

Adjunct Positions of Nominal Adverbials in Russian*

0. Introduction

In this paper, I analyze bare Accusative and Instrumental adverbials considering both as adjuncts. I propose a theory of syntactically free adverbial adjunction, by which I mean that there is no syntactic projection which is inherently marked as the adjunction site for adverbials in general. The restrictions are semantic. In the case of bare nominal adverbials semantic 'constituents' largely correspond to syntactic constituents, i.e. syntactically, adverbials are restricted to the target which contains the semantic information they modify. I assume that temporal Accusative adverbials adjoin to the aspectual phrase (AspP). This accounts for Accusative case since Asp has been shown to contain structural case features. Accusative adverbials modify aspectual-temporal properties of the clause by delimiting, quantifying or localizing the event time. *Temporal* Instrumental adverbials (viz. duratives) also adjoin to AspP, but they do not delimit the event. The difference between Accusative adverbials and temporal Instrumental adverbials consists in the fact that the former are bounded expressions, whereas the latter are unbounded, i.e. an interpretable feature of the adjunct determines the possibility of agreement of the adverbial with structural case features. *Non-temporal* Instrumental adverbials, on the other hand, adjoin to projections of the lexical verb. I take the Instrumental case of nominal adverbials in Russian to be the *default* case for predicative [+N] elements which is licensed by a phonologically empty category. In the case of Accusative adverbials, this category functions as a case transmitter allowing for agreement of uninterpretable features.

1. Aspect and Internal Arguments

To justify the assumption that AspP checks structural case features, it is necessary to clarify the relation between Aspect and internal arguments. In Russian, Aspect and Tense as morpho-syntactic categories bear semantically relevant (interpretable) features, which control the temporal categorization of events. Thus, the temporally structured event is composed of the syntactic constituents which constitute the proposition (VP/ ν P), and the verbal functional heads Asp and T, which c-command the former, cf. (1) and (2).

(1) [TP T [AspP Asp [VP/ ν P ... V/ ν ...]]]

(2) [ν max DP_{Subj} [ν ' ν [VP V DP_{Obj}]]]

In Russian, verbs bear a feature [\pm pf] for (im)perfectivity which determines aspectual interpretation. The feature [+pf] produces a *bounded* interpretation of the event which implies a change of a situation s_1 to a resulting situation s_2 (cf. (3a)), i.e. there is an interpretable boundary between s_1 and s_2 (which does not imply that s_2 necessarily holds at *speech time*, for details cf. Szucsich 1999, 2000). On the other hand, the feature [-pf] yields an *unbounded* interpretation of the event which does *not* imply a change of a situation to a resulting situation (cf. (3b)), though this change may be pragmatically predictable (cf. Szucsich 1999, 2000).

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- (3) (a) *Pětr ubral svoju komnatu.* → *Pětr uže ne ubiraet svoju komnatu.*
 Pětr tidied-up_{PF} his room P. isn't tidying up his room any more.
 'Pětr tidied up his room.' (with respect to an aspectual evaluation time)
- (b) *Pětr ubiral svoju komnatu.* → *Pětr uže ne ubiraet svoju komnatu.*
 Pětr tidied-up_{IMP} his room P. isn't tidying up his room any more.
 'Pětr tidied up his room.' (with respect to an aspectual evaluation time)

In languages without a morphological aspectual system, temporal structuring of the event has to be marked differently. For these languages it has been stated that the interpretation of DPs influences the interpretation of events in cases where the internal argument is a so-called incremental theme (cf. Krifka 1989, 1998, Filip 1995), i.e. there is a correlation between the interpretation of nominal and verbal entities with transitive and unaccusative verbs. An incremental theme is an argument which is affected by the event gradually, i.e. each part of the object or each part of its spatial state intrinsically corresponds to a part of the event which in turn corresponds to a part of the course of the event. In (4) an incomplete listing of the relevant verb class in English and Russian is provided (cf. also Filip 1995).

