

Studia Slavica Oldenburgensia

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(eds.)**

**Secondary predicates
in Eastern European languages
and beyond**



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Preface

In syntactic description, depictive secondary predicates are mostly considered to be non-sentential adjuncts on the predicate layer of the clause. Semantically, they predicate something about one of the participants of the event while the event unfolds. This is the common ground from which the investigation of depictive secondary predicates starts. Further conditions for a definition can be specified (e.g., by the criteria of depictive secondary predicates given by HIMMELMANN & SCHULTZE-BERNDT 2005, 1-2) which follow more or less directly from the two main preconditions given above.

What makes the investigation of secondary predicates in typologically different languages such a fascinating area of research? First of all, it is perhaps the contradictory aspects inherent in the definition of secondary predicates as given above: adjuncts are generally taken to be modifiers not of a referent of the clause, but of the clause as a whole, or of different layers of the clause. The modification (or qualification) of, or the predication about, a participant expressed by a noun phrase is either the function of some attributive element of the noun phrase, e.g. an adjective, or of the predicate of the clause (“predicative nominal” / “subject complement”). Depending on the approach taken, depictive secondary predicates are considered either as some kind of predicate (secondary or co-predicative), or some kind of disjoined adjective, or some kind of adverbial adjunct.

On the one hand, the question which of these approaches to secondary predicates is appropriate is a theoretical issue. One important discussion concentrates on the question of how to handle the binding relation of secondary predicates with their ‘controller’, i.e. the noun phrase it predicates something about, in syntactic theory (see, amongst others, MÜLLER 2002). Another discussion is concerned with incorporating the specific participant-oriented modifying properties of depictive secondary predicates into an overall theory of adverbial modification (e.g., LANG et al. 2003). And finally, there are problems concerning the (focal) position of depictive secondary predicates in the information structure of the sentence (focussing, pre-supposition, scope of negation, layering etc.; see e.g. WINKLER 1997).

At the same time, recent typological surveys of secondary predicates (in particular SCHULTZE-BERNDT & HIMMELMANN 2004, HIMMELMANN & SCHULTZE-BERNDT 2005) reveal a high heterogeneity of coding devices for secondary predicates both intra- and inter-linguistically. There are languages that tend to avoid secondary predicates by expressing all translation equivalents as clauses

which are paratactically or hypotactically connected to the main predication; languages may tend to code secondary predicates as different from adverbials, but similar to attributive adjectives (for instance by showing agreement phenomena, lack of adverbial derivation marking and the like), or they may tend to code them in line with their adverbials. Furthermore, one and the same language may even take various approaches by adopting different coding strategies for different types of secondary predicates (or their equivalents in other languages).

A survey of secondary predicates and/or their translation equivalents in typologically different languages, then, may pave the way for an understanding of the (non-)universality of the concept of depictive secondary predicates, as well as for the recognition of the similarity and diversity of, or preference for, specific coding patterns in the languages of the world. In addition, typology will tease out meaningful systematic correlates of the variation within the coding parameters identified, and an areal approach to secondary predicates may reveal continua of coding devices despite typological diversity, and of patterns that map geographic areas. It is interesting then to see how typologically identified systematic correlates behave in areas of language contact.

This volume offers descriptive as well as theoretical studies on depictive secondary predicates. A thematic grouping of the chapters from different angles suggests itself, but we can only hint at some of them here. The title of the volume, firstly, refers to an areal coherence; indeed, the focus is on the Central and Eastern European area. The largest single language group represented are the Slavonic languages, with aspects of secondary predication of Russian (A. STRIGIN), Old Russian (Th. MENZEL), Polish (B. CHACHULSKA), Lower Sorbian (H. BARTELS) and Croatian (Lj. ŠARIĆ) being discussed in individual chapters. Other chapters offer descriptions of depictive secondary predicates in the modern Baltic languages Lithuanian (L. VAIČIULYTĖ SEMĖNIENĖ, A. HOLVOET) and Latvian (A. HOLVOET), and two chapters deal with the Finno-Ugric languages Finnish (M. LEINONEN) and Hungarian (C. DE GROOT). To the North, East and South East, the Central European Area is broadened by investigations of aspects of secondary predication in the South Siberian Turkic languages Tuvan, Altai, Khakas and Shor (I. NEVSKAYA), in Turkish (Ch. SCHROEDER), as well as by an overview on role constructions in Turkic languages (C. SCHÖNIG). Caucasian languages are represented by the Daghestanian languages of Archi and Tsakhur (E. KALININA) and the Northwest Caucasian Adyghe (West Circassian, A. VYDRIN). To the South and the West of Central Europe, predicative particles in the Balkan languages Greek and Albanian (D. MATIĆ) are investigated, and aspects of secondary predication in German (S. ANDERS), German and English (St. MÜLLER), and German and Polish (G. HENTSCHEL) are examined. Two chapters deal with languages that "break away" from the rest: the

languages of Morocco (U. MAAS) and Classical Aztec in historical Mesoamerica or Mexico (Th. STOLZ).

Most of the chapters give an outline of depictive secondary predication or its translation equivalents in the language at issue. The chapters on Lower Sorbian (H. BARTELS), Croatian (Lj. ŠARIĆ), Finnish (M. LEINONEN), Hungarian (C. DE GROOT), Tuvan, Altai, Khakas and Shor (I. NEVSKAYA), Turkish (Ch. SCHROEDER), Lithuanian and Latvian (A. HOLVOET), Moroccan Arabic (U. MAAS) and Old Russian (Th. MENZEL) are devoted to descriptions of secondary predication in these languages, with the latter chapter presenting one of the few diachronic approaches in the field. The descriptions often touch on some areal aspect, as with Lower Sorbian (H. BARTELS), where contact with German is discussed; with Lithuanian and Latvian (A. HOLVOET), where areal aspects of Finnish, Polish and Russian are considered; with Croatian (L. ŠARIĆ), which is contrasted with its neighbouring language Slovene; with Hungarian (C. DE GROOT), which appears to be highly "westernized" with regard to the coding of depictive secondary predicates; with Tuvan, Altai, Khakas and Shor (I. NEVSKAYA), where the use of the dative case with depictives emerges as a striking areal feature of the South Siberian Turkic languages; and with Moroccan Arabic, which enters into a *Sprachbund* with Berber in the employment of coverbs for (equivalents of) secondary predicates (U. MAAS). The chapter on Turkish (Ch. SCHROEDER) arrives at a typological generalization which seeks to explain the high morphological differentiation between different types of event-internal adjuncts in that language, as opposed to languages like German and English.

One important feature of depictive secondary predication in Indo-European languages to the East and Southeast of German is the tendency to employ nominal case and agreement marking. All Slavonic languages treated here show this, as do the Baltic languages, though with different distributions. In particular the chapters on Polish (B. CHACHULSKA) and Lithuanian (L. VAIČIULYTE SEMENIENE) concentrate on the distributions of nominal marking devices with depictive secondary predicates, while the range of employment of the instrumental case in Russian is the topic of a chapter by A. STRIGIN. Non-Indo-European languages of Eurasia, on the other hand, prefer coverbs as a coding device for depictive secondary predicates. The Finno-Ugric languages, in a way, display a "mixed type", adding coverbs to case marking (Finnish, M. LEINONEN) and, in the case of Hungarian, also to adjectival agreement and employment of pre- and postpositional phrases (C. DE GROOT). In the Turkic and North Caucasian languages, coverbs feature more prominently. In particular the papers on Adyghe and on the Daghestanian languages (A. VYDRIN, E. KALININA) are devoted to the (im)possibility of delimiting depictives from coverb expressions. Con-

troller-related nominal case marking, on the other hand, is absent from this type of adjunct, or, as is the case with the South Siberian Turkic languages (I. NEVSKAYA), is a semantically highly specific device.

One particular aspect of secondary predication comprises constructions with semantic equivalents of “like” or “as”, and this volume looks at these constructions in different languages of the area. In an investigation of the German *als*-particle, S. ANDERS discusses problems of control and delimitation of secondary predication. D. MATIĆ investigates the pragmatics of Albanian and Greek predicative particles, C. SCHÖNIG presents an overview over Turkic role predications, and G. HENTSCHEL’s point of departure is a discussion of German *als* and the Polish translation equivalent *jako*.

All chapters broaden our insight into secondary predication. For instance, through his investigation of the Russian instrumental, A. STRIGIN arrives at a broader general approach to secondary predicates; G. HENTSCHEL aims at a better understanding of the concept of “circumstantials”; and St. MÜLLER discusses co-indexing problems with depictive secondary predicates. A more accurate understanding of this problematic construction challenges the way it is conceived in some familiar Western Indo-European languages, and indeed, we have good reasons for believing that depictive secondary predicates are by no means universal. A. KALININA shows that the non-existence of depictive modifying predicates in Archi and Tsakhur correlates with a specific feature of information structure; U. MAAS shows how person-marked co-verbs in Moroccan Arabic and Berber take over functions fulfilled by depictive secondary predicates in other languages, and the chapter on Classical Aztec (TH. STOLZ) shows that for instance one possibility for coding translation equivalents of secondary predicates in an “omnipredicative” language is to incorporate them into compound verbs.

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Chapter Summaries

On the basis of corpus data, the contribution by S. ANDERS (“Depiktive und ihre Bezugsnomen: Zur Frage präpositional markierter Controller bei *als*-Depiktiven“) first discusses the question which controllers in German can occur with depictives in the form of *als*-phrases, i.e. to which “syntactic positions” depictives can refer. She shows that the restrictions are not as rigid as they are widely assumed to be. In this connection, she discusses various problems regarding the distinction of depictives from other types of secondary predicative elements. She goes into particular detail about *als*-phrases with a purpose reading. Furthermore, she addresses the phenomenon of resumption of the preposition in *als*-phrases when controlled by prepositionally marked participant phrases.

In a contribution dealing with Lower Sorbian, H. BARTELS (“Sekundäre Prädikation im Niedersorbischen“) gives an overview of the semantics and morphosyntactic marking of depictives and (marginally) of circumstantials in this language. He especially highlights the dominance of case agreement (as well as analytical constructions) for marking participant-oriented, secondary predicative adjuncts. In many cases, Lower Sorbian can be described as a preserver of old Slavonic types of constructions, but in some cases traces of German influence cannot be overlooked. The author also addresses instances of case agreement in borderline cases between participant and event orientation.

The coexistence of different ways of marking secondary predicative elements in Polish is the main focus of the chapter by B. CHACHULSKA (“Prädikativer Instrumental, Kasuskongruenz oder analytische Markierung bei sekundären Prädikaten im Polnischen“). It deals with the so-called predicative instrumental, with case agreement and with analytical markers. These marking options of secondary predicates are compared with the regularities of the marking of nouns and adjectives in the function of primary predicates in copular sentences, in which as a rule the former displays the instrumental, while the latter displays the nominative case, except in constructions with infinite copulas. Her discussion of secondary predicate elements is structured into a part on adjuncts and a part on complements. In the latter case, the predicative instrumental is still relatively widely used for predicative nouns, though with a tendency to decline. With adjuncts

analytical markers dominate with nouns, while adjectival secondary predicates as a rule show case agreement.

C. DE GROOT ("Depictive secondary predication in Hungarian") identifies four major groups of depictives in Hungarian. The first type is nouns, which have an essive marker or a specific post- or preposition, or the dative, the difference between the nominal strategies being one of semantic function. The second type comprises various converb forms. The third type are numerals which take adverbial endings and receive collective and/or distributive semantics. The last type are adjectives which take adverbial endings. With regard to the distinction between depictives and adverbs, then, Hungarian behaves similarly to German and Dutch in that a morphological distinction between these two categories is not maintained. At the same time, however, Hungarian parallels Turkic and Finnish case marking in that bare forms are avoided in the position of adjuncts.

The chapter by G. HENTSCHEL ("On the classification of (non-resultative) predicative adjuncts") deals with questions concerning the classification of secondary predicates, especially with Joanna Nichols' classification of circumstantials. German constructions with *als* and comparable Polish constructions with *jako* are taken to serve as illustrations. Hentschel advocates the assumption of an additional type of causal circumstantial and demonstrates the reducibility of a so far generally accepted type of concessive circumstantials to causals or conditionals. Distinctions and commonalities of depictives and circumstantials are shown on the basis of primarily referential and modal features. A second topic is the distinction between circumstantials and a certain type of "loose appositions", as they are traditionally posited for German.

A. HOLVOET ("Secondary predicates in Baltic") considers secondary predicates in Lithuanian and Latvian, but his observations have a wider scope, including some areal aspects of Polish, Russian and Finnic. Factors that favour the use of an oblique (instrumental, prepositional) marking of predicates are: secondary, resultative, object-controlled and nominal predication, i.e. properties that can functionally be interpreted as marked with regard to the basic pattern "X is Y" with its relative time-stability. Resultatives are discussed in their relationship with, and the transitional zones of indeterminacy between, depictives and event-oriented adverbials in the various languages: Latvian has agreement as in depictives (like its Finnic substratum or adstratum), Lithuanian has adverbs as in event-oriented expressions, and Polish has prepositional "lative" expressions which contrast with depictive adverbs. In spite of their neighbourhood, Lithuanian and Slavonic share only a negative feature: their contrast with Latvian agreement.

E. KALININA (“Depictives and information-structure marking in the languages of Daghestan”) studies secondary predication in the Daghestanian languages of Archi and Tsakhur. In these languages, the main vs. subordinate clause opposition is not coded by person marking, but rather by epistemic particles whose occurrence is a main clause privilege. Participant-oriented equivalents of depictives are coded as event-modifying stative / imperfective converb constructions or adverbs, which pass the negation test of depictives. One of the goals of this paper is to show that the non-existence of depictive modifying predicates correlates with a specific feature of information structure: main clause predication is linked with assertion, whereas modifying units are presupposed and thus cannot be used as depictives (but as causal or concessive circumstantials which are outside the scope of negation). Therefore dependent converb constructions belonging to the scope of assertion surface as adjuncts.

The focus of the chapter by M. LEINONEN (“Depictive secondary predicates in Finnish”) is on secondary predicates in Finnish. We can speak of basically three morphological types of depictives in Finnish. First, case-marked nominals, in particular with the essive and other locative cases, appear to cover a conspicuous part of the field of depictives. Second, various converb forms are used to form verb-based depictives. And third, absolute constructions describe additional simultaneous states of the subject or the object of the sentence.

U. MAAS (“Sekundäre Prädikate (Depiktive) und Finitheit. Typologische Überlegungen aus maghrebischer Perspektive (marokkanisches Arabisch und Berberisch)”) distinguishes between two basic strategies in the formation of secondary predicates or their translation equivalents in Moroccan Arabic. One is the “nominal strategy”, where secondary predicates are nominal (adjectival or participial) free adjuncts or complements, the other is the “verbal strategy”, where translation equivalents of secondary predicates are person-marked converbs which function as modifying elements of complex predicates. The latter strategy is the dominant strategy also in Berber, which forms a *Sprachbund* with Moroccan Arabic, and it challenges the notion of depictive secondary predicates as known from languages like English and German.

D. MATIĆ (“On the meaning of predicative particles in Albanian and Greek”) investigates “analytic” predicative particles (“as”, “like”) in Greek and Albanian, where they show identical behaviour, and their semantic relationship with “homonymous” similitive particles in Slavonic and Balkanic languages. They convey an epistemic qualification of propositions in the scope of verbs of propositional attitude (“consider”, “find”, “think of” etc.), namely non-commitment of the speaker with regard to the truth of the proposition which is connected with an implicature of non-reality. This meaning is interpreted as “approximate inclu-

sion”, contrasting with “inclusion proper” in the class referred to by the bare predicate, and it is this “approximateness” which the predicative particles share with similitive expressions.

Choosing a diachronic perspective Th. MENZEL’s contribution (“On secondary predicates in Old Russian”) is devoted to Old Russian. After some introductory theoretical considerations and a short outline of the situation in Modern Russian he presents an analysis of six pertinent texts from the 12th to the 15th century. The analysis shows different forms of the use of case agreement as a marker of secondary, mainly depictive, predicates, as well as other, historically less common marking techniques. The author also points out a series of competing constructions other than secondary predicates that are semantically or communicatively similar and occur more frequently than secondary predicates in the selected type of text.

St. MÜLLER (“Depictive secondary predicates in German and English”) presents an analysis of secondary predicates in German which is based on coindexing the controller of the depictive with an argument of the modified verb. This analysis explains why controllers have to precede depictive predicates without recourse to linear precedence rules, and it allows for extensions for languages like English.

I. NEVSKAYA (“Depictive secondary predicates in South Siberian Turkic”) gives an overview of depictives in the South Siberian Turkic languages Tuvan, Altai, Khakas and Shor. The variety of formal means to express depictives is fairly broad in these languages: adjectives in the dative case, nominals of possession with and without dative, intensified adjectives, collective and distributive numerals, participles, converbs and nominal phrases with various postpositions. The forms employed are distributed according to the semantic type of depictive as well as according to subject vs. object controller. The use of the dative case with depictives is one of the most striking features in this region, as is the reluctance to employ bare forms, i.e. bare adverbs and – in Tuvan and Altai, but less prominent in Khakas and Shor – bare adjectives.

In an overview of Croatian, which marginally also addresses Slovenian, Lj. ŠARIĆ (“Secondary predicates in Croatian”) first briefly summarises the treatment of secondary predicates in the Croatian linguistic literature. In the second section she discusses the possible controllers and case markers of depictives, the contrast between so-called definite and indefinite adjectives in predicative function, problems of distinguishing adverbials (mainly in the form of adverbs) and depictives, and differences and commonalities between similitive and depictive constructions with analytical marking. Finally, she presents a semantic

classification of depictive constructions, considering questions of marking and of distinguishing these depictives from semantically similar constructions.

Strategies of constructing role predicates in the Turkic languages are specified by C. SCHÖNIG (“Notizen zu türkischen Gerundialformen (Konverbialformen) als verbale Kerne von Rollenprädikaten”). In order to express this semantic type of secondary predicate, Turkic languages in general seem to employ converb constructions formed by adding a copular verb, and the converb form used is that of temporal inclusion. Uzbek is special in that the verb used in the converb construction differs according to subject vs. object controller.

Ch. SCHROEDER (“Adverbial modification and secondary predicates in Turkish: a typological perspective”) describes the specific form-function relations of Turkish manner adverbials and secondary predicates, both of which are subsumed under the syntactic category of “event-internal adjuncts”. All in all, one can speak of a high degree of grammaticalization of morphologically differentiated forms according to their semantic orientation. The author then goes on to relate these findings to some general typological properties of Turkish which distinguish it sharply from languages like English and German. First, Turkish has a tendency to display a strong external (morphological) differentiation between clause-level and noun phrase level constituents. Second, Turkish is a verb-framed language in the sense of L. Talmy, as opposed to the Germanic languages, which are satellite-framed. This leads to a strong internal (morphological) differentiation of event-internal adjuncts in Turkish.

In some languages with an “omnipredicative” structure (where e.g. “nouns” behave like stative verb forms) the problem arises if the distinction between primary and secondary predication is universal. In his paper on Classical Aztec, Th. STOLZ (“Primary versus secondary predication in Classical Aztec”) argues that this language has the shallow structure of semantically related, juxtaposed clauses. These clauses exhibit an asymmetry of predicate-plus-argument structures which is gained by the interaction of deargumentation (with an optional assertive particle) and depredicativisation (with an operator particle that transforms predicates into arguments). Within the limits of this structural constraint, the translation equivalents of secondary predicates are coded by various strategies, e.g. by focussing them as predicates or incorporating them into compound verbs.

A. STRIGIN (“Secondary predication and the instrumental case in Russian”) discusses the phenomenon of secondary predicates in Russian, which often show the instrumental case, and the use of the Russian instrumental case in general, i.e. the instrumental of measure, the instrumental of “instrument” and others. Comparing Russian and English, the author points out a broader structural spectrum

of possible controllers of secondary predicates and also a broader semantic spectrum of secondary predicates in Russian. One exception to these general tendencies are resultative secondary predicates, which are less common in Russian. In conclusion the author advocates a broader concept of secondary predication.

L. VAIČIULYTĖ SEMENIENĖ (“Die morphosyntaktische Markierung substantivischer sekundärer Prädikative im Litauischen”) surveys positional and morphosyntactic marking variation in predicative nouns, complementatives and depictives. The occurrence of agreement, instrumental and prepositional marking (“as, like”) of secondary predicates is a feature which Lithuanian shares with its neighbouring languages, but the distribution is not quite the same. There are a few cases of obligatory choice of one of the markings, but most occurrences follow scalar tendencies. For instance, nominal depictives and in particular complementatives have a stronger tendency to be marked by the instrumental, whereas primary predicative nouns in copular clauses tend to show agreement; similarly, in copular clauses the preference of the nominative or the instrumental seems to be sensitive to tense, mood, and finiteness in the sense that, for example, the agreeing nominative is preferred with the present (as related to time-stability), the instrumental is more frequent with infinitive forms etc.

In his paper on Adyghe (West Circassian), A. VYDRIN (“Are there depictives in Adyghe?”) shows that this is one of the languages where a formal characterisation of depictives is difficult. Both main and dependent verbs are marked for the typical “finiteness” categories, and many translation equivalents of adjectives and nouns are coded as finite stative predicates. Relevant forms with the suffix *-ew* are used as adverbs, as arguments of “to become”, “to nominate”, “to consider” etc., and as converbs. While participant-orientation is overt, a delimitation from event-oriented clausal converb constructions seems problematic, and the scope of negation can often be either the converb plus verb or the verb alone (on which negation is marked). However, there is a small group of adjectives without person marking which can be considered to be depictive (the clearest example being “naked”). Similarly, nouns without person and tense-mood marking look like depictives, but they do not pass the negation test.

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The editors

Oldenburg and Potsdam, April 2008

List of abbreviations / Abkürzungsverzeichnis

1	first person	erste Person
2	second person	zweite Person
3	third person	dritte Person
ABESS	abessive	Abessiv
ABL	ablative	Ablativ
ABS	absolute	Absolutiv
ACC	accusative	Akkusativ
ACT	active	Aktiv
ACTP	active participle	Partizip Aktiv
AD	localization 'near'	Lokalisierung 'bei'
ADESS	adessive	Adessiv
ADJ	adjective	Adjektiv
ADV	adverbial	Adverbial(is)
ADVP	adverbial participle	Adverbialpartizip
ALL	allative	Allativ
ANT	anterior	vorzeitig
AOBL	attributive oblique	attributiver Obliquus
AOR	aoorist	Aorist
ART	article	Artikel
ASP	aspect	Aspekt
ASS	assertive	Assertiv
ATTR	attributive	attributiv
AUX	auxiliary	Auxiliar
BEN	benefactive	Benefaktiv, Benefizient
CAUS	causative	Kausativ
CJ	conjunction	Konjunktion
COH	coherence particle	Kohärenzpartikel
COLL	collective	Kollektives Numerale
COM	comitative	Komitativ
COMP	complementiser	complementiser
COND	conditional	Konditional
CONJ	subjunctive	Konjunktiv
CONNEG	connegative	Konnegativ
CONT	localization 'in contact'	Lokalisierung 'in Kontakt'
COP	copula	Kopula

CS	constructus	Status constructus
CVB	converb	Konverb
DAT	dative	Dativ
DEF	definite	definit
DEL	delative	Delativ
DEM	demonstrative	Demonstrativ
DET	determiner	Determinans
DIM	diminutive	Diminutiv
DIR	directional	Direktional
DISTR	distributive marker	Distributiv
DU	dual	Dual
DUR	durative	Durativ
DYN	dynamic	dynamisch
ELAT	elative	Elativ
EM	epistemic marker	epistemischer Marker
ERG	ergative	Ergativ
ESS	essive	Essiv
EVENT	eventualis	Eventualis
EVID	evidential	Evidential(is)
F	feminine	Femininum
FACT	factive	Faktiv
FOC	focus	Fokus
FUT	future	Futur
GEN	genitive	Genitiv
GER	gerund	Gerundium
HAB	habitual	Habitualis
HPL	human plural	menschlicher Plural
HUM	human	menschlich
IDEO	ideophonic form	Ideophon
ILL	illative	Illativ
IMP	imperative	Imperativ
IMPERF	imperfect	Imperfekt
IMPERS	impersonal	Impersonale/unpersönlich
IN	localization 'inside'	Lokalisierung 'in'
INCH	inchoative	Inchoativ
IND	indicative	Indikativ
INDF	indefinite	indefinit
INESS	inessive	Inessiv
INF	infinitive	Infinitiv
INS	instrumental	Instrumental

INSTR	instrumental preverb	Instrumentalpräverb
INSTRC	instructive	Instruktiv
INT	intensive	Intensiv
INTER	localization 'between'	Lokalisierung 'zwischen'
IPFV	imperfective	Imperfektiv
IRR	irrealis	Irrealis
JUNC	junctive	Junktive
JUSS	jussive	Jussiv
LAT	lative	Lativ
LIG	ligature	Ligatur
LNK	linker	Verbindungselement
LOC	locative	Lokativ
M	masculine	Maskulinum
MANN	manner	Modal-
MREL	modus relativus	Modus relativus
N	neuter	Neutrum
N	noun (categorial symbol)	Nomen (Kategorialsymbol)
NEG	negation	Negation
NEGV	negative verb	negatives Verb
NMLZ	nominaliser	Nominalisierer
NOM	nominative	Nominativ
NONHUM	non-human	nicht-menschlich
NP	noun phrase (categorial symbol)	Nominalphrase (Kategorialsymbol)
NUM	numeral	Numerale
OBJ	object	Objekt
OBJPRO	object pronoun	Objektpronomen
OBL	oblique case	(Causus) Obliquus
OBLIG	obligative	Obligativ
P-MARKIERT	person marked	personal markiert
PART	partitive	Partitiv
PASS	passive	Passiv
PASSP	passive participle	Partizip Passiv
PERF	perfect	Perfekt
PERSPRON	personal pronoun	Personalpronomen
PFV	perfective	Perfektiv
PL	plural	Plural
PLQPF	pluperfect	Plusquamperfekt
POR	possessor	Possessor
POSS	possessive	Possessiv

POSTP	postposition	Postposition
POT	potential	Potentialis
PP	prepositional phrase	Präpositionalphrase
PRÄS	presentative	Präsentativ
PRED	predicative / predication	prädikativ / Prädikation
PRFP	perfect participle	Partizip Perfekt
PRO	pronoun / pronominal (stem)	Pronomen / pronominal(er Stamm)
PROGR	progressive	Verlaufsform
PRP	preposition	Präposition
PRS	present	Präsens
PRT	preterite	Präteritum
PST	past	Präteritum
PTCL	particle	Partikel
PTCP	participle	Partizip
PUM	possessum	Possessum
RE	reversive-refactive	
RECP	reciprocal	reziprok
REDUPL	reduplication	Reduplikation
REFL	reflexive	Reflexiv
REL	relative	Relativ
RESULT	resultative	Resultativ
RSN	reason	Grund
Q	question marker	Fragemorphem, -partikel
S	sentence / clause (categorical symbol)	Satz (Kategorialsymbol)
SG	singular	Singular
SUBL	sublative	Sublativ
SUP	localization 'on'	Lokalisierung 'auf'
SUPESS	superessive	Superessiv
SUPERL	superlative	Superlativ
TRANSL	translative	Translativ
V	verb (categorical symbol)	Verb (Kategorialsymbol)
VERBN	verbal noun	Verbalnomen
VOC	vocative	Vokativ
VP	verb phrase (categorical symbol)	Verbalphrase (Kategorialsymbol)
X...X	circumfix	Zirkumfix
&	associative particle	Verknüpfungspartikel

Depiktive und ihre Bezugsnomen: Zur Frage präpositional markierter Controller bei *als*-Depiktiven

1. Einleitung

Sekundäre Prädikate, besonders sog. Depiktive, sind zur Zeit ein in der Linguistik, und hier besonders in der Typologie, viel diskutiertes Phänomen. Eine wesentliche Teilfrage der Diskussion ist, welche Partizipanten im Satz (Komplemente und Adjunkte) als sog. Controller fungieren können oder – anders gesagt – welche Partizipanten Bezugswort in einer „kopularen Beziehung“ bzw. „Subjekt“ einer kopularen sekundären Prädikation sein können, die gemeinhin als konstitutiv für die sekundäre Prädikation angenommen wird. Diese Frage ist für verschiedene Untertypen von sekundären Prädikaten ganz offensichtlich unterschiedlich zu beantworten.

Im Zentrum der folgenden Diskussion stehen Depiktive. Ohne hier in eine detaillierte Diskussion über ihre Abgrenzung von anderen Typen sekundärer Prädikate einzugehen¹, sind die wesentlichen Merkmale von Depiktiven die folgenden:

- i. Ein Depiktiv D ist ein Adjunkt zur primären Prädikation.
- ii. Ein Partizipant X der primären Prädikation ist semantisches Bezugselement (Controller) des Depiktivs D, und zwischen dem Depiktiv D und X besteht, wie bei anderen sekundären Prädikaten mit Adjunktstatus, eine prädikative Beziehung: 'X_{Subjekt} – Kopula – D_{Prädikat}'.
- iii. Der durch das Depiktiv ausgedrückte Sachverhalt ist innerhalb des Zeitrahmens des durch das primäre Prädikat ausgedrückten Ereignisses – im Sinne einer Inklusion – gültig, und er ist für die primäre Prädikation relevant.
- iv. Das Depiktiv erbt die temporalen und modalen Werte der primären Prädikation.

* Für kritische Anmerkungen danke ich G. Hentschel, W. Boeder und Chr. Schroeder. Verbliebene Unzulänglichkeiten liegen ausschließlich in meiner Verantwortung.

1 Dazu eingehender vgl. SCHULTZE-BERNDT & HIMMELMANN 2004, 77/8; HIMMELMANN & SCHULTZE-BERNDT 2005a, 4-27, GÜLDEMANN 2005, 349ff; SCHROEDER (i.Dr. §2) und HENTSCHEL (in diesem Band).

- v. Der Skopus der Negation ist entweder nur das Depiktiv (kontrastive oder partielle Negation), oder das primäre Prädikat und das Depiktiv zusammen.
- vi. Das Depiktiv ist assertiver Fokus des Satzes.

(1) Peter trank den Tee_X kalt_D.

Einen anderen, auch hier verschiedentlich anzusprechenden Typ stellen die Zirkumstantialen dar, für die dagegen gilt²:

- i. Ein Partizipant X der primären Prädikation ist semantisches Bezugselement (Controller) des Zirkumstantial Z, und zwischen dem Zirkumstantial Z und diesem Partizipanten X besteht eine prädikative Beziehung, so dass gilt: 'X(Subjekt) – Kopula – Z(Prädikat)'.
- ii. Der durch das Zirkumstantial ausgedrückte Sachverhalt überlappt zeitlich den Zeitrahmen des durch das primäre Prädikat ausgedrückten Ereignisses, es besteht vielfach neben einer temporalen zusätzlich eine spezifische semantische – konditionale, kausale³ – Beziehung.
- iii. Zirkumstantiale können eine eigene Zeitreferenz und eigene modale Eigenschaften haben.
- iv. Zirkumstantiale befinden sich nicht im Skopus der Satznegation.
- v. Zirkumstantiale liefern präsupponierte Information.

(2) Kalt_Z schmeckt der Tee_X nicht gut.

Zur Typisierung sekundärer Prädikate werden in der einschlägigen Literatur u.a. Restriktionen festgestellt, die hinsichtlich der syntaktischen Funktionen und semantischen Rollen der Controller dieser Prädikate gelten. So wird für Depiktive – obwohl oft nur mit englischen Beispielen gearbeitet wird – aufgrund einer Verallgemeinerung manchmal angenommen, dass sie ausschließlich durch Subjekte und direkte Objekte kontrolliert werden können, genauer: durch das einzige Kernargument (S) intransitiver Verben, das agensähnliche Kernargument (A) oder patiensähnliche Kernargument (O) transitiver Verben (vgl. HIMMELMANN & SCHULTZE-BERNDT 2005a, 54).

Auch für das Deutsche wird diese Ansicht vertreten. SCHROEDER (2004, § 5.1.1.2), der die Controller nach ihrer der syntaktischen Funktion (auf der „Oberfläche“) typisiert, meint, dass im Deutschen in der Regel das Subjekt und das Akkusativobjekt Controller von Depiktiven mit offenem Bezug seien (wozu er neben Adjektiv- und Partizipialphrasen die *als*-Depiktive rechnet). Als Ausnahmefall und ausschließlich bei fehlendem Akkusativobjekt träten auch Dativ-, Genitiv- und Präpositionalobjekte als Depiktivcontroller auf, bei den *als*-Depik-

2 Zu den Eigenschaften von Zirkumstantialen s. NICHOLS 1978, 121-2, NICHOLS 1981, 40-44, HIMMELMANN & SCHULTZE-BERNDT 2005 b, 15ff, HENTSCHEL (in diesem Band)

3 Zur Typisierung der Zirkumstantiale s. HENTSCHEL (in diesem Band).

tiven seien allerdings Präpositionalobjekte und Situativangaben als Controller nicht möglich (SCHROEDER 2004, § 7.3.1).

Himmelman & Schultze-Berndt konzedieren neben S, A und O das sporadische Vorkommen auch anderer Depiktiv-Controller im Deutschen, allerdings träten diese fast nur in der Umgangssprache auf (vgl. HIMMELMANN & SCHULTZE-BERNDT 2005a, 54-5; SCHULTZE-BERNDT & HIMMELMANN 2004, 74):

- (3) Da mussten wir mit Matthias_i, quasi nackig_i, nach Hause laufen.⁴
- (4) Und sie haben dann am Nachmittag aus derselben Tasse_i, unausgespült_i, den Kaffee getrunken.

Andere Sprachen sind nach Himmelman & Schultze-Berndt in dieser Hinsicht permissiver: Neben S, A und O kämen noch weitere Controller vor; so könnten in australischen Sprachen agentive Komplemente in Passivdiathesen, Dativobjekte und direktionale Adjunkte Depiktiv-Controller sein (vgl. SCHULTZE-BERNDT & HIMMELMANN 2004, 73).

Für die Bezugselemente von Zirkumstantialen im Deutschen werden in der Literatur weniger starke Restriktionen hinsichtlich ihrer möglichen syntaktischen Funktionen bzw. semantischen Rollen angenommen. Hier könnten auch andere Größen als Bezugselemente fungieren, so etwa Dativobjekte oder Präpositionalobjekte, Situativangaben und sogar adnominale Possessiva (SCHROEDER 2004, § 7.3.1):

- (5) Man erlaubte ihm_i, als Kind_i, nicht, am Sportunterricht teilzunehmen, weil bei ihm der Verdacht auf einen Herzfehler bestand.
- (6) Als Lehrer_i wird von einem_i, heute erwartet, dass man auch die Sozialisation der Schüler übernimmt.
- (7) Schon als Kind_i, war Pauls_i / sein_i, Sozialverhalten auffällig.

Ziel der folgenden Analyse ist zu prüfen, ob die allgemein angenommenen Restriktionen nicht zu stark sind. Deshalb soll anhand eines Textkorpus systematisch geprüft werden, welche präpositionalen Controller von depiktiven *als*-Phrasen möglich sind. Um die in der Literatur formulierten Restriktionen zu überprüfen, wurden ein Korpus mit philosophischen Texten aus dem 18. und 19. Jh.⁵ und ein Korpus mit vor allem journalistischen Texten aus der 2. Hälfte des 20. Jhs.⁶ analysiert. Diese beiden Korpora mit Textsorten, die offensichtlich nicht der Um-

4 Dieser Satz ist ambig. Seine Defaultlesart wäre sogar, dass der Referent des Subjekts (*wir*) und der Referent der Präpositionalphrase (*Matthias*) nackig waren. Aber auch die Lesart wie in (3), mit Bezug des Depiktivs nur auf den präpositional markierten Partizipanten, ist möglich.

5 *Philosophie von Platon bis Nietzsche*. Digitale Bibliothek, Berlin 2000, Directmedia

6 Cosmas II

gangssprache zuzuordnen sind, wurden gewählt, weil gerade in ihnen eine hohe Frequenz sekundärer Prädikate zu erwarten ist: Konstruktionen mit sekundären Prädikaten sind auch ein Mittel der „kondensierten Übermittlung“ von komplexen Inhalten. Letzteres ist kennzeichnend für die gewählten Textsorten, nicht für informelle Sprache. Einige (ca. 80) der gefundenen *als*-Phrasen mit präpositional markierten Controllern weisen die für Depiktive als konstitutiv geltenden Merkmale auf.

Die folgende Musterung dieser Belege orientiert sich an den von HENTSCHEL (2003) vorgeschlagenen vier Präpositionstypen. Dies sind (a) strukturell (syntaktisch) verwendete Präpositionen wie *von* bei der Markierung des Agens beim Passiv im Deutschen, (b) lexikalisch regierte wie *von* in *enttäuscht sein von jemandem*, (c) paradigmatisch-oppositiv, und zwar bei identischer Kasusreaktion, z.B. *vor* und *hinter* mit dem Dativ wie in *vor dem Haus* vs. *hinter dem Haus*, und (d) semanto-syntaktische, die eine Zwischenposition zwischen den paradigmatisch-oppositiven und den strukturellen Präpositionen einnehmen: Sie können meist ähnlich oppositiv wie die paradigmatisch-oppositiven Präpositionen verwendet werden, jedoch mit unterschiedlicher Kasusreaktion wie z.B. *mit* plus Dativ und *ohne* plus Akkusativ. Präpositionen mit der Bedeutung ‘ohne’ können dabei als spezifische Form der sog. partiellen Konstituentennegation angesehen werden: Die Opposition zwischen negierenden Präpositionen mit der Bedeutung ‘ohne’ und den entsprechenden affirmativen Verwendungen funktioniert also analog zur grammatisch-strukturellen Opposition affirmiert vs. negiert.

2. Präpositional markierte Controller bei *als*-Depiktiven

2.1 Depiktivcontroller mit strukturell verwendeter Präposition

Argument mit der semantischen Rolle Agens:

- (8) Kantonaldirigent Peter Oggier stellte die Lieder den Dirigenten in einer einstündigen Vorkonferenz vor und ließ sie von diesen *als einem Ad-hoc-Chor* singen.

→ Peter Oggier veranlasste, dass die Lieder von den Dirigenten gesungen wurden, und dass die Dirigenten dabei ein Ad-hoc-Chor waren.

An diesem Satz soll exemplarisch gezeigt werden, dass alle einschlägigen Depiktivmerkmale vorliegen:

- (i) Die *als*-Phrase ist ein Adjunkt des primären Prädikats.
- (ii) Ein Partizipant X der Hauptprädikation ist Controller der *als*-Phrase, und zwischen der *als*-Phrase und diesem Partizipanten X besteht eine Kopula-Beziehung, so dass 'X_(Subjekt) – Kopula – D_(Prädikat)' gilt: 'die Dirigenten waren ein Ad-hoc-Chor'.
- (iii) Der durch die *als*-Phrase ausgedrückte Sachverhalt ist innerhalb des Zeitrahmens des durch das primäre Prädikat ausgedrückten Sachverhalts relevant.
- (iv) Die *als*-Phrase „erbt“ temporale und modale Werte vom primären Prädikat.
- (v) Im Skopus einer Negation ist entweder nur die *als*-Phrase (kontrastive Verneinung): *Peter Oggier ließ die Lieder nicht von den Dirigenten als einem Ad-hoc-Chor singen* [, sondern er ließ die Dirigenten als Solisten auftreten], oder das Hauptprädikat und die *als*-Phrase (Verneinung der Primärprädikation und der sekundären Prädikation): *Peter Oggier ließ die Lieder nicht von den Dirigenten als einem Ad-hoc-Chor singen* [*Peter Oggier begnügte sich damit, den Dirigenten die Lieder vorzustellen*].
- (vi) Die *als*-Phrase gehört zum assertiven Fokus des Satzes.

2.2 Depiktivcontroller mit lexikalisch registrierter Präposition

Bei den lexikalisch regierten Präpositionen, deren rechtsseitige Argumente Objekte im Sinne von Präpositionalobjekten der Prädikate (meist Verben) sind, zu deren Lexikoneinträgen sie gehören, soll zwischen intransitiven und transitiven Verben unterschieden werden.

2.2.1 Intransitive Verben

Zweites Argument:

- (9) Die Präambel des GG verpflichtet uns, an der Wiedervereinigung *als dem obersten Ziel aller Politik* festzuhalten.
 - Die Präambel des GG verpflichtet uns, dass wir an der Wiedervereinigung festhalten, und dass die Wiedervereinigung dabei das oberste Ziel aller Politik ist.
 - Die Präambel des GG verpflichtet uns, dass wir an der Wiedervereinigung, die ja das oberste Ziel aller Politik ist / da sie ja das oberste Ziel aller Politik ist, festhalten.

(9) ist ambig, dies zeigen die angeführten möglichen Paraphrasen: In einer der beiden Lesarten sind die Depiktivkriterien (i)-(vi) erfüllt. In der zweiten Lesart ist die *als*-Phrase ein kausales Zirkumstantial. Sie ist dann präsupponiert, und sie befindet sich – was bei quasi-synonymer Umformulierung des Satzes deutlich

wird – außerhalb des Skopus der Negation: *Die Präambel des GG verpflichtet uns, von der Wiedervereinigung als dem obersten Ziel aller Politik niemals abzulassen.*

Zweites Argument:

- (10) Hieraus erklärt sich, dass das Bewusstsein einiger Individuen zuweilen weiter vorgerückt sein kann als die empirischen Verhältnisse, so dass man in den Kämpfen einer späteren Epoche sich auf frühere Theoretiker *als auf Autoritäten* stützen kann. (Marx)

→ Deshalb wird man sich auf frühere Theoretiker stützen können, und sie werden dabei Autoritäten sein können.

Unter den intransitiven primären Prädikaten, die eine *als*-Phrase mit einem präpositional markierten Bezugselement aufweisen, finden sich in den Korpora wiederholt Kognitions- und Äußerungsverben:

Zweites Argument:

- (11) Ich träume von der DDR *als von einem Land mit einer politischen Kultur, wo alle politischen Entscheidungen im demokratischen Konsens von mündigen Bürgern erarbeitet werden.*

→ Ich träume (davon), dass die DDR ein Land mit einer politischen Kultur ist, wo alle politischen Entscheidungen im demokratischen Konsens von mündigen Bürgern erarbeitet werden.

→ Ich träume von der DDR, und dabei ist die DDR ein Land mit einer politischen Kultur, wo alle politischen Entscheidungen im demokratischen Konsens von mündigen Bürgern erarbeitet werden.

Zweites Argument:

- (12) Es war die Eifersucht auf das knappe Jahr, das ich mit Lucie verbracht hatte und von dem ich Linda unvorsichtigerweise *als von einer melancholiefreien, genussreichen Zeit* erzählt hatte, die ihren Abscheu gegen diese Tasse hervorrief.

→ Ich hatte Linda (davon) erzählt, dass das Jahr, das ich mit Lucie verbracht hatte, eine melancholiefreie, genussreiche Zeit gewesen sei.

→ Ich hatte Linda von dem Jahr, das ich mit Lucie verbracht hatte, erzählt, und dieses Jahr war dabei eine melancholiefreie, genussreiche Zeit gewesen.

Kognitions- und Äußerungsverben wie in (11) und (12) zeichnen sich dadurch aus, dass sie eine Leerstelle für ein Argument eröffnen, das nicht-propositionale oder propositionale Phänomene bezeichnen kann; ein propositionale Phänomene

bezeichnender Argumentterm kann im Deutschen in Form eines Komplementsatzes oder einer Infinitivkonstruktion oder einer Korrelatverbindung⁷ realisiert werden⁸; ein so realisierter Term kann über ein eigenes Tempus und eigenen Modus verfügen, wie das folgende Beispiel belegt: *Ich träume davon, unser Land könnte in nicht allzu ferner Zukunft ein demokratisch regiertes Land sein.*

In (11) liegt ein Kognitionsverb vor. Grundsätzlich möglich sind hier zwei Lesarten. Die erste Paraphrase liefert einen Termsatz⁹ (fakultativ mit Korrelat) als zweites Argument des Prädikats *träumen*; es wird eine kognitive Relation zwischen einer Person und einem Sachverhalt ausgedrückt. In der zweiten Paraphrase sind die beiden Argumentstellen des Prädikats *träumen* durch zwei nicht-propositionale Gegenstände gefüllt, und über das zweite Argument wird eine sekundäre Prädikation gemacht: hier liegt ein prädikatives Adjunkt vor. Dieses Adjunkt liefert eine zusätzliche Charakterisierung eines der Partizipanten der primären Prädikation, und diese Charakterisierung ist simultan zur primären Prädikation relevant.

In (12) liegt ein Äußerungsverb vor. Es gilt hier das für (11) Ausgesagte. Dass solche *als*-Konstruktionen wie in (11) und (12) gewisse Eigenschaften von Sätzen, z.B. eigene, nicht „ererbte“ temporale und modale Eigenschaften haben können, zeigt ganz deutlich das folgende, selbst konstruierte Beispiel: *Die Wissenschaftler träumen von der Gentherapie als vielleicht bald einer Routinetherapie.* Die für Depiktive typische Paraphrase scheint in diesem Fall ausgeschlossen: **Die Wissenschaftler träumen von der Gentherapie, und dabei ist die Gentherapie vielleicht bald eine Routinetherapie.* Eine Paraphrase mit einem Termsatz gibt den Inhalt der Ausgangskonstruktion dagegen quasi-synonym wieder: *Die Wissenschaftler träumen (davon), dass die Gentherapie vielleicht bald eine Routinetherapie sein könnte / sein wird.*

Auch in den Korpora treten *als*-Konstruktionen bei Äußerungsverben auf, die sich der für Depiktive einschlägigen Kopulaparaphrase widersetzen:

7 Korrelate sind (meist) valenzbestimmte Satzteile. Korrelatverbindungen bestehen aus einem Korrelat und einer zugehörigen Infinitivkonstruktion (Bsp.: *Sie fand sich damit ab, eine schlechte Schülerin zu sein*) bzw. einem zugehörigen Satz (Bsp.: *Sie fand sich damit ab, dass ihr Sohn ein schlechter Schüler war*) (GdS 1475-1494)

8 Die Möglichkeit der Realisierung eines solchen propositionale Phänomene bezeichnenden Arguments durch eine *als*-Konstruktion ist in der GdS nicht vorgesehen.

9 Im Sinne der GdS (2253ff.) als Oberbegriff für Nebensätze, die als Argumente verwendet werden.

Zweites Argument:

- (13) Wenn er sich also über die unglückliche Marie Antoinette geäußert hat, schrieb er von ihr *als von einer „Heldin wider Willen“*.

→ Er schrieb, Marie Antoinette sei eine Heldin wider Willen gewesen.

→ Er schrieb von Marie Antoinette, [?] und dabei war sie eine „Heldin wider Willen“.

Die *als*-Phrase in (13) ist ein obligates Element (der Satz *Er schrieb von ihr* ist, isoliert, ungrammatisch), also ist kein Depiktiv möglich.

Als-Phrasen des Typs wie in (11), (12) und (13) zeigen ein besonderes morphosyntaktisches Verhalten insofern, als sie in den Korpora wesentlich häufiger als die *als*-Depiktive eine Präpositionswiederholung in der *als*-Phrase aufweisen (vgl. die Sätze (8), (9), (14), (17), (18), (19) mit *als*-Depiktiven, jeweils ohne Präpositionswiederholung).

Ob *als*-Konstruktionen wie in (11)-(13) bei Kognitions- und Äußerungsverben als Depiktive eingestuft werden können, erscheint aufgrund des Gesagten zweifelhaft. Um Zirkumstantiale handelt es sich bei diesen Konstruktionen jedoch ebenfalls nicht. Die strukturelle Analyse solcher *als*-Konstruktionen muss künftigen Untersuchungen überlassen bleiben.

2.2.2 Transitive Verben

Drittes Argument:

- (14) Er kennt nur ein Mittel, jenen Zweck zu befördern, das, der Stimme seines Gewissens in allen seinen Handlungen zu folgen. Das verknüpft ihn wiederum mit der Welt, nicht *als einem Gegenstande des Genusses*, sondern *als mit der, durch sein Gewissen ihm angewiesenen Sphäre seines pflichtmäßigen Wirkens*. (Fichte)

→ Dass er in allen seinen Handlungen der Stimme seines Gewissens folgt, verknüpft ihn mit der Welt, und dabei ist die Welt kein Gegenstand des Genusses, sondern die Welt ist dabei die ihm durch sein Gewissen angewiesene Sphäre seines pflichtmäßigen Wirkens.

Der von Schroeder vertretene Auffassung, ausschließlich bei fehlendem Akkusativobjekt träten Präpositionalobjekte als Bezugselement von *als*-Depiktiven auf, ist also zu widersprechen: Hier liegt ein *als*-Depiktiv zu einem dritten Argument vor, obwohl ein zweites Argument als Patiens bzw. direktes Objekt vorhanden ist.

2.3 Depiktivcontroller mit paradigmatisch-oppositiv verwendeter Präposition

Zweites Argument mit der semantischen Rolle Richtung:

- (15) Das lyrische Dasein kennt ein solches Grauen vor dem Dunkel, dem Tod, wo die Augen sich schließen, nicht. Im Gegenteil! Es sinkt ins Nächtige *als in Tiefen der Innigkeit* hinein, und fühlt sich umflutet, geborgen.¹⁰ (Staiger, Grundbegriffe der Poetik, 1. Aufl. 1946)

→ Das lyrische Dasein sinkt ins Nächtige, und das Nächtige *ist / bildet dabei Tiefen der Innigkeit / stellt dabei Tiefen der Innigkeit dar.

Eine Paraphrase von (15) durch einen Satz mit der Kopula *sein* scheitert wegen des unterschiedlichen Numerus von Controller und Nomen in der *als*-Phrase. In solchen Fällen, die bei SCHROEDER (2004, § 2.2.1.) ausführlich diskutiert werden, muss die Paraphrase auf (semi-)kopulative Verben ausweichen, ohne dass dies die Kopula-Relation tangiert. Vgl. noch eindeutige *als*-Depiktive wie in: *Der Sturm trieb den Schnee als dicke wirbelnde Flocken durch die Gassen.* → **..., und dabei war der Schnee dicke wirbelnde Flocken. Die Trümmer des Saturnmondes umkreisen den Planeten bis heute als Ring.* → ?*..., und dabei sind die Trümmer des Saturnmondes ein Ring.* Hier besteht eine Paraphrasemöglichkeit mit (semi-)kopulativen Verben: → *..., und dabei bestand der Schnee aus dicken wirbelnden Flocken / ..., und dabei bildete der Schnee dicke wirbelnde Flocken.* → *..., und dabei bilden die Trümmer des Saturnmondes einen Ring.*

Zweites Argument mit der semantischen Rolle Richtung:

- (16) Am Ende des Stücks aber, wenn [...] die unschuldige Braut im Blut liegt, der Vater, ihr Mörder, sich eben vor diesen Fürsten *als vor seinen Richter* stellt: wer ist, dem, wenn in solcher Situation der Vorhang sinkt, nicht noch andere Gedanken in die Seele strömen? (Herder)

Die *als*-Phrase in (16) lässt einige charakteristische Eigenschaften von Depiktiven besonders gut erkennen: Sie verhält sich unter der Negation wie ein Depiktiv, und sie liefert Fokuginformation. Die „reine“ Kopularparaphrase erscheint aber wieder eher unpassend: → ?*Er stellt sich vor seinen Fürsten, und der Fürst ist dabei sein Richter.* Es besteht vielmehr eine besondere semantische – nämlich finale – Verbindung zwischen primärer und sekundärer Prädikation; die Umformung zeigt dies: *Er stellt sich vor seinen Fürsten, und der Fürst soll sein Richter sein / damit der Fürst sein Richter sei.*

10 Es handelt sich hier um eine Aussage über die Todesauffassung der Helden in Homers Epen.

Finale Beziehungen sind solche, bei denen in der Basisproposition eine Handlung prädiziert wird, die einen anderen Sachverhalt als Folge nach sich ziehen soll. Die erste Prädikation hat also einen volitiven Hintergrund. Finale Elemente bringen einen zweiten Sachverhalt ins Spiel, der zeitlich nach dem der Basisproposition anzusetzen ist. Die Nachzeitigkeit des „Zielsachverhalts“ ergibt sich logisch aus der finalen Beziehung zwischen den beteiligten Sachverhalten. In allen Fällen aber ist der Zielsachverhalt nicht faktisch, er bezieht sich ja auf das jeweils zur Ereigniszeit der Basisproposition Gewollte, die modifizierende Wirkung ist also auf den Wissensstatus bezogen, unter dem die Proposition zu betrachten ist. Faktizität kann sich allenfalls aus zusätzlichem Wissen über den Eintritt des Ereignisses ergeben. Prototypische Depiktive dagegen leisten eine Prädikation, die zur Ereigniszeit der primären Prädikation gültig ist.

Eine finale Beziehung findet sich unter Umständen auch dann, wenn das Bezugs-element der *als*-Phrase ein Subjekt oder direktes Objekt und das Primärprädikat ein Bewegungs- oder Transferverb ist und das Nomen in der *als*-Phrase ein deverbales Substantiv: *Er fuhr als Vermittler zwischen Putin und Bush nach Moskau* bzw. *Sie schickten ihn als Vermittler zwischen Putin und Bush nach Moskau*. Auch hier scheinen die für Depiktive typischen „reinen“ Kopulaphrasen unangemessen: → [?]*Er fuhr nach Moskau, und er war dabei ein Vermittler zwischen Putin und Bush* bzw. → [?]*Sie schickten ihn nach Moskau, und er war dabei (ein) Vermittler zwischen Putin und Bush*. Akzeptabler wirken Paraphrasen mit einer Infinitivkonstruktion mit *um...zu* oder mit einem finalen Nebensatz: → *Er fuhr nach Moskau, um dort zwischen Putin und Bush zu vermitteln / um dort Vermittler zwischen Putin und Bush zu sein* bzw. → *Sie schickten ihn nach Moskau, damit er dort zwischen Putin und Bush vermittelte / damit er dort Vermittler zwischen Putin und Bush sei*.

Das gleiche gilt für Primärprädikate, die eine Bewegung nahelegen: *Man rief sie als Helferin zu dem Unfall hinzu*. Auch hier sind Paraphrasen mit einem finalen Nebensatz am angemessensten: → *Man rief sie zu dem Unfall hinzu, damit sie dort half / damit sie dort Helferin sei*.

Im Lateinischen ist in solchen Fällen die Verwendung des Supinums möglich: es wird in der Regel mit einem Verb verwendet, das eine Bewegung ausdrückt oder nahelegt und bringt eine Absicht zum Ausdruck.¹¹

Bei einem prototypischen Depiktiv dagegen gilt die sekundäre Prädikation zur Ereigniszeit der Basisproposition; dies wird in der Paraphrase deutlich: *Peter*

11 *Amici venerunt gratulatum* 'Die Freunde kamen, um zu gratulieren'; *Marcus nuntium misit rogatum vinum* 'Markus schickte einen Boten, um Wein zu bitten'; *Gladiatores in arenam pugnatum vocavit* 'Er rief die Gladiatoren in die Arena, damit sie kämpfen sollten'.

reiste als Pilger nach Santiago de Compostela. → *Peter reiste nach Santiago de Compostela, und Peter war dabei* (d.h. während der Reise) *ein Pilger*.

SCHROEDER (2004, § 2.2.1.2) hat auf die Möglichkeit spezifischer Relationen zwischen einem Depiktiv und der übergeordneten Prädikation hingewiesen. Satzkontextuelle Faktoren könnten u. U. spezifische Interpretationen zweifellos simultaner depiktiver Beziehungen zulassen, die auch durch entsprechende Konnektoren in der Kopulaparaphrase repräsentiert würden; Schroeder beschreibt (bei den adjektivischen Depiktiven des Deutschen) neben konditionalen noch konzessive (*Er ging unvorbereitet ins Examen*; mögliche Paraphrasen: *Er ging ins Examen, und er war dabei unvorbereitet / obwohl er unvorbereitet war*) und kausale Relationen (*Er legte sich krank ins Bett*; mögliche Paraphrasen: *Er legte sich ins Bett, und er war dabei krank / weil er krank war*); die konzessive bzw. kausale Nuance hat in diesen Fällen pragmatische Ursachen: Sie entsteht aufgrund des Weltwissens, dass man üblicherweise ins Examen geht und dabei vorbereitet ist bzw. dass Krankheit eine übliche Ursache dafür ist, sich ins Bett zu legen. Die depiktive sekundäre Prädikation bezieht sich in diesen Fällen aber nicht auf den Endzustand nach dem Abschluss der Handlung, sondern ist während dieser Handlung relevant. Die finale Relation in (16) dagegen hat keine pragmatische Ursache, sondern ist semantischer Natur: Der Sachverhalt 'Der Fürst ist sein Richter', d.h. die sekundäre Prädikation, gilt für den gedachten bzw. intendierten Zielzustand, d.h. nach Abschluss der resultativen Handlung.

Dagegen wäre mit einem Positionsverb wie *stehen* als primärem Prädikat die für Depiktive typische „reine“ Kopulaparaphrase unproblematisch: *Er steht vor seinem Fürsten, und der Fürst ist dabei sein Richter*.

Hinreichende strukturelle Gründe für den Ausschluss von *als*-Konstruktionen wie in (16) aus dem Bereich der Depiktive gibt es, wie oben ausgeführt, nicht; es handelt sich bei ihnen aber wohl nicht um prototypische Depiktive.

2.4 Depiktivcontroller mit semanto-syntaktischer Präposition

Zweites Argument mit der semantischen Rolle Instrument:

- (17) Erst ein Feldversuch mit Chipkarten als elektronisches Kleingeld in Atlanta sorgte für ein Umdenken. Zahlreiche Organisationen operieren jetzt mit intelligenten Plastikkarten *als Ausweis, Debitzahlungsmittel* [...].

→ Zahlreiche Organisationen operieren jetzt mit intelligenten Plastikkarten, und dabei sind die intelligenten Plastikkarten *Ausweis, Debitzahlungsmittel* [...].

Adjunkt mit der semantischen Rolle Instrument:

- (18) Der 48-Jährige wischt schnell mit dem Liederheft *als Taschentuchersatz* über die Augen.

→ Der 48-Jährige wischt schnell mit dem Liederheft über die Augen, und dabei ist das Liederheft ein Taschentuchersatz.

Adjunkt mit der semantischen Rolle Co-Agens:

- (19) Er drohte den Rentner Artur Stroff und dessen Tochter Käthe Vonrein zu erschießen. Dann ließ sich der Gangster dazu überreden, die Wohnung mit Käthe Vonrein *als Geisel* zu verlassen.

→ Der Gangster verließ die Wohnung mit Käthe Vonrein, und sie war dabei eine Geisel.

Argument mit der semantischen Rolle Ziel:

- (20) Mit allen Staats- und Kriegshandlungen war Religion verbunden, also dass jene durch diese geweiht wurden; daher die edlen Geschlechter für den Besitz der Religionswürden *als für ihr heiligstes Vorrecht* kämpften.¹² (Herder)

→ [?]Die edlen Geschlechter kämpften für den Besitz der Religionswürden, und dabei war der Besitz der Religionswürden ihr heiligstes Vorrecht.

→ Die edlen Geschlechter kämpften für den Besitz der Religionswürden, und der Besitz der Religionswürden sollte ihr heiligstes Vorrecht sein.

→ Die edlen Geschlechter kämpften dafür, die Religionswürden zu besitzen, und sie kämpften dafür, dass der Besitz der Religionswürden ihr heiligstes Vorrecht sein sollte.

Dass es sich bei der *für*-Phrase nicht um ein Adjunkt, sondern um ein fakultatives Argument handelt, ergibt sich aus ihrem Angelegtsein in der Bedeutung des Prädikats *kämpfen* (vgl. GdS 2131); die Präposition *für* gehört zum Lexikoneintrag dieses Verbs. Im Vergleich mit prototypischen lexikalisch regierten Präpositionen liegt hier aber insofern eine Besonderheit vor, als ähnlich wie bei den typischen semanto-syntaktischen Präpositionen eine Opposition „für“ vs. „gegen“ besteht, da *für* mit entsprechender Bedeutungsänderung mit *gegen* ausgetauscht werden kann; eine unterschiedliche Kasusreaktion wie bei den semanto-syntaktischen Präpositionen *mit* / *ohne* besteht jedoch nicht, und die Präposition

12 Ausgesagt wird in (20) Folgendes: Die Adligen wissen, dass politische Handlungen religiös autorisiert werden können; deshalb kämpfen sie dafür, religiöse Autorität zu gewinnen; und der Kampf der Adligen zielt dabei außerdem darauf ab, die religiöse Autorität zu monopolisieren.

mit der Bedeutung ‘gegen’ kann auch nicht als spezifische Form einer partiellen Konstituentenverneinung aufgefasst werden. Wenn *für* hier dennoch unter die semanto-syntaktischen Präpositionen subsumiert wird, so v.a. deshalb, weil das Präpositionalobjekt hier denselben finalen Bedeutungsaspekt vermittelt wie als Adjunkte gebrauchte *für*-Phrasen (*für die Anschaffung eines Autos arbeiten*).

Mit *kämpfen* wird, ähnlich wie in (16) mit Bewegungsverb plus Direktivkomplement, in der Basisproposition eine Handlung prädiiziert, die dem Erreichen anderer Sachverhalte dienen kann. Anders als in (16), wo in der direktionalen Präpositionalphrase ein nicht-propositionaler Gegenstand genannt wird, bringt die von *für* regierte Präpositionalphrase in (20) einen als Ziel angestrebten propositionalen Gegenstand ins Spiel (*Besitz der Religionswürden*); die *als*-Phrase liefert eine Prädikation über diesen Zielsachverhalt, wobei zwischen beiden Sachverhalten wiederum eine finale Beziehung besteht. Beide Zielsachverhalte sind zeitlich nach der durch das primäre Prädikat denotierten Handlung anzusetzen.

Zusammenfassend kann Folgendes festgehalten werden: In (16) und in (20) wird wie bei prototypischen Depiktiven der Sachverhalt der primären Prädikation modifiziert; die sekundäre Prädikation gilt in (16) und (20) aber, anders als bei prototypischen Depiktiven, nicht während der Ereigniszeit der Basisproposition, sondern für den intendierten Zielzustand und ist deshalb auf den Wissensstatus bezogen, unter dem die Proposition zu betrachten ist. Die beiden Zielsachverhalte sind nicht faktisch, sie beziehen sich ja auf das jeweils zur Ereigniszeit der Basisproposition Gewollte.

3. Morphosyntaktische Eigenschaften der *als*-Depiktive mit präpositional markiertem Controller

Für die morphosyntaktische Markierung der *als*-Phrasen, die ein präpositional markiertes Bezugselement haben, stellt sich die prinzipielle Frage nach der Wiederholung von Präposition und Kasus in der *als*-Phrase. In beiden Korpora gingen *als*-Depiktive, die nicht adjazent zum Controller auftraten, immer mit Präpositionswiederholung einher (vgl. (14)), wobei Nicht-Adjazenz des Depiktivs zum Controller insgesamt ein sehr seltenes Phänomen war. *Als*-Depiktive in Adjazenz zum Controller zeigten im Korpus des 18./19. Jhs. Präpositionswiederholung (vgl. (10)) oder reine Kasuskongruenz mit deutlichem Kasusmorphem (vgl. (14)); dieser Satz ist besonders aufschlussreich, weil in ihm zwei depiktive *als*-Phrasen auftreten, wobei die in unmittelbarer Adjazenz zum Controller stehende Phrase reine Kasuskongruenz hat, während die durch die erste *als*-Phrase vom Controller abgetrennte zweite Phrase Präpositionswiederholung aufweist). Im Korpus

des 20. Jhs zeigen die *als*-Depiktive in Adjazenz zum Bezugselement Präpositionswiederholung (vgl. (15)) und reine Kasuskongruenz mit morphologisch expliziter Kasusmarkierung (vgl. (9)), aber auch *als*-Depiktive mit Kasuskongruenz ohne Kasusmorphem (vgl. (17)-(19)). Die Präpositionswiederholung, die bei Nicht-Adjazenz durchgehend zu beobachten ist, hat offenbar die Funktion, die Transparenz der Aussage zu verbessern, insbesondere die Zusammengehörigkeit von Controller und Depiktiv eindeutig anzuzeigen.

	Textkorpus 18./19. Jh.	Textkorpus 20. Jh.
Nicht-Adjazenz von Controller und <i>als</i> -Depiktiv	Präpositionswiederholung	Präpositionswiederholung
Adjazenz von Controller und <i>als</i> -Depiktiv	Präpositionswiederholung, reine Kasuskongruenz mit overtem Kasusmorphem	Präpositionswiederholung, reine Kasuskongruenz mit overtem Kasusmorphem, reine Kasuskongruenz ohne overttes Kasusmorphem

4. Präpositional markierte Controller bei *als*-Depiktiven (konstruierte Beispiele)

In den Textkorpora traten präpositional markierte Controller auf, die zweite oder dritte Argumente waren oder Adjunkte mit den Rollen Co-Agens, Instrumental und Richtungsangabe. Darüber hinaus sind präpositional markierte Bezugselemente mit anderen semantischen Rollen möglich; dies zeigen die folgenden konstruierten Beispiele:

Adjunkt mit der semantischen Rolle Ort:

- (21) Sie haben den Verletzten auf einer Tür *als provisorischer Trage* die Treppe hinunter transportiert.
 → Sie haben den Verletzten auf einer Tür die Treppe hinunter transportiert, und dabei war die Tür eine provisorische Trage.

Drittes Argument mit der semantischen Rolle Ort:

- (22) Man brachte die Opfer der Katastrophe in leerstehenden Turnhallen *als Notquartieren* unter.
 → Man brachte die Opfer der Katastrophe in leerstehenden Turnhallen unter, und dabei waren diese Turnhallen Notquartiere.

Adjunkt mit der semantischen Rolle Ort:

- (23) Zadek führte seinen „Wallenstein“ im Trockendock der Werft *als Hauptspielort* und im Bunker an der Uhlandstraße *als weiterem Schauplatz* auf.

→ Zadek führte seinen „Wallenstein“ im Trockendock der Werft und im Bunker an der Uhlandstraße auf, und dabei war das Trockendock der Werft der Hauptspielort, und der Bunker an der Uhlandstraße war ein weiterer Schauplatz.

Adjunkt mit der semantischen Rolle Quelle:

- (24) Er schoss von einem Stock *als Stütze*.

→ Er schoss von einem Stock, und dabei war der Stock eine Stütze.

Drittes Argument mit der semantischen Rolle Instrument (i.w.S.):

- (25) Er bestreute das Brötchen mit Petersilie *als Garnierung*.

→ Er bestreute das Brötchen mit Petersilie, und die Petersilie war dabei eine Garnierung.

5. Zusammenfassung und Fazit

Die Auswertung von zwei Textkorpora hat ergeben, dass es bei *als*-Depiktiven präpositional markierte Controller gibt. Bei den Präpositionen handelte es sich um strukturell verwendete, lexikalisch regierte, paradigmatisch-oppositiv verwendete und semanto-syntaktische. Syntaktisch sind die präpositional markierten Controller in den Korpora Komplemente und Adjunkte. Unter den Komplementen fanden sich neben dritten Argumenten vor allem präpositional markierte zweite Argumente, bei den Adjunkten überwogen Satelliten der Ebene 1 (im Sinne von DIK 1989) mit den semantischen Rollen Co-Agens und Instrumental. Darüber hinaus gab es agentive Komplemente in der Passivdiathese als Controller für *als*-Depiktive. Die in der Literatur dominierende Auffassung, bei den *als*-Depiktiven des Deutschen seien Controller – zumindest in der Schriftsprache – auf das Subjekt und auf das direkte Objekt bzw. auf S, A und O beschränkt, kann also nicht aufrechterhalten werden. Wie die konstruierten Beispiele zeigen, sind neben den in den Textkorpora gefundenen Bezugselementen mit den Rollen Co-Agens, Instrument und Direktionalangabe auch Controller mit anderen semantischen Rollen – z.B. Ort, Quelle – möglich.

Die Sätze, in denen die *als*-Phrase eine der eben erwähnten semantischen Rollen hat, können oft quasisynonym mit dem Prädikat *verwenden / benutzen* plus *als*-Phrase bzw. *dienen / fungieren* plus *als*-Phrase wiedergegeben werden;

in ihnen wird also eine Funktion ausgedrückt, die einer der Partizipanten der primären Prädikation hat. So könnte (17), auch folgendermaßen ausgedrückt werden: *Zahlreiche Organisationen verwenden / benutzen jetzt intelligente Plastikkarten als Ausweis, Debitzahlungsmittel [...]. Intelligente Plastikkarten dienen / fungieren jetzt als Ausweis, Debitzahlungsmittel [...].* Gleiches gilt für (10), (18), (19), (21)-(25). Dahinter stehen allgemein Hinlänglichkeitskonstellationen, die sich mit dem Prädikatsausdruck *sich eignen plus um ... zu sein* realisieren lassen. So gilt im Fall von (17) die Hinlänglichkeitskonstellation *Intelligente Plastikkarten eignen sich, um Ausweis oder Debitzahlungsmittel zu sein.*

NICHOLS (1981, 107-119) kommt für das Russische zu dem Schluss, die Konstruktion *služit'* plus Prädikatsnomen im Instrumental-Kasus 'dienen als' sowie das transitive Pendant *upotrebljat' kak* 'benutzen als' seien diachron Innovationen, die neben die Konstruktion mit der Kopula *byt'* 'sein' in der Bedeutung 'fungieren als' getreten seien; z.B. *Kormom ej služat različnye semena rastenij* 'Als Futter dienen ihr verschiedene Pflanzensamen'; *Indejcy upotrebljajut etu travu kak lekarstvo* 'Die Indianer benutzen dieses Kraut als Medikament'. Die Verben *služit'* und *upotrebljat'* könnten zwar, so Nichols, u.U. noch ohne Prädikatsnomen auftreten und bewahrten bis heute bei einer Verwendung mit Prädikatsnomen ihre volle Semantik (Nichols nennt diese Verben deshalb hypersemantisch); wenn *služit'* oder *upotrebljat'* aber mit Prädikatsnomina auftreten, seien sie fast synonym mit der Kopula *byt'* 'sein'. Diese Auffassung kann wohl auch für die deutschen Entsprechungen vertreten werden.¹³

Mit den verbalen Prädikaten in den Sätzen (10), (17)-(19), (21)-(25) liegen dagegen keine Kopulaverben, sondern Vollverben vor, und in diesen Sätzen handelt es sich bei den *als*-Phrasen um sekundäre Prädikate – nämlich *als*-Depiktive.

In Fällen, in denen die Basisproposition entstehende Verhältnisse denotiert und das Bezugsэлеment der *als*-Phrase ein Direktivkomplement oder ein Komplement mit der semantischen Rolle Ziel ist, gilt die sekundäre Prädikation u. U. nicht, wie bei den prototypischen Depiktiven, während der Ereigniszeit der Basisproposition, sondern für das zur Ereigniszeit der Basisproposition Gewollte bzw. für den intendierten Zielzustand und ist folglich nicht faktisch. Hinreichende strukturelle Gründe für einen Ausschluss dieser *als*-Phrasen aus der Gruppe der Depiktive lassen sich jedoch nicht finden: Auch diese *als*-Phrasen sind, wie die prototypischen Depiktive, Adjunkte zur primären Prädikation, sie

13 Als Vollverb, an das ein *als*-Depiktiv angeschlossen werden kann, wird *dienen* im Deutschen nur in wenigen Kontexten verwendet: *Herr Pilk hat dem englischen Königshaus zwanzig Jahre (als Butler) gedient. Herr Pilk hat beim Militär (als Unteroffizier) gedient.*

präzieren über einen Partizipanten der primären Prädikation, befinden sich im Skopus der Satznegation und sind assertiver Fokus des Satzes.

Auch Kognitions- und Äußerungsverben, die sich dadurch auszeichnen, dass sie eine Leerstelle für ein Argument eröffnen, das nicht-propositionale oder propositionale Phänomene bezeichnen kann, können mit *als*-Phrasen auftreten, die ein präpositional markiertes Bezugselement haben. Die strukturelle Analyse solcher *als*-Konstruktionen ist ähnlich problematisch wie die Analyse von *AcI*-Konstruktionen und muss an dieser Stelle offengelassen werden. Dass solche *als*-Phrasen über gewisse Eigenschaften von Sätzen (eigene temporale und modale Charakteristika) verfügen können, lässt es allerdings ratsam erscheinen, sie nicht als Depiktive zu betrachten.

Hinsichtlich ihrer morphosyntaktischen Eigenschaften unterscheiden sich die *als*-Depiktive, die ein präpositional markiertes Bezugselement haben, nicht von *als*-Depiktiven, die sich auf ein Subjekt oder Akkusativobjekt beziehen: Es findet sich immer Kasusübereinstimmung von Bezugs-NP und depiktiver NP. In beiden Korpora gingen *als*-Depiktive, die in Nicht-Adjazenz zu ihrem Bezugselement auftraten, außerdem mit Präpositions-wiederholung einher. Die Wiederholung der Präposition hat hier offenbar die Funktion, die Transparenz der Aussage zu verbessern.

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Sekundäre Prädikation im Niedersorbischen¹

1. Einleitung

Niedersorbisch ist eine seit dem 6./7. Jh. n. Chr. in der Niederlausitz, dem südlichen Teil des heutigen Bundeslandes Brandenburg (Deutschland), gesprochene westslawische Sprache mit einer über 300 Jahre alten schriftsprachlichen Tradition. Durch den bereits mehr als 1000 Jahre währenden Sprachkontakt mit dem Deutschen ist die Sprache stark durch deutsch-sorbische Interferenz geprägt.² Nach 1945 wurde das Niedersorbische nur noch in Ausnahmefällen in der Familie weitergegeben, so dass es heute zu den am meisten bedrohten europäischen Minderheitensprachen gehört. Aufgrund soziolinguistischer Erhebungen aus den Jahren 1993-1995 kann man davon ausgehen, dass es gegenwärtig hochgerechnet noch maximal 7000 Personen mit Niedersorbisch-Kenntnissen – von muttersprachlichen bis zu guten passiven – gibt. Dabei sind die weitaus meisten Muttersprachler älter als 60 Jahre (JODLBAUER, SPIESS & STEENWIJK 2001).

Ziel dieses Aufsatzes ist es, einen Überblick über sekundäre Prädikation im Niedersorbischen zu geben. Dabei stehen, wie in der derzeitigen sprachtypologischen Forschung üblich, depiktive sekundäre Prädikate im Vordergrund der Diskussion. Depiktive werden u.a. wie folgt definiert (SCHULTZE-BERNDT & HIMMELMANN 2004; VAN DER AUWERA & MALCHUKOV 2005, 393):

- Sie realisieren eine sekundäre, „kopulare“³ Prädikation über einen Partizipanten der primären Prädikation;
- die sekundäre Prädikation erfolgt außerhalb des referentiellen Ausdrucks, der den Partizipanten der Hauptprädikation bezeichnet;

1 Bei der Erhebung und Bewertung sprachlicher Fakten hat mir Manfred Starosta hilfreich zur Seite gestanden, wofür ich ihm herzlich danke. Verbliebene Unzulänglichkeiten liegen selbstverständlich allein in meiner Verantwortung.

2 Vgl. FASSKE (1997, 1790-97) einführend zum Sprachkontakt im Nieder- und Obersorbischen. Allgemeine Informationen zum Niedersorbischen finden sich zum Beispiel in STONE (1993) und SPIESS (2002).

3 Mit „kopular“ ist gemeint, dass sich die Konstruktion mit sekundärem Prädikat (z.B. *sie trank ihren Tee kalt*) durch eine Kopulakonstruktion paraphrasieren lässt: *Sie trank ihren Tee. Dieser war dabei kalt.*

- das für die sekundäre Prädikation gültige Zeitintervall ist durch eine Überlappung mit dem für die primäre Prädikation gültigen gekennzeichnet.
- sie stehen mit dem Verb zusammen im Skopus der Negation (siehe dazu 4.3).

Das folgende deutsche Beispiel erfüllt die genannten Kriterien:

- (1) Er lief *wütend* davon.

In der Forschungsliteratur wird weiter zwischen depiktiven Inhalten und depiktiven Konstruktionen unterschieden. Letztere zeichnen sich dadurch aus, dass sie eine explizite formale Markierung der Beziehung zwischen sekundärem Prädikat und dem Partizipanten der Hauptprädikation enthalten – z.B. Kongruenz – oder zumindest den sekundär-prädikativen Charakter einer Phrase auf besondere Weise kennzeichnen, und zwar mittels so genannter Prädikativ- oder Relationsmarker (SCHULTZE-BERNDT & HIMMELMANN 2004, 77f, 81). Insofern stellt der in (1) angeführte Satz zwar ein Beispiel für einen depiktiven Inhalt, nicht jedoch für eine depiktive Konstruktion dar. Denn die Form des partizipantenbezogenen sekundären Prädikats (*wütend*) unterscheidet sich nicht von der Form eindeutiger ereignisbezogener Adjektive in der gleichen syntaktischen Position (vgl. *er lief schnell davon*), sie zeigt weder Kongruenz mit dem Bezugsnominal (vgl. *er*[NOM.SG.M] / *sie*[NOM.SG.F] / *sie*[NOM.PL] *liefe(n) wütend davon*) noch sonstige explizite Markierungen des sekundär-prädikativen Charakters. Im Englischen wird zumindest die Unterscheidung zwischen Partizipanten- und Ereignisbezug, die im Deutschen in den angeführten Beispielen auf semantischer Basis zu treffen ist, häufig formal signalisiert:

- (2) a. He ran away *angry*[ADJ].
 b. He ran away *quickly*[ADV].

Im Niedersorbischen finden alle drei oben genannten Strategien zur formalen Markierung sekundärer Prädikate (Kongruenz, Prädikativ- und Relationsmarker) Anwendung, wobei der Kongruenz die größte Bedeutung zukommt.

Bei der Präsentation der im Niedersorbischen möglichen sekundären Prädikate gehen wir hauptsächlich nach der von SCHULTZE-BERNDT & HIMMELMANN (2005b, 27ff) vorgeschlagenen „semantic map“ vor, wobei im vorliegenden Aufsatz nur solche Bereiche besprochen werden, in denen im Niedersorbischen depiktive Konstruktionen vorkommen. Als Kernbereich depiktiver sekundärer Prädikate („typical depictive expressions“) gelten dabei Konstruktionen, die physische oder psychische Zustände (*kalt*; *traurig*) bezeichnen (SCHULTZE-BERNDT & HIMMELMANN 2004, 65).

2. Forschungsstand

Bislang liegen zur sekundären Prädikation im Niedersorbischen keine speziellen Untersuchungen vor. In der „Niedersorbischen Grammatik“ von JANAŠ (1984) sowie im Band 15 des Sorbischen Sprachatlasses zur Syntax (FASSKE 1996) wird auf derartige Konstruktionen nicht eingegangen.⁴ Einzig im zweibändigen Lehrbuch von STAROSTA (1991; 1992) finden sich in einigen Abschnitten zu „prädikativen Attributen“ Ausführungen zur sekundären Prädikation. Diese werden im Folgenden berücksichtigt und entsprechend gekennzeichnet.⁵

3. Kongruenz

Dass die Kongruenz als Mittel zur morphologischen Markierung sekundär-prädikativer Konstruktionen im Niedersorbischen eine prominente Rolle spielt, ist durchaus nahe liegend. Die slawischen Sprachen sind bekannt für ihre reiche Flexionsmorphologie und – auf dieser Grundlage – für eine explizite Markierung syntaktischer Beziehungen. Diese Eigenschaft gilt als wichtiges typologisches Charakteristikum dieser Sprachfamilie (COMRIE & CORBETT 1993, 7). Das Niedersorbische ist in dieser Hinsicht eine typisch slawische Sprache.

Außer bei der attributiven Verwendung adjektivischer Prädikate, bei der das Adjektiv im Niedersorbischen in Genus, Numerus und Kasus mit dem Bezugsnominal kongruiert⁶ (ns. *som cytal rowno wjelgin zajmny*[ACC.SG.M] *nastawk*[ACC.SG.M], ‘ich habe gerade einen sehr interessanten Artikel gelesen’) findet sich das gleiche Kongruenzverhalten auch bei syntaktisch primär prädikativ verwendeten Adjektiven:

- (3) Jeje *ruce* stej bytej *tward-ej*
 ihre Hand:NOM.DU.F AUX:DU gewesen:DU hart-NOM.DU

4 Der zwölfte Band dieses Sprachatlasses (FASSKE 1988), der sich u. a. mit der Morphologie der Adjektive beschäftigt, enthält allerdings Hinweise zum Gebrauch der drei Adjektive *bósy* ‘barfuß’, *rad(y)* ‘gern’ und *pěšy* ‘zu Fuß’, auf die ich an geeigneter Stelle eingehen werde.

5 Für das Obersorbische, das nicht Gegenstand dieses Artikels ist, vgl. FASSKE & MICHALK 1981, 360ff.

6 Nach EISENBERG (1999, 35f) liegt Kongruenz hier nur bei Numerus und Kasus vor, da diese syntagmatische Relation an die Übereinstimmung zweier Einheitenkategorien gebunden ist. Da Genus beim Substantiv eine Wortkategorisierung ist, wird das Adjektiv demnach hinsichtlich seines Genus vom Substantiv *regiert*. Wir bleiben im Folgenden jedoch bei der im Haupttext verwendeten vereinfachenden Redeweise.

a *mózoln-ej.*
 und schwierig-NOM.DU
 ‘Ihre Hände waren hart und schwierig.’

- (4) Za to jo było bejnje wjele *žěl-a*
 dafür AUX gewesen ziemlich viel Arbeit-GEN.SG.N
*trěbn-ego.*⁷
 nötig-GEN.SG.N
 ‘Dafür war ziemlich viel Arbeit nötig.’

Das folgende Beispiel zeigt einen älteren schriftsprachlichen Beleg⁸, in dem das sekundär-prädikative Adjektiv Objektbezug aufweist:

- (5) Ako ja wokoło jadnego do ... pšízoch, namakach ja
 als ich gegen eins nach ... kam, fand ich
 južo wjele *bur-ow* tam *zgromažon-yčh.*
 schon viele Bauer-GEN.PL dort versammelt-GEN.PL
 ‘Als ich gegen eins nach ... kam, fand ich schon viele Bauern dort
 versammelt (vor).’ (BC⁹ 1848/8, 3)

Die Kongruenz zwischen prädikativem Adjektiv und Bezugsnominal erfasst auch Partizipien in Passivkonstruktionen:

- (6) Wóno jo wjele *luži* na drogach
 es AUX viele Leute:GEN.PL auf Straßen

7 Im Niedersorbischen wie auch in anderen slawischen Sprachen regieren quantifizierende Pronomina wie *wjele* ‘viel’ den Genitiv. Da *wjele* als Quantor selbst nicht als Kongruenz auslösendes Subjekt fungiert, durch die Genitivreaktion jedoch auch kein grammatisches Subjekt im Nominativ mehr vorhanden ist, nimmt das Prädikat des Satzes die Form der 3. Person Singular (im Perfekt Neutrum: hier die Kopula *jo było*) an. Das Polnische zum Beispiel verhält sich diesbezüglich genauso: *wiele książek*[GEN.PL] *leżało*[3SG.N] *na półce* ‘viele Bücher lagen auf dem Regal’.

