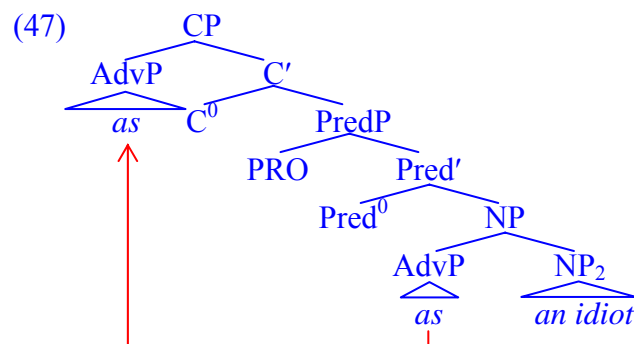
Differences with the previous case:
- No PPs
- No non-constituent remnants
- No quantified or referential NPs available
- The interpretation is not adverbial
- They need not be VP-adjuncts

(48) a. Ja znaju   ego   kak porjadočnogo čeloveka.   Russian
          I know-PRES-1SG him-ACC AS   honest-ACC   man-ACC
          I know him as an honest man.

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

Interpretation: the guise of the entity in question = all the ways in which one can be a doctor

5. WHAT IS 'FOR' FOR?

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

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

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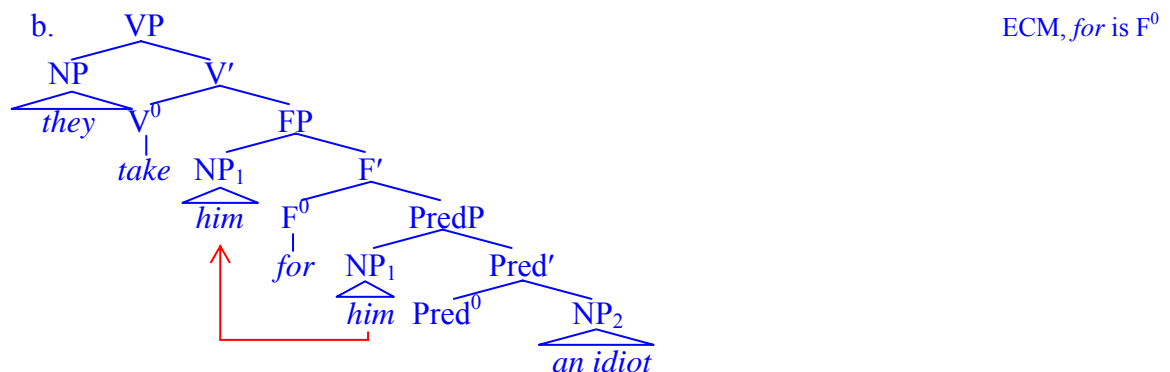
NB: Not all entertained structural options are exemplified

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

c.   VP   adjunct

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 NP$_1$:** if the NP$_1$-*for*-NP$_2$ string is a small clause, NP$_1$ is its subject. If we are dealing with a single predicate, then the NP$_1$ is an object of the verb

> ➢ **The status of *for*:** under the analysis in (49a, b) *za* 'for' is either a Pred^0 or some sort of C^0: Under the single predicate analysis in (49c), it is a regular preposition. We expect prepositions to combine with NPs and to assign case.

> ➢ **Status of NP$_2$:** under the small clause analysis (49a) the complement of *za* 'for' is a semantic predicate (type $\langle e, t \rangle$)

> ➢ **Intensionality**: under the small clause analysis (49a, 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 NP$_1$-*for*-NP$_2$ string does not behave as a small clause.

5.1. 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:

(50) 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 Laurence$_j$-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 (50a) and (51a) and unlike the indirect object in (50b), the small clause subject in (51b) is a legitimate binder for the reflexive in the predicate in Serbo-Croat:

(51) 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 na 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.

(52) 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 (52a) or (52b) clearly indicates that in (52) *Laurence* is an object of the matrix verb rather than a subject of a small clause.

5.2.   The status of *za* 'for'

Regular small clauses can have predicates of any lexical category:

(53) 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:

(54) 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.
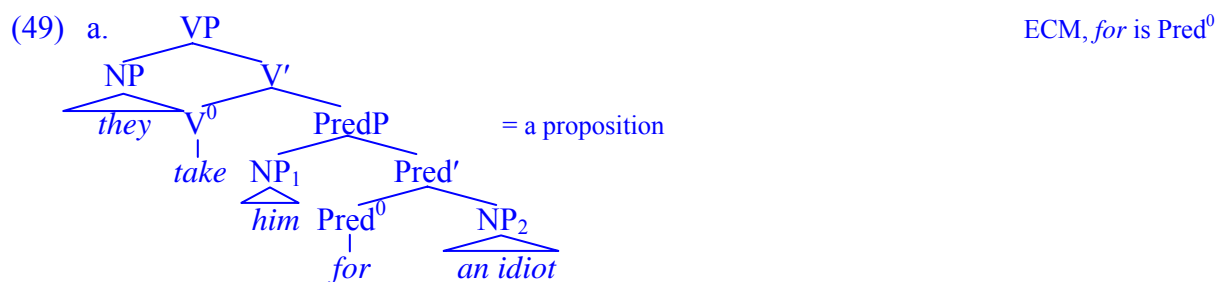
In addition, *za* 'for' assigns accusative case just like it does in its normal use as a preposition:

(55) 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.