- (4) (a) *build (a house), destroy (a city), write (a book), read (an article), eat (an apple), sing (a song), melt (lead); enter, arrive, vaporize, etc.*
- (b) *stroit' / postroit' (dom), uničtožat' / uničtožit' (gorod), pisat' / napisat' (knigu), čitat' / pročitat' (stat'ju), est' / s'est' (jabloko), pet' / spet' (pesnju), plavit' / rasplavit' (olovo); vxodit' / vojti, pribyvav' / pribyt', isparjavat'sja / isparit'sja, etc.*

With these and other verbs in aspectless languages (i.e. those without morphological marking for Aspect), the referential status of the internal argument influences the aspectual interpretation of the event. The interpretatively relevant feature of DPs is called [\pm bounded] ([\pm B]). Typical specimens of bounded DPs are singular count nouns and mass nouns with determiners in German or with Accusative in Finnish. Typical unbounded DPs are determinerless plural nouns and mass nouns in German or Partitive DPs in Finnish. The effects of referential transmission (homomorphy between verbal and nominal interpretation) can be seen in German (5) and especially in Finnish (6).¹

- (5) (a) *Peter drank in einer Stunde / ??eine Stunde (lang) das Bier.*
 Peter drank in an hour / one hour (long) the beer
 'Peter drank the beer in one hour / ??for an hour.'
- (b) *Peter drank *in einer Stunde / eine Stunde (lang) (das ganze Leben) Bier.*
 Peter drank in one hour / one hour (long) (the whole life) beer
 'Peter drank beer *in an hour / for an hour (his whole life long).'
- (6) (a) *Mari kirjoitti kirjeet yhdessä tunnissa / *yhden tunnin.*
 Mari wrote letters_{ACC} in one hour_{INESS} / one hour_{ACC}
 'Mari wrote the letters in an hour / *for an hour.'
- (b) *Mari kirjoitti kirjeitä yhdessä tunnissa / yhden tunnin.*
 Mari wrote letter_{SPART} in one hour_{INESS} / one hour_{ACC}
 'Mari was writing letters *in an hour / for an hour.'

¹ Temporal adverbials are good diagnostics for the aspectual interpretation of a sentence. Duratives (Eng. *for one hour*, Ru. *odin čas*, Ger. *eine Stunde (lang)*, Fin. *yhden tunnin*) are compatible only with unbounded events. Time-span adverbials (Eng. *in an hour*, Ru. *za čas*, Ger. *in einer Stunde*, Fin. *yhdessä tunnissa*) are restricted to bounded events (for a discussion of problematic cases cf. Szucsich 1999, 2000).

Bounded nouns are individuated. The individuals denoted by bounded nouns are quantized and have interpretable boundaries. Unbounded DPs have cumulative referents without interpretable boundaries. They have the property that the sum of two objects which fall under one expression (e.g. two objects denoted by the DP *voda* 'water') falls under exactly the same expression as its parts (again *voda*). Bounded nouns lack this property (cf. Krifka 1989, 1998, Szucsich 1999). Examples (5) and (6) show that in aspectless languages the [\pm B] feature of incremental themes influences the aspectual interpretation of the verbal predicate.

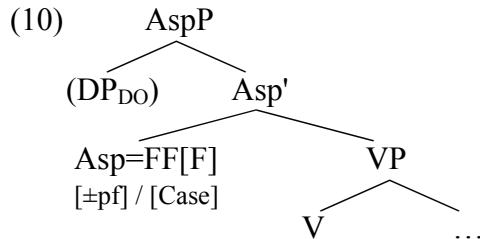
In Russian, DPs are determinerless and internal arguments are morphologically marked with Accusative or Nominative case (optionally with Genitive). But verbs are obligatorily marked for Aspect. Russian exhibits a mirror image of aspectless languages, i.e. the aspectual interpretation of verbal predicates influences the interpretation of nominal entities, cf. (7).