8 Beispiele aus der älteren niedersorbischen Schriftsprache werden in einer der heute gültigen orthographischen Norm angepassten Form dargeboten.

9 Die Abkürzung BC steht für die niedersorbische Wochenzeitung *Bramborski Casnik* (seit 1848) und dient neben dem Buchkalender *Pratyja* und der religiösen Monatszeitung *Wosadnik* als eine der Quellen für die vorliegende Untersuchung. Beispiele ohne Quellenangabe spiegeln den Usus wider. Die Tatsache, dass es sich bei den angeführten Belegen vorwiegend um solche aus der älteren niedersorbischen Schriftsprache handelt, ist vor allem durch die Zusammensetzung des derzeit verfügbaren digitalen Textkorpus bedingt. Die aus diesen Belegen ersichtlichen, den Gegenstand dieses Artikels betreffenden Eigenschaften entsprechen jedoch den heute gültigen Normen.

napadnjon-ych wordowało.
 überfallen-GEN.PL worden
 ‘Es sind viele Leute auf den Straßen überfallen worden.’
 (BC 1850/18, 3)

- (7) ... ako 4 towzynt *jich* jo wordowało
 ... als 4 Tausend sie:GEN.PL AUX geworden
 dla togo *wuzastšělan-ych*.
 deswegen erschossen-GEN.PL
 ‘... als 4 Tausend von ihnen deswegen erschossen wurden.’
 (BC 1862/30, 3)

4. Sekundär-prädikative Konstruktionen im Niedersorbischen

4.1. Bezeichnung physischer Zustände („physical condition“)

Bei depiktiven adjektivischen sekundären Prädikaten ist Kongruenz zwischen dem Adjektiv und seinem Bezugsnominal (controller) obligatorisch (vgl. STAROSTA 1991, 115). Dies soll im Folgenden zunächst für den oben genannten semantischen Bereich illustriert werden:

- (8) Pěš pijo *piwo* jano *zymn-e*.
 Peter trinkt Bier:ACC.SG.N nur kalt-ACC.SG.N
 ‘Peter trinkt Bier nur kalt.’

Das Kongruenzverhalten¹⁰ in der obigen depiktiven Konstruktion unterscheidet sich somit nicht von dem bei attributiver Verwendung des Adjektivs *zymny* im folgenden Beispiel. Beide Konstruktionen sind – bei jeweils neutraler Intonation – nur durch die Wortstellung unterschieden:

- (9) Pěš pijo jano *zymn-e* *piwo*.
 Peter trinkt nur kalt-ACC.SG.N Bier:ACC.SG.N
 ‘Peter trinkt nur kaltes Bier.’

Depiktive treten dabei sowohl mit Subjekt- als auch mit Objektbezug auf, wie die beiden folgenden Beispiele zeigen:

¹⁰ Als Pro-Drop-Sprache erlaubt es das Niedersorbische, ein pronominales Subjekt auszulassen. In diesen Fällen steht das sekundär-prädikative Adjektiv trotzdem im Nominativ und kongruiert – ebenso wie das Verb – in Numerus und ggf. Genus mit dem (an der Oberfläche nicht realisierten) Bezugsnomen: *glodna*[ADJ:NOM.SG.F] *jo*[AUX.SG] *se pódala*[SG.F] *na drogu*, ‘hungrig hat sie sich auf den Weg gemacht’; *chóre*[ADJ:NOM.PL] *su*[AUX.PL] *se wrošili*[PL], ‘sie sind krank zurückgekehrt’.

- (10) *Wóna* jo *młod-a* wumrěta.
 sie:NOM.SG.F AUX jung-NOM.SG.F gestorben
 ‘Sie ist jung gestorben.’
- (11) *Cora som jogo zasej raz*
 gestern AUX:1SG er:ACC.SG.M wieder einmal
napit-ego wizeł.
 betrunken-ACC.SG.M gesehen
 ‘Gestern habe ich ihn wieder einmal betrunken gesehen.’

Sätze, die etwa im Deutschen aufgrund mehrfach möglicher Bezüge ambig sind (12), werden im Niedersorbischen durch Kongruenz disambiguiert (13)-(14)¹¹:

- (12) Er hat sie *jung* geheiratet.
 a. ‘Er hat sie geheiratet und war dabei jung.’
 b. ‘Er hat sie geheiratet und sie war dabei jung.’
- (13) *Wón* jo se ju *młod-y* brał.
 er:NOM.SG.M AUX REFL sie jung-NOM.SG.M genommen
 ‘Er hat sie jung geheiratet.’
- (14) *Wón* jo se ju *młod-u* brał.
 er AUX REFL sie:ACC.SG.F jung-ACC.SG.F genommen
 ‘id.’

Oder, in einer anderen Ausdrucksweise für dasselbe Ereignis und mit Präpositionalobjekt (z ‘mit’ plus Instrumental):

- (15) *Wón* jo se z *njeju młod-y* wóženil.
 er:NOM.SG.M AUX REFL mit ihr jung-NOM.SG.M verheiratet
 ‘Er hat sich jung mit ihr verheiratet.’
- (16) *Wón* jo se z *njeju młod-eju* wóženil.
 er AUX REFL mit ihr:INS.SG.F jung-INS.SG.F verheiratet
 ‘id.’

Die gleiche Disambiguierung greift im Anwendungsbereich der (indeclinablen und somit nicht kongruierenden) Adverbialpartizipien, an deren Stelle zur Klarstellung der semantischen Bezüge auch das normale Aktivpartizip verwendet werden kann (STAROSTA 1992, 159). Der folgende Satz ist, da das Adverbialpartizip durch Kongruenz formal keinem der potenziellen Controller eindeutig zugeordnet werden kann, mehrdeutig wie in den Lesarten (a) und (b):

11 SCHULTZE-BERNDT & HIMMELMANN (2004, 74) sprechen hier von restriktiver Referenz (“restricted reference”) im Unterschied zur offenen (“open reference”) Referenz im Deutschen.

- (17) Som stark-ego na ławce *sejżecy*¹²
 AUX:1SG Großvater:ACC.SG.M auf Bank sitzend
 wizeł.
 gesehen
 a. 'Ich habe Großvater gesehen, während ich auf der Bank saß.'
 b. 'Ich habe Großvater gesehen, während er auf der Bank saß.'

Laut Starosta werden in dieserart mehrdeutigen Kontexten bevorzugt die kongruenten Aktivpartizipien verwendet, um einen eindeutigen Bezug sicherzustellen. Dies wird in (18) für die in (17) unter (b) genannte Lesart gezeigt:

- (18) Som stark-ego na ławce *sejżec-ego*
 AUX:1SG Großvater-ACC.SG.M auf Bank sitzend-ACC.SG.M
 wizeł.
 gesehen
 'Ich habe Großvater gesehen, während er auf der Bank saß.'

Auch Adjektive, die den Endzustand in resultativen Konstruktionen¹³ bezeichnen, unterliegen dem Kongruenzzwang:

- (19) Wóna jo jomu *włos-y* *krotk-e* psiręzała.
 sie AUX ihm Haar-ACC.PL kurz-ACC.PL geschnitten
 'Sie hat ihm die Haare kurz geschnitten.'
- (20) Mama jo *Anku* *nag-u* zeblakła.
 Mutter AUX Anka:ACC.SG.F nackt-ACC.SG.F ausgezogen
 'Die Mutter hat Anka nackt ausgezogen.' (STAROSTA 1991, 243)

Die Kongruenz zwischen Adjektiv (*nagu*) und direktem Objekt (*Anku*) schließt in (20) zugleich den – pragmatisch zwar nicht nahe liegenden aber prinzipiell möglichen – Bezug des sekundären Prädikats auf das Subjekt (*Mama*) aus.

12 Die Form könnte aufgrund der Homonymie von inkongruenter und Grundform des Aktivpartizips (NOM.SG.M) auch als kongruent mit dem Subjekt (*som*) aufgefasst werden, sofern der Sprecher männlich ist.

13 Es ist zu beachten, dass viele der in Sprachen ohne ein System verbaler Aspekte üblichen Resultativkonstruktionen im Niedersorbischen nicht oder nur unter dem Einfluss des Deutschen gebräuchlich sind, da die Resultativität der bezeichneten Handlung üblicherweise durch die Wahl des perfektiven Aspekts und ggf. durch eine entsprechende Aktionsart ausgedrückt wird. So wäre etwa die normgerechte Entsprechung von dt. *er trank die Flasche leer* der ns. Satz *wón jo flašu wupił* und nicht eine direkte Übertragung *'wón jo flaš-u* [Flasche-AKK.SG.F] *prozn-u* [leer-AKK.SG.F] (*wu*)*pił*. Wird die an das Deutsche angelehnte sekundär-prädikative Konstruktion dennoch gewählt, besteht wie dargestellt Kongruenzzwang.

Ungeachtet dieser formalen Gleichbehandlung depiktiver und resultativer Konstruktionen im Niedersorbischen bleibt die Tatsache, dass resultative Konstruktionen in der Forschungsliteratur häufig nicht zu den depiktiven sekundären Prädikaten gerechnet werden, da bei ihnen temporale Nachzeitigkeit anstelle der für Depiktive zwingenden Gleichzeitigkeit gilt. Ihr Status ist im Hinblick auf den Phänomenbereich „Sekundäre Prädikation“ generell umstritten (HIMMELMANN & SCHULTZE-BERNDT 2005b, 4).

4.2 Mentale Zustände („mental or emotional condition“)

Im Niedersorbischen werden Partizipanten- und Ereignisbezug in der Regel formal klar differenziert, wofür zum einen die dargestellten Kongruenzregeln, zum anderen die Existenz besonderer Adverbialformen sorgt. Die Kongruenz des Adjektivs korreliert mit Partizipantenbezug, die Adverbialform mit Ereignisbezug:

- (21) *Wóna jo njeglucn-a wumrěła.*
 sie:NOM.SG.F AUX unglücklich-NOM.SG.F gestorben
 ‘Sie ist unglücklich gestorben.’
 = Sie ist gestorben und war dabei unglücklich.

- (22) *Wóna jo njeglucn-je wumrěła.*
 sie:NOM.SG.F AUX unglücklich-ADV gestorben
 ‘Sie ist unglücklich gestorben.’
 = Sie ist unter unglücklichen Umständen gestorben.

Das Deutsche ist hier wiederum ambig, während das Niedersorbische mehrdeutige Konstruktionen nicht zulässt. Die Wahl des kongruierenden Adjektivs führt zu einer depiktiven Interpretation, die des inkongruenten Adverbs entsprechend zu einem adverbialen Verständnis. Die im Deutschen mögliche indifferente Ausdrucksweise (*unglücklich* in depiktiver oder adverbialer Lesart) ist im Niedersorbischen ausgeschlossen (STAROSTA 1991, 243). Für dt. *er kehrte traurig nach Hause zurück* ist dementsprechend nur die depiktive Kodierung möglich, da eine adverbiale, d.h. primär ereignisbezogene Interpretation nahezu ausgeschlossen ist:

- (23) *Wón jo se tužn-y domoj*
 er:NOM.SG.M AUX REFL traurig-NOM.SG.M nach Hause
 wrošił.
 zurückgekehrt
 ‘Er kehrte traurig nach Hause zurück.’

Auch das nur prädikativ verwendbare *rady* ‘gern’, das neben einer indeklinablen Variante (*rad* oder *rady*) auch Numerus und Genus signalisierende Formen besitzt, kongruiert bei Nutzung der flektierenden Variante mit dem Bezugsnomen, so dass man diesbezüglich auch hier im Niedersorbischen von einer depiktiven Konstruktion sprechen kann:

- (24) *Wóna rad-a rejujo.*
 sie:NOM.SG.F gern-SG.F¹⁴ tanzt
 ‘Sie tanzt gern.’

Die Existenz einer kongruierenden Entsprechung zum dt. Adverb *gern(e)* im Niedersorbischen¹⁵ ist insofern bemerkenswert, als hier nicht direkt eine mentale Eigenschaft des Partizipanten zum Ausdruck gebracht wird (wie bei *fröhlich*, *traurig* o.ä.), sondern eine Einstellung gegenüber der genannten Handlung.¹⁶ Entsprechend ist, anders als bei sekundären Prädikaten üblich (vgl. Fußnote 3), in diesem Fall auch keine kopolare Paraphrasierung möglich, und zwar weder im Deutschen noch im Niedersorbischen: **sie tanzt und ist dabei gern(e) / *wóna rejujo a jo psi tom rada.*¹⁷

Im semantischen Bereich „mentale Zustände“ und über die bisher dargestellten Möglichkeiten des Niedersorbischen zur Kodierung sekundärer Prädikate hinaus findet sich auch eine Konstruktion, die laut SCHULTZE-BERNDT & HIMMELMANN (2004, 90) in den von den beiden Autoren untersuchten Sprachen bislang nur für das Deutsche und Lateinische belegt war. Denn Niedersorbisch erlaubt neben dem „komitativen“ Relationsmarker *mit* bzw. *z(e)* (dt. *mit schwerem Herzen*, *mit ruhigem Gewissen*; ns. *ze šěžkeju wušobu*, *z dobreju wědob-*

14 Dieses Adjektiv zeigt keine Kasusflexion; vgl. FASSKE (1988, 11). – Möglich, wenngleich weniger gebräuchlich, wäre auch eine Verwendung der inkongruenten Form *rady*: *Wóna rady rejujo*.

15 Auch im Tschechischen wird die kongruierende Form verwendet: *rád*[SG.M], *ráda*[SG.F], *rádo*[SG.N], *rádi*[PL]. Die tschechische Übersetzung des Satzes in (24) wäre dementsprechend *ráda tancuje*. Das Polnische hingegen verwendet üblicherweise adverbiale inkongruente Ausdrücke wie *chętnie*. Die kongruierenden Formen *rad* usw. existieren auch im Polnischen, gelten jedoch als veraltet bzw. buchsprachlich: *mamy*[PL] *swoich ulubionych aktorów i radzi*[PL] *ich oglądamy* ‘wir haben unsere beliebten Schauspieler und sehen sie gern’ (BAŃKO 2000, s.v.).

16 Die IDS-Grammatik (1997, 54f) spricht bezüglich *gern(e)* von einem Modifikativ-Adverb. Die Bedeutung von *rady* entspricht tatsächlich der des dt. Adverbs *gern(e)*. Die ns. Entsprechungen zu den dt. Adjektiven *fröh/fröhlich* sind *wjasoly* (vgl. (25)) und, literatursprachlich, *radosny*. Entsprechend wäre dann auch möglich *wóna rejujo a jo psi tom wjasola/radosna*.

17 Aufgrund seiner besonderen Eigenschaften entzieht sich ns. *rad* einer eindeutigen Wortartklassifizierung, was bereits PETR (1963, 183) feststellt: „Slovo rad v dolní lužické srbštině se nezařazuje zcela jednoznačně k žádnému slovnímu druhu (...)“. Das Wort kann semantisch ausschließlich adverbial verwendet werden, d.h. weder prädikativ (**wóna jo rada*) noch attributiv (**ta rada reja*) auftreten, verfügt aber dennoch über kongruierende Formen.

nosću) im Rahmen bestimmter Kollokationen genauso wie das Deutsche eine Genitiv-Markierung des sekundären Prädikats (*schweren Herzens, ruhigen Gewissens*). Die folgenden Beispiele zeigen typische Verwendungen mit dem Substantiv *mysl* 'Sinn':

- (25) *Wjasoł-eje mysl-i jo pśišel na žěto.*
 froh-GEN.SG.F Sinn-GEN.SG.F AUX gekommen:M.SG auf Arbeit
 'Fröhlich [wörtlich: frohen Sinnes] ist er zur Arbeit gekommen.'
- (26) *Ale pśiž dobr-eje mysl-i!*
 aber komm gut-GEN.SG.F Sinn-GEN.SG.F
 'Aber bring gute Laune mit!
 [wörtlich: 'aber komm guter Laune!']
- (27) *Jadn-eje mysl-i su wobzamknuli, až...*
 ein-GEN.SG.F Sinn-GEN.SG.F AUX:3PL beschlossen dass...
 'Einmütig [wörtlich: eines Sinnes] haben sie beschlossen, dass...'

Es handelt sich bei dieser Variante depiktiver sekundärer Prädikate – ähnlich wie im Deutschen – um eine heute nicht mehr produktive Bildungsweise. Die meisten Belege dieser Art sind auf Grundlage einer geringen Anzahl von Adjektiven und Substantiven gebildet. Bei den Substantiven sind neben dem bereits erwähnten *mysl* vor allem *głowa* 'Kopf', *měnjenje* 'Meinung', *wušoba* 'Herz' und *nažeja* 'Hoffnung' zu nennen. Typische Genitiv-Verbindungen mit diesen Substantiven sind *swójeje głowy* 'eigensinnig [wörtlich: eigenen Kopfes]', *tupeje głowy* 'kopfflos [wörtlich: stumpfen Kopfes]' oder *zlamaneje wušoby* 'gebrochenen Herzens'.

Neben diesen sekundär-prädikativen Genitiv-Phrasen finden sich ähnliche Verwendungen dieses Kasus auch in anderen prädikativen Konstruktionen, die ebenfalls aus dem Deutschen bekannt sind¹⁸:

- (28) *Wón jo (t-ogo) měnjenj-a, až...*
 er AUX ART.DEF-GEN.SG.N Meinung-GEN.SG.N dass...
 'Er ist der Meinung, dass...'
- (29) *Som drug-ego měnjenj-a.*
 AUX:1SG ander-GEN.SG.N Meinung-GEN.SG.N
 'Ich bin anderer Meinung.'

18 Vermutlich ist die Existenz dieser Konstruktionen (25-29) auf den Einfluss des Deutschen zurückzuführen. Es ist jedoch auch nicht ausgeschlossen, dass es sich um einen Archaismus handelt oder beides eine Rolle spielt. Untersuchungen dazu liegen bislang nicht vor.

4.3 Funktions- und Rollenbezeichnungen („function and role“)

In diesem semantischen Bereich kommen im Niedersorbischen vor allem Konstruktionen mit *ako* ‘als’ zur Anwendung. *Ako* fungiert hier als „Prädikativmarker“ (SCHULTZE-BERNDT & HIMMELMANN 2004, 85f.).

- (30) Wóna žěła pši armeji ako
sie:NOM.SG.F arbeitet bei Armee als
chórobna sotša.
Krankenschwester:NOM.SG.F
‘Sie arbeitet bei der Armee als Krankenschwester.’
- (31) Jich su ako cuzych wuzamknuli.
sie:ACC.PL AUX:3PL als Fremde:ACC.PL ausgegrenzt
‘Man hat sie [wörtlich: sie haben sie] als Fremde ausgegrenzt.’

Wie die angeführten Beispiele zeigen, kongruieren¹⁹ auch in diesem Bereich *ako*-Phrase und Bezugsnominal im Kasus, so dass hier zwei Markierungsstrategien (Relationsmarker und Kongruenz) gemeinsam auftreten, von denen die eine die Art der Prädikation, die andere ihren Bezug kodiert.

Zwei Abgrenzungen müssen an dieser Stelle vorgenommen werden. Zum einen kennt das Niedersorbische derartige *ako*-Phrasen auch als obligatorische Prädikativa:

- (32) Wón jo se wudał ako gójc.
er:NOM.SG AUX REFL ausgegeben als Arzt:NOM.SG
‘Er hat sich als Arzt ausgegeben.’
- (33) Naglědajom jogo ako dobr-ego gójc-a.
betrachten:1SG er:ACC.SG als gut-ACC.SG Arzt-ACC.SG
‘Ich betrachte ihn als guten Arzt.’

Während die Zuordnung der fakultativen *ako*-Phrasen zu den sekundären Prädikaten weitgehend unumstritten ist (vgl. aber den folgenden Abschnitt), werden die obligatorischen in der Regel aus diesem Phänomenbereich ausgegrenzt, da sie zusammen mit dem Hauptprädikat eine einzige komplexe Prädikation bilden, die *ako*-Phrase also nicht als unabhängige Prädikation betrachtet werden kann.

19 Sowohl EISENBERG (1999, 203f) als auch die IDS-GRAMMATIK (1999, 61f) sprechen hinsichtlich solcher durch *als* (analog für *wie*; vgl. Kap. 4.6) verbundenen Elemente nicht von Kasus-kongruenz, sondern von Kasusidentität. Die *als* „koordinierende Konjunktion“ (Eisenberg) bzw. „Adjunktor“ (IDS-Grammatik) klassifizierten Relationsmarker *als* und *wie* sorgen demnach, ähnlich wie die Konjunktionen *und*, *oder*, *aber* für einen Abgleich der Kasusmerkmale. Die Beziehung wird im Unterschied zu Kongruenz und Rektion als nicht gerichtet betrachtet. Gegen Eisenberg argumentiert HAHNEMANN (1999, 189f.).

Zum anderen treten im Bereich der fakultativen *ako*-Phrasen, d.h. zwischen verschiedenen Subtypen dieser sekundären Prädikate, Unterschiede zutage, die sich unter anderem am Negationsskopus festmachen lassen, worauf u.a. HENTSCHEL (2006 sowie in diesem Band) hinweist. Hentschel problematisiert und modifiziert in seiner Analyse deutscher und polnischer *als-* bzw. *jako*-Phrasen die bereits von anderen Autoren eingeführte Differenzierung zwischen *depiktiven* und *zirkumstantialen* sekundären Prädikaten (NICHOLS 1981; HIMMELMANN & SCHULTZE-BERNDT 2005b, 15ff.). Für *Depiktive* gilt, dass sie bei Verneinung der Gesamtaussage mit im Skopus der Negation stehen, dass also primäre und sekundäre Prädikation gemeinsam verneint werden (NICHOLS 1981, 42). Dies ist bei der negierten Variante von (30) der Fall:

- (30a) Wóna nježěła pši armeji ako chórbna sotša.
'Sie arbeitet nicht bei der Armee als Krankenschwester.'

Bei *neutraler Intonation*, d.h. mit Betonung des negierten Verbs (*nježěta*) wird die Aussage in (30a) so verstanden, dass die bezeichnete Dame weder bei der Armee arbeitet, noch Krankenschwester ist.

Die Standard-Lesart von (31) dürfte hingegen durch 'man hat sie ausgegrenzt, weil sie Fremde waren' zu paraphrasieren sein. Insofern liegt eine klar kausale Beziehung zwischen sekundärem (*Fremder sein*) und primärem (*ausgegrenzt werden*) Prädikat vor. Bei Negation des Satzes wie in folgendem Beispiel

- (31a) Jich njejsu ako cuzych wuzamknuli.
'Man hat sie als Fremde nicht ausgegrenzt.'

ergibt sich – ebenfalls bei *neutraler Intonation* – die Interpretation, dass die im *Akkusativobjekt* bezeichneten Personen zwar Fremde waren, aber (dennoch) nicht ausgegrenzt wurden. Die sekundäre Prädikation liegt mithin nicht im Skopus der Negation, weshalb die Konstruktion in (31) nicht als *depiktives*, sondern als *kausal-zirkumstantiales* sekundäres Prädikat gewertet wird.

Bei den *Zirkumstantialen* unterscheidet HENTSCHEL (2006, 160ff.) drei Subtypen: (a) *temporale*²⁰, (b) *konditionale* sowie (c) *kausale*.²¹ Niedersorbische Beispiele für die beiden erstgenannten Typen finden sich in (34) und (35):

20 Die temporale Konstruktion gehört eigentlich nicht in den hier diskutierten semantischen Bereich der Funktions- und Rollenbezeichnungen. Letztere können jedoch metonymisch verwendet werden, wenn auf den Zeitabschnitt der Ausübung der Funktion oder der Rolle abgehoben wird. Vgl. Kapitel 4.4.

21 Im Unterschied zu Nichols, auf welche die Annahme von *Zirkumstantialen* zurückgeht, nimmt Hentschel auch *kausale Zirkumstantiale* an. Er zeigt jedoch, dass Nichols konzessive *Zirkumstantiale* prinzipiell auf *konditionale* oder *kausale* zurückzuführen sind.

- (34) *Ako góle jo musaŕ brylu nosyś.*
 ‘Als Kind musste er eine Brille tragen.’
 = Als er ein Kind war, musste er eine Brille tragen.
- (35) *Ako direktor móžoś to sam rozsužiś.*
 ‘Als Direktor kann man das allein entscheiden.’
 = Wenn man Direktor ist, kann man das allein entscheiden.

Die drei genannten semantischen Subtypen zirkumstantialer Konstruktionen unterscheiden sich in mehrfacher Hinsicht, was aber im Rahmen dieser Untersuchung unberücksichtigt bleiben kann (vgl. dazu HENTSCHEL in diesem Band). Hinsichtlich ihrer Zugehörigkeit zum Phänomenbereich sekundärer Prädikation werden temporale und konditionale Zirkumstantiale eindeutig als sekundäre Prädikate betrachtet, während die Einbeziehung der kausalen Zirkumstantialen, bei denen der explizite Ausdruck einer Ursache-Folge-Beziehung die für sekundäre Prädikate ansonsten typische Signalisierung einer rein temporalen Beziehung deutlich überlagert, noch ungeklärt scheint, aber wohl letztlich eine Frage der Definition ist (HENTSCHEL, ebd.).

Im gleichen semantischen Bereich bietet das Niedersorbische noch eine weitere Kodierungsoption mit der Präposition *za* ‘für’ plus Akkusativ. Belege finden sich sowohl in Dialekttexten (36) als auch in der niedersorbischen Schriftsprache (37)-(38):

- (36) *Mój foter [jo] służył za knecht-a pla²²*
 mein Vater AUX gedient für Knecht-ACC.SG.M bei
 jadnogo bura.
 einem Bauern
 ‘Mein Vater diente als Knecht bei einem Bauern.’ (VASMER & WIRTH 1934, 9)
- (37) *Wón jadnašo ze študancom Jenčom, aby ten k*
 er verhandelte mit dem Studenten Jentsch damit dieser zu
 nim *za fararj-a* pšišeł, gaž bužo wuwucony.
 ihnen für Pfarrer-ACC.SG.M käme wenn wird sein ausgelernt
 ‘Er verhandelte mit dem Studenten Jentsch, damit dieser zu ihnen
 als Pfarrer käme, wenn er ausgelernt hätte.’ (Pratyja 1931, 51)
- (38) [...] *a bu togodla w slědnem lěše za pomocnik-a*
 [...] und wurde deshalb in letzten Jahr für Hilfskraft-ACC.SG.M

22 Im Original steht stattdessen die dialektale Variante *pša*.

w syrotowni pśistajony.
 in Waisenhaus angestellt
 ' [...] und wurde deshalb im letzten Jahr als Hilfskraft in einem / im
 Waisenhaus angestellt.' (CHRESTOMATIJA 1982, 170)

In diesen Konstruktionen liegt keine Kasuskongruenz zwischen dem sekundären Prädikat und dem Bezugsnominal vor. Als Marker des sekundären Prädikats dient die Präposition *za* 'für', die ihrerseits unabhängig von den morphosyntaktischen Eigenschaften des Bezugsnominals eine Akkusativmarkierung des regierten Substantivs verlangt. Hier liegt ein wesentlicher Unterschied zu den zuvor besprochenen *ako*-Konstruktionen.

Die Konstruktion *za* plus Akkusativ tritt dialektal wie schriftsprachlich vor allem bei traditionellen Berufsbezeichnungen auf (z.B. *knecht*, *wucabnik* 'Lehrer', *ceptar* 'Lehrer', *farar* 'Pfarrer'). Sie ist schon lange weniger frequent als die konkurrierende Konstruktion mit *ako* und weiter auf dem Rückzug.²³ Generell fraglich ist ihre Verwendung bei Rollenbezeichnungen: *póslali su jogo ako / ?za zastupnika na pósejženje*, 'man schickte ihn als Vertreter zur Sitzung'.

4.4 Lebensabschnitt („life stage“)

Die bereits thematisierte Konstruktion mit *ako* findet sich darüber hinaus noch in weiteren semantischen Bereichen, so etwa im Bereich „Lebensabschnitt“,²⁴ vgl. (34) und die folgenden Beispiele:

(39) *Ako gólc jo wón w Barlinje żywy był.*
 als Junge AUX er in Berlin lebend war
 'Als Junge lebte er in Berlin.'

(40) *Ako starka nje-musym wěcej tak wjele žěłaś.*
 als Alte:F NEG-muss:1SG mehr so viel arbeiten
 'Als alte Frau muss ich nicht mehr so viel arbeiten.'

In dieser Funktion findet allein *ako* Verwendung, die Konstruktion mit *za* plus Akkusativ ist hier ausgeschlossen: **za gólca jo wón ... / *za starku njemusym ...*

23 Allgemein muss an dieser Stelle ergänzt werden, dass derartige Entwicklungen auch mit der stark abnehmenden Vitalität der niedersorbischen Dialekte und einer damit einhergehenden Abnahme muttersprachlicher Sprachkompetenz zu tun haben können.

24 Ein Beispiel dieser Art wurde bereits im Zusammenhang mit der Diskussion um die Unterscheidung von depiktiven und zirkumstantialen sekundären Prädikaten im vorigen Kapitel angeführt: (34).

4.5 Quantifizierung & Reihenfolge („quantification and order“)

Auch in diesem semantischen Bereich treten Konstruktionen mit *ako* plus Adjektiv oder rein adjektivische sekundäre Prädikate auf. Wie bereits beschrieben kongruieren in beiden Konstruktionen die sekundär-prädikativen Adjektive mit dem Bezugsnominal:

- (41) *Wónej* *stej* *ako* *slědn-ej* *pšišlej*.
sie:NOM.DU AUX:DU als letzt-NOM.DU gekommen:DU
‘Die beiden sind als letzte gekommen.’
- (42) *Wóna* *jo* *mazańc* *sam-a* *zjědła*.
sie:NOM.SG.F AUX Kuchen allein-NOM.SG.F gegessen
‘Sie hat den Kuchen allein (auf)gegessen.’

Neben solchen sekundär-prädikativen (adjektivischen) Konstruktionen finden sich in diesem Bereich auch adverbiale Konstruktionen. Die im Deutschen existierenden besonderen Formen der Numeralia *zweit*, *dritt* usw. in den Ausdrücken *zu zweit*, *zu dritt* usw., die zu einer Einstufung dieser Ausdrücke als depiktive Konstruktionen führen (HIMMELMANN & SCHULTZE-BERNDT 2005b, 71), werden im Niedersorbischen als Kombination der Präposition *pó* mit einer regulär flektierten Form der Kardinalzahlen im Lokativ gebildet:

- (43) *Šach* *se* *grajo* *pó* *dwěma* *a* *škótujo* *se*
Schach sich spielt zu zwei:LOC.DU und (es) skatet sich
pó *třoch*.
zu drei:LOC.PL
‘Schach spielt man zu zweit, Skat zu dritt.’

4.6 Vergleich („comparison“)

Das Niedersorbische gehört zu den Sprachen, die auch bei Vergleichen depiktive Konstruktionen aufweisen. Während das Deutsche die Zuordnung von Rollen oder Funktionen (vgl. 4.3) von similitiven Inhalten trennt (*er kämpfte als einfacher Soldat* vs. *er kämpfte wie ein Löwe* / **er kämpfte als Löwe*) wird im Niedersorbischen in beiden semantischen Bereichen die gleiche Kodierungsstrategie angewandt, wie die Übersetzung obiger deutscher Beispiele zeigt: *wón jo wójował a k o jadrory wójak / a k o law*.

Entsprechend greift auch hier bei adjektivischen Konstruktionen der beschriebene Kongruenzzwang, so dass depiktive Konstruktionen vorliegen:

- (44) *Wón* *žěła* *ako* *njemudry*.
 er:NOM.SG.M arbeitet als verrückt-NOM.SG.M
 ‘Er arbeitet wie verrückt.’²⁵
- (45) *Wóna* *jo* *ako* *pšikowan-a* *stojecy*²⁶
 sie:NOM.SG.F AUX als angewurzelt-NOM.SG.F stehend
 wóstała.
 geblieben
 ‘Sie blieb wie angewurzelt stehen.’

Die Kongruenzregeln funktionieren dabei sehr konsequent, und zwar sowohl in eher literarischen Texten als auch in solchen, die durch eine sehr volksnahe Sprache gekennzeichnet sind. In den beiden folgenden Beispielen findet anstelle des heute geläufigeren *ako* der Relationsmarker *kaž*²⁷ Anwendung. Mit Blick auf die Kongruenz verhalten sich beide Wörter gleich. *Kaž* ist ein(e) vom Interrogativpronomen *kak* ‘wie?’ abgeleitete(s) Konjunktion und Relativpronomen.

- (46) *A wónej* *běštej* *sebj*e *dobr-ej* *kaž*
 und sie:NOM.DU waren:DU sich gut:NOM.DU wie
towarstwow-ej *rož-y,* *kwišec-ej*
 benachbart-NOM.DU Rose-NOM.DU blühend-NOM.DU

25 Es ist nicht ausgeschlossen, (44) auch als ‘er arbeitet wie ein Verrückter’ zu übersetzen. In der Regel würde dann aber auch im Ns. – wohl aufgrund deutschen Einflusses – der unbestimmte Artikel hinzugefügt: *Wón žěła ako jaden njemudry*. Damit stellt sich hier zudem die Frage, ob überhaupt von einer formalen, die Annahme einer depiktiven Konstruktion rechtfertigenden, Abhängigkeit der beiden Komponenten *wón* und *njemudry* gesprochen werden kann, da Sätze wie (44) gelegentlich strukturell auf Sätze zurückgeführt werden und damit als elliptisch gelten: *Wón (tak) žěła ako (jaden) njemudry žěła. / Er arbeitet (so) wie ein Verrückter arbeitet* (vgl. THURMAIR 2001, 189ff). Damit würden beiden Elementen ihre formalen Eigenschaften (Nominativ, Singular, Maskulinum) unabhängig voneinander zugewiesen und es läge keine depiktive Konstruktion vor.

26 Wie bereits oben (4.1) dargestellt, konkurriert das hier verwendete nichtkongruente Adverbialpartizip (*stojecy*) mit einer kongruenten Form. Im vorliegenden Fall wäre die feminine Form nötig: *stojec-a*.

27 Das Suffix *-ž* dient im Sorbischen generell in dieser Funktion, vgl. zum Beispiel das von *co* ‘was’ abgeleitete Relativpronomen *což* ‘welches’. Eine ältere Form von *kaž* lautet *kakž* – hier ist die ursprüngliche Suffigierung noch deutlich zu erkennen (SCHUSTER-ŠEWIC 1983-96, s.v.). *Ako* und *kaž* sind nicht generell austauschbar. Während in den Beispielen aus Kap. 4.6 stets beide Formen möglich sind, ist *kaž* im Bereich Funktions- und Rollenbezeichnungen (Kap. 4.3) kaum einsetzbar. Die Distribution der beiden Formen ist noch nicht untersucht.

na jadnom krju.
auf einem Strauch
‘Und sie waren sich gut wie benachbarte Rosen, blühend an einem Strauch.’ (BC 1890/43, 2)

- (47) Wótere cajtungi wulicuju, až ta policaja
etliche Zeitungen erzählen dass ART.DEF Polizei:NOM.SG.F
jo wšykných biła a ryła kaž njemudr-a.
AUX alle geschlagen und gerissen wie verrückt-NOM.SG.F
‘Etliche Zeitungen berichten, dass die Polizei auf alle wie verrückt eingeschlagen hat.’ (BC 1891/4, 1)

Auch Objektbezug ist in dieser Konstruktion möglich, wie die folgende Variante von (44) zeigt:

- (48) Wón jo jogo wizeł ako njemudr-ego žětaš.
Er AUX er:ACC.SG gesehen als verrückt-ACC.SG arbeiten
‘Er sah ihn wie verrückt arbeiten.’

4.7 Körperhaltung und Anordnung („posture and configuration“)

In vielen Sprachen schwankt die Realisierung der hier relevanten Inhalte (wie dt. *rückwärts* oder *im Kreis*) zwischen adverbialer und depiktiver Kodierung (HIMMELMANN & SCHULTZE-BERNDT 2005b, 31f). Im Niedersorbischen gilt, was schon in den zuvor besprochenen semantischen Bereichen deutlich wurde: Dort, wo geeignete Adjektive verwendet werden, kommt es durch den Kongruenzzwang zur Bildung depiktiver Konstruktionen. Demgegenüber führt die Existenz spezieller adverbialer Ausdrücke – wie etwa im Fall der niedersorbischen Entsprechungen zu den oben genannten deutschen Beispielen *ze slědkom* und *w krejzu* – entsprechend zur Bildung adverbialer Konstruktionen.

Das folgende Beispiel zeigt eine depiktive Konstruktion:

- (49) Wóna jo stojala rown-a ako swěcka.
sie:NOM.SG.F AUX gestanden gerade-NOM.SG.F wie Kerze
‘Sie stand aufrecht wie eine Kerze.’

Auf gleiche Weise funktioniert auch das niedersorbische Äquivalent zu dt. *barfuß*:

- (50) Žiši ganjaju bós-e.
Kinder:NOM.PL laufen barfuß-NOM.PL
‘Die Kinder laufen barfuß.’

Einen Sonderfall stellt das Adjektiv *pěšy* ‘zu Fuß’ dar. Nach allem, was bisher zu depiktiven sekundären Prädikaten im Niedersorbischen gesagt wurde, wäre hier

eher eine adverbiale Kodierung zu erwarten (vgl. poln. *pieszo*, russ. *неуком*). Im Unterschied zum in (50) illustrierten Adjektiv *bósy* 'barfuß' bezeichnet *pěšy* keine Eigenschaft der beteiligten Personen: Die Kinder sind „nacktfüßig“, wenn sie barfuß laufen (ebenso als wenn sie nackt oder kahlköpfig wären), was „sind“ sie aber, wenn sie zu Fuß gehen? *Zu Fuß* kann hier substituiert werden durch Fügungen wie *Hand in Hand*, *im Laufschrift* oder anderen Bezeichnungen der Fortbewegungsart. Zumindest stellt *pěšy* in dieser Hinsicht einen Grenzfall dar. Diesem Befund entspricht die Tatsache, dass es im Niedersorbischen neben der flektierten Variante *pěšy*²⁸, die in gleicher Weise wie *bósy* verwendet wird, auch eine nicht flektierte Variante (*pěšy*) gibt. In Wörterbüchern finden sich ebenso wie in der Literatur Beispiele für beide Varianten²⁹:

- (51) Cesto stej *wobej*, faraf a šulaf,
oft AUX:DU beide:NOM.DU Pfarrer und Lehrer
pěš-ej do Gołbina šlej.
zu Fuß-NOM.DU nach Gulben gegangen
'Oft sind beide, Pfarrer und Lehrer, zu Fuß nach Gulben gegangen.'
(Pratyja 1883, 19)

- (52) Za nimi psížěchu *luže* z marka,
hinter ihnen kamen Leute:NOM.PL vom Markt
*pěšy*³⁰ a na wózu.
zu Fuß:INKONGR und auf Wagen
'Hinter ihnen kamen Leute vom Markt, zu Fuß und auf dem Wa-
gen.' (Wosadnik 1905/10, 1)

5. Zusammenfassung

Der Anwendungsbereich depictiver Konstruktionen reicht im Niedersorbischen über den im Sprachvergleich identifizierten Kernbereich (Bezeichnung physikalischer und mentaler Zustände – s.o. 4.1-4.2) hinaus. Depiktive Konstruktionen

28 Es handelt sich hier wohl um einen Archaismus, der auch im Altkirchenslawischen belegt ist (vgl. DELBRÜCK 1893, 459). Ich danke Winfried Boeder für einen entsprechenden Hinweis.

29 Es ist aufgrund der Homonymie der inkongruenten mit der maskulinen Form (*pěšy*) in der Mehrzahl der Belege nicht möglich festzustellen, welche Variante vorliegt. Untersuchungen zu ihrer Distribution liegen nicht vor, so dass eindeutige Aussagen über Entwicklungstendenzen derzeit nicht möglich sind. Ein Vordringen der inkongruenten Variante würde jedoch durch das Obersorbische gestützt, wo das entsprechende *pěši* ausnahmslos indeklinabel auftritt (FASSKE 1988, 11).

30 Die kongruente Form wäre hier *pěše*.

finden sich außerdem bei den Funktions- und Rollenbezeichnungen (4.3) und in den Bereichen Lebensabschnitt (4.4), Quantifizierung und Reihenfolge (4.5), Vergleich (4.6) sowie Körperhaltung und Anordnung (4.7).

Das Hauptmittel zur morphosyntaktischen Markierung des depiktiven Inhalts ist die Kongruenz in Kasus sowie in Genus und Numerus. Dieses Mittel findet in allen genannten semantischen Bereichen Anwendung, sofern die zum Einsatz kommenden sekundären Prädikate dies erlauben, d.h. sofern sie über entsprechende Flexionsparadigmen verfügen. In einigen Bereichen tritt Kongruenz in Kombination mit dem Prädikativmarker *ako* 'als' auf. Peripher finden sich zwei kongruenzlose Markierungen sekundärer Prädikation: der Prädikativmarker *za* 'für' (mit Akkusativreaktion) sowie als Relationsmarker der Genitiv bei der Bezeichnung mentaler Zustände (z.B. *wjasoleje mysli* 'frohen Sinnes'). Das Niedersorbische unterscheidet in der Regel deutlich zwischen Partizipanten- und Ereignisbezug eines adjektivischen sekundären Prädikats. Bei Partizipantenorientierung ist Kongruenz obligatorisch, während Ereignisbezug mit einer adverbialen Form des Adjektivs korreliert. Durch die Kongruenz bei Partizipantenbezug wird zugleich eine restriktive Referenzbeziehung etabliert, die Ambiguitäten, wie sie etwa im Deutschen vorkommen (*Ich bin ihm betrunken begegnet*. – Wer war betrunken?) von vornherein ausschließt.

Die Ergebnisse der vorliegenden Studie legen nahe, die von BOEDER (2005, 235f.) geäußerte Hypothese über einen direkten Zusammenhang zwischen in einer Sprache vorhandener Wortstellungsfreiheit und der Reichweite depiktiver Konstruktionen – gemeint ist die Anwendung depiktiver Kodierungsstrategien auch in weniger typischen semantischen Bereichen – weiter zu verfolgen. Aufgrund einer formal expliziten Kennzeichnung der syntaktischen Beziehungen im Satz (u.a. durch Kongruenz) verfügt das Niedersorbische über eine relativ freie Wortstellung und erlaubt somit syntaktisch zusammengehörige Komponenten in relativ großer Distanzstellung. Und diese Eigenschaft korreliert im Niedersorbischen mit einer relativ großen Reichweite depiktiver Konstruktionen.

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Prädikativer Instrumental, Kasuskongruenz oder analytische Markierung bei sekundären Prädikaten im Polnischen

1. Einführung

Der prädikative Instrumental¹ ist bei primären substantivischen Prädikaten (ggf. mit adjektivischem Attribut beim Substantiv) im Polnischen gegenwärtig stark verbreitet, z.B.

- (1) Jej syn jest /stał się *mężczyzną*_{INS}.
'Ihr Sohn ist / wurde *ein Mann*.'
- (2) Ona została *filologiem*_{INS}.
'Sie ist *Philologin* geworden.'

im Gegensatz zu den primären adjektivischen Prädikaten, wo heute der Nominativ (der Kongruenzkasus i. w. S.) mit der Ausnahme infiniter Konstruktionen die Regel ist, und nur ältere Belege den Instrumental zeigen:

- (3) Dnia tego drewniana buda była *pełna*_{INS}, ...
'An diesem Tage war die Holzbude *voll*.' (Kraszewski, 1887)
- (4) ... kamizelka przestaje być *niezbędna*_{INS}, ale natomiast okazuje się bardzo *potrzebnym*_{INS} [...] frak z magazynu pogrzebowego.
'... eine Weste ist nicht mehr *nötig*, aber ein Frack vom Bestattungsinstitut stellt sich als sehr *gefragt* heraus.' (Prus, 1882)

1 Die Sprachwissenschaft beschäftigt sich schon seit langem mit dem Phänomen des prädikativen Instrumentals. In den indoeuropäischen Sprachen tritt normalerweise der Nominativ beim nominalen (substantivischen und adjektivischen) Prädikat in Kopulasätzen auf. Was das Slavische betrifft, so wird auch im Altkirchenslavischen der Instrumental nur äußerst selten gebraucht. Der Instrumental bei nominalen Prädikaten ist typisch für die modernen baltischen und slavischen Sprachen, aber nicht in gleichem Maße. Die südslavischen Sprachen zeigen ihn in einem geringen, die ost- und westslavischen Sprachen in einem höheren Grad. KLEMENSIEWICZ (1927) zeigt, dass der Nominativ auch im Polnischen die historisch ursprüngliche Form des substantivischen Prädikats war. Zunächst waren es prädikative Substantive, die in Kopulasätzen den Instrumental annahmen (vgl. HENTSCHEL 1993; 1994), dann die Adjektive (KLEMENSIEWICZ 1927), wobei sich bei letzteren die Entwicklung bald wieder zugunsten des Nominativs umkehrte (PISARKOWA 1984).

Ähnlich selten scheint der prädikative Instrumental heute bei sekundären Prädikaten zu sein; vgl. aber den wiederum älteren Beleg:

- (5) *Dzieckiem*_{INS} pomnę, jak w domu rodzica mojego ...
 ‘Als Kind erinnere ich mich, wie im Hause meines Vaters...’
 (Lamus, 1909)

In älteren literarischen Werken kam er beim primären adjektivischen Prädikat häufig neben der kongruierenden Form vor. In dem Werk *Z pamiętnika młodej mężatki* (‘Aus dem Tagebuch einer jungen Ehefrau’) von G. Zapolska² aus dem Jahr 1923 treten beispielsweise die Formen des prädikativen Instrumentals sehr häufig parallel zum Nominativ auf, sogar bei ein und demselben Verb³, und zwar bei primären und sekundären Prädikaten:

- (6) ...będę *wesola*_{NOM}, będę *szczęśliwa*_{NOM}.
 ‘... ich werde *froh* sein, ich werde *glücklich* sein.’ (S. 76)
- (7) ... mogłabym być *szczęśliwa*_{INS}.
 ‘... ich könnte *glücklich* sein.’ (S. 73)
- (8) Wydała mi się *blada*_{NOM}, *mizerna*_{NOM} i *smutna*_{NOM}.
 ‘Sie erschien mir *blass*, *kümmertlich* und *traurig*.’ (S. 66)
- (9) Wydał mi się *starym*_{INS} i *niezgrabnym*_{INS}.
 ‘Er schien mir *alt* und *schwerfällig*.’ (S. 31)⁴

Im Kopulasätzen lässt sich – mit HENTSCHEL (1993, 267-271) – ein Zusammenhang u.a. zwischen dem Kasus des primären substantivischen Prädikats und der morphologischen (temporalen sowie modalen) Form der Kopula erkennen. Im Kontext des Präsens kommt der Instrumental am seltensten vor (21% im 16. Jh. und 48% im 17. Jh.), im Präteritum wächst die Frequenz ihres Auftretens signifikant (48% im 16. Jh. und 73% im 17. Jh.), was auch im Futur (75% im 16. Jh. und 100% im 17. Jh.) im Vergleich zum Präteritum der Fall ist. Der prädikative Instrumental zeigt außerdem ein quantitatives Übergewicht im Kontext des Konjunktivs (73% im 16. Jh. und 76% im 17. Jh.), des Imperativs (75% im 16. Jh. und 100% im 17. Jh.) sowie des Infinitivs (88% im 16. Jh. und 91% im

2 Ich benutze die Ausgabe des Verlags Universitas aus dem Jahr 2002.

3 Vgl. auch das ältere Beispiel: *Mężę nas zowią białogłowy*_{NOM}, *przędki*_{NOM}/ *Ku większemu żelzenu kobietami*_{INS} *zowią* ‘Die Männer nennen uns Frauen (wörtlich: Weißköpfe) Spinnerinnen, zu größerer Schmähung nennen sie uns Weiber [Marcin Bielski, *Sejm niewieści*, 1586; Übersetzung Beata Chachulska]’, wo in einem Satz zweimal die Nominativform und einmal die Instrumentalform auftritt.

4 Interessant ist aber auch, dass bei derselben Autorin der prädikative Instrumental in ihrem 1909 herausgegebenen Buch *O czym się nie mówi* (‘Worüber man nicht spricht’) extrem selten auftritt. Ich beziehe mich auch hier auf die Ausgabe des Verlags Universitas aus dem Jahr 2002.

17. Jh.). Für die adjektivischen (primären wie sekundären) Prädikate liegen keine vergleichbaren Untersuchungen vor.

Die Meinungen der Grammatiker hinsichtlich dessen, ob die beiden Formen als Varianten zu betrachten sind und wann sie im Satz erscheinen können, gehen auseinander. KLEMENSIEWICZ (1927)⁵ zufolge sei es dem Zufall überlassen, ob ein Substantiv oder ein Adjektiv entweder eine Nominativform oder eine Instrumentalform annimmt. Andere (KRASNOWOLSKI 1909, SZOBER 1957 bestätigen den Gebrauch der beiden Formen, stellen mitunter fest, welche Form häufig vorkommt und empfehlen, ohne den Grund für ihre Auswahl zu nennen, den Gebrauch einer der beiden Formen. Wiederum andere (MUCZKOWSKI 1849, MAŁECKI 1879, ŁOŚ 1905) vertreten dagegen die Meinung, dass im Bezug auf die Satzsemantik der Instrumental eine vorübergehende, der Nominativ eine konstante Gültigkeit der jeweiligen Zuordnung 'X ist Y' zum Ausdruck bringe. Die von HENTSCHEL (1994) durchgeführte Analyse der Wortsemantik der prädikativen Substantive hat einen Zusammenhang mit der Kasuswahl gezeigt. So gibt es eine starke Korrelation zwischen der Verwendung des Instrumentals bei primären Prädikaten und den wortsemantischen Merkmalen (+Übergang), d.h., dass bevorzugt solche Substantive den prädikativen Instrumental annehmen, die eine nicht-inhärente, nicht-permanente Eigenschaft [+α] inkludieren, der zwingend ein Zustand [-α] vorangeht. Dies impliziert jedoch nicht, dass ein solcher Übergang von [-α] zu [+α] im Satz ausgedrückt wird. Außerdem lässt sich – nach Hentschel – diese Referenz nur bei belebten Substantiven nachweisen. Diese sind jedoch „ideale Subjekte“, so dass sich eine Verwendung des Instrumentals auch diakritisch als „Non-Subjekt-Markierung“ verstehen lässt.

Im Folgenden wird versucht, die Frage zu beantworten, wie es im modernen Polnischen um den prädikativen Instrumental bei substantivischen, adjektivischen sowie adjektivisch-substantivischen sekundären Prädikaten steht bzw. ob die These, dass er heutzutage eine Seltenheit im Polnischen sei, sich bestätigen lässt. Berücksichtigt werden soll dabei die Art des (sekundär) prädikativen Ele-

5 KLEMENSIEWICZ (1927, 151) betont: „Die Auswahl einer von zwei Kasusformen kann von einer momentanen Assoziation mit einer Form abhängen, an die sich ein Autor unter irgendwelchen Umständen oder aus einem unbestimmten Grund, der an seinen psychischen Zustand in diesem Moment gebunden ist, erinnert. Die eine oder andere Form kommt dann von selbst und erst eine Reflexion könnte die Auswahl der einen oder der anderen Form rechtfertigen und begründen. Für so eine Reflexion braucht man den Willen und die Fertigkeit, aber diese versagen häufig und ein Mensch schreibt oder sagt etwas, kritiklos den augenblicklichen Assoziationen folgend. Das wiederholt sich doch jedes Mal, wenn vor uns eine Auswahlmöglichkeit steht, z. B. *patrzeć* oder *patrzyć* 'sehen' *postaci* oder *postacie* (beide Formen: 'Gestalt_{DAT}'), *kotu* oder *kotowi* (beide Formen: 'Katze_{DAT}').“ [Übersetzung Beata Chachulska]. Klemensiewicz bezieht sich auf die Annahme einer Zufallsentscheidung, also auf den Einzelfall.

ments (Komplement oder freie Angabe, wobei im letzteren Fall wiederum zwischen Depiktive (vgl. SCHULTZE-BERNDT & HIMMELMANN 2004, 77f; 2005; NICHOLS 1981, 18-19 und 40ff) und Zirkumstantialen (vgl. HENTSCHEL in diesem Band) zu differenzieren ist), die Frage mit welchen Verben der prädikative Instrumental auftritt und die Differenzierung nach literarischen oder umgangssprachlichen Quellen. Zuletzt konfrontieren wir die Ergebnisse der Korpusanalyse mit Angaben in normativen Werken des Polnischen, um zu klären, ob die Sprachnorm sich mit dem Usus deckt.

Die Analyse wurde anhand des Korpus des gegenwärtigen Polnischen IPI PAN⁶ durchgeführt. Das Korpus besteht aus über 15 Millionen laufenden Wortformen (token) bzw. 217.000 einzelnen Wortformen (types). Das Spektrum der Textsorten in diesem Korpus ist vielfältig, aber nicht repräsentativ. Es besteht zu 10% aus Texten gegenwärtiger Prosa, zu 10% aus älteren Prosatexten, zu 10% aus wissenschaftlichen Texten, zu 50% aus Presstexten, zu 15% aus Stenogrammen von Sejm- und Senatsitzungen und zu 5% aus Gesetzestexten. Alle Texte, mit Ausnahme der älteren Prosa und einiger Fragmente der neueren Prosa stammen aus den vergangenen 15 Jahren. Die älteren Prosatexte werden durch Werke vom Ende des 19. und Anfang des 20. Jhs. repräsentiert. Die Berücksichtigung der älteren Prosatexte im Korpus begründen die Autoren damit, dass sie im kollektiven Bewusstsein der Polen durch die Schullektüre und Verfilmungen sehr lebendig seien.

Bei der Suche nach Belegen des prädikativen Instrumentals bei sekundären Prädikaten wurde zusätzlich, d. h. über das o. g. Korpus hinausgehend, die Internetsuchmaschine Google benutzt, vor allem in Fällen, wo das Korpus keine Belege liefert, sie aber – meiner (muttersprachlichen) Intuition folgend – möglich sind.

Wie schon gesagt, ist der prädikative Instrumental im Polnischen bei primären substantivischen (und adjektivisch-substantivischen) Prädikaten in Kopulasätzen⁷ mit den Hilfsverben *być* 'sein', *stać się* 'werden' und *zostać* 'werden'⁸ stark verbreitet. Bei einer geringen Zahl von Verben („Vollverben“), die dann als primäre Prädikate fungieren, tritt bzw. trat er auch als Markierung von sekundär prädikativen Elementen auf. Diese Elemente beziehen sich entweder auf das Subjekt oder auf das Objekt und werden durch ein Substantiv oder ein Adjektiv

6 Ein Auszug aus dem Korpus ist auf der Internetseite des Instituts IPI PAN (<http://korpus.pl>) in Warschau frei zugänglich.

7 Vgl. KLEMENSIEWICZ (1927) und HENTSCHEL (1993; 1994).

8 KLEMENSIEWICZ (1927) stellt fest, dass der Instrumental für substantivische Prädikate und Prädikate, die durch eine Kombination von Adjektiv und Substantiv ausgedrückt werden, kennzeichnend ist, der Nominativ dagegen für adjektivische Prädikate.

(auch ein adjektivisches Partizip oder eine Ordinalzahl) bzw. durch entsprechende Phrasen ausgedrückt, z.B.

- (10) Jan Karwacki urodził się *piłkarzem*_{INS}.
'Jan Karwacki wurde *als Fußballspieler* geboren.' (Subjektsbezug)
- (11) Nie zostawię was *sierotami*_{INS}.
'Ich lasse euch nicht *als Waisen* zurück.' (Objektsbezug)
- (12) Rok 2000 zostanie nas *samotnymi*_{INS} i *chorymi*_{INS}.
'Das Jahr 2000 wird uns *einsam* und *krank* antreffen.' (Objektsbezug)
- (13) *Odszedł *niepokonanym*_{INS}. (heute eher: *niepokonany*_{NOM})
'Er ist *unbesiegt* fort gegangen.' (Subjektsbezug)

In der einschlägigen Literatur überwiegt die Meinung, dass der Instrumental bei sekundären Prädikaten im Polnischen nur eingeschränkt benutzt wird und nicht als „freie Struktur“ mit jedem beliebigen Verb auftreten kann. In Kopulasätzen tritt der prädikative Instrumental wie gesagt sowohl bei finiten als auch bei infiniten Formen der Kopula auf, bei letzteren dabei fast ausnahmslos. Auch im Kontext von Verben mit prädikativen Komplementen ist er stark verbreitet, wenn diese Verben in infiniten Formen auftreten: *wydawać się znawcą* 'als Kenner erscheinen', *okazać się chamelem* 'sich als Grobian herausstellen', *czuć się szczęśliwym* 'sich als Glückspilz fühlen', *nazwać kogoś idiotą* 'jmdn. einen Idioten nennen', *ogłosić kogoś zwycięzcą* 'jmdn. als Sieger bekannt geben', *obrać kogoś królem* 'jmdn. zum König wählen', *czując się zmęczonym* 'sich müde fühlend', *leżąc chorym* 'krank liegend' usw. Extrem selten tritt er im Kontext von anderen Verben auf, wo die prädikativen Elemente freie Angaben sind (s. u.), und dies selbst im Kontext finiter Verbformen, wie z.B. *rodzić się* 'geboren werden', *umierać* 'sterben', *wracać* 'zurückkommen', *wyjsć* 'hinausgehen', *przejść* 'kommen', *odejść* 'weggehen' *zostawić* '(zurück)lassen', *zostać* 'antreffen'. In diesen Fällen tritt der prädikative Instrumental heute stark zugunsten der *jako*-Phrase mit Kongruenzkasus zurück (vgl. HENTSCHEL 2006):

- (14) a. Umarł *poetą*_{INS} gwałtu / *żebrakiem*_{INS}.
b. Umarł *jako poeta*_{NOM} gwałtu / *żebrak*_{NOM}.
'Er ist als Dichter der Gewalt / Bettler gestorben.'
- (15) a. Urodził się *idiotą*_{INS} / *geniuszem*_{INS}.
b. Urodził się *jako idiota*_{NOM} / *geniusz*_{NOM}.
'Er wurde *als Idiot / Genie* geboren.'
- (16) a. †Marzył, żeby wrócić *zwycięzcą*_{INS}.

- b. Marzył, żeby wrócić *jako zwycięzca*_{NOM}.
 'Er träumte davon, *als Sieger* zurückzukehren.'

Beim Adjektiv hingegen kann der prädikative Instrumental heute im Kontext des Infinitivs bei allen Verben in Erscheinung treten, unabhängig davon, ob es eine Kopula oder ein Vollverb ist, und unabhängig davon, ob das prädikative Element ein Komplement oder eine freie Angabe ist, z.B. *być chorym* 'krank sein', *okazać się głupim* 'sich als dumm herausstellen', *wracać radosnym* 'froh zurückkehren', *umierać szczęśliwym* 'glücklich sterben', *zostać (go) smutnym* '(ihn) traurig antreffen', *zostawić (go) wesolym* '(ihn) froh lassen' usw. Mit der finiten Form des Verbs ist das Adjektiv im Instrumental in der gegenwärtigen Sprache ausgeschlossen. Beispiele mit adjektivischem prädikativen Instrumental müssen als veraltet qualifiziert werden:

- (17) Jesteś dziś *chory*_{NOM} (**chorym*_{INS}).
 'Du bist heute *krank*.'
 (18) Wraca do domu *radosna*_{NOM}. (**radosna*_{INS}).
 'Froh kehrt sie nach Hause zurück.'
 (19) Umarł *szczęśliwy*_{NOM}. (**szczęśliwym*_{INS}).
 'Er ist *glücklich* gestorben.'

BOGUSŁAWSKI (2001, 112-113) stellt fest, dass die Partizipialformen der Kopula nur den Instrumental des Substantivs zulassen:

- (20) Pan K., będąc *dziennikarzem*_{INS} mediów publicznych, prowadził program ...
 'Herr K., *als Journalist* der öffentlichen Medien (wörtlich: 'ein *Journalist* seiend'), leitete ein Programm ...'
 (21) Pan K., będący *dziennikarzem*_{INS} mediów publicznych, prowadził program ...
 'Herr K., der ein *Journalist* der öffentlichen Medien ist, leitete ein Programm ...'

Dies ist auch im Kontext von Partizipialformen anderer als der Kopulaverben der Fall:

- (22) ... urodziwszy się *szlachcicem*_{INS}, postępował po szlachecku.
 '... *als Adelige* geboren, benahm er sich adelig.'

Bei adjektivischen Prädikaten ist die Lage anders. Das Korpus enthält Belege für Instrumental- sowie für Nominativformen des Adjektivs bei Partizipialformen der Kopula und – viel seltener – bei Partizipialformen der Nicht-Kopulaverben, z.B.:

- (23) A jeśliś głupi i pracujesz będąc *przeziębionym*_{INS}, Twój wybór.
'Und wenn du dumm bist und *erkältet* arbeitest – das ist deine Wahl.'
- (24) Wojskowy Sąd skazał 21-letniego żołnierza, który będąc *pijany*_{NOM} zabił jamnika.
'Das Militärgericht verurteilte einen 21-jährigen Soldaten, der *betrunken* einen Dackel getötet hatte.'

aber auch:

- (25) ... leżąc *przeziębionym*_{INS} w łóżku nie ma raczej co robić, to się czyta.
'... *krank* im Bett liegend hat man eher nichts zu tun, dann liest man.'
- (26) Wróciwszy *zmęczony*_{NOM}, zasnął w pokoju na poddaszu.
'Als er *müde* nach Hause gekommen war, schlief er im Zimmer im Dachgeschoss ein.'

Beispiele mit Partizipialformen von Nicht-Kopulae und sekundärem Prädikat kommen extrem selten vor. Alle derartigen Beispiele stammen aus der zusätzlichen Internetrecherche (s. u.).

2. Adjunkte

Bei sekundären Prädikaten ist der prädikative Instrumental bei freien Angaben weniger geläufig bzw. ungeläufig. Er kommt in Verbindung mit folgender Gruppe von Verben vor (vgl. PISARKOWA 1965, 98):

rodzić się / urodzić się 'geboren werden', *umierać / umrzeć* 'sterben', *wracać / wrócić* 'zurückkommen', *zostawiać / zostawić* '(zurück)lassen', *zastawać / zastać* 'antreffen', *wychodzić / wyjść* 'hinausgehen', *przychodzić / przyjść* 'kommen', *odchodzić / odejść* 'weggehen', *widzieć / zobaczyć* 'sehen', *wyobrażać (sobie) / wyobrazić (sobie)* 'sich vorstellen', *pamiętać* 'sich erinnern', *spotykać / spotkać* 'treffen', *poznawać / poznać* 'kennenlernen', *kochać* 'lieben', *lubić* 'mögen', *budzić się / obudzić się* 'aufwachen', nach anderen Quellen auch *zapomnieć* 'vergessen', *znać* 'kennen' usw.

Der prädikative Instrumental kann im untersuchten Korpus als Markierung von Depiktiven (vgl. SCHULTZE-BERNDT & HIMMELMANN 2004, 77f; 2005; HENTSCHEL in diesem Band) und temporalen Zirkumstantialen (i. S. v. NICHOLS 1981) nachgewiesen werden, allerdings eher in älteren Texten. Konzessive und konditionale Zirkumstantiale mit prädikativem Instrumental sind im Korpus nicht belegt. In beiden Konstruktionstypen – Depiktiven wie temporalen Zir-

kumstantialen – wurde der substantivische prädikative Instrumental inzwischen durch einen analytischen (*jako*-Phrase) und der adjektivische prädikative Instrumental durch einen anderen synthetischen Marker (Kasuskongruenz) ersetzt. Häufig sind auch entsprechende Temporalsätze oder Sätze mit Adverbialpartizip zu finden. Als Marker für Depiktive und Zirkumstantiale muss der prädikative Instrumental daher als veraltet bezeichnet werden. Er tritt in der Gegenwartsprache nicht auf.

- (27) a. Generał wrócił z wojny *bohaterem*_{INS}.⁹ (Depiktiv)
 b. Generał wrócił z wojny *jako bohater*_{NOM}.
 ‘Der General kehrte *als Held* aus dem Krieg zurück.’
- (28) a. Zostawili go_{ACC} *placzącym*_{INS} w przedszkolu. (Depiktiv)
 b. Zostawili go_{ACC} *placzącego*_{ACC} w przedszkolu.
 ‘Sie haben ihn *weinend* im Kindergarten gelassen.’
- (29) a. *Dzieckiem*_{INS} mieszkał w Warszawie. (temporal)
 b. *Jako dziecko*_{NOM} mieszkał w Warszawie.
 c. Gdy był *dzieckiem*_{INS} mieszkał w Warszawie. (Temporalsatz)
 ‘Als Kind wohnte er in Warschau.’
- (30) a. *Cieplym*_{INS} piwo mi nie smakuje. (konditional)
 b. Gdy piwo jest *ciepłe*_{NOM}, nie smakuje mi. (Temporalsatz)
 ‘*Warm* schmeckt mir das Bier nicht.’
- (31) a. On nawet *śpiącym*_{INS}, nie mógł zapomnieć. (konzessiv)¹⁰
 b. On nawet *śpiąc*_{ADVP}, nie mógł zapomnieć.
 c. Nawet gdy spał, nie mógł zapomnieć. (Konzessivsatz)
 ‘Sogar *schlafend* konnte er nicht vergessen.’

Die Substantive, die in älteren Texten als sekundäre Prädikate den Instrumental annahmen und sich mit den oben angeführten Verben verbanden, waren lexikalisch stark beschränkt. Sie bezeichneten das Alter bzw. Lebensabschnitte, wie z.B. *panna* ‘Fräulein’, *młodzieniec* ‘Jüngling’, *kawaler* ‘Junggeselle’, *starzec* ‘Greis’ oder eine politische, gesellschaftliche oder ideologisch-religiöse Funktion, einen Beruf oder eine Position, wie z.B. *dyrektor* ‘Direktor’, *prezes* ‘Präsident’, *kierownik* ‘Leiter’, *król* ‘König’ usw.:

9 Die Varianten b und c der Beispiele (27-31) stammen aus dem Korpus, die Beispiele unter a lassen sich als veraltet bezeichnen und wurden im Korpus nicht gefunden.

10 Beispiel nach NICHOLS (1981, 11).

(32) Przyjechała tu *panna*_{INS}.

‘Sie ist *als unverheiratete Frau* hier angekommen.’

Die Konstruktion *znac kogoś_{ACC} kimś_{INS}* ‘als jdn. kennen’, in der das Substantiv im Instrumental das Alter bzw. der Lebensabschnitt zum Ausdruck bringt, wurde noch von BUTTLER (1976, 183) für nicht archaisch gehalten:

(33) Znałam ja_{ACC} *panna*_{INS}.

‘Ich kannte sie *als Fräulein*.’

Die Verwendung von substantivischen Funktions- oder Positionsbezeichnungen im Instrumental wurden von Buttler dagegen als archaisch qualifiziert, so z.B.

(34) Znałam go_{ACC} *wiernym sluga*_{INS}.

‘Ich kannte ihn *als treuen Diener*.’

Heutzutage sind die beiden Konstruktionstypen bei allen oben angeführten Verben als archaisch zu beschreiben. Wenn – wie dargestellt – der prädikative Instrumental bei Substantiven in der Funktion des sekundären Prädikats durch eine Konstruktion mit *jako* verdrängt wird, so ist auf den Vorteil der letzteren hinsichtlich der syntaktischen Transparenz zu verweisen. Die Instrumentalphrase kann sich prinzipiell auf das Subjekt oder auf das Objekt beziehen, so dass zwei Interpretationen in Frage kommen. So kann der oben zitierte Satz *Znałam ja_{ACC} panna_{INS}* gelesen werden als ‘Ich kannte sie, als *s i e* ein Fräulein (unverheiratet) war’ (Bezug auf das Objekt) oder ‘Ich kannte sie, als *i c h* ein Fräulein (unverheiratet) war’ (Bezug auf das Subjekt). Der Gebrauch der *jako*-Phrase hebt diese Unklarheit auf, weil die entsprechende Nominalphrase (Fräulein) im Kongruenzkasus zum Bezugsэлеment steht:

(35) a. Znałam ja_{ACC} *jako panne*_{ACC}.

‘Ich kannte sie, *als sie ein Fräulein war*.’

b. (Ja_{NOM}) Znałam ja_{ACC} *jako panna*_{NOM}.

‘Ich kannte *sie, als ich ein Fräulein war*.’¹¹

In den entsprechenden Temporalsatzparaphrasen mit Kopula steht das prädikative Substantiv natürlich im Instrumental unabhängig davon, ob im Ausgangssatz Objekts- oder Subjektsbezug vorlag:

c. Znałam ja_{ACC}, *gdy była panna*_{INS}.

‘Ich kannte sie, *als sie ein Fräulein war*.’

11 Vgl. auch *Znałem go_{ACC} wiernym_{INS} sluga_{INS}* mit den Lesarten ‘Ich kannte ihn, als ich ein treuer Diener war’ oder ‘Ich kannte ihn, als er ein treuer Diener war’ im Vergleich zu *Znałem go_{ACC} jako wierny_{NOM} sluga_{NOM}* (Subjektsbezug des sekundären Prädikats) sowie *Znałem go jako wiernego slugę_{ACC}* (Objektsbezug).

- d. (Ja_{NOM}) Znałam ja_{ACC}, gdy byłam *panna*_{INS}.
 ‘Ich kannte sie, als ich ein Fräulein war.’

Die allgemeine Tendenz in der Verbindung der oben genannte Verben mit dem prädikativen Instrumental lässt sich am Beispiel der Verben *rodzić się / urodzić się* ‘geboren werden’ und *umierać / umrzeć* ‘sterben’ analysieren. Mit anderen Verben ist der Instrumental ganz offensichtlich gegenwärtig im Polnischen extrem selten (s. u.). Das NSPP, das neueste normative Wörterbuch des Polnischen, gibt ausschließlich für das Verb *zastać* ‘antreffen’ eine Verbindung mit einer Instrumentalform des Substantivs an, bezeichnet diese aber als „veraltet“:

*zastawać / zastać kogoś*_{ACC} *kimś*_{INS} / *czymś*_{INS}:

- (36) Wracam do kraju po roku i zastaję cię_{ACC} już *dorosłą panną*_{INS}.
 (heute eher: *jako dorosłą pannę*)
 ‘Ich werde nach einem Jahr (aus dem Ausland) ins Land zurückkehren und dich schon *als ein erwachsenes Fräulein* antreffen.’

Im Korpus wurden für das Verb *umierać / umrzeć* nur drei Beispiele mit dem „archaischen“ Instrumental des Substantivs gefunden, wobei zwei (beide mit Infinitiv) aus gegenwärtiger Literatur und Presse und eines aus einem Text vom Ende des 19. Jhs. stammen:

- (37) Grigorij umrze *komunista*_{INS}.
 ‘Grigorij stirbt *als Kommunist*.’
- (38) ... lepiej żyć *Niemcem*_{INS} niż umrzeć *Francuzem*_{INS}.
 ‘Besser *als Deutscher* leben, denn *als Franzose* sterben.’

Für das Verb *rodzić się / urodzić się* ‘geboren werden’ gibt es sechs Belege aus der gegenwärtigen Literatur und Presse und zwei vom Ende des 19. Jhs.:

- (39) ... pan Olechowski nie urodził się *ministrem*_{INS} spraw zagranicznych.
 ‘... Herr Olechowski wurde nicht *als Außenminister* geboren.’

Auch in diesen Kontexten finden wir alternativ die *jako*-Phrase. Im Korpus wurden insgesamt sieben zeitgenössische Beispiele dafür gefunden:

- (40) Synthia Kavanagh [...] urodził się *jako chłopiec*_{NOM} *Richard Chaperon*_{NOM}.
 ‘Synthia Kavanagh wurde *als der Junge Richard Chaperon* geboren.’
- (41) Żyła długo i umarła *jako staruszka*.
 ‘Sie lebte lange und ist *als Greisin* gestorben.’

Im Korpus wurde nur ein zeitgenössisches Beispiel mit Substantiv in prädikativer Funktion gefunden:

- (42) a. ... w końcu nie każdy urodził się *topmodelką_{INS} czy amantem filmowym_{INS}*.
 ‘... schließlich wurde nicht jeder *als Topmodel* oder *Filmliebhaber* geboren.’

In allen solchen Fällen kann der Instrumental durch eine *jako*-Phrase ersetzt werden, die in den Belegen wesentlich häufiger ist:

- b. ... w końcu nie każdy urodził się *jako topmodelką_{NOM} czy jako amant filmowy_{NOM}*.

Beim sekundär prädikativischen Adjektiv kommt der prädikative Instrumental im Korpus nur ein Mal vor, und zwar in einem Text vom Ende des 19. Jh.:

- (43) a. ... umarł *pięknym_{INS}*, nie zaś z twarzą wyniszczoną.
 ‘er ist *als schöner Mann* (wörtlich: ‘*schön*’) gestorben, nicht dagegen mit einem ausgezehrten Gesicht.’ (Sienkiewicz 1896)

Für adjektivische Adjunkte im Kontext der oben erwähnten Verben im gegenwärtigen Polnischen ist festzustellen, dass sie in der Regel mit ihrem Bezugselement kongruieren und im Nominativ, Akkusativ oder im Genitiv auftreten, z.B.

- b. ... umarł *piękny_{NOM}*, nie zaś z twarzą wyniszczoną.

Nach PISARKOWA (1965) und BUTTLER (1976) ist es durchaus möglich, dass sie in der Standardsprache durch einen Instrumental – also wie in (44b) und (45b) – ausgedrückt und in diesem Fall als eine synonymische Formvariante empfunden werden:

- (44) a. On_{NOM} umarł *szczęśliwy_{NOM}*.
 ‘Er ist *glücklich* gestorben.’
 b. On_{NOM} umarł *szczęśliwym_{INS}*.
 ‘Er ist *glücklich* gestorben.’
 (45) a. Spotkałem go_{ACC} *szczęśliwego_{ACC}*.
 ‘Ich habe ihn *glücklich* angetroffen.’
 b. Spotkałem go_{ACC} *szczęśliwym_{INS}*.
 ‘Ich habe ihn *glücklich* getroffen.’

Hervorzuheben ist, dass noch vor 30 Jahren BUTTLER (1976, 185)¹² über den Instrumental bei sekundär prädikativen Adjektiven sagt, dass er im Gegensatz zu einem Kongruenzkasus als eine gehobene, literarische, stilistisch markierte Form anzusehen sei, z.B.:

12 Siehe auch PISARKOWA (1965, 34).

- (46) Pisarze zastali Hemingwaya *milczącym*_{INS}, *rozstrojonym*_{INS}.
 ‘Die Schriftsteller haben Hemingway *schweigend, verstimmt* angetroffen.’

Auch die adjektivischen Pronomen in prädikativer Verwendung, und zwar bei den Verben, die prinzipiell kein Komplement im Instrumental verlangen, können sowohl den Kongruenzkasus als auch den Instrumental annehmen. Es ergeben sich somit vier Möglichkeiten:

- (47) a. Kochamy *go*_{ACC} *takiego*_{ACC}, *jakim*_{INS} jest.
 b. Kochamy *go*_{ACC} *takim*_{INS}, *jaki*_{NOM} jest.
 c. Kochamy *go*_{ACC} *takiego*_{ACC}, *jaki*_{NOM} jest.
 d. Kochamy *go*_{ACC} *takim*_{INS}, *jakim*_{INS} jest.
 ‘Wir lieben ihn *so, wie* er ist.’

In der aktuellen polnischen Gegenwartssprache (also ca. ein halbes Jahrhundert nach Erscheinen der Arbeiten von Pisarkowa und Buttler) sind Adjektive (aber im Gegensatz zu adjektivischen Pronomen) als (nicht-obligatorische) sekundäre Prädikate im Instrumental sehr selten. Es vollzieht sich hier eine Entwicklung wie in Kopulasätzen, auf die bereits KLEMENSIEWICZ (1927) verwiesen hat. Nach einer gewissen Ausdehnung der Verwendung des Instrumentals bei Adjektiven ist die Tendenz nunmehr wieder rückläufig, zugunsten des Kongruenzkasus, der auch die „ursprüngliche“ Form darstellt.

In der einschlägigen Literatur (u.a. GRZEGORCZYKOWA 1975, NICHOLS 1981, SCHULTZE-BERNDT & HIMMELMANN 2004, HENTSCHEL (i.Dr.)) wird darauf verwiesen, dass in bestimmten Kontexten (vor allem bei Depiktiven) anstelle des Adjektivs in prädikativer Funktion ein Adverb verwendet werden kann, was auch im gegenwärtigen Polnischen zu beobachten ist, z.B.

- (48) Umarł *młodo*_{ADV}.
 ‘Er ist *jung* gestorben.’¹³

Hier ist *młodo* ein partizipantenbezogenes Adverb. Eine Paraphrase wäre *Umarł młodym*_{INS}, wobei allerdings Paraphrasen wie *Umarł w młodym wieku* / *Umarł za młodu* ‘Er ist in jungem Alter gestorben’ oder *Umarł jako młody człowiek* ‘Er ist als junger Man gestorben’ vorzuziehen sind.

Das Spektrum der Verwendung partizipantenbezogener Adverbien als sekundäre Prädikate im Polnischen ist noch nicht endgültig geklärt. Jedoch ist sicher,

13 Interessant ist, dass der gleiche Satz mit dem Adjektiv *staro* ‘alt’ im Polnischen genauso wie im Deutschen in der Regel inakzeptabel zu sein scheint, obwohl im Korpus ein solcher Satz gefunden wurde: ... *masz szansę znaleźć wpis o kimś z Twojej rodziny, kto umarł staro* ‘Du hast die Chance, eine Eintragung über jemanden aus deiner Familie zu finden, der alt gestorben ist’.

dass die Verwendung stark restringiert ist. In der Regel liegt Bedeutungsunterschied zwischen Adjektiv und Adverb vor.¹⁴ Die Ersetzung des Adjektivs im Instrumental *pięknym* im Satz (43a) von Sienkiewicz: *...umarł pięknym, nie zaś z twarzą wyniszczoną* durch das Adverb *pięknie* verändert die Bedeutung dieses Satzes: *...umarł pięknym* bedeutet ‘Er ist schön gestorben’ im Sinne von ‘Er ist als schöner Mensch gestorben’ (mit Partizipantenbezug) im Gegensatz zu *...umarł pięknie* ‘Er ist auf eine schöne Art und Weise gestorben’ (mit Ereignisbezug). Das partizipantenbezogene Adjektiv wurde also durch ein ereignisbezogenes Adverb ersetzt. In diesem Fall ist allein die *jako*-Phrase (*Umarł jako piękny człowiek* ‘Er ist als schöner Mann gestorben’) als Äquivalent des prädikativen Instrumentals zu betrachten.

Weiterhin sind auch Partizipialkonstruktionen zu beachten. Die Frage, ob adjektivische Partizipien und Adverbialpartizipien zu sekundären Prädikaten zu zählen sind, ist strittig (vgl. GRZEGORCZYKOWA 1975, SCHULTZE-BERNDT & HIMMELMANN 2004 sowie HENTSCHEL (i.Dr.)). Partizipialsätze und bedeutungsmäßig äquivalente Adverbialsätze sind natürlich nicht zu sekundären Prädikaten zu zählen.

Die adjektivischen Partizipien nehmen ausschließlich den Kongruenzkasus an:

- (49) ... widzieli go_{ACC} wędrującego_{ACC} (*wędrującym_{INS}) do Azerbejdżanu.
 ‘... sie haben ihn gesehen, *als er nach Aserbajdschan wanderte.*’
- (50) Jak opowiadał, zastał go_{ACC} czytającego_{ACC} (*czytającym_{INS}) z uwagą pamiętniki Wincentego Witosa.
 ‘Wie er erzählte, hat er ihn aufmerksam die Tagebücher von Wincenty Witos *lesend* angetroffen.’

Anstelle von Konstruktionen mit adjektivischem Partizip im Instrumental sind im Korpus Sätze mit Adverbialpartizip oder mit „analytischen Adverbien“ mit *po* zu finden:

- (51) a. *Nawet śpiącym_{INS}, nie mógł zapomnieć.
 ‘Sogar *im Schlaf* (wörtlich: *schlafend*) konnte er nicht vergessen.’
 b. Nawet śpiąc_{ADVP}, nie mógł zapomnieć.¹⁵
- (52) a. *Pijanym_{INS} nigdy nie prowadził samochodu.

14 Zur Verwendung von partizipantenbezogenen Adverbien vgl. RENZ & HENTSCHEL (Ms.).

15 Als Äquivalent zu einem russischem Beispiel mit adjektivischem Partizip im Nominativ von NICHOLS (1981, 11).

- b. *Po pijanemu nigdy nie prowadził samochodu.*
 ‘*Betrunken fuhr er nie Auto.*’

3. Zwischenfazit

Die Tendenzen sind also offensichtlich. Die Korpusanalyse bestätigt nicht nur den minimalen Gebrauch des prädikativen Instrumentals bei sekundären Prädikaten, sondern liefert auch Hinweise auf einen weiteren starken Rückgang in jüngster Zeit. Beim Substantiv kommen analytische Markierungen vor, hauptsächlich mit *jako* ‘als’. Beim Adjektiv tritt der ursprüngliche Kongruenzkasus wieder an die Stelle des „zwischenzeitlich“ stärker verbreiteten prädikativen Instrumentals auf. Nur bei gewissen Verben finden wir Relikte des Instrumentals:

Verb	Substantiv	
	Instrumental	<i>jako</i> -Phrase
<i>rodzić się / urodzić się</i> ‘geboren werden’, <i>umierać / umrzeć</i> ‘sterben’	+	+
<i>zastawać / zastać</i> ‘antreffen’	+ (veraltet nach NSPP)	-
andere oben angeführte Verben	-	+

Tab. 1: Instrumental oder analytische Markierung des Substantivs bei prädikativen Adjunkten

Verb	Adjektiv bzw. adjektivisches Partizip	
	Instrumental	Kongruenzkasus
<i>rodzić się / urodzić się</i> ‘geboren werden’, <i>umierać / umrzeć</i> ‘sterben’ usw.	- (nur ein Beispiel aus dem 19. Jh.)	+
<i>zastawać / zastać</i> ‘antreffen’	+ (veraltet nach NSPP)	+
andere oben angeführte Verben	-	+

Tab. 2: Instrumental oder synthetische Markierung des Adjektives bei prädikativen Adjunkten

Vereinzelte Beispiele mit dem prädikativen Instrumental sind als archaisch zu betrachten. Instanzen des prädikativen Instrumentals sind noch in der Sprache der (gebildeten) Vertreter der älteren Generation zu finden, insbesondere bei den sog. „kresowiaci“, d. h. der Bevölkerung der östlichen Regionen Polens vor dem

Zweiten Weltkrieg. In der Literatur findet der Instrumental eine stilistisch motivierte Verwendung, um z.B. literarische Personen in markierter, gehobener, wenn nicht „gekünstelter“ Rede auftreten zu lassen. In der Sprache der jüngeren Generation wird der Instrumental durch die anderen, oben erwähnten Marker ersetzt.