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

If (49a) is correct, the NP$_1$-*for*-NP$_2$ sequence must have the semantic type of a proposition:

(49) a.   VP   ECM, *for* is Pred^0
        NP   V′
         they V^0 PredP   = a proposition
               |
              take NP$_1$ Pred′
                     him Pred^0 NP$_2$
                            |
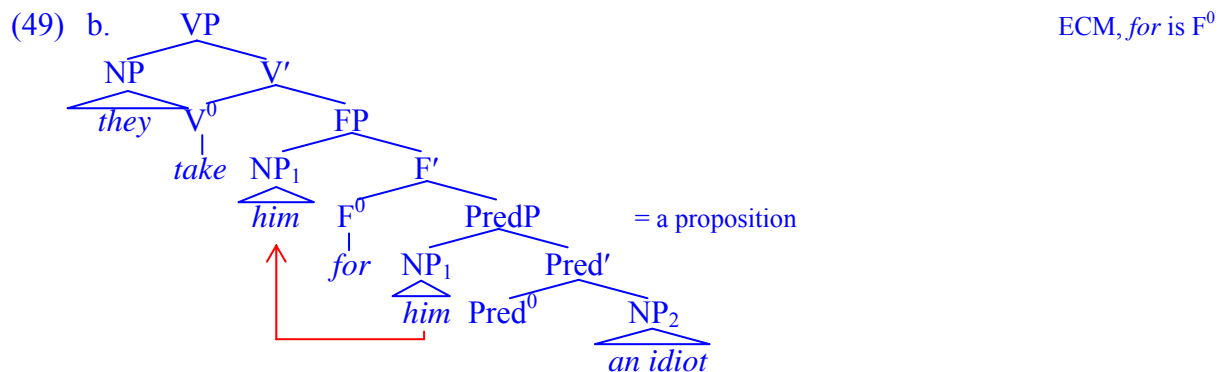   *for*   *an idiot*

However, such sequences appear exactly with those verbs (*take, pass, mistake, count*, etc.) that are incompatible with regular small clauses:

(56) 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:

(57) 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 ⇒ (49b), cf. Starke 1995

(49) b.   VP   ECM, *for* is F^0
        NP   V′
         they V^0 FP
               |
              take NP$_1$ F′
                     him F^0 PredP   = a proposition
                            |
                           for NP$_1$ Pred′
                                 him Pred^0 NP$_2$
                                                an idiot

If (49b) is correct, NP$_2$ must be a predicate.

5.4. The semantic status of NP$_2$

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

(58) 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:

(59) 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.

(60) 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.

5.5. 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):

(61) 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:

(62) 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*.

5.6. Summary

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

The alternative hypothesis, (49c), 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.

6.   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 (63):

(63) 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 pošel v soldaty.
           he   went in soldiers.ACC=NOM
           He became 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:

(64) 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:

(65) 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:

(66) 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.

7.   CONCLUSION AND FURTHER QUESTIONS

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
- *for* can't be treated as either Pred^0 or a functional head introducing a small clause
- *in* actually alternates with other locative prepositions

There exist further syntactic diagnostics for the status of NP$_1$ and NP$_2$ in these constructions, also indicating that no small clause structure is involved.

There are no "overt predicators" in Slavic.

As for "covert predicators", there is some evidence from predicate case assignment indicating the presence of a (functional) head between the subject and the predicate of a small clause in Slavic, but it is amenable to a different treatment.

There are also semantic reasons to question the desirability of Pred^0, at least in Montagovian semantics.

An alternative analysis of *for*-constructions, also not involving a small clause, is that the verb becomes ditransitive (transitive, for *pass*). There are, however, good reasons not to adopt this structure. We have set them aside here because they are heavily syntactic.

Further questions:

- What is the status of "overt predicators" in languages where they routinely appear in small clauses?
  - ➢ Baker 2003: Pred^0 is required in order to enable NPs and APs to project a syntactic subject
  - ➢ Adger and Ramchand 2003 for Scottish Gaelic: the preposition *'na* 'in-3MSG' creates events out of NPs
- Is it chance that cross-linguistically "overt predicators" are usually prepositions or complementizers?
- What is the status of *for* in French and in Dutch, where it can introduce APs?
- We have glossed over some curious details of the Slavic data here in order not to confuse the issue (more than necessary), but quite a few of them are interesting in themselves and deserve further investigation

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