- (7) (a) *Maša napisala pis'ma za čas / *celyj čas.*
 Maša wrote_{PF} letters_{ACC} in hour / whole hour
 'Maša wrote the letters in an hour / *for an hour.'
- (b) *Maša pisala pis'ma *za čas / celyj čas.*
 Maša wrote_{IMP} letters_{ACC} in hour / whole hour
 'Maša was writing letters *in an hour / for an hour.'

In Slavic languages, the aspectual feature restricts the interpretation of nominal arguments in its domain. In (7a) the event is interpreted as bounded, whereas in (7b) the event is interpreted as unbounded. This is again shown by collocational restrictions concerning durative and time-span adverbials. The internal arguments are also interpreted as bounded (7a) and as unbounded (7b). Thus, the boundary of a perfective event (change of situation s_1 to situation s_2) corresponds to the boundary of an individual or an individuated set of individuals. Russian (8) and Finnish (9) examples illustrate consequences of homomorphy between verbal and nominal boundedness vs. unboundedness with respect to logical implications ((8c,d) and (9c,d)). A typically bounded noun like *ulica* 'street' may be interpreted as unbounded in the case that the object denoted by the DP is not totally affected by the event denoted by the verb.

- (8) (a) *Pětr perešěl ulicu. On vošěl v dom.*
 Pětr crossed_{PF} street He entered_{PF} in house
 'Pětr crossed the street. He entered a / the house.'
- (b) *Pětr perexodil ulicu. Mašina naexala na nego.*
 Pětr crossed_{IMP} street Car hit_{PF} on him
 'Pětr crossed the street. A car hit him.'
- (c) *Pětr perešěl ulicu.* \longrightarrow He reached the other side.
- (d) *Pětr perexodil ulicu.* \longrightarrow He reached the other side.
- (9) (a) *Matti ylitti kadun. Hän meni eräiseen taloon.*
 Matti crossed street_{ACC} He entered certain house_{ILLAT}
 'Matti crossed the street. He entered a house.'
- (b) *Matti ylitti katua. Hän jäi auton alle.*
 Matti crossed street_{PART} He got car_{GEN} under
 'Matti crossed the street. A car hit him.'
- (c) *Matti ylitti kadun.* \longrightarrow He reached the other side.
- (d) *Matti ylitti katua.* \longrightarrow He reached the other side.

As a consequence, I assume that $[\pm\text{pf}]$ features and $[\pm\text{B}]$ features are equivalent. This assumption accounts for the referential 'transmission' between nominal and verbal entities. Keeping functional projections to a minimum, this analysis leads to the assumption that the syntactic head Asp checks features of the direct object; among others structural case (Accusative in Russian; Accusative and Partitive in Finnish) and the Boundedness feature of the internal argument if it is an incremental theme. Aspectual features as well as structural case features are part of the formal feature-bundle of Asp, cf. (10).



In (10), the direct object (DP_{DO}) overtly or covertly checks its case features at Asp.

2. Accusative Adverbials as Bounded Modifiers

Similar to internal arguments in aspectless languages, some Accusative adverbials may affect aspectual properties of events. This also holds for Russian, though these adverbials do *not* change the aspectual feature of the verb itself. The relevant adverbials are so-called 'duratives' which denote temporal and locational measures (time periods and spatial distances). Unbounded events which are modified by distance measure adverbials (11b), may be additionally modified by time-span adverbials (11c), cf. the contrast to (11a) – (11c) being marginal but acceptable to most informants.

- (11) (a) **Pëtr begal za odnu minutu.*
 Pëtr ran_{IMP} in one minute
 *'Pëtr ran in one minute.'
- (b) *Pëtr begal pjatsot metrov.*
 Pëtr ran_{IMP} fivehundred_{ACC} meters_{GEN}
 'Pëtr ran fivehundred meters.'
- (c) *Pëtr begal pjatsot metrov za odnu minutu.*
 Pëtr ran_{IMP} fivehundred_{ACC} meters_{GEN} in one minute
 'Pëtr ran fivehundred meters in one minute.'