4. Komplemente

Stärker als bei Adjunkten (Depiktiven und temporalen Zirkumstantialen) ist der prädikative Instrumental – wie schon eingangs angedeutet – bei prädikativen Komplementen. Auch wenn ihr Status als sekundäres Prädikat umstritten ist (vgl. HENTSCHEL 2006, 147), sollen sie im Folgenden diskutiert werden. Hierfür sprechen zwei Gründe: Zum einen scheint ihr Komplementstatus nur die „Spitze einer Hierarchie“ der Einbindung nicht-primär prädikativer Elemente in eine grundlegende Prädikation zu sein, und zwar der Gestalt „prädikative Komplemente > Depiktive > Zirkumstantiale“, gegebenenfalls noch mit Unterscheidung von verschiedenen Typen von Zirkumstantialen (vgl. HENTSCHEL 2006, 163-173 sowie in diesem Band). Zum anderen ist es denkbar, dass entweder einzelne morphosyntaktische „Prädikativmarker“ für das gesamte Spektrum prädikativer Elemente Verwendung finden oder, dass an eben dieser Hierarchie eine Distribution konkurrierender Prädikativmarker festgestellt werden kann.

Die Gruppe der Verben, die ein Komplement im prädikativen Instrumental verlangen, ist im Polnischen, wie gesagt, nicht umfangreich. Zur ihr gehören nach PISARKOWA (1965, 98) folgende Verben:

wydawać się / wydać się ‘scheinen’, *okazywać się / okazać się* ‘sich herausstellen’, *czuć się* ‘sich fühlen’, *mianować* ‘ernennen’, *nazywać / nazwać* ‘nennen’, *ogłaszać / ogłosić* ‘bekannt geben’, *wybierać / wybrać* ‘wählen’, *uznawać / uznać* ‘anerkennen’, *czynić / uczynić* ‘tun’, *robić / zrobić* ‘machen’, *obierać / obrać* ‘wählen’, *przezywać / przezwać* ‘umbenennen, mit dem Spitznamen X benennen’, z.B.

- (53) *Uczynił go_{ACC} premierem_{INS}.*
 ‘Er machte ihn zum Premierminister.’
- (54) *Mianowała go_{ACC} dyrektorem_{INS}.*
 ‘Sie hat ihn zum Direktor ernannt.’
- (55) *Windeks ogłosił go_{ACC} lichym artystą_{INS}.*
 ‘Windeks hat ihn einen miserablen Künstler genannt.’

Der prädikative Instrumental wurde bei manchen dieser Verben schon völlig von analytischen Markern verdrängt (s. u.). In anderen Fällen liegt dagegen Variation vor (s. u.).

Der Instrumental bei prädikativen Komplementen des substantivischen (und mit adjektivischem Attribut beim Substantiv) Typs ist bei den Verben *wydawać się* 'scheinen', *okazać się* 'sich herausstellen' und *czuć się* 'sich fühlen' die obliigatorische Form:

- (56) *Wydawał się (jedynym) faworytem_{INS}.*
'Er schien (*einzig*) Favorit zu sein.'
- (57) *Wietnamczyk Qwang w kuchni okazał się (wspaniałym) artysta_{INS}.*
'Der Vietnameser Qwang hat sich in der Küche *als (großartiger) Künstler* erwiesen.'
- (58) ... *czuł się on „gorszym bratem_{INS}”.*
'... er fühlte sich wie „*ein schlechter Bruder*”.'

Bei den Verben *mianować* 'ernennen', *wybierać / wybrać* 'wählen', *uznawać / uznać* 'anerkennen', *czynić / uczynić* 'tun', *robić / zrobić* 'machen', *obierać / obrać* 'wählen', *nazywać / nazwać* 'nennen', *przezwąć / przezwąć* 'umbenennen' und *ogłaszać / ogłosić* 'bekannt geben' zeigt das Korpus ein anderes Verhalten. Hier ist der Instrumental nur eine von mehreren, i. d. R. zwei Optionen. Eine besondere Gruppe bilden dabei Verben wie *nazywać / nazwać* 'nennen', *przezwąć / przezwąć* 'umbenennen' und *ogłaszać / ogłosić* 'bekannt geben'. Die prädikativen Komplemente in ihrem Kontext gehören – wie HENTSCHEL (i.Dr.) darstellt – zum Typ der autonomen Nominalgruppen im Sinne von PADUČEVA (1985). Im Kontext von primären Prädikaten des Nennens und Benennens „benennen sich diese selbst”. HENTSCHEL (i.Dr.) verweist weiter auf eine resultative Nuance bei der autonomen Verwendung von Nominalgruppen insofern, als dass es um die Zuerkennung von Namen oder Bezeichnungen, die „Namensgebung” geht. Zwar assoziieren solche Namen möglicherweise Merkmale oder Eigenschaften, allerdings nicht im Sinne einer direkten Zu- bzw. Aberkennung von Merkmalen oder Eigenschaften, wie es bei typischen Prädikaten der Fall ist. Das SSGCzP von K. Polański, ein Valenz- und Rektionswörterbuch der polnischen Verben, beschreibt die Instrumental- und Nominativform bei diesen Verben als Varianten:

- (59) *Pierwszego syna_{ACC} nazwał Wojciechem_{INS}.*
'Den ersten Sohn hat er *Wojciech* genannt.'
- (60) *Na chrzcie, to ja wiem, że nazwali mnie_{ACC} Józek_{NOM}.*
'Bei der Taufe, das weiß ich, hat man mich *Józek* genannt.'

Hier konkurriert der prädikative Instrumental also nicht mit dem Kongruenzkasus (der hier der Akkusativ wäre), sondern mit dem Nominativ als „echtem Nennkasus“.

Das Korpus zeigt hier eine große zahlenmäßige Überlegenheit des prädikativen Instrumentals im Vergleich zum Nominativ (354 Beispiele mit dem Instrumental gegenüber 20 Beispielen mit dem Nominativ). Das NSPP bezeichnet die Verbindung des Verbs mit dem Instrumental (*nazywać / nazwać kogoś_{ACC} / coś_{ACC} kimś_{INS} / czymś_{INS}*) sogar als obligatorisch:

- (61) Nazywał ją_{ACC} swoją narzeczoną_{INS}.
'Er nannte sie *seine Verlobte*.'
- (62) Pierwiastki_{ACC} różniące się liczbą masową nazywamy izotopami_{INS}.
'Elemente, die sich in der Massenzahl unterscheiden, nennen wir *Isotope*.'

HENTSCHEL (1993, 283) weist darauf hin, dass es sich sowohl beim Instrumental als auch beim Nominativ in diesem Fall um ein Phänomen des Aufbaus syntaktischer Transparenz, d. h. um eine Differenzierung von direktem Objekt und prädikativem Komplement handelt. Noch im 16. Jh. sind für beide Verben auch Beispiele des alten doppelten Akkusativs zu finden, d. h. Fälle von Kasuskongruenz zwischen direktem Objekt und Komplement:

- (63) Ian Thyſſeran ... uſtawił nową Regułę_{ACC}, którą nazywał pokutę_{ACC}.
(KrowObr 137, vgl. HENTSCHEL 1993)
'J. T. stellte eine neue Regel auf, die er *die Buße* nannte.'

Für das Verb *przezywać / przezwąć* 'umbenennen, mit dem Spitzname X rufen' räumt selbst das NSPP als normative Instanz ein Nebeneinander von Instrumental und Nominativ ein:

- (64) W dzieciństwie przezywali go_{ACC} Misiaczkim_{INS}.
im Vergleich zu:

- (65) W dzieciństwie przezywali go_{ACC} Misiaczek_{NOM}.
'In der Kindheit nannten sie ihn *Bärchen*.'

Auch im Kontext dieses Verbs zeigt das Korpus eine weitere Verbreitung des Instrumentals (elf Beispiele mit Instrumental und nur drei mit Nominativ).

Für das Verb *ogłaszać / ogłosić* 'bekannt geben, ernennen zu' scheint dagegen der Instrumental die einzige korrekte Form zu sein (*ogłaszać / ogłosić kogoś_{ACC} / coś_{ACC} kimś_{INS} / czymś_{INS}*)

- (66) "L'Equipe" ogłosił go *sportowcem*_{INS} roku - *mistrzem*_{INS} mistrzów świata.
 "L'Equipe" hat ihn *als Sportler des Jahres* bekannt gegeben – *als den Meister der Weltmeister.*'
- (67) W 1994 Cerkiew ogłosiła go *świętym*_{INS}.
 '1994 hat die orthodoxe Kirche ihn *heilig* gesprochen (wörtlich ungefähr: *als Heiligen* bekannt gegeben).'

obwohl nach BUTTLER (1976, 181) bei diesem Verb und dem synonymen *okrzyknąć* 'erklären' die analytische, präpositionale Konstruktion mit *za* plus Akkusativ mit dem prädikativen Instrumental konkurriert. In diesem Fall, so Buttler, gehe der morphosyntaktische Unterschied zwischen dem reinen Instrumental und der analytischen Konstruktion mit einem Bedeutungsunterschied einher, und zwar drücke der Instrumental die Bedeutung 'die Wahl bekannt geben' aus, die Präpositionalphrase dagegen die Bedeutung 'bekannt geben, dass jmd. als etw. anerkannt wurde; öffentlich eine Meinung über jmdn. zum Ausdruck bringen'. Im Korpus findet sich nur ein Beispiel mit der Präposition, das vom Ende des 19. Jh. stammt (Sienkiewicz, 1896):

- (68) ...jednakże ogłoszono ich *za nieprzyjaciół*_{ACC} ludzkości i państwa.
 '... jedoch sind sie *zu Feinden der Menschheit und des Staates* erklärt worden.'

Demgegenüber stehen 22 zeitgenössische Beispiele mit der Instrumentalform. Das NSPP nimmt die präpositionale Variante nicht wahr. Buttlers Annahme, dass die beiden Kodierungen einen Bedeutungsunterschied zum Ausdruck bringen, kann daher nicht bestätigt werden.

Interessant ist, dass der Instrumental beim verneinten Verb *nazywać / nazwać* 'nennen' (wie auch bei *przezywać / przewać* 'umbenennen' und *ogłaszać / ogłosić* 'bekannt geben') fast konkurrenzlos ist. Im Korpus wurden 44 Beispiele mit prädikativem Instrumental und nur eines mit Nominativ gefunden:

- (69) ... uważał go *za dobrze wychowanego człowieka*, więc nie nazywał go *nigdy morderca*_{INS}.
 '... er hielt ihn für einen gut erzogenen Menschen, deshalb hat er ihn nie *einen Mörder* genannt.'
- (70) Nikt *nigdy nie nazywał mnie „Bolo”*_{NOM}.
 'Niemand nannte mich jemals „Bolo“'.¹⁶

16 Beim Verb *nazywać się* 'heißen' tritt ein Personennamen sowohl im affirmativen als auch im verneinten Satz im Nominativ auf: *Nazywam się Adam Nowak* 'Ich heiße Adam Nowak' und *Nie nazywam się Adam Nowak* 'Ich heiße nicht Adam Nowak' im Gegensatz zu Kopulasätzen, wo im assertiven Satz der Nominativ die Regel ist und im verneinten Satz sowohl der Instrumental

Bei wiederum anderen Verben konkurriert erneut die analytische, d. h. präpositionale Markierung mit *na* oder *za*, die jeweils den Akkusativ, regieren mit dem Instrumental. In der Verbindung mit dem Verb *mianować* 'ernennen' tritt der Instrumental zugunsten einer analytischen Konstruktion mit Präposition *mianować kogoś_{ACC} na kogoś_{ACC}* zurück:

- (71) ... a Józef Koszarek ciupagą mianował go *na Hetmana_{ACC}*.
 '... und Józef Koszarek hat ihn mit einem Bergstock *zum Hetman* ernannt.'

Das NSPP erklärt diese Konstruktion für unkorrekt und empfiehlt zwei syntaktische Schemata für dieses Verb:

mianować kogoś_{ACC} kimś_{INS}:

- (72) Prezydent mianuje czterech pułkowników_{ACC} *generałami_{INS}* (**na generałów_{ACC}*)
 'Der Präsident ernennt vier Obersten *zu Generälen*.'

und *mianować kogoś_{ACC} na coś_{ACC}*, wobei *coś* 'für eine Stelle, einen Rang, eine Funktion' steht:

- (73) Premier mianował dotychczasowego wiceministra *na stanowisko_{ACC} ministra sprawiedliwości*.
 'Der Premierminister hat den bisherigen stellvertretenden Ministerpräsidenten *auf die Stelle des Justizministers berufen / zum Justizminister* ernannt.'

BUTTLER (1976, 181) hebt hervor, dass die „unkorrekte“ analytische Konstruktion *mianować kogoś_{ACC} kimś_{INS}* anstelle von *na kogoś_{ACC}* sich durch Ellipse von *na stanowisko* 'auf eine Stelle' in der Umgangssprache verbreitet. Im Korpus ist die analytische Konstruktion *mianować kogoś na kogoś* nicht selten. Sie ist aber deutlich seltener als die Konstruktion mit dem Instrumental und die Konstruktionen des Typs X_{NOM} *mianuje* Y_{ACC} *na* X_{ACC} Q_{GEN} , wobei X eine Bezeichnung für einen Funktionstyp (Stelle, Position, Rang) u.ä. ist und Q der Rang im Sinne einer Personenbezeichnung wie 'Minister, Direktor, General' u.dgl.

Hier ist es somit zweifelhaft, die Präposition *na* als von *mianować* regiert anzusehen. *Na* ist die übliche „lokale“ Präposition vor *stanowisko*, mit dem Akkusativ für dynamisch-direktionale Stände der Dinge mehr mit dem Lokativ bei statisch-lokalen. Eine Alternative wäre, die Fügung *na stanowisko* im Ganzen als

(sieben Beispiele im Korpus) als auch der Nominativ (fünf Beispiele im Korpus) in Frage kommt: *Jestem Adam Nowak* 'Ich bin Adam Nowak' und *Nie jestem Adam Nowak* sowie *Nie jestem Adamem Nowakiem* 'Ich bin nicht Adam Nowak'.

sekundäre Präposition mit Genitivrektion zu beschreiben, die dann von *miano-wać* regiert würde.

Auch bei dem Verb *obierać / obrać* 'wählen' konkurriert die analytische Konstruktion *na kogoś_{ACC}* mit dem Instrumental (*obierać / obrać kogoś_{ACC} na kogoś_{ACC}* und *obierać / obrać kogoś_{ACC} kimś_{INS}*):

- (74) *Już trzeci raz obierają go prezesem_{INS} / na prezesa_{ACC} stowarzyszenia.*
'Schon das dritte Mal wählen sie ihn *zum Präsidenten* der Gesellschaft.'

Interessant ist, dass das NSPP hier vor der Verbindung der Verben *wybierać / wybrać* 'auswählen' und *uznawać / uznać* 'erklären'¹⁷ mit dem Instrumental warnt, obwohl sie nach PISARKOWA (1965, 98) den Instrumental verlangen. Das Wörterbuch empfiehlt anstatt des Instrumentals analytische Konstruktionen, nämlich *wybierać / wybrać kogoś_{ACC} na kogoś_{ACC} (*kimś_{INS})*¹⁸:

- (75) *Już po raz trzeci wybierają go na prezesa_{ACC} związku (*prezesem_{INS} związku).*
'Schon zum dritten Mal wählen sie ihn *zum Präsidenten* des Verbands.'

Beispiele mit der Präpositionalphrase sind im Korpus häufiger anzutreffen (24 Beispiele mit *wybierać / wybrać* und acht mit *uznawać / uznać*) als mit dem (vom NSPP monierten) Instrumental (sieben Beispiele mit *wybierać / wybrać* und sechs mit *uznawać / uznać*).

Bei den Verben *czynić / uczynić* 'tun' und *robić / zrobić* 'machen' scheint der Instrumental noch keine Konkurrenz von Seiten analytischer Konstruktionen

17 BUTTLER (1976, 181-182) erwähnt, Doroszewski folgend, dass die analytische Konstruktion *uznać kogoś za kogoś_{ACC}* traditionellen Charakter habe und der Instrumental nicht als die ursprüngliche Form zu betrachten sei. In älteren Texten steht in der Verbindung mit diesem Verb der doppelte Akkusativ: *To, coś zrobił, większą rzecz uznawam* 'Das, was du getan hat, erkläre ich für die größere Sache' (Jabłonowski, 18. Jh.). Das literarische Zitat nach BUTTLER (1976, 181) stammt aus dem *Poradnik Językowy* 1937/38, S.23.

18 Nach BUTTLER (1976, 182) ist der Instrumental hier auf russischen Einfluss zurückzuführen, ähnlich wie im Fall der Verbindung des Verbs *uważać kogoś_{ACC}, coś_{ACC} kimś_{INS} / czymś_{INS}* 'halten für'. Das NSPP empfiehlt das präpositionale Schema *uważać kogoś_{ACC}, coś_{ACC} za kogoś_{ACC} (*jako kogoś_{ACC}, *kimś_{INS}), za coś_{ACC} (*jako coś_{ACC}, *czymś_{INS})*: *Uważał Jędrka za dobrego przyjaciela (*jako dobrego przyjaciela, *dobrym przyjacielem)* 'Er hielt Jędrak für einen guten Freund'; *Młodzię uważała tego piosenkarza za swojego idola_{ACC} (*jako idola_{ACC}, *idolem_{INS})* 'Die Jugend hielt diesen Schlagersänger für ihr Idol'. Erwähnenswert ist, dass nach MOSER (1994, 77-85) der prädikative Instrumental Mitte des letzten Jahrhunderts in bestimmten syntaktischen Umgebungen aus dem Polnischen über das Weißrussische und Ukrainische ins Russische entlehnt wurde. Die von Buttler angesprochenen potentiellen Einflüsse des Russischen auf das Polnische sind dagegen ab dem 19. Jh. rezent.

zu haben. Die Konstruktionen *czynić / uczynić* ‘tun, machen’: *ktoś czynił / uczynił, coś czyniło / uczyniło kogoś_{ACC} / coś_{ACC} kimś_{INS} / czymś_{INS}* sind zudem deutlich resultativ:

(76) Prasa uczyniła przypadkowego świadka zdarzenia *bohaterem_{INS}*.
 ‘Die Presse hat einen zufälligen Zeugen des Ereignisses *zum Helden* gemacht.’

robić / zrobić ‘machen’: *robić / zrobić kogoś_{ACC} / coś_{ACC} kimś_{INS} / czymś_{INS}*:

(77) ... zrobili go *ministrem_{INS}*.
 ‘Sie haben ihn *zum Minister* gemacht.’

Die folgende Tabelle fasst die bisher zu Substantiven in der Funktion prädikativer Komplemente gemachten Beobachtungen zusammen und zeigt die möglichen Verbindungen mit den analysierten Verben. (Wenn eine Verbindung in der Sprache bzw. in unserem Korpus vorkommt, aber vom normativen NSPP als nicht korrekt empfunden wird, steht in der Tabelle „ nicht korrekt“ (weiter: n.k.), wenn die Rubrik leer bleibt, bedeutet es, dass eine solche Verbindung für dieses Verb nicht in Frage kommt).

Verb	Substantiv					
	Instru- mental	Kon- gruenz- kasus	na kogoś _{ACC}	na coś _{ACC}	za kogoś _{ACC}	jako + Kontru- enzkasus
<i>wydawać się / wydać się</i> ‘scheinen’	+					
<i>okazywać się / okazać się</i> ‘sich herausstellen’	+					
<i>czuć się</i> ‘sich fühlen’	+					
<i>mianować</i> ‘ernennen’	+		+ n.k.	+		
<i>wybierać / wybrać</i> ‘auswählen’	+ n. k.		+	+		
<i>uznawać / uznać</i> ‘erklären’	+ n. k.				+	+ n. k.
<i>czynić / uczynić</i> ‘tun’	+					
<i>robić / zrobić</i> ‘machen’	+					
<i>obierać / obrać</i> ‘wählen’	+		+	+		
<i>nazywać / nazwać</i> ‘nennen’	+	+				
<i>przezywać / przezwać</i> ‘umbenennen’	+	+				
<i>ogłaszać / ogłosić</i> ‘bekannt geben’	+				+	+ n. k.

Tab. 3: Instrumental, synthetische sowie analytische Markierung des Substantivs bei prädikativen Komplementen

Auch die Situation der adjektivischen prädikativen Komplemente stellt sich komplex dar: Diese sind im Korpus der gegenwärtigen polnischen Sprache sowohl im Nominativ als auch im Instrumental belegt. Die Form des Adjektivs scheint vom Verb (Typ des Verbs) abhängig zu sein. Mit den einstelligen Verben *wydawać się* 'scheinen', *okazać się* 'sich herausstellen' oder *czuć się* 'sich fühlen' tritt das Adjektiv häufiger im Nominativ auf:

- (78) ... że mój szept wydawał się *usprawiedliwiony*_{NOM}.
'... dass mein Geflüster *gerechtfertigt* (zu sein) schien.'
- (79) ... gol Artura okazał się *zwycięski*_{NOM}.
'... Arturs Tor stellte sich *als siegreich* heraus.'
- (80) ... nieprzyjaciel czuł się zupełnie *bezpieczny*_{NOM}.
'... der Feind fühlte sich völlig *sicher*.'

Im Nominativ auf, im Korpus ist bei ihnen jedoch in nicht wenigen Fällen auch der Instrumental zu finden:

- (81) Groźny Powoła okazał się [...] *najzawziętszym*_{INS}.
'Der gefährliche Powoła stellte sich *als der Verbissenste* heraus.'
(Sienkiewicz, 1896)
- (82) ... wydawał się tak *starym*_{INS}, *bezbronnym*_{INS}.
'... er schien so *alt, wehrlos*.' (Sienkiewicz, 1896)
- (83) ... w tej chwili czuł się *zdrowszym*_{INS}.
'... in diesem Augenblick fühlte er sich *gesünder*.' (Sienkiewicz, 1897)

Beispiele mit dem Instrumental stammen aber vor allem aus Texten vom Ende des 19. oder vom Anfang des 20. Jhs. Am häufigsten im Korpus tritt der prädikative adjektivische Instrumental beim Verb *czuć się* 'sich fühlen' auf: insgesamt in 75 Beispielen, wobei 73 davon aus Texten vom Ende des 19. Jhs stammen und nur 2 Beispiele aus zeitgenössischen Texten. Außerdem findet er sich häufig bei *okazać się* 'sich herausstellen' mit insgesamt 28 Belegen, davon 20 in Texten der Gegenwart und 8 in Texten vom Ende des 19. Jhs, und *wydawać się* 'scheinen' mit 24 Belegen ausschließlich aus Texten vom Ende des 19. Jhs. Zeitgenössische Belege für den adjektivischen prädikativen Instrumental kommen, neben den deutlich häufigeren adjektivischen Bezeichnungen im Nominativ, in Stilen vor, die im IPI-PAN-Korpus als publizistisch, wissenschaftlich-didaktisch (*naukowo-dydaktyczny*) und wissenschaftlich-humanistisch (*naukowy humanistyczny*) gekennzeichnet sind, z.B.:

- (84) ... rok 2001 okazał się *lepszym*_{INS} niż bieżący.
 '... das Jahr 2001 stellte sich *als besser* als das laufende heraus.'
 (Presse).

aber eben auch:

- (85) ... okazał się *najlepszy*_{NOM} wśród nauczycieli.
 '... er stellte sich *als der Beste* unter den Lehrern heraus.' (Presse)

Analysiert man das Phänomen am Beispiel dieser drei Verben (das Korpus liefert kaum Belege für Adjektive mit diesen Verben, erstaunlicherweise ließen sich im Internet mehr Beispiele finden), so stellt sich heraus, dass der Instrumental deutlich häufiger in präverbaler Position vorkommt:

Verb	V vor Adj _{INS}	n	Adj _{INS} vor V	n
<i>wydawać się / wydać się</i> 'scheinen'	31%	79	68%	170
<i>okazywać się / okazać się</i> 'sich herausstellen'	58%	21	41%	15
<i>czuć się</i> 'sich fühlen'	12,5%	1	87,5%	7

Tab. 4: Instrumental des Adjektivs in präverbaler und postverbaler Position bei prädikativen Komplementen

- (86) W Europie bardzo *dobrym*_{INS} okazał się również IV kwartał 2004 roku.
 'In Europa stellte sich auch das vierte Quartal 2004 als sehr *gut* heraus.'
- (87) *Zmęczonym*_{INS} się czuł, położył się między kamienie na mchu i zasnął.
 'Müde fühlte er sich, er hat sich zwischen die Steine auf dem Moos hingelegt und ist eingeschlafen.'
- (88) Serce było młode, *pięknym*_{INS} wydawał się świat.
 'Das Herz war jung, *schön* schien die Welt zu sein.'

Auch mit der Kopula *być* wird der Instrumental mit exponierter Betonung, z.B. am Anfang eines Satzes, häufiger benutzt, wie z.B. in *Dobrym*_{INS} (anstatt *dobry*_{NOM}) *jest ten człowiek, ale słabym* (anstatt *słaby*) 'Gut ist der Mensch, aber schwach'. Der prädikative adjektivische Instrumental, der dem Verb *być* vorangeht, ist stilistisch sehr beschränkt. Wenn eine solche Form des prädikativen Instrumentals in der Umgangssprache auftaucht, ist sie als stilistisch markiert zu betrachten und wird eher benutzt, um einen ironischen Effekt hervorzurufen. Die

Form ist dagegen typisch für die Sprache der Bibel sowie für den Stil von Predigten und religiösen oder philosophischen Parabeln, z.B.

- (89) *Sprawiedliwym*_{INS} jest ten, kto umiał okazać miłosierdzie...
'Gerecht ist der, der Barmherzigkeit zeigen konnte...'
- (90) *Mądrym*_{INS} jest ten, który wie, kiedy zachować spokój...
'Weise ist der, der weiß, wann man die Ruhe bewahren muss...'
- (91) *Głupim*_{INS} jest ten, kto nie wierzy.
'Dumm ist der, der nicht glaubt.'

Bei den zweistelligen Verben *czynić / uczynić* 'tun', *robić / zrobić* 'machen', aber auch *nazywać / nazwać* 'nennen', *przezywać / przezwać* 'umbenennen' und *ogłaszać / ogłosić* 'bekannt geben' kommt dagegen ausschließlich die Instrumentalform des Adjektivs vor:

- (92) Awans uczynił go *kims ważnym*_{INS}.
'Die Beförderung hat ihn zu *jemand wichtigem* gemacht.'
- (93) ... po pewnym czasie szef firmy zrobił mnie *odpowiedzialnym*_{INS} za całą grupę.
'... nach einiger Zeit hat der Chef der Firma mich *zum Verantwortlichen* für die ganze Gruppe gemacht.'

Bei den drei letzten Verben *nazywać / nazwać* 'nennen' und *przezywać / przezwać* 'umbenennen' und *ogłaszać / ogłosić* 'bekannt geben' können wir von einer pseudo-autonomen Verwendung von Adjektiven sprechen, die dem Subjekt performativ Merkmale oder Eigenschaften zuschreiben. In diesem Fall geht es nur um Eigenschaftszuweisung; vgl. (67).

- (94) Nazwał mnie_{ACC} *głupim*_{INS}.
'Er hat mich *dumm* genannt.'
- (95) Przezywano go *Czarnym*_{INS}, bo tak był opalony od słońca.
'Er wird „Schwarzer“ umbenannt, weil er so gebräunt von der Sonne war.'

Im Fall der zwei letzten Verben sorgt der Gebrauch der Instrumentalform des Adjektivs *głupim / głupią* 'dumm' und *nieskromną* 'unbescheiden' für syntaktische Transparenz. In Sätzen wie **Nazwał mnie głupi* oder *Nazwała mnie głupią* mit dem Nominativ Maskulinum bzw. Femininum scheint unvollendet bzw. nicht verständlich, denn die Nominativformen *głupi / głupia* könnten aufgrund der freien Wortfolge im Polnischen als Subjekt interpretiert werden. Den Gebrauch der Nominativform des Adjektivs im Kontext dieser Verben bezeichnet BUTTLER (1976, 184) sogar als „Entgleisung“.

Weiterhin ist die Instrumentalform nur bei dem Verb *uznawać / uznać* ‘(zu etw.) erklären’ inakzeptabel, die analytische Form wird als korrekt bezeichnet (*uznawać / uznać kogoś_{ACC} / coś_{ACC} za jakiegoś_{ACC} (*jakimś_{INS}, *jako jakiegoś_{ACC})*):

- (96) Lekarze uznają nowego pacjenta *za niepoczytalnego_{ACC}*.
 (**niepoczytalnym_{INS}, *jako niepoczytalnego_{ACC}*)
 ‘Die Ärzte erklären den neuen Patienten für unzurechnungsfähig.’

Die Tabelle zeigt die möglichen Verbindungen der analysierten Verben mit adjektivischem Komplement im prädikativen Instrumental.

Verb	Adjektiv			
	Instrumental	Nominativ	za kogoś _{acc}	jako + Kongruenzkasus
<i>wydawać się / wydać się</i> ‘scheinen’	+	+		
		(häufig)		
<i>okazywać się / okazać się</i> ‘sich herausstellen’	+	+		
		(häufig)		
<i>czuć się</i> ‘sich fühlen’	+	+		
		(häufig)		
<i>uznawać / uznać</i> ‘erklären’	+		+	+
	n.k.			n.k.
<i>czynić / uczynić</i> ‘tun’	+			
<i>robić / zrobić</i> ‘machen’	+			
<i>nazywać / nazwać</i> ‘nennen’	+			
<i>przezywać / przezwać</i> ‘umbenennen’	+			
<i>ogłaszać / ogłosić</i> ‘bekannt geben’	+			

Tab. 5: Instrumental, synthetische sowie analytische Markierung des Adjektivs bei prädikativen Komplementen

5. Schlussfolgerungen

Der prädikative Instrumental kommt in der modernen polnischen Sprache als Markierung sekundär prädikativer Elemente nur selten vor. Er ist dagegen die Regel als Markierung von primären substantivischen Prädikaten ggf. mit adjektivischem Attribut beim Substantiv in Kopulasätzen. Bei primären adjektivischen Prädikaten steht heute in der Regel der Nominativ (der Kongruenzkasus i. w. S.). Die einzige Ausnahme bilden die infiniten Konstruktionen, in denen der Instrumental bevorzugt wird.

Die Korpusanalyse hat die Tendenz eines stark eingeschränkten Gebrauchs des prädikativen Instrumentals bei freien prädikativen Angaben wie Depiktiven und temporalen Zirkumstantialen (konditionale sowie konzessive Zirkumstantiale im Instrumental wurden im Korpus nicht gefunden) und eines abnehmenden Gebrauchs bei Komplementen im Polnischen ergeben. Dennoch ist er bei Komplementen nicht selten. Bei den Zirkumstantialen sowie den Depiktiven muss er als veraltet bezeichnet werden: Er ist in älteren Prosatexten noch zu finden und wird von älteren Sprachträgern verwendet. Bei sekundären Prädikaten wird der prädikative Instrumental bei freien Angaben mehr und mehr durch andere morphosyntaktische Marker – synthetische (Kasuskongruenz) bei Adjektiven und analytische (*jako*-Phrase) bei Substantiven – ersetzt.

Bei den Komplementen, deren Status als sekundäre Prädikate zweifelhaft ist, ist die Situation uneinheitlich. Sowohl bei Substantiven als auch bei Adjektiven konkurriert mit dem prädikativen Instrumental der Kongruenzkasus sowie ein analytischer Marker (Präpositionalphrase *na* plus Akkusativ, *za* plus Akkusativ und die *jako*-Phrase). Wie Belege aus dem Korpus der polnischen Sprache und normative Nachschlagewerke zeigen, geht bei einigen Verben aber sogar der obligatorische Instrumental unter dem Einfluss analytischer Marker verloren. Manchmal wird er – trotz seiner früheren Ausschließlichkeit (vgl. PISARKOWA 1965) – als eine unkorrekte Form beschrieben. In anderen Fällen kann er auch als eine Formvariante gelten.

Es ist zu erwarten, dass der prädikative Instrumental, der im Vergleich zum Kongruenzkasus seltener ist, zugunsten anderer Marker zurücktritt. Es bestehen zudem keine regelmäßigen semantischen Unterschiede¹⁹ zwischen den Formen des prädikativen Instrumentals und der alternativen Markierung.

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Depictive secondary predication in Hungarian*

Abstract

This paper takes SCHULTZE-BERNDT & HIMMELMANN (2004) and HIMMELMANN & SCHULTZE-BERNDT (2005) as the starting point for a description of depictive secondary predication in Hungarian. The Hungarian language distinguishes between three major types of depictives, based on nouns, converbs, and numerals, respectively. It is shown that significant semantic and syntactic differences hold between the two most important nominal depictives. As for the converb type, it is shown that there is a clear-cut distinction between adverbial uses of converbs to express manner or circumstance on the one hand and depictives on the other. The latter form one category with the converbs which can be used in periphrastic resultative constructions. Apart from the universal quantifier, which acts as a genuine depictive, numerals have a restricted use as depictives. Finally, it is argued that adjectives may also be considered a class of depictives.

1. Depictives

Depictives are secondary predicates, e.g. *raw* as in *Mary ate the fish raw*.¹ SCHULTZE-BERNDT & HIMMELMANN (2004) and HIMMELMANN & SCHULTZE-BERNDT (2005) establish a better understanding of formal and semantic properties of depictives by describing various examples from languages of the world and comparing them with (different classes of) adverbials. They propose that the term depictive proper be reserved for participant-oriented adjuncts which are part of the focus domain of a sentence, i.e. which function as focus exponents. Such

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1 Other terms used for this kind of secondary predicates are "praedicativum", "predicative attribute", "copredicate" or "copredicative". See SCHULTZE-BERNDT & HIMMELMANN (2004) for references.

adjuncts encode a state, which adds a significant characteristic to the main event – for example, *leaving drunk* or *leaving outraged* is different from simply *leaving*.²

In Hungarian there are various kinds of constructions, which contain secondary predicates. This paper focuses on just one type – the depictive secondary predication as, for instance, the equivalents of ‘tour operator’, ‘drunk’ and ‘two’ in the examples (1)a.-c., respectively.

- (1) Depictive secondary predicates in Hungarian
- a. Pál *idegenvezető-ként* dolgozik Görögországban.
Paul tour.operator-as work Greece.in
‘Paul is working as a tour operator in Greece.’
 - b. Péter *berűg-va* ment haza.
Peter get.drunk-CVB went home
‘Peter went home drunk.’
 - c. *Kett-en* mentünk haza.
two-ADV we.went home
‘The two of us went home.’

I will discuss a typology of Hungarian depictives and their properties against the background of the works by Eva Schultze-Berndt and Nikolaus Himmelmann, who distinguish depictives from other secondary predications on the basis of the following set of properties, which all apply at the same time:

- (2) Depictive secondary predications meet the following requirements:
- (i) There are two separate predicative elements.
 - (ii) The depictive is obligatory controlled. The controller is not expressed separately as an argument of the depictive.
 - (iii) The depictive does not form a complex or periphrastic predicate with the main predicate.
 - (iv) The depictive is not an argument of the main verb.
 - (v) The depictive is not a modifier of the controller.
 - (vi) The depictive is non-finite.
 - (vii) The depictive is part of the same prosodic unit as the main predicate.

2 As for the correlation between depictives and the pragmatic function of focus, there is no space for a detailed discussion here. It can, however, be argued that depictives do not necessarily form the focus of the clause in Hungarian.

By way of illustration, the examples (3)-(5) contain secondary predications which violate one or more of these requirements and hence cannot be considered depictives.

- (3) Complex predicate (violation of (iii))
 Mari *szét-szedte* a rádió-t.
 Mary apart-took the radio-ACC
 'Mary took the radio apart.'
- (4) Predicate complement (violation of (iv))
- a. *Okos-nak* tartom Juliá-t
 clever-DAT I.consider Julia-ACC
 'I consider Julia clever.'
- b. Zsuzsa *sír-va* fakadt.
 Zsuzsa cry-CVB burst
 'Zsuzsa burst into tears.'
- (5) Apposition (violation of (v) and (vii))
 János, *a pincér*, nem mondott semmit.
 János the waiter not said nothing
 'János, the waiter, did not say anything.'

Schultze-Bernd and Himmelmann also contrast depictives with classes of adverbials. They argue that in cross-linguistic perspective, participant-oriented adverbials should not necessarily be distinguished from depictive secondary predicates. An agentive adverb, e.g. *stupidly* as in *John stupidly answered the question*, is a participant-oriented adverb which syntactically belongs to the sentence-level adverbs. These ascribe a certain characteristic to the agent on the basis of the event which (s)he performs. The way the adverb is used in the examples above differs from that in *John answered the question stupidly*, where *stupidly* is a manner adverbial ascribed to the way John answers the question. The agentive orientation of the adverb is clear from a paraphrase such as *It was stupid of John to answer the question*. Similar to English, Hungarian allows different uses of adverbs as pure manner or as participant-oriented adverbs. Still, there are big differences. Hungarian neither morphologically nor syntactically distinguishes between two different types of participant-oriented adjuncts and manner adverbs, where English does. English prefers to have adjuncts and manner adverbs to be in post-verbal position, where they take either the form of a bare adjective (*raw*, *angry*) or the form of an adjective+*-ly* (*beautifully*, *angrily*). The position of adjuncts/adverbs in Hungarian may be anywhere within the clause, although statistically the depictive prefers the focus position in the clause, i.e. the position immediately preceding the verb as in (6)a-c. The adjunct/adverb is marked by an

adverbial suffix in all three cases, as can be seen in the following examples: (6a) presents a pure manner, (6b) a participant-oriented adverb, whereas (6c) is ambiguous in the sense that Peter is angry or that Peter left in an angry way:³

- (6) a. Tamás *szép-en* énekel. (pure manner)
 Tom beautiful-ADV sings
 ‘Tom sings beautifully.’
- b. Mari *nyers-en* ette meg a hal-at. (depictive)
 Mary raw-ADV ate ASP the fish-ACC
 ‘Mary ate the fish raw.’
- c. Péter *mérges-en* ment el. (transparent)
 Peter angry-ADV went away
 ‘Peter left angrily.’

Note that participant-oriented adjuncts in Hungarian such as ‘raw’ in the equivalent expression of *Mary ate the fish raw* – the standard example to illustrate what a depictive is – is marked by the adverbial suffix *-en* and patterns along with the expression of manner, while a manner interpretation in this example is ruled out. Because of the particular status of transparent depictives I will pay more attention to agent-oriented adverbs as in (6c) in Section 5 below.

HIMMELMANN & SCHULTZE-BERNDT (2005) discuss another type of participant-oriented adjuncts similar to depictives, namely circumstantials, as *hungry* in *I can’t work hungry*, i.e. ‘I can’t work while I am hungry’. The authors argue that it is possible to distinguish between circumstantials and depictives in English. Both are participant-oriented adjuncts, which convey a state of affairs, which temporally overlaps with the state of affairs conveyed by the main predicate. They differ, however, in that depictives are part of the focus domain and convey focal information (7a), while circumstantials (7b) do not.⁴ The latter contributes presupposed information to the utterance.

- (7) a. Mary eats the fish *raw*. (depictive)
 b. *As a child* Peter lived in Paris. (circumstantial)

This explains their positional and prosodic differences as well as the fact that depictives, but not circumstantials, can be in the exclusive scope of a negator, as is shown by the following examples:

- (8) a. Mary didn’t eat the fish *raw*. (depictive)
 b. *As a child* Peter didn’t live in Paris. (circumstantial)

3 See GEUDER (2002) for a detailed discussion of oriented adverbs. Geuder refers to agent-oriented adverbs like *mérgesen* ‘angrily’ as in (6c) as transparent adverbs.

4 See WINKLER (1997) for a detailed discussion of depictives within the focal domain.

Negation has scope over the secondary predicate in (8a): the fish was not raw (but cooked). The example may also be interpreted as stating that Mary did not eat the fish at all. The secondary predicate in (8b) is outside the scope of negation. (8b) has the interpretation that Peter has been a child, but he did not live in Paris then.

I will not enter a discussion of depictives and negation in Hungarian here. Such discussion merits a separate publication in order to do justice to the intriguing interplay between focus, the scope of negation and word order. The data used for this paper suggests that depictives obey word order constraints relevant to Hungarian. Depending on whether the pragmatic status of the depictive is Topic, Focus or Neutral, it will take the sentence-initial position, the position immediately preceding the verb, or a position after the verb. Interestingly, depictives may have the function of Contrastive Topic. The contrastive aspect may be taken to belong to the domain of focality, which would permit depictives to occur in the topic position of the clause in Hungarian. Equally, however, depictives may well be positioned in the pragmatically neutral domain of the clause, which poses problems for the definition of depictives proposed by HIMMELMANN & SCHULTZE-BERNDT (2005). Furthermore, the negation test, which is useful in many languages for distinguishing between depictives and circumstantials, does not equally apply to Hungarian. I shall leave these issues for further research.

2. The noun as a depictive secondary predicate

2.1 Typology

In Hungarian there are a number of depictives, which involve a noun. The following six types can be characterized on the basis of their morpho-syntactic differences.

- (9) Predicative nominal with conjunction/preposition *mint* 'as'⁵

Pál *mint idegenvezető* dolgozik Görögországban

Paul as tour.operator work Greece.in

'Paul works as a tour operator in Greece.'

5 The form *mint* is generally considered a conjunction or complementizer (cf. KENESEI 1992, 572). As an expression of depictives, however, it rather behaves like a preposition (cf. DE GROOT 1983; KOMLOSY 1992, 484).

- (10) Predicative nominal with the essive-formal case *-ként* (glossed with *as*)
 Pál *idegenvezető-ként* dolgozik Görögországban
 Paul tour.operator-as work Greece.in
 'Paul works as a tour operator in Greece.'
- (11) Predicative nominal with the postposition *gyanánt*
 Pál *idegenvezető gyanánt* dolgozik Görögországban
 Paul tour.operator by.way.of work Greece.in
 'Paul works as a tour operator in Greece.'
- (12) Predicative nominal with the dative case *-nak/-nek*
 Az-t a pulóver-t *párná-nak* használtam.
 that-ACC the sweater-ACC pillow-DAT I.used
 'I used that sweater as a pillow.'
- (13) Predicative nominal with the inessive case *-ban/-ben*
 Láttam *ők-et négy-es-ben*
 I-saw they-ACC four-NOM-INESS
 'I saw four of them (together).'
- (14) Predicative nominal with the instrumental/comitative case *-val/-vel*
Ezr-es-é-vel számolta meg a pénzt.
 thousand-NOM-3SG.POSS-COM he.counted ASP the money-ACC
 'He counted the money thousand by thousand.'

In expressions with *mint* on the one hand and with *-ként* or *gyanánt* on the other is that in (9) Pál is most likely a tour operator by profession, whereas such a presupposition does not necessarily hold in the case of (10) and certainly not for (11). Native judgements reveal that this semantic difference is sometimes felt to be artificial or non-existing. Minimal pair (15) supports the view that a semantic difference does exist. When Madonna appears on stage dressed as a man, she may look like one, but she is certainly not a man. The use of *mint* is therefore disfavoured, because it would suggest that Madonna is a man.

- (15) a. Madonna *férfi-ként* jelent meg a színpadon.
 Madonna man-as appeared ASP the stage.on
 'Madonna appeared on stage as a man.'
- b. [?]Madonna *mint férfi* jelent meg a színpadon.
 Madonna as man appeared ASP the stage.on
 'Madonna appeared on stage as a man.'

The use of the singular (with *-ként*) or plural (with *mint*) form of the depictive where the controller is a plural also suggests a difference. Compare:

- (16) a. A *férfi-ak-at könyvelő-ként* alkalmazta.
 the man-PL-ACC bookkeeper.SG-as s/he.employed
 'S/he employed the men as bookkeepers.'
- b. A *férfi-ak-at mint könyvelő-k-et* alkalmazta.
 the man-PL-ACC as bookkeeper-PL-ACC s/he.employed
 'S/he employed the men as bookkeepers.'

In (16a) the depictive denotes a function or category, whereas the depictive in (16b) indicates that each man is a bookkeeper. The depictive *-ként* may be found with plural forms, as for instance in (17), an example from actual speech.⁶

- (17) *Vendég-ként* érkeztünk, de most csak egy kísérletről
 guest.SG-as we.arrived but now only a experiment.DEL
 tudunk tehát beszámolni, *kísérleti alany-ok-ként*.
 we.know thus report.INF subject of.experiment-PL-as
 'We arrived as guests, but now we can only report about an experiment, as subjects.'

The different use of the singular and the plural depictives gives rise to the interpretation that the visitors arrived as an undifferentiated group of guests and reported later on about the experiment as individual subjects of experiments.

The postposition *gyanánt* 'by way of' indicates a temporary (non-inherent) and somewhat arbitrary and/or unusual role. It is rather unusual for *gyanánt* to modify animate nouns like *idegenvezető* 'tour operator' in (11), probably because it is unusual for people to assign certain roles – the role specified by *gyanánt* – to other people; it is more usual to assign roles to things as in:

- (18) a. Péter *előétel gyanánt* szolgálta fel a
 Peter hors.d'oeuvre by.way.of served ASP the
 zsíroskenyer-et
 lard.sandwich-ACC
 'Peter served the lard sandwiches as hors d'oeuvre.'
- b. Mari-tól ajándék-ok *gyanánt* kaptam a könyv-ek-et.
 Mari-ABL gift-PL by.way.of I.got the book-PL-ACC
 'I got the books from Mary as a gift.'

6 Again, native speakers of Hungarian judge differently here. Number agreement in cases with *-ként* is disfavoured by many people, whereas others prefer agreement in number.

There is an obligatory agreement in number between the *gyanánt* phrase and its controller as in example (18b).

The expression with the dative case, as in (15), clearly indicates ‘in the function of’ (KENESEI et al. 1998, 226). The form *-ként* may also indicate ‘in the function of’, or ‘as if’:

- (19) a. Don Giovanni *szolgá-nak* álcázta magát.
 Don Giovanni servant-DAT disguised himself-ACC
 ‘Don Giovanni disguised himself as a servant.’
- b. Don Giovanni *szolga-ként* álcázta magát.⁷
 Don Giovanni servant-as disguised himself-ACC
 ‘Don Giovanni disguised himself as (if he were) a servant.’

There are two other, less productive forms which occur in the context of depictives. Examples are often found in fixed expressions. The forms are the essive-modal marker *-ul/-ül*, which is identical to the adverbial marker to express manner, and the formal marker *-képp(en)* (to simplify matters, I gloss both *-ul/-ül* as well as *-képp(en)* with *as*).

- (20) Predicative nominal with the essive-modal marker *-ul/-ül*
Feleség-ül adták Zsuzsá-t Jenő-nek.
 wife-as they.gave Zsuzsa-ACC Jenő-DAT
 ‘Zsuzsa was married off to Jenő.’
- (21) Ez-t *példa-képpen* említem.
 this-ACC example-as I.mention
 ‘I mention this as an example.’

Adverbials based on an adjective with the ending *-ul/-ül*, like those with the ending *-an/-en*, may allow a depictive reading, as shown in example (6). I will return to this kind of ambiguity in Section 5 below.

2.2 Marking devices

2.2.1 *-ként*

KIEFER (1987) argues that *-ként* is a case suffix in Hungarian, because the form occurs to mark a complement of a verb as in

- (22) Az igazgató *könyvelő-ként* alkalmazta Pál-t.
 the director bookkeeper-as employed Paul-ACC
 ‘The director employed Paul as a bookkeeper.’

7 Not all informants accept the use of the verb *álcáz* in combination with the form *-ként*.

If *alkalmaz* 'employ' were indeed a three-place verb, the *-ként* form would not constitute an instance of a depictive. In that case, there is a secondary predication involved, but of a different kind, namely that of a predicate complement as in (4) above. However, I disagree with Kiefer that *-ként* is a case suffix on the basis of the following considerations: First, *alkalmaz* 'employ' needs the overt expression of just two arguments (Agent and Patient) and not necessarily a third element.

- (23) Az igazgató alkalmazta Pál-t.
the director employed Paul-ACC
'The director employed Paul.'

Second, both the subject and the object may be the controller of the element marked by *-ként*.

- (24) János főnök-ként alkalmazta Péter-t.
János chief-as employed Peter-ACC
'János employed Peter as a boss.' (János is the boss, or Peter is the boss.)

And third, the distribution of *-ként* as a case, as suggested by Kiefer, is in fact limited to a very small class of verbs, which select secondary predications.

2.2.2 *gyanánt*

The origin of *gyanánt* is not entirely clear. The form was first attested in 1403 (BENKŐ 1970, part 1, 1119). It may be related to the noun *gyanú* 'suspicion, doubt, mistrust'.

2.2.3 *mint*

The origin of *mint* is not entirely clear, either. The form was first attested in 1350 (BENKŐ 1970, part 2, 931). It is most likely that the form is based on the interrogative pronoun *mi* 'what', also found in forms such as *miképpen* [*mi*.FORMAL] and *miként* [*mi*.as] both meaning 'how, in what manner'. The use of *mint* in the older sources is very similar to the way it is used today. Over the centuries the form developed from a conjunction into a preposition in present-day Hungarian. This is a rather remarkable fact since Hungarian has postpositions only. *Mint* combines with nouns (25a), noun phrases (25b), and also postpositional phrases (25c):

- (25) a. János *mint* könyvelő dolgozik.
János as bookkeeper works.
'János works as a bookkeeper.'

- b. János *mint a könyvelő-m* dolgozik.
 János as the bookkeeper-1SG.POSS works.
 'János works as my bookkeeper.'
- c. Péter János mellett *mint könyvelő mellett* dolgozik.
 Peter János next.to as bookkeeper next.to works
 'Peter works next to János as a bookkeeper.'

Note that example (25c) shows postpositional agreement between the depictive and its controller in a similar way to case agreement (see (30b) below).

2.2.4 *-nak/-nek*

The form *-nak/-nek* is traditionally glossed as dative. The form is used to mark various functions, such as recipient, beneficiary, experiencer, and possessor.⁸ It is also used to mark predicate complements and nominal or adjectival predicates in non-verbal clauses, as in (4a). The verb *álcáz* 'disguise' as in (19) may take the depictive marker *-ként* or the dative case to mark the secondary predicate.⁹ As in the case of *alkalmaz* above, I will also consider *álcáz* 'disguise' a two-place predicate, where the elements marked by *-nak/-nek* or *-ként* are depictives. A clear example of a depictive marked by the dative case is (12). This latter type of construction only allows nominal secondary predicates.

2.2.5 *-ban/-ben*

The inessive case only occurs in combination with nominalised numerals. The expression with the nominalised numeral and the inessive case has a collective reading (hence *together* in the translation) and not a distributive reading (one by one, individually or in smaller groups):

- (26) Találkoztam velük *nyolc-as-ban*
 I.met they.COM eight-NOM-INESS
 'I met seven of them (together).'¹⁰

2.2.6 *-val/-vel*

Unlike the depictive with the inessive case, the depictive ending in *-val/-vel* has a distributional reading, as for instance in:

8 The dative case in Hungarian does not necessarily denote 'purpose'. As with depictives, it also arises in a grammaticalized type of construction where an adjective functions predicatively.

(i) Milyen az új kocsid? Jó-nak jó.
 How the new your.car good-DAT good
 'How is your new car? So so.' [lit. as for good, good.]

9 See, however, note 7 on the judgements of native speakers.

10 The speaker plus seven makes eight.

- (27) *Három-as-á-val* beugrottak a víz-be.
 Three-NOM-POSS.3SG-COM they jumped the water-ILL
 'They jumped into the water in groups of three.'

It may be argued that the segmentation of the string *-as-á-val* is conceived of as one single suffix in present-day Hungarian. If that is indeed the case, forms such as *három-asával* 'three by three' do not constitute an example of a noun-based, but a numeral-based depictive. This form will be discussed further in Section 4 below.

2.3 Morpho-syntactic differences between *-ként*, *gyanánt* and *mint* depictives

The use of *-ként* and *gyanánt* as depictives is syntactically heavily restricted. The scope of the secondary predicate is the subject and the object of the main verb, although some speakers of Hungarian do not even accept the object as a controller with *-ként*. The examples in (29) illustrate that subject or object are the only possible controllers:

- (28) a. Péter_i János-t *tanár-ként*_i szereti.
 Peter János-ACC teacher-as love
 'Peter likes János as a teacher.' (Peter = teacher)
- b. Péter János-t_i *tanár-ként*_i szereti.
 Peter János-ACC teacher-as love
 'Peter likes János as a teacher.' (János = teacher)
- (29) a. *Péter level-et adott János-nak_i *tanár-ként*_i.
 Peter letter-ACC gave János-DAT teacher-as
 'Peter gave János as a teacher a letter.' (János = teacher)
- b. *Péter János-sal_i beszélt *tanár-ként*_i.
 Peter János-COM spoke teacher-as
 'Peter spoke with János as a teacher.' (János = teacher)

The element *mint* is not subject to such syntactic restrictions. Ambiguity in the sense of example (28b) hardly occurs with *mint*, since phrases with *mint* are also specified by the same case or postposition as the element they apply to. The accusative case may be optional, although speakers of Hungarian often do not allow ambiguity, as in (30a), where either Peter or János could be the teacher. Such ambiguity certainly does not arise in (30b), where both elements in the depictive are marked by the accusative case.

- (30) a. Péter_i János-t_i *mint tanár_i* szereti.
 Peter János-ACC as teacher love
 'Peter likes János as a teacher.' (ambiguous: Péter or János = teacher)
- b. Péter János-t_i *mint tanár-t_i* szereti.
 Peter János-ACC as teacher-ACC love
 'Peter likes János as a teacher.' (János = teacher)

In contrast with the ungrammatical examples with *-ként* in (29), consider the grammatical examples with *mint* in (31).

- (31) a. Péter level-et ad János-nak_i *mint tanár-nak_i*.
 Peter letter-ACC gave János-DAT as teacher-DAT
 'Peter gave János as a teacher a letter.' (János = teacher)
- b. Péter János-sal_i *mint tanár-ral_i* beszélt
 Peter János-COM as teacher-COM spoke
 'Peter spoke with János as a teacher.' (János = teacher)

At this point I conclude that all three forms *-ként*, *gyanánt* and *mint* are predicative markers. When occurring on semantically depictive adjuncts, they do not unambiguously identify the controller (cf. (28) and (30)). Note that in addition to the use of a predicative marker *gyanánt* or *mint* there is also agreement as a strategy for restricting reference. There is number agreement, as shown in Section 2.1, and with depictive marker *mint* there is also case/adposition agreement. Within the morphological typology presented by SCHULTZE-BERNDT & HIMMELMANN (2004), the depictive with *mint* should be classified under (i) predicative marker and (ii) strategies signalling restricted reference, where the depictive with *-ként* and *gyanánt* is only classified under (i).

The phenomenon of agreement of a depictive with its controller in case and/or number and gender is well known from classical Greek and Latin, as well as from many other Indo-European and non-Indo-European languages (SCHULTZE-BERNDT & HIMMELMANN 2004, 81f.). In Hungarian, plural agreement (16b), case agreement (31) or postpositional agreement (25c) also occurs in other types of constructions, particularly in non-verbal predications and in constructions involving some kind of discontinuity. Example (32a) exhibits number agreement between an adjectival predicate and its subject, (32b) between a nominal predicate and its subject, (32c) shows a discontinuous expression of the NP [red shoes], and (32d) and (32e) expressions of demonstrative constructions, where the demonstrative may be taken to be separate from the NP or PP.

- (32) a. A *kép-ek szép-ek.*
 the picture-PL beautiful-PL
 'The pictures are beautiful.'
- b. A *férfi-ak mérnök-ök.*
 the man-PL engineer-PL
 'The men are engineers.'
- c. Cipő-t vett, piros-at.
 shoe-ACC she.bought red-ACC
 'S/he bought shoes, red ones.'
- d. Láttam *az-t* a *lány-t.*
 I.saw that-ACC the girl-ACC
 'I saw that girl.'
- e. a *mögött* a ház *mögött*
 that behind the house behind
 'behind that house'

2.4 Conclusions of this section

It has been shown that at least six types of noun-based depictives can be distinguished in Hungarian. The depictive markers of the three main types are the suffix *-ként*, the postposition *gyanánt*, and the preposition *mint*, respectively. These three depictives have a number of distributional distinctions regarding number, case and postposition agreement and semantics: 'as if', 'by way of' and 'as'. Furthermore, it is argued that *-ként* is a depictive marker and not a case ending.

3. The converb as a depictive secondary predicate

3.1 Typology

Hungarian has five types of non-finite verb forms, one of which is the converb or adverbial participle.¹¹ Converbs are formed from verbs. There are no semantic restrictions other than that the verb must have a subject which can be coreferen-

11 The other non-finite verb forms are infinitive, present participle, past participle, and future participle.

tial with an argument of another verb, since converbs with *-va/-ve* cannot be used in absolute constructions (DE GROOT 1995, 296).¹²

Converbs can be employed in different adverbial phrases (É.KISS 1980; DE GROOT 1995).

(33) Converbs used with the function of manner

- a. *Izgul-va, reszket-ve szerette a feleségét*
 excited-CVB tremble-CVB he.loved his.wife-ACC
 'He loved his wife in an excited, trembling way.'
- b. Károly *rohan-va* jön a kert-ből.
 Charles run-CVB come the garden-ELAT
 'Charles comes running from the garden.'

(34) Converbs used with the function of circumstance

- a. A pohar-at *felemel-ve* elmondta a köszöntő-t
 the glass-ACC raise-CVB he.said the toast-ACC
 'He proposed a toast while raising his glass.'
- b. Ingét maga elé *tart-va* áll.
 his.shirt-ACC himself front keep-CVB stand
 'He is standing holding his shirt in front of himself.'

Converbs may function as depictive secondary predicates, as in (1b) and (35), and also as non-finite predicates in finite clauses, as in (36a) and (36b):

- (35) Julika *elfárad-va* ült le a szőnyeg-re
 Julie exhaust-CVB sat down the couch-SUBL
 'Julie sat down on the couch exhausted.'

- (36) a. Az ajtó *nyitva* van.
 the door open-CVB COP.3SG
 'The door is open.'
- b. Barná-ra *voltunk le-sül-ve*
 brown-SUBL we were PFV-sunburn-CVB
 'We were sunburnt brown.'

12 For that reason weather-verbs – which do not have a subject – do not have verbal forms. Classes of verbs which select subject clauses do not have verbal forms either.

- (ii) a. Havazik. a'. *havaz-va
 'It snows.' snow-CVB
- b. Úgy tűnik, hogy jön. b'. *tűn-ve
 so appear that he come appear-CVB
 'It appears that he comes.'

For further details on different forms of converbs see DE GROOT 1987; 1995 and TÓTH 2000.

3.2 Simultaneity of events

Converbs in Hungarian may be specified for imperfective or perfective aspect. When the converb takes the imperfective form, the action denoted by the converb is simultaneous or coextensive with the action of the main verb, as in (34a) and (37a) below. In the case of perfective aspect the action denoted by the converb will be anterior to the action denoted by the main verb, as in (37b):

(37) a. Imperfective converb

A könyv-et *Ø-olvas-va* sétálgatott János.
 the book-ACC IPFV-read-CVB walk János
 'János walked up and down while reading the book.'

b. Perfective converb

A könyv-et *el-olvas-va*, János meg-írta a cikkét.
 the book-ACC PFV-read-CVB János PFV-wrote his article
 'After reading the book, János wrote his article.'

In this sense, they fulfil the conditions that depictives designate states of affairs which hold at the same time as the eventuality encoded by the main predicate. On the other hand, perfective converbs can be 'anterior-resultative deverbal depictives' as discussed by SCHULTZE-BERNDT & HIMMELMANN (2004, 103):

(38) *Fel-bátorod-va* beléptünk.
 PFV-take.courage-CVB we.entered
 '(After) taking courage, we entered.'

3.3 Syntactic differences between converbs as adverbials and depictives

The way converbs can be used as adverbs, both as manner and circumstance, differ significantly from the way converbs can be used as depictives. The following table summarizes the possibilities the converb has in the different functions.

Main verb	Converb	Function of Converb	Orientation	
Subject _i	Subject _i	Adverb	Active	(39a)
Subject _i	Object _i	Adverb	Passive	(39b)
Subject _i , Object _j	Subject _{i,j}	Depictive	Active	(40a)
Subject _i , Object _j	Object _{i,j}	Depictive	Passive	(40b,c)

Table 1: Syntactic function of controller

When used as an adverb, the subject of the main verb is either coreferential with the subject or the object of the converb:

(39) Syntactic orientation (adverbial)

- a. A katonák a város-t *bekerít-ve* harcoltak.
 the soldiers the town-ACC surround-CVB fought
 'The soldiers, surrounding the town, fought.'
- b. A katonák (az ellenség által) *bekerít-ve* harcoltak.
 the soldiers the enemy by surround-CVB fought
 'The soldiers, surrounded (by the enemy) fought.'

In the case of depictive use, the subject and object of the converb may be coreferential with either the subject or the object of the main verb. Example (40a) is ambiguous in this regard, whereas (40b) and (40c) are not:

(40) Syntactic orientation (depictives)

- a. *Berűg-va* hozta haza a vendégek-et János.
 drink-CVB brought home the guests-ACC János
 'János brought the guests home drunk.' (ambiguous)
- b. A neve így *kimond-va* jól hangzik
 the his.name so pronounce-CVB good(ADV) sounds
 'Pronounced in such a way, his name sounds good.'
- c. Mikor hallotta a nevét így *kimond-va*.
 when he heard the his.name.ACC such pronounce-CVB
 'When did he hear his name pronounced in such a way?'

Adverbial converb phrases may contain an agent phrase marked by the postposition *által* 'by', as in (39b), which is not allowed in constructions with a depictive phrase.¹³

- (41) János a kávé-t (*Mari által) *megdarál-va* hozta be.
 János the coffee-ACC Mary by grind-CVB brought in
 'János brought in the coffee (that was) ground (by Mary).'

Note that the non-applicability of an agent phrase in depictives is also found in clauses where the converb functions as the predicate:

13 Exceptions to the non-applicability rule are sometimes found in legal or formal texts, for instance

(iii) A dokumentum le lett pecsétel-ve a hivatal által.
 The document ASP has seal-CVB the office by
 'The document has to be sealed by the office.'

- (42) Az óra meg van javít-va (*Péter által).
 the clock PFV is repair-CVB (Peter by)
 'The clock has been repaired (*by Peter).'

Not surprisingly, properties of predications with a predicative converb also apply to depictive secondary predications. The non-admissibility of an agent phrase is one of the properties, the constraints on the classes of verbs from which the converbs are derived is another (DE GROOT 1995). The relevant parameters for the constraints are Agentivity, Telicity, Momentariness, and Number of Arguments:

- (43) Restrictions on verbs as input for converbs in predicative constructions
- a. The verb must be telic
 - b. Non-agentive verbs must be one-place verbs
 - c. Momentary verbs may not be one-place verbs
 - d. The second argument of an agentive verb must have the function of patient

Since constructions with a predicative converb are a kind of resultative state construction in the sense of NEDJALKOV & JAXONTOV (1988), the restriction that the underlying verb must be telic is straightforward. The other restrictions are rather ad hoc. I know of no theoretical explanations which could account for them (see DE GROOT (1995) for a detailed discussion).

The non-admissibility of an agent phrase in cases where the converb is used as a predicate suggests that the predicative converb is a derived form and that in the process of derivation the argument with the function of agent has become obsolete. In other words, the argument structure of a predicative converb may differ from the argument structure of the (transitive, agentive) verb from which it is derived. Schematically, the derivational rule may take the following form (DE GROOT 1989, 201):

- (44) PREDICATIVE CONVERB FORMATION FROM TRANSITIVE VERBS
 Input: Stem-[V] (x1)_{Agent} (x2)_{Patient}
 Output: Stem-*va/ve*[CVB] (x2)_{Patient}

This rule accounts for the grammaticality of (40) and (41). Interestingly, no such rule has to be postulated for the use of converbs in adverbial phrases with the function of manner or circumstance, because agent phrases are allowed in those cases (cf. 39b). It can thus be concluded that converbal depictives in Hungarian form a category distinct from converbal adverbs, and that they form one category with predicative converbs, which can be applied in finite resultative constructions.

3.4 Converbs as depictives and prosodic units

SCHULTZE-BERNDT & HIMMELMANN (2004, 99f.) mention that the possibility of extended converbs might constitute a problem, namely that the more complex a deverbal predicate construction gets the greater the likelihood that it will form a prosodic unit of its own and therefore not meet criterion (vii) under (2). In Hungarian it is possible to extend the converbal depictive. The depictive phrase, however, does not necessarily form a prosodic unit of its own, as for instance in:

- (45) János *a pálinká-tól berűg-va* hozta haza Mari-t
János the brandy-ABL drunk-CVB brought home Mary-ACC
'János brought Mary home *drunk from the brandy*.'

The phrase *a pálinkától berűgva* 'drunk from the brandy' constitutes the focus of the clause, and therefore cannot form a prosodic unit on its own. This is possible if the phrase (with the function of circumstantial or apposition) does not form the focus as in:

- (46) János, *a pálinká-tól berűg-va*, haza-hozta Mari-t
János the brandy-ABL drunk-CVB home-brought Mary-ACC
'János, drunk from the brandy, brought Mary home.'

Interestingly, a converbal depictive may have its own internal focus constituent but still not form a prosodic unit of its own.

- (47) János *a pálinká-tól rűg-va* *be* hozta haza Mari-t
János the brandy-ABL drunk-CVB ASP brought home Mary-ACC
'János brought Mary home drunk from the *brandy*.'

I conclude that extended converbal constructions in Hungarian may function as depictives, and that they do not necessarily form prosodic units of their own.

3.5 Conclusions of this section

Converbal depictives in Hungarian form a category distinct from converbal adverbs and form one category with predicative converbs which can be applied in finite resultative constructions. Furthermore it has been shown that Hungarian perfective converbs encode 'anterior-resultatives'. Finally, extended converbal depictives do not form prosodic units of their own. They may function as the focus of the clause, and they also allow an element within the converbal phrase to be the focus.

4. The numeral as a depictive secondary predicate

4.1 Typology

A third category of depictive secondary predications in Hungarian is based on the predicative use of numerals. There are two types of depictives based on numerals. The first one combines a numeral with the adverbial marker *-an/-en* as in (48). There is no number agreement between the depictive and its controller.

- (48) a. *Kett-en* mentünk haza.
two-ADV we.went home
'The two of us went home.'
- b. *Hány-an* vagytok? *Tíz-en* (vagyunk).
How.many-ADV you.are.PL ten-ADV we.are
'How many are you? (We are) Ten.'

The suffix on the numeral is the same form as the suffix attached to a class of adjectives when used adverbially:

- (49) a. *Gyors-an* mentünk haza.
quick-ADV we.went home
'We went home quickly.'
- b. *Szép-en* énekeltük a népdal-t.
beautiful-ADV we.sang the folksong-ACC
'We sang the folksong beautifully.'

The fact that the numeral is used predicatively and not adverbially can be illustrated on the basis of the stem used here. The numeral 'two' in Hungarian has two stems: *két* and *kett-*. The first one is used in attributes, and the second one in other cases. The form used in (48a) is based on the predicative stem *kett-*. The examples in (50) show the different applications of the numeral 'two'.

- (50) a. *két* lány
two girl
'two girls.'
- b. Egy meg egy az *kettő*.
one plus one that two
'One plus one is two.'

A second type of depictive is the universal quantifier *mind* 'all'. It is a floating quantifier and can take many different positions in the clause:

(51) Floating quantifier *mind* 'all'

- a. A fiúk *mind* látják a lányok-at.
The boys all they.see the girls-ACC
'All the boys see the girls. / The boys see all the girls'
- b. *Mind* a fiúk látják a lányokat.
- c. A fiúk látják *mind* a lányokat.
- d. A fiúk látják a lányokat *mind*.

There are several other types of depictives based on the nominalised forms of numerals (see Section 2.1 above). The morphological segmentation of one of these types is not entirely clear. In one analysis the depictive is a numeral. Consider the following example:

- (52) *Ezr-es-é-vel* számolta meg a pénz-t.
thousand-NOM-3SG.POSS-COM he.counted ASP the money-ACC
'He counted the money thousand by thousand.'

The string of affixes attached to the numeral as in *egy-esével* 'one by one' or *hat-osával* 'six by six' etc. is generally conceived of as a single ending. If there is just one suffix, the suffix is clearly transparent.¹⁴ There is the nominaliser *-as/-es*, the third person singular possessive marker *-(j)a/-(j)e*, and the instrumental/comitative case *-val/-vel*. The use of the noun *tucat* 'dozen' also takes the possessive and the comitative, as in (53).

- (53) Az üzem-ben *tucat-já-val* csomagolják
The factory-INESS dozen-3SG.POSS-COM they.pack
a tojások-at.
the eggs-ACC
'In the factory, the eggs are packed by the dozen.'

The following example (54a), however, could lend support to the view that there is indeed only one suffix. *Pár* 'pair' in Hungarian is a noun, hence there is no need to nominalise the form.¹⁵ Still, the addition *-osával* includes the nominaliser

14 Interestingly, SCHULTZE-BERNDT & HIMMELMANN (2004, 109) mention a striking example of a particular idiomatic construction involving numerals in depictive function from Dutch. The construction contains the same kind of material as Hungarian *-es-é-vel*, i. e. a nominaliser, a possessor, and an instrumental:

(iv) We gingen [met z'n drie-ën] uit eten.
we went COM 3SG.POSS three-PL out eat.INF
'We went out for dinner the three of us.'

15 It is unlikely that *párosával* is built on the noun *páros*, a form which has a limited use as in *férfi páros* 'men's doubles' or *női páros* 'women's doubles' and *vegyes páros* 'mixed doubles' in tennis.

-os. The form *-osával/-asával/-esével* may therefore be taken to be one suffix and glossed as ‘distributive’. Hungarian has a number of distributive suffixes, one of which can actually be used as an alternative to *osával*:

- (54) a. Láttam űk-et *pár-osával*
 I saw they-ACC pair-DISTR
 ‘I saw them in pairs.’
 b. Láttam űk-et *pár-onként*
 I saw they-ACC pair-DISTR
 ‘I saw them in pairs.’

The distributive suffix in (54b) is *-nként*, which is different from the formal-essive marker *-ként* discussed in Section 2. Another example with the suffix *-nként* as a depictive is (55).¹⁶

- (55) *Fej-enként* ezer euró-t kaptunk.
 head-DISTR thousand Euro-ACC we.received
 ‘We received a thousand Euros per person.’

There is an alternative depictive for *egyesével* ‘one by one’, namely reduplication:

- (56) *Külön-külön* vettem meg Bartók vonósnégységei-t.
 separate-separate I.bought ASP Bartók his.string.quartets-ACC
 ‘I bought Bartók’s string quartets one by one/separately.’

A final example of a numeral used as a depictive is the numeral *egy* ‘one’ combined with the inessive case marker.

- (57) *Egy-ben* vittem haza az üvegek-et.
 one-INESS carry home the bottles-ACC
 ‘I carried the bottles home together.’

4.2 Syntactic restrictions

There are two restrictions, which impose on the use of the numeral as a depictive. The first one is that the controller of the depictive may only be the subject of the clause. The predicative numeral applied to the object is highly marked, if not fully ungrammatical.

- (58) ^{??*}Látam űk-et *négy-en*.
 I.saw they-ACC four-ADV
 ‘I saw the four of them.’

16 I do not claim that the *-nként* is a depictive marker. The distributive, however, may also be used as a depictive as in (55).

This restriction does not apply to the universal quantifier. The controller of the universal quantifier as the depictive can be either subject or object, a property shared by most but not all depictives in Hungarian. The second restriction is that the controller of the depictive must be plural.

5. Adjective as adjunct

As pointed out in section 1, English adverbs can express manner or be participant-oriented. The following example is ambiguous in this respect, i.e. Peter may read the review in an angry manner, or Peter may be angry:

(59) Peter *angrily* read the review.

Example (59) can be disambiguated in the following way, where *angry* – as an adjective without the adverbial ending – is used as a secondary predicate or depictive.

(60) *Angry*, Peter read the review.

What we see on the basis of the examples from English is that there is a partial overlap between manner and agent-oriented adverbs.¹⁷ GEUDER (2002) argues that the ambiguity in examples such as (59) arises when there is a factual link between the primary and secondary predication. This link may be consecutive as in (61a) or causal as in (61b):

- (61) a. John *angrily* read the review of his book. (Anger is a consequence.)
b. John *angrily* wrote a letter to the editor. (Anger induced him to write the letter.)

Geuder labels this type of adjunct ‘transparent’. He suggests the following relation between the three categories:

17 See GEUDER (2002) for a detailed discussion of manner and participant-oriented adverbs. I also refer to SCHULTZE-BERNDT & HIMMELMANN (2004) and HIMMELMANN & SCHULTZE-BERNDT (2005).

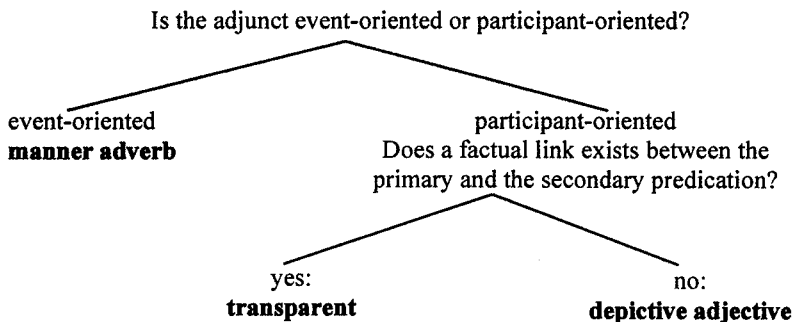


Figure 1: The typology of oriented adjuncts (GEUDER 2002)

Hungarian also distinguishes between the three categories. The formal expression, however, differs from English. In fact there is a variety of marking systems. When we take English and Hungarian and add Dutch and Polish, we see that these four languages present an interesting typology.

Firstly consider Dutch and note that Dutch does not formally mark adjectives which are used as depictives (62a) nor as manner adverbials (62b). The bare adjective may also function as a transparent adjunct (62c).

(62) Dutch

- | | |
|--|---------------|
| a. Jack eet de vis <i>rauw</i> . | (depictive) |
| Jack eats the fish raw | |
| ‘Jack eats the fish raw.’ | |
| b. Mary zingt <i>mooi</i> . | (manner) |
| Mary sings beautiful | |
| ‘Mary sings beautifully.’ | |
| c. Peter verliet <i>woedend</i> het feestje. | (transparent) |
| Peter left angry the party | |
| ‘Peter left the party angry/angrily.’ | |

According to RENZ (2007) there are two ways in Polish to express depictives and transparent adjuncts. In the first one the adjunct takes the form of the adjective and there is agreement between the adjective and the participant to which it is oriented (63a) and (63d). In the second one, the adjunct takes the adverbial form (63b) and (63e). Renz claims that the two types of expressions are synonymous. Manner can be expressed by the adverbial form only (63c).

(63) Polish

- a. Piotr_{NOM} wrócił *bosy*_{NOM}. (depictive)
b. Piotr_{NOM} wrócił *boso*_{ADV}. (depictive)
'Peter returned barefoot.'
c. Profesor *nudno*_{ADV} wygłasza swój referat. (manner)
'The professor holds his lecture boringly.'
d. Bóg_{NOM} *rozniewany*_{NOM} zniszczył Sodomę i Gomorę. (transparent)
e. Bóg_{NOM} *gniewnie*_{ADV} zniszczył Sodomę i Gomorę. (transparent)
'God angrily destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah.'

Finally, there is Hungarian which, in these examples, marks all three types by the adverbial affix *-en*. Note that even the depictive, which has the object as its controller in (64a), is marked by the affix *-en*.¹⁸

(64) Hungarian

- a. Mari *nyers-en* ette meg a hal-at. (depictive)
Mary raw-ADV ate ASP the fish-ACC
'Mary ate the fish raw.'
b. Tamás *szép-en* énekel. (manner)
Tom beautiful-ADV sings
'Tom sings beautifully.'
c. Péter *mérges-en* írott a level-et. (transparent)
Peter angry-ADV wrote the letter-ACC
'Peter angrily wrote the letter.'

The marking of adjectives as oriented adjuncts in the four languages presents the following typology: Dutch and Hungarian do not morphologically differentiate between transparent, depictive and manner adjuncts, while English differentiates between depictives on the one hand and transparent and manner adjuncts on the other, and Polish differentiates between depictive and transparent adjuncts on the one hand and manner adjuncts on the other. The transparent adjunct seems to be positioned between depictive and manner adjuncts.

18 There is another adverbial marker in Hungarian, which is the affix *-l*.

	Depictive	transparent	manner
Dutch	∅	∅	∅
English	∅	adverbial marker	adverbial marker
Polish	agreement, or adverbial marker	agreement, or adverbial marker	adverbial marker
Hungarian	adverbial marker	adverbial marker	adverbial marker

Table 2: A typology of the marking of adjectives as oriented adjuncts

The fact that transparent adjuncts do two things at the same time, i.e. ascribe a property to the agent and ascribe to the way the action is performed, merits a discussion of this class of adjuncts in this paper. Because transparent adjuncts take the adverbial marker *-ly* in English, these adjuncts are often not considered to be a special class of depictives, but adverbs only. However, if Polish were the standard, the claim would be that transparent adjuncts are a class of depictives and not adverbs, because depictives and transparent adjuncts are morphologically marked in the same way. Consequently I will take the semantics of oriented adjuncts to be a more fundamental criterion than morphological marking in establishing the class of depictives in Hungarian. In addition to the three major categories of depictives in Hungarian – nominal, converbial and numeral depictives – I claim that there is a fourth major category based on the adjective. Semantically, there is no reason to exclude *nyers-en* ‘raw’ in (64a) or *merges-en* ‘angrily’ in (64c) from the category of depictives. The transparent adjuncts do two things at the same time: they are depictives and manner adverbs.

6. Conclusions

Hungarian distinguishes between three major types of depictives based on the predicative use of nouns, converbs and numerals. There are several subclasses of depictives based on nouns. The most important subclasses are those marked by the formal-essive marker *-ként*, the postposition *gyanánt*, or with the preposition *mint*:

	<i>-ként</i>	<i>gyanánt</i>	<i>mint</i>
Semantic difference	(X behaves as if) X is depictive	X functions as depictive 'by way of'	X is depictive
Syntactic constraint: controller	subject or object	subject or object	not limited to subject or object
Agreement with controller	optional number agreement	number agreement	agreement in number, case and postposition

Table 3: Differences between *-ként*, *gyanánt*, and *mint*

I have argued that *-ként* is a depictive marker and not a case. The form *mint* can be considered a preposition, which is quite remarkable for a language with postpositions only. In contrast with the most prominent use of *-ként*, *gyanánt* and *mint* in the sense of 'act as (if), by way of', the dative case marker *-nak/-nek* is used to express 'the function of'.

The class of converbs, which can be used in finite periphrastic constructions form the second major type of depictives. This class of converbs differs significantly from the class of converbs, which can be used as adverbs with the function of manner and circumstance. I have argued that the predicative converbs are forms derived from verbs. In the process of derivation the argument with the function of Agent becomes obsolete. No such derivation needs to be postulated for the converbs used as adverbs, since they allow the overt expression of the Agent.

The third type of depictive is built on a numeral taking the adverbial ending *-an/-en*. More types of depictives based on a numeral can be distinguished. These depictives, however, are nominal, because of the nominalisation of the numerals. The application of the different types yields in some cases a collective and in others a distributive interpretation.

In addition to the three major categories of depictives in Hungarian – nominal, converbal and numeral depictives – I have argued that there is a fourth major category based on the predicative use of adjectives. Semantically, there is no reason to exclude this class from functioning as depictives. Transparent adjuncts do two things at the same time: they predicate over an argument, and they modify the verb, or they may be part of a larger phrase expressing manner.

I do not claim that the description of the major depictive makers in this paper capture all semantic, syntactic, and pragmatic aspects. Nevertheless, it constitutes a major step towards a better understanding of the category of depictives in Hungarian, and it offers a solid basis for further research and discussion.