Duratives are themselves aspectually sensitive. They occur only with unbounded events (marked $[-\text{pf}]$ in Russian) which they delimit (cf. Pereltsvaig 2000).

Despite all the parallels, unbounded (imperfective) events modified by a delimiting adverbial differ from bounded events denoted by perfective verbs. With perfectivity, a resulting situation arises through the event denoted by the verb, and the resulting situation is itself part of the denotation of the verb. With imperfectivity and event delimiting duratives, there is nothing said about a resulting situation. Only the boundaries of the time interval of the event time are specified (for details cf. Krifka 1989, 1998, Wechsler & Lee 1996, Pereltsvaig 2000, Szucsich 1999, 2000). The contrast in (12) follows from these properties. In (12a) the implication is invalid, whereas in (12b) it is valid. Thus, it makes sense to distinguish *limitation* and *boundedness*.

- (12) (a) *Pětr vsju noč' rabotal. —/→ Pětr uže ne rabotaet.*
 Pětr whole night_{ACC} worked_{IMP} Pětr isn't working any more.
 'Pětr was working for the whole night.' (with respect to an aspectual evaluation time)
- (b) *Pětr pročital étot roman. —→ Pětr uže ne čitaet étot roman.*
 Pětr read_{PF} that novel Pětr isn't reading that novel any more.
 'Pětr read that novel.' (with respect to an aspectual evaluation time)

Accusative "frequency" adverbials (13) are also aspectually sensitive (cf. also Schoorlemmer 1995, 1997, who calls them "imperfectivity triggers").

- (13) (a) *Ona každyj god pokazывala / *pokazala ego vračam.*
 She every year_{ACC} showed_{IMP / *PF} him_{ACC} physicians_{DAT}
 'Every year she had him examined by physicians.'
- (b) *My každyj god ezdili / *poexali na kurort.*
 We every year_{ACC} went_{IMP / *PF} to spa_{ACC}
 'We went to the spa every year.'

However, not all Accusative adverbials are restricted to unbounded events. Multiplicatives and temporal positional adverbials (for some Russian speakers the latter are colloquial) may modify both bounded and unbounded events, cf. (14) and (15), though (14b) is marginal and denotes three repetitions of an unbounded event (three 'occasions', cf. Mourelatos 1978).

- (14) (a) *Tri raza udarili v kolokol, i zaves podnjalsja.*
 Three times_{ACC} struck_{PF} in bell and curtain rose_{REFL}
 'Three times they rang the bell, and the curtain rose.' (TolBu)
- (b) *Tri raza rugalsja.*
 Three times_{ACC} swore_{IMP}
 'I have sworn (cursed) three times.' (RazR, 05001)
- (15) (a) *Ona dežurila prošlyj god.*
 She duty-made_{IMP} last year_{ACC}
 'Last year, she was on duty.' (RazR, 02301)
- (b) *Tat'jana Sergeevna prošlyj god poxoronila muža.*
 Tat'jana Sergeevna last year_{ACC} buried_{PF} husband
 'Last year, Tat'jana Sergeevna buried her husband.' (TüUp, XSSO0201)

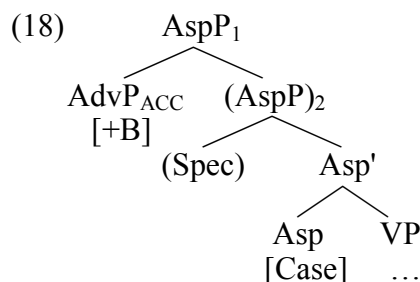
Nevertheless all Accusative adverbials (i.e. duratives, frequency adverbials, multiplicatives, and temporal positional adverbials) are closely related to temporal information which is encoded in Asp, viz. the time interval E (for details cf. Szucsich 1999, 2000). They temporally delimit / "quantize" or localize the event denoted by the verbal predicate, although they do not override aspectual features of the verb. Accusative adverbials do not modify the event itself but the temporal anchoring of the event which is represented in functional categories (Ernst 1998 counts them among the so-called 'Functional adverbials').

The common property of Accusative adverbials is that they are all bounded terms. Accusative duratives are countable and multiplicatives themselves are numerative constructions, i.e. the nominal head *raz* 'time' in (14) is also countable (whereas unbounded nominal terms with cumulative interpretation are not countable, cf. (16), except when interpreted sortally). Frequentatives always occur with the distributive universal quantifier *každ-* 'each' which modifies only bounded (count) nouns. It is incompatible with unbounded (mass) nouns. On the other hand, the universal quantifier *v#s-* 'all' has a cumulative reading, hence it is the only

possible universal quantifier for unbounded nouns, cf. the contrast in (17) (for a detailed discussion of mass and count nouns cf. Krifka 1989, 1998, Szucsich 1999, 2000).

- (16) (a) **tri zolota*
 three gold_{GEN:SG}
- (b) **pjat' vin*
 five wine_{GEN:PL}
- (17) (a) *vsë zoloto (mira)*
 all gold (world_{GEN})
 'all the gold (of the world)'
- (b) **každoe zoloto (mira)*
 each gold (world_{GEN})
 *'each gold (of the world)'

Taking these data into account, I propose that Accusative adverbials base-adjoin to AspP, which enables them to occur in a syntactically local relation to the Asp-head with the features [\pm pf] (or [\pm B]) and the feature for structural case, cf. (18) (cf. also Chomsky 1995: 177). In (18) the fundamental relations *sister* and *contain* apply: AdvP_{ACC} is the sister of the segment AspP₂ (in case the object moves overtly) which contains Asp'; alternatively, AdvP_{ACC} is the direct sister of Asp' (in case the object moves covertly). Asp' is a projection of the feature bundle Asp which also bears structural case features. Thereby the local syntactic relation between AdvP_{ACC} and the feature [Case] of Asp is established.



The positive Boundedness feature of Accusative adverbials modifies the syntactic target constituent. This modificational relation triggers *default-agreement* of the adverbial's case features with the target constituent AspP, i.e. the case features of bare nominal adverbials are licensed 'from outside'. Agreement is possible due to the above-mentioned local relation to Asp and the presence of a positively marked feature of the adjunct (cf. section 3.1). Consequently, case features of Accusative adverbials are structural.²

Of course, agreement in uninterpretable case features between an adjunct and AspP is not equivalent to a checking operation. Adjuncts do not check any feature of their syntactic target. On the contrary, in the case of duratives and frequentatives, the interpretable features of the adjunct and the target constituent concerning Boundedness must differ. Bounded event delimiters (duratives) and universal event iterizers (frequentatives) are restricted to unbounded events. Thus, the above-mentioned local relation is not a checking relation.

² This account is supported by the fact that Accusative adverbials exhibit Genitive of negation under sentential negation in combination with constituent negation, cf. (i) (for details cf. Borovikoff 1997).

- (i) *Ivan ne rabotal i čas / časa.*
 Ivan NEG worked even hour_{ACC / GEN}
 'Ivan didn't work even for an hour.'

Moreover, a temporal Accusative adverbial checking the case feature of Asp would cause the derivation to crash. Either the case feature of the internal argument would remain unchecked, assuming that checked case features of functional categories are deleted (in the case of transitive verbs), or the inactive structural case feature of Asp would allow for checking (in the case of intransitive verbs). Both options are not desirable: the former for obvious reasons (the only solution would be to declare case features or features in general as undeletable); the latter, because nothing would prevent the subject of intransitive verbs from checking its structural case features at Asp, too. Therefore I propose licensing mechanisms for uninterpretable morphological features beside checking, viz. via agreement in a local relation (for details cf. Szucsich 2000).