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On the classification of (non-resultative) predicative adjuncts*

1. Introduction

So-called depictives are currently the main focus of the linguistic-typological debate on secondary predicates (HIMMELMANN & SCHULTZE-BERNDT (eds.) 2005). The term “depictive” is inconsistently used, however. On the one hand, it is used in a broader sense in opposition to “resultatives”, i.e. resultative secondary predicative elements; cf. for instance the German sentences *Er kochte die Eier hart* ‘he hard-boiled the eggs’ or *Man wählte Oldenburg als Tagungs-ort aus* ‘Oldenburg was chosen as the conference venue’. (Resultatives are not the subject of this study, however.) In this sense the term is used to cover not only depictives proper, but also a type of predicative adjunct, which NICHOLS (1981, 134ff) labels circumstantials. On the other hand, the term “depictive” – as used throughout this study – is understood in a narrower sense, i.e. in opposition to the term “circumstantial”. The following contribution discusses questions concerning the classification of such non-resultative predicative adjuncts, which we shall subsume under the generic term “(non-resultative) secondary predicates”. Characteristic of these predicates – as often noted (cf. AARTS 1995, 75) – is a “copular” relation to a participant (in a broader sense) of the clause in question, in which another element assumes the function of the primary predicate; e. g. in *Paul kehrte als Held zurück* ‘Paul returned a hero’, where the whole predication is constructed around the primary predicate *zurückkehren* ‘return’ and a secondary predication is thereby semantically implied *Paul war (dabei) ein Held* ‘Paul was (in this very moment) a hero’. (The subject phrase in this partial copular paraphrase, i.e. the phrase to which the secondary predicate refers, is referred to in the following as “controller”.) Besides the classification of such constructions, the problem of differentiating them from other constructions will also be discussed, as similar copular relations occur in constructions that are variously described in Germanistic linguistics as a subgroup of so-called loose appositions. These include either non-restrictive (i.e. “appositive” in a slightly

* This study closely follows the observations made in HENTSCHEL (2006), but contains a number of closer specifications and modifications.

different sense) or restrictive modifications of the controller; cf. *Peter als Arbeitsloser bekam eine Ermäßigung* 'being (as he was) out of work, Peter got a reduction', which can be paraphrased as *Peter bekam eine Ermäßigung, weil er Arbeitsloser war* 'Peter got a reduction because he was out of work', or *Frauen als Vorgesetzte sind meinem Freund suspekt*, literally 'Women as superiors are suspect to my friend' paraphrased as *Frauen sind meinem Freund suspekt, wenn sie Vorgesetzte sind* 'my friend finds women suspect when they are superiors' (cf. LAWRENZ 1993, 97-122). In the following, German constructions with *als* 'as' serve as an illustration, and for the purposes of clarifying certain questions on classification and distinction are compared with corresponding Polish *jako*-constructions.

2. Four basic classes

2.1 A first approach and first problems

Let us assume that there are four basic classes of non-resultative, secondary predicative adjuncts:

<i>Characteristics</i> <i>Type of secondary predicate</i>	A	B	C	D	E	F _{ger}	F _{pol}
depictive	+	+	+	+	-	-	-
temporal-circumstantial	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
conditional-circumstantial	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
causal-circumstantial	-	-	-	-	-	+	+

Table 1

This classification is based on the following criteria:

- A: The secondary predicate is within the scope of negation.
- B: The secondary predication is within the scope of the temporal and modal operators of the primary predicate when the discourse-pragmatic focus lies on the secondary predicate.
- C: The whole predication expresses only a temporal relation between the primary and secondary predication.
- D: The secondary predication differs from a strong free adjunct in the sense of STUMP (1985); see below for further details.
- E: The secondary predication restricts the validity of the primary predication (or proposition).
- F: In non-contrastive constructions the secondary predicate can occur adjacent immediately to the right of its controller in sentence-initial position.¹

The distinction between depictives and circumstantials is generally well-known and was already discussed by NICHOLS (1981), although she did not apply the term “depictive”. Depictives (in a stricter sense) roughly correspond to the “free non-circumstantial predicate nominals” assumed by Nichols and also some of those that she labels “bound predicate nominals”.² The main distinctive feature between depictives and circumstantials is generally seen in the fact that the former stand together with the primary predicate within the scope of the general (i.e. non-local) negation:

1 Criterion F has a different status to the other criteria. It refers to the linear positional behaviour of the individual classes in German and Polish, to regularities in individual languages. It is required here mainly for the discussion on distinguishing circumstantials and certain “loose” appositions.

2 In a cross-classification, Nichols distinguishes “bound” and “free” secondary predicates, whereby circumstantials are principally free. It is the non-circumstantials which according to Nichols can be distinguished as bound (*On šel veselyj* ‘He went merrily [along]’) and free (*On spit odetyj* ‘He sleeps fully dressed’). She does qualify, however, that bound secondary predicates are not complements (in a strict sense), i.e. do not belong to the valency of the primary predicate. Her division into “governed – bound – free” explicitly (p. 11) follows ZOLOTOVA’s (1973, 52ff.) division into “governed – weakly governed – non-governed”. For the purposes of our discussion here, the “bound/free” distinction of the non-governed secondary predicates, i.e. those with adjunct status, is of no relevance.

- (1) Er kehrte nicht *als Held* nach Moskau zurück. (Er ist nie zurückgekehrt und ein Held war er auch nicht.)
 ‘He did not return to Moscow as a hero.’ → ‘He did not return to Moscow and was not a hero.’³

This is different with circumstantials:

- (2) *Als Kind* wohnte er nicht in Moskau.
 ‘He did not live in Moscow as a child.’ → ‘When he was a child he did not live in Moscow.’

In (2) with a temporal circumstantial the affirmation of the second predication ‘he was a child’ is not affected by the negation, but is presupposed. The same is true of other classes of circumstantials. This fundamental distinction between depictives and circumstantials must not be discussed further here; the focus of this chapter will be on other questions concerning classification and distinction. First of all, two aspects of the “inventory” of subclasses will be discussed: the first is that this classification deviates from the much-cited classification of NICHOLS (1981)⁴ insofar as firstly, this approach adopts a new subcategory of causal circumstantials and secondly, it rules out a separate class of concessive circumstantials.

2.2 The problem of causal circumstantials

Secondary predicative *als*-phrases that express the reason for the state of affairs of the primary predication are not regarded by NICHOLS (1981) as a particular class of “causal circumstantials”. Some examples, which suggest a causal reading, are categorised by her as conditionals (p. 137): [...] *kak predstavitel' svoej sredej on pital ljubov' k francuzskoj kulture* ‘as a representative of his social background he fostered sympathies for French culture’. A common feature of causal secondary predicates and conditionals is that they both stand not only in a certain temporal, but also in a so-called “factual” relation to the primary predication. Conditional and causal constructions (corresponding adverbials or adverbial clauses, and also corresponding circumstantials) are verbalizations of

3 With a contrastive intonation on *als Held* ‘as a hero’ only the depictive would be negated: ‘he returned to Moscow, but not as a hero’ This would be an instance of a so-called partial negation, which some authors (cf. HIMMELMANN & SCHULTZE-BERNDT 2005, 17) take as diagnostic for a depictive, too. This seems questionable, as in principle any constituent can be negated alone, even circumstantials, as in a sentence homonymous with (2), but again with a different intonation: *Als Kind wohnte er nicht in Moskau (sondern als Student)* ‘He didn't live in Moscow as a child (but as a student)’.

4 This classification is also adopted by HIMMELMANN & SCHULTZE-BERNDT (2005).

cause-effect relationships. The principal difference between causal and conditional secondary predicative phrases is based on a contrast identified by STUMP (1985, 41-64) in his discussion of gerundial constructions. Stump first distinguishes “absolutes” (*His father being a sailor, John knows all about boats*) and free adjuncts (*Walking home, he found a dollar*). He goes on to further differentiate the latter, which alone are of relevance here (esp. pp. 41f. and 53ff.), into weak and strong free adjuncts. Weak free adjuncts as in *Standing on a chair, John can touch the ceiling* are read as conditional statements, as in ‘when he is standing on a chair...’, which modally restricts the validity of the main clause, or primary predication. A strong free adjunct as in *Having unusually long arms, John can touch the ceiling* is a causal statement, i.e. ‘because he has unusually long arms...’, which does not restrict the modal validity of the primary predication, but only specifies it further. HIMMELMANN & SCHULTZE-BERNDT (2005, 19-24) emphasize the significance of this differentiation for the discussion of secondary predicates. They claim the following (p. 22):

“STRONG FREE ADJUNCTS are another type of participant-oriented expression which differs quite clearly from depictives and circumstantials in that it is not a part of the same clause as the primary predicate and hence not, strictly speaking, an adjunct (nor a secondary predicate). WEAK FREE ADJUNCT, on the other hand, appears to be simply another term for circumstantial secondary predicates.”

Without wishing to contest the significance of the differentiation made in Stump’s observations on gerundial constructions, Himmelmann & Schultze-Berndt’s position appears to be an overinterpretation. Causals and conditionals differ, but also have commonalities that go beyond participant orientation. These will be discussed below.

2.3 The problem of concessive circumstantials

The motivation for rejecting a subclass of concessive circumstantials is that concessive circumstantials can be ascribed to two other, more fundamental subclasses of circumstantials. In the first place, attention has to be drawn to the close relationship between concessive and causal circumstantials. A secondary predicate that is interpreted as causal in an affirmative clause (3), when negated, can be interpreted as concessive (4):

- (3) Paul *als Schwerverletzter* liegt auf der Intensivstation. (causal)
 ‘Paul, heavily injured, is in intensive care’ → ‘because he is heavily injured’

- (4) Paul *als Schwerverletzter* liegt nicht auf der Intensivstation.
(concessive)
'Paul, heavily injured, is not in intensive care' → 'although he is heavily injured'

Concessivity is thereby signalled overtly, always orally by intonation⁵, and also frequently through the use of lexical indicators such as *sogar, selbst* 'even' and so on (*Paul liegt selbst als Schwerverletzter nicht auf der Intensivstation* 'Even though he is heavily injured, Paul is not in intensive care') or the co-text, e.g. through a preceding *stell dir vor* 'imagine' (*Stell dir vor, Paul als Schwerverletzter liegt nicht ...* 'Imagine – although he is heavily injured ...').

Conversely, a secondary predicate in an affirmative phrase that is interpreted as concessive (5) can be interpreted as causal when negated (6):

- (5) (*Stell dir vor, sogar*) Paul *als Kind* durfte in den Pub. (concessive)
'(Imagine, even) as a child, Paul was allowed in the pub' → 'although he was a child'
- (6) Paul *als Kind* durfte natürlich nicht in den Pub. (causal)
'As a child, Paul was of course not allowed in the pub' → 'because he was a child'

The dependency of the interpretation on the negation is based on various pragmatic premises, in this case common world knowledge: 'The severely injured belong in intensive care' and 'In Great Britain, children are not allowed in pubs'. Such concessive constructions as well as their causal counterparts with the opposite value of the polarity parameter (affirmation vs. negation) are thus variants of a first type, which we define as "causal" (see below). If causal circumstantials were not acknowledged as secondary predicates, then at least this type of concessive, which is the classic type, in the sense of expressing a "counter-reason without effect" (German: "wirkungsloser Gegengrund"), would also have to be rejected.

There is also a second type of concessive circumstantial that can be described as a variant of conditional circumstantials. Here, too, pragmatic premises are decisive for a conditional or a concessive reading. A "purely" conditional reading would be in (7):

5 Other circumstantial constructions, i.e. temporal, conditional and oral ones, seem to have the same, unmarked intonation pattern. The intonation of circumstantial constructions with a concessive reading is thus marked, which correlates with their status as marked instances of conditional or causal circumstantial constructions.

- (7) *Als Longdrink* ist Whisky köstlich. (conditional)
 ‘Whisky is delectable as a long drink.’ → ‘if it is served as a long drink’
- (8) Selbst *als Digestif* ist Whisky geeignet. (concessive)
 ‘Whisky is even appropriate as a digestif.’ → ‘even if it is served as a digestive’
- (9) Selbst *als Longdrink* kann ich Whisky nicht trinken. (concessive)
 ‘I cannot even drink whisky as a long drink’ → ‘even if it is served as a long drink’

The concessive reading, in each case overtly signalled through *selbst* ‘even’, is based in the affirmative sentence (8) on the fact that whisky is not usually drunk as a digestif (at least not outside the Anglo-Saxon world); in the negative sentence (9), by contrast, concessivity is based on the fact that (even on the European continent) whisky with soda is widely known as a long drink. If the typical concessivity of Type 1 – as already stated – is known as a “counter-reason without effect”, then the second type of conditional concessive circumstantials could be called “counter-condition without effect” (“wirkungslose Gegenbedingung”).⁶ Concessive circumstantials can thus be attributed to two, more fundamental types of secondary predicate, i.e. causal and conditional.

2.4 Conditional or causal circumstantials vs. restrictive or non-restrictive “loose” appositions

The constructions which – as mentioned above – are regarded by (German) Germanists as a subtype of so-called “loose” appositions that constitute either restrictive or non-restrictive controller modifications, are exactly equivalent in their function to conditional and causal circumstantials. In this section it will be discussed whether conditional and causal circumstantials and the corresponding loose appositions do in fact represent different categories. For this reason a comparison with Polish equivalent constructions will be helpful:

restrictive - conditional

- (10) Frauen *als Vorgesetzte* sind meinem Freund suspekt.

6 To a certain extent Type 2 concessivity has an equivalent in so-called irrelevance conditionals, which the GDS (1997, 2319-2322) describes as a subtype of adverbial clauses: *Selbst wenn er als Longdrink angeboten wird, kann ich Whisky nicht trinken* ‘Even when it is served as a long drink I cannot drink whisky’.

- (11) *Kobiety jako przełożone* są dla mojego przyjaciela podejrzone.
lit.: 'Women as superiors are suspect to my friend' → 'when they are superiors'

non-restrictive - causal

- (12) *Peter als Arbeitsloser* bekam eine Ermäßigung.
(13) *Piotr jako bezrobotny* dostał zniżkę.
'As an unemployed person, Peter got a reduction' → 'because he is unemployed'

In these four sentences, the relevant *als-* and *jako-*phrases are positioned adjacent directly to the right of their phrase of reference, i.e. their controller, and thus in a typical position for appositions. However, they can also occur in other linear positions, e.g. at the beginning of the phrase, in which case – especially in German with its mandatory finite verb form coming second – other components can occur between the phrase of reference and the controller:

- (14) *Als Arbeitsloser* bekam Peter eine Ermäßigung.
(15) *Jako bezrobotny* Piotr dostał zniżkę.
'As an unemployed person, Peter got a reduction.'
(16) *Als Vorgesetzte* sind Frauen meinem Freund suspekt.
(17) *Jako przełożone* kobiety są dla mojego przyjaciela podejrzone.
'As superiors, my friend finds women suspect.'

In such cases, Germanist linguists commonly speak of "distant (or: discontinuous) appositions" ("Appositionen in Distanzstellung") that are not directly adjacent on the right-hand side but remote from the controller. EISENBERG (1986, 323) ascertains, however, that in positional terms "*als* plus Nominal" has similar possibilities to adverbials. This raises the general question whether constructions of this kind should be classified as appositions or as adverbials (adverbials understood in a broader sense, including secondary predicates), or, to be more precise, whether or not they should be classified as part of the nominal phrase of their controllers. Nichols assumes the latter for "her" circumstantials. Of course, the term "circumstantial" chosen by her, is reminiscent of traditional terms such as German "Umstandsbestimmung", Polish "okolicznik" and Russian "obstoja-tel'stvo". In fact, she defines (p. 367) a circumstantial as "[...] an actant not governed by the verb. Also adverbial; in relational grammar oblique or non-term". In the following, the term "adverbial" refers exclusively to event-oriented adjuncts.

For participant-oriented adjuncts – as already stated – the term “secondary predicate” is used.⁷ Neither, of course, are parts of a nominal phrase.

The assessment of *als*-phrases of this kind as appositions, however, would mean classifying them as constituents of the nominal phrases to which they refer, and not as elements of the verbal phrase or the sentence-level. One argument in favour of an interpretation of *als*-phrases as parts of the noun phrases of their controllers is e.g. that in German such *als*-phrases can be placed in the so-called “Vorfeld” together with their phrase of reference (or, following the generative approach, in the SpecCP position), as in sentences (12) and (14). In other *als*-phrases, like for example the depictives in (18) and (19) and in (20) and (21), this is not possible, even in Polish, although in that language the constituent sequence is substantially freer than in German and a specific structural “Vorfeld” is not assumed (cf. DPKG 1999, 495ff):

(18) *Herrn Meier (nur) *als Vorgesetzten* habe ich kennen gelernt.

(19) *Pana Meiera (tylko) *jako przełożonego* poznałem.
with an intended meaning of ‘I (only) got to know Mr. Meier as a superior’

but

(20) Herr Meier habe ich (nur) *als Vorgesetzten* kennen gelernt.

(21) Pana Meiera poznałem (tylko) *jako przełożonego*.
‘I only got to know Mr. Meier as a superior.’

LAWRENZ (1993, 99) therefore qualifies *als*-phrases as in (18) and (20) as “constituents of VP or as adverbials” (transl. GH). This is the class of *als*-phrases which the GDS (1997) describes as “komplementbezogene Verbgruppenadverbialien”, i.e. as adverbials within the verbal phrase that are oriented towards a complement of the primary predicate. (The GdS does not postulate other classes of complement- or participant-oriented “adverbials”.)

In Polish, a depictive is allowed adjacent to the right of the initial controller only in contrastive readings with a corresponding intonation with marked expressive emphasis on the depictive (23). German does not allow an *als*-phrase directly adjacent to the right of the controller, even in this case of (22):

(22) *Paul *als Held* kehrte zurück, nicht als Feigling.

(23) Paweł *jako bohater* wrócił, nie jako tchórz.
‘Paul returned [as] a hero, not [as] a coward.’

7 Cases of ambiguity between event and participant orientation are described in SCHROEDER (2004, § 2.3.3.).

By the same token, nor is a temporal circumstantial possible in this position in German:

(24) *Peter *als Kind* trug eine Brille.⁸

but

(25) *Als Kind* trug Peter eine Brille.
'As a child, Peter wore glasses.'

In Polish, by contrast, it is possible to position such a temporal-circumstantial secondary predicate adjacent to the right – in other words, it allows a literal, linear translation of (24):

(26) Piotr *jako dziecko* nosił okulary.

Thus, while in Polish it is only the depictives, in German it is depictives and temporal circumstantials, i.e. those secondary predicates that are not described as appositions in Germanist linguistics, that display a different, restricted linearisation behaviour compared to conditional and causal circumstantials (and the concessives derived from them).

Last but not least, the two types of *als*-phrases that Germanist linguists view as internal to the NP also display noticeable coordination behaviour.

restrictive (conditional):

(27) [*Als Aperitif*]_i und [bei Völlegefühl]_k [ist Magenbitter, unersetzlich]_k.

(28) *Jako aperitif* i w przypadku uczucia sytości gorzka wódka jest niezastapiona.
'As an aperitif, and when feeling satiated, a herbal vodka is indispensable'

non-restrictive (causal):

(29) [*Als Arbeitsloser*]_i und [wegen seiner Kindheitserlebnisse]_k [wusste Peter, was es heißt, kein Geld zu haben]_k.

(30) *Jako bezrobotny* i z powodu swoich przeżyć z dzieciństwa wiedział Piotr, co to znaczy, nie mieć pieniędzy.
'As an unemployed person, and because of his childhood experiences, Peter knew what it meant to have no money.'

This supports the syntactic equivalence of event-related adverbials and participant-related circumstantials, at least when the latter are in a position distant to

8 A causal reading of this surface clause would also be acceptable, e.g. in a dressing-up scenario in which the children had to wear glasses, but not the adults; cf. also the typical causal construction: *Peter als Kind verstand den Witz natürlich nicht* 'Being a child [because he was a child], Peter naturally did not understand the joke'.

the controller. If one followed the Germanistic descriptive tradition, then sentences (27) and (29) would have to be seen as a coordination of a subphrase of an NP (the so-called distant apposition) on the one hand, and an adverbial from outside that NP on the other, which would be an ungainly solution for any syntax model.

The same coordination behaviour is given both in temporal circumstantials and temporal adverbials as well as in depictives and manner adverbials:

- (31) [*Als Kind*]_i und [*später, im Alter,*]_k [*trug Peter, eine Brille*]_k.
 (32) *Jako dziecko i później, w starości, Piotr nosił okulary.*
 ‘As a child and later, in old age, Peter wore glasses.’
 (33) [*Er, kehrte [als Held],* und [*mit großem Hallo*]_k in sein Heimatdorf zurück.]_k
 (34) *Wrócił jako bohater i z wielką pompą do swojej rodzinnej wsi.*
 lit.: ‘He returned [as] a hero and with a great fanfare to his home village.’

With the latter two types of adjuncts (temporal circumstantials and depictives), however, this does not present a problem, as owing to their positional behaviour described above (the above-mentioned exclusion in direct adjacency to the right of the controller) they cannot be “suspected” of being appositional. A co-occurrence without a conjunction is ruled out, unless one of the two phrases can be interpreted as subordinate to the other and thus modifying the latter semantically. This is possible, for instance, in a construction with a temporal circumstantial *Als Kind trug Peter vor der Einschulung eine Brille* ‘As a child, before starting school, Peter wore glasses’.

Additionally, the following should also be considered: in German, prepositional adverbials as in (35) and also (37) are not acceptable, or are at least questionable, when directly adjacent to the right of the subject in initial position, while the same phrases do not pose a problem as parenthetical insertions in the same linear position but prosodically or graphically marked, cf. (36) and also (38). This is true independent of whether the adverbial occurs alone as in (35) and (36) or coordinated in conjunction with an *als*-phrase as in (37) and (38):

- (35) ^{??}*Peter wegen seiner Kindheitserlebnisse* wusste, was es heißt, kein Geld zu haben.
 ‘Owing to his childhood experiences Peter knew what it meant to have no money.’

- (36) Peter – *wegen seiner Kindheitserlebnisse* – wusste, was es heißt, kein Geld zu haben.
 ‘Peter – owing to his childhood experiences – knew what it meant to have no money.’
- (37) ^{??}Peter *als junger Arzt und wegen seiner Kindheitserlebnisse* wusste, was es heißt, kein Geld zu haben.
 ‘As a young doctor and owing to his childhood experiences, Peter knew what it meant to have no money.’
- (38) Peter – *als junger Arzt und wegen seiner Kindheitserlebnisse* – wusste, was es heißt, kein Geld zu haben.
 ‘Peter – being a young doctor and owing to his childhood experiences – knew what it meant to have no money.’
- (39) Peter *als junger Arzt* wusste, was es heißt, kein Geld zu haben.
 ‘As a young doctor, Peter knew what it meant to have no money.’

In other words, a (non-temporal) circumstantial *als*-phrase can freely occur directly adjacent to the right of its controller if it is not coordinated with a semantically corresponding adverbial, cf. (39). In this position it can cooccur with such an adverbial only if both are parenthetically marked, cf. (38). (Both are possible in coordination as well in sentence-initial position, before the controller, as has been illustrated by (29).) But in parenthesis any structure is possible, not only the adverbial on its own (36), even sentences such as ... – *at least I strongly assume so* – ... Parenthetical insertions of whatever element are, of course, not the subject of this discussion.

The proposed conclusion is as follows: Only if the secondary predicative element marked with *als* is positioned directly adjacent to the right of its controller should it be interpreted as an element of the NP of its controller, i.e. as an apposition. When the secondary predicative element is positioned distant to the controller it behaves like adverbials as a part of the VP (depictives) or on the sentence level (circumstantials). It is thus unnecessary to assume a “category” of distant appositions.

3. A closer view

3.1 Aspects of temporal reference and modality in primary and secondary predication

The classification in Table 1 must be differentiated especially in respect of attributes of temporal reference and modality. The first relevant aspect of this differ-

entiation is the possibility of “actual” or “individual” vs. “non-actual” or “non-individual” temporal reference of the whole predication. A sentence or utterance like *The tea is cold, darling* refers to an individual circumstance in space and time, i.e. a circumstance that is actual (actually ongoing) at the point of reference⁹ in the sense of REICHENBACH (1947). In Slavistic tense and aspect research, reference to one or more certain points of reference along the time axis is commonly called an “actual” (aktuelle) reference (cf. e.g. MEHLIG 1980, 2f). In Lehmann’s tense-aspect model (e.g. LEHMANN 1999), “actual reference” would be equivalent to “episodicity”.¹⁰ Lehmann defines (p. 217ff.) individual, concrete, or unique events (in a stricter sense) and processes as episodes. Habitual, iterative, generic or general (universal) factual states of affairs, as e.g. in the iterative sentence *Bei Peter ist der Tee immer kalt* ‘At Peter’s the tea is always cold’, are not episodic in Lehmann’s sense, as they do not refer to unique episodes or individual circumstances. We will stick to the more traditional term of “actual” [+actref] or “non-actual” [-actref] temporal reference.¹¹

The second relevant aspect is that of real [+real] vs. non-real modality [-real] (in a broader sense) of the secondary predicate. The latter encompasses the non-real modality in a strict sense (possibility, conditionality etc.) as well as reference to the future in the sense of any time after the moment of speech (cf. GIVÓN 1984, 285). The characteristics of the four types of secondary predication assumed above are summarized in following table:

	SecP		PrimP		Example
	actref	real	actref	real	
Depictives					
1	+	+	+	+	Gestern zum Mittag aß er Rindfleisch <i>als Tartar</i> . 'Yesterday for lunch he ate beef (in the form of) tartar.'
2	+	+	+	-	*

- * The numbered lines without examples serve to facilitate a comparison of the four individual tables and illustrate which combinations are possible and where.

9 ... which in present tense, of course, coincides with the point of speech.

10 For more details on episodicity cf. LEHMANN (1994).

11 In HENTSCHEL (2006) we used the term “individual reference” [±iref] instead, which might be confusing, “individual(s)” being more associated with “object reference” than “time reference”.

	3	+	+	-	+	
	4	+	-	+	+	
	5	+	+	-	-	
	6	+	-	+	-	Gestern zum Mittag hätte er Rindfleisch <i>als Tartar</i> gegessen. (Er war nämlich leicht betrunken.) 'Yesterday lunchtime he would have eaten beef (in the form of) tartar. (He was in fact slightly drunk.)' or: Morgen zum Mittag wird er Rindfleisch <i>als Tartar</i> essen. 'Tomorrow lunchtime he will eat beef (in the form of) tartar.'
	7	+	-	-	+	
	8	+	-	-	-	
	9	-	+	+	+	
	10	-	+	+	-	
	11	-	+	-	+	Polnische Männer essen Rindfleisch am liebsten <i>als Tartar</i> . 'Polish men most prefer to eat beef (in the form of) tartar.'
	12	-	-	+	+	
	13	-	+	-	-	
	14	-	-	+	-	
	15	-	-	-	+	
	16	-	-	-	-	Gäbe es noch Rinder, würden polnische Männer Rindfleisch am liebsten <i>als Tartar</i> essen. 'If there were still cows, Polish men would most prefer to eat beef (in the form of) tartar.' or: Auch in ihrem nächsten Leben werden polnische Männer Rindfleisch am liebsten <i>als Tartar</i> essen. 'In their next lives Polish men will still most prefer to eat beef (in the form of) tartar.'
TempCirc	1	+	+	+	+	<i>Als Sieger</i> des Wettbewerbs küsste er sofort seine Freundin. lit.: 'As (the) winner of the competition he immediately kissed his girlfriend.' (in the sense of: 'Having (just) won the competition, he ...')
	2	+	+	+	-	
	3	+	+	-	+	* <i>Als Sieger</i> rauchte er nie wieder. lit.: 'As (the) winner of the competition he never smoked again.' (in the sense of: 'Having won the competition he ...')

4	+	-	+	+	
5	+	+	-	-	
6	+	-	+	-	
7	+	-	-	+	
8	+	-	-	-	
9	-	+	+	+	<i>Als Kind</i> verlor er beide Beine. 'As a child he lost both legs.'
10	-	+	+	-	<i>Als Kind</i> hätte er beide Beine verlieren können, wenn man ihn nach einem Unfall nicht sofort operiert hätte. 'As a child he could have lost both his legs if he hadn't had an operation straight after an accident.'
11	-	+	-	+	<i>Als Kind</i> lebte er in Paris. 'As a child he lived in Paris.'
12	-	-	+	+	
13	-	+	-	-	<i>Als Kind</i> hätte er in Paris leben können, wenn sich seine Eltern nicht hätten scheiden lassen. 'As a child he could (might) have lived in Paris if his parents hadn't divorced.'
14	-	-	+		<i>Als Rentner</i> will / wird er eine Weltreise machen. 'As a pensioner he wants to go / will go on a trip round the world.' (in the sense of: 'When he retires, he wants...')
15	-	-	-	+	
16	-	-	-	-	<i>Als Rentner</i> will / wird er viel reisen. 'As a pensioner he will/wants to travel a lot.' (in the sense of: 'When he retires, he wants...')
CondCirc					
1	+	+	+	+	
2	+	+	+	-	
3	+	+	-	+	
4	+	-	+	+	
5	+	+	-	-	
6	+	-	+	-	<i>Als der am schwersten Verletzte des Unglücks</i> hätte er noch am Unfallort behandelt werden müssen. [ambig. with CausCirc 2] 'As the most severely injured accident victim (in the sense of: 'if he had been...') he should have been operated on right at the scene of the accident.'
7	+	-	-	+	<i>Als Redner</i> für den morgigen Staatsempfang bringt er beste Empfehlungen mit. 'As the speaker at the state reception tomorrow he is most highly recommended.'
8	+	-	-	-	<i>Als am schwersten von einem Lawinenunglück Betroffener</i> würdest du später häufig zu Talkshows eingeladen. 'As the one most seriously affected by an

					avalanche you would often be invited to talk-shows later on.'
9	-	+	+	+	
10	-	+	+	-	
11	-	+	-	+	
12	-	-	+	+	
13	-	+	-	-	
14	-	-	+	-	<i>Als Beamter</i> hätte ich mich geweigert, die Anweisung auszuführen. 'As (if I were) a civil servant, I would have refused to carry out the instructions.' or: <i>Als Arzt</i> hätte er dem Verletzten den Arm abgebunden. 'As (if he had been) a doctor, he would have bandaged up the wound in the injured person's arm.'
15	-	-	-	+	<i>Als Mittelstürmer</i> spielt er immer gut. 'As centre-forward he always plays well.' or: <i>Als Mittelstürmer</i> ist er zu klein. 'As centre-forward he is too small.' (in the sense of: 'He is too small to be centre-forward.')
16	-	-	-	-	<i>Als Beamter</i> dürfte er nicht streiken. 'As (if he were) a civil servant he would not be allowed to strike.' or: <i>Als Arzt</i> wüsste er das. 'As (if he were) a doctor he would know that.'
CausCirc					
1	+	+	+	+	<i>Als der am schwersten Verletzte des Unglücks</i> wurde er noch am Unfallort operiert. 'As he was (or: Being) the most severely injured victim of the accident he was operated on right at the scene of the accident.'
2	+	+	+	-	<i>Als der am schwersten Verletzte des Unglücks</i> hätte er noch am Unfallort operiert werden müssen. [ambig. with CondCirc 6] 'As (or: Being) the most severely injured person from the accident he should have been operated on at the scene of the accident.'
3	+	+	-	+	<i>Als am schwersten vom Lawinenunglück Betroffener</i> wurde er später häufig zu Talkshows eingeladen. 'As (or: Being) the one most seriously affected by the avalanche he was later frequently invited to talkshows.'
4	+	-	+	+	
5	+	+	-	-	<i>Als einziger Überlebender dieses Unglücks</i> wird er bestimmt häufig zu Talkshows eingeladen werden. 'As (or: Being) the only survivor of the accident he will certainly be invited to talkshows frequently.'

6	+	-	+	-	
7	+	-	-	+	
8	+	-	-	-	
9	-	+	+	+	<i>Als Arzt band er dem Verletzten sofort den Arm ab.</i> 'As (or: Being) a doctor he bandaged the injured person's arm immediately.'
10	-	+	+	-	<i>Als Arzt hätte er dem Verletzten sofort den Arm abbinden müssen.</i> 'As (or: Being or: As he is...) a doctor he should have bandaged the injured person's arm immediately.'
11	-	+	-	+	<i>Als Arzt kannte er Trauer und Verzweiflung nur zu gut.</i> 'As (or: Being) a doctor he knew all too well about grief and despair.'
12	-	-	+	+	
13	-	+	-	-	<i>Als Arzt hätte er das wissen müssen.</i> 'As (or: Being or: As he is...) a doctor he should have known that.'
14	-	-	+	-	
15	-	-	-	+	
16	-	-	-	-	

Table 2

Key: SecP = secondary predication; PrimP = primary predication; actref = reference to an individual, actual state of affairs; real = real modality; TempCirc = temporal circumstantial, CondCirc = conditional circumstantial; CausCirc = causal circumstantial.

3.2 Discussion

The information derivable from Tables 1 and 2 substantiates the classification of secondary predicative constructions proposed above:

(A) As shown above, **depictives** differ from the other three types firstly in that they stand within the scope of negation (Tab. 1 A). It is also commonly pointed out that depictives stand in the scope of the temporal and modal operators of the primary predication, i.e. they have no independent temporal or modal values, or even that the secondary predication only applies for the validity of the primary predication (SCHROEDER 2004, § 2.2.2.1.2, § 2.3.1.1). The temporal coincidence of validity of primary and secondary predication can, of course, not be understood in an ontological sense. In a sentence such as *Er aß das Ei roh* 'He ate the egg raw' the egg was of course already raw before being eaten. But the depictive expresses – strictly speaking – not only a temporal relation, but also the relevance of the state of affairs expressed by the depictive for the state of affairs

expressed by the primary predication, that is, the relevance of the former for the latter within the temporal limitations of the validity of the latter. It cannot be discussed here whether this type of relevance corresponds to the one alluded to by Grice's maxim of relation. But it is obviously related to pragmatics rather than to semantics (cf. SCHROEDER 2004, § 2.3.1.2) A depictive construction the relevance of which cannot be reconstrued by the listener or reader is judged as unacceptable. Thus, the criterion of relevance would make a sentence such as *"Peter betrachtete die Eier roh* 'Peter looked at the eggs raw' unacceptable or at least questionable. In an every day pragmatic context of examining eggs, for instance when purchasing them, the statement would definitely seem unsatisfactory. A specific pragmatic context, however, can considerably improve the acceptability of the combination of the primary predication "examine (Peter; eggs)" and the secondary one "raw (eggs)": *Um die Veränderung der Farbe ihrer Schalen durch Kochen genau zu erfassen, betrachtete Peter die Eier zunächst roh* 'In order to grasp precisely the change in colour of the eggshells through boiling, Peter first looked at the eggs in their raw state'.

It must therefore in principle be possible to temporarily restrict (if not the predication itself, then) the relevance of the secondary predication. This clearly implies that especially those predicates can be used as depictives whose validity is ontologically limited in both directions (e.g. 'sad'), i.e. which have as a rule a beginning and an end, or at least unilaterally limited, like 'raw' having possibly the status 'non-raw' after 'raw', or 'ripe' having the prior status of 'non-ripe'. Other, "unlimited" predicates (like 'intelligent', 'genius') are often said to be ruled out as depictives (cf. e.g. HINTERHÖLZL 2001). This claim seems to be too strong in the following sense: Even a predicate like *Genie* 'genius' can be used as a depictive in an *als*-phrase if it implies a statement not directly about a "quality" of its controller but about a judgement or evaluation as to that quality by the corresponding environment. For example a sentence like *Im Alter von 10 Jahren verließ er sein Dorf in den Bergen als geistig Zurückgebliebener, im Alter von 40 Jahren kehrte er als Genie zurück* 'At the age of ten years he left his village in the mountains mentally retarded, at the age of 40 years he returned a genius' is fully acceptable. What is at issue here is not the actual mental quality of the individual referred to, but "the picture" of this mental quality construed by his environment at different points of time in his life. In "cotexts" that allow such a reading presumably any predicate is possible with a depictive reading.

Some depictive constructions with *als* and a noun¹² leave open whether they refer to “appearance” or to “reality”, obviously rather in the sense of ambiguity than in the sense of of vagueness: *Er kehrte als Held in sein Dorf zurück* ‘He returned to his village (as) a hero’. Others refer clearly to “reality” as e.g. *Er starb als Kind* ‘He died as a child’.

Thus, if in the literature the simultaneous validity or even temporal coincidence of secondary and primary predication is discussed, then this affects the pragmatic relevance of the secondary predication. If simultaneous validity is thus understood, this also gives rise to certain referential characteristics of the predications (or propositions) in question: if the primary predication displays actual reference [+actref], then the secondary predication will do so, too. If the primary predication has non-actual reference [-actref], then the same will be true of the secondary predication (for more details see (B) below). A reading of a depictive as a statement referring to “appearance” can be triggered by this mechanism: If someone returns home (as) a hero he is at least a hero at the very moment of his return, i.e. at least in the eyes of the people at home.

Table 2 also illustrates that in depictive constructions the values for the [+real] or [-real] modality of secondary and primary predication always match. In principle, the referential and modal features of the depictives must be identical with those of the primary predication, which gives rise to four cases (Tab. 2, depictives 1, 6, 11, 16). The cases with the feature [-real] strongly resemble conditional circumstantials, however negation tests prove them to be depictives.

(B) A common feature of **temporal circumstantials** and **depictives** is that only a temporal relation between the validity of the primary and the secondary predication is expressed, which distinguishes them both from conditional and causal circumstantials, i.e. “factual” circumstantials (Tab. 1 C). Unlike depictives, which – as already stated – express simultaneous validity (conditional on the relevance of the secondary predication for the primary), temporal circumstantials establish the temporal background or framework for the validity of the primary predication. In this sense, in terms of temporal reference, temporal circumstantials are restrictive (Tab. 1 E).

One could attempt to explain the fact that in German depictives may not occur together with their controllers (directly adjacent to them on the right-hand side) in preverbal position of the corresponding sentences by the second fact that depictives simply are not constituents of the nominal phrases of their con-

12 Note that with adjectives in German *als* often explicitly expresses “appearance”, whereas zero-marking expresses “reality” (or – put more precisely – is unmarked in this respect): *Er wurde als gesund / gesund aus der Klinik entlassen*, ‘He was discharged from hospital/the clinic with a clean bill of health / as ‘well’.’

trollers: two constituents in front of the finite verb form (i.e. in the “Vorfeld”) are as a rule not possible in German.¹³ What is remarkable here, however, is, firstly, that it is not possible in Polish either (with unmarked, non-expressive and non-contrastive intonation of the depictives) to place the controller with a directly adjacent depictive in sentence-initial position before the primary predicate. Secondly, in the “Vorfeld” of German sentences temporal circumstantials are also not permitted adjacent to the right of the controller, in contrast to conditional and causal circumstantials. But this phenomenon can be accounted for: the discussion in 2.4 has shown that it is reasonable to assume that phrases semantically equivalent to conditional and causal circumstantials, but not to temporal ones, can be realized within the nominal phrase of the controller, which would mean that there would be only one constituent and no double occupancy of the “Vorfeld”. There remains the question, however, why secondarily predicative phrases expressing a temporary relation are ruled out in the nominal phrase of corresponding controllers.¹⁴

A further feature of temporal circumstantials is that they are [-actref] in the sense explained above, as all examples offered so far illustrate. In a sentence such as *Als Kind verlor er beide Beine* ‘As a child he lost both legs’, where the primary predication ‘he lost both legs’ is [+actref], the *als*-phrase delimits the temporal setting for which the primary predication is true. This means that it does not refer to an individual circumstance true at a certain time at a certain place. Temporal circumstantials are not equivalent to a temporal clause with actual reference (episodicity), even if the corresponding noun is a deverbal one: *?Als Sieger küsste er sofort seine Freundin*, lit.: ‘Being the winner, he immediately kissed his girlfriend’ is – insofar as it is at all acceptable¹⁵ – no paraphrase of the non-copular *Als er gesiegt hatte, küsste er ...* ‘When he had won, he kissed...’, in which the temporal adverbial phrases refer to an individual, actual event (the winning).

In addition to their [-actref] restriction, temporal circumstantials are typically [+real], which yields four main characteristics (Tab. 2, TempCirc 9, 10, 11, 13). Temporal circumstantials can only assume the [-real] value in reference to the future. In such cases the primary predication must, of course, refer to the future, i.e. also have [-real] value. This offers two further possible temporal circum-

13 Cf. MÜLLER (2003) on cases of multiple occupations of the “Vorfeld”.

14 This question, i.e. why secondary predicates, and particularly depictives, that only express a temporal, but no “factual” relation between the secondary and primary predication, show specific linearisation restrictions in more than one language, must be left to further investigation.

15 A non-temporal, causal construction ‘because he was the winner’, or ‘because he had won’ is acceptable in German.

stantials (Tab. 2, TempCirc 14, 16). Both resemble the conditional. This similarity is not least expressed by the corresponding adverbial clauses taking on the "conditional" present rather than future tense: *Als Rentner ...*, i.e. *Wenn ich Rentner bin, werde ich viel reisen* 'When I am retired I shall travel a lot'. The same is true in conditional clauses: *Als Mittelstürmer spielt er immer gut*, literally 'As centre-forward he always plays well', paraphrased as (*Immer*) *Wenn er Mittelstürmer ist, ...* 'Whenever he plays centre-forward...'. On the other hand, temporal circumstantials with [+real] are sometimes identifiable as temporals through the co-text; in isolation these "surface sentences" can be temporal or causal: *Als Direktor lebte er in Paris*, either 'When he was a director he lived in Paris' or 'Because he was the director he lived in Paris'.

(C) The [-real] feature is inherent to **conditional circumstantials**. However, not all eight logically possible cases are attested. Those cases in which the primary predication is as equally [-real] as the conditional circumstantial itself do not constitute a problem (Tab. 2, CondCirc 6, 8, 14, 16). These are all cases of constructions of the unreal type. The primary predication can however be [+real] if it also has no actual reference, i.e. if it is [-actref]; in other words, if it has an iterative, habitual, generic reference: *Als Vorgesetzte sind Frauen ihm suspekt* 'Women as superiors are suspect to my friend', *Als Mittelstürmer spielt er gut* 'As centre-forward (= in centre-forward position) he plays well'. As GIVÓN (1984, 285) also ascertains, iterative, habitual and generic references resemble the non-real modality. In terms of semantic reference, subjunctive *Frauen als Vorgesetzte wären ihm suspekt* 'Women as superiors would be suspect to him' and indicative generic *Frauen als Vorgesetzte sind ihm suspekt* 'Women as superiors are suspect to him' lie close together, as the latter only implies by default that women in superior positions do exist.¹⁶

There are constructions, however, in which at first glance the primary predication in conditional circumstantial context does actually assume [+real, +actref] values: *Als Mittelstürmer spielt er heute gut* 'As centre-forward (= In the position of the centre-forward) he is playing well today', e.g. in the context of an

16 There is a type of construction that shows the characteristics [-actref, +real] but that in opposition to sentences like *Als Vorgesetzte sind Frauen ihm suspekt* 'Women as superiors are suspect to my friend', or *Als Mittelstürmer spielt er gut* 'As centre-forward (in centre-forward position) he plays well' in the primary predication shows no "stage-level predicate" but a temporally stable, individual-level predicate, e.g. *Als Mittelstürmer ist er zu klein* 'As centre-forward he is too small.' Here we observe a reversal of the distribution of condition, or reason, and consequence. The condition is named in the primary and the consequence in the secondary predication. A natural paraphrase would be: *Er ist zu klein, um Mittelstürmer zu sein (zu spielen)* 'He is too small to be (play) centre-forward'. A more intensive analysis of such constructions must be left to further investigation.

actual match (cf. Tab. 2, TempCirc 1), or *Als Redner hat er gestern überzeugt* 'As the speaker he was very convincing yesterday'. It is doubtful here, though, whether despite a strong superficial similarity (cf. the "centre-forward" clauses in Tab. 2, ConCirc 15) these cases can be classified as conditional circumstantials. The real modality and the actual reference in the primary predication also give the secondary predicate a reading with real modality, an inference which on the other hand brings depictives to mind. It is clear, however, that they are not depictives, because *als*-phrases are outside the scope of negation. It is also clear that sentences like the last two can be pronounced with the same unmarked intonation as *Als Kind lebte er in Paris* 'As a child he lived in Paris', i.e., that there is no contrastive focus (the latter is only possible, but not imperative), which indicates a circumstantial. It is important to note that *als Mittelstürmer* 'as centre-forward' here is just as unrestrictive¹⁷ as depictives are. The only difference is that in a negated sentence, i.e. *als Mittelstürmer spielt Peter heute nicht gut* 'As centre-forward Peter is not playing well today', the *als*-phrase does not stand in the scope of negation. In this case of a "non-restrictive circumstantial", therefore, a parallel to causal circumstantials becomes apparent, or at least a causal "nuance" 'because he is centre-forward today' is resonant. Further research into such constructions is necessary.

In general, **temporal circumstantials** are, like **conditional circumstantials** (but unlike causals) restrictive in character. The former exercise a restriction on the temporal reference (the primary predication is valid within the temporal scope set by the secondary predication), the latter exercise a logical if-then restriction, whereby the "if" is verbalised implicitly in the circumstantial, and the "then" in the primary predication. In respect of restrictivity HIMMELMANN & SCHULTZE-BERNDT (2005, 20) are no doubt correct to emphasize the analogy of these (temporal and conditional) circumstantials to weak free adjuncts discussed by STUMP (1985).

(D) In another sense, however, **temporal circumstantials** are similar to **causal circumstantials**, which correspond more to strong free adjuncts. The latter – as HIMMELMANN & SCHULTZE-BERNDT (2005, 21) point out following STUMP (1985) – are not in the scope of a modal operator of the matrix clause, i.e. the primary predication. This means, for example, that a non-real modality of the primary predication [–real] can be combined with a real modality [+real] of the secondary as in *Als Arzt hätte er das wissen müssen* 'As a doctor he should have known that.' (→ 'as/being a doctor'). Weak free adjuncts, and also conditional circumstantials, by contrast, stand in the scope of such an operator, as e.g.

17 This was not recognised in HENTSCHEL (2006), and the suggested interpretation as a "generally restrictive circumstantial" can be discarded.

in *Als Arzt hätte er das gewusst* ‘As a doctor he would have known that.’ (→ ‘if he had been a doctor’). Temporal circumstantials, however, behave like causals in this respect, or like strong free adjuncts: *Als Kind hätte er in Paris leben können, wenn sich seine Eltern nicht hätten scheiden lassen* ‘As a child he could have lived in Paris, if his parents had not divorced.’ (‘when he was a child’). Temporal and causal secondary predicates are not only modally independent from the primary predication, but also typically (the temporal predicates, with the exception of the borderline cases with future reference), or inherently (the causal predicates) [+real], while the appertaining primary predicates can take on both values. If, as a matter of principle, HIMMELMANN & SCHULTZBERNDT (2005, 21-22) take the modal independence of secondary predicative elements as a criterion for not classifying participant-oriented phrases either as circumstantials or as secondary predicates, then it would only be consistent to also rule out temporal circumstantials (with the typical [+real]), which is, however, not indicated, as, like conditional circumstantials, they determine the validity conditions of primary predication.

Causal circumstantials, as has been shown above, are possible in all cases of real modality of secondary predication (Tab. 2, CausCirc 1, 2, 3, 5, 9, 10, 11, 13), unlike the temporal circumstantials even with actual temporal reference of the secondary predication. Furthermore, causal circumstantials differ from temporal circumstantials in that they cannot be paraphrases of corresponding adverbial clauses with future tense. Causal circumstantials can of course relate to the future: *Als zukünftiger Minister nimmt er schon heute manche Rücksicht, die er in der Opposition vermissen ließ* ‘As future minister, he already shows a lot of consideration today that he lacked in the opposition’. However, this *als*-phrase is a paraphrase of the clause in present tense *Da er der zukünftige Minister ist* ‘As he is (Being) the future minister’ and not the future form *Da er der zukünftige Minister sein wird...* ‘As he will be the future minister...’. A sentence like *Als Minister wird er nach seiner Wahl manche Rücksicht nehmen müssen* ‘As minister, he will have to show more consideration after his election’ must similarly be paraphrased in temporal conditional form, as in *Wenn er Minister ist (?sein wird)* ‘When he is minister,’ like the sentence *Als Rentner werde ich viel reisen* ‘As a pensioner (when I retire) I shall travel a lot’, i.e. *Wenn ich Rentner bin (?sein werde) ...* ‘When I shall retire’.

(E) A feature shared by **causal** and **conditional circumstantials** is that they can also show actual reference [+actref].¹⁸ The fact that both are also compatible

18 Admittedly, the examples with actual reference in Table II (with causal and conditional circumstantials) do sound like rather artificial constructions and will rarely be found in bodies of literature. However, they are, firstly, constructible and secondly, their artificiality could be a specific

with the non-real modality of primary predication means that in the [-real] context ambiguities between conditional and causal readings can occur (cf. e.g. Tab. 2, CondCirc 6, CausCirc 2): *Als der am schwersten Verletzte des Unglücks hätte er noch am Unfallort operiert werden können* 'As / Being the most severely injured person from the accident he could have been operated on right at the scene of the accident.' can be paraphrased as *Wenn er der am schwersten Verletzte des Unglücks gewesen wäre* 'If he had been the most severely injured...' or as *Weil er der am schwersten Verletzte des Unglücks war...* 'Because he was the most severely...'.

(F) Conditional Circumstantials and **depictives** resemble each other in that there are certain modal compatibility requirements for the relation between the primary and secondary predication. In depictives the modality is determined by the primary predication, which allows both [+real] and [-real] modalities. In conditional circumstantials, the secondary predication is [-real] by definition, which typically involves the [-real] modality of the primary, or, if not, the iterative, habitual or generic reference to the primary predication, which is similar to the non-real modality. Depictive constructions with non-real modality are therefore very similar to constructions with conditional circumstantials, differing only through their (non-contrastive) focus and their position within the negative scope.

(G) The only common feature of **depictive** and **causal circumstantials** apart from their participant orientation is that they do not restrict their respective primary predication. For depictives that means precisely that they themselves are restricted by the primary predication in terms of their temporal and modal values, while causal circumstantials neither restrict the primary predication in any way, nor are they restricted by it.

4. Conclusions

Causal circumstantials are certainly least closely linked to the primary predication. Whether or not they should therefore be regarded as secondary predicates is a question of definition. From the point of view of HIMMELMANN & SCHULTZBERNDT (2005), depictives as well as temporal and conditional circumstantials

feature of *als*-phrases. Adjectival predicates such as *betrunken* 'drunk' are unproblematic: *Betrunken konnte ich gestern nicht nach Hause gehen und übernachtete bei einem Freund* 'Drunk, I could not go home yesterday and so I spent the night at a friend's' or: *Betrunken hätte ich gestern nicht nach Hause gehen können und trank daher nichts* 'I could not go home drunk yesterday and so I drank nothing'.

are secondary predicates. Following the definition of these authors, causal participant-related constructions, which here we have named causal circumstantials, but also participant-oriented predicative complements (not discussed here) as in *Sie sahen Peter als Held an* 'They regarded Peter as a hero', which maximally depend on the primary (or fundamental) predication in the sense that they are an obligatory part of it, would not be secondary predicates in their sense. But a common feature of predicative complements, depictives and temporal, conditional and causal circumstantials (the last four all being supplements) is of course that they are predicative and participant-oriented and therefore, as already stated, stand in a copular relation to the participant. The two former types are elements of the verbal phrase, the latter three are bound into a level (levels) above the verbal phrase, i.e. the sentence level. This distinguishes them altogether from "pure" appositions and other attributive modifiers that are parts of the nominal phrase of the controller to which they also stand in copular relation. In German, conditional and causal circumstantials allow an attributively restrictive or an appositive implementation into the nominal phrase of the controller. As we have seen, they are there no longer combinable (through conjunction) with semantically related adverbials (as event-related elements). Causal circumstantials, on the other hand, differ from the other two types of circumstantial due to their non-restrictive character.¹⁹ What is generally implied here is the following hierarchy of syntacto-semantic integration of secondary predicative elements into a primary predication:

- (42) predicative complements > depictives > temporal circumstantials > conditional circumstantials > causal "circumstantials"

Whether it is meaningful to define the three middle elements (and not the two outer elements) as secondary predicates, and not to regard the causal constructions as circumstantials (following HIMMELMANN & SCHULTZE-BERNDT 2005) must be left to further theoretical deliberation and relevant empirical analyses. As to the four secondary predicative types of adjunct that were the focus of interest in this study, commonalities and differences have been demonstrated, and in conclusion these are illustrated again in a simplified form in Table 3 below:

19 This also holds for GEUDER's (2000) transparent adverbials of the causal type *He angrily shouted at them* (GEUDER 2000, 199), in other words 'He was angry and this made him shout at them'. In fact these adverbs in English seem to be a subtype of causal circumstantials. Note that they are outside the scope of negation (cf. RENZ & HENTSCHEL, ms.).

<i>Purely temporal relation</i>		
<i>Depictives</i>	<i>Temporal Circumstantials</i>	
	<u>Conditional Circumstantials</u>	<u>Causal Circumstantials</u>
	<u>Cause and Effect Relation</u>	

non-restrictive restrictive

Table 3: Classification of secondary predicative adjuncts

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Secondary predicates in Baltic

0. Introduction

In this article we will, first, give an overview of the morphosyntactic marking of secondary predicates in Baltic by listing the relevant syntactic and semantic oppositions to which this marking appears to be sensitive. It should be noted at the outset that many aspects of this morphosyntactic marking are shared by the Slavonic languages with which the Baltic languages are closely genetically and areally related. A feature familiar to any Slavonic scholar is the existence of alternative strategies for marking predicative nominals in general (both primary (main) and secondary), using either agreement or an oblique type of marking (the instrumental or a prepositional phrase); this, by the way, seems to be an areal feature with a wider scope (cf. STASSEN 2001). In the second part of the article, we will concentrate on a feature with regard to which Baltic differs from neighbouring Slavonic and which also shows internal differentiation, viz., resultative secondary predicates, the restrictions on their occurrence and the relationship between their morphosyntactic marking and the marking of depictives.

1. Types of predicate nominals

No new types of predicate nominals will be distinguished here in addition to those that are well known from the literature. Still, a few introductory remarks are needed in order to make clear the assumptions on which the following sections will be based.

The distinction between depictive and complementative secondary predicates is now well established, and the same can be said about the distinction between depictive and resultative secondary predicates. Little attention is paid, however, to the fact that these two distinctions seem to intersect. The predicate *happy* in *make someone happy* is no less complementative than *fortunate* in *consider someone fortunate*, and no less resultative than *red* in *paint the door red*. Resultative complementatives are used with small groups of verbs expressing

pure causation without specifying the exact nature of this causation, e.g., *make*, *render*, *drive* (as in: *drove him mad*).¹ There is, on the other hand, a common stative character shared by the complementative *fortunate* in *considered him fortunate* and the depictive *happy* in *saw him happy*, but as no term seems to be available I will simply call both non-resultative here. We could then represent the intersecting features in the following table:

	MODIFIER SECONDARY PREDICATES	COMPLEMENT SECONDARY PREDICATES
NON-RESULTATIVE	<i>saw him happy</i>	<i>considered him fortunate</i>
RESULTATIVE	?	<i>made him happy</i>

One case is left open in his table: we could classify *red* in *Painted the door red* as a modifier resultative predicate if we had the certainty that such secondary predicates are in fact modifiers.² This is a view which I will defend further on, but it cannot be taken for granted.

2. Morphosyntactic marking

2.1 Factors determining marking patterns

As mentioned above, Baltic uses two strategies for marking predicate nominals. In addition to agreement with a controller, there is the possibility of using an oblique form. In Lithuanian this is basically the instrumental, in Latvian (where

1 The case of constructions like *elect someone president* is more complicated and will not be entered upon here.

2 The alternative is usually formulated as one between complement and adjunct, but this formulation is properly meaningful only in the context of generative grammar. We therefore prefer modifiers as a counterpart to complements. Modifiers are defined as non-required dependents (in contrast to complements, which are required by the governing head). They are also semantic functors, i.e. they expand words or phrases into more complex syntactic units by virtue of their semantic content. Modifiers are thus opposed to complements in that the role of semantic functor is assumed by the dependent in the case of modification but by the governing head in the case of complementation (cf. ZWICKY 1993). Depictives are modifiers in the sense of introducing a non-required secondary predication, whereas complementatives express the propositional argument of a higher predicate. A crucial question to be answered in the case of resultative predicates will therefore be whether they introduce a non-obligatory secondary predication or whether they merely specify what is already implied by the main predicate.

the instrumental has not survived as a separate case) it is a prepositional phrase (PP) with the preposition *par*.³

- (1) Lith.
Ona tapo dainininke.
Ann:NOM become:PRT3 singer:INS
- (2) Latv.
Anna kļuva par dziedātāju.
Ann:NOM become:PRT3 PRP singer:ACC
'Ann became a singer.'

Modifier secondary predicates usually⁴ show only the agreement strategy, whereas complementatives can either agree or show oblique marking. There are no very strict rules, but in HOLVOET (2004) I have attempted to single out a number of variables influencing the morphosyntactic marking of predicate nouns in general, both primary and secondary. I will repeat them here:

(a) Other things being equal, oblique marking is used for secondary rather than for primary (main) predicates. In the following Lithuanian examples, a copular construction is contrasted with the subject complementative with *apsimesti* 'pretend to be'.⁵

- (3) Jonas yra gydytojas.
John:NOM be:PRS3 doctor:NOM
'John is a doctor'
- (4) Jonas apsimeta gydytoju.
John:NOM pretend:PRS3 doctor:INS
'John is pretending to be a doctor.'

(b) Other things being equal, oblique marking is used in resultative rather than non-resultative constructions. We will illustrate this for primary predicatives in copular constructions, contrasted with a similar construction involving *tapti* 'become'. The examples are Lithuanian:

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- 3 Lithuanian also occasionally uses prepositional phrases instead of the instrumental, so that the prepositional strategy in Latvian is not merely a consequence of the demise of the instrumental.
- 4 In the case of nouns the oblique type of marking is used for 'role or function depictives' (VAN DER AUWERA & MALCHUKOV 2005, 400, fn. 3), as in Russian, e.g. Lith. *jis dirba mokytoju* 'he works as a teacher (INS)'.
- 5 In traditional Lithuanian grammar, *apsimesti* would also be called a copula, and so would, e.g., *atrodyti* 'seem'. The problem with this is that the notion of copula becomes rather vague. This notion could be extended to verbs adding to that of the principal copula 'be' only grammatical, e.g., aspectual, meanings, but the meaning of such verbs as 'seem' or 'pretend to be' could hardly be viewed as purely grammatical.

- (5) Jonas buvo dailininkas.
John:NOM be:PRT3 artist:NOM
'John was an artist.'
- (6) Jonas tapo dailininku.
John:NOM become:PRT3 artist:INS
'John became an artist.'

(c) Other things being equal, oblique marking is used for object-controlled rather than subject-controlled predicates. The examples are again from Lithuanian: (7) shows agreement of a subject-controlled complementative with *apsimesti* 'pretend to be', whereas the object-controlled complementative with *pripažinti* 'find, recognise' in (8) may agree with the direct object but may also be in the instrumental:

- (7) Jonas apsimetė linskmas.
John:NOM pretend:PRT3 cheerful:NOM
'John pretended to be cheerful.'
- (8) Teismas pripažino Joną kalta / kaltu.
court:NOM recognise:PRT3 John:ACC guilty:ACC / guilty:INS
'The court found John guilty.'

(d) Other things being equal, oblique marking is used for nouns rather than for adjectives. The following examples are from Latvian (but would be similar for Lithuanian, cf. (7) and (4)). The resultative complementative with *padarīt* 'make, render' agrees with the object if it is an adjective but occurs in a PP with *par* if it is a noun:

- (9) Mūzika padarīja vakaru neaizmirstamu.
music:NOM make:PRT3 evening:ACC unforgettable:ACC
'The music made the evening unforgettable.'
- (10) Reklāmas kampaņa padarīja grāmatu par sensāciju.
publicity campaign:NOM make:PRT3 book:ACC into sensation
'The publicity campaign made the book a sensation.'

Among the factors adduced so far, syntactic dependency was not mentioned: none of the above-mentioned factors refers to the distinction between modifier and complement secondary predicates. Yet such a difference reflecting syntactic status seems to have developed in Lithuanian. This language shows a clear tendency to mark complementatives by means of oblique case marking, whereas depictives show agreement, although this tendency is not reflected in the standard language. Many speakers would distinguish:

- (11) Ji pamatė ji laimingą.
 she:NOM see:PRT3 him:ACC happy:ACC
 'She saw him happy.'
- (12) !Ji padarė ji laimingu.
 she:NOM make:PRT3 him:ACC happy:INS
 'She made him happy.'

Similarly, outside the standard language example (8) would always have the instrumental, and the most common realisation of (7) would be:

- (13) !Jonas apsimetė linksmu.
 John:NOM pretend:PRT3 cheerful:INS
 'John pretended to be cheerful.'

In the standard language, constructions like (12), (13) are proscribed (this is indicated by the exclamation mark) as the spread of the predicative instrumental is attributed to Slavonic influence. This is doubtful, however, as the influence of Russian (the Slavonic language to which Lithuanian has been most exposed in recent times) would also have led to the use of the instrumental for marking depictive adjectives, which is not actually observed. We may surmise that the instrumental did not originally mark syntactic differences but various semantic differences relevant mainly to complementatives, hence its generalisation for complementatives. Unlike colloquial Lithuanian, Latvian shows no correlation between the syntactic status of the secondary predicate (modifier or complement) and the type of marking.

2.2 Functional motivation

The use of the oblique form seems to reflect (or to have reflected) various forms of (relative) markedness. Nouns are less prototypical predicative expressions than adjectives, for which the need to use special predicative case forms is less strong; this accounts for (d) of the factors above. Object complementatives are possibly also more in need of special marking of predicativeness than subject complementatives, as (in the case of nouns) the greater number of participants necessitates finer differentiation of morphosyntactic marking than agreement is able to provide. Subject complementatives are altogether structurally close to main predicatives (cf. a remark to this effect in VAN DER AUWERA & MALCHUKOV 2005, 421), which causes the factor under (c) to appear as a special case of that under (a). As to the distinction between the primary (main) predicate and the secondary predicate, it might be the oldest one among those listed here. The oldest meaning of the predicative instrumental seems to have been 'in the guise of', and this meaning underlies both its use in comparative constructions like

- (14) Žirgai viesulu lekia.
 horses:NOM whirlwind:INS hasten:PRS3
 'The horses hasten like a whirlwind.'

and its use in secondary predicates. The implication that the state expressed by the instrumental is not the subject's basic state but an accidental and therefore usually temporally limited feature, is probably the basis for the association of the nominative vs. instrumental opposition with differences in what has been called 'relative time stability' (STASSEN 2001: 569). These differences also explain the opposition between stative meaning and change of state mentioned under (b). In different ways, all these cases are opposed in markedness to the equative clause pattern reflected in copular constructions with subject-predicate agreement.

3. Depictives and resultatives

3.1 Complement or modifier?

Whereas depictives seem to be relatively unproblematic and, regardless of the syntactic framework, tend to be described as adjuncts (modifiers)⁶, a great many solutions have been proposed for resultative secondary predicates; with considerable differences of detail, they are described as adjuncts by some (though they are sometimes assumed to be adjoined at another level of derivation than depictives, cf., e.g. BAKER 2003, 219-223) and as complements by others. In any case, it has been widely assumed in the generative literature (apparently since ROTHSTEIN 1985) that there must be a syntactic difference between the two types. This position is often supported with evidence from argument structure, and is reflected in their being virtually neglected in HIMMELMANN & SCHULTZEBERNDT 2005. The choice between these alternative views is not easy. In the literature a distinction is sometimes made between strong resultatives, which probably reflect complex predicates involving additional arguments, as in *they laughed him off the stage*, and weak resultatives, which 'include a result phrase which further specifies the nature of a change already implied by the verb' (LEVIN & RAPPAPORT HOVAV 2005, 222), as in *she wiped the table clean*. It would be difficult to speak of a modifier where there is no additional predication. Yet, for all practical purposes, this specification of a result may be viewed as a relatively autonomous predication. The implication carried by the verb is often rather vague, and *wipe the table* does not imply the same degree of effectiveness of the action as *wipe the table clean*. As to strong resultatives, they can be distin-

6 With regard to terminology cf. fn. 2.

guished in Baltic as well, but the difference hardly seems relevant in syntactic terms. In Latvian, the only Baltic language that regularly uses resultative adjectivals, the complex predication must always be marked by a verbal prefix, and in this case as well, the resultative phrase specifies what is already implied by the verb and is therefore optional:

- (15) Kas bija bagāts, nodzīvojas nabags.
 who be:PRT3 rich:NOM become destitute:PRS3 poor:NOM
 'He who used to be rich falls into poverty.'

Thus, regardless of the type of resultative we are considering, it makes sense to view resultatives as optional modifiers making more explicit what is already implied in a less specific way by the verb itself. This is all the more plausible as in those languages which make regular use of resultative secondary predicates the differences in syntactic behaviour allegedly setting them apart from depictives are not particularly striking.

3.2 Resultative predicates in Baltic and in the neighbouring languages

It is a widely established fact that many languages do not have adjectives expressing secondary predicates but do admit prepositional phrases in the same function. When discussing Baltic, it is worthwhile noting that the neighbouring Slavonic languages, Polish and Russian, have either true or fossilised prepositional phrases; the latter contain case forms no longer in free use, so that glossing is difficult and they are here provided with the tag PP:ADV:

- (16) Polish
 Dziewczyna rozebrała się do naga.
 girl:NOM undress:PRT3.SG naked:PP:ADV
- (17) Russian
 Девушка разделась донага.
 girl:NOM undress:PRT.F.SG naked:PP:ADV
 'The girl stripped naked.'
- (18) Polish
 Pomalowałem drzwi na zielono.
 paint:PRT1.SG door:ACC green:PP:ADV
- (19) Russian
 Я выкрасил дверь в зеленый цвет.
 I:NOM paint:PRT.M.SG door:ACC in green:ACC colour:ACC
 'I painted the door green.'

Though, synchronically, such quasi-adverbs as *do naga* cannot be described as prepositional phrases (which is reflected in the orthography in Russian), the lative (directional) character of such expressions is manifest.

In contrast to these constructions, Latvian uses agreeing adjectives. In this respect, it tallies with the Fennic languages with which it shows particularly strong areal connections. In fact, the Latvian language has developed on a Fennic substratum. Lithuanian, on the other hand, is similar to the neighbouring Slavonic languages in not generally allowing adjectives as resultative secondary predicates. This convergence between Lithuanian and Slavonic is of a negative nature, however: the strategies adopted to express resultative predicates in Lithuanian differ from those observed in Slavonic. The Lithuanian counterparts of Latvian resultative secondary predicates are usually adverbs derived in the usual way by adding the ending *-ai* to an adjectival stem:

- (20) Latv.
 Meitene noģērbās plika.
 girl:NOM strip:PRT3 naked:NOM
- (21) Lith.
 Mergina nusirengė nuogai.
 girl:NOM strip:PRT3 naked:ADV
 'The girl stripped naked.'
- (22) Latv.
 Es nokrāsoju durvis zaļas.
 I:NOM paint:PRT1.SG door:ACC green:ACC
- (23) Lith.
 Aš nudažiau duris žaliai.
 I:NOM paint:PRT1.SG door:ACC green:ADV
 'I painted the door green.'

This is an interesting contrast. By way of comparison, we could mention Polish, where lative expressions contrast with the regularly derived adjectival adverbs (without prepositional lative marker) in *-o/-e*; the latter can only express depictive secondary predication, i.e. they can only refer to the state the subject is in while performing an activity, never to a change of state:

- (24) Dzieci kąpały się nago.
 children bath:PRT.3PL naked:ADV
 'The children bathed naked.'
- (25) Dzieci rozebrały się do naga.
 children:NOM strip:PRT3.PL naked:PP:ADV
 'The children stripped naked.'

Lative (directional) case marking is, on the whole, characteristic of complements, as lative PPs subcategorise the verb. Resultatives are thus represented as occupying the thematic position of 'goal' in the argument structure of some (possibly complex) predicates. No such unambiguously lative marking is observed in Lithuanian, where serially derived adverbs in *-ai*, of the kind also used to express event-oriented secondary predications, occur instead. The same adverb can often be used both as a manner adverbial and as a resultative predicate:

- (26) Mėnulis šviečia raudonai.
 moon:NOM shine:PRS3 red:ADV
 'The moon shines redly.'
- (27) Saulėlydis nudažė raudonai tvenkinio vandenį.
 sunset:NOM colour:PRT3 red:ADV pond:GEN water:ACC
 'The sunset coloured the water in the pond red.'

Attempts to substitute an adjective for the adverb in Lithuanian sometimes yield correct sentences, but with a different meaning, cf.:

- (28) Gyvatė pasmaugė jį negyvai.
 snake:NOM smother:PRT3 him:ACC dead:ADV
 'The snake strangled him to death.'
- (29) ?Gyvatė pasmaugė jį negyva.
 snake:NOM smother:PRT3 him:ACC dead:ACC
 ? 'The snake strangled him dead.'

The latter of these sentences is pragmatically deviant because it could only mean that the victim was dead before being strangled.

These facts would seem to suggest that Lithuanian uses the adjective : adverb distinction to convey the difference between a state notionally independent of the main predication (depictives) and a state achieved as a result of the event denoted by the main predication. We could contrast (21) with (30), where the depictive secondary predicate is expressed by the adjective:⁷

- (30) Jonas vaikšto po namus nuogas.
 John:NOM walk:PRS3 about house naked:NOM
 'Jonas is walking about the house naked.'

The use of the adverb for the resultative predicate should evidently be taken to mean that the resultant state is viewed as being present *in potentia* in the event itself and in this sense the secondary predication (if it can at all be conceived as secondary) is represented as event-oriented. It would become participant-

7 The use of the Polish adverb *nago* 'naked' instead of the depictive adjectival *nagi* shifts emphasis from the state of the subject to the circumstances in which an activity is performed. There is no equivalent for this in Lithuanian.

oriented only after the successful transmission of the predicated property to the object. For this reason the predicative relationship obtaining between the resultative predicate and the object is not marked on this predicate by means of agreement, as it is in the case of depictives. The notion that resultative secondary predicates are more event-oriented than depictives is not surprising: it seems to correspond to the intuition, widespread among generative grammarians, that resultative secondary predicates, being more central to the event, must originate somewhere in the VP (with differences of detail between individual authors) whereas depictives are at best adjoined to the VP.

We do not know whether there are other languages that use the adjective : adverb distinction in the same way; the semantic map proposed in VAN DER AUWERA & MALCHUKOV (2005) is incomplete and does not yet comprise resultatives. The Slavonic situation is only superficially similar: Russian and Polish expressions of the type Polish *do naga*, *do pełna* will of course be labelled as adverbs in the dictionaries, but they actually originate as PPs. The notion of 'resultative adverb' (GEUDER 2000) has been used in the literature to refer to constructions like *load heavily* (*a heavily loaded cart*), where a property is predicated of an implicit resultant object (*a heavy load*) rather than of the explicitly expressed object (in this case, *the cart*). The Lithuanian adverbs in sentences like (21), (23) are clearly different from these in that they predicate a property of the explicitly expressed object; they are therefore true object resultatives.

This use of adverbs corresponding to the resultative secondary predicates of other languages is not without interest from the point of view of the modifier : complement controversy. The use of the same type of adverbs for event-oriented adverbial modifiers and resultative secondary predicates would seem to support the view that the latter are modifiers as well. In contrast with Slavonic PPs and PP-based adverbs (suggestive of complementation), Baltic resultatives use strategies characteristic of verbal modifiers. These may be agreeing adjectives as in Latvian (in common with depictives) or adverbs as in Lithuanian (in common with event-oriented adverbs). The preference for adverbs in Lithuanian shows a few exceptions, however, which I will now discuss.

3.3 Between depictive and resultative secondary predicates

First, there are a few cases of indeterminacy. There is at least one semantic domain in which adverbs and agreeing adjectivals seem to be used interchangeably both in resultative and in depictive constructions, and the distinction between both types seems to be levelled out. These are adjectives and adverbs denoting position, such as *stačias* 'vertical':

- (31) Laikyk butelį stačia.
hold:IMP bottle:ACC vertical:ACC
- (32) Laikyk butelį stačiai.
hold:IMP bottle:ACC vertical:ADV
both (31) and (32): 'Hold the bottle vertically!' (upright)
- (33) Pastatyk butelį stačia.
put:IMP bottle:ACC vertical:ACC
- (34) Pastatyk butelį stačiai.
put:IMP bottle:ACC vertical:ADV
both (33) and (34): 'Put the bottle vertically!' (upright)

These pairs of sentences do not necessarily display full synonymy, and there may be clear differences in meaning. In the case of *laikyti* 'hold, keep' only (31), with adjective agreement, can be used in the sense of 'keeping in a vertical position' (which does not necessarily involve continuous physical control but may just mean that during a certain time the subject takes certain measures in order that the bottle should remain upright); both (31) and (32) can be used in a situation in which the subject holds the bottle with his hand. In any case, the fact that the adverb cannot be used if there is no continuous physical control reflects the more general principle that the adverb is used for event-oriented secondary predicates. What is new in this case, compared with those discussed above, is that the construction with the agreeing adjective can be viewed as resultative. In a situation where *laikyti* is used in the sense of 'keeping an object in a certain position', e.g., in *laikyti duris atdaras* 'keep the door open', which does not imply that the door is continuously held open, the verb expresses pure causation. In this sense, the construction is close to the above-mentioned constructions with *make* (*make someone happy*), which were described above as resultative complementatives. The difference is that, in this case, causation is continuous. If we gloss *laikyti* as 'cause something to stay in a certain position', then the secondary predicate should, in principle, be described as complementative. But, whereas (*pa*)*daryti* 'make' expresses pure causation, the meaning of pure continuous causation is only a special, metaphorical use of *laikyti*. Used in its proper, non-metaphorical meaning, *laikyti* does not express pure causation, but the element of continuous causation is present all the same. It is this feature that seems to account for a number of peculiarities of the group of verbs discussed here, notably, as we will argue, the lack of a clear distinction between depictives and resultatives.

With *laikyti* 'hold' we can, in principle, imagine a depictive predicate, if the state in which an object is can be considered independent of the fact of its being held in a certain position, as in

- (35) *Laikyk knygą atversta.*
 hold:IMP book:ACC open:ACC
 'Hold the book open.'

But usually the fact of an object being held or sustained will be the cause (in the sense of a continuous causation) of its being in a certain state. This is probably the default interpretation leading to the metaphorical use of verbs like *laikyti* for the expression of pure continuous causation. An opposition between depictive and resultative readings is, in principle, conceivable, but not very pronounced. A similar vagueness obtains in the case of *gulėti* 'to lie', as in:

- (36) *Petras gulėjo aukštiekninkas ant suolo.*
 Peter:NOM lie:PRT3 supine:NOM on bench
 'Peter was lying supine on the bench.'

If we replace the stative predicates *laikyti*, *gulėti* with the dynamic predicates *pastatyti* 'put', *paguldyti* 'lay', the resultative reading obtains automatically, probably in connection with the meaning of the verb. By themselves, adjectives belonging to this group can also function as typical depictives, as can be seen from the following examples with *aukštiekninkas* 'supine'⁸; its function is resultative in (37) and depictive in (38):

- (37) *Nukentėjusįjį paguldykite aukštiekninką ant kieto pagrindo.*
 victim:ACC lay:IMP supine:ACC on hard surface
 'Lay the victim supine on a hard surface.'
- (38) *Atskubėjau ir radau jį aukštiekninką ant lovos.*
 hasten-hither:PRT1.SG and find:PRT1SG him:ACC supine:ACC
 on bed
 'I hastened hither and found him supine on the bed.'

It could be argued that (37) is not really resultative but should be understood to mean that the patient is supine during the whole transfer. An unambiguously resultative example would be

- (39) *Rungdamasis su draugu parvertė jį aukštiekninką.*
 fight:ACTP.PRS with friend overturn:PRT3 him:ACC
 supine:ACC
 'While wrestling with a friend he laid him supine.'

8 In a way, adjectives like *aukštiekninkas* 'supine', *kniūbsčias* 'prone, prostrate' are instances of form-function mismatch: though they are adjectives, they never occur as modifiers of nouns (**aukštiekninkas žmogus* is impossible) and are used only as secondary predicates.

In this case the meaning of the verb does not normally involve continuous causation, which accounts for the unambiguously resultative interpretation. As a group, however, the domain of position and bodily posture seems to be strongly associated with the notion of continuous causation; the resultant state can also have obtained during the whole performance of the action, which is unthinkable in cases like *nusirengti nuogai* ‘strip naked’ etc. This probably explains why the domain of continuous causation is vague between depictive and resultative secondary predication. Lithuanian has agreeing adjectivals in cases unambiguously calling for a resultative interpretation, but both with the stative *laikyti* and with verbs entailing change of location (*pastatyti* ‘put’, *paguldyti* ‘lay’, *pakelti* ‘raise’ etc.) it admits interchangeable use of the adjective and the adverb. By way of comparison, Polish, which describes the position of an object with the aid of adverbs in cases involving changes of location, uses them also with *trzymać* ‘hold’ (though this verb allows the use of agreeing depictives in cases comparable to (35)):

- (41) Trzymaj świecę pionowo (*pionową).
 hold:IMP candle:ACC vertical:ADV (*vertical:ACC)
 ‘Hold the candle vertically.’ (upright)

The semantic domain of ‘posture’ shows indeterminacy between event-oriented and participant-oriented modifiers outside Indo-European as well, cf. BOEDER (2005, 220-221) for Kartvelian.

3.4 Exceptional adjectivals as resultative secondary predicates

Apart from this group, which could be argued to be vague between depictive and resultative secondary predication, Lithuanian has only a few isolated adjectives that can be used as resultative secondary predicates: *pilnas* ‘full’, *sklidinas* ‘full to the brim’. Both seem to co-occur with the verbal prefix *pri-* indicating either ‘filling’ or ‘accumulation’. According to its meaning, this prefix induces the selection as ‘theme’ of either the noun denoting a vessel (*pripilti taurę* ‘fill a glass’) or the noun denoting a substance (*pripilti vyno* ‘pour out some wine’). Accordingly, the adjective *pilnas* will either be used as a secondary resultative predicate (42), or as an adnominal modifier forming, together with the noun, a kind of quantifier (43):

- (42) Ona pripylė stiklinę pilną (vandens).
 Ann:NOM pour:PRT3 glass:ACC full:ACC (water:GEN)
 ‘Ann poured the/a glass full of water.’

- (43) Ona pripylė pilną stiklinę vandens.
Ann:NOM pour:PRT3 full glass:ACC water:GEN
'Ann poured out a glassful of water.'

It becomes clear from this account that the use of *pilnas* (or its near-synonym *sklidinas*) is restricted to situations of varying direct object assignment referred to in the literature as LOCATIVE ALTERNATION (LEVIN & RAPPAPORT HOVAV 2005, 17-18, *passim*). It has been noted that in such cases the shift of an argument from the role of goal to that of theme is associated with a holistic reading. In Lithuanian, the marking of this shift is one of the functions of the prefix *pri-*, and the secondary predicate is therefore optional, providing additional emphasis. Why it is precisely such cases of varying object assignment with the prefix *pri-* that licence resultative secondary predicates is not clear, but it is a fact that this predicate may disambiguate a construction like (44), which can have either of the meanings formulated above:

- (44) Ona pripylė stiklinę vandens.
Ann:NOM pour full:PRT3 glass:ACC of water
'Ann filled a glass with water.'

It is conceivable that the structural ambiguity of sentences like (43) (*pripylė pilną stiklinę*), resulting from the twofold possibility of theme/object assignment, has created the preconditions for the rise or retention of the construction with *pilną* as a secondary predicate. Evidence for this is provided by the lack of a corresponding construction with *tuščią* 'empty' as a secondary predicate:

- (45) *Jonas išgėrė butelį tuščią.
John:NOM drink:PRT3 bottle:ACC empty:ACC
'John drank the bottle empty.'

The verb *išgerti* is not characterised by the variable theme/object assignment observed with *pripilti* etc. (in *išgerti stiklinę* 'drink a glass' the word 'glass' functions as a quantifier), and a conceivable **išgerti butelį tuščią* would not be supported by a homonymous but differently structured expression with *tuščią butelį* as a quantifier.

3.5 Conclusions

We can thus say that in Lithuanian resultative secondary predicates are a marginal phenomenon. They are either cases of inherent vagueness between depictive and resultative secondary predication, or isolated instances apparently resulting from ambiguities in constituent structure caused by alternative object/theme assignment. As to the former, they need not necessarily be accepted as evidence for the existence of resultative secondary predicates, as they can be

seen as a border case of depictives. Only the latter are indisputable instances of resultative secondary predication. The fact that resultative secondary predicates are restricted to a closed group of few lexemes is not unique: we have a similar situation in Russian, where *пьяный* 'drunk' is apparently the only adjective that can be used as a resultative predicate (in *написся пьян* 'he got drunk') – a restriction for which it would probably be hard to account in syntactic terms. The occurrence of a small number of adjectives as resultative secondary predicates seems to suggest that in Lithuanian (or in Russian) there is no rigorous syntactic prohibition on such constructions (even though the case of Lith. *pilnas* could point to syntactic ambiguity as a possible source of these occasional resultative adjectivals). Rather, it seems that, in Lithuanian, the choice between adverb and adjective (two word classes dividing between them the domain of secondary predication) is semantically driven. Resultatives being less unambiguously participant-oriented, we find a clear preference for adverbial expression of resultatives in Lithuanian, whereas Latvian prefers a participant-oriented interpretation in this case as well.

The existence of a transitional zone between depictives and resultatives, and the exceptional marking of resultative secondary predication by means of adjectivals, suggest that there is no dichotomous syntactic parameter either allowing or disallowing, in individual languages, the occurrence of resultative secondary predicates. The distinction between depictives and resultatives appears to be semantic in nature: whereas depictives are clearly participant-oriented, resultatives are intermediate between participant-oriented and event-oriented secondary predication, which explains the inconsistency with which they are morphosyntactically identified with depictives.

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Depictives and information-structure marking in the languages of Daghestan

0. Introduction

In this paper I present data from two languages of Daghestan, Tsakhur and Archi. Tsakhur is spoken by approx. 15.000 speakers in Dagestan and 10.000-15.000 speakers in Azerbaijan; Archi is spoken by about 1.300 speakers all of whom are inhabitants of one and the same village of Archi. Both languages belong to the Lezgian group of the Nakh-Daghestanian family, though Archi is an aberrant member of the group, for it seems to have retained many archaic features. Thus, Archi has lateral consonants, not attested otherwise in the Lezgian family. Both languages are ergative; the verb agrees with the absolutive NP in class. Both languages have four classes: class 1 for human males, class 2 for human females, while non-personal nouns are distributed over two other classes (in the interlinear they will be glossed as N1 and N2). The verb system of Archi is intricate and sophisticated: it includes several hundred verb forms, both simple and periphrastic, expressing various tense, mood and aspect meanings and combinations of those meanings. The verb system of Tsakhur comprises much fewer forms and is less elaborate.¹

This paper is structured as follows. In Section 1, I give an overview of verb systems of Tsakhur and Archi to show the way in which primary predications are structured. In Section 2, I provide a description of secondary predications in Tsakhur and Archi, focusing especially on event and participant modification. In Section 3 I identify depictive constructions in Tsakhur and Archi; I will show that in both languages they neatly match event-modification constructions. In Section 4 I discuss the expression of information structure in both languages; I will argue that the unusual parallel between event-modifying expressions and depictive constructions arose from a special system of information-structure marking.

1 For more details on Tsakhur and Archi see TALIBOV 2004, SCHULZE 1997, KIBRIK 1994, KIBRIK (ed.) 1998.

1. Primary predication in Tsakhur and Archi

In the languages of Daghestan, the contrast between finite and non-finite verb forms is somewhat blurred (see KALININA & SUMBATOVA 2007). Neither Archi nor Tsakhur have person agreement, so it is impossible to draw a line between finite and non-finite forms on the basis of verbal inflection. Finiteness can be defined in terms of syntactic distribution, namely as a distinction between dependent and non-dependent verb forms.² However, this distinction does not work very well either: both in Archi and in Tsakhur there are verb forms that can be used both as main and dependent clause predicates. Thus, unlike the languages of Europe, in the languages of Daghestan finite, primary predications cannot be identified on the basis of verb form only. A more reliable feature is the presence of epistemic particles which signal the degree and/or source of the speaker's commitment to the truth of the proposition.³ These particles appear in primary predications only; at the same time, they do not occupy a fixed position in the clause, but are shifted to mark focus. Thus, in the languages of Daghestan there is a system of grammatical focus marking, where focus markers at the same time express certain epistemic meanings (on focus in Daghestanian see KAZENIN 2002). It is assumed that epistemic particles marking focus occur in primary predications only; it has been suggested that the category crucially associated with finiteness is modality (HOLMBERG et al. 1993, VINCENT 1998) and/or assertion (PLATZACK & HOLMBERG 1989, BRANDNER 2004, KLEIN 1994; 1998).

Below I will give some basic facts about primary predication organization in Tsakhur and Archi.

1.1 Tsakhur

The Tsakhur verbal system has three simple indicative forms that can be used as independent clause predicates: aorist, present, and potentialis (1a, b, and c, resp., KIBRIK 1999, 86).

- (1) a. malhammad qik'u
Mohammed M.die.PFV
'Mohammed died.'
- b. malhammad qek'a
Mohammed M.die.IPFV
'Mohammed is dying.'

2 For different approaches to finiteness see NIKOLAEVA (ed.) 2007.

3 See HALLIDAY 1970, 349, PALMER 1986, 54-55, BYBEE & FLEISCHMAN 1995, 6, DRUBIG 2001, 39.

- c. malhammad qik'a-s
 Mohammed M.die-POT
 'Mohammed will die.'

These simple forms can function as predicates in both independent and dependent subordinate clauses, but the primary predication is made salient by virtue of epistemic and illocutionary markers, all of which mark focus. Thus, the primary predication is by definition the one that contains markers of assertion and modality. The epistemic markers express the speaker's assessment of the truth of the proposition. Markers of the illocutionary group are question particles and the copula *wo=class.marker*⁴ with its negative counterpart *deš*. In (2), the two clauses – main and subordinate – have identical verb forms, but the primary predication contains the copula:

- (2) rasul-ē mykej aljāt'-u, akka wo=d
 Rasul-ERG key.N2 N2.take-PFV door.N2 COP=N2
 āq-y.
 N2.open-PFV
 'Rasul took the key and opened the door.' (KIBRIK 1999, 339)

The copula and the negative copula appear in indicative statements only; they cannot occur with verb forms of other moods, for instance with irrealis forms.

- (3) *hama-na balkan džu-s-o=b
 this-ATTR.N1 horse.N1 self.OBL.M-DAT-COP=N1
 w=ux-e-dže
 N1=be-IMP-JUSS
 'Let this horse be *his*.'

In a paper on verbal forms in the languages of Daghestan (KALININA & SUMBATOVA 2007) we argue that affirmative and negative copulas in the Daghestanian languages assign truth values to the propositions and that for this reason they are ungrammatical in non-indicative sentences: they do not assert or negate truth values. That is why we place copulas among illocutionary markers: in the verb system they can be regarded as markers of indicative mood.

4 In the examples and glosses, class markers are always separated by the equality sign – both in the examples and their glosses, e.g. *a=b=u* 'make' + infixed class marker *b*. Note that interlinearization requires a convention for infixed class markers, because in the languages of Daghestan, class agreement marker is often infixed in the verb root. Here I follow the tradition adopted by A. Kibrik's research group: in the interlinear gloss, the class marker always precedes the gloss of the verbal root, although the order of morphemes in the word does not match the interlinear.

Tsakhur consistently marks the focus phrase in primary indicative predications, and the principal focus marker is the copula, which is shifted to the rightmost slot of the focused phrase:

- (4) a. *alli a=r-y wo=r*
 Ali M=come-PFV COP=M
 'Ali came.'
- b. *alli wo=r a=r-y*
 Ali COP=M M=come-PFV
 'It was Ali who came.' (KIBRIK 1999, 583)

1.2 Archi

Archi has several simple independent verb forms that can only occur as main clause predicates. There are three simple verb forms: past (or terminative), present (or constative), and future (or potentialis).

- (5) a. *ssupun-ni maImərči kurRul čučor*
 soap-INS face hand.PL wash.PRS
 'Face and hands are washed with soap.' (KIBRIK 1977, 186)
- b. *b=olo duwraz-l-a qwat'i b=uq're*
 N1-our yard-OBL-IN tree.N1 N1=wither.PST
 'A tree withered in our yard.' (ibid., 192)
- c. *zari kumak a=b=u-qi-ra?*
 1SG.ERG help N1=make-POT-Q
 'Shall I help you?' (ibid., 198)

However, most forms in Tsakhur are periphrastic, formed of converbs combined with various copula forms.

	Copula in the present tense form	Copula in the past tense form	Copula in the iterative form
Converb in <i>-ši</i>	Present continuous	Past continuous	Iterative of the past
Converb in <i>-matt</i>	Present perfect continuous	Past perfect continuous	∅
Converb in <i>-li</i>	Perfect	Past Perfect	∅
Future converb in <i>-qi-ši</i>	Prospective	Prospective of the past	∅

Table 1: Periphrastic forms in Archi

As in Tsakhur, the copula in Archi is characteristic of the indicative mood only. Other, manifold mood forms (optative, subjunctive etc.) are simple, non-periphrastic forms; focus cannot be expressed with non-indicative moods.

The Archi system of focus marking is somewhat different from that of Tsakhur. There is no distinct group of epistemic particles, and in the affirmative statements the copula is rarely shifted to mark focus – rather, the whole verb phrase is moved:

- (6) a. $\xi_w a I \dot{S}$ rasul inžill-a bandice-l-a
 last.year Rasul Makhachkala.OBL-IN hospital-OBL-IN
 owXu-li ĩdi
 M.lie.PF-CVB.PFV M.be.PST
 ‘Last year Rasul was in hospital in Makhachkala.’
- b. $\xi_w a I \dot{S}$ owXu-li ĩdi rasul
 last.year M.lie.PF-CVB.PF M.be.PST Rasul
 inžill-a bandice-l-a
 Makhachkala.OBL-IN hospital-OBL-IN
 ‘It was last year that Rasul was in hospital in Makhachkala.’

However, there is a distinctive focus construction in Archi: in sentences with narrow focus, where the focused group is outside the verbal phrase, the main verb takes the participial form; this is the prototypical focus construction which has been registered in the majority of the languages of Daghestan. Tsakhur does not have this construction; it marks focus by shifting the copula, while the verb retains its form. In Archi, it appears with the negative marker (as in (7)) and in general questions (as in (8)) and wh-questions (as in (9)). Focus phrases in these constructions are marked by a special question particle (as in (9)) and by yes/no words (as in (7) and (8)).

- (7) bošor-mu l'agum-t'o xar-ši i-ttu
 man-ERG song-no sing.IPFV-CVB.IPFV1 N2.be.PRS-ATTR.N2
 ‘The man is not singing a song.’
- (8) un jamun inžill-a bazalli-tti-š
 2SG this Makhachkala -OBL-IN market.OBL-SUP-ELAT
 hu-ra (t'o-ra) b=ešde-ttu=b?
 yes-Q (no-Q) N1=buy.PST-ATTR=N1
 ‘Have you bought this in Makhachkala at the market?’
- (9) han-i akkur-ttu-t?
 what-Q N2.see.PRS-ATTR-N2
 ‘What (are you) watching on TV?’

So we see that both Tsakhur and Archi have special constructions for marking narrow focus. Focus marking in main clauses is grammaticalized: every primary predication is marked for information structure.

2. Secondary predication in Tsakhur and Archi

Secondary predications can be of several types depending on the syntactic position of the dependent predicate: attributes, complements or adjuncts. Tsakhur has special forms to mark the syntactic position of the dependent verb – participles for attributes, converbs for adjuncts, verbal nouns, or masdars for complements. For the purpose of this paper I omit reference to complements and discuss only participant-modifying expressions (attributes) and event-modifying expressions (adjuncts).

2.1 Participant modification: syntactic attribution

Tsakhur lacks a lexical category of adjectives. However, it has syntactic attributive markers: they attach to the rightmost edge of a syntactic unit forming an attributive phrase. The attributive marker agrees in noun class with the head noun (*-na* for class I-III, *-(i)n* for class IV and plurals). Examples (10)–(12) illustrate the use of attributive markers with different phrase types: noun phrase (10), verb phrase (11), and postpositional phrase (12):

- (10) *bajram-na* *istakan*
 Bayram-ATTR.N1 glass.N1
 ‘Bayram’s glass.’ (KIBRIK 1999, 378)
- (11) *alqana haʒu-na* *gade*
 laugh N2.make.PFV-ATTR.M boy
 ‘The boy *who laughed*.’ (KIBRIK 1999, 382)
- (12) *rasul-ni* *halk’ē-na* *maɫnī*.
 Rasul-AOBL about-ATTR.N1 song.N1
 ‘A song *about Rasul*.’ (KIBRIK 1999, 385)

In Archi, the attributive marker is *-ttu* with a slot for class agreement with the head noun. Class agreement markers are: \emptyset for class 1, *r* for class 2, *b* for neuter class 1, and *d* for neuter class 2; in the plural, the class agreement marker has the form *-ib* (*ttu+ib = ttib*) for human plurals and *d* for non-human plurals.

As in Tsakhur, the Archi attributive marker can be applied to a vast variety of phrases. Examples (13)–(17) illustrate various phrase types in attributive position.

Adverb

- (13) hinc → hinc-du-t
'now' now-ATTR-N2 'present' (KIBRIK 1976, 115)

Case form

- (14) haltər-če-qĭa-š-du-t
river-OBL-INTER-ELAT-ATTR-N2
'The one from the river' (KIBRIK 1976, 115)

Verbal phrase

- (15) zon d=aqĭa-ttu=b deqI'
1SG F=go.PRS-ATTR=N1 road.N1
'The road that I came by' (KIBRIK 1976, 305)

2.2 Event modification

HIMMELMANN & SCHULTZE-BERNDT (2005) note that participant orientation and event orientation are not clearly aligned with depictive and adverbial constructions, respectively: adverbials may exhibit a semantic orientation towards a participant, and the supposedly clear semantic difference between participant-oriented (depictives) and event-oriented adjuncts (adverbials) is not quite straightforward. In the next sections I show that in Tsakhur and Archi expressions that designate the state of a participant of the event can be event-modifying expressions – full-fledged adjuncts from a formal, syntactic viewpoint. Moreover, I explain why depictives in the languages of Daghestan have to take the form of event-modifying expressions.

In both Tsakhur and Archi adjunct secondary predicates surface as simple and specialized converbs. Simple converbs are verbal forms that are normally used in periphrastic tense-mood-aspect forms; specialized circumstantial verb forms express causal, temporal relations and condition. These forms are derived from simple forms by means of affixes with some specific adverbial meanings.

2.2.1 Tsakhur

As already noted in 2.1., Tsakhur simple forms can function as predicates in both primary and secondary adjunct predications. Normally simple forms express merely temporal relations between main and dependent predications (precedence vs. simultaneity), but they are sometimes involved in expressions of causal relationship. In (16a) two simple perfective forms refer to two subsequent events. For instance, it could be describing the girl's reaction to some other event. Although each of the two events can be said to be an effect of some external cause,

the causal relationship does not necessarily hold between the two predications; they are peer acts in a sequence (KIBRIK (ed.) 1999, 335-336). In (16b), by contrast, the two events, expressed by the same simple forms, are related as cause and effect (ibid.).

- (16) a. *eminat-ē hama-n džuwab iwho, fāt'imat č'alra*
 [Aminat-ERG this-ATTR word.N2 say.PFV] Fatimat red
qīxa.
 F.become.PFV
 'Aminat said this word, Fatimat turned red.'
- b. *fāt'imat, eminat-ē hama-n džuwab iwho, č'alra*
 Fatimat [Aminat-ERG this-ATTR word.N2 say.PFV] red
qīxa.
 F.become.PFV
 'When Fatimat said this word, Aminat turned red (because Fatimat said this word).' (ibid.)

Apart from simple forms Tsakhur has a whole range of specialized circumstantial converbs for a variety of adjunct meanings. Example (17) illustrates a temporal dependent clause, and in (18) there is a conditional converb in the protasis of a conditional construction:

- (17) *gojne dars-y-l-qa allhā-nGal, hamanke=r*
 then lesson.OBL-SUP-ALL go.IPFV-when then=COH.M
jic'y-ni minut-y-s gedž-x-e-na-nī-xe
 ten-AOBL minute-OBL-DAT late-M.be-IPFV-ATTR-EM2-HAB
 'Then, each time he went to a lesson, he was ten minutes late.'
 (KIBRIK 1999, 779)
- (18) *še-na⁵ sa=r=k'yl-ē zy džu-s*
 that-ATTR.M M=come.back.PFV-COND 1SG self-DAT
baryš haʔ-i
 forgiveness.N2 N2.make-IRR
 'If he came back, I would forgive him.' (ibid., 262)

2.2.2 Archi

Archi converbs are derived from simple forms by means of special suffixes. In (19), the main clause predicate is in the simple past (or terminative) form, while

5 *šena* here is a substantivized attributive form of the deictic pronoun (like the Russian *tot* (that-masculine), *ta* (that-feminine), *to* (that-neutral)).

the dependent clause predicate is in the form of a perfective converb, derived from the perfective verb form by a special suffix *-li⁶*:

- (19) *nen oqIa-li* *Haž* *a=b=u*
 1PL 1/2PL.go.PST-PFV *hadj.N1* *N1=make.PST*
 ‘We went on a pilgrimage (“we went and made Hadj”).’ (KIBRIK 1977, 253)

Along with the perfective converb in *-li*, there are two more converbs, both derived from the present tense form: in *-ši* and in *-matt*. The former is used to describe an action in progress simultaneous with the foregrounded event (as in (20)); the meaning of the latter matches the meaning of the English perfect continuous: it emphasizes that the action started some time ago and is still in progress (as in (21)):

- (20) *xitta q'o=w=di-li* *e=w=di-li* *jo=w*
 then *M=sit.PF-CVB.PFV* *M=be.PST-PST.EVID* *this=M*
lo *č'ut* *da=b=xir-ši*
 young.person *jug.N1* *N1=rock.IPFV-CVB.IPFV1*
 ‘Then this young man sat for a while *rocking* the jug (with milk – this is how butter is made).’ (KIBRIK 1977, 248)
- (21) *jemim b=i-matt* *ja=r=mi* *bo-li*
 3PL *HPL=be.IPFV-CVB.IPFV1* *this=F=ERG* *say.PFV-PST.EVID*
 ‘While they *were still present*, she said.’ (ibid., 259)

Like Tsakhur, Archi, too, has adverbial constructions with specialized converbs (temporal, causal, conditional). Structurally they are similar to the corresponding Tsakhur forms; cf. the Tsakhur example (17) with (22) from Archi:

- (22) *to=w=mu xabar bartir-tta* *xxlel* *erxir-ši*
 this=M=ERG *tale* *tell.IPFV-when* *rain.N2* *fall.IPFV-CVB.IPFV1*
edi
N2.be.PST
 ‘While he was *telling* a story, it started raining.’
 (KIBRIK 1977, 261)

6 However, there is a case in Archi where the category status of the verb form (finite form vs. converb) is unclear: the perfective converb in *-li* functions as a main clause predicate in evidential statements.

2.2.3 Adverbs

In Tsakhur there is another type of event-modifying entities, namely adverbs. They are derived from statives (see 2.3. on statives) by means of a class marker. Manner adverbs agree in class with the absolutive argument of the clause:

- (23) gojne mam-my *jawaš=ba* qa=b=y
 then this-PL quiet=ADV.HPL HPL=come=PFV
 Gajsyn-ni y|sa-j-s-qa.
 M.sleep.PFV-AOBL Isa-OBL-CONT-LAT
 ‘Then they *quietly* came up to Isa who was sleeping.’
 (KIBRIK 1999, 101)

Some sentence-level adverbs agree with the absolutive NPs too:

- (24) *jissej=ra* ham-na istaR balkan-y-l-ī-xe
 old=ADV.F this-ATTR.F bride horse-OBL-SUP-Q-HAB
 qajēl-e myšleš-b-iš-e?
 F.bring-IPFV Mishlesh-PL-OBL.PL-ERG
 ‘In former times, people of Mishlesh used to bring the bride on horseback, didn’t they?’ (KIBRIK 1999, 821)

HIMMELMANN & SCHULTZE-BERNDT (2004) argue that the agreement criterion is a very important one and that it allows us to distinguish depictives from adverbials. They also warn that evidence of agreement can be in conflict with semantic analysis when this sort of agreement occurs with temporal expressions. They suggest that adverbial and depictive constructions compete for a number of semantic expression types arranged according to an implicational hierarchy. Languages they dub “depictive-prominent” extend the depictive strategy (e.g. agreement) to even include temporal expressions. On the other hand, there are “adverbial-prominent” languages – in these languages adverbial marking extends to the higher end of the hierarchy, to expressions which semantically are not only event-oriented but also participant-oriented.

Adverbs in examples (23) (‘quietly’) and (24) (‘in former times’) clearly refer to the manner of action and time, respectively, and none of them can be said to refer to the state of participants. In this respect, Tsakhur is unique among the languages of Daghestan: there is no other language with temporal adverb agreement, though some languages allow locative adverbs (as in (26)) and essives (as in (25), (26)) to agree with the absolutive argument:

Avar

- (25) *roq'o=b* video b=ugo
home.OBL=INESS.N video.N N.be.PRS
'There is a video *at home*.'

Icari Dargwa

- (26) *di-la xadiža waba-ra hejk' arbaX-ra*
1SG-GEN Hadizha mother-and that Arbakh-and
Singli-la qqatta=b diči=b-di
Singli-GEN canyon-INESS.HPL in.the.pasture=HPL-PST
'My mother Hadizha and Arbakh were herding in *the canyon of Singli*.' (example provided by Nina Sumbatova)

Yet, this agreement heuristic will fail to yield illuminating results. First, in Tsakhur nearly all adverbs agree with the absolutive. There is only a subset of temporal and locative adverbs that do not agree – historically they can be traced back to case forms. Second, there is a verbal form with the same ending and with elusive semantics:

- (27) *waXt qa=p=pa, urudž qa=ra=jle*
time.N1 N1=come.PFV=ADV.N1 Uruj M=came.IPFV
Xiw-ē-qa,
village-IN-ALL
'The time *came* and Uruj returned to the village.' (KIBRIK 1999, 836)

Third, the Daghestanian languages have multiple structures, where the agreeing unit⁷ is in no way related semantically to the state of participants. Tsakhur, for instance, has an agreeing discourse coherence particle (as in (28)) and agreeing possessors (as in (29)). In Archi, dative forms of first person pronouns agree with the absolutive argument, as in (30) (on agreement of case forms of personal pronouns in Archi see also KIBRIK 2003, 563-564).

7 By agreement here I mean canonical agreement in line with CORBETT (2006, 9): the most important canonical aspects of agreement for the present discussion are the overt presence of a controller, obligatory expression of agreement features by the target, asymmetry – the target copies the features of the controller but not vice versa; thus, constructions like the Latin *ea stultitia est* 'this is foolishness' do not fall under the definition of canonical agreement because agreement here works both ways.

- (28) *il_oR_wan-y=d* wo=d=ni
 thing.to.drink.N2-COH=N2 COP=N2=EM
 'And there were *things to drink* (lit. drinkable), too.' (KIBRIK 1999, 614).
- (29) *tifang-y-qa=d* d-exa-jn čaXma.
 rifle-OBL-POSS=N2 NEG-N2.be.PFV-ATTR lock.N2
 'The rifle did not *have* a breech.' (KIBRIK 1999, 855)
- (30) a. *d=ez* xazinat sin-t'u
 F=1SG.OBL.DAT Khazinat.F know.IPFV-NEG
 'I do not know Khazinat.'
- b. *w=ez* tenik os bošor xu
 M=1SG.OBL.DAT there one man.M M.find.PST
 'There I found one man.' (KIBRIK 1977, 147)

My conclusion is therefore that Tsakhur belongs to the "adverb-prominent languages": the adverb agreement marker is a true adjunct marker, though the scope of its use also includes expressions describing the state of participants (as in (40)-(45) below).

Archi lacks manner adverbs altogether; it only has adverbs expressing temporal or spatial meanings. Instead of manner adverbs, Archi employs converbs formed from statives (see 2.3):

- (31) *lap t'ala-ši* parčaH-kul ar-ttu
 very right-CVB.IPFV1 king-VERBN N2. make.PFV-ATTR.M
 bošor w=i
 man M=be.PRS
 'He is a man who rules the right way.' (KIBRIK 1977, 250)

2.3 Statives and the problem of adjectives

There is a separate lexical category, identified in both languages, which is the category of statives. These are verbs denoting stable properties, or states, which is the domain of Indo-European adjectives. In both languages, the syntactic category of stative roots as such is indeterminate, and in their bare form they do not occur in speech. They are assigned to a category externally, by means of syntactic affixes and auxiliaries. They are used as noun modifiers with attribute suffixes, and to function as predicates they have to be accompanied by auxiliary verbs. Examples (32)-(34) illustrate statives in predicate positions, and (35)-(37) statives with attributive endings are shown to function as nominal modifiers.

Tsakhur

- (32) Ru *Xe=r* qixa-letti...
 2SG big=M M.become.PFV-while
 ‘As you grow up... (“as you get *big*”)’ (KIBRIK 1999, 96)

Archi

- (33) jasqi *Rili-ši* i
 today warm-CVB.IPFV1 N2.be.PRS
 ‘It is *warm* today.’
- (34) noL' *Rili* etti-li
 house.N2 warm N2.become.PFV-PST.EVID
 ‘The house warmed up (“became *warm*”).’

Tsakhur

- (35) ...i-n wo=d=un *Xe=d=yn* bazar
 this-ATTR.N2 COP=N2=ATTR.N2 big=N2=ATTR.N2 uproar.N2
 ‘(If two women get together in one place), there is a *big* uproar.’
 (KIBRIK 1999, 825)

Archi

- (36) *Rili-ttu=t* xolorit
 warm-ATTR=N2 jacket.N2
 ‘A *warm* jacket’

Statives can also occur as predicate modifiers; in this position they attach available adjunct markers: adverb markers in Tsakhur and converb markers in Archi (adjuncts will be analyzed in more detail in the next section).

Tsakhur

- (37) gade *Xe=r=ra* xin-ē-qa o=r=k'ul.
 boy big=M=ADV.M water-IN-ALL M=jump.PFV
 ‘The boy jumped into the water *many times*.’ (KIBRIK 1999, 213)

Archi

- (38) *w=aXI-ši* godo=w eImwar-ši
 M=enough-CVB.IPFV1 boy=M cry.IPFV-CVB.IPFV1
 īdi zon orqIa-muxur!
 M.be.PST 1SG F.leave.IPFV-when
 ‘The boy cried *so much* when you were leaving!’

3. Adjunct types in Tsakhur and Archi and depictive secondary predicates

3.1 Depictives proper?

To identify depictive constructions in Tsakhur and Archi, I will rely on the definition given by HIMMELMANN & SCHULTZE-BERNDT (2005, 25-26), according to which depictives are participant-oriented adjuncts denoting a state or condition which temporally overlaps with the state of affairs designated by the main predicate. Depictive constructions are expected to share common properties of participant-oriented expressions and adjunct features. Notice, however, that there is a whole range of constructions related to prototypical depictives in some respects (HIMMELMANN & SCHULTZE-BERNDT 2004; 2005). Indeed, in Russian depictives are nouns, adjectives and participles – these are all participant-modifying expressions, but as adjuncts they are not constituents of the noun phrase: they are placed next to the verb and can receive a special instrumental case.

Russian

- (39) a. Ja zna-l jegu rebenkom
1SG know-PST he.ACC child.INS
'I knew him when he was a child.'
- b. On prišel grustnyj (grustnym)
he came sad (sad.INS)
'He came home sad.'

In both languages investigated here, there is a class of entities designed to refer to the state of participants; first and foremost, this is the class of statives (see 2.3). However, from a formal viewpoint these units cannot be *unambiguously* assigned to the class of participant-modifying expressions nor to the class of adjuncts – neither in Tsakhur, nor in Archi. In these languages stative units that are, *semantically*, clearly participant-oriented (i.e. they designate the state of a participant of the event) can be full-fledged adjuncts from a formal, syntactic viewpoint. This means that the Russian constructions instantiated by examples (39a)-(39b) will be translated with circumstantial predications or specialized converbs (as in (40), (43); see 2.2.1.), simple converbs (as in (42), (44), (45)) and – in Tsakhur – with adverbs (as in (41)).

Tsakhur

- (40) ·za-s-qa ma-na q'als qixa-jnGal,
1SG.OBL-AD-ELAT this-ATTR.M old M.get.PF-when

maXačkal-e: qyzaX-y.
 Makhachkala -IN M.meet-PFV
 'I met him in Makhachkala as an old man ("when he had got old").'
 (KIBRIK 1999, 440)

- (41) ma-na pašman=ra qa=r=y.
 this-ATTR.M sad=ADV.M M=come.PFV
 'He came *sad*.' (ibid., 102)
- (42) rasul Xāqa qi=r=Ryr qa=r=y.
 Rasul home M=be.cold.PFV M=come.PFV
 'Rasul came home *very cold*.' (ibid., 461)

Archi

- (43) lo c'abo-mxur // c'abo-tta dija-mu
 son drink.PFV-when // drink.PFV-if/when father-ERG
 noL'ak w=arti-ši w=i-t'u
 home M=let.IPFV-CVB.IPFV1 M=be.PRS-NEG
 'Father does not let his son in drunk ("when his son is *drunk*, his father does not let him in").'
- (44) noL'a ... temmettejru misgin-ši ħonnōl-u
 at.home still poor-CVB.IPFV1 wife-and
 doxo-li
 F.find.PFV-PST.EVID
 'When he came home, he found his wife still living in poverty ("*being poor*").' (KIBRIK 1977, 250)
- (45) un hanas oIrcu-matt qonk'irttu eġtu?
 you why cold-CVB.IPFV2 khinkal.PL PL.put.PST
 'Why did you serve khinkal cold ("*being cold*")?'

3.2 Depictives and adjuncts: formal properties

In the preceding section I have shown that in the languages of Daghestan depictive constructions are, formally, typical adjuncts. They are entities that semantically modify participants, but surface as converbs and adverbs. In this section I will further investigate their syntactic properties to show that the forms tentatively categorized as depictives share even more properties with adjuncts. I will examine anaphoric relations and negation in depictive constructions and in converbial adjunct clauses, specifically those that denote actions which are simultaneous with those in the main clause. For reasons of space, I will take Archi data

only; I can only surmise that the Tsakhur system follows the Archi pattern in some respects.

3.2.1 Anaphoric relations

In principle, the set of participants introduced in a converbial clause does not necessarily have to intersect with the set of main clause participants: in Archi the arguments of converbs can be fully different from those of the main clause:

- (46) tow *balbur-ši* *libt'u ssaʔat* . oqʎa
 he speak.IPFV-CVB.IPFV1 three hour.N2 N2.go.PST
 'Three hours passed *as* he spoke.' (KIBRIK 1977, 248)

Still, zero anaphoric pronouns are quite frequent in converbial clauses. It can be observed that zero pronoun arguments with converbs tend to be coindexed with the absolutive (subject or direct object) argument of the main clause:

- (47) godo=r=mi; lo; iškol-li-ši Xir.aw
 this=F=ERG child school-OBL-AD M.bring.PFV
 [Ø_{j/*i} kummul kunnē-t'u-matt]
 food eat.PFV-NEG-CVB.IPFV2
 'She (ergative) brought the child (absolutive) to school though he (*she) had not had a meal.'

If the subject of a converbial clause has to be coindexed with a non-absolutive (say, ergative) argument of the main clause, an explicit pronoun is obligatory (even if the main clause argument is a zero pronoun), for instance "self" in the following example:

- (48) žejtti-t'u_{j/*i} kummul kunnē-t'u-matt
 self-N2 food.N2 eat.PFV-NEG-CVB.IPFV2
 [Ø_j lo; Xir.ow-li iškol-li-ši
 child M.bring.PFV-PST.EVID school-OBL-AD
 'She brought the child to school though she herself (*he) had not had a meal.'

Participant-oriented converbs derived from statives show the same anaphoric pattern: zero anaphoric pronouns in the stative converb clause can be coindexed only with the absolutive argument of the higher clause:

- (49) to=r=mi; lo; [Ø_{j/*i} bec'ot'u-matt] iškol-li-ši
 this=F=ERG child.N2 sick-CVB.IPFV2 school-OBL-AD
 oqʎa
 N2.bring.PFV
 'She brought the child to school sick.'

- (50) inži=r_j/_{*i} bec'ot'u-matt [Ø_j lo_i iškol-li-ši
 self=F sick-CVB.IPFV2 child.N2 school-OBL-AD
 oqli-li] o=r=q[_a
 N2.bring.PFV-CVB.PFV F=come.PST

'She brought the child to school though she herself was sick.'

Thus, anaphoric patterns are the same for traditional converbs and "depictive" converbs; I would therefore conjecture that there is a common system of anaphoric reference for all adjunct types.

3.2.2 Scope of negation

Different types of converbs behave differently with respect to negative operators in main clauses. Circumstantial converbs are always outside the scope of the negative operator in the main clause. Perfective converbs can be interpreted as being both outside and inside the scope of the main clause negation.

- (51) tuXt'ul-li ukol a=b=u-li lo
 doctor-ERG injection.N1 N1=make.PFV-CVB.PFV child
 Xir.ow-t'u noL'iši
 M.bring.PFV-NEG back.home

a. (Converbial clause outside the scope of negation:) 'The doctor made an injection, but he did not bring the child home.'

b. (Converbial clause inside the scope of negation:) 'The doctor was supposed to make an injection and bring the child back home, but he did neither.'

Imperfective converbs that denote events which are simultaneous with main clause events tend to be within the scope of the main clause negation:

- (52) buwa č'ut da=b=xir-ši q'a=r=di-li
 mother jug.N1 N1=rock-CVB.IPFV1 F.sit.PFV-CVB.PFV
 e=r=di-t'u
 F=be.PST-NEG

'Mother was not sitting and she was not rocking the jug.'

Depictive converbs denoting the state of a participant proved to pair up with imperfective converbs: they are practically always under the scope of negation of the negative operator in the main clause.

- (53) maHammad c'abo-t'u-matt q[_wa-t'u
 mohammad drink.PFV-NEG-CVB.IPFV2 M.come.PFV-NEG
 'Mohammad did not come home sober ("not drunk")' = 'he was drunk when he came home.'

- (54) hadižat pašman-ši q'a=r=di-li e=r=di-t'u
 Hadizhat sad-CVB.IPFV1 F=sit.PFV-CVB.PFV F=be.PST-NEG
 'Hadizhat did not sit sad' = 'she was not sad, she was cheerful.'

So, depictive converbs show the same anaphoric properties as traditional converbs; under negation they behave the same way as imperfective converbs.

3.3 Free adjuncts: presupposed circumstantials

So far I have examined depictive converbs that form a subset of prototypical adjunct constructions. Now we may ask whether participant-modifying expressions which are used as attributes can also occur in depictive constructions. In this section I will argue that participant-modifying expressions can be shown to belong to a different type – namely, strong free adjuncts.⁸ Compare the following pair of examples:

- a. Standing on a chair, John can touch the ceiling. (“weak adjunct”)
- b. Having unusually long arms, John can touch the ceiling. (“strong adjunct”) (STUMP 1985, 41-2 apud HIMMELMANN & SCHULTZE-BERNDT 2005, 20)

In a., the adjunct restricts the interpretation of the modal, and the truth of the whole proposition of a. does not imply that its adjunct proposition is true. By contrast, in b. the adjunct is not involved in the interpretation of the modal operator, and the truth of the whole proposition of b. entails that the adjunct proposition is true. The relationship between main and dependent predicates in b. is rather that of causality. The difference between weak and strong free adjuncts is partly linked to the opposition of stage-level vs. individual level predicates: in a., the adjunct expresses a stage-level property; the adjunct predicate in b. is of the individual-level type. Himmelmann and Schultze-Berndt emphasize an important difference between depictives proper and free adjuncts: depictives belong to the focus domain of a sentence and function as focus exponents. Such adjuncts encode a state which is asserted along with the main event and act as its significant characteristic. Free adjuncts always belong to the non-focal domain. Within the group of free adjuncts I can point to an important difference which is a key to interpreting the Daghestanian data: strong free adjuncts are presupposed, while

8 In HIMMELMANN & SCHULTZE-BERNDT (2005) weak free adjuncts are also termed circumstantial secondary predicates. I will not use the latter phrase to avoid confusion: I reserve the name “circumstantial converbs” for a special type of secondary predicates in the languages of Daghestan; see 2.1.

weak free adjuncts are not. I will show that participant-modifying expressions in Archi share some common features with strong free adjuncts: they are presupposed and have a causal or concessive relationship with the main predicate.

Thus, participant-modifying expressions can be separated from the head noun. The noun phrase thus becomes discontinuous⁹:

- (55) *olrcu-ttib un hanas qonk'irttu eflu?*
 cold-ATTR.PL 2SG why khinkal.PL PL.put.PST
 'Why did you serve khinkal [a Caucasian dish] (though it was cold)?'

As can be seen from the translation, the attributive phrase (which is clearly participant-modifying) denotes a state that temporally overlaps with the main clause. At the same time, the attributive phrase conveys an additional meaning component; the relationship between the attribute phrase and the rest of the clause is one of concession: khinkal was served in spite of the fact that the dish was cold. Moreover, such attributive phrases are outside the scope of the negator operator in the main clause – this indicates that the content of the attributive phrase is presupposed (on preserving presuppositions under negation see, for instance, BURTON-ROBERTS 1989, GRICE 1981, HORN 1989, SEUREN 1988):

- (56) *L'er-ttu=t zari čej Xubu-t'u*
 hot-ATTR=N2 1SG.ERG tea.N2 drink.PST-NEG
 'The tea being hot [= because it was hot], I did not drink it.'

Attributive phrases in Archi are therefore outside the focus domain; they are presupposed. It is plausible to think that causal or concessive interpretations merely arise as entailments (see example b. above, where the adjunct, too, resembles a causal clause). Being presupposed, they fall outside the category of depictives – rather, they belong to the strong free adjunct type.

4. Information structure expression and event vs. participant modification

In this section I will try to demonstrate that (as in other languages of Daghestan) the syntactic status of secondary predications in Archi and Tsakhur (as attributes

9 KAZENIN & TESTELEK (1999, 318-323) convincingly argue that in Tsakhur displaced adjectives become substantivized and do not form a single constituent with their former head noun; instead, they should be treated as separate noun phrases. It is plausible to extend this analysis to adjectival noun phrases in all languages of Daghestan.

vs. adjuncts) is determined by their position with regard to the information structure of the sentence.

In “Standard Average European” languages finite categories are always expressed on the verb; the finite verb can belong to both asserted and presupposed parts of the sentence.¹⁰

Russian

- (57) a. Raskol'nikov ub-il- \emptyset starux-u.
 Raskol'nikov murder-PST-M old.woman-ACC.F
 ‘Raskol'nikov murdered an old woman.’
- b. Èto ja ub-il- \emptyset starux-u.
 this 1SG murder-PST-M old.woman-ACC.F
 ‘It was me who murdered the old woman.’

Examples (57a) and (57b) differ with regard to their information structure: in (57b), the verb belongs to the presupposed domain, but its form does not change at all – it is the same as in (57a) where the verb belongs to the asserted part. In the languages of Daghestan, all syntactic categories are information structure sensitive: the verb form differs according to whether it bears assertion or presupposition status. When the verb is outside the asserted domain, it normally takes the attributive form of a participant-modifying expression (cf. (7)-(9)):

Avar

- (58) a. was-as mašina tunk-ana
 boy-ERG car break-PST
 ‘The boy broke the car.’
- b. was-as-Xa mašina tunk-ara=b
 boy-ERG-FOC car break-PTCP.PST=N
 ‘It was the boy who broke the car.’ (KAZENIN 1997)

There are many facts which support the claim that attributive expressions are linked to the presupposition domain, while adjuncts are secondary assertions. First, this sort of evidence comes from complement clauses: in Archi, the factive verb “to know” (KIPARSKY & KIPARSKY 1970) selects a participial complement:

Archi

- (59) was sini-ši edi-t'-ani lo
 2SG.OBL.DAT know.IPFV-CVB.IPFV1 N2.be.PST-NEG-Q child.F

10 In another paper (KALININA & SUMBATOVA 2007) we explore information structure marking in the languages of Daghestan in more detail, comparing the verbal system of the Daghestanian languages with the SAE system.

Xappu-ttu=r?

kidnap.PST-ATTR=F

‘Didn’t you know that (somebody) had kidnapped the girl?’

The complement of perception verbs, which is not necessarily presupposed, normally takes the form of a converb:

(60) ez ko č'ell-a k_wirenu.sint'u
N2.1SG.DAT N2.hear.PST wall.OBL-IN somebody

baIbur-ši

talk.IPFV-CVB.IPFV1

‘I heard somebody talking behind the wall.’

Second, relative clauses in the languages of Daghestan in many cases act as determiners and directly affect the referential properties of the noun (elsewhere (KALININA 2006) I discuss arguments in favour of a “determiner analysis” of relative clauses). Consider the following pair of Tsakhur examples:

(61) a. hamanke akka-ss-e džu-qa=d Xod-a-lj
then door-AD-ELAT self.OBL.M-POSS=N2 move-OBL-SUP
išlemiš-ex-e mašin yxa.
work-N2.become-IPFV car.N2 N2.be.PFV

b. hamanke akka-ss-e džu-qa=d Xod-a-lj
then door-AD-ELAT self.OBL.M-POSS=N2 move-OBL-SUP
išlemiš-ex-e-n mašin yxa.
work-N2.become-IPFV-ATTR.N2 car.N2 N2.be.PFV

‘At that time, he had a car waiting behind the door with the engine started running.’ (lit. “a car *working* on the move”)

(KIBRIK 1999, 791)

In (61a), the predicate of the dependent clause is a simple verb form, and this clause is an adjunct; in (61b) the predicate of the relative clause takes the usual attributive form. The two structures are semantically different: uttering (61b), the speaker implies that the person s/he is talking about had more than one car, and the one whose engine was running was waiting behind the door. (61a) does not entail any implications of this kind – it is a mere secondary predication; the property of the running engine is just asserted. I conclude that the relative clauses with attributive forms specify the referent of the noun phrase, and the best way to specify the referent is to evoke some information presumed familiar to the hearer, that is, some presupposed information. In KALININA (2006) I argue that attributive relative clauses in Archi always trigger the presupposition

of specificity, which means that noun phrases with relative clauses will always be given a wide-scope reading:

Archi

- (62) marina-mu irkkur-ši aršitten hoti-tte-tti-k c'orom
 Marina-ERG search-CVB Archi herb-PL-SUP-LAT name.PL
 sini-ttu-t adam
 know-ATTR-N2 person.N2
 'Marina is looking for a (particular // *any) person who knows
 Archi names of herbs.'

5. Why depictives are adjuncts: the Dagestani case

So far I have shown that in Archi depictive secondary predicates can be singled out only on semantic grounds; formally, depictive constructions are no different from prototypical adjuncts which have the form of converbs. I hypothesize that the same is true for Tsakhur: under negation Tsakhur depictives behave like adverbs (and like Archi converbs), i.e. both come under the scope of the negative operator.

Adverb:

- (63) či-šē wudž bykyr=*ba* aprowdat hāʔ-a deš.
 self.OBL.N-ERG self.N1 full=ADV.N1 justify N1.make-IPFV NEG
 '{A sheep} yields no financial benefits' (lit. 'Itself does not justify
 itself fully') (KIBRIK 1999, 803)

Depictive:

- (64) še-na Gur=*ba* qy Ry=w=č'-u deš
 that-ATTR dry=ADV.N1 N1=come.out-PFV NEG
 'It {sheep excrement} did not come out dry.'

The parameter of anaphoric relations is irrelevant in Tsakhur, for it is impossible to construct examples in which an adverb (and a depictive) has an argument which is not coreferential with some argument of the primary verb.

Archi participant-modifying expressions (attributes) form a different construction type: that of strong free adjuncts. There are good reasons to suggest that Tsakhur attributes behave in a similar way: elsewhere (KALININA & TOLDOVA 1999) we argue that the Tsakhur attributes are related to presupposition, too. In the previous section I tried to provide an explanation for this distribution of the relevant constructions. I gave evidence in support of the claim that the morpho-syntactic marking of depictive secondary predicates reflects an interplay between

information structure categories (assertion vs. presupposition) and event vs. participant modification.

According to HIMMELMANN & SCHULTZE-BERNDT (2005, 19), depictive constructions are participant-oriented adjuncts which are part of the focus domain of a sentence. In “Standard Average European” languages, participant- and event modification are syntactic operations. These syntactic categories are not marked for information structure. In depictive constructions of these languages, a participant-modifying expression – a syntactic attribute (typically an adjective) – belongs to the assertive component; hence, syntactic attributes share formal properties with adjuncts.

In the languages of Daghestan, syntactic modification of events and participants is bound to information structure marking: participant-modifying expressions are presupposed, while everything that belongs to assertion has the guise of verb-modifying expressions. Presupposition vs. assertion expression is thus prioritized over syntactic categories, namely over event vs. participant modification. So, the structure of secondary predications, like the structure of many other constructions, depends on the status of the predication with regard to information structure: dependent clauses, belonging to the scope of assertion, will surface as adjuncts.

Depictive secondary predicate constructions belong to the focused sentence part by definition; this is why in the languages of Daghestan they are unambiguously marked as adjuncts.

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Depictive secondary predicates in Finnish

1. Introduction

This paper focuses on secondary depictive predicates in Finnish. Eva Schultze-Berndt and Nikolaus P. Himmelmann present a working definition of depictives (SCHULZE-BERNDT & HIMMELMANN 2004, 77-78). A depictive secondary predicate construction is a clause-level construction which meets the following seven criteria: 1) There are two separate predicative elements, the main predicate and the depictive, the state of affairs expressed by the depictive holds within the time frame of the eventuality expressed by the main predicate; 2) the depictive is obligatorily controlled; there exists a formal relation to one participant of the main predicate, the controller, and the controller is not expressed separately as an argument of the depictive; 3) the depictive makes a predication about its controller that is at least partially independent of the predication conveyed by the main predicate (the depictive does not form a complex or periphrastic predicate within the main predicate); 4) the depictive is not an argument of the main predicate, i.e. it is not obligatory; 5) the depictive does not form a low-level constituent with the controller (it is not a modifier); 6) the depictive is non-finite, or the dependency of the depictive on the main predicate is indicated in other formal ways; 7) the depictive is a part of the same prosodic unit as the main predicate.

The grammatical structure of Finnish represents the SVO type and has preposed attributes. The order of the main constituents is variable and, supported by the rich case system and oppositions in subject-verb agreement¹, serves informational needs. Finnish is usually regarded as having fifteen cases. They form the following system: A) grammatical cases: 1. nominative (subject), 2. accusative (total direct object), 3. partitive (indefiniteness and partial direct object), 4. genitive (possession), B) semantic cases; locative cases: 5. illative (motion into), 6. inessive (location inside), 7. elative (motion/separation away from inside),

1 *Ihmiset kävelevät puistossa* 'The people are walking in the park' with the grammatical subject *ihmiset* 'people' in the nominative plural and the verb, *kävelevät* '[they] are walking' correspondingly in the third person plural; *Puistossa kävelee ihmisiä* 'There are people walking in the park', with the grammatical subject *ihmisiä* '(some) people' in the partitive plural but the verb *kävelee* 'is walking' in the third person singular.

8. allative (motion up to a surface), 9. adessive (location at or on a surface, instrument, possessor), 10. ablative (motion/separation away from a surface); 11. translative (transition into a state of being), 12. essive (existing in a specific state of being); miscellaneous cases: 13. abessive (absence or lack), 14. instructive (manner), 15. comitative (association). There are several infinitival and participial forms that are used in constructions involving different case morphemes. The morphological technique is suffixation, and the suffixes show vowel harmony which defines word boundaries of non-compounded words. Finnish lacks grammatical gender.

Finnish nominal morphology includes an essive case which is used to mark the most typical depictive secondary predicates. Another case used in depictive constructions is the translative. Additionally, Finnish has a rich repertoire of non-finite verbal constructions that has not yet been studied from the standpoint of depictives. In this paper, I shall give an overview on the existing research on essives and translatives and certain other cases involved in relevant constructions that behave like essives, and also introduce the Finnish converbs and a non-verbal clausal construction into the discussion of depictives.

2. Depictives in the Finnish case system: Introduction

The placement of free adverbials (adjuncts) in Finnish is fairly free. In main clauses the adverbials of time, place and manner generally either precede the subject or follow the verb. Comment adjuncts and connectives may be placed between subject and verb. In subordinate sentences, there are fewer restrictions. The adjuncts of time and place are especially prone to serve as frame adjuncts clause-initially, and they often have temporal or causal implications. When there are several arguments in the clause, the locations or time-points they refer to may differ, leading to problems in reference which are solved on the basis of syntactic and pragmatic clues (ISK 2004, 914-925). For instance, the semantic cases and adpositional phrases used in adverbials follow the so-called relational rule: the adverbial refers to the referent of the subject of an intransitive verb, and to the object of a transitive verb (ISK 2004, 924). However, this rule can be counteracted by pragmatic knowledge. In the following example the essive, inessive and adessive adjuncts can have as controllers both the subject and the argument in the relative case:

- (1) Minä kerro-i-n Liisa-lle Maija-sta
 I(NOM) tell-PST-1SG Liisa-ALL Maija-ELAT
lapse-na – pikku-hupperi-ssa – loma-lla.
 child-ESS slight-inebriation-INESS vacation-ADESS
 ‘I told Liisa about Maija *as a child* – *slightly drunk* – *on vacation*.’

with the controllers being either I, who was a child – slightly drunk – on vacation, or Maija in the respective states (ISK 2004, 924).

The cases essive (‘as’), inessive (‘in’) and adessive (‘on, at’) exemplified here are the basic means of expressing a simultaneous state, concrete or abstract, in adjuncts. As we shall see further on, they are also the cases used in depictive secondary predicates.

The position of converbs in the sentence is free as well. They can be found wherever comparable adjuncts occur, allowing for restrictions based on weight. (VILKUNA 1989, 221).

2.1 Essives

Since the definitions and examples given in J. NICHOLS in 1978, secondary depictive predicates have been associated with the Finnish essive case. In Finnish grammar, essive and translative noun phrases are called “predicative adverbials”. Their specific grammatical property is agreement with the subject in number. The translative case as such implies a change of state. The essive case, on the other hand, expresses a “changeable” state that has been reached or an alternative state. Mainly simple predications with an essive argument have been studied under the tacit assumption that their usage is similar in free adverbial positions. The essive in non-expanded sentences appears with verbs of acting, functioning etc., as well as with stative verbs, and it expresses notions such as status, role, and state. In her study of essive adjectives in copular clauses, PAJUNEN (2000) established that there are certain semantic restrictions: for instance, essive-marked adjectives denoting age appear in some dialects only; on the other hand, essives are especially prone to appear with participial forms that themselves presuppose change (PAJUNEN 2000).

Predicative essive case adjuncts have also been studied from the point of view of temporal and causal interpretations that they involve. According to HYNÖNEN (2005), predicative elements in the essive case form a special group because their meaning almost always includes at least two levels: on the one hand they characterize an entity and on the other this characterization provides a temporal and/or causal background for the proposition expressed by the sentence. For example:

- (2) *Opettaja-na* Pekka ei käytä alkoholi-a.
 teacher-ESS Pekka(NOM) NEG.3SG use-CONNEG alcohol-PART
 'As a teacher, Pekka does not use alcohol.'

may be interpreted either 1) temporally '(while working) as a teacher Pekka does not use alcohol', where the essive-marked adjunct *opettajana* 'as a teacher' expresses not only Pekka's role but also the time frame during which the content of the sentence is considered to occur, or 2) causally '(because (he) works) as a teacher, Pekka does not use alcohol', i.e. Pekka's position as a teacher is the reason for abstaining from drinking (HYNÖNEN 2005, 63).

Finnish grammar has not traditionally worked with the concept of depictives. Rather, the relevant issues have hitherto been discussed within the framework of subject or object controllers for adjuncts. In the following example the reference is determined by appealing to the pragmatics of the situation (ISK 2004, 923):

- (3) *Maija kadott-i kello-n väsynee-nä / uute-na.*
 Maija(NOM) lose-PST.3SG watch-ACC tired-ESS new-ESS
 'Maija lost the watch *tired / new.*' = ... when she was tired / when it was new.

The position of the constituent in the essive in the clause may however disambiguate the interpretation. Thus, an example presented by NICHOLS (1978, 123) may have two interpretations:

- (4) *Tuns-i-n häne-t lapse-na.*
 know-PST-1SG s/he-ACC child-ESS
 'I knew him/her *as a child.*' = I was a child / (s)he was a child.

Generally, preposing the depictive disambiguates the reference in the absence of a contrastive intonation or other textual clues pointing towards the object:

- (5) *Lapsena* tunsin hänet hyvin.
 'As a child, I knew him/her well.' = I was a child.

If we relate the use of the Finnish essive to typologically established semantic groups of depictives (HIMMELMANN & SCHULZE-BERNDT 2005, 29), we can see that it covers most of them. See the following possible alternatives:

- (6) *Se-n me te-i-mme*
 it-ACC we(NOM) do-PST-1PL
 'That we did'

- *ilois-i-na* (glad-PL-ESS) 'glad', *kokemattom-i-na* (inexperienced-PL-ESS) 'being inexperienced' (mental/emotional condition),
- *hikis-i-nä* (sweaty-PL-ESS) 'when sweaty' (physical condition),
- *opettaj-i-na* (teacher-PL-ESS) 'as teachers' (function/role),

- *kolmans-i-na* (third-PL-ESS) ‘as the third ones’ (order),
- *aikuis-i-na* (grown.up-PL-ESS) ‘as grown-ups’ (life stage),
- *kärppä-nä* (ermine-SG-ESS) ‘like an ermine’ (a metaphor for ‘quickly’),
- *väsyne-i-nä* (tired-PL-ESS) ‘being tired’, *pakotettu-i-na* (forced-PL-ESS) ‘being forced’ (resultant state),
- *suor-i-na* (straight-PL-ESS) ‘straight’, *matal-i-na* (low-PL-ESS) ‘bent low’ (posture),
- *yks-i-nä-mme* (one-PL-ESS-POSS.1PL, lexicalized) ‘we alone’ (collective?)

Originally the essive was a locative case, and the meaning has been preserved in temporal expressions and some lexicalized essives of location:

- *mone-na päivä-nä* (many-ESS day-ESS) ‘on several days’, *eilis-ilta-na* (yesterday-evening-ESS) ‘yesterday evening’, *viime vuon-na* (last year-ESS) ‘last year’ (time),
- *koto-na* (home-ESS; lexicalized) ‘at home’, *kauka-na* (far-ESS) ‘far away’ (place)

Further, the essive is used to express sortal alternatives:

- *Halusin pöydän puise-na/valkoise-na* ‘I wanted the table in wood (ESS) / white (ESS)’

2.2 Translatives

The translative is used with verbs denoting a change of state of the subject, as in *tulla* ‘become’, *muuttua* ‘change’. With transitive verbs of naming or interpreting, the translative denotes a change of state of the object: *nimittää* ‘nominate’, *kuvitella* ‘imagine’ (ISK 2004, 1207).

There is an abundant literature on the translative forming an obligatory part of a resultative construction (ISK 2004, 476-478, 1207), in which any activity verb may be given an extrinsic non-argumental object that changes into the state designated by the translative:

- (7) *Hölkäs-i-n vaatte-ni aivan hikis-i-ksi.*
 jog-PST-1SG clothes-ACC.POSS.1SG quite sweaty-PL-TRANSL
 ‘I jogged so much that *my clothes* became all *sweaty*.’ (PÄLSI 2000, 222).

Obviously, the construction “non-argumental Object + adjective + TRANSL” forms a tight unit in which neither constituent is omissible. However, the translative is involved in the change of state of normal object arguments of transitive verbs as well:

- (8) Kimmo nuij-i pihvi-n *pehmeä-ksi*.
 Kimmo(NOM)pound-PST.3SG steak-ACC tender-TRANSL
 ‘Kimmo pounded the steak *tender*.’
- (9) Kimmo nuij-i pihvi-ä *pehmeä-ksi*.
 Kimmo(NOM)pound-PST.3SG steak-PART tender-TRANSL
 ‘Kimmo was pounding the steak *tender*.’ (PÄLSI 2000, 211-219)

When there is an object, the translative adjunct expresses a predication about the referent of the object: the referent enters the state denoted by the stem of the adjunct. With a bounded (= perfective) situation, shown in (8) by the accusative case of the object, the change into ‘tenderness’ is completed. Without the translative, the event would be completed as well: the steak would not need any more pounding. The translative adjunct specifies the terminal state. When the object is in the partitive (9), the situation is unbounded, in this case a progressive, and the resulting state of the object is merely the agent’s intention, or a possible goal. In these cases, unlike those with the intransitive verbs (7), the translative is not a formally obligatory constituent, but it specifies a new state that does not hold of the controller during the activity.

The difference between translative and essive is evident with predicates which allow both adjuncts: *olla pätevä opettajana* ‘to be competent as a teacher (ESS)’ – *olla pätevä opettajaksi* ‘to be competent for a teacher (TRANSL)’. While the essive expresses the function in which the subject actually is (= simultaneous state), the translative expresses the function for which the subject is evaluated as being competent; the subject is not necessarily a teacher yet (ISK 2004, 1207-1208). Translative free adjuncts also express purpose, e.g., *ostaa lahja-ksi* (buy present-TRANSL) ‘to buy sth as a present’. The translative is used in the function of comparison or relation of properties to a generic class (ISK 2004, 931, 943):

- (10) Ja Clodia on hyvin pieni kissa kohta
 and Clodia(NOM) be(PRS.3SG) very small(NOM) cat(NOM) soon
viisi-vuotiaa-ksi.
 five-year.old-TRANSL
 ‘And Clodia is a very small cat for (being) *almost five years old*.’
 [www.saraste.vuodatus.net/synd/rssfeed]

The translative phrase appears to convey a simultaneous state of ‘being almost five years old’. The translative is however a directional case, which in this case shows the “direction” of comparison: Compared to other cats of that age this one is small in size. Comparison is included in the semantic map of typical depictives, but this seems to be a rather special case.

Since the translative generally implies or brings about a change, it is of less importance in the discussion on depictives (for the function of comparison, see 3.1.1.).

2.3 Other nominal depictives

Research on depictives has given preference to classifications relying on morphological markers. The Finnish case system, which is supplemented by numerous adpositions, is too extensive to be treated here. However, example (1) showed that the definition of the depictive is applicable to other case forms as well.

Additionally, there are certain morphological expressions of state that are generally used as predicatives in the same semantic spheres as the essive case. They are lexicalized case forms, and some have defective case paradigms. Thus, idiomatization plays a great role. For example, Finnish for ‘drunk’ is normally a local case construction, e.g., *humala-ssa* (inebriation-INESS), but that for ‘sober’ is *selvä-nä* (sober-ESS). And for the predicative ‘naked’ there is an unanalyzable adverb *alasti*, instead of which the basic adjective *alastoin* plus essive can be used: *alastoina-na* ‘naked-ESS’. The functional status of adjuncts can be determined by tests, e.g., by coordinating them with the essive forms. Thus in the following example, the essive *kahlittuna* ‘chained-ESS’ is coordinated with *nälissään* ‘in hunger, hungry’ (> *nälkä* ‘hunger’ + i-INESS-POSS³), a construction specialized to express emotional and physical states:

- (11) Simon läht-i-kin tallustele-ma-an si-tä pitkin
 Simon(NOM) start-PST.3SG-too lumber-INF.ILL it-PART along
 ja löys-i se-n pää-stä prinssi Josua-n
 and find-PST.3SG it-GEN end-ELAT prince(NOM) Josua-ACC
 kahlittu-na ja näl-i-ssä-än.
 chained-ESS and hunger-i-INESS-POSS3
 ‘Simon began to lumber along it (the road) and found at its end
 Prince Joshua *in chains and hungry.*’
 [www.peda.net/en/magazine/kuopio/51/kuopiot?m=content&a_id=41]

Finnish has at least eight such conventionalized morphological templates with local cases denoting states and producing expressions that are functionally equivalent to depictive essives. Hundreds of such units exist, and they are quite common in speech, some of them productive, others not. In conjunction with

2 Notice that the possessive suffix does not differentiate third person singular and third person plural.

sound symbolism, they provide a fertile ground for linguistic creativity. Some of them are formed with the formant *-i*, similar to the plural morpheme but lexicalized in these constructions (ONIKKI-RANTAJÄÄSKÖ 2001, 44-54):

- I. N + INESS: *lytyssä* (?lytty) 'squashed', *marjassa* (*marja* 'berry') 'picking berries';
- II. N + INESS + POSS (rare): *onnessaan* (*onni* 'luck, happiness') 'happy';
- III. N + *i* + INESS: *hengissä* (*henki* 'spirit') 'alive', *naimisissa* (deverbal *naiminen* < *naida* 'to marry') 'married';
- IV. N + *i* + INESS + POSS: *viluissaan* (*vilu* 'cold') 'feeling cold', *riemuissaan* (*riemu* 'delight') 'delighted'; deverbal root: *suutuksissaan* (**suutus*, *suuttua* 'to get angry') 'angry';
- V. N + ADESS: *ongella* (*onki* 'fishing rod') 'angling', *vihillä* (?*vihki*, *vihkiä* 'to wed') 'getting married', *häviöllä* (*häviö* 'loss') 'on the losing side', *makuulla* (*makuu* 'lying position') 'in lying position';
- VI. N + ADESS + POSS: *makuullaan* (*makuu* 'lying position') 'in lying position', *sirrillään* (**sirri*, *siristää* 'to screw up') '(eyes) screwed up', *irrallaan* (*irti* 'off, loose', adverb) 'off, loose';
- VII. N + *i* + ADESS: *lommoilla* (*lommo* 'dent') 'dented'; deverbal *-ei* + ADESS: *tekeillä* (*tehdä* 'do, make') 'under way', *valveilla* (*valvoa* 'to be awake') 'awake';
- VIII. N + *i* + ADESS + POSS: *kylmillään* (*kylmä*, 'cold') 'unheated', *parhaimmillaan* (*parhain* 'best') 'at its best', *paitasillaan* (*paita* 'shirt', *paitanen* 'shirt' DIM) 'in shirt', *varuillaan* (?*vara*, *varoa* 'to be wary') 'being wary'

There are a few others as well. Semantically, the expressions cover the same ground as essives, and a little more. Essives are most frequent in expressions of physical properties (physiological properties of animate beings, physical properties of inanimate beings) and dimensions, human properties (mental states and behaviour) and status, and less so in expressions of age and form (PAJUNEN 2000, 77). The predominant semantic domains for the local case expressions are human property, physical property, and dimension.³ In the latter domain, they are nearly synonymous with the essives: *olla suora-ssa* (be.INF straight-INESS) / *suora-na* (straight-ESS) 'to stand straight' (ONIKKI-RANTAJÄÄSKÖ 2001, 246-247).

The list above is based on the clause structure Subject + Copula + Adjunct. The same constructions can be found in verbal sentences and thus be considered

3 The classification is based on STASSEN (1997).

as depictive secondary predicates. An example is *upoksissa* (?*upos*, *upota* ‘to sink’) in the following:

- (12) Omistaja löys-i venee-nsä vasta-ranna-lle
 owner(NOM) find-PST.3SG boat-ACC.POSS3 opposite-shore-ALL
ajautunee-na lähes *upoks-i-ssa*.
 drifted-ESS almost sunk-i-INESS
 ‘The owner found his boat, *drifted* to the opposite shore (and) al-
 most *sunk*.’
 [www.viitasaarensuutu.net/?action=juttu&ID=194]

To take a closer look at sub-class VI above, we note that expressions of posture, facial expression and contour converge here. They can be based on nouns, verbs or adjectives: *polv-i-lla-an* (knee-PL-ADESS-POSS3), ‘kneeling down, on his knees’, *pitkä-llä-än* (long-ADESS-POSS3) ‘lying down’, *istu-a-lla-an* (sit-a-ADESS-POSS3) ‘in a sitting position’. An example of a position taken by an inanimate being is:

- (13) Koneen-kuljettaja Siltanen saapu-i
 machine-driver(NOM) Siltanen(NOM) arrive-PST.3SG
 työ-maa-lle kello 6.30 aiko-i-hin ja havaits-i
 working-site-ALL clock 6.30 time-PL-ILL and notice-PST.3SG
säiliö-auto-n kumo-lla-an lamme-ssa.
 road-tanker-ACC capsized-ADESS-POSS3 pond-INESS
 ‘The driver Siltanen arrived at the working site around 6.30 and no-
 ticed the road tanker *capsized in the pond*.’
 [www.etela.com/uutiset/2002/020206-10.html]

Adessive constructions are specialized to express a stage of (un)dressing: *paita-hiha-si-lla-an* (shirt-sleeve-DIM.PL-ADESS-POSS3) ‘in shirtsleeves’, *sukka-si-lla-an* (sock-DIM.PL-ADESS-POSS3) ‘in one’s stockings feet’ etc. A specific construction with the superlative denotes a property at its maximum:

- (14) Rakastaminen on si-tä, että suostu-u ja
 loving(NOM) be(PRS.3SG) it-PART that agree-PRS.3SG and
 halua-a näh-dä se-n toise-n
 want-PRS.3SG see-INF it-ACC other-ACC
rum-imm-i-lla-an, rasittav-imm-i-lla-an ja
 ugly-SUPERL-i-ADESS-POSS3 irritating-SUPERL-i-ADESS-POSS3 and

tyhm-imm-i-llä-än.

stupid-SUPERL-i-ADESS-POSS3

'Loving means that one agrees to and wants to see the other person at his/her ugliest, most irritating and most stupid.'

[www.pakkotoisto.com/vbulletin/showthread.php?t=49327&page=10]

Often, the constructions with the adessive and inessive cases have counterpart case forms of moving into a state (allative/illative) and moving out of a state (ablative/elative), which, however, by definition cannot count as depictives, since they are obligatory arguments of the main verb, for instance *mennä marjaan* (go berry-ILL) 'to go berry-picking', *tulla marja-sta* (come berry-ELAT) 'to return from berry-picking', *mennä onge-lle* (go angle-ILL) 'to go angling', *tulla onge-lta* (come angle-ABL) 'to return from angling'. Conventionalized expressions for quantified participation (at least for the numbers 2 to 6) are clear depictives: *kaks-i-sta-an* (two-i-ELAT.POSS3), *kahde-sta-an* (two-ELAT.POSS3) 'the two of them', German 'zu zweit'.

As to various tests for depictives, the negation test revealing the presupposed part of a sentence is hardly sufficient to define the depictive status, as it merely separates the frame adjuncts from the focused ones. The test with a paraphrase works best for the above constructions (cf. HIMMELMANN & SCHULZE-BERNDT 2005, SCHROEDER 2004) "X did Y; simultaneously the state of affairs Z obtains for X/Y":

- (15) Nä-i-n lehtori-n kadu-lla sukka-si-lla-an.
see-PST.1SG lecturer-ACC street-ADESS sock-DIM.PL-ADESS-POSS3
'I saw the lecturer in the street in his stockinged feet.' = I saw the lecturer on the street + the lecturer was in his stockinged feet simultaneously.

As to other types of possible depictives presented in the literature (cf. German depictives in SCHROEDER 2004, 57-67), the corresponding constructions are treated as adverbials of state and manner or predicative adverbials in Finnish grammar. Among the semantic cases involved in the adverbials, beside those listed above, are the defective cases instructive and abessive. While inessives and adessives represent concrete or abstract states, the abessive expresses the state of absence of something:

- (16) Siinä hän seisoo paida-tta / ilman paita-a
there(s)he(NOM) stand-PRS.3SG shirt-ABESS / without shirt-PART

ja *paljaa-na*.

and bare-ESS

'There (s)he stands *without shirt (shirtless) and bare (naked)*.' (ISK 2005, 1176)

The instructive only occurs in plural. It mainly expresses manner, instrument, degree, place and time (ISK 2005, 1210-1211). Expressions of position and posture occur as well: *väär-i-n pä-i-n* (wrong-PL-INSTRC end-PL-INSTRC) 'wrong side up', *pysty-pä-i-n* (erect-head-PL-INSTRC) 'with one's head held high'.

Uninflected adverbs have a predicative function only, and they can be coordinated both with other predicative adverbials (in the essive) and with manner adjuncts (ISK 2005, 932). When tested in the manner above, some behave like depictives, for instance *alasti* 'naked', *vaiti* 'silent'. For some, suitable contexts are difficult to find: *poikki* 'cut', *irti* 'loose', *rikki* 'broken'. Outside copular clauses, they are associated with a change of state: *mennä rikki* (go broken) 'to break'. For instance, coordination with essive results in an ungrammatical sentence: *Ost-i-n se-n vanha-na ja *rikki* (buy-PST-1SG it-ACC old-ESS and broken) 'I bought it old and broken'. Here, the essive form of a derived adjective *rikkinäinen, rikkinäise-nä* (broken-ESS) is required. Adverbs with certain derivational suffixes provide a rich repertoire of expressions for position: *viere-kkään* 'side by side', *perä-kkään* 'one after another', *kasvo-kkain* 'face to face', *käsi-tyksin* 'hand in hand', *silmä-tysten* 'eye-to-eye'. Certain adverbs which are formally similar to instructives can be used as depictives: *yksin* 'alone', *kaksin* 'the two of them' (ISK 2005, 377-380).

Next, the concepts and tests used for identifying nominals and adverbs are applied to non-finite verbal constructions.

3. Converbs: Introduction

In an overview of depictives by HIMMELMANN & SCHULTZE-BERNDT (2005, 40-42, 60-61), the relevant converbs of the languages concerned are participial forms used as adjuncts which obligatorily have the same subject as the main clause ("same-subject converbs"). They are thus automatically participant-oriented. "A particularly clear case for depictive status can be made if these constructions either show agreement with their controller or involve what is generally termed 'switch-reference marking', which usually involves at least a distinct marker ('same-subject marking') for a subject orientation of the clause." Converbs with overt same-subject marking may display a contrast in taxis; anteriority, simultaneity and posteriority (subsequence). The converbs that are neutral with regard to participant orientation instantiate a general adjunct construction.

In their earlier paper, the same authors (SCHULTZE-BERNDT & HIMMELMANN 2004, 107) point out that “for a number of languages where converb clauses show agreement with their controller it can be demonstrated that converbs in simultaneous, anterior-resultative, and also prospective interpretation are depictives rather than adverbials (at least if they are prosodically integrated)”. Phonological-semantic lightness thus plays an important role, which makes e.g. Turkish converbs with *-ErEk* difficult to analyze; the more arguments a converb has, the more it tends to be coded as an independent prosodic unit. Thus, SCHROEDER (2004, 69) notes that converbs with *-ErEk* may be considered depictives only if they are one-word constructions.

In Finnish, the converbs treated below are traditionally considered to be included in the prosodic contour of the sentence as a whole, and no commas are used to separate them from the main predication. True, in practice there is fluctuation, for especially heavier sequences with converbs that precede the main predicate tend to be separated with commas by untutored writers. Thus, the corresponding criterion 7) (see Section 1 above) may not apply to all converbs. Criterion 1) holds for all the converbs below. As for criterion 2), the converbs differ. Criteria 3, 4, 5 and 6 apply to all of them.

3.1 Converbs in Finnish

Finnish has several non-finite verbal forms corresponding to participles and gerunds in Indo-European languages. In the following, I shall list the constructions that are traditionally referred to as *lauseenvastike* ‘clause reduct’, or clause equivalent (IKOLA 1974). They are free adjuncts, and this distinguishes them from constructions called “verb chains”, i.e. combinations of finite verbs and non-finite forms that are dictated by the semantics of the main verb. In the grammar of Finnish (ISK 2004, summary on p. 491), they are described according to their morphological characteristics, consisting of a specific formant + case marker. The term “converb” has only recently been suggested for such constructions by YLIKOSKI (2003; for the semantic terms, see NEDJALCOV 1998). Two of the six converb constructions are temporal, expressing situations simultaneous with and anterior to the main clause. They may have a subject different from the subject of the main verb, and they can be paraphrased by a subordinate sentence with temporal conjunctions. Since they in principle go against criterion 2) for depictives (see Section 1 above), the treatment below will be concerned with converbs that have the same subject as the main clause. The rest are basically same-subject converbs which express means, (a construction with adessive, the basic expression for instrument, ‘by V-ing’), manner (a construction with instructive ‘V-ing’), finality (with translative ‘in order to V’), and absence of event

(abessive, ‘without V-ing’). The three last-mentioned converbs will be discussed as potential candidates for depictives.

3.1.1 Infinitive *-a* + Translative + Possessive

With the so-called *-a* infinitive (the dictionary form of the verb) as a basis, the suffix of the translative case *-ks* + *-e* is added, obligatorily followed by the appropriate possessive suffix referring to the subject of the main verb. Semantically, this is a converb of finality, or purpose. A subordinate clause with the conjunction of purpose (*jotta* ‘in order to’) is possible as an equivalent. There are no restrictions on the presence of objects and adjuncts.

- (17) *Olla-kse-en tasa-arvois-i-a toise-t tarvitse-vat*
 be-CVB-POSS3 equal-PL-PART other-PL.NOM need-PRS.3PL
enemmän.
 more
 ‘In order to be equal, some need more.’
 [www.kultti.net/lehdet/ihmis.html]

A usage restricted to written Finnish conveys a posterior event without the sense of purpose inherent in the translative case. The verb and the context exclude an intention of the subject:

- (18) Predator ilmesty-y ja tappa-a jälleen
 ‘predator(NOM) appear-PRS.3SG and kill-PRS.3SG again
kadota-kse-en varjo-i-hin.
 disappear-CVB-POSS3 shadow-PL-ILL
 ‘Predator appears and kills again, only to disappear into the shadows.’
 [www.pelipaketti.net/arvostelut/avp2.shtml]

The form occurs with adverbs of measure *liian* ‘too’, *tarpeeksi* ‘enough’, *riittävään* ‘sufficiently’ + adjective. Sentences with *liian* + adjective are less constricted with the notion of purpose than those with adverbs of sufficiency. For instance *Hän on liian laiska olla-kse-en opettaja* (he is too lazy be-CVB-POSS3 teacher(NOM)) = 1) ‘he is too lazy to be a teacher’, 2) ‘for a teacher he is too lazy’ (= he is a teacher). The interpretation of converbs with the converb of *olla*, ‘to be’ may thus be twofold: either they involve finality, or the converb is an expansion of the translative of comparison, which takes as its basis the present state of the subject. Example (10) can thus be expanded with the converb:

- (10’) Ja Clodia on hyvin pieni kissa
 and Clodia(NOM) be(PRS.3SG) very small(NOM) cat(NOM)

olla-kse-en kohta viisi-vuotias.
 be-CVB-POSS3 soon five-year.old(NOM)
 'And Clodia is a very small cat for (*being*) an almost 5-year-old.'

Again, the test for depictives based on simultaneous states seems to produce a good candidate: 'Clodia is a small cat + Clodia is almost five years old'. This interpretation is due to the function of comparison to a class of cats of that age, and hardly possible with other verbs. Both (10) and (10') relate the subject to an entire class that serves as a norm: Clodia is small for an (almost) five-year-old cat. If depictives are to express a simultaneous state only, and nothing more, this construction may fall out of the group. Coordination with essives is not possible.

3.1.2 Infinitive *-e* + Instructive *-n*

The construction with the infinitive in *-e* and the instructive case *-n* conveys events simultaneous to the main event with a wide scope; the events may slightly precede or be included in it, or are posterior. Basically, they convey manner, concomitance or accompanying circumstance. The instructive case *-n* is typically the case of instrument and manner. Normally, the subjects of the converb and the main verb are identical. A subordinate clause with the consecutive conjunction *niin että* 'so that' is a suitable paraphrase when the subjects are diverse; with same-subject constructions this paraphrase is somewhat clumsy:

- (19) Hän nous-i auto-sta jalko-j-a-an
 s/he(NOM) get.up-PST.3SG car-ELAT foot-PL-PART-POSS3
 oiko-en ja seisahtu-i tarkkaile-ma-an
 stretch-CVB and stop-PST.3SG observe-INF-ILL
 ympäristö-ä-än.
 environment-PART-POSS3
 'He got out of the car, *stretching his legs*, and stopped to look around.' (ISK 2004, 510)

In a usage restricted to the written registers of Finnish this form can express a result. In the following there is a sudden end result with an instructive converb, while the preceding process is shown by a temporal inessive converb:

- (20) Lentäjä kars-i suure-n kuuse-n toise-n puole-n
 pilot(NOM) rip-PST.3SG big-GEN fir-GEN other-GEN side-GEN
 oksa-t pudot-e-ssa-an kuoll-e-n
 branch-PL.ACC fall-CVB (=e-INESS.POSS3) die-CVB (=e-INSTRC)

välittömästi.

immediately

‘During the fall, the pilot ripped off the branches from one side of a big fir tree, *dying immediately.*’

[www.valt.helsinki.fi/projects/kmuisti/matapupu/malmi/sotama02.htm]

A few nearly phraseologized constructions with non-same subject and expressing manner occur. The formulacity is demonstrated by the fact that the transitive verb cannot have any object. Adjuncts are hardly possible. The subject is in the genitive. The verbs used in this construction are also limited to certain cognitive verbs, e.g. *tietää* ‘know’, *nähdä* ‘see’. In actual usage, the corresponding subordinate sentence (21’) appears to be more common:

(21) Hän tek-i se-n kaikki-en nähd-en.
s/he(NOM) do-PST.3SG it-ACC all-GEN see-CVB
‘He did it *in everybody’s sight.*’

(21’) Hän tek-i se-n niin että kaikki näk-i-vät.
s/he(NOM) do-PST.3SG it-ACC so that all(NOM) see-PST-3PL
‘He did it so that everyone saw.’ (ISK 2004, 519-510)

The Finnish grammar states that the interpretation of sequence [VP and VP] arises when the events or situations are equal in importance, or when the latter qualifies the former as would a relative clause (ISK 2004, 510). The clearest case of a simultaneous state is produced by the converb of ‘to be’, *ollen* ‘being’. This is a usage common in official written language, annual reports etc.:

(22) Perinataali-kuolleisuus on laske-nut
perinatal-mortality(NOM) be(PRS.3SG) sink-PTCP.SG (=PERF)
oll-en 5.4/100 (v. 2003 7.2/100).
be-CVB 5.4/100 (in 2003 7.2/100)
‘The perinatal mortality has decreased, *being* 5.4 / 100 (in 2003 7.2 / 100).’
[www.tyks.fi/dokumentit/6548/toimintakertomus2004.doc]

The converb can be coordinated with essives, for instance in example (19): *väsynee-nä ja jalko-j-a-an oiko-en* (tired-ESS and foot-PL-PART.POSS3 stretch-CVB) ‘tired and stretching his legs’. Apparently, both constructions must refer to states or processes that can be simultaneous. Thus, in (20) the converb *kuollen*, ‘dying’, can hardly be coordinated with essive.

3.1.3 Infinitive *-mA*⁴ + Abessive

The construction with *-mA* and the abessive case *-tta* corresponds to a negated subordinate clause with the conjunction *niin että* + NEG, 'so that + NEG'. The converb conveys the absence of a previous or simultaneous event. It is the negated counterpart of the converbs with *-mALLA* and *-en*. Unlike the other converbs, it may be used as a predicative with the copula: *pyykki on pese-mättä*, (laundry(NOM) be(PRS.3SG) wash-CVB) 'the laundry is unwashed', *olla syö-mättä, juo-matta*, ('to.be eat-CVB, drink-CVB') 'to be without eating, drinking (about an agent)', or 'to remain uneaten, undrunk (about nourishment)'. In such interpretations the converb may become a candidate for a depictive. Its state-like character is shown by the possibility of adding certain adverbial modifiers of degree and expressions of duration: *olla kaksi päivää täysin syömättä*, (to.be two days totally eat-CVB) 'to be totally without food for two days', *tukka-ni ol-i yhä pese-mättä* (hair-NOM.POSS.1SG be-PST.3SG still wash.CVB) 'my hair was still unwashed'.

Generally, the subject of the construction is not marked, the controller being the subject of the main predicate:

- (23) Ylioppilas-lehde-n edustaja käv-i neljä-ssä
 student-paper-GEN representative(NOM) go-PST.3SG four-INNESS
 eri tiede-kunna-ssa johdanto-kurssi-n
 different faculty-INNESS introductory-course-GEN
 loppu-tenti-ssä luke-matta rivi-ä-kään.
 final-exam-INNESS read-CVB line-PART-PTCL
 'A representative of the student paper went to the final exam for the introductory course in four faculties *without reading even a line.*'
 [www.ylioppilaslehti.fi/1999/990122/990122tentit.html]

A non-identical subject is possible for certain transitive verbs. It has the genitive, the "object" of the mental verb being the main predication:

- (24) Aviomies tek-i velko-j-a vaimo-n tietä-mättä.
 husband(NOM) make-PST.3SG debt-PL-PART wife-GEN know-CVB
 'The husband made debts *without the wife's knowing.*' (ISK 2004, 513)

With transitive verbs both the subject and the object may be left without coding, which makes the construction ambiguous:

- (25) Me-kin hank-i-mme isomma-n altaa-n tull-e-ssa
 we-too get-PST-1PL bigger-GEN pool-GEN come-CVB(=-e-INNESS)

4 Capitals like A conventionally represent vowels which are subject to vowel harmony.

talo-on, biltema-sta hieka-n ja pese-mättä se-n
house-ILL Biltema-ELAT sand-ACC and wash-CVB it-ACC

tuonne lykkäs-i-mme.

there push-PST-1PL

‘We too, when a bigger pool appeared in the house, fetched sand from Biltema and *without washing (it)/unwashed* we pushed it there.’

[www.aqua-web.org/forum/viewtopic.php?t=26225]

The converb *pesemättä* means either ‘we/one did not wash it’, or ‘it did not get washed’. For the latter meaning, the adjective *pesemätön* ‘unwashed’ with essive is available: *pesemättömänä*.

Coordination of the converb with essives is possible:

- (26) Ol-i-n varan-nut juomis-ta auto-on, joten
be-PST-1SG reserve-PTCP.SG (= PLQPF) drink-PART car-ILL so-that
elävä-nä ja kuivu-matta matka-sta selvi-si-n.
living-ESS and dry-up-CVB trip-ELAT manage-PST-1SG
‘I had reserved something to drink in the car, so that I managed to survive the trip *without getting dehydrated*.’
[www.julia.vuodatus.net/blog/180293]

3.2 Conclusion

A negated event or state with the abessive marker *-matta* has the converbs expressing manner and means as its positive counterparts. When the abessive converb is used without arguments or adjuncts that stress its verbal character, it can be used together with the copula, expressing a state. Thus, it may be used as a depictive as well. The converb may have a separate subject, but this use is limited to a particular verb class. With the exception of conventionalized cases, the converbs expressing manner (instructives in *-en*) and purpose (translatives in *-kse.POSS*) do not allow different subjects in the main predicate. The manner converb expresses events simultaneous (or pragmatically slightly preceding or subsequent) to the main event and thus has the widest repertoire of usages. The purpose converb is also involved in degrees of sufficiency for a purpose: ‘too/enough ADJ + CVB’. Additionally it may express evaluation of the subject related to a class/norm. As an expression of comparison, it could perhaps be called a depictive. All three converbs belong to the scope of focused material in the sentence.

4. The status construction

The construction nominative + oblique/adverb(/converb *-en*) usually has no verb, but it is considered to be clause-like and defined as a status construction (IKOLA 1974, 52-55; ISK 2005). It is also called “nominativus absolutus” or “partitivus absolutus”, and it expresses a concomitant circumstance. The construction contains an element that is in a part-whole relationship with the subject of the main verb, or it is part of a frame related to the subject or object (ISK 2004, 837-838). There is no corresponding subordinate clause. The converb *-en* may be added for more concrete descriptiveness. The following are examples of the *nominativus absolutus*:

- (27) Mutka-ssa seiso-o liikenne-ohjaaja käde-t
corner-INESS stand-PRS.3SG traffic-warden(NOM) hand-PL.NOM
tasku-ssa.
pocket-INESS
'A traffic warden is standing at the corner *with his hands in his pockets.*
[www.seponkotisivut.com]
- (28) Ja minä katsele-n maailma-n meno-a silmä-t
and I(NOM) watch-PRS.1SG world-GEN course-PART eye-PL.NOM
pyöre-i-nä vilku-en.
round-PL-ESS blink-CVB (=eyes round + eyes blinking)
'And I am watching the goings-on of the world *with round eyes blinking*
[www.pilpi.net/journal/item-761.php]

The *partitivus absolutus* resembles Finnish existential sentences containing a partitive subject representing a mass noun or an indefinite amount or number of referents:

- (29) Niel-i-n raako-j-a peruno-i-ta jo
swallow-PST-1SG raw-PL-PART potato-PL-PART already
ala-astee-n ensimmäise-llä luoka-lla kyynel-i-ä
lower-school-GEN first-ADESS class-ADESS tear-PL-PART
silm-i-ssä ja oksennus-ta kurku-ssa...
eye-PL-INESS and vomit-PART throat-INESS
'I swallowed raw potatoes already in the first class of the lower school, *with tears in my eyes and vomit in my throat.*
[www.mummila.net/skm-arkisto/2004_10_31_arkistoitu.html]

Finally, an example of a *nominativus absolutus* that belongs to the subject's “frame”:

- (30) Koulu-n kohdalla seiso-i kiihtynyt nainen
 school-GEN POSTP stand-PST.3SG excited(NOM) woman(NOM)
koira hihna-ssa.
 dog(NOM) leash-INESS
 'An excited woman stood by the school *with a dog on a leash.*'
 [www.lariq.net/blogit/khilon/archives/2004:10.html]

Naturally, constructions like 'hand in hand' etc. (*käsi käde-ssä* (hand hand-INESS)) belong in this category.