3. Instrumental Adverbials

3.1 Durative (Temporal) Instrumentals

By contrast, Instrumental adverbials which denote a temporal or locational measure do *not* delimit the temporal structure of events. These adverbials are not bounded, and their negative Boundedness feature does not affect the aspectual properties of the event, although Instrumental duratives also modify temporal information (i.e. specify an unbounded time interval for which a positive truth value for the event is stated). This (negative) property can be seen in (19) in contrast to (11c).

- (19) (a) *Pětr begal kilometrami.*
 Pětr ran_{IMP} kilometer_{INST:PL}
 'Pětr ran for kilometers.'
- (b) **Pětr begal kilometrami za odin čas.*
 Pětr ran_{IMP} kilometer_{INST:PL} in one hour
 *'Pětr ran for kilometers in one hour.'

Furthermore, Instrumental duratives are restricted to plural DPs, cf. the contrast in (20). That is, they denote unbounded, pluralic, i.e. cumulative objects, like determinerless mass nouns and plural DPs in languages like German and English. This analysis is corroborated by the fact that Instrumental duratives never occur in numerative constructions, cf. (21).

- (20) (a) *Pětr časami sidel molča.*
 Pětr hour_{INST:PL} sat being-silent
 'Pětr has been sitting (there) for hours without saying a word.'
- (b) **Pětr časom sidel molča.*
 Pětr hour_{INST:SG} sat being-silent
 *'Pětr has been sitting (there) for hour without saying a word.'
- (21) **Pětr dvumja časami sidel molča.*
 Pětr two hour_{INST:PL} sat being-silent
 *'Pětr has been sitting (there) for two hours and hours without saying a word.'

Due to the fact that Instrumental duratives modify the time course of the event, I assume that they adjoin to AspP, i.e. the adjunction site is the same as for Accusative adverbials. In Russian, different case marking with temporal nominal adverbials corresponds to different feature values concerning referential properties of the respective adverbials: bounded – Accusative vs. unbounded – Instrumental.

Thus, in Russian, a [-B] feature does not support *default*-agreement with the Asp category. In other languages, the local relation to Asp is sufficient for agreement. E.g. in Czech, the local relation to Asp always licenses *default*-agreement, i.e. unbounded duratives also appear with Accusative case (22), whereas Serbo-Croatian patterns with Russian (23).

(22) *Petr celé měsíce hledal onu knihu.*
 Petr whole month_{ACC:PL} looked-for_{IMP} that book
 'Petr was looking for that book for months.'

(23) *Petar je mjesecima tražio onu knjigu.*
 Petar is month_{INSTR:PL} looked-for_{IMP} that book
 'Petar was looking for that book for months.'

These data support the assumption that the target for adjunction of bounded and unbounded temporal adverbials is indeed the same. The relevance of features of the adjunct concerning case-agreement with the target constituent is parametrized.

3.2 Non-Temporal Instrumentals

Instrumental adverbials as a whole are not restricted to a specific adjunct position. They also diverge to a great degree with respect to the semantic role they bear, cf. (24).

- (24) (a) *Ivan vyl volkom.*
 Ivan howled wolf_{INST}
 'Ivan howled like a wolf.'
- (b) *Ivan rezal xleb nožom.*
 Ivan cut bread knife_{INST}
 'He cut the bread with a knife.'
- (c) *On kivnul golovoj.*
 he nodded head_{INST}
 'He nodded his head.'
- (d) *Ivan plakal gor'kimi slezami.*
 Ivan cried bitter_{INST} tears_{INST}
 'Ivan cried bitterly.'