There is no finite verb in the construction, but a manner converb with instructive, often a descriptive verb, can be used as the second part of the construction (see also (28) above):

- (31) Pärsky-en hän nous-i pinta-an – kuin
 splutter-CVB s/he(NOM) rise-PST.3SG surface-ILL like
turska silmä-t muljotta-en , viikse-t vipatta-en.
 cod(NOM) eye-PL.NOM stare-CVB whisker-PL.NOM quiver-CVB
 'Spluttering he rose to the surface, like a cod with *his eyes staring, his whiskers quivering.*'
 [www.arkeo.net/aarrearkku/kertojat/mattila/hankija.htm]

The Status construction is a good candidate for a depictive, since it literally describes an additional simultaneous state of the subject or object of the main verb. It resembles the "absolute" construction in Turkish, or the *mit*-construction in German, as described in SCHROEDER (2004). It does not form a separate prosodic unit. Typically, the converb in this construction is light and clause-final, whether it forms the obligatory second part of the construction or is added as extra descriptive material.

5. Conclusion

In Finnish, the morphological case system covers a prominent part of the field of depictives. In the nominal sphere, the basis is the essive case along with the other local cases. In the verbal sphere, the instructive lies at the root of the converb that expresses an accompanying state/process/event.

Among the converbs, those with non-same subjects are excluded from the group of depictives by definition. Converbs with the instructive *-en* and translative *-kse.POSS* ('V-ing', 'in order to V'), which express manner and purpose cannot have a subject different from the main verb (phraseologized constructions excepted). The abessive *-matta* ('without V-ing') may have a non-same subject in a limited usage. Reduced to a predicative state it can be used like a depictive.

The possessive suffix of the translative construction is obligatory, agreeing with the person of the main verb, or it is a “generalized” 3rd person suffix, when there is an implicit generalized person in the main predication. The converb aligns with the semantics of the translative case. Coordination with essives does not seem to work for translative, for this converb has its specific semantics clearly corresponding to the use of the case in nominal adjuncts.

The instructive converb with *-en* is close to the depictives (cf. English *-ing*). Coordination with essives is easiest for this converb, e.g. *paleleva-na ja pärsky-en* ‘freezing-ESS and splutter-CVB’, *kylmä-stä sinise-nä ja pärsky-en* (cold-ELAT blue-ESS and splutter-CVB) ‘blue with cold and spluttering’ could be used in example (31). However, coordination with *and* is only possible in certain contexts. Here the converb could be replaced by an essive of the present active participle (*pärsky-vä-nä* ‘splutter-ing-ESS’). This indicates that for the coordination, the converb should express a durative state of affairs. Generally, essives, as well as manner adverbs, are joined to the main verb or the converb by mere juxtaposition.

In the written language, the instructive converb has the functions of sequencing events or characterizing the controller. The latter usage explicitly adds a state or property to the subject.

Among the clause-like constructions, the result is as follows: furthest from full verbal predicates and semantically closest to depictives is the status construction (object controllers also possible). Next comes the instructive converb, where the controller is obligatorily the subject of the main predication, with the verb denoting a state or a process. Abessive converbs interpreted as states can be used as depictives. The translative converb in expressions of comparison comes close to depictives.

All converbs allow some arguments and adjuncts, but to varying degrees. The case of the abessive (3.1.3. above) shows that when a converb loses its arguments, its interpretation as a depictive is strengthened.

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Sekundäre Prädikate (Depiktive) und Finitheit.

Typologische Überlegungen aus maghrebinischer Perspektive

(marokkanisches Arabisch und Berberisch)

0. Zusammenfassung

Depiktive bilden eine ausgesprochen schwach konturierte Kategorie, die erst in der jüngeren typologischen Diskussion in den Vordergrund gekommen ist, wobei Schwierigkeiten deutlich geworden sind, sich von den begrifflichen Vorgaben der Schulgrammatik zu lösen (in der sie als *Prädikative* diskutiert wurden). Dabei stellen sich zwangsläufig wortartenbezogene Fragen, insbesondere die Frage nach einer verbalen gegenüber einer nominalen Strategie zur Artikulation von Depiktiven. Dieser Beitrag geht dem im marokkanischen Arabischen nach, das zu der in diesem Zusammenhang bisher nicht betrachteten afroasiatischen Sprachfamilie gehört: dort sind beide Strategien für die Prädikation verfügbar. Grundlage der Analyse sind eigene Feldforschungsmaterialien. Die analysierten Strukturen zeigen eine nur schwache syntaktische Integration, die zum Abschluß des Beitrags als charakteristisches Element auch des Berberischen in den Blick genommen wird, das mit dem marokkanischen Arabischen einen Sprachbund bildet.

1. Einleitung: Depiktive im marokkanischen Arabischen

Im marokkanischen Arabischen (im folgenden MA) finden sich recht unterschiedliche Konstruktionen, die als Kandidaten für Depiktive fungieren, etwa:¹

1 Es handelt sich um die überarbeitete Version meines Vortrages in Oldenburg, 7. Dezember 2005. Bei der Argumentation stütze ich mich auf HIMMELMANN & SCHULTZE-BERNDT (2005), sodaß die einschlägige Forschungsliteratur nicht ausführlich referiert zu werden braucht. Datengrundlage sind Sprachaufnahmen in Marokko, vorrangig zum marokkanischen Arabischen in den unterschiedlichen Dialektregionen (städtisch sowohl wie ländliches Umfeld) und unterschiedlichen sozialen Schichten, sowohl von narrativen Texten wie von spontanen Gesprächen (die letzteren vor allem auch von Gesprächen, die meine Feldassistenten ohne meine Anwesenheit gemacht haben); Aufnahmen zum Berberischen dienen dabei als Kontrastfolie. Die Belege

- (1-MA) ka-i-frəb l-hlib s-sxun
 DUR-3.SG.M-trink:IMPERF DEF-Milch DEF-warm
 'er trinkt die Milch warm'
- (2-MA) mər'i:a ʷa-n-mʃi m-ḏr'ub-a
 Mal.SG HAB-1SG-geh:IMPERF PASSP-schlag:-SG.F
 'manchmal ging ich verprügelt (zur Schule)' (CAS-F-10)
- (3-MA) ka-t-nuḏ ʃaʃəl
 IND-2SG-aufsteh:IMPERF anzünd.ACTP.SG.M
 'du stehst angezündet habend (= mit einer Zigarette) auf'
 (IM-H-107)

Die als Depiktive qualifizierenden Konstruktionen lassen sich von konkurrierenden attributiven abgrenzen, wie (4)-(5) zeigen:²

- (4-MA) ka-i-frəb l-hlib sxun
 DUR-3.SG.M-trink:IMPERF DEF-Milch warm
 'er trinkt die warme Milch'

Bei (1)-(3) ist das sekundäre Prädikat *warm* ereignisgebunden, im Gegensatz zu (4), das es von der Milch unabhängig von der Hauptprädikation prädiziert. Bei (2)-(3) handelt es sich um sekundäre Prädikationen über den Aktanten des (intransitiven) Verbs; bei (1) um eine solche über den Nebenaktanten (d.h. den nicht im Prädikat registrierten Aktanten) des (transitiven) Verbs. Für diese sekundären Prädikationen ist im Satzbauplan keine Nute vorgesehen; sie werden in der neueren Literatur als *Depiktive* bezeichnet. Ausgehend von HIMMELMANN & SCHULZE-BERNDT (2005) können sie als sekundäre Prädikationen definiert werden, die einerseits in die Prädikation über dem Ereignis eingebunden sind (was sie von Attributen unterscheidet, die in einem weiteren Sinne ebenfalls als sekundäre Prädikate anzusehen sind), andererseits aber an einen Partizipanten der primären Prädikation gebunden sind (was sie von Adverbialen unterscheidet – dafür steht im Folgenden der Terminus der „Partizipantenorientierung“). Dabei können Depiktive „freie“ Adjunkte sein, sie können aber auch vom Hauptprädikat gefordert sein; den letzten Fall bezeichne ich im Folgenden als *gebundene Depiktive*.

verweisen auf mein Corpus (mit einem Sigel: ORT-SPRECHER(IN)-SEITE (ZEILE)). Beispiele ohne derartige Corpus-Identifizierung sind konstruiert, aber von Gewährsleuten akzeptiert; für ihre Unterstützung danke ich Mina Zinify und Abderrahman Assini beim marokkanischen Arabischen; Fousia El-Asrouti (Tarifit) und (dem zweisprachigen) A. Assini (Tamazight) bei den Berber-Beispielen.

2 Allerdings wird der Kontrast von (1) gegenüber (4) nicht von allen Sprechern gemacht / akzeptiert; darauf komme ich unten in Abschnitt (5) nochmal zurück.

Bei den bisher unternommenen Beschreibungen depiktiver Strukturen besteht ein Konsens, daß sie jeweils eine markierte Option darstellen – im Kontrast zu Default-Konstruktionen, die den gleichen Sachverhalt artikulieren. Die Verletzung eines Defaults ist aber ein probates Mittel, um bestimmte Äußerungsmomente hervorzuheben, da sie dem Hörer für die Interpretation mehr abverlangt als die integrierteren Default-Konstruktionen; in diesem Sinne spreche ich im Folgenden von der dadurch bewerkstelligten *Fokussierung*.³

2. Depiktivkonstruktionen im MA 1: die nominale Strategie

Im MA stehen grundsätzlich zwei Optionen für die Artikulation einer Prädikation zu Verfügung:

a) Nominalsatzkonstruktionen, die Prädikationen über einem relationalen Sachverhalt, nicht über einem Ereignis artikulieren wie in:

(5-MA) mħamməd mr'ıđ
 Mohammed krank.M.SG
 'Mohammed ist krank'

b) Verbalsatzkonstruktionen, die Prädikationen über ein Ereignis und mit dem verbalen Prädikat dessen interne Dynamik (mit einer grammatisierten Aspektposition) und eventuell auch einer deiktischen (zeitlichen) Situierung artikulieren, wie in:

(6-MA) ʃəf-t-ha
 seh:PFV-1SG-3SG.F
 'ich habe sie gesehen'

Die Kernstruktur wird durch das Ereignisprädikat und die Argumentmarkierungen artikuliert. Eine fakultative Erweiterung besteht im deskriptiven Ausbau der Argumente, mit (lexikalischen) Neben-Prädikationen über diesen. In einer groben Symbolisierung also (mit *e* als Ereignisvariable):

³ Zum Verhältnis von Depiktiven und Fokussierung, s. WINKLER 1997.

(7)

einfache Prädikation: Kern	[PRÄD (x ₁ .. x _i)] (e)	<i>ʃəf-t-ha</i> (seh:PFV-1SG-3SG.F) 'ich habe sie gesehen'
einfache Prädikation: Kern und Nebenprädi- kate über den Argu- menten ⁴	[PRÄD (x ₁ .. x _i)] (e) & PRÄD' (x ₁) PRÄD' (x _i)	<i>ʃəf-ət r^r-r'aʒəl dik.l-mr'a</i> (seh:PFV-3SG.F DEF-Mann DEM.F-Frau) 'diese Frau hat den Mann gesehen'

Basisstruktur der verbalen Prädikation im MA

Die Beispiele (1)-(3) zeigen nominale Depiktive, also nominale sekundäre Prädikate – vorausgesetzt man analysiert die partizipialen Formen in (2) und (3) nominal (s. dazu 2.2.). Solche Konstruktionen sind denn auch in der einschlägigen Forschungsdiskussion bisher diskutiert worden, in generativistischen Arbeiten vor allem auch, weil sie ein Gegenstück im Englischen haben.⁵ Eindeutig nominale sekundäre (depiktive) Prädikate sind allerdings in meinem Corpus selten; in der semantischen Kartierung von Himmelmann/Schultze-Berndt stünden solche Fälle im Zentrum, also im Feld von physischen Bedingungen und resultierenden Zuständen (vor allem passivische Partizipien kommen so vor, gebildet mit dem Präfix *m-* und mit adjektivischer Kongruenz).

Dabei ist zu unterscheiden zwischen Prädikaten, die eine solche prädikative „nominale“ Ergänzung fordern (also *gebundene* Depiktive nach der obigen Definition) und solchen, die diese als freie Adjunktion erlauben. Gebundene Depiktive bilden die häufigsten Beispiele im Corpus, die auch von den Informanten mit den wenigsten Problemen akzeptiert bzw. produziert werden. Die Matrixverben gehören hier zu einem Feld der Kognition bzw. Wahrnehmung, die ein Objekt als Sachverhalt „subkategorisieren“. In vielen Fällen sind solche Verben auch mit einem anderen Szenario möglich, vgl. auch im Dt. ein „physikalisches“ *etwas finden* vs. einem „kognitiven“ *etwas als etwas (emp-)finden*, im MA °*lqj*.⁶

4 Wenn Argumente lexikalisch als nominale Konstituenten ausgedrückt sind, werden sie außer unter Kontrastbedingungen mit Ausnahme des Hauptaktanten nicht (pronominal) am Prädikat artikuliert.

5 In der generativistischen Tradition steht dafür die Analyse von „small clauses“, die bei einer solchen Ausrichtung auch bei den maghrebinischen Sprachen bisher schon im Blick waren (s. etwa SADIQI 2002, die dort nur „adjectival small clauses“ diskutiert). Für die Tradition dieser „small-clause“-Analyse der Depiktive, s. etwa STOWELL 1991, der versucht, typologische Optionen der syntaktischen Integration zu identifizieren.

6 Notationskonvention: mit ° ° markiere ich die lexikalischen Wurzeln, die gegenüber den aktuellen Wortformen nur ein Skelett zeigen. °*j,w*° sind dabei ablaufende Radikale, die in bestimmten Formen (vor allem in der 3. Person des PF) als /a/ erscheinen können.

(8-MA) *lqi-t-ha* *fərḥan-a*
 find:PFV-1.SG-3.SG.F froh:-F.SG
 'ich fand sie froh'

Ohne ein solches prädikatives Komplement kann *lqi-t-ha* (find:PFV-1.S-3.S.F) dagegen nur bedeuten: 'ich habe sie (z.B. eine Person) gefunden bzw. angetroffen'. Das Spektrum dieser Konstruktionen wird allerdings noch erweitert durch Quasi-Verben, die sich in allen neuarabischen Varietäten finden, vgl. *ʕnd-p* (p = Pronomen), etymologisch eine Präposition *ʕnd* 'bei', vgl.

(9-MA) *ana ʕnd-i kul:-fi jaʕni gvd: fhəm-ti*
 1SG bei-1SG all:-Ding also Gerades.SG versteh:PFV-2SG
 'bei mir ist alles korrekt, verstehst du' (FES-R-41)

In etymologischer Lesweise liegt hier ein Nominalsatz vor, in dem *gvd:* als Prädikat zu *kul:-fi* fungiert – *ana* ist hier ein freies Topik, das pronominal mit dem „zirkumstanziellen“ Pronomen in *ʕnd-i* korreliert. Allerdings fungiert *ʕnd-i* wie ein personal markiertes Prädikat (im folgenden *p-markiert*), das entsprechend auch die Initialstellung im Satz einnimmt (*ana* steht im linken Vorfeld des Satzes); insofern fungiert *gvd:* auch als Depiktiv zum pronominalen Ausdruck des Sprechers (*-i* bzw. *ana*).⁷ In diese Linie gehören die satzeinleitenden Präsentative, die nicht nur, aber besonders in Nominalsätzen zu finden sind, die so auf das Muster von Verbalsätzen getrimmt werden, s.u. die Beispiele mit *rʕa* (etymologisch verbal, zu *ʕrʕʕ* 'sehen').

Als freie Ergänzungen finden sich Depiktive im Corpus sehr viel seltener. Die Beispiele zeigen hier vor allem partizipial gebildete Depiktive:⁸

(10-MA) *ʕla ʕnaf i-lqa-u lə-ʔda*
 auf zwölf 3-find:IMPERF-PL DEF-Mittagessen
m-ʔʔud
 PASSP-bereit.SG.M
 'um 12 finden sie das Mittagessen fertig (zubereitet)'
 (BER-F-15)

Solche Konstruktionen werden nicht von allen Gewährsleuten akzeptiert: (10) (=2) wird von einigen Gewährsleuten abgelehnt). Sie bevorzugen meist Konkurrenzformen, die syntaktisch „aufwendiger“ artikuliert sind, z.B. (s.u. 4.):

7 *kul:-fi* fungiert als Subjekt des präpositionalen Ausdrucks im Prädikat.

8 Auch *fərḥan* (Beispiel 1) läßt sich als suppletive Partizipbildung analysieren: Eine „reguläre“ Bildung **farḥ* (nach dem Muster *KaKK°), ist nicht gebräuchlich – sie wird von meinen Gewährsleuten als Klassizismus empfunden (und abgelehnt).

(11-MA) dik-l-mr^ra ʒa-t u hija *fərhan-a*
 DEM-DEF-Frau komm:PFV-3.SG.F und 3.SG.F froh-F
 ‘diese Frau kam und sie war froh’

oder auch mit einem Präsentativ *r^ra*:

(12-MA) dik-l-mr^ra ʒa-t u daba r^ra-ha
 DEM-DEF-Frau komm:PFV-3.SG.F und jetzt PRÄS- 3.SG.F
fərhan-a
 froh-F
 ‘diese Frau kam und jetzt ist sie froh’

Seltener finden sich in solchen Konstruktionen aktive Partizipien, die dann oft deutlich auch eine markierte Ausdrucksweise bilden, etwa leicht ironisch wie in dem oben angeführten (3). Solche Formen lassen sich elizitieren, ihre Akzeptanz ist allerdings bestimmt durch idiosynkratische lexikalische Präferenzen⁹, z.B.

(13-MA) mər^r:a ka-n-mʃi *daħk-a*
 Mal.SG HAB-1SG-geh:IMPERF PTCP-lach:-SG.F
 ‘manchmal ging ich lachend (...)’

Auch bei den abgeleiteten Verbstämmen, die bei den Partizipien keinen formalen Unterschied zwischen Aktiv und Passiv artikulieren, sind partizipiale Prädikate möglich ((14a) – neben der p-markierten Alternative (14b)):

(14-MA) a. ʃla tnaʃ lqi-t-ha *m-tijb-a* *l-makla*
 auf zwölf find:PFV-1SG-3SG.F PTCP-koch:-SG.F DEF-Essen
 ‘um 12 finde ich sie das Essen kochen’

b. ʃla tnaʃ lqi-t-ha *ka-t-tij:əb*
 auf zwölf find:PFV-1SG-3SG.F HAB-3SG.F-koch:IMPERF
l-makla
 DEF- Essen
 ‘um 12 finde ich sie das Essen kochen’

Abgelehnt wurde von meinen Gewährsleuten dagegen

(15-MA) *mər^r:a ka-t-mʃi *m-yan:i-ja*
 Mal.SG HAB-3SG.F-geh:IMPERF PTCP-sing:-SG.F
 ‘manchmal ging ich singend ...’

9 Bei lexikalischen Präferenzen (hier der Möglichkeit eines depiktiven *daħka*) unterscheiden sich die Sprecher sehr. (13) ist nicht für alle Gewährsleute in gleicher Weise akzeptabel. In der Fluchtlinie der beschränkten Nutzung partizipialer Formen ist die Entwicklung im Maltesischen weitergegangen, das sie (bis auf dialektale Relikte) nur noch etymologisch aufweist und sie ggf. als Adjektive lexikalisiert hat.

Häufiger sind solche Bildungen nur als lexikalisierte Formen wie bei *šali*.¹⁰

(16-MA) u kan l-fraʃ ka-i-təʃ
und sei:PFV.3SG.M DEF-Kissen.PL HAB-3SG.M-steig:IMPERF
šali h̄t:a l-ajn
hoch.SG.M bis zu-wo
'und es waren die Kissen aufgetürmt bis wer-weiß-wo'
(FES-RM-59)

Seltener sind substantivische Depiktive (GALLEY-SINACEUR 1994, 61):

(17-MA) xəl:a-t wəld t-tazər mər-rhun šənd
lass:PFV-3.SG.M Kind DEF-Kaufmann PASSP-Pfand bei
I-juhudi
DEF- Jude
'sie ließ das Kind des Kaufmanns als Pfand bei dem Juden'

Vgl. aber auch das komplexere Beispiel:¹¹

(18-MA) kəksu ka-i-ʃzəb l-u zmaʃ.a
Couscous IND-3SG.M-gefall: zu-3SG.M Gruppe.SG
'der Couscous gefällt einem (in) Gesellschaft' (C-Berk I, 48)

Wie auch dieses Beispiel sind die Belege oft idiomatisiert, nicht beliebig konstruierbar, so etwa das folgende, dessen Bedeutung nicht kompositionell aus der Adjektivbedeutung von *ʔwil* 'lang' (hier in der kongruierenden Pluralform *ʔwal*) hochgerechnet werden kann:

(19-MA) mnin i-təm:-u zəj-in
wann 3-beend:IMPERF-PL komm:PTCP-PL
t-i-zi-u ʔwal
IND-3-komm:IMPERF-PL lang.PL
'wenn sie schließlich mal kommen, kommen sie, ohne was mitzubringen (wörtlich: 'als lange')' (MOH-N.II-16)

Die größere Akzeptanz partizipialer Depiktive entspricht aber ihrem ambigen Status im MA: diese Formen sind voll in das verbale Paradigma integriert, wo sie, abhängig vom Verbalcharakter der Verben, komplementär zu den p-mar-

10 Die Wurzel °šʕ° wird im mar. Arabischen nicht mehr in der Grundform gebraucht, üblich ist verbal nur noch die Intensivbildung *šəl:a*, intransitiv 'aufsteigen' und transitiv 'hinaufbringen'.

11 *zmaʃ.a* ist hier ein (sekundäres) Prädikat zum Objektspronomen *u*, das diesem (3SM) eine komitative Bedeutung hinzufügt wie in *ka-j-akl-u-h zmaʃ.a d-n-nas* 'man ißt ihn in Gemeinschaft von Leuten'. Wie hier kann ein prädikatives Substantiv auch als Nominalgruppe erweitert werden. In solchen Fällen ist keinerlei formale Kongruenz (oder koreferenzielle Markierung) erforderlich.

kierten Verbformen durative oder resultatative Prädikate zu artikulieren erlauben.¹² Wenn sie als Hauptprädikate fungieren, stehen bei ihnen allerdings (anders als bei p-markierten verbalen Prädikaten) die Subjektspronomen wie in (20a), entsprechend dem Muster eines Nominalsatzes (20b); da, wo der Kontext eindeutig ist, können diese Pronomen allerdings auch fehlen.

- (20-MA) a. *smeh-l-i* ana *xarəʒ*
 entschuldig:IMP.SG.M-zu-1SG 1SG herausgeh: PTCP.SG.M
 'entschuldige, ich gehe gerade weg'
- b. *huwa xarəʒ*
 3SG.M herausgeh: PTCP.SG.M
 'er ist weggegangen'

Diese prädikativen Potentiale der partizipial gebildeten Formen (in diesem Fall die Bedeutung von Simultaneität) vererben sich ggf. auch in die Depiktivkonstruktionen, vgl. (21a) im Gegensatz zu (21b):

- (21-MA) a. *lqi-t-u wakəl*
 find:PFV-1SG-3SG.M PTCP-ess:SG.M
 'ich traf ihn satt (gegessen)'
- b. *lqi-t-u ka-j-akul*
 find:PFV-1SG-3SG.M DUR-3SG.M-ess:IMPERF
 'ich traf ihn beim Essen'

Nominale oder partizipiale Depiktive können von allen Argumenten des Matrixverbs prädiert werden, vgl. mit dem Subjekt der Matrix als „sekundärem Subjekt“ wie in (22a)¹³ oder (22b):

12 In dieser Hinsicht hat das MA einen weitgehenden syntaktischen Umbau gegenüber dem Altarabischen vollzogen (dessen Strukturen im Schriftarabischen konserviert sind), in dem Partizipien nur für sekundäre Prädikationen (attributiv wie konverbal) genutzt wurden. Dabei wurden sie für ihre syntaktische Funktion mit einem Kasussuffix markiert. Das Altarabische hatte ein dreipoliges Kasussystem, das einen Rektus (Subjektskasus) durch *-u* von einem abhängigen adverbialen Obliquus (markiert durch *-a*) und einem adnominalen Kasus (markiert durch *-i*) unterschied. Formal waren hier also Objekte und Adjunkte aller Art gleich markiert, wobei „adverbiale“ Adjunkte generell die Indefinitheitsmarkierung *-n* trugen. Diese Form hatten alle prädikativen ebenso wie depiktiven Adjunkte. Ein Beispiel soll genügen (aus der Bibelübersetzung, Apostelgeschichte 28:18):

ʔu.slim-tu mu-qaj:ad-a-n ʔila: ʔa-jd-i: r-ru:ma:nij-i:na
 übergeb:PFV.PASS-1SG PASSP-bind:-ACC-INDF zu PL-Hand-DU.CS DEF-Römer-OBL.PL
 'ich bin als Gefangener den Römern (wörtlich: 'als Gebundener in die Hände der Römer' übergeben worden)

13 *m-xi:r-a* modifiziert hier ganz offensichtlich das Verb: Es geht darum, daß der in diesem Fall sehr heftige Regen, der in Berkane katastrophale Überschwemmungen angerichtet hatte, auf dem Land keinen Schaden verursacht hat (die Erde an den Hängen nicht weggespült u. dgl.). Dennoch

(22-MA) a. *taħ-t* *təm:a f-ʃta* *taħ-t*
 fall:PFV.3-SG.F dort DEF-Regen.SG fall:PFV.3-SG.F
gal-u-na *m-xi:r-a*
 sag:PFV.3-PL-1PL PTCP-wähl:-SG.F
 ‘es hat da geregnet, sie sagen uns: es hat ausgezeichnet
 geregnet.’ (C-Berk I, 31)

b. *j.a:k:ah mʃa* *ʃnd-u* *u* *ana*
 los! geh:PFV.3SG.M bei-3SG.M und 1SG
tabʃ-a-h *mən smi:t.u* *ʃyir^l-a*
 folg:PTCP-SG.F-3SG.M von Dingsens klein
 ‘Er ging also zu ihm, und ich folgte ihm als kleine von ...
 Dingsens (ging hinterher).¹⁴’ (IM-MUT-117)

oder auch dem Objekt der Matrix als „sekundärem Subjekt“ wie in dem folgenden Beispiel, bei dem *ʔiqj^o* in seiner konkreten Bedeutung ‘antreffen’ benutzt wird:

(23-MA) f.aʃ *taħ-t* *ana f-l-tnaʃ* *n.nit*
 wann aufsteig:-1SG.PFV 1SG in-DEF-zwölf genau
ʔiqi-t-u *xarʒ*
 find:PFV-1SG-3SG.M rausgeh:PTCP.SG.M
 ‘Als ich um punkt zwölf hinaufgegangen bin, fand ich ihn
 (schon) herausgegangen.’ (C-IM-AAbd-65)

3. Die verbale Strategie

Geht man von Übersetzungsäquivalenten für Depiktivkonstruktionen in den gewohnten europäischen Sprachen aus, findet man sehr viel häufiger Konstruktionen mit einer verbalen Strategie, die insofern als charakteristische (unmarkierte) Ausdrucksform eines sekundären Prädikats gelten kann, das an der Ereignisprädikation des Hauptprädikats partizipiert, vgl.:

(24-MA) a. *ʃbaq-t* *gəl-t-ha*
 vorangeh:PFV-1SG sag:PFV-1SG-3SG.F
 ‘ich habe es zuerst gesagt’

kongruiert das Partizip (gebildet zu *ʔxjʃr^o* ‘als gut auswählen’; hier also ‘gut’ in einem elativen Sinne) mit *f-ʃta* – was da gut heruntergekommen ist, war eben der Regen. Wörtlicher übersetzt: ‘Der Regen ist als ein guter gefallen’.

14 *smi:t.u*, wörtlich ‘sein Name’, ist ein phraseologisches Dummy, das auch als Verzögerungselement u. dgl. eingesetzt wird. Hier vertritt es wohl eine Ergänzung wie *m:ur^a-h* ‘hinter ihm’.

- b. tta ʒa-t xal-t-i u
 bis komm:PFV.3-SG.F Tante-F-1SG und
 bærk-ət ka-t-ʃawd li-na
 sich.hinsetz:PFV-3SG.F DUR-3SG.F-erzähl: zu-PL
 ‘bis meine Tante kam und uns {das} dasitzend (im Sitzen) erzählte’ (MOH-N.II-28)

Die hier als verbale Modifikatoren genutzten Verben sind in der gleichen Bedeutung auch als selbstständige Prädikate gebräuchlich, so z.B. °sbq° intransitiv und transitiv, vgl.

- (25-MA) sbəq hada bəʃda
 vorangeh:IMP-SG.M DEM.M.SG erst
 ‘mach dieses hier zuerst’ (A-S-26)

Damit stehen diese verbal artikulierten Depiktive im Feld des koverbalen Ausbaus komplexer Prädikate im MA, der eine typologische Besonderheit der maghrebinischen Sprachen ist: modifizierende und modifizierte Bestandteile der komplexen Prädikate sind hier p-markierte Verbformen.¹⁵ Komplexere Strukturen als in der Kernkonstruktion (vgl. (7)) werden durch hierarchisch höhere Prädikate über dem Ereignisprädikat artikuliert, mit sentenziellen Modifikationen als äußerster Schale des komplexen Prädikats: temporalen Spezifizierungen (im Gegensatz zu den flexivischen Aspektoppositionen und ihren aspektuellen Modifikationen in der inneren Schale), Einstellungsmarkierungen u.dgl. Depiktive bilden eine mittlere Schale, wobei hier allerdings die depiktiven verbalen Modifikatoren auch in dieser Funktion ihre konkrete Bedeutung weitgehend bewahren (s. Beispiele oben °sbq° in (24a), °brk° in (24b)), während die aspektuellen und auch die sentenziellen Modifikatoren semantisch zumeist gegenüber ihren autonomen Gegenstücken „ausgebleicht“ sind. Dabei können verschiedene Stufen „höherer“ Prädikation unterschieden werden, bei der sich der erweiterte Skopus auch in der Reihenfolge der modifizierenden Verbformen ausdrückt, vgl. (26) mit den Beispielen in (27):

15 Daher auch die gelegentlich zu findende Aussage, daß der Satzbau im Arabischen (und z. T. im Berberischen, s. u.) „multipel-finit“ sei. Zu den damit verbundenen Problemen der Finitheitskategorie, s. MAAS (2004). Im Folgenden benutze ich die rein formale Charakterisierung der Bestandteile der komplexen Prädikate als „Modificans“ (M^{mf}) und „Modificatum“ (M^{mt}). Zur Kategorie der Koverben s. MAAS (1999); der Terminus dient einerseits zur Abgrenzung von Koverben (s. dazu das Folgende), andererseits zu Auxiliaren, die ihre Funktion in komplexen Prädikaten mit einem infiniten M^{inf} haben.

(26)

(„adverbial“) modifizierte Prädikation	[PRÄD (x ₁ .. x _i)] (e) & PRÄD* (e)	<i>bqa</i> ‘fortfahren zu tun’ s. (29a)
(„depiktiv“) modifizierte Prädikation	[PRÄD (x ₁ .. x _i)] (e) & PRÄD* (x _i , e)	<i>bræk</i> ‘im Sitzen tun’ s. (29b)
(„sentenziell“) modifizierte Prädikation	PRÄD* {[PRÄD (x ₁ .. x _i)] (e)}	<i>ma tli-t-f...</i> ‘ungern tun’ s. (29c)

Erweiterte Struktur der Prädikation im MA (PRÄD* als höheres Prädikat)

- (27-MA) a. kan dik.s-saɬ.a *ka-t-bqa*
sei:PFV.3SG.M DEM-DEF-Stunde IND-3SG.F-bleib:
f-fta *ka-~~t~~-ti~~h~~* b-f-ɬhar'
DEF-Regen DUR-3SG.F-fall: mit-DEF-Monat
‘Damals regnete es einen Monat lang.’ (IM-MUT-183)
- b. (= 24b)
bærk-ət ka-t-ɬawd li-na
sich.hinsetz:PFV-3SG.F DUR-3SG.F-erzähl: zu-PL
‘sitzend erzählte sie uns’
- c. u ma *tli-t-f* byi-t
und NEG* abbieg:-1SG.PFV-NEG* woll:-1SG.PFV
nə-mɬi mɬa-hum
1SG.IMPERF-geh: mit-3PL
‘ich wollte nicht länger mit ihnen gehen.’ (CAS-F-145)

Insofern ergibt sich eine Ausbaustruktur des komplexen Prädikats, die sich als zyklische Linkserweiterung des prädikativen Kopfs der Proposition ergibt, der als Modificandum sukzessive durch Modifikatoren weiter bestimmt werden kann. Diese Struktur des komplexen Prädikats zeigt sich auch in der morphologischen Form der Prädikatsteile: modifizierte Elemente zeigen immer die Präfixkonjugation (zu den „Ausnahmen“, s.u.); bei ihnen ist entsprechend auch die Aspektopposition neutralisiert. Nur der lineare Kopf der Sequenz von Verbformen erlaubt die Opposition Perfektiv / Imperfektiv, schematisch also:

(28)

M ^{ans}	M ^{ans}	M ^{ans}	M ^{ans}	M ^{um}
temporal	Einstellung	depiktiv	aspektuell	Artikulation des Szenarios der Proposition („Zuweisung der syntaktischen Rollen“)
Opposition PF vs. IPF nur am Kopf des komplexen Prädikats				
	← nicht-augmentierte IPF-Form an jedem M ^{um} (unabhängig davon, ob selbst ein M ^{ans})			

Struktur der komplexen Prädikate im MA¹⁶

Zu den sentenziellen Modifikationen in einem solchen komplexen Prädikat gehört auch die temporale Spezifizierung, die in der linearen Abfolge jeweils den vordersten Kopf bildet (artikuliert mit dem temporalen Koverb °*kwn*° ‘sein’):

(29-MA) *kən-t ka-n-qi:l n-ryb*
sei:PFV-1SG DUR-1SG-Tag.verbring: 1SG.IMPERF-bitt:
whd.r¹-r¹azəl
INDF- Mann
‘Ich habe immer einen Mann angebettelt.’ (IM-MUT-30)

Sekundäre Modifikationen wie die Negation werden im Defaultfall am linearen Kopf solcher Sequenzen markiert, vgl. in (27c) die Negation am Einstellungsoperator °*ilj*° (nur dialektal noch als selbständiges Verb mit der Bedeutung ‘abbiegen’ üblich).

Die *koverbalen* Modifikationen im komplexen Prädikat sind von *konverbalen* zu unterscheiden, die einen propositional eigenständigen Ausbau eines Satzes ermöglichen (also einen komplexen Satz, nicht ein komplexes Prädikat bilden).

16 Mit den Pfeilen soll zum Ausdruck gebracht werden, daß die Opposition PF vs. IPF nur am äußersten M^{ans} möglich ist (unabhängig von seiner semantischen Funktion; Pfeil von links), wie umgekehrt die Funktion als M^{um} die Neutralisierung der Opposition nach sich zieht (Pfeil von rechts). Im einzelnen sind die Verhältnisse etwas komplexer (s. MAAS (1999)): a) bei einigen aspektuellen Koverben erhält das modifizierte „propositionale“ Verb die durative Markierung *ka*- (homophon mit der indikativischen Markierung *ka*- am Kopf!), b) einige wenige Verben bilden ein komplexes Prädikat durch die Kopie der Suffix-Flexion (darunter °*sbq*° wie in (24a)).

Ein analytisches Problem ist die Unterscheidung komplexer Prädikate von komplexen Sätzen mit sekundären Prädikaten: bei infiniten Prädikaten *Partizipien* (attributiv) oder *Konverben* (adverbial)¹⁷ – aber auch mit finiten Prädikaten, die im Defaultfall asyndetisch angeschlossen werden. Die koverbale Modifikation bildet syntaktisch den Kopf eines komplexen Prädikats, während konverbale Modifikationen propositional ausgebaute Satelliten der Kernprädikation sind.

Hier stellt sich nun das Problem der Nebenprädikate, die partizipial artikuliert sind, und die verbal zu verstehen sind, wenn sie *konverbal* fungieren (vgl. oben schon zu den partizipial artikulierten Hauptprädikaten wie in (22)). In der Wortfolge gibt es eine komplementäre Verteilung bei koverbaler gegenüber konverbaler Modifikation: Konverben gehen dem modifizierten Prädikatsteil als M^{ans} voraus – konverbale Ausdrücke folgen dem propositionalen Kern.

Konverben müssen im Horizont ihrer konkurrierenden Ausdrucksformen analysiert werden, wozu vor allem adverbiale Konstruktionen gehören, die in der traditionellen Grammatik als „Zustandsätze“ diskutiert wurden. Diese werden syndetisch angeschlossen (mit der ansonsten koordinierenden Partikel ^ow^o ‘und’); das sekundäre Prädikat kann dann finit (p-markiert) sein, zugleich mit der hier obligatorischen durativen Aspektmarkierung *ka-* (30a). Daneben ist auch eine infinite (partizipiale) syndetisch oder asyndetisch angeschlossene Form möglich (30b)-(30c):

- (30-MA) a. nəʃs-ət f-n-namusia u hija
 schlaf:PFV-3SG.F in-DEF-Bett und 3.SG.F
 ka-t-bki
 DUR-3SG.F- wein:IMPERF
 ‘weinend schlief sie im Bett’
- b. nəʃs-ət f-n-namusia u hija baki-ja
 schlaf:PFV-3SG.F in-DEF-Bett und 3SG.F wein:PTCP-SG.F
 ‘weinend schlief sie im Bett’
- c. nəʃs-ət f-n-namusia *baki-ja*
 schlaf:PFV-3SG.F in-DEF-Bett wein:PTCP-SG.F
 ‘weinend schlief sie im Bett’

17 Auch hier ist die Terminologie nicht einheitlich. Ich folge hier einer argumentativen Linie in der neueren typologischen Diskussion, die bei sekundären Prädikationen zwischen attributiven (partizipialen) und adverbialen (konverbalen) unterscheidet. Dabei wird in der Regel zugleich von einer Fintheitsskala ausgegangen, indem diese Differenzierung an infiniten Verbformen gemacht wird. Das führt allerdings zu typologischen Problemen, wie in Abschnitt 5 auch für das Berberische gezeigt wird. Zu den terminologischen Problemen und Hinweisen auf die einschlägige Diskussion, siehe etwa VAN DER AUWERA (1998).

Manche Konverben sind nur in einer aktuellen Interpretation (als gleichzeitig mit dem Äußerungsakt) akzeptabel wie in (31), vgl. damit (24b):

(31-MA) r'a-ha bark-a ka-t-šawd li-na
 PRS-3SG.F sich.hinsetz:PTCP-SG.F DUR-3SG.F-erzähl: zu-PL
 'da sitzt sie nun und erzählt uns ...'

Sekundäre Prädikate, die depiktiv in die Hauptprädikation eingebunden sind, sowohl in einer partizipialen Form wie in (31), wie auch in einer finiten wie bei den Beispielen in (24), sind von solchen zu unterscheiden, bei denen das Depiktiv (*ka-n-qij:əl*) eine syntaktische Selbständigkeit bewahrt und so im Übergang zu Konverben steht:¹⁸

(32-MA) u ana ka-n-qij:əl f-đ-đar' ka-n-šəb
 und 1SG IND-1SG-Tag.verbring: in-DEF-Haus IND-1SG-spiel:
 ht:a kbər-t
 bis groß.werd:-1SG.PFV
 'und ich habe den ganzen Tag im Haus gespielt, bis ich groß
 geworden bin' (IM-MUT-86)

Zu unterscheiden sind solche Depiktive aber auch von anderen sekundären Prädikaten, die nicht an die Ereignisprädikation des Hauptprädikats gebunden sind, sondern in einer (nominalen) Ergänzung zum Prädikat attributiv fungieren. Das gilt für alle attributiven sekundären Prädikate, sowohl wenn sie adjektivisch verknüpft sind (vgl. (4) im Gegensatz zu (1)) wie auch, wenn sie propositional zu einer Relativkonstruktion ausgebaut sind. Dieser Unterschied zwischen Depiktiv und Attribut markiert eine Differenz des MA gegenüber dem Schriftarabischen. Im SA ist die kongruente Markierung von Kopf und Attribut bei Definitheit (auch bei propositionalem Ausbau des Attributs)¹⁹ obligatorisch. Im MA sind die Verhältnisse komplexer, da das Markierungsparadigma hier weiter ausdifferenziert ist (mit einer Dimension [\pm spezifisch]). Die explizite Markierung, die formal zu einer syndetischen Konstruktion führt, wenn der Kopf definit ist, findet sich vor allem in komplexeren Konstruktionen, vgl.

(33-MA) kain n-nuṭ.a-t l:i bħal daba matal.an
 sei:PTCP.SG.M DEF-Note-PL REL wie jetzt z.B.

18 Zu dieser Übergangszone gehören auch die idiosynkratisch sehr unterschiedlich beschränkten Wortstellungsfreiheiten: In (32) ist das durative Koverb *°qijj°* im komplexen Prädikat *ka-n-qij:əl ka-n-šəb* nur locker verknüpft und durch eine periphere Ortsangabe *f-đ-đar'* getrennt, siehe dazu weiter unten.

19 Die entsprechende Markierung *l:i* glossiere ich allerdings konventionell mit REL.

ka-i-n.szm-u fi-hum
 IND-3-fließ:-PL in-3PL
 ‘es gibt die Noten, bei denen sie sich z.B. treffen’ (C-IM-S-115)²⁰

die Konstruktion ist allerdings nach wie vor i. d. R. asyndetisch, wenn der Kopf indefinit ist, vgl.

(34-MA) ʔam:a(a)na xd:am.a ʔaz:-a l-ħməl
 aber 1SG Hausdienerin.SG trag:PERFP-SG.F DEF-Last
 kul:-ha
 ganz-3SG.F
 ‘aber ich bin eine Hausdienerin, die die ganze Last trägt’
 (CAS-F-7)

In solchen Konstruktionen ist beim sekundären Prädikat die ganze Palette an Kopfmarkierungen verfügbar, einschließlich der unabhängigen indikativischen Markierung, wie Beispiel (33) zeigt.

Depiktive Ergänzungen in diesem weiten Sinne sind relativ frei anzuschließen, vgl. analog zu (8) mit einem „kognitiven“ Matrixverb (°smʔ° ‘hören’):

(35-MA) sməʔ-na-k tə-qd:əm-ti l-l-ntixab-at
 hör:PFV-1PL-2SG.OBJPRO REF-aufstell:PFV-2SG zu-DEF-Wahl-PL
 ‘wir haben von dir gehört, daß du dich bei den Wahlen aufgestellt hast’ (FES-R-41)

Das Partizip dieses Verbs ist auf die Interpretation einer Gleichzeitigkeit mit der Äußerungssituation festgelegt, mit ihm wäre eine resultative Taxis nicht artikulierbar, vgl.

(36-MA) sməʔ-na r'a-k m-qd:əm l-l-ntixab-at
 hör:PFV-1PL PRS-2SG PTCP-aufstell:PFV.SG.M zu-DEF-Wahl-PL
 ‘wir haben von dir gehört, daß du dich bei den Wahlen aufstellst
 (= kandidierst)’ (FES-R-41)

In Hinblick auf die Strategie zur Artikulation sekundärer Prädikate erscheint das MA hybrid – wie die Beispiele zeigen, konkurrieren hier verschiedene Strategien, eine nominale und eine verbale. Die nominale Strategie ist arabisches Erbe, wie auch die koverbale Modifikation. Allerdings ist die Opposition von Nomen und Adjektiv relativ labil: attributive Konstruktionen lassen sich als appositive nominale Konstruktionen interpretieren.

Wie in Abschnitt 2 bereits angesprochen, sind adjektivische Depiktive vor allem in Verbindung mit „kognitiven“ Verben häufig, die eine solche prädikative

²⁰ Die Äußerung bezieht sich auf zwei Sänger mit unterschiedlichen Stimmlagen.

Ergänzung verlangen (als „gebundene Depiktive“). Diese gehört also in ihr Valenzschema (ihre „Argumentstruktur“), ebenso wie es bei kopulativen Verben der Fall ist, die ein Prädikativ mit einem Subjekt verknüpfen, also „leichte“ Verben, die lexikalisch nur noch eine aspektuelle Bedeutung artikulieren. In meinem Teilcorpus aus Casablanca / Mohamedia ist vor allem °*ʒj*° (sonst ‘kommen’) als kopulatives Verb häufig, vgl.

(37-MA) a. *lasus djal-ha kul:ʃi ka-i-kun*
 Soße von-3SG.F alles HAB-3SG.M-sei:IMPERF
ka-d-ʒi bnin-a
 HAB-3SG.F-komm:IMPERF lecker-SG.F
 ‘ihre Soße / alles wird ... / sie wird lecker’ (MOH-N-xy)

b. *l-wəqt li d:a-ni*
 DEF-Zeit RELnehm:PFV.3SG.M-1SG.OBJPRO
ʒa-t-u zwin-a mʃa huwa
 komm:PFV-3SG.F-3SG.M.OBJPRO schön-SG.F mit 3SG.M
 ‘die Zeit, in der er mich (auf-)genommen hat, war gut für ihn’
 (CAS-F-13)

Die feminine Kongruenz der prädikativen Ergänzung (mit dem in dieser Varietät femininen *wəqt*)²¹ macht in diesem Beispiel die Überlagerung der beiden Prädikationen – verbal und nominal – deutlich. Das in (37) kopulativ genutzte Verb °*ʒj*° ‘kommen’ ist intransitiv, vgl. auch die beiden Verwendungen von *ʒj* in den folgenden Beispielen: in (38a) in einer passivischen Periphrase, in (38b) kopulativ:

(38-MA) a. *mnin t-i-ʒi-u mə-qli-jin t-i-ʒi-u*
 wann HAB-3-komm:-PL PASSP-brat:-PL HAB-3-komm:-PL
f-f-ʃkəl tani
 in-DEF-Art wieder
 ‘wenn sie gebraten werden, werden sie wiederum schlecht’
 (MOH-N-xy)

b. *wa.lakinni hna ʒa-ni ana*
 aber hier komm:PFV.3SG.M-1SG.OBJPRO 1SG
l-hut f-l-mhammædia yali
 DEF-Fisch in-DEF-Mohammedia teuer.SG.M
 ‘aber hier, für mich ist der Fisch hier in Mohammedia teuer’
 (MOH-N-xy)

21 Das Genus von *wəqt* ist dialektal verschieden. Bei einigen Gewährsleuten ist es maskulin, bei ihnen hieße es dann *ʒa zwin*.

Ähnlich bei °rʒʃ°, sonst 'zurückkommen':

(39-MA) bqi-na ... l.mu.him bqi-t ...
fortfahr:-1PL.PFV also fortfahr:-1SG.PFV
təʃ-na rʒəʃ-na kaml-in
hinauf.gel:-1PL.PFV rück.kehr:-1PL.PFV all:-PL
'wir haben weiter ... also ... ich habe weiter ... wir sind hinaufge-
gangen, wir waren wieder alle zusammen.' (IM-Aabd-83)

In Hinblick auf die „subkategorisierte“ prädikative Ergänzung bilden diese etymologisch gesehen intransitiven Verben eine syntaktische Klasse mit den oben angeführten transitiven kognitiv-perzeptiven Verben mit einem prädikativen Objekt (°lqj° 'finden', °fwf° 'sehen' u.a.).

4. Depiktive im marokkanischen Arabischen: eine instabile Struktur auf der Folie sprachlicher Inhomogenität

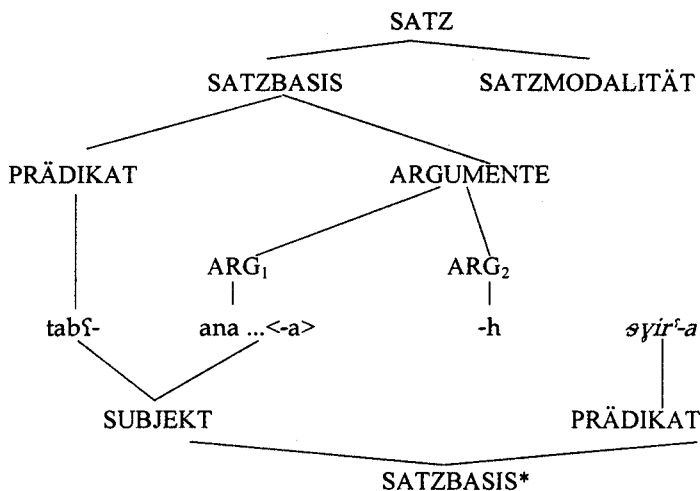
Die vorausgehende Darstellung hat gezeigt, daß im MA zwei Konstruktionen zur Verfügung stehen, um Übersetzungsäquivalente zu dem zu artikulieren, was in der europäischen Tradition als Depiktive bzw. Prädikative angesprochen wird: jeweils in einer verbalen und in einer nominalen Strategie. Nominal artikuliert Depiktive kommen nur eingeschränkt vor. „Regulär“ sind sie nur dann, wenn sie von Verben gefordert werden: das gilt bei Objektsprädikativen für die Klasse der kognitiv-perzeptiven Verben, bei Subjekts-Prädikativen für eine Reihe von Verben wie °ʒj°, °rʒʃ° u.a. (s. (36)-(37)), die allerdings auch schon als „leichte“ bzw. kopulative Verben angesprochen werden können bzw. die ebenfalls eine Art kognitiver Bedeutungsverschiebung durchgemacht haben.²² Hinzu kommen einige wenige Verben mit einem resultativen Komplement (MA °xlla° '(zurück-)lassen', s. (19)).

Die Verben in beiden Klassen haben einen relationalen Sachverhalt als ihr Komplement, der als Hauptprädikat im MA mit einem Nominalsatz artikuliert würde. Es ist nun genau diese Nominal-Satz-Syntax, mit der in diesen Fällen das Depiktiv artikuliert wird. Wo eine solche Einbindung in das verbal regierte Prädikationsfeld nicht vorliegt, ist das Ergebnis eine hybride Konstruktion, bei der anders als bei einem attributiven Neben-Prädikat das sekundäre Subjekt nicht aus einer nominalen Form alleine besteht, sondern in die Prädikation des Matrixprädikats eingebunden ist (die sekundäre depiktive Prädikation konnotiert im Ge-

22 Von dem Bewegungsverb °ʒj° 'kommen' zur Bedeutung 'einen Eindruck, eine Empfindung hervorrufen' u.dgl.

gensatz zu den attributiven sekundären Prädikaten das Szenario des primären Prädikats und dessen satzmodalen Spezifizierungen):

(40)



Freie nominale Depiktivkonstruktion im MA (Subjekts-Depiktiv)
tabſ-a-h syir'a 'ich (fem.) folgte ihm als kleine' (vgl. 22b)²³

Syntaktisch handelt es sich also um eine freie Adjunktion mit einer prädikativen „Satz“konstruktion (hier *Satzbasis**), die die Kernkonstruktion (*Satzbasis*) überlagert: *syir'a* ist nicht (sekundäres) Prädikat zu ARG₁ (die Sprecherin sagt nicht, daß sie klein ist bzw. war), sondern ein (höheres) Prädikat zu der Prädikation, die als „Subjekt“ der *Satzbasis** fungiert (oder auch: die das Szenario charakterisiert, das im Satz prädiziert wird). Die beiden prädikativen Strukturen (*Satzbasis* und *Satzbasis**) überlagern sich – nicht anders als die „topikalisierende“ Konstruktion ein „freies Topik“ der Kernkonstruktion vorausstellt, die als Prädikat über diesem fungiert (vgl. *ana* als freies Topik in (9)).

Bewußt habe ich bei dieser Darstellung die formalen Probleme der reichlich sprießenden generativistischen Analysen ausgeblendet: Es scheint mir nicht sinnvoll, derartige freie Depiktivkonstruktionen linear zu syntaktisieren. Das sekundäre Subjekt ist eben keine Konstituente in der Matrixkonstruktion. Bei diesen Konstruktionen handelt es sich um eine lose geknüpfte Fusionierung von zwei Satzbauplänen, um eine *hybride* Konstruktion, die wie in (40) als *Ko-Ana-*

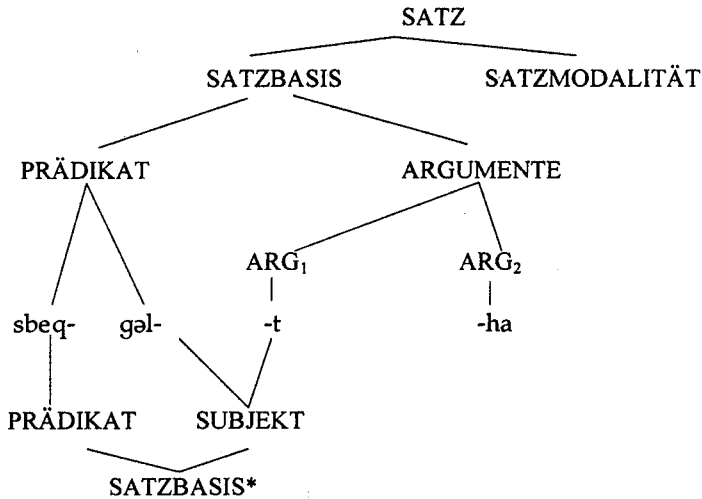
23 <-a> steht als Kongruenzmarkierung des Hauptarguments am partizipialen Prädikat.

lyse verstanden werden kann.²⁴ Die Integration der beiden sich überlagernden Strukturen erfolgt allein auf der Ebene der Informationsstruktur, nicht auf der Ebene der Konstituentenstruktur: ein Depiktiv wie *şyzi'a* ist kein propositionswertiges Adjunkt (kein Nachtrag oder dgl.); die Konstituentenstruktur ist in Äußerungen wie (22b) inkohärent. Diesem hybriden Aufbau entspricht auch der markierte Status solcher Konstruktionen: sie artikulieren eben keine unmarkierte Option neben anderen „unauffälligen“ Konstruktionen. Die Konstruktion ist syntaktisch nicht vollständig integriert; und daher haben die Beschränkungen über solchen Konstruktionen wohl auch weniger einen grammatischen Status als vielmehr den von Schranken der Interpretierbarkeit des so Artikulierten (so schon RAPOPORT 1995).

Das grammatisierte Gegenstück zu solchen hybriden Konstruktionen sind die verbal artikulierten Depiktive, die formal in die große Klasse der koverbalen Modifikatoren in einem komplexen Prädikat gehören, mit denen neben aspektuellen Spezifizierungen, Einstellungen u.a. vor allem auch temporale Situierungen der Äußerung vorgenommen werden (s. Abschnitt 3). In solchen Fällen ist die depiktive Struktur, die auch wieder wie in (40) als Ko-Analyse parallel zu der propositionalen Kernstruktur repräsentiert werden kann, vollständig integriert, wie (41) zeigen kann:

24 Ko-Analysen werden in verschiedenen Ansätzen genutzt, um formalen Inkongruenzen Rechnung zu tragen, s. etwa SADOCK (1991). Ko-Analysen akzeptieren eventuelle Inhomogenitäten in den Befunden, statt diese auf dem Weg einer Projektion auf hochabstrakte „Tiefenstrukturen“ zu normalisieren.

(41)



Koverbale Depiktivkonstruktion im MA
sbeq-t gal-t-ha 'ich habe es zuerst gesagt' (s. 24a)

Die p-Markierungen bei den gereihten koverbalen Prädikatsteilen sind als Kongruenzmarkierungen zu interpretieren, ohne unabhängige referenzielle Funktion. Diese Konstruktion ist nur für Subjekts-Depiktive möglich.

Beide depiktive Konstruktionen sind im MA von resultativen Konstruktionen unterschieden, die in anderen Sprachen homolog artikuliert werden. Resultative Prädikate subkategorisieren einen Sachverhalt als konstitutiven Bestandteil des Szenarios: im MA ist die reguläre Ausdrucksform dafür eine Modifikation des Stammes, also eine lexikalische Kodierung, keine syntaktische.²⁵ Eine, wenn auch eingeschränkt produktive, Stammbildungsreihe zeigt hier lexikalische Kontraste, die eine Artikulation mit einem sekundären Prädikat blockieren:

(42)

STAMMBILDUNG	INTERPRETATION	BEISPIEL° <i>ħmaq</i> ° 'verrückt'
°KKK°	<i>stativ</i>	<i>ħmaq</i> 'er ist verrückt'
°KKaK°	<i>inchoativ</i>	<i>ħmaq</i> 'er ist verrückt geworden'

25 Die Abgrenzung von Depiktiven gegenüber Resultativen kann hier also morphosyntaktisch erfolgen, nicht nur semantisch (in Hinblick auf die Prädikation über dem gleichen Ereignis wie beim Hauptprädikat und nicht wie bei Resultativen über einem Folgeereignis bzw. -zustand).

°KəKK*əK° (KK* = Geminate)	kausativ	ħəm:əq 'er hat (jmd.) verrückt gemacht'
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„Resultative“ durch verbale Wortbildung im MA

In solchen Fällen liegt offensichtlich keinerlei sekundäre Prädikation vor (und auch kein komplexes Prädikat) – diese ergeben sich hier nur in den Übersetzungäquivalenten in den europäischen Sprachen.

Wie angedeutet, zeigt sich im Corpus eine erhebliche Variation: die Sprecher unterscheiden sich nicht nur danach, welchen Gebrauch sie von depiktiven Konstruktionen machen, sie unterscheiden sich auch erheblich darin, welche solcher Konstruktionen sie für akzeptabel halten. Der Hintergrund dafür ist nicht nur die dialektale Variation, die insbesondere auch Resultat unterschiedlicher Kontaktverhältnisse zum Berberischen spiegelt (s. dazu Abschnitt 5), sondern zunehmend auch Bildungseinflüsse, in dem Maße wie Kenntnisse des Schriftarabischen über die Schule verallgemeinert werden: Sprecher, die auf das Schriftarabische (strukturell also das Altarabische) ausgerichtet sind, akzeptieren u.U. Strukturen nicht, die dort nicht zu verankern sind (wie z.B. auch den Gegensatz von (1) gegenüber (4)). Zunehmend gewinnen aber auch die europäischen Sprachen, vor allem das Französische, Modellcharakter. Bei Aufnahmen mit „gebildeten“ Sprechern, die in ihrem professionellen Alltag regelmäßig französisch sprechen, sind Kalkierungen nach dem Muster der nominalen Strategien in den europäischen Sprachen häufig. Hier finden sich fortlaufend Beispiele wie das folgende (der Sprecher ist Dozent an einer Französisch-Abteilung):

- (43-MA) a. t-təlab.a l:i t-səɟ:l-u
DEF-Student.PL REL REFL-aufnehm:PFV-3PL
m-ʔax:r^l-in
PASSP-verspät:-PL
'die Studenten, die sich *verspätet* einschreiben' (FES-M-31)
- b. kul: t-təlib m-fr^uū
all: DEF-Student.SG PASSP-isolier:-M.SG
i-nz:əl r^bʕ.a djal l-ʕadad
3SG.M-nieder.leg:IMPERF Vier von DEF-Arbeit
'jeder Student muß *einzeln* vier Arbeiten abgeben' (FES-M-118)

Das MA mit seiner auch schon etymologisch angelegten Option einer nominalen Strategie bietet für solche Kalkierungen immerhin Landeplätze. (43a wird von anderen Gewährleuten als unproblematisch bestätigt.) Was das für die sprachliche Dynamik besagt, bleibt noch genauer zu untersuchen.

5. Ausblick: *maghrebinsche Depiktive* (Depiktive im Berberischen)

Die nur labile Struktur depiktiver Konstruktionen im MA ist, wie im Vorausgehenden deutlich geworden ist, mit zwei dort dominanten Sprachbauzügen verknüpft:

- einerseits die grammatisierte Unterscheidung zwischen einer *Ereignisprädikation*, die verbal artikuliert wird, und einer *relationalen* Prädikation, die nominal artikuliert wird, u.U. verstärkt durch eine nicht-verbale Kopula (ein Präsentativ),
- andererseits die nur schwach ausdifferenzierte Wortart *Adjektiv*.

Auf der morphologischen Seite kommt als Besonderheit hinzu, daß im Verbal-system die *personale Markierung* nicht genutzt wird, um in komplexen Sätzen eine Finitheitsskala zu etablieren, sondern daß Ketten von *p*-markierten Verbformen sowohl hypotaktische Konstruktionen in komplexen Sätzen wie komplexe Prädikate artikulieren.

Für den Ausbau der syntaktischen Struktur mit sekundären Prädikationen besteht damit

- einerseits die Möglichkeit, diese auf das Hauptprädikat auszurichten, mit reduzierter Finitheit in subjungierten Prädikaten (mit subjunktiven Formen, über Taxis mit dem Hauptprädikat verknüpft)²⁶, aber auch mit einer koverbalen Integration in ein komplexes Hauptprädikat,
- andererseits die Möglichkeit, diese gewissermaßen opak für die Hauptprädikation attributiv in unverbunden adjungierten nominalen "Inseln" zu artikulieren; wenn das mit einem finiten Prädikat geschieht, dann besteht für dieses auch die Möglichkeit unabhängiger satzmodaler Spezifizierungen (indikativisch markierte Prädikate in „Relativsätzen“ u.dgl.).

Depiktive Konstruktionen liegen quer zu diesen Strukturvorgaben. Sie fokussieren ein attributives Nebenprädikat, indem sie es an das Hauptprädikat koppeln (es also nicht in seiner nominalen Insel artikulieren), ohne daß dafür in der Konstituentenstruktur eine entsprechende syntaktische Variable definiert ist. Insofern bilden sie eine hybride Struktur, bei der sich eine Ereignisprädikation und eine relationale überlagern, was ich oben mit Ko-Analysen expliziert habe. Das unterscheidet sie von syntaktisch gebundenen Prädikativen, die sich als Objektsprädikative „regulär“ bei kognitiven Verben finden (und ähnlich bei einigen Verben wie '(in einem Zustand) zurücklassen': MA *xella*, marokkanisches Berber *dza*) und als Subjektsprädikative bei kopulativen Verben. Abgesehen von solchen

26 Altarabisch (und bewahrt in der modernen Schriftsprache) gab es hier auch ein Spektrum an partizipialen und konverbalen sekundären Prädikaten.

Prädikativen und einigen idiomatisierten Formen sind adjungierte nominale Prädikationen im MA als Depiktive Ausnahmen. Sie konkurrieren mit der grammatisierten Möglichkeit zur Artikulation von depiktiven sekundären Prädikaten durch ihre koverbale Integration in ein komplexes Prädikat – allerdings eingeschränkt auf Subjekts-Depiktive (gebunden an die Kongruenz der *p*-Markierungen).

Depiktive gehören im MA zu einer sprachlichen Dynamik, die sich zuletzt in der großen Variation im beobachtbaren Sprachverhalten spiegelt; sie reflektiert nicht zuletzt die spezifische maghrebinische Sprachbundkonstellation. Trotz großer morphologischer Differenzen zeigt sich zwischen MA und dem in Marokko gesprochenen Berberischen (im folgenden MB) eine strukturelle Homologie, die es immer möglich macht, für jede Konstruktion in der einen Sprache ein eindeutiges Übersetzungs-Äquivalent in der anderen zu finden.

Vgl. mit (1)-(4) die entsprechenden Gegenstücke in (44):

- (44-MB) a. *i-suw* *a-ɣi* *a-səm:aɗ*
 3.SG.M-trink:IMPERF SG-Milch SG.M-warm
 ‘er trinkt die Milch warm’
- b. *i-suw* *a-ɣi* *i-səm:iɗ*
 3.SG.M-trink:IMPERF SG-Milch 3SG.M-warm.sei:PFV
 ‘er trinkt die Milch warm’
- c. *i-suw* *a-ɣi* *i-sməɗ-ən*
 3.SG.M-trink:IMPERF SG-Milch PTCP-warm.sei:-PTCP*
 ‘er trinkt die warme Milch’

(44a-b) sind depiktive Konstruktionen: (44a) mit einer nominalen Form²⁷, (44b) zeigt die verbale Strategie; (44c) zeigt eine Relativkonstruktion mit einer partizipialen (invariablen) Form des Prädikats. Diese Entsprechungen finden sich auch bei den gebundenen Depiktiven: Während hier das MA eine nominale (partizipiale, insofern aber doch „verboide“, s.o.) Form nutzt, nutzt das Berberische auch hier die *p*-markierte verbale Form.²⁸

27 Im MB ist die Wortart Adjektiv nicht ausdifferenziert: (44a) zeigt in *a-səm:aɗ* ein reguläres Nomen mit der („maskulinen“) Klassenmarkierung im Präfix *a-*.

28 Solche analytischen Konstruktionen sind aber relativ markiert. Unmarkierter sind in beiden Sprachen synthetische Bildungen (s. auch oben zu (42)):

- (a-MA) *ɣa-n-fər:əh* *um:-i*
 FUT-1SG-froh.sei:CAUS:IMPERF Mutter-1.SG
 ‘ich werde meine Mutter frohmachen’
- (b-MB) *aɗ-s-fərḥ-əx* *jəm:a*
 FUT-CAUS-froh.sei:IMPERF-1SG Mutter
 ‘ich werde meine Mutter frohmachen’

- (45-MA) a. *rəd: -it -ha* fərhan-a
 zurück.gerb:PFV-1.SG-3SG.F.OBJPRO froh-F
 'ich habe sie wieder froh gemacht'
- b. *að -t -ar -əx* θ -fərħ
 FUT-3SG.F.OBJPRO-mach:IMPERF-1SG 3SG.F-froh.sei:PFV
 'ich werde sie froh machen'

Der Unterschied zwischen den beiden maghrebinischen Sprachen liegt in der deutlicher ausgeprägten verbalen Strategie im Berberischen. Im MB, das den koverbalen Ausbau des Prädikats sehr viel weniger weit entwickelt hat als das MA, werden freie Depiktive durch adjungierte verbale Prädikationen artikuliert, oder aber, genauso wie nominale Prädikative im Nominalsatz mit einer verbindenden (etymologisch pronominalen) Kopula:

- (46-MB) a. *muħa d amuđin*
 Moha COP krank.M.SG
 'Moha ist krank'
- b. *i -qar:əb* mħənd ð a -mezgaru
 3.SG.M-nahe.komm:IMPERF Mohand PRÄS erster
 (T: aməzwaru)
 'Mohand kam als erster'
- c. *i -z:i -θən* ð i -z:ug:war-ən
 3.SG.M-lass:PFV-3.PL.M PRÄS rot.sei:-PL
 (T: iz:ug:arən)
 'er ließ sie rot (d.h. blutig) zurück'
- d. *θ -çja* aħram n -t'azr ð r':hun
 3.SG.F-lass:PFV Kind von-Kaufmann COP Pfand
 i udaj
 zu Jude
 'sie ließ dem Juden das Kind des Kaufmanns als Pfand'

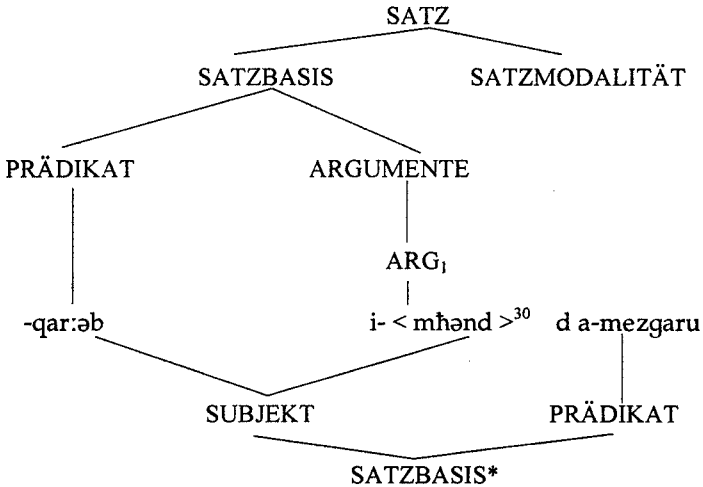
Auch hier gibt es wieder eine große Variation: solche Konstruktionen sind nicht für alle Sprecher akzeptabel (dabei sind (46b-c) anderen Quellen entnommen).²⁹ (46d) ist eine Übersetzung von (17) ins Tarifit (nördliche Varietät des MB), die von meinem Gewährsmann für das Tamazight (Varietät des MB im Mittleren Atlas) nicht akzeptiert wurde. Die Verhältnisse im Berberischen bedürfen einer eigenen Untersuchung; hier muß ich es bei diesen Hinweisen belassen, die aber

Im Berberischen wird wie in (45b) die feminine Objekt-Markierung *-t-* an präverbale modifizierende Elemente (wie in diesem Fall das *að-*) klitisiert, ohne solche Augmente wird es suffigiert.

²⁹ Aus RENISIO (1932) (47b) auf S. 225, (47c) auf S. 235 (sprachlich: Tarifit).

wohl ausreichen, um zu zeigen, daß die Möglichkeit einer nur lose verknüpften depiktiven Konstruktion „gemein-maghrebinisch“ ist. Neben der syntaktisch integrierten verbalen Strategie hat auch das MB die Möglichkeit der Fusionierung einer (verbalen) Ereignisprädikation mit einer (nominalen) relationalen, die als Ko-Analyse repräsentiert werden kann, vgl. (47) mit dem MA-Beispiel in (40):

(47)



Depiktive Konstruktion im Berberischen (Subjekts-Depiktiv)
i-qar:əb mħənd d a-mezgaru 'Mohand kam als erster' (s. 46b)

Die bei der Diskussion der MA-Beispiele deutlich gewordene Dynamik läßt sich letztlich nur im Horizont des maghrebinischen Sprachbunds analysieren. Zur Dynamik dieser Verhältnisse gehört allerdings auch, daß im Kontakt mit den europäischen Bildungssprachen, in gewisser Weise auch dem Klassischen Arabischen, eine nominale Artikulation von Depiktiven bei „gebildeten“ Sprechern nicht selten ist – was in den derzeitigen Verhältnissen eine Spannung zu der Grundstruktur der maghrebinischen Sprachen schafft, nach der Ereignisprädikationen verbal artikuliert werden.

Bei aller Vorläufigkeit der Befunde sollte doch deutlich geworden sein, daß eine Bestandsaufnahme, wie ich sie hier für die Depiktive im MA (und andeutungsweise im MB) versucht habe, ihren Gegenstand nicht isolieren kann, son-

30 *i-* repräsentiert (pronominal) das Argument, der Name *mħənd* steht appositiv dabei.

dem diesen in den Zusammenhang des Sprachbaus der jeweiligen Sprache stellen muß – im Sinne dessen, was früher mal „charakterisierende Typologie“ hieß.

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On the meaning of predicative particles in Albanian and Greek*

0. Introduction

Like most European languages, Albanian and Modern Greek have predicative particles, roughly corresponding to their English counterparts *as* and *like*, used mostly, though not exclusively, in non-main predications and similitive constructions. While in Albanian there is only one particle, *si*, Greek has two synonymous lexemes, *san* and *os*, the difference being the one of register (low vs. high), not of meaning. Secondary predicates seem to appear rather randomly with or without a predicative particle, with most syntactic contexts allowing for both a bare and an augmented predicative phrase, as illustrated in sentences (1) and (2)¹:

- (1) Albanian
E emëruan Ø redaktor në departamentin informative.
him appointed editor in department informative
'He was appointed editor in the information department. (They appointed him...)'
[www.revistaklan.com/lexo.asp?id=189]

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1 Here and elsewhere, the interlinear gloss is merely a word-to-word translation intended to help the reader follow the argumentation in the main body of the text; features irrelevant to the purpose of the paper are ignored throughout.

(2) Albanian

Më pas e emëruan si mësues në shkollën Skendërbej.
morelate him appointed as teacher in school Skendërbej
'Later, he was appointed teacher at the school "Skendërbej". (They
appointed him...)'

[www.alb-net.com/pipermail/alb-club/Week-of-Mon-20010115/007306.html]

My purpose here is to argue that the contrast between bare and augmented predicates in these two languages is not random, despite appearances², but rather semantically motivated, triggered by the opposition between two basic types of predication, which I shall label, for want of better terms, *inclusion proper* and *approximate inclusion*. By inclusion proper I mean the full application of the predicate to the subject referent. In approximate inclusion this application is incomplete in some relevant way, as the contrast between *Peter is your father* vs. *Peter is like your father* illustrates. These sentences also show that my interpretation of the semantic difference between bare and augmented predicatives capitalizes on the fact that similitive phrases and augmented predicatives in Albanian and Greek are not formally differentiated (*si*-phrases in Alb., *san*-phrases in Gr. in both cases). I shall try to demonstrate that the semantic difference between bare and augmented predicatives becomes readily explainable as soon as we assume that this formal identity of similitive and augmented predicative phrases also implies semantic identity between these two seemingly clearly distinct phrase types. The explanation I offer is limited in scope, since it bears solely on predicative complements; predicative adjuncts (circumstantials, depictives and strong free adjuncts) seem to behave in a different manner (cf. Section 4) and deserve to be a topic of a separate investigation.

Not much has been written on predicative particles, both in descriptive and formally oriented literature. Nevertheless, two distinct lines of theorizing on the topic may be discerned. On the syntactic side, a number of researchers working within the framework of Bowers' theory of predication (BOWERS 1993) – which posits the existence of a fully articulated predicative phrase (PrP) with VP as its complement and the subject of predication as its specifier – treat predicative particles as the spell-out of the otherwise invisible head of PrP, Pr^o (e.g. BAILYN 1995, 2002, EIDE & ÅFARLI 1999, ÅFARLI & EIDE 2001). From the perspective of the present paper, the PrP approach has two serious drawbacks. First, the proponents of the PrP headed by a predicative particle either fail to give an

2 The only authors who mention this heavily understudied feature of Albanian and Greek, BUCHHOLZ & FIEDLER (1987, 452ff.), consider it an instance of free variation, with no semantic impact whatsoever.

account of conditions under which the purported head Pr^0 is overt as opposed to those under which it is phonologically zero (BOWERS 1993, BAILYN 1995, 2002), or they ascribe the overt particle the case-assigning function and relegate the zero realization to cases where case assignment is not needed (EIDE & ÅFARLI 1999). This is a rather unattractive proposal for languages that allow case-marked phrases to appear with and without a predicative particle (cp. (1) and (2)), since it wrongly predicts that bare predicatives would have to remain without a case. Second, this approach seems to be inherently unable to deal with semantic variation, which is no wonder in view of its being primarily devised to deal with languages which display little, if any, semantic variation, like English and Norwegian (though see BAILYN 2002, n. 12 on Russian).

On the other hand, semanticists have tended to view predicative particles as type shifters, i.e. as a semantic device par excellence, concentrating mostly on the few syntactic contexts in which they do have a semantic impact in English, notably free adjuncts and perception verb complements. Thus, STUMP (1985, 86ff.) claims that *as* turns individual-level into stage-level predicates (cf. different truth conditions for *A blonde, Mary might look like Jane* vs. *As a blonde, Mary might look like Jane*), whereas JÄGER (2000, 2001) treats *as* as a type-lowering device shifting the meaning of its complement NP from generalized quantifier to property (cp. *Mary saw John (*as) naked* vs. *Mary saw John *(as) a soccer player*). Since the predicative particles in Albanian and Greek freely combine with both individual-level and stage-level predicates, and with both <<e,t>,t> and <e,t>-type phrases (see below), this kind of approach has only a very limited applicability in these two languages.

In contrast to this, the function POTTS (2002) suggests for the complementizer *as* in English, which is, roughly, to express partial identity, will be made use of in this paper. The same holds for the observation by HASPELMATH & BUCHHOLZ (1998, 323) to the effect that the marking of what they call role phrases (like in *be worried as a father*) tends to derive diachronically from the marking of similitive phrases (like in *behave like a father*) because the former meaning is easily derived from the latter via implicature ('in the same manner as' > 'in the role of') (cp. Section 4).

The paper is organized as follows. Section 1 outlines the Standard Average European (SAE) use of predicative particles, in order to provide a background against which the specific nature of the transparent system in Albanian and Greek can be highlighted. In Sections 2 and 3 relevant data on predicate complements of two prominent verb types are given. An explanation of the presented facts in terms of the distinction between inclusion proper and approximate inclusion is offered in Section 4.

A note on the nature of this contribution is in order here: in spite of its dealing with two languages, it is not a piece of comparative work in the usual sense of the word (identifying differences and formulating parameters of variation). The reason is simple: Albanian and Greek, as will become patent in the course of the paper, seem to behave identically with respect to the feature examined, confirming thus once more the old dictum by KOPITAR (1829) that Balkan languages are based on a unitary language form which is merely expressed with different linguistic material ("nur eine Sprachform [...] aber mit dreyerley Sprachmaterie", KOPITAR 1945, 253).

1. SAE use of bare and augmented predicates

First I would like to introduce the common European type of distribution of bare and augmented secondary predicates. The typical SAE distribution is well represented by English, in which the variation between bare predicates and *as*-phrases is mostly triggered by purely formal factors (with some exceptions, see above). More precisely, whether a secondary predicate in English will occur bare or as an *as*-phrase is determined by the syntactic properties of the lexemes involved. The form of predicative complements is usually determined by the matrix predicate: some verbs take predicative complements with *as*, some take only bare complements. Compare examples (3) and (4), which clearly show that the choice between bare and *as*-complements is a matter of valence and has no semantic impact whatsoever (cp. also AARTS 1992, 111-121).

- (3) a. I regarded Jim *a s* a complete idiot. (AARTS 1992, 113)
b. *I regarded Jim \emptyset a complete idiot.
- (4) a. I find my landlady \emptyset charming.
b. *I find my landlady *a s* charming.

In the case of depictives and most other adjunct secondary predicates, it is basically the lexical class of the predicative itself that its form depends on: nominal depictives are regularly expressed with *as*-phrases, whereas the adjectival ones appear bare:

- (5) a. He died *a s* a young man.
b. *?He died \emptyset a young man.
- (6) a. He died \emptyset young.
b. *He died *a s* young.

The nearly identical semantics of the depictives in (5) and (6) underlines the fact that the choice of a bare vs. *as*-predicative has little to do with the meanings they

carry: their distribution is fully formalized and depends solely on the lexical category of the predicative expression (cf. EIDE & ÅFARLI 1999, 162ff. for a similar account of Norwegian, German and Russian).

The situation in Albanian and Greek is, as indicated above, radically different: most verbs taking predicative complements allow for both bare and *as*-predicatives, and the noun-adjective distinction does not seem to play any major role in licensing the appearance of the predicative particle. In what follows, I shall try to identify the semantic difference between bare and augmented predicatives by taking a closer look at the predicate complements of two particularly frequent verbs.

2. Predicate complements of ‘consider’-verbs

Let us first take a closer look at the prototypical verbs of propositional attitude: the Albanian verb *konsideron* and the Greek verb *θεωρο*, meaning roughly ‘consider, think of, regard as’.

As the following sentences show, both adjectives and nouns may appear in both forms, bare and augmented, with the Albanian verb *konsideron*. Let’s first take a look at adjectives:

- (7) Albanian
 Yung-Wei e konsideron Islamin pak restriktiv ..., ai
 Yung-Wei it considers Islam little restrictive he
 respekton mësimet e tij dhe e konsideron të ngjashëm
 respects teachings ART its and it considers ART similar
 me mësimet e Confuciusit.
 with teachings ART Confucius
 ‘Yung-Wei considers Islam quite unrestrictive ..., he respects its
 teachings and considers it similar to the teachings of Confucius.’
 [www.geocities.com/alcislam/civilizim/kinislam.html]

- (8) Albanian
 Sipas njoftimit për shtyp, ai e konsideroi si
 according to announcement for press he it considered as
 inkurajuese punën e qeverisë Majko...
 encouraging work ART of-government Majko
 ‘According to the press release, he (said that he) considered the
 work of the Majko city council encouraging...’
 [http://www.shekulli.com.al/politika/12korrik2002/meidani.shtml]

Sentence (7), in which two bare predicatives are found, simply states the opinion of the subject of *konsideron*, without the speaker taking a stance as to the actual truth of this opinion. In contrast to this, the augmented predicative in (8) is explicit as to the non-commitment of the speaker to the opinion reported ('he is said to have expressed the opinion that...'), this noncommittal propositional attitude being additionally marked with the introductory phrase 'according to the press release'. The same difference is found with nominal secondary predicates; (9) illustrates the neutral epistemic stance conveyed by bare predicatives:

- (9) Albanian
 Kryeministri shqiptar e konsideron minoritetin grek
 prime minister Albanian it considers minority Greek
 factor të rëndësishëm në marrëdhëniet mes dy
 factor ART important in relations between two
 vendeve.
 countries
 'The Albanian Prime Minister considers the Greek minority an important factor in the relations between the two countries.'
 [www.telpress.it/ata/shqip/000108/lajm06.htm]

When the predicative is augmented, the embedded propositional content becomes epistemically qualified:

- (10) Albanian
 Duke folur për infrastrukturën që lidh dy
 GER speak about infrastructure which connects two
 vendet, z.Berisha e konsideroi rrugën aktuale si "një
 countries Mr.Berisha it considered road current as a
 simbol të marrëdhënieve të së shkuarës"...
 symbol ART relationships ART ART past
 'Speaking about the infrastructure which connects the two countries, Mr. Berisha (said that he) considered the way they were currently going "a symbol of the relations in the past"...'.
 [http://www.keshilliministrave.al/shqip/lajm.asp?id=5477]
- (11) Albanian
 Eurodeputetja socialiste greke, Anna Karamanu ... e
 European delegate socialist Greek Anna Karamanou it
 konsideroi nacionalizmin shqiptar si kërcënim të
 considered nationalism Albanian as threat ART

pages në Ballkan.
peace in Balkans

‘The Greek socialist member of the European Parliament, Anna Karamanou, (said that she) considered Albanian nationalism a threat to the peace in the Balkans.’

[www.forumishqiptar.com/showpost.php?p=3802&postcount=12]

In (10), the inverted commas around the secondary predicate, together with the predicative particle, mark the status of the secondary predication as an opinion of Mr. Berisha, which the speaker may, but need not share; in (11), the speaker takes an implicit stance towards the opinion of the Greek member of the European Parliament by using the predicative particle: it is (as the broader context shows) an opinion he does not support.

Thus, *si*-phrases seem to emphasize that the thought which is reported is merely reported and that the speaker takes no responsibility whatsoever for its contents. Pragmatically, the lack of commitment on the part of the speaker may be triggered by the unreliability of the source, by the wish to mark the opinion as quoted, or *si* is used as an implicit marker of the speaker’s disagreement with the opinion expressed.

The same holds true for the predicate complements of the Greek verb *θεορο*, as examples (12) to (15) show:

Adjectives:

(12) Greek

[A man called Einstein’s secretary and asked for his address.]

I gramateas tu ðen to pistepse kai to ðeorise ipopto.
the secretary his not it believed and it considered suspect

‘The secretary did not believe him and considered the whole thing fishy.’

[http://www.zortal.gr/modules/newbb/viewtopic.php?viewmode=flat&order=DESC&topic_id=2959&forum=19]

(13) Greek

[You have computer problems because you like AP so much.]

Eyo ti lisi me to QOS ti ðeoro san kaliteri.
I the solution with the QOS it consider as better

‘I (for my part) consider the solution with QOS better.’

[twmn.net/modules.php?name=Forums&file=search_author=StormLord]

Nouns:

(14) Greek

[Although she had her dreams, she followed her mother's orders.]

Etsi ðe ðeoruse ton eafto tis anipakui kori,
so notconsidered the herself her disobedient daughter

epiði tolmuse mistika na onirevete.

because dared secretly to dream

'So she did not consider herself a disobedient daughter for daring to have secret day-dreams.' [FAKINOÛ 2001, 24]

(15) Greek

[Having accidentally met Ioanna, Nikolas spent an evening with her in a church. Nikolas suddenly felt his anguish disappear.]

O Nikolas K. ... ðeorise tin Ioana san aformi ton
the Nikolas K. considered the Ioanna as cause of-the

ayaθon jevonoton pu tu sinevisan.

good events which him happened

'Nikolas K. ... considered Ioanna to be the cause of all good things that happened to him.' [FAKINOÛ 2001, 41]

Examples (12) and (14), which contain bare predicatives, are, like their Albanian counterparts, simple statements of the opinion of the subject of the matrix verb, without any further epistemic qualifications. By contrast, (13) and (15), in which the secondary predicate is augmented with the particle *san*, are hedged: in (13), the speaker emphasizes that it is his personal opinion that QOS is a better solution, as can be seen from the use of the overt first person pronoun in the subject position, which roughly translates as 'for my part, I...' (cf. MATIĆ 2003, 606 on the use of overt first-person subjects as hedging devices in pro-drop languages). In (15), the readers of the novel know that the good things that happened to Nikolas K. have nothing to do with Ioanna, so the sentence with a *san*-predicative reads as a report on his subjective reasoning from which the writer clearly distances herself.

The first difference between bare and augmented secondary predicates thus pertains to the epistemic qualification of propositions in the scope of verbs of propositional attitude: whereas bare predicates are employed to report opinions without further epistemic qualification, those augmented with the particle *si* or *san/os* epistemically qualify propositions in the scope of the verb of propositional attitude, the qualification ranging from the emphasis on the quotative nature of the proposition to its marking as improbable, or even downright false from the viewpoint of the

speaker. It is important to note that this opposition (bare/epistemically neutral vs. augmented/epistemically qualified) seems to apply to the complements of most verbs of propositional attitude in Albanian and Greek, not merely to *konsideron* und *θεορο* – examples similar to those given in (7) to (15) are attested for Greek verbs *vrisko* ‘find’, *aforo* ‘look at, regard’, *exo* ‘treat as, think of as’, *nomizo* ‘have an opinion’, *fenome* ‘seem’, among others; on the Albanian side, the verbs whose complements vary with respect to the presence of the particle *si* include *mban, quan, kujton* ‘think of as, consider’; *sheh* ‘find’; *giykon* ‘judge as’; *duket* ‘seem’, etc.

3. Predicate complements of ‘feel’-verbs

The second relevant semantic difference between bare and augmented predicates, that between indicative and modally marked propositions, will be illustrated on the example of the complements of the verbs roughly meaning ‘to feel’ (in Albanian *e ndien vetem* ‘to feel oneself’ (reflexive), in Greek *njoθo* ‘feel’ (intransitive)).

Observe first the following Greek sentences, both with adjectival predicates:

(16) Greek

ðe fero eθini an prosvalo kanenan epiði
 not I-carry responsibility if insult somebody since
 njoθo elefteros (kai ime) na ekfrazo ti γnomi mou
 feel free and am to express the opinion my
 eleftera sto internet.
 freely in-the internet
 ‘I do not bear any responsibility if I offend someone, since I feel free
 (and I am free) to freely express my opinion on the internet.’
 [www.kapatel.gr/matrix/users/volteros/]

(17) Greek

ðen iparxi loyos i jinekes na njoθun san aðikimenes
 not exist reason the women to feel as done_wrong
 an ðen to θelun.
 if not it want
 ‘There is no reason for women to feel unjustly treated, unless they
 really want to (sc. feel that way).’
 [www.apisti.com/topic.asp?archive=true&TOPIC_ID=877]

The issue here is that of reality: in (16), the actual truth of the proposition ‘I am free’, expressed through a bare predicative which serves as a complement of the verb *njoθo*, is explicitly asserted in the following discourse (‘I feel free, and I am free’), whereas the augmented predicative in (17) carries the additional piece of information that women may indeed feel unjustly treated, but that this feeling is not necessarily rooted in reality. The bare predicative thus expresses propositions whose relation to the real world is unproblematic from the viewpoint of the speaker, whereas with the augmented ones this relation is marked as dubious. This impression is confirmed by the following pair of sentences with nominal predicates:

(18) Greek

[A Greek person from Germany complains that s/he is not sure about certain verb forms.]

Pos to lene ...benun ...bika ...? (Njoθo ksenos ... as ine).
 how it say enter entered I-feel foreigner let be
 ‘How do you say it ... benun ... bika? (I feel (that I am) a foreigner ... OK.)’

[www.greekforum.de/forum/archive/index.php/t-40440-p-4.html]

(19) Greek

Njoθo san aθlitis ton 100 metron pu tu valane
 I-feel as athlete of-the 100 meters which him they-put
 ti yrami termatismu sta 1500 metra!
 the line finish in-the 1500 meters
 ‘I feel (as if I were) a sprinter at 100 meters whose finishing line has been put at 1500 meters!’

[www.esato.com/archive/t.php/t-1319,s-1450]

What we see is the same semantic contrast as in (16)-(17): the bare predicative *ksenos* in (18) denotes a proposition which is not only compatible with the real world, but may even be read as factive in the sense of KIPARSKY & KIPARSKY (1971) (the person is aware of her/his being a foreigner), whereas the augmented predicative in (19) can only be interpreted as untrue (the person feels as if s/he were a sprinter, though s/he obviously isn’t). The question of the possible factive reading of (18) deserves some further comments. The factivity of (18) is optional, i.e. the secondary predicate *ksenos* may be interpreted both as presupposed and as non-presupposed. If it were augmented (*san ksenos*), the predicative could only receive a non-factive reading. I interpret this as follows: Bare predicates are modally unmarked, i.e. indicative; they allow for the positive truth value of the proposition and are therefore applicable in factive contexts. Aug-

mented predicates modify the proposition modally and generally imply its negative truth value; consequently, they are incompatible with factive contexts.

The Albanian data confirm this picture by and large. Observe the following examples:

(20) Albanian

[If your partner has cancer, you have to be with him ...]

në çastet kur e ndien veten të lënduar, të
in moments when him feels himself ART irritable ART
sëmure.

ill

'at times when he feels irritable, ill.'

[www.rtvzik.com/argetim_artikulli_43.shtml]

(21) Albanian

[Since he founded a company that was considered a great success (although many thought no special talent was needed to by a thing from the State for 4 Lekë and sell it for 8 by using personal relationships), and since ...]

vetja ai ka deklaruar se e ndien veten si mjaft
himself he has declared that him feels himself as quite

kreativ,
creative

'he himself had declared that he felt quite creative, [the expectations concerning his work were very high. But he failed.]'

[<http://www.biznesi.com.al/print.php?page=shownews&newsID=32>]

The issue of reality, already observed in the Greek examples, reappears. In (20), a person who has a cancer feels ill, and s/he *is* ill. This correspondence between the feeling and the world is possible only with a bare predicate; the use of an augmented predicate would imply the speaker's reserves about the truth value of the embedded proposition 's/he is ill'. By contrast, in (21), the businessman claiming that he feels creative is, according to the speaker, not creative at all, as the text immediately preceding this sentence shows. The doubtful truth value of the embedded proposition is signaled by the use of the predicate augmented with the particle *si*. The same holds true for nominal predicates:

(22) Albanian

Një lojtar që nuk e ndien veten shqiptar nuk
a player who not him feel himself Albanian not

mund të luajë me përfaqësuesen e Shqipërisë.
 can to play with representative ART Albania
 'A soccer player who does not feel like an Albanian cannot play
 together with the representation of Albania.'
 [www.forumishqiptar.com/archive/index.php/t-53375.html]

(23) Albanian (Gheg dialect)

[A: Americans should ask all the Moslems for forgiveness. B: You
 shouldn't forget that it is only due to the Americans that the Alba-
 nians expelled from Kosovë had the chance to return home.]

Nqoftë se ti e ndien veten si shqiptar at'herë
 if that you him feel himself as Albanian then
 munësh me marr me mend se qysh ndi na gjatë luftës.
 can to take with mind that how felt us during war
 'If you happen to feel like an Albanian, then you should remember
 how we felt during the war.'

[http://tifoizat.com/forum/viewthread.php?forum_id=15&thread_id=
 420&rowstart=80]

The embedded proposition in (22), expressed with a bare predicate, is not marked as contradicting the real world. The wider context reveals that the player in question is an Albanian, so that the reading is actually factive: he does not feel/is not aware that he is an Albanian, although he is one. Again, the ability of bare predicates to express subordinated propositions whose truth value the speaker does not consider problematic makes them compatible with factive contexts. By contrast, the augmented predicative in (23) conveys the doubtful quality of the national identity of the subject of the matrix verb ('if you felt (as if you were) a (real) Albanian', which the interlocutor is not, at least in the speaker's opinion).

As all the examples given above show, the second relevant semantic difference between bare and augmented predicates has to do with the speaker's attitude towards the truth value of the proposition expressed by the secondary predicate. Bare predicates may be labelled indicative; they represent the state of affairs as rooted in the reality and may accordingly be used in factive contexts. A predicative modified with a *si*, *san* or *os* conveys a modal modification of the embedded proposition, relating it to the possible worlds and depicting it as lacking full correspondence to the real world, which often leads to the irrealis ('as if') reading.

4. Inclusion proper and approximate inclusion

In what follows, I shall attempt to give a unified explanation of the semantic effects described in the preceding sections. Let me begin with the simple observation that predicative particles in Albanian and Greek are formally identical with the particles introducing similitive phrases.³ Consider the following examples, in which bare main predicates are contrasted with those augmented with a similitive/predicative particle:

- (23) a. Albanian: Agimi është babai im.
 Agim is father my
 Greek: Janis ine o babas mu.
 Jannis is the father my
 ‘Agim/Jannis is my father.’
- b. Albanian: Agimi është si babai im.
 Agim is like father my
 Greek: Janis ine san o babas mu.
 Jannis is like the father my
 ‘Agim/Jannis is like my father.’

How is the difference between sentences (a) and (b) in (24) to be accounted for semantically? I propose a simple solution in terms of traditional predicate logic, which views predication as an operation of inclusion, more precisely of the inclusion of the subject referent into the set of entities denoted by the predicate term on the basis of shared properties. Bare predicates, given in sentences (a), fulfill the conditions posed by this definition to the full extent: the entity ‘Agim/Jannis’ is unconditionally included into the set of entities denoted by the predicate ‘my father’, or, conversely, the denotation of the predicate fully applies to the referent of the subject phrase. Bare main predicates thus correspond to what I labeled *inclusion proper* in Section 1. In contrast, augmented main predicates (traditional similitive phrases), represented by sentences (b), convey approximate predications: the subject is included into a set of entities broader than the one denoted by the simple predicate; this set is defined by the property

3 This formal identity of similitive and augmented predicative phrases is not confined to Albanian and Greek, not even to the Balkan linguistic area: HASPELMATH & BUCHHOLZ (1998, 322ff.), who have counted some twenty European languages with identical particles and some fifteen with similar particles in both uses, consider it a characteristic feature of Standard Average European. What seems to be the exclusive feature of the two languages under consideration is the semantically transparent use of the similitive/predicative particles in predicative constructions (though see NICHOLS 1981, 344ff. and BAILYN 2002, n. 12 for some interesting Russian data).

of sharing at least some relevant properties with the denotation of the predicate term. Thus, the entity 'Agim/Jannis' is included into a set of entities characterized by sharing some defining properties of the original set 'my father'. Augmented main predicates (and similitive phrases in general) thus encode approximate inclusion, as defined in Section 1.

One important pragmatic effect of approximate inclusion is the implicature that inclusion proper does not hold: saying 'X is like my father' implicates that X is not my father. This generalized implicature is of the scalar type, generated by HORN'S (1984) Q-principle, according to which asserting the weaker term on the scale implicates the negation of the stronger term. Thus, given the scale {inclusion proper, approximate inclusion}, the use of a similitive phrase, which encodes the weaker term, approximate inclusion, implies the negation of the stronger term, inclusion proper.

Let us see how this equation (bare predicative = inclusion proper, augmented predicative = approximate inclusion) can be applied to the instances of secondary predication discussed in Sections 3 and 4. One important point in advance: for ease of presentation, I shall analyze sentences containing embedded secondary predicates as two separate predications – *I feel ill*, for instance, is analyzed as [I feel [I am ill]]. This should not be understood as an implicit sign of my commitment to the small-clause analysis of secondary predicates, but merely as an intuitively plausible representational convention.

First the simpler case, that of the predicative complements of 'feel'-verbs. Recall that the difference between bare and augmented predicates with these verbs was defined as that between propositions whose correspondence to the real world is not questioned, and those whose truth value is open to doubt. This opposition is a natural consequence of the opposition between inclusion proper and approximate inclusion, as shall become clear presently. Consider example (18), which can be represented as [I feel [I am a foreigner]]. Since the embedded predication is expressed with a bare predicative, the relation holding between the subject and the predicate term is marked as inclusion proper: 'I' is included into the set 'foreigner'. The subject of the matrix verb thus has a subjective perception ("feeling") of a state of affairs in which the subject term belongs to the set denoted by the bare predicate. Of course, the feeling may or may not be genuine, the embedded proposition true or false; the point is that the speaker does not take stance as to its truth value. The common pragmatic interpretation of this kind of inclusion proper is that the embedded proposition is true, since there are no indications to the contrary. It is for these reasons that only bare predicates can be used when factive reading is intended: since only bare predicates allow for the unqualified truth of the embedded proposition, it is only

they that allow for the presupposed truth value of the proposition embedded under a 'feel'-verb.

When the predicative is augmented with a particle, the embedded predication is marked as approximate inclusion, as illustrated by example (17), [women feel [women are (as) unjustly treated]]. The subject of the embedded proposition, women, is included into the broader set of entities which share some properties with the set denoted by the predicate 'unjustly treated'. Since this is a weaker element on the scale {approximate inclusion, inclusion proper}, its assertion implicates that the inclusion proper is not true, i.e. that women do not belong to the set of the unjustly treated (though they may have some similarities with this set). As a result, the whole situation is presented as follows: the subject of the matrix verb has a subjective perception of a state of affairs which by implicature does not correspond to the reality. This, in turn, prompts the interpretation to the effect that the perceived state of affairs is at best doubtful, if not downright false (otherwise the speaker wouldn't go to pains to additionally mark it as approximate inclusion). This is also why augmented predicates are not compatible with factive contexts: for a proposition to carry a factive presupposition, its truth value has to be presupposed, which is prevented by the generalized implicature that the inclusion proper does not hold.

A similar mixture of semantic and pragmatic factors can be adduced to account for the numerous instances of predicate complements of the verbs of propositional attitude, which are epistemically neutral when expressed with a bare predicate and epistemically qualified when an augmented predicate is employed. Let us first take a look at an instance of bare predicative, example (12) – [the secretary considered [it is suspicious]]. The subject referent of the embedded proposition, 'it' (= a stranger's asking for Einstein's address) is marked as properly included into the set of suspicious phenomena through the use of a bare predicative. The resulting interpretation of the propositional attitude expressed is neutral, i.e. not epistemically qualified, since the speaker uses the unmarked form, thus allowing the hearer to qualify the embedded state of affairs her/himself. Things look different when a predicative particle is used, as example (11) shows. The representation [Anna Karamanou considers [Albanian nationalism is (as) a threat to the peace in the Balkans] reveals that the embedded predication is treated as an instance of approximate inclusion, i.e. the subject term of the embedded proposition is presented as belonging to a set defined by having at least some of the properties of the set 'threat to peace in the Balkans'. By implicature, this means that the inclusion proper does not apply here, i.e. that Albanian nationalism does not belong to the set 'threat to peace...' (though it may have some features in common with it). The interpretation that is most plausible here is that of epistemic qualification: since the embedded predication is doubly hedged (through the verb of propositional attitude and through the

predicative particle), it is plausible that the speaker has some reserves concerning its contents. In this case, it is the speaker's implicit disagreement; however, as we have seen (e.g. in (9), (10), (13), etc.), the implicature need not be so strong.

To sum up: I propose that the function of the predicative particles *si* and *san/os* is to mark a predication as an instance of approximate inclusion. This basic meaning is present in both similitive and predicative phrases, the difference between these two types of phrases being rather pragmatic than semantic or syntactic in nature. More precise interpretations of predicative complements of different verb classes, like epistemic qualification or doubtful truth value, are derivable from the basic meaning via pragmatic enrichment.⁴

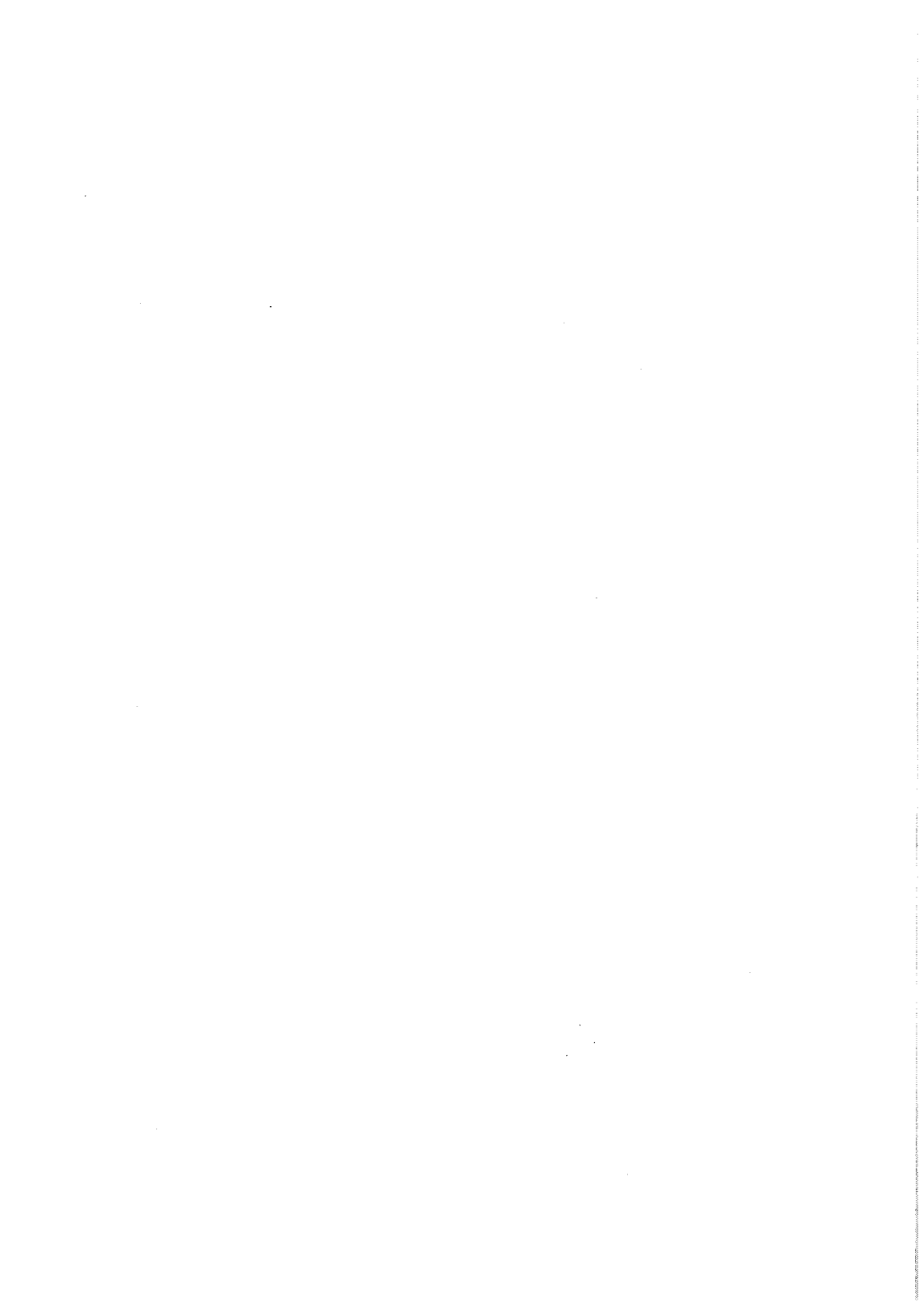
This is not to say that my analysis does not have its loose ends. I shall mention only the most important one: the applicability of the proposed semantic analysis to adjunct predicatives. The prediction of the theory proposed here is that only strong free adjuncts (in the sense of STUMP 1985) appear bare. Other predicative adjuncts (circumstantials and depictives as discussed by NICHOLS 1981 and HIMMELMANN & SCHULTZE-BERNDT 2005, respectively) should be used with a predicative particle, since they are temporally bounded by the event argument of the main predicate. This means that the speaker leaves the question of their applicability to the subject in other eventualities open, so that they are able to encode only approximate inclusions (i.e. temporally restricted predications). This prediction is only partially borne out – strong free adjuncts are indeed regularly encoded as bare predicates in Albanian and Greek, but circumstantials and depictives appear both bare and augmented, the conditions under which one or the other form is chosen being rather obscure. An important task for future research would therefore be to explore the distribution of bare and augmented depictive predicates in more detail. It is possible that the present proposal, based on predicative complements, will need further revision in order to be able to account for adjunct predicates as well. As it stands, it is to be understood as a first step towards a better appreciation of the semantic contribution of the particles used in secondary predication in Albanian and Greek.

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4 It is important to emphasize that this proposal does not lay claim to cross-linguistic validity: it is conceived only as a definition of the lexical meaning of two particles in Albanian and Greek.

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On secondary predicates in Old Russian

1. Linguistic typology has devoted a lot of effort in the recent years to the study of different types of nominal predicates. One type of syntactically dependent nominal predicates is called “secondary predicates”. Data from the Slavonic languages, esp. from Russian, provided considerable contributions to the typology of these nominal predicative constructions. The present paper tries to give a short historical survey of the phenomena called secondary predicates in “Old Russian”, based on the framework provided by SCHULTZE-BERNDT & HIMMELMANN (2004), HIMMELMANN & SCHULTZE-BERNDT (2005).¹ More precisely, it concerns data from the historical precursor of the present East Slavonic languages, i.e. Russian, Byelorussian and Ukrainian. Traditionally, this “Old East Slavonic” is called “Old Russian”, according to the former nomination of people and country known as “Kievan Rus”. The use of this term in the present study is due to scholarly tradition and does not reflect any kind of “Russian chauvinism”, as it has been sometimes the reproach of Byelorussian and Ukrainian patriots. – All quotations from historical documents are cited according to easily accessible text editions. They are given in a simplified orthography, which is commonly used in syntactic studies of Old Russian data.

2. In the Slavonic languages, the phenomena which are subsumed by typologists under the label of secondary predicates have attracted scholarly attention already for a long time (cf. HENTSCHEL in print). For example, SCHALLER (1975) qualifies the constructions under discussion as *indirekte Prädikation*, NICHOLS (1981, 12) distinguishes between *free* and *bound predicate nominals (copredicates)*. However, the different types of secondary predicates have been described in general from a structural perspective. SCHULTZE-BERNDT & HIMMELMANN (2004) give the following functional conditions for a nominal construction to be classified as a secondary predicate, which have to be summarized here in short because they constitute the theoretical base of the following investigation:

- A secondary predicate implies a copular relation with the noun it refers to, usually the first or the second argument (see below). The sentence expanded

1 This contribution is a revised and enlarged version of my paper: “Casus duplex, tvoritel'nyj padež i vtoričnoe skazuemoe”, in: Daniel Bunčić & Nikolaos Trunte (eds.), *Iter philologicum. Festschrift für Helmut Keipert*. München 2006, 69-79. I want to thank Winfried Boeder and Gerd Henschel for many valuable comments on a preliminary version of the present paper.

by a secondary predicate (*He drinks his tea cold*) can thus be substituted by the basic sentence (*He drinks his tea*) plus a copula construction in which the secondary predicate takes the position of a “primary” predicate nominal (*The tea is cold*).

- A secondary predicate is a facultative constituent; obligatory constituents such as the governed nominals in the context of copula verbs (e.g. Russian *byt'* ‘to be’, *javljat'sja* ‘to be’) and “semi-abstract copula verbs” (e.g. *kazat'sja* ‘to seem to’, *nazyvat'sja* ‘to be called’; GABKA 1989, 47 ff.) can never be interpreted as “secondary predicates”. “Free” and “bound” copredicates (in the terms of NICHOLS 1981, 367) are both non-governed forms, though a “bound copredicate” constitutes a “fixed, stable construction type” with the verb (o.c., 12).
- A secondary predicate is a nominal which refers to (is controlled by, SCHULTZE-BERNDT & HIMMELMANN 2004, 72) only one argument of the sentence, not the predication itself. The distinction between argument-oriented secondary predicates and predication-oriented (or event-oriented) adverbials is sometimes difficult, since orientation towards an argument does not *per se* exclude the orientation towards the argument’s predicate: cf. constructions like *he went barefoot(ed)*, which can be structured either by a copula relation (*he went + he was barefoot(ed)*) or as a predication-oriented adverb (*to go barefoot(ed)*) i.e. in a certain way that you go when you are barefooted). Whether a state of affairs is conceptualized in a certain language as a secondary predication or as an adverbial construction, can best be determined on the basis of formal criteria: e.g. its expression by a structure showing agreement with a controller vs by an uninflected word form (adverb).

Nominals which fulfill these three functional conditions can be subdivided according to certain semantic criteria. If a secondary predicate construction denotes a state of affairs which takes place simultaneously with the action expressed by the primary predication, it is called a “depictive” (SCHULTZE-BERNDT & HIMMELMANN 2004, 60). This is the normal case of secondary predicates in Contemporary Russian (1). “Resultative” secondary predicates, by contrast, denote a state of affairs subsequent with regard to the state of affairs expressed by the primary predication (2). These instances are rare in the Slavonic languages (cf. STRIGIN & DEMIJANOW 2001); in the given example, the resultative is represented by an adverb-like lexical form.

- (1) Ivan vernulsja s vojny *geroem*_{INS.SG}
 ‘Ivan returned from war as a hero.’

- (2) Druž'ja rešili napoit' ego *dop'jana*_{ADV}
 'The friends decided to get him drunk.'
 (NICHOLS 1981, 273)

Another group of secondary predicates has been described by NICHOLS (1981, 11) as "circumstantial [copredicates]". They are not governed by the verb, too, and thus behave in many respects like adverbials.² The group of circumstantials assembles different semantic relations between the primary and the secondary predicate, and shows preferences for different formal markers respectively. The semantic classification of circumstantials is the object of recent studies by HENTSCHEL (2006, and this volume). According to Hentschel the main types are the following: temporal (3), conditional (4) and causal circumstantials (5).

- (3) *Rebenkom*_{INS.SG} on žil v Moskve
 'As a child he lived in Moscow.'
- (4) *Spjaščaja*_{NOM.SG} ona byla očen' krasivaja
 'When she was sleeping, she was very beautiful.'
 (cf. NICHOLS 1981, 18)
- (5) [...] *kak*_{CI} predstavitel'_{NOM.SG} svoej srede on pital ljubov' k francuzskoj kul'ture
 'As a representative of his milieu he had a fondness for French culture.'
 (NICHOLS 1981, 137³; HENTSCHEL 2006)

The aim of the current paper is to show the representation of secondary predicates in historical texts. But before, a short survey of the state of the art is necessary in order to compare the polyfunctional category of Contemporary Russian with what can be found in early East Slavonic texts.

3. One of the reasons for the fact that secondary predicates have not been commonly recognized as a functional category in the literature on Slavonic languages may be the formal inhomogeneity of their representations. There are considerable structural differences among the main strategies of encoding secondary predicates. Even depictives are encoded in many different ways. In Contemporary Russian, a noun can be marked as a depictive by the instrumental case (6a), by function words such as *kak* 'as' (6b) or by some "primary" and "secondary" prepositions⁴ (6c; cf. NICHOLS 1981, 26 ff.). Another mode of encoding depictive

2 The relation between a circumstantial and the primary predicate is less close than the relation between a depictive and the primary predicate. E.g., in negating sentences as a rule the negation does not affect a circumstantial, as would be the case with a depictive (cf. NICHOLS 1981, 40 ff.).

3 Note that Nichols cites this example under the conditional subtype.

4 On this term cf. MENZEL (2003) with further references.

tives is called the “double case form” (*casus duplex*), where a second nominal form, the depictive, shows case agreement with its controller. The *casus duplex* structure is restricted to adjectival secondary predicates.⁵ The adjective takes the case of the argument it refers to – the first (or only) argument in the nominative (7a), the second argument in the accusative (8a), or the argument in the dative of impersonal / infinitive constructions (9a). The instrumental construction is possible in most of these contexts, too (7b/8b/9b).

- (6) a. Ivan rabotaet *učitelem*_{INS.SG}
 ‘Ivan works as a teacher.’
 b. Ivan rabotaet *kak*_{CI} *učitel'*_{NOM.SG}
 ‘Ivan works as a teacher.’
 c. Ivan rabotaet [*v kačestve*]_{PRP} *učitelja*_{GEN.SG}
 lit.: ‘Ivan works in the capacity of a teacher.’
- (7) a. My prišli *ustalye*_{NOM.PL}
 ‘We arrived tired.’
 b. My prišli *ustalymi*_{INS.PL}
 ‘We arrived tired.’
- (8) a. Ivan vypil čaj *xolodnyj*_{ACC.SG.M}
 ‘Ivan drank his tea cold.’
 b. Ivan vypil čaj *xolodnym*_{INS.SG.M}
 ‘Ivan drank his tea cold.’
- (9) a. ne sidet' že nam *zapertym*_{DAT.PL}
 ‘we must not sit locked in’
 (AG 80 § 2004)
 b. ne sidet' že nam *zapertymi*_{INS.PL}
 ‘we must not sit locked in’

Depictive secondary predicates, as can be seen from these examples, refer only to the first and second arguments of the sentence. They are not oriented towards third or further arguments (with circumstantials, however, even such constructions are possible). Depictives in the *casus duplices* show full agreement in gender, number and case with the words they refer to, but by the use of the instrumental (or function words such as *kak* ‘as’ and secondary prepositions) agreement is limited to the category of number (and gender – in the singular) only.

5 Participles which are inflected like adjectives are included implicitly in this category, here and in the following.

There is a lot of variation among the formal representations of secondary predicates, and it is this variation that the attention of scholars has been focused on. E.g., NICHOLS (1981, 151 ff.) observes that adjectival secondary predicates referring to feminine nouns in the position of the first / second argument predominantly take the *casus duplex* construction, otherwise the instrumental is preferred. But variation involves not only the options of agreeing *casus duplices* or instrumental constructions and function word constructions without agreement. With respect to adjectival secondary predicates, long and short forms have to be taken into account, the latter inflecting only for gender and number (cf. 10). They reflect old nominative forms. The distribution of these forms cannot be traced in detail here. Short forms are today very rare as secondary predicates but widely used in copula constructions, i.e. as primary predicates.

- (10) Grobovščik prišel domoj *p'jan*_{(NOM)SG.M} i *serdit*_{(NOM)SG.M}
 'The coffin-carpenter came home drunk and angry.'
 (Puškin)

Given the different formal strategies of encoding secondary predicates in Contemporary Russian, it is no surprise that the descriptive grammars do not introduce a functional category of "secondary predicates". The "Academy Grammar" of the Russian language (AG 80) presents constructions containing depictives in different places: forms in the second nominative (alternating with the instrumental without agreement) are placed among predicative constructions (AG 80 § 2235), the second ("duplex") accusative and dative is subsumed under *rasprostranjenija prostogo predloženiija* 'extensions of the simple sentence' (AG 80 § 2004), and those constructions which are encoded by the instrumental can be found in the passages on *sub"ektno-obstojaatel'stvennoe značenie* 'subjective adverbial meaning' and *ob"ektno-obstojaatel'stvennoe značenie* 'objective adverbial meaning' of the instrumental case (AG 80 § 2696).

Interestingly, the unified approach to secondary predicates, which is missing in descriptive grammars on the contemporary varieties of the Slavonic languages, can be found in the historical grammars, even when not exposed on a functional base (cf., e.g., GEORGIEVA 1968, 86 ff.). In his Old Church Slavonic⁶ syntax VEČERKA (1993, 231 ff.) introduces the category of the "predicative supplement": it associates all kinds of dependent nominal predicate constructions which express temporal simultaneity with the state of affairs in the primary predication. Večerka's syntactic category deviates from the definition of depictive secondary predicates given above only in that he includes in the category of predicative

6 "Old Church Slavonic" was the first written language in the Slavonic language family, with origins in the late 9th century. Text records of this liturgical language have survived mainly from the 11th century.

supplements also nominals with the status of obligatory constituents of the primary predication. So Večerka does not recognize the functionally based distinction between facultative predicative supplements (e.g. *to leave s.o. behind as an orphan*) and obligatory predicative complements (e.g. *to appoint s.o. a bishop*). The reason for this surprisingly unified theory of different kinds of dependent predicates is that the formal strategies of encoding depictives (and obligatory predicative complements) are far more interchangeable in the early written languages than they are nowadays: the *casus duplex* construction was common not only with adjectives, but also with nouns, and the instrumental, rarely used at all in former times, spread from nouns to adjectives beginning with the 17th century (LOMTEV 1956, 162 ff.). Details will be given below.

4. My analysis of secondary predicate constructions in Old Russian is based on a small corpus of texts from different genres, which originate from the 11th to the 15th century. The corpus focuses mainly on written vernacular and / or very old texts:

AN – «*Xoždenie za tri morja*» *Afanasija Nikitina* ‘«The Migration across the Three Seas» by Afanasij Nikitin’, an example of the late mediaeval vernacular language;

NBG – *Novgorodskie berestjanye gramoty* ‘The Novgorod Birchbark Letters’, also predominantly vernacular;

PR – *Pravda Russkaja* ‘The Russian Law’ [PRk: *Kratkaja redakcija* ‘short version’], rather concise, vernacular style;

PVL – *Povest' vremennyx let* ‘The Tale of the Bygone Years’, the Russian primary chronicle, a polyvalent text with differing stylistic categorization;

VSt – *Vita Stefani / Žitie Stefana episkopa permskogo* ‘The Life of Stefan Bishop of Perm’, in an elaborate style with archaistic influences;

VTh – *Vita Theodosii / Žitie Feodosija Pečerskogo* ‘The Life of Feodosij of the Kievan Caves Monastery’, an early example of the elaborate style.

One further text, *Novgorodskaja pervaja letopis'* ‘The Novgorodian Primary Chronicle’ *Novg.I.let.*, has been taken into account only in a subsidiary manner and was not fully excerpted, in contrast to the texts mentioned before. Chronological and quantitative data for the excerpted texts are given in the table below:

text	age	number of words	number of sec. pred.
AN	1474	ca. 7 300	13
NBG	ca. 1030 – 1400	ca. 15 300	9
PR	11/12 th c. (14/15 th c.)	ca. 5 000	10
PVL	ca. 1115 (1378)	ca. 56 000	33
VSt	ca. 1430	ca. 31 000	18
VTh	ca.1090 (ca.1200)	ca. 19 000	4

According to the relative frequency of secondary predicate constructions the texts can be ordered into the following hierarchy: VTh << VSt < NGB < PVL << AN < PR. In VTh secondary predicates are very rare (0,02 %). The two other literary texts VSt and PVL show a higher ratio, on the same level as the stylistically inconsistent subcorpus NGB (0,058-0,059 %). The ratio in the stylistically most concise texts AN and PR is significantly higher (0,178-0,2 %). The latter, however, are too short to be regarded as representative. After investigating the formal conditions for encoding secondary predicates in Old Russian texts we will try to explain the considerable text-specific differences in their usage.

5. Depictives predominate among the functional types of secondary predicates in the Old Russian texts, as they probably do in Contemporary Russian too. Most of the secondary predicate constructions found in the mediaeval texts contain adjectives; nouns in this position are comparably rare. This may be due to the fact that secondary predicates in general refer to a quality which is attributed to one of the participants in the state of affairs: qualities are expressed mostly by adjectives, since morphological nominalization of adjectives as a stylistic means had not yet become productive in Old Russian times.

5.1 Nouns and adjectives as secondary predicates show predominantly the agreement pattern of the *casus duplex* construction. In the first part of this section on *casus duplex* constructions we concentrate on depictives which are represented by nouns.

The second nominative construction of depictives referring to the first argument is highly unusual with nouns. A single example can be cited from Old Church Slavonic according to VEČERKA (1993, 236), see (11).⁷ – The second accusative-construction of nouns (12) is a common structure up to the 17th century, though alternating with instrumental forms (see 5.2). It has been completely lost later on (LOMTEV 1956, 218). If the second argument of personal (in later centuries: animate) nouns stands in the genitive form, a second genitive construction is possible. Old examples are uncertain, however. (13) belongs to the

7 Note that personal pronouns in subject function need not be expressed overtly: in example (11) there is a “second nominative” with the pronominal “first nominative” being implied.

15th century, a time when the genitive desinence had already expanded into the position of animate second arguments. The second genitive of a noun can be established also by agreement with a direct object in the context of a negation (cf. (14) according to VEČERKA 1993, 236). A second dative of nouns is rare; no examples have been found in the corpus so far.⁸ The two dative forms in the construction *pojati sobě ženě* 'to take as one's wife' ((15); GEORGIEVA 1968, 93) do not represent a secondary predicative relation. However, there is a single example of an alteration of this construction which contains a second accusative in a resultative sense (16).

- (11) věmь ěko otъ b(og)a [prišlyъ esi]
 know:1SG.PRS that:CJ from:PRP God:GEN.SG come:2SG.PERF.M
 učitelъ
 teacher:NOM.SG
 lit.: 'I know that you have come from God as a teacher.'
- (12) ot bogoš ko uike // vodai
 from:PRP Bogša:GEN.SG to:PRP Ujka:DAT.SG give:2SG.IMP
 grivenu isto
 grivna:ACC.SG capital:ACC.SG
 lit.: 'From Bogša to Ujka: give one grivna as capital'
 (NGB 114, ca. 1190-1225)
- (13) izidi na v'zyskanie ep(i)sk(o)pa, i
 go out:2SG.IMP to:PRP search:ACC.SG bishop:GEN.SG and:CJ
 v'zišči namъ sv(jati)t(e)lja, egože
 search:2SG.IMP we:DAT.PL cleric:ACC.SG who:ACC.SG.M
 obrět ep(i)s(ko)pa voz'vratisja k
 find:PTCP.PRT.PASS.M bishop:ACC.SG return:2SG.IMP to:PRP
 namъ.
 we:DAT.PL
 'Go out to seek a bishop and seek a cleric for us. When you have found someone as bishop, return to us.' (VStP 62)
- (14) ne tvorite domu o(ť)ca moego.
 NEG make:2PL.IMP house:GEN.SG [my father]:GEN.SG

8 LOMTEV (1956, 227 ff.) quotes a few examples with a second dative in infinitive copula constructions. The copulae in the infinitive express modal sense, thus the constructions with the dative do not represent depictives.

domu kupl̄naego

[house of merchandise]:GEN.SG

'Make not my Father's house a house of merchandise.' (John 2, 16)

- (15) xoščju tja pojati sobě ženě
want:1SG.PRS you:ACC.SG take:INF REFL.DAT. wife:DAT.SG

'I want to take you as my wife.' (PVL 6463)

- (16) Sotvori mirъ S(vja)topolkъ s
make:3SG.AOR peace:ACC.SG Svjatopolk:NOM.SG with:PRP

Polovci i poja sobě
Polovetsian people:INS.PL and:CJ take:3SG.AOR REFL.DAT

ženu dščerъ Tugorkanju
wife:ACC.SG [Tugorkan's daughter]:ACC.SG.F

'Svjatopolk made peace with the Polovetsian people and took Tugorkan's daughter as his wife.' (PVL 6602)

Adjectives appear in the position of the secondary predicate up to the 17th / 18th century exclusively in their short forms (but see (23) below), which at that time still showed case marking and thus case agreement. Sometimes it is difficult to decide whether a construction is to be interpreted on the sentence level as a secondary predicate or on the noun phrase level as an attribute. The reason is that the word order in Old Russian texts is "absolutely" unrestricted, thus the adjectival attribute can precede or follow its controller. To avoid ambiguities, adjectives in positions adjacent to their controllers are not taken into account as secondary predicates (cf. GEORGIEVA 1968, 98 f.). The following passage (17) shows adjectives which are attributive even though they are separated from their controllers by the negation marker *ne*:

- (17) ot sego prinosit uspěxъ ne
from:PRP this:GEN.SG.N bring:3SG.PRS success:ACC.SG NEG

xud, i pol'zu ne malu
bad:ACC.SG.M and:CJ benefit:ACC.SG NEG small:ACC.SG.F

slušatelemъ i skazatelemъ
listener:DAT.PL and:CJ narrator:DAT.PL

lit.: 'From this comes success that is not bad, and not a small benefit for listeners and narrators.' (VStP 1)

The problem of recognizing depictive adjectives is even worse with such lexical contexts as *pěšъ* 'on foot', which are oriented toward the predicate (or the event) as well as toward an argument, but belong to a kind of "typical semantics of primary predicate and depictive predicate" (cf. SCHULTZE-BERNDT &

HIMMELMANN 2004, 63). In fact these contexts are expressed by adverbials in many modern European languages. Old Russian shows an agreement pattern: cf. the n.sg. (18) and the n.pl. (19). The adjective in question, however, is in an adjacent position with respect to its controller: therefore it could be interpreted as an attribute in (18) or as an apposition to the pronominal controller in (19). An interpretation as depictive is possible on the base of semantic arguments, but it is not supported by overt linguistic structures.

- (18) Da pred nim skačet
 and:CJ in_front_of:PRP he:INS.SG.M jump:3SG.PRS
 kafarъ pěšъ da igraet
 infidel:NOM.SG on_foot:NOM.SG.M and:CJ play:3SG.PRS
 teremcomъ.
 parasol:INS.SG
 lit.: 'and in front of him an infidel runs on foot and plays with (provides) a parasol' (AN 368)
- (19) a družii pěši poběgoša
 and:CJ other:NOM.PL.M on_foot:NOM.PL.M escape:3PL.AOR
 'and others escaped on foot' (PVL 6615)

Turning now to the unambiguous data, it becomes evident that depictive adjectives are much more polyfunctional than depictive nouns. In contrast to nouns, they are common as second nominative forms (20). When referring to the second argument, they appear as a second accusative (21), but animate controllers can also trigger a genitive (22). In a 15th century text the same lexical context already shows the genitive / accusative plural of a (contracted) long form of the adjective *sirъ* 'orphan' (23).

- (20) i nača knjažiti Volodimerъ vъ
 and:CJ begin:3SG.AOR rule:INF Volodimer:NOM.SG in:PRP
 Kievě edinъ
 Kiev:LOC.SG alone:NOM.SG.M
 'and Volodimer began to rule in Kiev alone' (PVL 6488)
- (21) ne ostavlju vasъ sirъ
 NEG leave:1SG.PRS you:GEN/ACC.PL orphan:ACC.PL
 lit.: 'I do not leave you behind as orphans.' (VStP 38)
- (22) ne ostavlju vasъ sirъ
 NEG leave:1SG.PRS you:GEN/ACC.PL orphan:GEN.PL
 lit.: 'I do not leave you behind as orphans.' (Ostromirovo evangelie, 1056: SREZNEVSKIJ 1893-1912 s.v. *siryi*)

- (23) a nas siryxъ ostaviľ esi
 and:CJ we:ACC.PL orphan:GEN/ACC.PL leave:2SG.PERF.M
 lit.: ‘and you have left us behind as orphans’ (VStP 87)

Depictives in the second dative are more common with adjectives than with nouns, too. They are to be found in subject-oriented constructions: either in the contexts of verbs which demand a first argument in the dative (24) or as extension of the first argument in a *dativus absolutus* construction (25).⁹

- (24) нь nazi rodixomъ sja . tako že
 but:CJ naked:NOM.PL.M to be born:1PL.AOR so:CJ PTCL
 podobaetъ namъ nagoмъ proiti ot
 befit:3SG.PRS we:DAT.PL naked:DAT.PL go_to:INF from:PRP
 světa sego
 [this world]:GEN.SG
 lit.: ‘But we were born naked, so it befits us to go naked out of the world again.’ (VTh 58g)

- (25) Slověnomъ žiuščimъ
 Slav:DAT.PL lived:DAT.PL.PTCP.PRS.ACT
 kr(e)šč(e)nimъ. [...] poslaša ko
 baptized:DAT.PL.PCP.PRS.PASS send:3PL.AOR to:PRP
 c(esa)rju Mixailu [...]
 [Emperor Michael]:DAT.SG
 lit.: ‘When the Slavs were already living as baptized (people), they sent (emissaries) to Emperor Michael.’ (PVL 6406)

5.2 Strategies to encode secondary predicates without agreement comprise first of all instrumental forms, then adverbs and rarely used prepositional constructions. The instrumental of the secondary predicate is relatively rare in early texts, though singular representations are known already from Old Church Slavonic (VEČERKA 1993, 236 f.). Adjectives preserve the agreement pattern of encoding secondary predicates longer than nouns (GEORGIEVA 1968, 92). Adjectival depictives are used in the instrumental only from the 17th century onwards; this construction is not attested in our corpus. The extension of the instrumental in predicative (primary as well as secondary) functions during the 17th century

9 The *dativus absolutus*, similar to the Latin *ablativus absolutus*, is a subordinated clause construction in which the subject is represented by a nominal in the dative and the predicate by a participle which agrees with it in case.

could be due to Polish influence (cf. MOSER 1994). – Depictive nouns in the instrumental refer to the first (26) or second argument (27).¹⁰

- (26) I ide Isajja igumenъ
 and:CJ go:3SG.AOR Isajja:NOM.SG abbot:NOM.SG
 съломъ Kyevu
 emissary:INS.SG Kiev:DAT.SG
 ‘And abbot Isajja went as (an) emissary to Kiev.’ (Novg.I.let. 6642)
- (27) a nas otpustili golymi golovami
 and:CJ we:ACC.PL release:3PL.PERF.M [bare head]:INS.PL
 za more
 over:PRP sea:ACC.SG
 lit.: ‘and (they) released us with bare heads at the sea’ (AN 350)

There is another interesting usage of the instrumental, which can be interpreted as a secondary predicate construction, though it appears in adnominal positions. This construction is restricted to currency values – the noun in the instrumental characterizes the nature of the currency and expands the designation of the currency unit (“instrumental of essential characteristics”; MRAZEK 1964, 89 f.). As an adnominal construction, it alternates with the genitive – the typical adnominal case in Russian. This alternation is evident in example (28), and it can still be found in Contemporary Russian (cf. *5 kopeek serebrom*_{INS.SG} / *serebra*_{GEN.SG} ‘5 kopeks in silver’). In adverbial structures, similar usages of the instrumental are described as contextually motivated case functions such as the “instrumental of means” (LURAGHI 2003, 35) or the “instrumental of the material” (MRAZEK 1964, 40). The adnominal construction, however, gives evidence for an implied copular relation between the noun in the instrumental and the noun it depends on. This construction can thus be interpreted as a “bound copredicate” in the terms of NICHOLS (1981).

- (28) ot сътъjuna къ dobroŝke :
 from:PRP Sem’jun:GEN.SG to:PRP Dobroŝka:DAT.SG
 вьзьми u todorgъka polъ desja(te) gr(i)vně
 take:2SG.IMP at:PRP Todorko:GEN.SG 9 ½:NUM grivna:GEN.SG

10 The famous passage from PVL (fol.3 r.) *Днѣпръ втечѣтъ в Ропетъское море зереломъ* ‘the river Dnepr flows into the Black Sea through / as an estuary’ (compare RŪŽIČKA 1957, 82 ff.) does not contain a subject-oriented depictive, but rather a local (perlative) construction or an instrumental of manner. Admittedly, a similar interpretation as manner adverbial would be possible also in example (27).

sere//bra : a :i: gr(i)vnъ : kunami : a
 silver:GEN.SG and:CJ ten:NUM grivna:GEN.PL kuna:INS.PL and:CJ
 u moiseja poľ šeste grivne kunami
 at:PRP Moisej:GEN.SG 5 ½:NUM grivna:GEN.SG kuna:INS.PL
 vъzъmi ://
 take:2SG.IMP
 lit.: 'From Sem'jun to Dobroška: take from Todorko nine and a half
 grivna in silver and ten grivna in kuna, and from Moisej take five
 and a half grivna in kuna.' (NGB 710, ca. 1160-1190)

This overview of the formal means used in Old Russian texts to encode secondary predicates without agreement is to be concluded by a survey of the “sub-sidiary structures” – prepositions, conjunctions and adverbs. They are attested merely by some occasional examples. Only one prepositional construction with *za* + accusative ‘for’ could be found in the corpus (29). The conjunction *aky* ‘as’ is not uncommon at all, but mostly used in contexts of comparison: in some instances (because the concept of comparison is vague and thus not clearly distinguished from the concept of the secondary predicate) it can also be interpreted as a depictive marker (30). In several passages depictives are introduced by the conjunction *jako* ‘as’: in this formal type depictives referring to the first argument (31) can be distinguished from depictives referring to the second argument (32). Finally, depictive adverbs as uninflected deadjectival forms have not been fully developed as a derivational means in Old Russian; thus, also this formal strategy is scarcely attested (33).

- (29) da v velič č(ьs)ti pridu za
 so_that:CJ in:PRP [great honour]:LOC.SG come:1SG.PRS as:PRP
 vašъ knjazъ
 [your prince]:ACC.SG
 lit.: ‘so that I will come in great honour as your prince’ (PVL 6453)
- (30) D(a)v(i)dъ že sѣdjaše aky
 David:NOM.SG however:CJ sit:3SG.IMPERF as:CJ
 němъ
 dumb:NOM.SG.M
 ‘David, however, sat there without saying a word.’ (PVL 6605)
- (31) no samъ B(og)ъ
 but:CJ himself:NOM.SG.M God:NOM.SG
 prišedъ sp(a)st(i) ny. i
 come:NOM.SG.PTCP.PRT.ACT.M save:INF we:ACC.PL and:CJ

paki jako dětiščь roditsja
again:ADV as:CJ child:NOM.SG to_be_born:3SG.PRS
lit.: ‘but God himself has come to save us, and now he has been born
as a child’ (PVL 6494)

- (32) se azь posylaju vy jako ovca
so:ADV I:NOM.SG send:1SG.PRS you:ACC.PL as:CJ sheep:ACC.PL
posredě volkь
among:PRP wolf:GEN.PL
‘Thus, I send you as (like) sheep among the wolves.’ (VStP 16)

- (33) ot tvorimira ko thьmь klanjajusja
from:PRP Tvorimir:GEN.SG to:PRP Foma:DAT.SG greet:1SG.PRS
bratь prixažjai vo dvoro : ožь
brother:VOC.SG come:2SG.IMP in:PRP court:ACC.SG if:CJ
ti priedja // vьrьšь a
you:DAT.SG come:NOM.SG.PTCP.PRS.ACT by horse:ADV and:CJ
vodai...
give:2SG.IMP

‘From Tvorimir to Foma. I am greeting you, brother. Come to the
court. If you are coming by horse, give ...’ (NGB 82, ca. 1175-1200)

5.3 We may conclude that there are four formal strategies for encoding depictives in Old Russian: *casus duplices*, the instrumental, adverbs, and constructions with “function words” (prepositions or conjunctions / particles). As expected, none of these formal strategies is restricted to the expression of secondary predicates only (cf. SCHULTZE-BERNDT & HIMMELMANN 2004, 94). Agreement in gender, number and case is common for adjectival attributes, as has been mentioned before (cf. ad (17)), and for primary nominal predicates, too. The instrumental is used to encode different types of adverbials, but also nouns in the function of primary predicates. Uninflected adverbs are a lexical means to connect predication-oriented constituents of different semantic types. The prepositional construction *za* + accusative is extremely polyfunctional in Old Russian (cf. SREZNEVSKIJ 1893-1912 s.v.). The construction with *jako* connects several types of subordinated clauses. It has been mentioned already above, that the construction with *aky* can be used also to introduce comparisons which are dependent on the predication:

- (34) aky po mertvyxь plakaxusja
as:CJ for:PRP dead:LOC.PL grieve:3PL.AOR
‘(they) grieved as for the dead’ (PVL 6496)

Revealing is the function of the instrumental in the following type of copula sentences:

- (35) i viděvъ ju dobru
 and:CJ seen:SG.PTCP.PRT.ACT she:ACC.SG.F pleasant:ACC.SG.F
 sušču zělo licemъ i
 be:ACC.SG.PTCP.PRS.ACT very:ADV face:INS.SG and:CJ
 smyslenu udivisja c(a)гъ
 sensible:ACC.SG.F admire:3SG.AOR Emperor:NOM.SG
 razumu jeja
 intelligence:DAT.SG she:GEN.SG.F
 lit.: 'and having seen that she was very pleasant through her face and
 sensible, the Emperor admired her intelligence' (PVL 6463)

The use of the instrumental in similar constructions is still possible in Contemporary Russian (36a). It has often been treated as a separate "meaning" of the instrumental case, and in this way it has been understood as a semantic entity.¹¹ In fact, however, it should be interpreted as a functionally motivated usage of a morphological case, on a similar level as the depictive secondary predicate. There are, of course, considerable differences between this construction, which is restricted to instances of inalienable possession, and a secondary predicate. A sentence containing a depictive can be paraphrased by a sentence with the primary predication and a copula sentence which contains the depictive as its predicate nominal (*he went + he was barefoot(ed)*; cf. 2. above). By contrast, the noun marked by the instrumental case in (35/36a) is part of a copular sentence on the level of surface structure. This construction can be paraphrased by a predication indicating possession which is expanded by a copula construction with the possessum as its argument (36b).¹² By introducing a possessive predication in the paraphrasing sentence, the noun in question moves into an argument position, not into the function of a nominal predicate.

- (36) a. Ona krasivaja licom_{INS.SG}
 lit.: 'She is pretty through her face.'

11 Cf. *tvorit'nyj kačestvennoj xarakteristiki* 'instrumental of characterization by quality' (MRAZEK 1964, 28) and *tvorit'nyj sobstvenno ograničivajuščij* 'self-limiting instrumental' (MRAZEK 1964, 103), *the instrumental of personal characteristics* (WIERZBICKA 1980, 113 ff.).

12 Formally this kind of possessive relations is represented in Russian by a copular construction *u* + genitive (pro)noun [*est'*] lit.: 'is at him/her/it', connecting a possessor (expressed by the prepositional phrase) and a possessum (the predicate nominal). But functionally it can be regarded in the same way as a transitive possessive relation assigning an argument position to each of the two participants.

- b. U nee *lica*_{NOM.SG} krasivoe
 'She has a face that is pretty.'

Note that the paraphrase (36b) of the copular sentence (36a) is communicatively more redundant than paraphrases of "proper" depictive constructions as those mentioned in section (2.) of this paper. The difference is to be explained semantically by the fact, that depictives usually denote a property or state whose validity with respect to the argument can be delimited, whereas the terms in the instrumental case in (35/36a) form a relation of inalienable possession and thus represent an undelimited property or state.

Finally, it can be shown that the instrumental is neutral towards the obligatory or facultative status of a constituent. The instrumental encodes not only facultative secondary predicates in an implicit copula relation to a non-copular primary predication, but also obligatory arguments of "semi-abstract copula verbs" (see above, 2.). This fact provides a clue to another important structural feature of secondary predications in Old Russian: none of the formal strategies mentioned above (5.1-2) is restricted to facultative constituents. Moreover, not only single formal strategies, but also the specific variation of formal strategies as a whole appears with facultative secondary predicates as well as with obligatory constituents of non-copula predications. Cf. the following sentences with similar lexical contexts, built with a predicate *postaviti* 'to appoint', which takes an obligatory third argument specifying the social function the patiens is appointed to. This verb is attested with a second nominative (37), second accusative (38), instrumental (39) and with prepositional constructions (40).

- (37) postavlenъ byсть Ilija
 appoint:PTCP.PRT.PASS be:3SG.AOR Ilija:NOM.SG
 arxiepiskopъ novgorodъskyi ot
 archbishop:NOM.SG [of Novgorod]:NOM.SG by:PRP
 mitropolita Ioanna
 [metropolitan Ioann]:GEN.SG
 'Ilija had been appointed archbishop of Novgorod by metropolitan Ioann.' (Novg.I.let. 6673)
- (38) postavlju junošu knjazja imъ
 appoint:1SG.PRS young man:ACC.SG prince:ACC.SG they:DAT.PL
 'I will appoint this young man as prince for them.' (PVL 6523)
- (39) i postavi i mitropolitomъ
 and:CJ appoint:3SG.AOR he:ACC.SG.M metropolitan:INS.SG

v s(vja)těi Sofii
 in:PRP [Saint Sophia]:LOC.SG
 'and he appointed him as metropolitan in the (cathedral of) Saint
 Sophia' (PVL 6559)

- (40) ovyx v popy postavljaše,
 this:ACC.PL in:PRP priest:ACC.PL appoint:3SG.IMPERF
 ovyx' že vь diakony, drugia že
 this:ACC.PL PTCL in:PRP deacon:ACC.PL other:ACC.PL PTCL
 v' po(d)diakony
 in:PRP subdiacon:ACC.PL
 'These he appointed priests, others however, deacons, and still oth-
 ers sub-deacons.' (VStP 34)

6. The use of secondary predicates seems to be a marked strategy of encoding syntactically dependent predicate relations in Old Russian. The formal means are inhomogeneous and inconsistent, and the number of references is rather small. The normal and widespread mode of encoding subordinated predicative structures is, however, the expression by participles. Participial constructions are extensively used, especially in stylistically ambitious texts. Participial constructions are common even with a present participle of *byti* 'to be'. They are attested in all types of "circumstantial" contexts – cf. with a causal circumstantial referring to the first (41) or second argument (42), in a circumstantial temporal sense, as example (43) with a secondary predication in the instrumental shows, or in attributive function introducing a local adverb (44). Finally, this construction is also to be found in "small clause" constructions as (45).

- (41) jemu že i ne běxъ dostoinъ
 he:DAT.SG PTCL also:CJ NEG be:1SG.AOR worthy:NOM.SG.M
 grubъ syi i
 coarse:NOM.SG.M be:NOM.SG.PTCP.PRS.ACT.M and:CJ
 nevěglas
 ignorant:NOM.SG.M
 lit.: 'and being coarse and ignorant, I am not worthy to him' (VTh
 67b)
- (42) podobaše vamъ mene poslušati
 befit:3SG.IMPERF you:DAT.PL I:ACC.SG obey:INF
 starca sušča
 old_man:ACC.SG be:ACC.SG.PTCP.PRS.ACT.M
 lit.: 'it befitted you to obey me as I am an old man' (VStP 40)

- (43) I ešče dětiščemъ sy,
 and:CJ still:CJ child:INS.SG be:NOM.SG.PTCP.PRS.ACT.M
 iz' mlada, [vdanъ bystъ] gramotě
 from:PRP young:GEN.SG.M give:3SG.PASS.AOR writing:DAT.SG
 učiti
 learn:INF
 lit.: 'And, being still a child, from early years, he was given to learn
 the art of writing.' (VStP 4)
- (44) da rozumějutъ ljudie sii
 so:CJ understand:3PL.PRS people:NOM.PL this:NOM.PL.M
 suščii zdě, [...] jako ty
 be:NOM.PL.PTCP.PRS.ACT.M here:ADV that:CJ you:NOM.SG
 esi istinъnyi B(o)gъ
 be:2SG.PRS [true God]:NOM.SG
 lit.: 'so that the people being here understand that You are the true
 God' (VStP 52)
- (45) reče emu Volga vidiši mja
 say:3SG.AOR he:DAT.SG.M Olga:NOM.SG see:2SG.PRS I:ACC.SG
 bolnu sušču
 ill:ACC.SG.F be:ACC.SG.PTCP.PRS.ACT.F
 lit.: 'Olga said to him: «you see me being ill»' (PVL 6477)

By introducing a present participle of the copula verb, the dependent predicate relation is made explicit. This seems to be a stylistically motivated strategy to avoid secondary predicates. It is not due to chance that depictives are used so rarely in the *vitae sanctorum* which are contained in our text corpus. These texts represent a solemn style with abundant lexical and functional redundancies. The use of secondary predicates, by contrast, is a mode of implicit encoding of predicative relations, which contradicts the literary technique of solemn and redundant expressiveness.¹³ Predicative relations are built into complex structures of subordinated clauses here, but there is no preference for condensing the expression of subordinated predications into nominal structures. Explicit syntactic structures, lexical redundancy and solemn slowness of the discourse – this is the kind of “luxury” the mediaeval literary writer devoted to the listeners of his de-claimed texts.

For extralinguistic reasons which we do not know in detail, secular writers practised a highly condensed style. It was under these circumstances that second-

13 The author of VTh seems to have avoided secondary predicates more than other writers.

ary predicates could be used as a rather unmarked economical strategy. Afanasij Nikitin makes use of secondary predicates in his diary (AN). In a birchbark letter, there is a lexical context similar to example (45), in which the present participle is omitted and thus the “small clause” construction has been reduced to a formal minimum (46). Another text which has been written in a very condensed style is the corpus of the Old Russian law (PR). Even a resultative secondary predicate appears in this text (47) – an extremely rare instance in the Slavonic languages (cf. also example 16 above). This resultative contrasts with an attributive construction in an otherwise parallel constellation (48).

(46) a nyne slyšju bolenu sestru
 and:CJ now:ADV hear:1SG.PRS ill:ACC.SG.F sister:ACC.SG
 ‘and now I hear that my sister is ill’ (NGB 531, ca. 1200-1220)

(47) Ili budetъ krovavъ ili sinъ
 or:CJ be:3SG.PRS bloody:NOM.SG.M or:CJ blue:NOM.SG.M
 nadъraženъ, to ne iskati
 beat:NOM.SG.PTCP.PRT.PASS.M so:CJ NEG search:INF
 emu vidoka čelověku tomu
 he:DAT.SG.M witness:GEN.SG man:DAT.SG this:DAT.SG.M
 lit.: ‘If he is bloody or beaten blue, this man must not seek for a witness.’ (PRk 2)

(48) Ašče že priidetъ krovavъ mužъ
 if:CJ PTCL come:3SG.PRS bloody:NOM.SG.M man:NOM.SG
 ljubo sinъ, to ne iskati emu
 or:CJ blue:NOM.SG.M so:CJ NEG search:INF he:DAT.SG.M
 posluxe
 witness:GEN.SG
 lit.: ‘If a man comes bloody or blue, he must not seek for a witness.’
 (PRk 30)

The distribution of secondary predicates in Old Russian cannot be understood without taking into account the character and stylistic preferences of the individual texts. There are conditions of the literary work under which secondary predicates tend to be avoided (cf. VTh). In other texts they can be extended even to semantic features which would ordinarily never be encoded by this formal means. The rules when to use or to avoid secondary predicates always depend on either the necessity or the impracticability of condensing predicative structures. This is prescribed by stylistic norms. The selection among a variety of strategies to encode syntactically dependent nominal predicates by secondary predicates or to avoid them by marking dependent copula relations overtly can be motivated

ambiguously. It is based on linguistic criteria as well as on extralinguistic, factual and philological circumstances of the literary business.

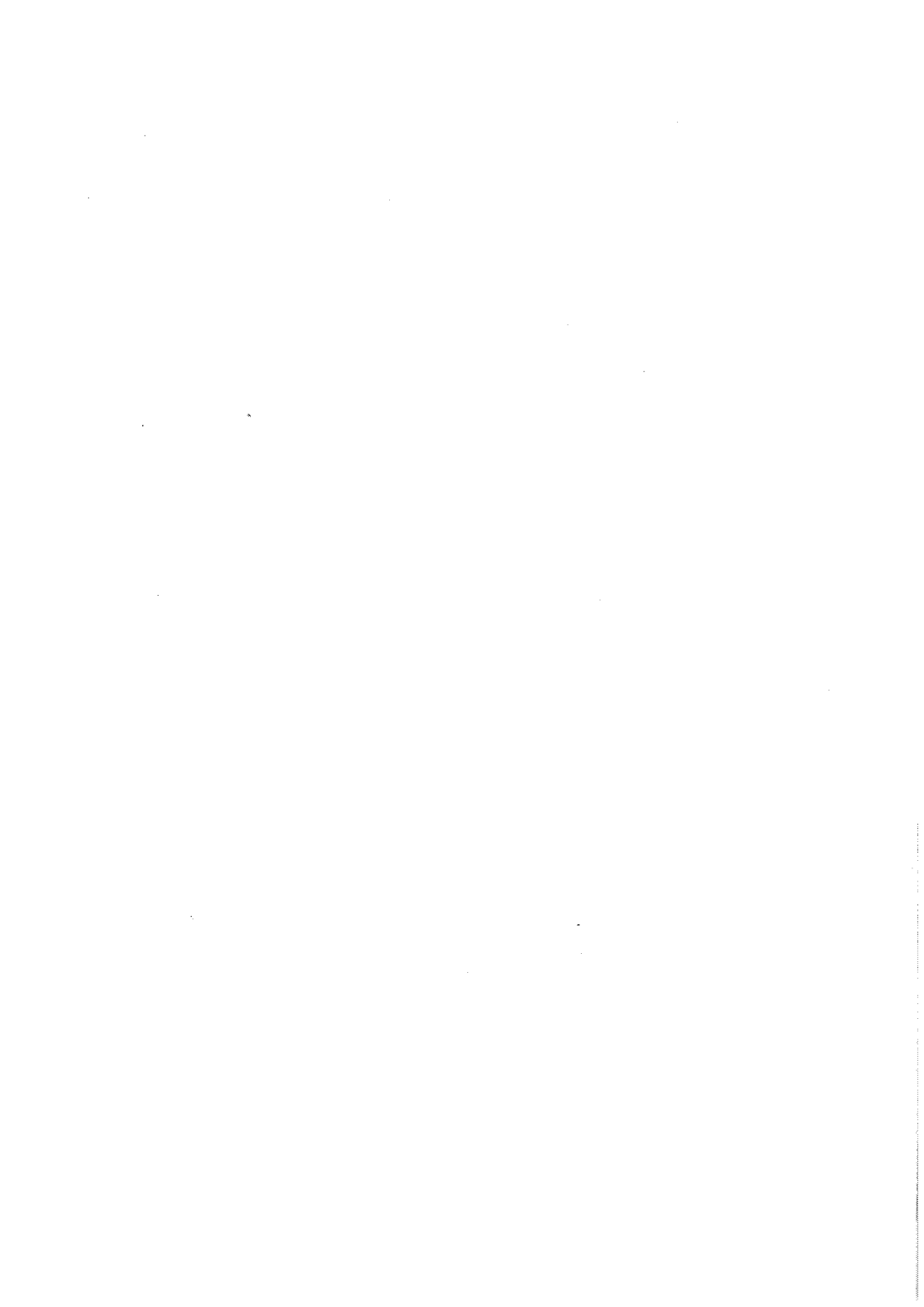
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Depictive secondary predicates in German and English*

Abstract

This paper contains a data discussion, which is a continuation of earlier work (MÜLLER, 2002; 2004). It presents an outline of an analysis of depictive secondary predicates that retains the merits of my earlier analysis (MÜLLER, 2004), but can be extended to languages like English, in which adjuncts attach to complete verbal projections.

1. Introduction

This paper deals with depictive secondary predicates, examples of which are given in (1):

- (1) a. Er ißt das Fleisch_i roh_i.
 he eats the meat raw
 b. Er_i ißt das Fleisch nackt_i.
 he eats the meat naked

In German, uninflected adjectives and prepositional phrases may appear as depictive predicates, as the examples in (1) and (2) show.

- (2) Ich habe ihn (gestern) im dunklen Anzug getroffen.¹
 I have him yesterday in.the dark suit met
 'I met him yesterday in a dark suit.'

* I thank Christoph Schroeder for comments on an earlier version of this paper. – This paper was presented in 2005 at the International Symposium *Descriptive and theoretical problems of secondary predicates* in Oldenburg. I thank all participants of the symposium for the discussion. The analysis that is sketched at the end of this article is an improved version of an earlier analysis that was presented at the HPSG 2004 conference (MÜLLER 2004). I want to thank two anonymous reviewers of HPSG 2004 for comments on an earlier version of MÜLLER 2004. I also thank all participants of HPSG 2004 and in particular Berthold Crysmann and Tibor Kiss for discussion. In addition, I want to thank Shrvan Vasishth for discussion.

1 See HELBIG & BUSCHA (1972, 556) for a similar example.

Depictives say something about a state that holds for a participant of an event during the event.

Depictives pattern with adjuncts in terms of focus projection (WINKLER, 1997, 310) and linearization in the so-called Mittelfeld (MÜLLER, 2002, Ch. 4.1.4).

To establish the predication relation between the depictive predicate and its antecedent, I suggest a coindexing analysis, in which the subject of the depictive is coindexed with an element of the argument structure of the modified verb (MÜLLER 2002). Since the depictive is not necessarily adjacent to the verb and since the argument structure is usually not projected, MÜLLER (2002) suggests an analysis that makes use of discontinuous constituents.

Considering new data with multiple constituents in front of the finite verb, I developed an analysis of German clause structure which makes discontinuous constituents superfluous for accounting for verb placement and constituent serialization (MÜLLER, 2005a, b).

In the following paper I develop an analysis of depictive secondary predicates that does not require discontinuous constituents, but still uses binary branching structures and fits into the general fragment of German that is outlined in MÜLLER (2005a).

The paper is structured as follows: In Section 2, I discuss the phenomenon of depictive secondary predicates in more detail. I will then give a brief outline of the analysis in Section 3.

2. The phenomenon

In what follows, I show that reference to non-overt² antecedents (Section 2.1) and oblique antecedents (Section 2.2) is possible. Reference to non-arguments (Section 2.3) and to elements inside of arguments (Section 2.4) is excluded. In Section 2.5, I discuss the linearization of depictive secondary predicates with regard to their antecedents.

2 Theories differ in the way they analyze phenomena like the suppression of the agent in the passive and optional arguments. But irrespective of the particular analysis, semantic arguments that do not correspond to phonological material in an utterance are called non-overt. Sometimes a phonologically empty pronoun is assumed for such non-overt elements and sometimes a deletion process is assumed that maps representations of a certain kind onto other representations. Still others assume that such elements are not represented at all in syntactic structures. Throughout this paper I use the terms *non-overt* and *unexpressed* synonymously.

2.1 Non-overt antecedents

(3) shows that reference to unexpressed subjects is possible:³

- (3) a. daß das Buch nackt gelesen wurde⁴
that the book naked read was
'that the book was read naked'
b. daß das Buch nackt zu lesen ist
that the book naked to read is
'that the book is to be read naked'

Example (3a) is a passive construction and in (3b) we have a modal infinitive.

ZIFONUN (1997, 1803) claims that depictive predicates cannot refer to the logical subject of the passivized verb and gives the following example:

- (4) Die Äpfel wurden ungewaschen in den Keller getragen.
the apples were unwashed in the basement carried
'The apples were carried to the basement unwashed.'

The fact that the reading in which the depictive refers to the agent of the carrying is hardly available is probably due to a preference rule that makes readings where a depictive refers to an non-overt antecedent dispreferred. However, if the reading in which the depictive refers to the logical object of the main verb is semantically implausible, the reference to the logical subject of the main verb is fine, as the examples in (3) show.

JAEGGLI (1986, 614) – following CHOMSKY (1986, 121) – makes a similar claim for English. As the translations of the examples in (3) and the examples discussed below show, this claim is as wrong for English as it is for German. Chomsky claims that only a syntactically present element can be the subject of adjectival predication. This includes PRO but excludes predication over passive subjects.

BAKER (1988, 318) gives examples for English, Italian and North Russian. His examples for English are given in (5):

- (5) a. This song must be sung drunk.
b. Such petitions should be presented kneeling.

CHOMSKY (1986, 211), claiming that predication over non-overt elements is excluded (p. 121), cites the following examples from unpublished work by Roeper:

3 See also PAUL (1919, 51), PLANK (1985, 175), JACOBS (1994, 297), GREWENDORF (1989, 129; 1993, 1313) HAIDER (1997, 6) and MÜLLER (1999, 320) for examples of predication over non-overt antecedents in German.

4 See MÜLLER (2002, 177) for a similar example.

- (6) The game was played barefoot (nude).

Following a suggestion of Rizzi, Chomsky assumes that *barefoot* and *nude* are adverbials rather than adjectives, despite their morphological marking. However, although there are English adverbials like *hard* that are not morphologically marked as adverbials, there is a clear difference in meaning between the adverbial and the depictive use:

- (7) a. He works hard.
b. He works naked.

(7a) does not mean that he is hard during the event of working, while (7b) does have the depictive meaning. Since the example in (6) clearly has a depictive meaning and predication of the unexpressed subject is involved, it is unclear in what sense it would help to recategorize the adjectives into adverbs since the theoretical problem of predication over unexpressed subjects in passive constructions remains unsolved.

A reviewer reported about the judgments of English speaking informants regarding the examples in (8):

- (8) a. This book was read awake.
b. This car was driven drunk.
c. This book is to be read fully awake.

According to him, the examples in (8a-b) were judged ungrammatical with the reading with reference to the unexpressed agent, while (8c) was judged acceptable.

As the examples from Baker, Roeper, Chomsky, and the following corpus examples show, the reading with reference to an unexpressed subject has to be made available by the grammar in principle. One could then consider reasons for the unacceptability of particular examples. For instance, one reason for the judgments on (8a) could be that normally being awake is a prerequisite for reading books. The sentence in (9), which provides a plausible context, is rated perfect.

- (9) The first book was read by me half-awake but this second book was read fully awake.

The examples in (10) - (13) are corpus examples from various sources that show that depictives can predicate over unexpressed subjects. The examples in (11) are instances of *driven drunk* – the pattern mentioned in (8b) – although the arguments that are realized with *drive* differ from the ones in (8b).

- (10) a. I didn't want to be seen naked on anyone's coffee table.
[British National Corpus, The Daily Mirror. London: Mirror Group Newspapers, 1992, 2034]
- b. As he said at the time: 'I've never been seen naked in any bed, never.'
[British National Corpus, Kenneth Williams: a biography. Free-land, Michael. London: GeorgeWeidenfeld & Nicolson Ltd, 1990, 1950]
- (11) a. One in 100 drivers will drive with a BAC of .08 or greater. About 16 billion miles will be driven drunk in a year.
[<http://www.police.txstate.edu/Presentations/alcohol.pps>]
- b. "We would like to eventually run a shuttle between Radford and Blacksburg. Price's Fork, the main route, is an awful road to be driven drunk – all are, but especially that one," he says.
[<http://www.vtmagazine.vt.edu/sum02/feature3.html>]
- (12) a. Later everyone got very drunk, volleyball was played naked in the mud.
[<http://www.textfiles.com/magazines/EUTHANASIA/e-sermon.3>]
- b. The sport of Rugby is almost identical to an ancient Greek ball game, which was played naked, for an audience composed entirely of elderly aristocrats.
[<http://www.africans.co.za/modules.php?name=News&file=article&sid=544>]
- c. Golf would be more interesting to watch if it was played naked.
[<http://ttuerff.blogspot.com/2005/02/couple-of-days-ago-mypal-nancy-posted.html>]
- d. "Recorded naked to be played naked."
[Tragic Mulatto's "Hot Man Pussy" album 1989]
- e. Seriously, shouldn't Quidditch be played naked?
[By JULIE REED, ASAP, Associated Press November 22, 2005
<http://home.hamptonroads.com/stories/story.cfm?story=95759&ran=187436>]
- (13) Not to mention continuing the delusion that Finnegans Wake was written to be read drunk, and other such nonsense.
[<http://www.cosmoetica.com/B206-DES147.htm>]

As far as German is concerned, reference to non-overt logical subjects is also possible with intransitive verbs:

- (14) a. Auf dem Land fahren alle betrunken.
on the country drive all drunk
'Everyone drives drunk in the country.'
- b. Auf dem Land wird auch betrunken gefahren
on the country is also drunk driven
'There is also driving drunk in the country.'

According to BRESNAN (1982, 416-417) similar examples are ungrammatical in Icelandic and Norwegian. Bresnan derives this from a theory which predicts that the passivization of intransitive verbs whose subject functionally controls a predicate complement is impossible. Functional control implies sharing of syntactic information like case and of semantic information. To account for (14) Bresnan had to assume that the relation between German state predicates and their antecedents is anaphoric control rather than functional control as in Icelandic and Norwegian. Anaphoric control implies coreference of the controller and controllee without identification of syntactic information. Alternatively, she could assume that state predicates are not complements in German. As was mentioned in the introduction, focus projection data suggests an adjunct analysis and in Section 2.2, I show that sharing of syntactic information between the subject of the depictive predicate and its antecedent is inappropriate. That is, the data only allows for a non-complement, anaphoric control analysis.

Depictive predicates can also refer to the unexpressed subject of an adjectival participle:

- (15) die [_{N'} [_{AP} nackt schlafende] Frau]
the naked sleeping woman
'the woman who is sleeping naked'

In (15) *Frau* is coreferent with the syntactic and logical subject of *schlafende*. *Frau* is not syntactically realized in a projection of the deverbal adjective.

In the same vein, depictives may refer to unexpressed subjects in infinitival constructions. Since the subject of the controlled verb *schlafen* in (16) is coreferent with the dative object of the controlling verb (*ihr*), the element the depictive predicate refers to is visible at the surface.

- (16) Er hat ihr geraten, nackt zu schlafen.
he has her advised naked to sleep
'He advised her to sleep naked.'

However, the dative object of *raten* is optional, that is, it can be left implicit as in (16) or it can be realized as in (17):

- (17) Er hat geraten, nackt zu schlafen.
 he has advised naked to sleep
 'He advised sleeping naked.'

If we omit the object, we get another example without an overt antecedent for the depictive predicate.

GREWENDORF (1989, 129; 1993, 1313) and HAIDER (1997, 6) discuss the examples in (18a) and (18b), respectively.

- (18) a. Der Doktor untersucht nur nüchtern.
 the doctor examines only sober
 b. Dieser Arzt_i untersucht (Patienten_j) nur unbekleidet_{i/j}.
 this doctor examines patients only undressed

GREWENDORF assumes the non-overt subject of *nüchtern* to be the empty pronominal element *pro*. HAIDER (1997, 28) assumes that depictive predicates are generated adjacent to the DP they predicate over. He is therefore forced to assume some empty referential element in cases like (18b)⁵ and also in passive examples like (3). However, in GB-theory it is usually assumed that the passive participle does not assign a theta role to its logical subject (CHOMSKY 1993, 124). GREWENDORF (1993, 1311) assumes that the subject of impersonal passives as in (14) is an expletive *pro*. HAIDER (1993, 134) assumes that there is no subject in impersonal passive constructions. So, irrespective of the particular approach to passive, there is no element, overt or non-overt, that bears the theta role of the logical subject and that could function as an antecedent of a depictive.

2.2 Reference to oblique antecedents

The examples in (1) show that depictives may refer to subjects and to accusative objects. In this subsection I want to discuss the possibility of depictives referring to more oblique elements.

HAIDER (1985, 94) observes that the predication over a dative object in (19b) is marked in comparison to predication over accusative objects. In (19a) reference to both the subject and to the accusative object is possible, while the reading with reference to the object is hardly available in (19b).

- (19) a. Er_i sah sie_j nackt_{i/j}.
 he.NOM saw her.ACC naked

⁵ In HAIDER (1993, 180) he assumes that the omitted argument in (18) is treated as an implicit argument and not as an empty, pronominal element. This is the view that I adopt in the following.

- b. Er_i half ihr_j nackt_{i/??j}.
 he.NOM helped her.DAT naked

Haider concludes that depictive predicates can refer to NPs with structural case only. According to Haider, only nominative and accusative are structurally assigned cases in verbal environments, while dative is not. As Haider notes, the contrast in (19) could easily be explained by the assumption that the subject of the predicate and the NP it refers to are identical. The fact that in German, NP subjects always have structural case explains why a depictive element cannot refer to a dative NP, because dative is taken to be a lexical case.

WUNDERLICH (1997, 131) develops an analysis for depictives that posits two different subanalyses: one for depictives that refer to the subject (VP-adjuncts), and another one for depictives that refer to the direct object (V-adjuncts). Datives (including dative objects of verbs like *helfen*) are assumed to be indirect objects. Therefore he predicts that reference to dative NPs is not possible. KAUFMANN & WUNDERLICH (1998, 9) claim that the predication of depictive and resultative predicates over indirect objects is excluded in all languages.

While these statements refer to syntactic case, similar claims can be found with regard to semantic roles. Discussing (20), ROTHSTEIN (1985, 85) assumes a restriction that allows depictives in English to refer to agents and patients, but not to goals.⁶

- (20) The nurse_i gave John_j the medicine sick_{i/*j}.

A similar claim is made by KOCH & ROSENGREN (1995, 80), who maintain that only reference to agent or theme is allowed.⁷ The fact that the reference to thematic roles is not suited for the explanation of the possible antecedents was noted by KOIZUMI (1994, 46-48). His examples are given in (21a, b). SIMPSON (2005) provides the additional example in (21c):

- (21) a. They gave the patients_j the drugs drunk_{*j}.
 (PLANK 1985, 175)
 b. The patients_j were given the drugs drunk_j.
 c. After being given the drugs drunk_j, the patients_j complained.

The exclusion of reference to datives is not a hard constraint, as shown by examples like (22):

6 ROTHSTEIN (2004, 156) discusses a parallel example with *give* and an additional example provided by Fred Landman involving *sell* and claims that adjunct predicates cannot refer to indirect objects.

7 On page 4 they make this claim with reference to grammatical functions, i. e. subject and direct object.

- (22) Man_i half ihm_j erst halbtot_{i/j}.
 one.NOM helped him.DAT only half.dead
 ‘They helped him only half-dead.’