Non-temporal Instrumental adverbials modify mostly the event itself, that is, the so-called referential or event argument of the verb (cf. Davidson 1980). By this they enrich the event structure with "argument-like" participants or specify the event like "real" manner adverbials. Those Instrumental adverbials which clearly modify the referential argument of the verb like those in (24), adjoin to a target within the domain of the lexical verbal projections (VP/vP). They introduce an additional predicate, which is not selected by the verb. Most of them are comparable to PP-adverbials as in (25).

- (25) (a) *Ivan našel mnogo gribov [PP v lesu].*
 Ivan found much mushrooms in wood_{PREP}
 'Ivan found a lot of mushrooms in the wood.'
- (b) *Student izvleč urok [PP iz ošibki].*
 Student pulled-out lesson from mistake_{GEN}
 'The student learned a lesson from the mistake.'

It is impossible to account for the case marking facts in Russian by positing different adjunction sites for Accusative and Instrumental adverbials. This would ignore the apparent case alternation with duratives in Russian (in contrast to the general Accusative marking of duratives in Czech)³. I therefore assume an empty category with the DP-adverbial as its complement (cf. (27)). This category (c-commanding the 'bare' DP-adverbial) adjoins to lexical or functional projections of the verb instantiating the predicative relation between Instrumental adverbials and the target constituents of the adjunction. Instrumental case is analyzed as a *default*-case for predicative [+N]-elements. This approach allows for a unified analysis of Instrumentals, in cases of both 'primary' predication with the copula verb (26a) and so-called 'secondary' predication as in (26c). Instrumental adverbials are a special kind of secondary predicate in the sense that they do not have an external argument which is coindexed with an argument of the verb as in (26c) (in the case of an adjunct small clause) or which is raised to the matrix sentence as in (26b) (in the case of an argument small clause exhibiting ECM).

- (26) (a) *Ivan byl učitelem.*
 Ivan was teacher_{INST}
 'Ivan was a teacher.'
- (b) *Ivan sčítaet Petra_i t_i glupym.*
 Ivan considers Pëtr_i t_i stupid_{INST}
 'Ivan considers Pëtr stupid.'
- (c) *Ivan_i vstretil svoego druga_j PRO_{i/j} p'janym.*
 Ivan_i met his friend_j PRO_{i/j} drunk_{INST}
 'Ivan met his friend drunk.'

The internal structure of Instrumental "AdvPs" in (27a) makes it possible to analyze the Instrumental case as a *default*-case for predicative DPs.⁴

- (27) (a) $\left. \begin{array}{l} [_{P(r)P} P(r) [DP_{INST}]] \\ (b) [_{P(r)P} P(r) [DP_{ACC}]] \end{array} \right\} = \text{AdvP}$

This analysis has to be carried over to temporal adverbials adjoining to AspP. To account for the parametrization of case marking (cf. (22) and (23)), we have to assume the same internal structure for Accusative adverbials (cf. (27b)) by analyzing the corresponding empty category c-commanding the DP:ACC as a case 'transmitter' which under parametrized conditions allows for agreement with structural case features of the syntactic target (AspP). That is, in cases of agreement, P(r) does not license the case marking of its complement by itself, but allows for licensing 'from outside' transmitting case features of the syntactic target. In Russian and cross-linguistically, transmission of case features by P(r)s is a relatively widespread phenomenon.

In Russian, copula-verbs as instances of P(r) also allow for agreement even when lexically filled, cf. (28a). The null-copula even forces agreement (28b) (there is no space to discuss the Nominative (agreement) vs. Instrumental variation with 'primary' (copula) predication in Russian; cf. Bailyn 1995, Geist 1999 among others for different accounts for this variation).

³ These facts also contradict a purely configurational account for 'case assignment' à la Franks (1995), cf. Szucsich (2000) for a critical discussion.

⁴ The label of the empty category does not matter – it is important that it instantiates the predicative relation. Bailyn (1995) – following Bowers (1993) – labels it Predicational Phrase (PrP), Fehrman (1995) analyzes it simply as a PP. Therefore, I put the "r" in (27) in parentheses.

- (28) (a) *Sergej K byl eë rodnoj otec / eë rodnym otcom*
 Sergej K was her natural father_{NOM / INST}
 'Sergej K was her natural father.' (Geist, 1999: 8)
- (b) *Ivan – učitel' / *učitelem*
 Ivan \emptyset _{COP} teacher_{NOM / *INST}
 'Ivan is a teacher.'

The same is true for secondary predication. Secondary predicates under certain conditions also agree with coindexed DPs, cf. (29) in contrast to (26c). Again, there is no space to discuss details (for discussion of conditions on agreement cf. Bailyn 1995, Franks 1995, Szucsich 2000 among others). Thus, in Slavic languages in various predicative constructions the Instrumental case may alter with the 'Agreement-case' (the latter is possible under additional conditions).

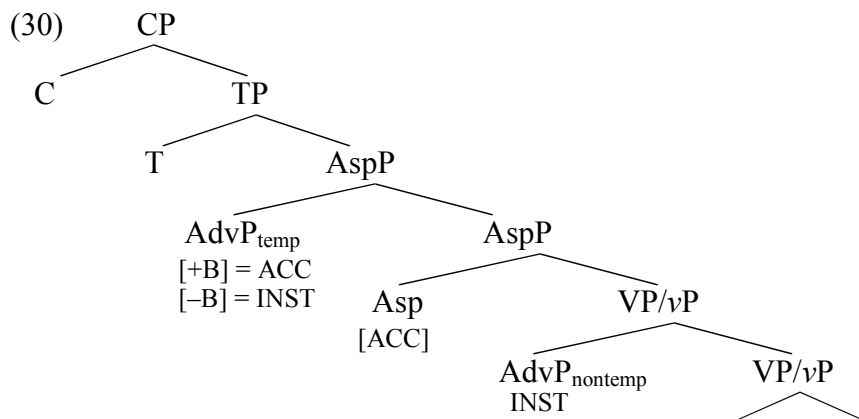
- (29) *Ivan_i vstretil svoego druga_j PRO_{*i/j} p'janogo.*
 Ivan_i met [his friend_{ACC}]_j PRO_{*i/j} drunk_{ACC}
 'Ivan met his friend drunk.'

Furthermore, the structure in (27) is also in line with Fehrmann's analysis of adverbials (cf. Fehrmann 1995) where she claims that all adverbials / adverbs have a PP structure.

4. Conclusion

First, I tried to show that the position of adverbials is determined by semanto-syntactic restrictions, i.e. that their position is the domain of the syntactic element they modify. There is no need to assume extra functional projections for adverbials, cf. Cinque (1999).

Second, I tried to show that adverbial case in Russian can be accounted for by assuming standard values for case. These values can be licensed by *default*-agreement or by predicational relations. Consequently, there is no need to assume special mechanisms of case assignment beside structural and lexical case. For *temporal bare nominal adverbials* there seem to be two options of case marking in Slavic languages: (i) agreement with the Asp category (which is found in many non-Slavic languages, too), or (ii) the assignment of predicative case (Instrumental). For *non-temporal bare nominal adverbials* which adjoin to VP/vP, there is no source for case-agreement (no target which hosts structural case features and no PRO which is coindexed with a DP of the matrix sentence). Hence, the predicative case (Instrumental) is obligatory. For *temporal* adverbials adjoining to AspP the possibility for agreement may depend on features of the adjunct (as in Russian and Serbocroatian). The case patterns for Russian adverbials are (abstractly) represented in (30) (AdvPs having an internal structure as in (27); potential specifiers of the functional categories are omitted).



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electronic corpora:

RazR, ... = Razgovornaja reč', № of dialogue

TüUp, ... = Tübingen/Uppsala Corpus, № of text

<http://www.sfb441.uni-tuebingen.de/b1/tran.html>

TolBu = A. Tolstoj: "Zolotoj ključik, ili priključenija Buratino"