In (22) the context favors a reading with reference to the dative object: since it is implausible that half-dead people help others, the subject is not a plausible antecedent candidate. In general, it can be said that the reference to dative NPs improves considerably if the reference to the nominative is excluded by world knowledge (PLANK 1985, 175).

As Christoph Schroeder (p.c. 2006) pointed out to me, the use of the German indefinite pronoun *man* in (22) is also a factor that improves the reference to the dative, since the subject NP is less prominent. The reference to the dative in (19b) improves further if we passivize the sentence: In (23) the reference to the dative NP is considerably better than in (19b), where another candidate for coreference appears at the surface.

- (23) Ihr_j wurde nackt_{i/j} geholfen.
 her.DAT was naked helped
 ‘She was helped naked.’

Of course, (23) has an additional reading where the helper is naked. This reading is indicated by the *i*-index at *nackt*, which does not appear anywhere else in the sentence.

SIMPSON (2005) notes that changing the polarity and modality to force a generic conditional interpretation improves reference to recipient/goal arguments. Her English example can be translated into German:

- (24) Du_i kannst ihnen_j bewußtlos_{i/j} keine Spritzen
 you.NOM can them.DAT unconscious no injections.ACC
 geben.
 give
 ‘You can’t give them injections unconscious.’

In the context of the present discussion the following example, which was provided by PLANK (1985, 169), is interesting:

- (25) Ich erinnere mich an ihn / seiner bartlos.
 I remember self at him him.GEN beardless
 ‘I remember him without a beard.’

This example shows that the structures in which a predicate predicates over a genitive or even an NP inside of a PP have to be licensed by a grammar. However, as far as the discussion of depictives is concerned, the example is not relevant, since it does not fall under the definition of depictives given above. The reason for this is that the adjective does not describe a property of the genitive

object that holds during the event of remembering. The person who is remembered may be without a beard during the utterance time of (25), but this is not entailed by (25).

Corpus examples with reference to genitives or PPs are rather rare. The only example I could find is given in (26):

- (26) Beim Betreten des Gehwegs sei er mit großer Wucht zu Boden geschleudert worden, wo er kurzzeitig das Bewußtsein verlor. Noch am Boden liegend, sei auf ihn eingetreten
 still on.the ground lying be on him PTCL.kicked worden.
 been
 [taz, 10.06.2000, p. 21]

‘When he stepped onto the path he was violently thrown to the ground where he lost consciousness for a short period. While he was still on the ground he was kicked.’

The scarcity of such constructions is predicted by reference to the obliqueness hierarchy of KEENAN & COMRIE (1977): More oblique elements are more marked as antecedents of depictives. (See also NICHOLS (1978, 120) on obliqueness and secondary predication.)

From the data presented above it must be concluded that both the restriction on the case of possible antecedent phrases and the restriction on the thematic role of the antecedent phrase are not adequate. In what follows, I will therefore assume that the subject of the depictive predicate is coindexed, i.e. coreferent, rather than identical, with the antecedent phrase. Since datives can be antecedents of depictives, I do not assume that the subject of the depictive and the antecedent are identical, as was suggested by Haider.

2.3 Reference to non-arguments

NPs in adjuncts are excluded from the list of possible referents of depictives, as (27) shows.

- (27) a. weil Karl_i [neben Maria_j] nackt_{i/*j} schlief.
 because Karl next Maria naked slept
 ‘because Karl slept next to Maria naked.’
 b. weil [neben Maria_j] nackt_{i/*j} geschlafen wurde.
 because next Maria naked slept was
 Intended: ‘because somebody slept next to Maria while she was naked.’

Even passivizing the sentence as in (27b) does not improve the reference to an element inside of the adjunct.

The following example is interesting, since it seems to contradict the statement above:

- (28) Alkoholisiert geht alles viel schneller, weil bestimmte
 alcoholised goes everything much faster since certain
 Anstandsregeln außer Acht gelassen werden.
 good.manners.rules without regard let are
 'If one is drunk, everything happens much faster, since certain rules
 are disregarded.'

However, the sentence in (28) differs semantically from the ones involving depictive secondary predicates, as the translation indicates: the sentence does not say anything about the state of an individual during an action, that is, it does not mean that someone is drunk while everything happens faster. (29a) entails (29b), while (30a) does not entail (30b):

- (29) a. Er hilft ihr nackt.
 he helps her naked
 b. Er hilft ihr.
 he helps her
- (30) a. Alkoholisiert geht alles schneller.
 alcoholized goes everything faster
 'Everything happens faster if on eis drunk.'
 b. Alles geht schneller.
 everything goes faster
 'Everything happens faster.'

This shows that examples like (28) belong to a different phenomenon and that they therefore do not falsify the statement that depictive secondary predicates cannot refer to (NPs in) non-arguments.

2.4 Reference to elements inside of arguments

The reference to NPs that are internal to other NPs is also excluded, as is demonstrated by (31).⁸

- (31) a. daß Jan [den Freund von Maria,] nackt*, traf
 that Jan the friend of Maria naked met
 'that Jan met the (male) friend of Maria naked'

⁸ NEELEMAN (1994, 157) gives Dutch examples that are equivalent to those in (31a,b).

- b. daß Jan [Marias_i Vater] nackt_i traf
 that Jan Maria's father naked met
 'that Jan met Maria's father naked'
- c. *daß Jan [Maria nackt und ihren Freund] traf
 that Jan Maria naked and her friend met
 Intended: 'that Jan met Maria naked together with her friend'

2.5 Linearization of depictives with regard to their antecedents

As pointed out by LÖTSCHER (1985, 208), the antecedent of the depictive predicate has to precede the depictive:

- (32) a. weil er_i die Äpfel_j ungewaschen_{i/j} ißt
 because he the apples unwashed eats
 'because he eats the apples unwashed'
 (He is unwashed or the apples are unwashed.)
- b. weil er_i ungewaschen_{i/*j} die Äpfel_j ißt
 because he unwashed the apples eats
 'because he eats the apples unwashed'
 (He is unwashed.)
- c. *weil ungewaschen_{*i/*j} er_i / der Mann_i die Äpfel_j ißt
 because unwashed he the man the apples eats

In example (32a) the adjective may refer to either *er* or to *die Äpfel*. In (32b) the reference to *die Äpfel* is excluded. Only the reading in which *ungewaschen* refers to *er* is available. The example (32c) in which the depictive precedes both of the possible antecedents is ungrammatical.

There are examples like (33) that do not follow this pattern.

- (33) a. weil betrunken_i niemand_i hereinkommt
 because drunk nobody.NOM in.comes
 (VON STECHOW & STERNEFELD 1988, 466)
 'because nobody gets in drunk'
- b. daß betrunken manchmal einer Fisch roh ißt
 that drunk sometimes someone fish raw eats
 (HAIDER 1997, 29)
 'that somebody eats fish raw drunk sometimes'

FANSELOW (2003, 227) notes that secondary predicates cannot be scrambled, but may be reordered due to a process of focus scrambling. As HAIDER (1997, 29-30) points out the possibility of reordering depictives is a nominative effect, that is, only depictives referring to nominatives can be placed in front of their antecede-

dence. Since this paper does not deal with focus movement, I will ignore sentences like (33) for the rest of the paper.

2.6 Summary of the data discussion

Reference to subjects, direct objects, and indirect objects is possible. Therefore a raising analysis that identifies the subject of the depictive predicate with its antecedent is not adequate since the subject has structural case and dative objects bear lexical case. A coindexing analysis on the other hand is compatible with the data.

Reference to non-overt elements is possible, but reference to adjuncts or elements embedded in arguments is not possible. Therefore, an analysis is needed that coindexes the subject of the depictive with one argument of the modified verb.

Finally, it was noted that the antecedent has to precede the depictive predicate.

3. A sketch of the analysis

I assume Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar (HPSG) as the underlying framework (POLLARD and SAG, 1994). In HPSG a list (the SUBCAT list) is used to represent the valence information of a head. Following MEURERS (1999) and PRZEPIÓRKOWSKI (1999), I assume that syntactically realized elements are marked as realized, but that they are not removed from the valence list.⁹

As was shown in Section 2.5, the antecedent has to precede the depictive secondary predicate. This is accounted for straightforwardly, if we assume that the subject of the depictive predicate is coindexed with an unrealized element in the SUBCAT list of the verbal head with which it combines. Assuming binary branching, we get the following structures for the examples in (32):

- (34) a. weil [er [die Äpfel [ungewaschen ißt]]]
because he the apples unwashed eats
'because he eats the apples unwashed'
(He is unwashed or the apples are unwashed.)

9 See also HIGGINBOTHAM (1985) and WINKLER (1997) for similar suggestions with regard to the representation of theta roles.

- b. weil [er [ungewaschen [die Äpfel ißt]]].
 because he unwashed the apples eats
 ‘because he eats the apples unwashed’
 (He is unwashed.)
- c. *weil [ungewaschen [er / der Mann [die Äpfel ißt]]]
 because unwashed he the man the apples eats

In (34a) the depictive is directly combined with the verb and the SUBCAT list of *ißt* contains both the unrealized subject and the unrealized object. Therefore the account predicts that both elements are antecedent candidates for *ungewaschen*.

In (34b) the adjective is combined with a projection of *ißt* that contains the object of *ißt*. Therefore the object is not an unrealized element of the SUBCAT list of this projection and only the subject is a possible antecedent of *ungewaschen*. The analyses of the respective sentences are shown in Figure 1. The boxes mark identity and if a box is slashed, this represents the fact that the argument is realized.

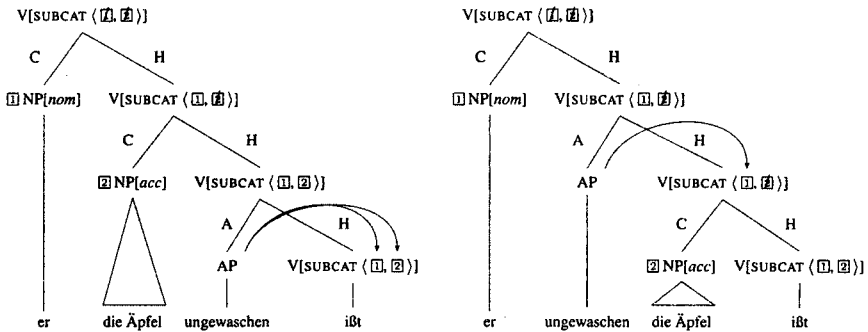


Figure 1: Analysis of *daß er die Äpfel ungewaschen ißt* and *daß er ungewaschen die Äpfel ißt*

In the example (34c), *der Mann die Äpfel ißt* is fully saturated. The SUBCAT list of this projection contains only realized elements. Since there is no possible antecedent for the depictive, the sentence is rejected by the grammar.

Since I assume that verb-initial sentences involve a verbal trace at the position that the finite verb would occupy in verb final sentences (MÜLLER, 2005a, b), verb initial sentences with depictives can be analyzed in parallel to their verb-final counterparts:

- (35) *Ißt*_i [er [die Äpfel [ungewaschen _i]]]?
 eats he the apples unwashed
 ‘Does he eat the apples unwashed?’
 (He is unwashed or the apples are unwashed.)

Since both the subject and the object are elements of the SUBCAT list of the verbal trace, both are antecedent candidates of the depictive adjective. The analysis of a verb-initial sentence that corresponds to (34b) is shown in Figure 2.

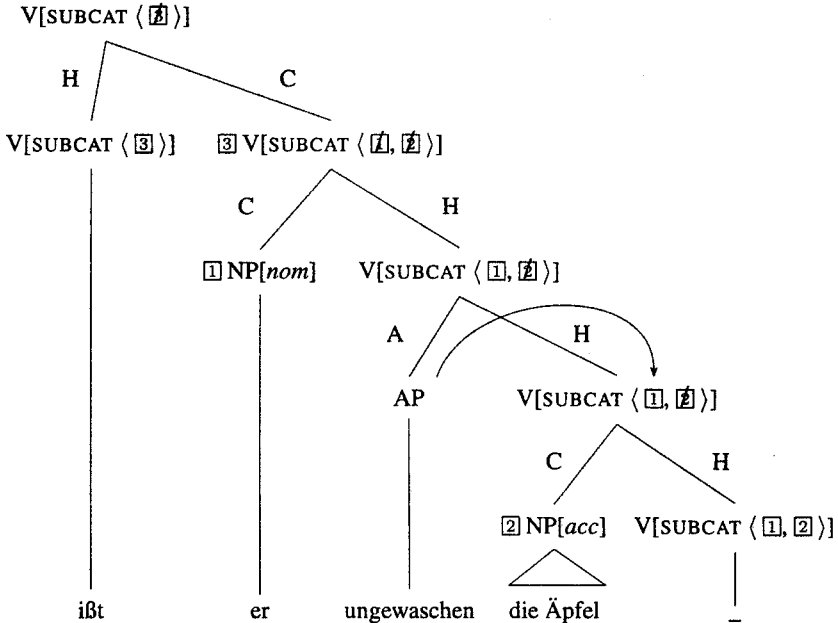


Figure 2: Coindexing Analysis with Verb Movement

As was pointed out in MÜLLER (2004) analyses that assume a different branching for verb-initial sentences cannot use this explanation for the linearization constraints. The reason is that the arguments of the verb are saturated in a different order. In the analysis of *Ißt er ungewaschen die Äpfel?* in Figure 3, the description corresponding to *er* is marked as realized when *ißt er* is combined with *ungewaschen*.

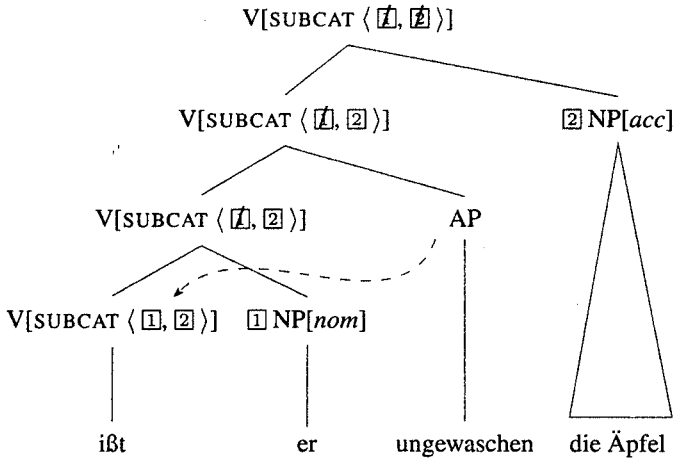


Figure 3: Variable Branching Analysis for Verb Position and Coindexing

The advantage of the analysis sketched above over the one suggested earlier (MÜLLER 2004) is that it can be extended to English. MÜLLER (2004) assumed the classical mode of valency representation that is suggested by POLLARD & SAG (1994). In their treatment of valency representation arguments that are combined with their head are not represented in the SUBCAT list of the mother node. This means that maximal projections have empty SUBCAT lists. As a consequence of this the SUBCAT list of the VPs in (36) is the empty list, which means that there is no element left for coindexing.

- (36) a. John $[[_{\text{VP}} \text{ate the apples,}] \text{unwashed,}]$.
 b. You can't $[[_{\text{VP}} \text{give them, injections}] \text{unconscious,}]$.

However, in the approach presented above, information about both realized and unrealized arguments is contained in the SUBCAT list and, hence, English examples like (36) can be analyzed as well. English and German differ as far as the requirements with respect to the syntactic realization of the antecedents of depictive predicates are concerned: while in German antecedents have to be unrealized, English allows both realized and unrealized elements as antecedents.

4. Conclusion

I have developed an analysis of depictive secondary predicates that does not rely on discontinuous constituents as the one suggested in MÜLLER (2002). Since discontinuous constituents are a very powerful device, an approach that can avoid them is to be favoured.

The analysis can explain why antecedents have to precede the depictive predicates without referring to linear precedence rules, which were shown to be difficult to formalize (MÜLLER 2004), since coindexing of arguments is involved and reflexives may interfere. The analysis is an improvement on MÜLLER (2004), since it can be extended to languages like English.

The analysis is part of an implemented fragment of German, which can be downloaded at <http://hpsg.fu-berlin.de/Fragments/Berligram/>

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Depictive secondary predicates in South Siberian Turkic

1. Introductory remarks

Specific syntactic constructions of complex predicates that assign more than one predicate to their semantic subject are well known cross-linguistically. Examples of such compound predicates are structures such as *He returned tired, lived alone, worked as a teacher* etc. Such constructions contain two semantic predicates – a main one expressed by a verb form, and a secondary one, often expressed by a nominal form or an infinite verb form. On the one hand, the second component is syntactically dependent on the primary component and is often described as its adverbial modifier of manner. On the other hand, this component is semantically, and often formally, connected with the subject or some other nominal component of the sentence and acts as its secondary predicate.

Such predicates not only refer to the subject of a syntactic construction, but can also refer to an object or to nominals with other syntactic functions, e.g. *He drank his tea cold*, where the secondary predicate *cold* describes the physical state of the entity *tea* – the direct object of the main predicate. Following SCHULTZE-BERNDT & HIMMELMANN (2004) we will call this nominal “the controller of a depictive predicate”.

Different terms have been used to designate secondary predicates: “predicativum” in the Latin linguistics (PINKSTER 1988), “predicative attribute” (PAUL 1919, HALLIDAY 1967), “copredicate” (NICHOLS 1978, PLANK 1985), and “depictive secondary predicate” (SCHULTZE-BERNDT & HIMMELMANN 2004).

Some structural types of such predicates have also been distinguished for the Turkic languages of Siberia: in Altai by TYBYKOVA (1988, 1991) and in Shor by NEVSKAYA (1998) who used different terminology but referred to the same topic. Here, we aim to point out the major structural types of such predicates in the South Siberian Turkic languages Shor, Altai, Khakas and Tuvan.¹

1 The language material was collected on the basis of a questionnaire that I composed using recent descriptions of this category. I am very thankful to my dear colleagues Dr. Bajlak Ooržak, Dr. Larisa Tybkova and Dr. Marija Čertykova who helped me to collect and evaluate Tuvan, Altai and Khakas language examples. For Shor examples, I used language data obtained during my field research in 2005 and 2006. I also consulted the existing grammar descriptions of these

2. Depictive secondary predicate construction

SCHULTZE-BERNDT & HIMMELMANN (2004, 77-78) develop the following criteria for a depictive secondary predicate construction: they define it as a clause-level construction containing “two elements, the main predicate and the depictive, where the state of affairs expressed by the depictive holds within the time frame of the eventuality expressed by the main predicate”; the depictive is “obligatorily controlled, i.e. there exists a formal relation to one of the participants of the main predicate”; “the depictive does not form a complex or periphrastic predicate with the main predicate”; the depictive is neither a complement of the main predicate, nor is it a modifier of the controller; the depictive is dependent on the main predicate and belongs to the same prosodic unit as the main predicate.

The main predicate that allows the use of a depictive predicate normally belongs to certain semantic groups: verbs of motion, state, change of state, etc. Depictive predicates often describe physical or mental states of their controllers (*dead, drunk, hot, cooked*, etc.).

Depictive predicates should be distinguished from some other phenomena which are structurally very close to or even identical with depictive expressions. These are:

1. Manner adverbials: The sentence *Er hat die Party wütend verlassen* ‘He left the party angrily/angry’ has two interpretations and can be translated into English in two ways – ‘angrily’ if the manner of the action is expressed, or ‘angry’ if the mental state of the subject of the situation is depicted.
2. Resultatives: German *Sie schlügen ihn halb tot* ‘They beat him half-dead’: resultatives express the consequences of the action of the main predicate, thus, they do not belong to the time frame of the main predicate.
3. Complements of the main predicate: *He seemed tired*: the component *tired* is a complement of the predicate *seem*, *tired* is an obligatory element of the construction (**he seemed* is ungrammatical).
4. Main predicates in subordinate clauses; compare: *He went away outraged*, and *Outraged, he went away*. In the first context, we have *outraged* as a depictive secondary predicate describing the state of the subject of the situation at the moment of another action (*went away*). In the second context, it is a clause-like element: *Being outraged, he went away*. The two contexts differ in their struc-

languages (BASKAKOV 1958, 1966, 1972, 1975, 1985, DYRENKOVA 1941, ISXAKOV & PAL'MBAX 1961). This paper presents the first results of my research on depictives in South Siberian Turkic languages.

tural, modal and pragmatic characteristics. In particular, the secondary predicate is included within the intonation structure of the main predicate and shares its modal features, for instance its scope of negation. Therefore, the operator of negation can serve as a test to distinguish secondary and main predicates (see SCHULTZE-BERNDT & HIMMELMANN 2004, 136-139).

All these criteria also hold for depictives in South Siberian Turkic.

3. Structural types of depictive predicates in South Siberian Turkic

3.1 Bare adjectives as depictives

Depictives in the form of bare adjectives are not a frequent type of construction in the South Siberian Turkic languages. We did not find any in Tuvan, and we encountered only one Altai context with a subject controller where the adjective *qalaŋi* ‘a little drunk’ is used as a depictive predicate describing the physical state of its semantic subject (3). In Shor, their use seems also to be restricted to a similar context: here, the adjective *ezirik* ‘drunk’ is used with a subject controller (1). Contrary to Altai, Shor also uses the adjectives “cold/hot” to describe the physical state of the controller “tea” in the construction where “tea” is a direct object (2). It seems that such phrases with bare adjectives in Altai and Shor are in the process of becoming phraseologised and are used as ready-made entities and not as free syntactic constructions. In his discussion of analogous cases in Turkish, SCHROEDER (2004, 136-139) speaks of incorporation.

The situation is different in Khakas. Here, we find numerous adjectives as depictives, both with subject controllers (4) (in the same context as in Shor and Altai), and object controllers (5)-(8). What is especially striking is the fact that Khakas makes extensive use of such depictives. In similar contexts, all the other South Siberian Turkic languages use different types of constructions. Russian, however, has adjectival depictives. We may suppose that Khakas is copying Russian structures with depictives. This supposition goes hand in hand with further examples of Russian influence on Khakas (one such example is free word order in Khakas as opposed to the SOV word order typical for Turkic). Consider the following examples with subject controllers (1)-(3) and object controllers (4)-(7):

Shor

- (1) Ol *ezirik* kel-d-i.
he drunk come-PST-3
‘He came *drunk*.’

- (2) Ol šay-dī *sooq* iš-ča.
 he tea-ACC cold drink-PRS
 'He drinks his tea *cold*.'

Altai

- (3) Ol *qalaŋi* kel-d-i.
 he a.little.drunk come-PST-3
 'He came *a little drunk*.'

Khakas

- (4) Ol *izirik* kil-gen.
 he drunk come-PERF
 'He came *drunk*.'

- (5) Min anī sīrer-ge *pūdīn paza xazix*
 I he:ACC you:PL-DAT undamaged and healthy
 pir-če-m.
 give-PRS-1SG
 'I am giving you him *undamaged and healthy*.'

- (6) Aχča-ŋar-nī *pray* al-īp al-īŋar!
 money-POSS2PL-ACC whole take-CVB take:AUX-IMP2PL
 'Get your money *in full!*'

- (7) Ol anī bol'nica-daŋ *sala tirig* sīyar-īp al-yan.
 she he:ACC hospital-ABL half alive take-CVB take:AUX-PERF
 'She took him from the hospital *half-dead*.'

Tuvan does not use bare adjectives as depictives. One way to express depictive semantics is to use a complex sentence construction with a dependent nominal clause. The copula verb of the dependent nominal clause in (8) is an infinitive *-GAš*-converb:

- (8) Ol *aniyaq* turyaš čoq.apar-yan.
 he young stand:AUX-CVB die-PERF
 'He died *young* (lit.: he died *being young*).'

3.2 Nominals in the dative

Depictives in dative-marked nominals are not attested in the Western Turkic languages. In South Siberian Turkic, however, we find them both competing with as well as complementing bare adjectives. We witness competition in particular in Khakas, where bare nominals are much more active with both subject and object controllers than nominals in the dative: see (10) for a subject and (11)

for an object controller with depictives in the dative. In Shor, on the other hand, bare adjectives are preferred, although we found one example of a depictive in the dative with a subject controller (9). In Altai, the two types complement each other: bare adjectives appear with subject controllers and adjectives in the dative with object controllers, see (14) and (15). In Tuvan, bare adjectives do not function as secondary predicates, but adjectives in the dative are very common with object controllers, as in (12) and (13).

Semantically, depictives in the dative most often express physical (*hot/cold* for drinks, *raw* for meat, *in good health* for a person etc.) or social (*alone* for a person) states as well as the age (*young* for a person) or the integrity (*in full, undamaged*) of their semantic subjects.

We may assume that the dative case has certain temporal connotations in this case. As it is, the dative case is widely used in Siberian Turkic to express certain semantic types of location (NEVSKAYA 1997, 2001, NEVSKAYA & MENZ 2003) as well as a durative temporal meaning: Shor *köp čil-ğa* [many year-DAT] ‘for many years, during many years’. All the states expressed by depictives in the dative are temporal in the sense that, e.g., *hot* in the context of *He drinks his tea hot* means ‘as long as his tea is hot, in the state of being hot’. When the tea gets colder, he does not drink it any more.

The South Siberian nominals in the dative correspond to the depictive use of such abstract nouns as Turkish *hal* ‘state’, which were borrowed from its neighbouring languages (see SCHROEDER, this volume).

Shor

- (9) *Čayis-qa čat-qan.*
 single-DAT live-PERF
 ‘He lived *alone*.’

Khakas

- (10) *Ol čit-ke üre-en.*
 he young-DAT die-PERF
 ‘He died *young*.’
- (11) *Ol čey-nī ĭz-ge/sooχ-χa ĭz-ĭbis-ken.*
 he tea-ACC hot-DAT/cold-DAT drink-PFV-PERF
 ‘He drank his tea *hot/cold*.’

Tuvan

- (12) *Ol et-ti čig-ge či-ir.*
 he meat-ACC raw-DAT eat-AOR
 ‘He eats meat *raw*.’

- (13) Siler-ge onu *büdün-bürün, qan-qadıq-qa* ber-ip.tur men.
 you-DAT he:ACC undamaged very.healthy-DAT give-PRS I
 'I am giving him to you *undamaged* (lit.: *fully*) and in good health.'

Altai

- (14) Ol čaj-ni *izü-ge* le ič-er.
 he tea-ACC hot-DAT PTCL drink-AOR
 'He drinks his tea only *hot*.'

- (15) Ol et-ti *čiy-ge* de d'i-ir.
 he meat-ACC raw-DAT PTCL eat-AOR
 'He even eats meat *raw*.'

3.3 Nominals in the locative case

Depictives in the locative case do not occur very frequently. We recorded an Altai example with the abstract noun *tuš* 'time' with a subject controller (16) and a Tuvan example with the auxiliary noun *ara* 'intermediate space' in a possessive construction with object controller (17). Both controllers are persons; the depictives express their temporary state.

Altai

- (16) Ol *d'aš tuš-ta* božo-ğon.
 he young time-LOC die-PERF
 'He died *young*.'

Tuvan

- (17) Ol emnelge-den onu *ölüg-dirig ara-zin-da*
 she hospital-ABL he:ACC dead-alive space.between-POSS3-LOC
 ap-al-yan.
 take:CVB-take:AUX-PERF
 'She took him from the hospital *when he was half-dead* (lit.: *between dead and alive*).'

3.4 Nominals with the postposition *BXLA*²

Our data contain one Tuvan depictive expressed by a substantivised adjective with the postposition *bile*. The adjective has a possessive marking, which together with the postposition is indicative of its substantivisation.

Tuvan

- (18) Aqša-nī *bürün-ü-bile* ap al-iñar.
money-ACC whole-POSS3-INS take:CVB take:AUX-IMP2PL
'Get your money *in full!*'

3.5 Nominals of possession

A very large group of depictives in our corpus consists of relational nominals expressing the possession of something. In Siberian Turkic, these forms have the Common Turkic affix *-LXG/-LX* added to the name of the possessed object. However, their negative counterpart with a privative affix *-sXz*, is missing in Siberian Turkic. Therefore the negative counterparts of the *-LXG*-formations are formed analytically: The nominal predicate of non-existence *čoq/d'oq*, which also functions as a negative particle, is added to the name of the non-possessed object. Thus, *čoq*-formations derive from a predicative construction with a nominal predicate of non-existence: Shor *pala čoq* [child non-existent] 'There is no child' > *pala čoq* 'childless'.

Shor

- (19) Ol *pala-liy* / *qursaq-tiy* / *pala čoq* nan-d-ï.
she child-with / belly-with / child without come.back-PST-3
'She came back *with a child/pregnant/without a child.*'

2 We use an archimorphemic representation of Turkic formants which is a convention in Turkology: *A* denotes *a* after stems with back vowels, and *e* after stems with front vowels. *X* denotes *i* in words with unrounded back vowels and *i* in words with unrounded front vowels, *ü* in words with front rounded vowels and *u* in words with back rounded vowels. *G* denotes *g* after stems with front vowels ending in a vowel or a sonorous consonant, *g* after stems with back vowels ending in a vowel or a sonorous consonant, *k* after stems with front vowels ending in a voiceless consonant, *q* after stems with back vowels ending in a voiceless consonant. *M* denotes *m* after nasals, *p* after unvoiced consonants and otherwise *b*. *L*, in its turn, denotes *n* after nasals, *t* after voiceless consonants and otherwise *l*. In some Turkic varieties *L* also denotes *d* after *r*, *l*, *y*. Vowels in brackets () appear only after stems ending in consonants. Consonants in brackets () appear only after stems ending in vowels.

Altai

- (20) Ol *pala-lu* / *bar-lu* / *bala d'oq* d'an-ğan.
 she child-with / existence-with / child without come.back-PERF
 'She came back *with a child/pregnant/without a child.*'

Khakas

- (21) Ol *pala-lïy* / *pala čoq* aylan-yan.
 she child-with / child without come.back-PERF
 'She came back *with a child/without a child.*'

Depictives of this type predominantly refer to grammatical subjects of the sentence. They characterise them in different respects: possession of social status (19)-(21), appearance (25), (27), (28), physical state (31), mental state (26), (29) and (30) etc. Whole nominal phrases can be given the suffix *-LXG* / *-LX*, which corresponds functionally to abstract nouns of other languages, see (25)-(31).

Altai

- (25) Kùskü-de ağaš-tar *andïy d'araš* öŋ-dör-lü turup-d'at.
 autumn-LOC tree-PL so beautiful color-PL-with stand-PRS
 'In autumn, trees stand *so colourful* (lit.: *with so beautiful colours*).'
 (26) Olar *ekü ep-tü-d'öp-tü* čat-t-ï-lar.
 they good harmony-with-content-with live-PST-3-PL
 'They lived *in harmony and contentment.*'

Khakas

- (27) Kùskü-de ayaš-tar *anday sïlig* öŋ-nig tur-ča-lar.
 autumn-LOC tree-PL so beautiful color-with stand-PRS-PL
 'In autumn, trees stand *so colourful* (lit.: *with so beautiful colours*).'

Tuvan

- (28) Küzün ÿyaš-tar *dïqa čaraš* öŋ-ner-lig tur-ar.
 in.autumn tree-PL so beautiful color-PL-with stand-AOR
 'In autumn, trees stand *so colourful* (lit.: *with so beautiful colours*).'
 (29) Olar *ep-nayïral-dïy* čurtta-p tur-yan-nar.
 they harmony-with live-CVB stand:AUX-PERF-PL
 'They lived *in harmony and contentment.*'
 (30) Ol bis-ke kezääde *xey-a't-ïy* kel-ir tur-yan.
 she we-DAT always good.mood-with come-AORstand:AUX-PERF
 'She always came to us *in a good mood.*'

- (31) Sportüü maryılda-že bayay beletkel-dig čor-upqan.
 sportsman competition-DIR bad readiness-with go-PERF
 ‘The sportsman went to the competition *ill-prepared* (lit.: *with a bad readiness*).’

Such depictives with an object controller were only found in Shor and Khakas, as in (32). As for Altai and Tuvan, they use depictives expressed by dative-marked nominals of possession (see Section 3.6 below).

Khakas

- (32) Ol čey-ni süt çoχ / saxar-lı is-če
 she tea-ACC milk without / sugar-with drink-AOR
 ‘She drinks her tea *without milk/with sugar*.’

3.6 Nominals of possession in the dative case

In Altai and Tuvan, depictive “bare” nominals of possession have subject controllers (see Section 3.5), while the dative marks object-controlled nominals of possessing, see (33) and (34).

Tuvan

- (33) Ol šay-nı süt çoq-qa iž-er.
 she tea-ACC milk without-DAT drink-AOR
 ‘She drinks her tea *without milk*.’

Altai

- (34) Ol čay-dı süt d'oq-qa ič-er.
 she tea-ACC milk without-with drink-AOR
 ‘She drinks her tea *without milk*.’

3.7 Tuvan nominals of possession with the postpositions *qıldır* and *turda*

Tuvan also has depictives expressed by nominals of possession, and they are combined with the connector *qıldır* ‘make’ or *turda* [stand-LOC] for object controllers, see (35) and (36).

Tuvan

- (35) Ol šay-nı čigir-lig qıldır iž-er.
 she tea-ACC sugar-with make drink-AOR
 ‘She drinks her tea *with sugar*.’

- (36) Ol qaday-ın iŝ-tig turda qaap-qan.
 he wife-POSS3ACC belly-with POSTP leave-PERF
 ‘He left his wife *pregnant* (while she was pregnant).’

We may suppose that the construction in (35) is based on a converbial construction with this verb, i.e. *She drinks her tea having made it sweet*. *qıldır* has lost its $-(X)p$ converb marking and has grammaticalised as a postposition here. This kind of grammaticalisation is frequently observed in Siberian Turkic. The postposition *qıldır* is a counterpart to the postposition *bolup/polip* going back to the $-(X)p$ converb of the verb *bol-/pol-* ‘be’. *bol-/pol-* also often forms depictives, but only with subject controllers (see Section 3.8).

The depictive in (36) is reminiscent of an adverbial dependent clause with a nominal complex predicate expressed by a nominal of possession and the copula verb *tur-* ‘stand’. However, in a dependent clause, the verb would have to appear in an infinite form which is conjugated and declined, as with *çidirda* in (37). The case affix cannot be added to the verb stem directly, as in *turda*. Therefore we consider *turda* in (36) a postposition.

Tuvan

- (37) Ol emnelge-den onu ölüg-dirig arazında /çügge
 she hospital-ABL he:ACC dead-alive between /hardly
 tın-nıy çid-ır-da ap-al-yan.
 breath-with lie:AUX-AOR-LOC take:CVB-take:AUX-PERF
 ‘She took him from the hospital *half-dead* (lit.: *between dead and alive/ hardly with breath*).’

In Tuvan, the postposition *turda* also forms depictives with nouns and noun phrases. They refer to the object of the sentence:

- (38) Men onu biçii uruy turda kör-gen men.
 I he:ACC small child POSTP see-PERF I
 ‘I saw him *as a small child*.’

3.8 Depictives with the postposition *bolup*

The postposition *bolup* goes back to the $-(X)p$ converb formed from the verb *bol-/pol-* ‘to be’. It can be contracted and is found in different forms in South Siberian Turkic. *Bolup* forms depictives only with subject controllers. The most prominent semantic type of such depictives is role and status depictives:

Tuvan

- (39) Ol *bašqı bolup ažiŋda-p čora-an.*
he teacher POSTP work-CVB go.AUX-PERF
'He worked *as a teacher*.'

Shor

- (40) Alında men pay-ya *čalči polip ište-ge-m.*
earlier I rich.person-DAT servant POSTP work-PERF-1SG
'I worked in former times for a rich person *as a servant*.'
- (41) Pis *paliqči-lar polip purnap par-d-ıbıs.*
we fisher-PL POSTP at.first go-PST-1PL
'At first, we went (there) *as fishers*.'

Altai (from a fairy tale)

- (42) *Aq qoyon bolup kel-d-i.*
white hare POSTP come-PST-3
'He came *as a white hare*.'

To express the role or status of a grammatical object of the construction, Siberian Turkic uses a complex sentence: in (43), the grammatical object of the predicate of the matrix clause *saqta* 'remember' is the semantic subject of the dependent object clause *I was a teacher*. We have here the so-called subject-to-object-raising construction.

Tuvan

- (43) Ol *meni bašqı tur-yan-ım-ni*
he I:ACC teacher stand:AUX-PERF.PRT-POSS1SG-ACC
saqtı-r.
remember-AOR
'He remembers me *as a teacher* (lit.: he remembers *my being a teacher*).'

In (44), two depictives come together as homogeneous elements of the sentence, one expressed by a collective numeral, the other by a nominal phrase with the postposition *polip*:

Shor

- (44) Eede *iygele kiži čalči polip čat-ča-bıs.*
thus two:COLL person servant POSTP live-PRS-1PL
'Thus, we, *the two of us*, live *as servants* for other people.'

One should distinguish depictives with the postposition *polip* from dependent nominal clauses with the *-(X)p* form of the verb *pol-* functioning as its predicate.

The latter clauses have a prosodic structure which is independent from that of the main predicate (this fact is orthographically reflected by commas) and they have independent modal characteristics as in (45).

Shor

- (45) *Noya qan pol-ip, pig pol-ip, paz-ïp tur-yan*
 why chan be-CVB leader be-CVB step-CVB stand:AUX-PTCP
pol-ya-m?
 be:AUX-PTCP-1SG
 ‘Why am I going around as a Chan, a leader (lit.: being a Chan, being a leader)?’

Depictive predicates with *polip* should also be distinguished from adverbial modifiers of manner. This problem of distinction arises with metaphoric nominal phrases with *polip* that express comparison (46)-(47). These constructions describe not only the state, role or position of the subject, but also the manner in which the action is carried out. Thus, they take an intermediate position between depictives and adverbial modifiers of manner.

Altai

- (46) *quš polup kel-d-i*
 bird POSTP come-PST-3
 ‘He came like/as a bird.’

Shor

- (47) *Tayya polip et tur-d-ï, talay polip arayaurul-d-ï.*
 mountain POSTP meat stand-PST-3 sea POSTP vodka flow-PST-3
 ‘The meat stood (there) like a mountain, the vodka flowed like a sea.’

Nominal phrases with *polip* can also act as predicate complements, as in (48) where *qartïya bolup* ‘as a falcon’ is an obligatory argument of the predicate *qubul-* ‘turn into’.

Altai

- (48) *Tastaraqay poro qartïya bolup qubul-up al-d-ï.*
 T. white falcon POSTP turn.into-CVB take:AUX-PST-3
 ‘T. turned into a white falcon.’

3.9 The Khakas depictive *azax aar*

The Khakas depictive *azax aar* [leg heavy] ‘pregnant’ is formed in a similar way to the analytical formation of *çoq*-formations in Siberian Turkic. It goes back to

a nominal sentence of characterisation: (*Her*) *legs (are) heavy*. The original nominal sentence has a copula in the present tense and a possessive affix on the noun *legs*. The fact that both are omissible is an indication that this construction has been lexicalised. The depictive *azaχ aar* can be used both with a subject (49) and an object controller (50).

Khakas

- (49) Ol *azaχ aar* aylan-γan.
 she pregnant come.back-PERF
 ‘She came back *pregnant*.’
- (50) Ol ipčī-zīn *azaχ aar* tasta-bīs-qan.
 he wife-POSS3ACC *pregnant* leave-PFV-PERF
 ‘He left his wife *pregnant*.’

3.10 Intensity of a quality in depictives

Turkic languages can express different degrees of quality intensity, e.g. partial or full reduplication of adjectives serves as a grammatical means to express elative, i.e. a quality degree exceeding the norm. This type of depictives is represented in our data by Tuvan examples both with the subject (51) and object (52) controllers.

Tuvan

- (51) Ol *būdün-bürün* kel-d-i.
 it full-full come-PST-3
 ‘He came *totally undamaged* (lit.: full-full).’
- (52) Siler-ge onu *būdün-bürün* ber-ip tur men.
 you:PL-DAT it:ACC full-full give-PRS I
 ‘I am giving you it *undamaged* (lit.: full-full).’

Intensity can also be expressed by special affixes, e.g. Shor *-(A)rAQ* for low degree of a quality; gradation particles, e.g. Shor *aytla* ‘very’, or compound adjectives with a grammaticalised first element. In (53), the adjective *qizil* ‘red’ has completely lost its lexical meaning and serves to express an elative meaning.

Altai

- (53) Čaygıda *qizil-d’aliṇaš* d’ür-üp d’at.
 in.summer absolutely-naked walk-PRS
 ‘He always goes *totally naked* in summer.’

3.11 Adverbs and adverbial expressions as depictives

All South Siberian languages have depictive adverbs. However, they are used only with subject controllers. This type of depictives is especially difficult to establish. Contrary to adjectives, adverbs are syntactically dependent on main verbal predicates and mostly serve as their adverbial modifiers. Only few semantic types of adverbs can have a depictive function. We can disregard time or place adverbs, because they are never used as depictives. As for the rest, adverbs can have a certain semantic link with an animate subject, expressing a mental or physical state, or collectivity/individuality. The latter type prevails in our material. The adverbs meaning 'together'³ or 'alone' are the most numerous ones and are encountered throughout South Siberian Turkic; see (54), (55), (57), (58). Compound adverbs meaning the physical state 'barefoot' also occur as depictives (56) and (59).

Shor

- (54) Olar *qada* čat-qan-nar.
they together live-PERF-PL
'They lived *together*.'

Tuvan

- (55) Olar *qadi* čurta-p tur-yan-nar.
they together live-CVB stand:AUX-PERF-PL
'They lived *together*.'
- (56) Ol čayın kezääde *qizil-davan* qılaš-tır.
he in.summer always barefoot walk-PRS
'He always goes *barefoot* in summer.'

Altai

- (57) Ol *d'anışqan* d'at-qan.
he alone live-PERF
'He lived *alone*.'

Khakas

- (58) Olar *χada* čurta-an-nar.
they together live-PERF-PL
'They lived *together*.'

3 The adverbs *qada/qadi/χada* 'together' and *qožo* go back to the vowel converb of the verbs meaning 'join together, pile up' that became lexicalised.

- (59) Ol čayyızın ğačan daa čalaas.azax čör-če.
 he in.summer always PTCL barefoot walk-PRS
 'He always goes *barefoot* in summer.'

3.12 Collective and distributive numerals

Collective numerals are derived by collective derivational affixes added to the stems of cardinal numerals. Our data only contain Shor, Altai and Khakas depictives of this type: (60)-(62). They have only subject controllers.

Shor

- (60) Olar *iygele* čat-qan-nar.
 they two:COLL live-PERF-PL
 'They *both, the two of them*, lived (together).'

Altai

- (61) Olor ayıl-da eküle bol-ğon.
 they village-LOC two:COLL be-PERF
 'They *both, the two of them*, lived together in the village.'

Khakas

- (62) Olar *ıköleŋ* čurta-an-nar.
 they two:COLL live-PERF-PL
 'They *both, the two of them* lived together.'

Distributive numerals are formed in various ways in Siberian Turkic. Shor uses distributive derivational affixes added to the stems of cardinal numerals: (63)-(64). In Altai, we find a specific distributive function of the ablative case of cardinal numerals (65)-(66). Khakas speakers combine the two forms of expressing distribution: they use the ablative case suffix added to the numerals with the derivational suffix *-AAr* (67)-(68). Shor, Altai and Khakas speakers use distributive depictives both with subject controllers (63), (65) and (67) and object controllers (64), (66) and (68).

Shor

- (63) *Bir-er* gir-eer!
 one-DISTR enter-IMP.2PL
 'Come in *one at a time!*'
- (64) *Bir-er* al-aar!
 one-DISTR take-IMP.2PL
 'Take (the sweets) *one at a time!*'

Altai

- (65) *Bir-deŋ le kir-er!*
one-ABL PTCL enter-IMP.2PL
'Come in *only one at a time!*'
- (66) *Bir-deŋ le al-ar!*
one-ABL PTCL take-IMP.2PL
'Take (the sweets) *only one at a time!*'

Khakas

- (67) *PİR-eer-deŋ kİR-İŋer!*
one-DISTR-ABL enter-IMP.2PL
'Come in *one at a time!*'
- (68) *PİR-eer-deŋ al-İŋar!*
one-DISTR-ABL take-IMP.2PL
'Take (the sweets) *one at a time!*'

3.13 Perfect participle *-GAN*

All the previously described types of depictives denote different states of their controllers. Depictives expressed by the participle *-GAN* also denote a physical or mental state of their controllers, but this state is a result of some previous action. All such depictives refer to subject controllers and are encountered in all South Siberian Turkic languages.

Tuvan

- (69) *Ol bis-ten ɣorada-an čor-uy bar-d-İ.*
she we-ABL get.angry-PRFP go-CVB go:AUX-PST-3
'She went away from us *angry (having got angry, in an angry state).*'

Altai

- (70) *Ol mege ačIn-ġan bar-ġan.*
she I:DAT be.angry-PRFP go-PERF
'She went away *angry with me (i.e. having got angry, in an angry state).*'

Such depictives should be distinguished from structurally identical analytical verb forms: the Shor form *par-ġan pol-ġan* [go-PRFP be:AUX-PERF] 'he had gone' expresses an action which happened in the remote past.

3.14 Converbs as depictives

The fact that a number of converbs in the South Siberian Turkic languages do not have their own prosodic or modal characteristics justifies a distinction between their function 1) as a main predicate in a dependent clause, 2) as a depictive, and 3) as a manner adverbial.⁴ Here, we describe only *-(X)p*-converbs as depictives.

The all-Turkic converb *-(X)p* is used to form converbals depictives from verbs of mental and physical states, emotions, spatial positions and social status. These forms can only have subject controllers, as in (71) and (72).

Tuvan

- (71) Ol bis-ten *χorada-p* čor-baan.
he we-ABL get.angry-CVB go-PERF.NEG
'He did not go from us *angry* (*being angry*).'

Khakas

- (72) Ol *sayıšsıra-p* χal-yan.
he be.upset-CVB stay-PERF
'He stayed (there) *feeling upset*.'

-(X)p-converbs with these groups of verbs do not necessarily act as depictives but can also be heads of subordinate clauses. In (73), the converb *bašqılap* is not a depictive, although it possesses subject orientation. It does not belong to the predicate of the main clause prosodically; and it preserves independent modal characteristics, i.e. it lies outside of the scope of negation of the predicate:

Tuvan

- (73) *Bašqıla-p*, men bayay χep ked-ip al-yaš
be.teacher-CVB I bad clothes put.on-CVB take:AUX-CVB
qılašta-p šiđa-vas men.
walk-CVB be.able-AOR.NEG I
'As a teacher, I cannot go around badly dressed (lit.: bad clothes).'

Compare the scope of negation expressed by a combination of the main predicate with a depictive in (74) with that of the main predicate in a complex sentence with an *-(X)p*-converb as the predicate of a subordinate clause (75). In (74b), the negative affix on the main predicate negates the combination of two situations: the action of going expressed by the main predicate and the state of being angry

4 In my earlier description of Siberian converbs in my doctoral thesis (NEVSKAYA 1993) I did not distinguish this syntactic function of converbs.

expressed by the depictive predicate. In (75b), the negation on the main predicate negates the situation denoted by the main clause.

Altai

- (74) a. Ol bis-teŋ ač̣in-ip bar-ğan.
 he we-ABL get.angry-CVB go-PERF
 'He went from us *angry (being angry)*.'
- b. Ol bis-teŋ ač̣in-ip bar-ba-ğan.
 he we-ABL get.angry-CVB go-NEG-PERF
 'He did not go from us *angry (being angry)*.'
- (75) a. Ač̣in-ip, ol bis-teŋ bar-ğan.
 get.angry-CVB he we-ABL go-PERF
 'Having got angry, he left us.'
- b. Ač̣in-ip, ol bis-teŋ bar-ba-ğan.
 get.angry-CVB he we-ABL go-NEG-PERF
 'Having got angry, he did not leave us.'

Depictives expressed by converbs are semantically very close to participial depictives formed from the same verbs (see previous section). Compare the converbial depictives (76a) with those expressed by perfect participles (76b). Perfect participles stress a state after an action, while converbs express the mental activities of their semantic subjects as still continuing.

Tuvan

- (76) a. Ol xomudaa-p čoru-y bar-yan.
 he be.offended-CVB go-CVB go.away.AUX-PERF
 'He went away *feeling offended*.'
- b. Ol xomuldaan čoru-y bar-yan.
 he be.offended:PRFP go-CVB go.away.AUX-PERF
 'He went away *offended*.'

4. Conclusion

Depictive predicates in South Siberian Turkic can be expressed by various formal means: bare adjectives, adjectives in the dative case, nominals of possession with and without dative, intensified adjectives, adverbs, collective and distributive numerals, participles, converbs and nominal phrases with various postpositions deriving from different infinite forms of existential verbs and of the verb 'do'. The use of the dative case with depictives expressed by adjectives is one of the most striking features in this region. It "compensates" for the lack of abstract

nouns and allows adjectives to occur with both subject and object depictives. Tuvan and Altai differ in this respect from Shor and Khakas. Tuvan and Altai prefer adjectives in the dative case to express object depictives, whereas Khakas and Shor use bare adjectives for both subject and object controllers.

The main semantic types of depictive predicates correlate with their formal types. Different states of the semantic subject are expressed by adjectives and nominal phrases, collectivity and distribution by collective and distributive numerals, states as results of previous actions by participles, accompanying actions by converbs, roles and social status by nominal phrases with *polip*. *Polip* as a marker of subject controllers is opposed to *qildir* appearing with object controllers.

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Secondary predicates in Croatian

1. Introduction

The traditional terms used for secondary predicates in Croatian linguistics are “predicate complement” (*predikatna dopuna*, cf. JERNEJ 1963) and “predicate attribute” (*predikatni atribut*). As a rule they are restricted, refer to adjectives (DEROSI 1971), although DANIČIĆ observed as early as 1858 that, in addition to adjectives, the predicate supplement (*priročni/predikatni dodatak*) can be a noun in any case.¹ MARETIĆ (1931) uses the term “adjunct” (*privezak/adjunkcija*). Other terms used include “temporary attribute”, “additional predicate” and “appositive adjective” (*privremeni atribut*, *dopunski predikat*, *apozitivni pridjev*, *pridjev u apozitivnoj službi*). The variety of the terms used reflects the uncertainties concerning the formal and semantic status of the secondary predicate within a sentence. Regarding literature on secondary predication, not many studies are dedicated to this topic apart from short descriptions in grammar handbooks. Among existing grammatical descriptions, more in-depth remarks with numerous literary examples can be found only in KATIČIĆ (1986). The only extensive study of this particular topic is PETI’s monograph *Predikatni proširak* (1979). Peti’s topic is the syntactic position of what he terms “predicate extension.” In his terminology, predicate extension as a syntactic category involves the phenomenon usually termed “secondary predicates”² in contemporary linguistic literature, as well as obligatory predicate complements. According to Peti, the two categories are instances of one and the same syntactic phenomenon: the obligatoriness of the predicate complement is not a result of the predication process itself – that is, it does not depend upon the predicate as a formal category, but upon the actual verb used; specifically, its incompleteness. PETI (1979, 91) does not consider predicate complements syntactically subordinated or in relation to the main

1 DANIČIĆ cites some examples with nouns in dative and instrumental found in older literary texts: *Drugako mi jur djetetu_{DAT} znani čačko prorokova* ‘[When I was] only a child, my father told me a different prophecy.’ (Dj. Palmotić); *Djetetom_{INS} ga zaplijeniše* ‘They captured him as a child.’ (Gundulić).

2 PETI analyzes secondary predicates in a broader sense; i.e., including some categories of circumstantials.

predicate-dependent sentence parts. Although the (main) predicate of a sentence is necessary for the inclusion of predicate complements in a sentence, they are nevertheless syntactically independent in relation to the predicate. Concerning semantics, for adjectives in agreement with their controllers (cf. *ljut* 'angry' in (1a)) Peti claims the same status as for non-agreeing verbal adverbs (cf. *poskakujući* 'jumping' in (1b)):

- (1) a. Čovjek ide ulicom *ljut*.
 Man:NOM.SG.M goes street:INS.SG.F angry:NOM.SG.M
 'The man is walking through the street angry.'
- b. Čovjek ide ulicom *poskakujući*.
 Man:NOM.SG.M goes street:INS.SG.F jumping
 'The man is walking through the street jumping.'

Peti's view is in accordance with contemporary reflections on the semantics of secondary predicates when he links the claim about the syntactic coordination of the two predicates with their semantic coordination (i.e., simultaneity of the two events involved). However, one cannot agree with his claim that the two predicates are not dependent upon each other: their semantic dependency comprises at least a common time and modal frame and a relevance condition for the secondary predication with regard to the primary.

There is still no full account of syntactically varied constructions involving secondary predication and their semantic description for Croatian. This chapter represents a step in this direction. Section two discusses the general characteristics of secondary predicates in Croatian as well as the semantic and grammatical borderline between secondary predicates and adverbials. The aim is to point out some general problems connected with the formal and semantic status of secondary predicates in Croatian. The discussion in this section also includes the distinction between depictives and circumstantials. Section three deals with semantic and grammatical characteristics of depictives. It aims at a semantic typology of depictives in Croatian and a summary of their grammatical characteristics.

2. General remarks on the formal and semantic characteristics of secondary predicates in Croatian

This section discusses general characteristics of secondary predicates, including parts of speech, case patterns, controllers of depictives, use of definite vs. indefinite adjectives, and semantic and structural ambiguities connected with this. Also dealt with is the relation of the secondary predicate to the adverbial and the attribute.

Prototypical instances of secondary predicates in Croatian are adjectives (*Vratio se kući pijan* ‘He returned home drunk’; *Vratio se kući poražen* ‘He returned home defeated’) and substantivized adjectives as well as nouns occurring with the typical Croatian depictive marker *kao* (*Vratio se kući kao poraženi*_{NOM} ‘He returned home [as a] defeated [person]’, *Vratio se kući kao pobjednik*_{NOM} ‘He returned home [as] a winner’).³ *Kao* has no case-assigning ability: with this marker, all cases can be used (*kao pobjednik*_{NOM}, *kao pobjednika*_{GEN/ACC}, *kao pobjedniku*_{DAT}, etc).⁴ The *kao*-phrase can either be subject-related (*Poslao je Ivana na front kao komandant* ‘As a commander, he sent Ivan to the front line’) or object-related (*Poslao je Ivana na front kao komandanta* ‘He sent Ivan as a commander to the front line’).

Following SCHULTZE-BERNDT & HIMMELMANN (2004), the term “depictive secondary predicate” is used to refer to constructions containing two predicative constituents, one of them being the main predicate, the other one expressing a state or event pertaining to one participant in the main predicate, as in the following example:

- (2) Ivan ide ulicom ljut.
 Ivan:NOM.SG.M goes street:INS.SG.F angry:NOM.SG.M
 ‘Ivan is walking through/along the street angry.’

In contrast to attributive modifiers (*ljuti Ivan* ‘angry Ivan’), which are not linked to the temporal, modal, and aspectual frame of the main predicate in such a manner that their denotation necessarily holds true at the time when the event expressed by the main predicate takes place, the event expressed by a depictive holds true specifically at the time expressed by the main predicate. That is, the event it expresses is simultaneous with the temporal frame of the main predicate. This can be shown by a paraphrase of the sentence in (2): *Ivan ide ulicom. Ivan je pritom ljut* ‘Ivan is walking along the street. While doing this, he is angry’.

In what follows, I mainly concentrate on depictives in the stricter sense. However, a clear demarcation between depictives and circumstantials is not always possible. Therefore, some remarks on circumstantials are included.

2.1 Controller of the depictive secondary predicate

In Croatian, depictives can be used in various argument positions. Certainly it can be expected that the most frequently encountered examples will be of type

3 *Kao* is classified in dictionaries as a conjunction or an adverb. According to ANIĆ (1998), in the usages above *kao* is an adverb.

4 This is an instance of case agreement combined with an analytic marker.

(3a) and (3b); that is, within sentences in which the controller of the secondary predicate is the sentence subject or direct object in the accusative case. However, sentences with other controllers are perfectly natural as well; cf. (3c-g). In (3c), the controller is a dative case entity, in (3d-e) an instrumental, in (3f) a genitive, and in (3g) a locative:

- (3) a. Pio je kavu umoran.
 drunk AUX coffee:ACC.SG.F tired:NOM.SG.M
 'He drank his coffee tired.'
- b. Pio je kavu hladnu.
 drunk AUX coffee:ACC.SG.F cold:ACC.SG.F
 'He drank his coffee cold.'
- c. Govorio je Marku umornu/umornom.
 talked AUX Marko:DAT.SG.M tired:DAT.SG.M.INDF/DEF
 'He talked to Marko [, who was] tired.'
- d. Govorio je s Markom umornim i
 talked AUX with Marko:INS.SG.M tired:INS.SG.M and
 zlovoljnim.
 angry:INS.SG.M
 'He talked with Marko, [who was] tired and angry.'
- e. Rezao je nožem potpuno tupim.
 cut AUX knife:INS.SG.M completely dull:INS.SG.M
 'He was cutting with the knife even completely dull [which had become completely dull].'
- f. Dohvatio se vrata svih prljavih.
 touched REFL door:GEN.PL.N all:GEN.PL.N dirty:GEN.PL.N
 'He touched the door [, which was] all dirty.'
- g. Smjestio je borovnice u vrećici
 placed AUX blueberry:ACC.PL.F in bag:LOC.SG.F
 svoj iskidanoj.
 all:LOC.SG.F torn:LOC.SG.F
 'He placed the blueberries in the bag [, which was] all torn apart.'

The variety of secondary predicate controllers in Croatian matches the situation in Slovenian, in which depictive secondary predicates have relatively few restrictions regarding their controller – namely, a depictive can be predicated on a subject, direct object, indirect object, prepositional object, etc. (cf. some examples given in MARUŠIČ et al. 2003, 374):

- (4) a. Budweiser Janezu mogoče ugaja
 Budweiser:NOM.SG.M Janez:DAT.SG.M possibly pleases
pijanemu, treznemu pa nikakor ne.
 drunk:DAT.SG.M sober:DAT.SG.M certainly not
 ‘Janez may like Budweiser [when he is] drunk, but certainly not [when he is] sober.’
- b. Peter je dal piškote v košarico
 Peter AUX put biscuit:ACC.PL.F in basket:ACC.SG.F
vso polomljeno.
 all:ACC.SG.F broken:ACC.SG.F
 ‘Peter put the biscuits into the basket all broken.’
- c. Sliki se je dotaknil še vseh
 Painting:GEN.PL.F REFL AUX touched still all:GEN.PL.F
mokrih.
 wet:GEN.PL.F
 ‘He touched the paintings [which were] still all wet.’
- d. Mučil se je s sekuro vso
 struggled REFL AUX with axe:INS.SG.F all:INS.SG.F
topo.
 blunt:INS.SG.F
 ‘He struggled with the axe [which was] completely blunt.’

The Slovenian data (MARUŠIČ et al. 2002) show that depictives also occur in subordinate infinitive clauses, still exhibiting agreement with their controller (*Vid ji je sklenil zadevo razložiti trezen* ‘Vid decided to present the matter to her when [he was] sober’). The same is acceptable in Croatian (*Vid joj je odlučio problem iznijeti trijezan*). However, the colloquial language shows a tendency to avoid constructions with secondary predicates in similar sentences and to encode the event with a temporal sentence (*Vid joj joj je odlučio problem iznijeti kad bude trijezan* ‘... when he was sober’).

Analyses of secondary predicates in English have shown that there are restrictions with regard to the controller of a depictive. A depictive cannot modify an indirect argument (5c) or a DP inside a PP (5d):

- (5) a. Mary_i ate [while] tired_j.
 b. I gave Mary the meat_i raw_j. (PYLKKÄNEN 2002, ex. 34a)
 c. *I gave Mary_i the meat hungry_j. (PYLKKÄNEN 2002, ex. 34b)
 d. *I talked to Sue_i drunk_j. (PYLKKÄNEN 2002, ex. 35b)

Such restrictions clearly contrast with the situation in Croatian and Slovenian shown in examples (3)-(4). Other Balkan languages also show fewer restrictions than English. IRIMIA (2005) gives Romanian and Albanian examples showing that indirect arguments and DPs inside PPs can control a depictive. In the latter case, the secondary predicate can refer only to the constituent that is close to it in the surface form. Fewer restrictions in Croatian and Slovenian are due to case agreement: in many cases, agreement of the secondary predicate and its controller results in an unambiguous sentence interpretation.

2.2 Case pattern of secondary predicates

With regard to secondary predicates in Croatian, the default is case agreement with its controller (also termed “sameness of case”). Consequently, the accusative *pijana/pijanog* ‘drunk’ in (6a-b) matches the accusative of the direct object (*ga* ‘him’), and the dative (*pijanu*) matches the case of the indirect object (*mu* ‘him’) in (6c):

- (6) a. Našao sam ga pijana.
 found AUX him:ACC drunk:ACC.SG.M
 ‘I found him drunk.’
- b. Ona moli Boga svaku večer da
 she prays God:ACC.SG.M every night:ACC.SG.F that
 ga pijanog pregazi neki kamion.
 him:ACC drunk:ACC.SG.M runs over some truck:NOM.SG.M
 ‘She prays every night for a lorry to run him over [when he is] drunk.’
- c. Telefonirao sam mu pijanu.
 phoned AUX him:DAT drunk:DAT.SG.M
 ‘I phoned him [when he was] drunk.’

The discussion concerning the variation between agreement and instrumental case in primary and secondary predicates in Russian is of little relevance for South Slavic. The use of the predicate instrumental case is limited in Croatian. In example (6a), the instrumental is not possible with the secondary predicate (**Našao sam ga pijanim*) as it is for example in Russian, where secondary predicates allow both patterns, with case agreement being restricted (BAILYN 2001). Instrumental case in Croatian is restricted to some exceptions within primary nominal predication.⁵

5 The instrumental case is even more restricted in Slovenian: *Hočem vas videti *srečnimi_{INS} /srečne_{ACC}*. [Slo] // *Hoću vas vidjeti sretno_{ACC}/sretnima_{INS}*. [Cro] ‘I want to see you happy.’

2.3 Definite vs. indefinite adjective in the secondary predicate – semantic and structural ambiguities

The semantic category of definiteness/indefiniteness is still preserved in Croatian in adjectival morphology. Indefinite adjectives are used to indicate a general quality possessed by the noun they modify. Definite adjectives indicate a particular or individual member of the general category possessing a quality; e.g., *Tamo je stajao jedan neobičan_{ADJINDF} čovjek* 'A strange man was standing there.' *Taj neobični_{ADJDEF} čovjek razgovarao je s mojim susjedom* 'That strange man was talking to my neighbour.' The morphological distinction between the indefinite and definite adjectives is clearly expressed in the case of masculine adjectives in the singular in all cases except the instrumental: *dobar_{NOMINDEFM} čovjek* 'a good man' vs. *dobri_{NOMDEFM} čovjek* 'the good man'; *dobra_{GENINDEFM} čovjeka* '(of) a good man' vs. *dobrog(a)_{GENDEFM} čovjeka* '(of) the good man', etc. Neuter indefinite and definite adjectives exhibit a different morphological structure in some cases in the singular (e.g. *dobra sela_{GENINDEFN}* '(of) a good village' – *döbrög(a)_{GENDEFN} sela* '(of) the good village'), in other cases, there is just a difference in accentuation (*döbro selo_{NOMINDEFN}* 'a good village' – *döbrö selo_{NOMDEFN}* 'the good village'). Feminine definite and indefinite adjectives differ in all cases in accentuation only (*dobra knjiga_{NOMINDEF}* 'a good book' – *döbrā knjiga_{NOMDEF}* 'the good book'). For all three genders, the difference is one of accentuation only. The definite-indefinite opposition reflects a difference between spoken and written language, as well as between different styles of language usage. Indefinite forms exhibit greater frequency in contemporary written Croatian, whereas definite forms are more common in the spoken language.

In Croatian linguistics (e.g., PETI 1979, KATIČIĆ 1986) it has been suggested that an adjective as a secondary predicate can be in the indefinite form only. This claim follows the rule that predicate adjectives in general exhibit only the indefinite form. This is relevant for the cases in which morphologically the indefinite form can be clearly distinguished from the definite; that is, in the singular masculine. However, the claim holds only for secondary predicates with subject controllers (e.g., *Dolazi u ured svaki dan pijan/*pijani* 'He comes to the office drunk every day.'). With non-subject controllers definite adjectives can be secondary predicates (cf. example (3c) and (6b)) as well, resulting in some cases in ambiguous readings. The secondary predicate adjective in the definite form

SZUCSICH (2002, 17) notices an interesting alternative to agreement case with a PP option (with different prepositions) for the predicate element in Slovenian: *Mateja je bila za učiteljico*. 'Mateja was a teacher.' Constructions of the type *Bila nam je za dadilju* 'She was our nanny' can seldom be found in Croatian, but they tend to be judged either as borderline cases or simply unacceptable.

exhibits the same form as an attributive adjective, whose usual position is in front of the noun (*Vidjela je čovjeka pijanog* 'She saw a man drunk' vs. *Vidjela je pijanog čovjeka* 'She saw a drunk man').⁶ However, poetic language allows for postponed attributes (*Vidjela je čovjeka pijanog* 'She saw a drunk man'). Consequently, sentences can have a secondary predicate and a postponed attribute reading, so that *pijanog* in *Vidjela je čovjeka pijanog* can be interpreted as a postponed attribute ('She saw a drunk man') or as a secondary predicate ('She saw a man drunk').

In the case of a feminine adjective, the only difference would be in the emphasis. In the example *Otac je danas kupio knjigu novu* 'Today father bought a book new', in its indefinite form and with short rising stress *novu* would unambiguously be interpreted as a secondary predicate. With a short falling stress and a long final vowel, it could be either a postponed attribute or a secondary predicate.

The use of indefinite forms results in ambiguous sentences in certain cases because the case of the secondary predicate can formally apply to more than one participant. Compare example (7a), in which the adjective *pijana* 'drunk' morphologically matches the indefinite feminine nominative form and the indefinite masculine accusative form. If the indefinite adjective is used, it is not clear which sentence argument *pijan* 'drunk' applies to. Accordingly, the sentence has two different interpretations and paraphrases. In (7b), *pijana* relates to the subject (*ona* 'she'), and in (7c) to the object (*ga* 'him'):

- (7) a. Ona ga izbacuje iz kuće
 She:NOM him:ACC throws.out of house:GEN.SG.F
 She:NOM him:ACC throws.out of house:GEN.SG.F

pijana.

drunk:NOM.SG.F

drunk:ACC.SG.M

'She is throwing him out of the house drunk.'

- b. Ona_i ga izbacuje iz kuće. Ona_i je pritom pijana.
 'She is throwing him out of the house. At the same time, she is drunk.'
- c. Ona ga_i izbacuje iz kuće. On_i je pritom pijan.
 'She is throwing him out of the house. At the same time, he is drunk.'

6 When the pronoun *ga* 'him' is used instead of the noun *čovjek*, the definite adjective can still be used (i.e., *Vidjela ga je pijanog* 'She saw him drunk').

Native speakers' judgements allow both interpretations. However, the more likely interpretation appears to be the one with the direct object (*ga* 'him') as the controller of *pijana*. Linear order – that is the distance between *ona* 'she' and depictive *pijana* – seems to be important for this interpretation.

In a test native speakers were asked whether the situation changes with the changed surface structure of the sentence; that is, with changed word order and/or the prosodic independence of the adjective. When the adjective is made prosodically independent (*Ona ga, pijana, izbacuje iz kuće/Ona ga izbacuje iz kuće, pijana*), the interpretation with the subject as the controller of *pijana* is slightly preferred.

The interpretation of the secondary predicate is dependent upon its position. If an item is prosodically detached from the rest of the clause, forming a prosodic unit of its own, there is a greater probability of the secondary predicate being linked with a more distant element. Variable position sometimes correlates with a meaning difference.

2.4 The distinction between adverbials and depictive secondary predicates

The form of adverbs morphologically derived from adjectives in Croatian is formally identical to the adjectival nominative singular neuter form: *brz*_{ADJM} – *brza*_{ADJF} – *brzo*_{ADJN} 'quick' – *brzo*_{ADV} 'quickly'; Cf. *Ivan je brz*_{ADJM} 'Ivan is quick.' vs. *Ivan trči brzo*_{ADV} 'Ivan is running quickly'.

Accordingly, feminine and masculine depictives are formally distinguished from adverbials, as is the case with the masculine adjective *ravnodušan* and the adverb *ravnodušno* in the examples *Ivan ih sluša sav ravnodušan*_{ADJ} 'Ivan is listening to them with indifference' (lit.: 'all indifferent') and *Ivan ih sluša ravnodušno*_{ADV} 'Ivan is listening to them indifferently'. However, neuter depictives cannot always formally be distinguished from adverbs and thus adverbials when an adjectival form coincides with the adverbial form. In many cases, the semantics of the adjective/adverb used determines the most plausible interpretation. In the following example, the form *gladno* clearly relates to the child, whereas *brzo* clearly relates to the way of walking. Consequently, it is likely that *gladno* in (8a) is an adjective and *brzo* in (b) an adverb:

- (8) a. Dijete je došlo *gladno*.
 child:NOM.SG.N AUX came hungry:NOM.SG.N.ADJ
 'The child came hungry.'
- b. Dijete je došlo *brzo*.
 child:NOM.SG.N AUX came quickly:ADV
 'The child came quickly.'

There are many constructions with a depictive reading that can be interpreted with an event-related meaning as well. This has often been commented on in the literature (e.g., PITTNER 1999, GEUDER 2000, HIMMELMANN & SCHULTZEBERNDT 2005). Even if adverbials and depictives can be clearly distinguished at the formal level, the distinction is not as clear at the semantic level. Many adjuncts have a participant-related and an event-related component simultaneously. Semantically, no clear-cut distinction can be made between adverbials and depictives. Even if they morphosyntactically differ in a given language, the semantic distinction is a gradual one. A formally unambiguous adverbial expression, might still be strongly participant-oriented.

It is widely noted in the semantic literature that adverbials are not exclusively event-oriented, but might instead be semantically oriented towards a participant. The adverbial or attributive reading of a sentence can be disambiguated by a paraphrase. Adverbials denote the manner of the development of an action or a process. However, a characteristic of an action/process might be directly or indirectly related to a participant. Which interpretation is more suitable depends on the semantics of the concrete adjective or adverb used.

In the following examples, the forms *brzo* ‘quickly’ and *ljutito* ‘angrily’ are morphologically clearly adverbs. However, *ljutito* relates not only to the process of walking, but also to the participant’s state/mood⁷, whereas *brzo* solely describes the characteristics of the process of walking home.

- (9) a. Hodao je kući *brzo*.
 walked AUX home fast:ADV
 ‘He walked home quickly.’
- b. Hodao je kući *ljutito*.
 walked AUX home angrily:ADV
 ‘He walked home angrily.’

With the secondary predicate *ljutit*, the following construction is felt as contradictory: **Hodao je kući ljutit, ali ustvari nije bio ljutit* ‘He was walking home angry, but he was actually not angry.’ However, the adverb *ljutito* is acceptable in constructions such as *Pozdravio je susjeda ljutito, ali ustvari nije bio ljutit* ‘He greeted his neighbour angrily, but he was actually not angry.’

Strongly participant-oriented adverbials can be considered (semantic) depictives as well. However, the semantic ambiguity of adverbs regarding participant or event orientation relates to pragmatic factors and constructional meaning,

7 At the very least, pragmatic factors strongly indicate participant orientation in addition to event orientation.

especially the interaction of the meaning of the adverb and the verb(s) used in the utterance.

2.5 The distinction between attributes and secondary predicates

As early as 1931 MARETIĆ noticed (p. 421) that the syntactic status of the adjective *žalostan* 'sad' in the sentence *Mladić otide žalostan* 'The young man went away sad' is not interpretable in the same manner as the adjective *pošten* 'honest' in the sentence *Pošten čovjek ne umije lagati* 'An honest man cannot lie'. An attributive adjective denotes a permanent characteristic of a participant in an eventuality, whereas a secondary predicate relates a participant in an eventuality to a characteristic that is temporarily bounded; that is, it is dependent upon the time-frame of the main predicate. The time-frame of the main predicate and the time-frame of the secondary predicate overlap in the overall eventuality time-frame on which the utterance focuses. However, this does not exclude the possibility that the state/situation expressed by the secondary predicate might have obtained before the eventuality time depicted in the utterance. Also, the same state/situation may continue after the eventuality time the on which the utterance focuses. In the linear order of a sentence, attributes in Croatian can be unambiguously distinguished from secondary predicates. As already mentioned, the sentential position of attributes and secondary predicates differs. Attributive adjectives precede their head noun, whereas in secondary predicate function they follow their controller and tend to be placed close to the end because they are rhematic. The secondary predicate phrase is semantically the most salient part of the sentence. Therefore this alignment of constructional slots is expected.

While testing the acceptability of some sentences of the type *Ivan se vratio kući pijan* 'Ivan came home drunk', an interesting observation was made by the informants. They claimed that attribution would be more natural than the use of the adjective as a secondary predicate (*Pijani Ivan vratio se kući*). Many cases of sentences with secondary predicates are judged "unusual" or "expressive", and a general preference for attributive constructions could be observed.

The choice of a secondary predicate construction as opposed to an attributive construction is generally connected with the broader context and pragmatic factors, such as the speaker's and hearer's expectations with regard to the situation. In a situation in which someone went to a restaurant in order to eat, the standard expectation is that this person is not hungry on leaving the restaurant. If the expectation is not fulfilled, (10a) with a secondary predicate would be most natural. *Gladan* 'hungry' acquires a specific emphasis in sentence (10a). The theme-rheme structure of the sentence also suggests that *gladna* is new information. The two events contrast with each other. According to expectations, Marija

should not be hungry. With *gladna Marija* 'hungry Marija' in (10b), the characteristic of Marija (i.e., 'hungry') is semantically independent from the time-frame of the event of returning from the restaurant. Also, nothing is said about expectations regarding the subject's state:

- (10) a. Marija se vratila iz gostionice
 Marija:NOM.SG.F REFL returned from inn:GEN.SG.F
gladna.
 hungry:NOM.SG.F
 'Marija returned from the inn hungry.'
- b. *Gladna* Marija vratila se iz
 hungry:NOM.SG.F Marija:NOM.SG.F returned REFL from
 gostionice.
 inn:GEN.SG.F
 'Hungry Marija returned from the inn.'

2.6 Similitive constructions vs. secondary predicates

Secondary predicates can be found in constructions with *kao* as in (11a). However, *kao* is also found in similitive constructions, as in (b):

- (11) a. Vratio se kući *kao pobjednik.*
 returned REFL home as winner:NOM.SG.M
 'He has returned home a winner.'
- b. Vozio je isto onako dobro *kao (i)*
 drove AUX just that well as too
instruktor.
 instructor:NOM.SG.M
 'He was driving just as well as the instructor.'

The paraphrase of (11a) as *Vratio se kući. Pritom je bio pobjednik* 'He has returned home. At the same time, he was a winner' confirms the secondary predicate status of the phrase *kao pobjednik*. The two events coded in the sentence have the same temporal frame. This is not the case with the second example, which does not mean: 'He was driving just as well. At the same time, he was the instructor'; that is, it cannot be paraphrased with **Vozio je isto onako dobro. Pritom je bio instruktor*. In sentence (11a), *kao* is an analytical marker of secondary predicates and incidentally has the same form as *kao* used in similitive adverbial constructions (11b).

Kao also occurs with adjectival secondary predicates⁸:

- (12) Otpustili su ga iz bolnice kao
 discharged AUX him:ACC from hospital:GEN.SG.F as
 zdravoga / kao zdrava.
 healthy:ACC.SG.M.DEF / as healthy: ACC.SG.M.INDF
 'They discharged him from the hospital healthy (lit.: 'as healthy').'⁹

In some examples (e.g., *Bio je blag kao direktor* 'As a director, he was kind') there is a high probability of a secondary predicate interpretation, although the sentence would allow a similitive reading in an appropriate context (*Bio je blag kao [onaj] direktor . . . kojeg smo imali prije* 'He was [as] kind as the director we had before'). Consequently, *kao* is not an unambiguous marker of secondary predicates in Croatian because it occurs with obligatory complements and adjuncts, as well as with restrictive attributes and appositions. Croatian grammar traditionally neglects *kao*-phrases functioning as appositions – cf. BARIĆ et al. (1997, 563-564), RAGUŽ (1997, 332) –, reflecting exclusively upon nouns without any marker, although appositions can have the similitive marker *kao* in many cases; consider *I vrag je mene grešnika mogao odnijeti u pakao* (Slamnig) as opposed to its paraphrase *I vrag je mene kao grešnika mogao odnijeti u pakao* 'And the devil could have brought me, [as] a sinner, into hell'.

2.7 Depictives vs. circumstantials

In addition to the temporal coincidence of two events involved in a sentence containing a depictive secondary predicate, sentences involving a circumstantial introduce an additional semantic element: conditional, temporal, concessive, or causal. NICHOLS (1978) discusses conditional, temporal, and concessive circumstantials only. HENTSCHEL (2006, and this volume) treats concessive circumstantials as special cases of either conditional or causal circumstantials. Being participant-oriented adjuncts, depictives and circumstantials are not clearly distinguishable in many languages. The logical relation of a main predicate and a depictive is only one of temporal overlap, whereas in the case of circumstantials

8 Substantival secondary predicates usually have *kao*, whereas adjectival secondary predicates rarely have *kao* in Croatian.

9 The sentences with *kao* + adjective, as in (12), are ambiguous: it is not clear if the participant really was cured, or only considered cured while still being ill. It is possible to continue the sentence with . . . *a bio je zapravo još bolestan* ' . . . although he was actually still ill.' Its counterpart without *kao* (*Otpustili su ga iz bolnice zdravoga/zdrava*) unambiguously asserts the state of being healthy during the eventuality of discharging him from the hospital.

other semantic elements are involved in addition to temporal overlap. The next example illustrates how vague this differentiation can be, at least for Croatian.

- (13) *Zastadoh prestravljen.*
 stopped terrified:NOM.SG.M
 'I stopped short, terrified.'

The sentence may be considered a typical secondary predicate construction, but it may have a causal interpretation as well (*Zastadoh jer sam bio prestravljen* 'I stopped short because I was terrified').

A criterion usually employed for the identification of a circumstantial is the scope of negation: a circumstantial is not within the scope of negation. It is possible to negate the main predicate without negating the circumstantial:

- (14) *Kao mlada djevojka Marija nije živjela*
 as young girl:NOM.SG.F Marija:NOM.SG.F AUX.NEG lived
 u Moskvi.
 in Moscow:LOC.SG.F
 'As a young girl, Marija did not live in Moscow.'

This clause should certainly not be understood as negating Marija's state of being a young girl. Similarly, in the concessive example *Nije mogla pomoći čak ni kao liječnica* 'She was not able to help even as a doctor', it is not being a doctor that is negated, but her ability to help. It is quite the opposite with depictives. The negation of sentences involving depictives can have two interpretations: (a) the main predicate and the secondary predicate are negated, or (b) only secondary predicate is negated.¹⁰

- (15) *Marija zabavu nije napustila*
 Marija:NOM.SG.F party:ACC.SG.F AUX.NEG left
ljuta.
 angry:NOM.SG.F
 'Marija did not leave the party angry.'

Without any additional contextual information, the second interpretation is more probable in Croatian (*Marija je napustila zabavu. Pritom nije bila ljuta, nego dobro raspoložena* 'Marija left the party. [At that time] she was not angry, she was in a good mood'). Nevertheless, it is possible to continue (15) with: *Nije uopće napustila zabavu* 'She did not leave at all', both predicates being within the scope of negation.

10 See HENTSCHEL (this volume) for further comments on the negation of depictives and circumstantials.

In negative sentences containing temporal or conditional circumstantials without *kao*, only the circumstantial is usually negated. The sentences they occur in usually involve contrastive contexts:

- (16) To bijelo vino nije dobro
 that white wine:NOM.SG.N AUX.NEG good
toplo. [conditional/temporal]
 warm:NOM.SG.N
 'That white wine does not taste good [when it is/if it is] warm.'

It would hardly be acceptable to continue the sentence with: *Ono nije uopće dobro* 'It is not good at all'.

The second criterion for distinguishing circumstantials and depictives is sentence position. Typical depictives tend to carry sentence accent and occur at the end of a clause. Circumstantials contribute presupposed information and tend not to carry sentence stress. However, they do occur stressed in contrastive contexts (*Ova pita nije ukusna hladna, ukusna je samo toplo*. 'This pie does not taste good cold, it only tastes good warm'). In many cases, a sentence is ambiguous between a depictive and circumstantial interpretation. In Croatian there are no morphosyntactic, nor prosodic, nor linear order means to differentiate between depictives and circumstantials, cf. (17):

- (17) a. Bijelo vino pije se
 white wine:NOM.SG.N drinks:IMPERS
hladno. [circumstantial]
 cold:NOM.SG.N
 'White wine should be drunk cold.'
- b. Bijelo vino poslužili su *hladno*. [depictive]
 white wine:ACC.SG.N served AUX cold:ACC.SG.N
 'They served white wine cold.'

The morphosyntactic marking of the two items is the same, their sentence position is the same, and both may be stressed or unstressed. Verbal meaning and voice phenomena contribute circumstantial information.

A circumstantial reading may be based on verbal aspect and a generic vs. specific interpretation. It is possible to interpret (18a) with the perfective verbs *otići* 'to go' signaling a single event either as a depictive or a causal circumstantial, whereas (18b) strongly suggests a circumstantial interpretation with the generic meaning conveyed by the imperfective verb *ići* 'to go':

- (18) a. Nije otišao na posao *bolestan*.
 AUX.NEG went:PFV on work:ACC.SG.M ill:NOM.SG.M
 'He did not go to work ill.'

- b. Nije išao na posao bolestan.
 AUX.NEG went:IPFV on work:ACC.SG.M ill:NOM.SG.M
 'He did not use to go to work ill.'

The interpretation frequently depends upon our world knowledge. (18a) can be considered circumstantial under the assumption that being ill is often the cause for not going to work. The factors that determine a depictive vs. a circumstantial interpretation deserve detailed study, because even in the depictive cases that appear "clear" at first glance, such as *Marko je došao kući gladan* 'Marko came home hungry', a circumstantial interpretation of "hungry" cannot be ruled out on the basis of an isolated sentence. However, it must be added that often the context does not resolve ambiguities either.

There is a general tendency in Croatian to interpret depictives as reduced clauses, especially when they are prosodically independent. The existence of absolute constructions constitutes a strong empirical argument for postulating that some secondary predicate phrases have a clausal structure. (19b) and (19c), where *umoran* 'tired' and *bolestan* 'ill' are prosodically independent, rather suggest a causal interpretation. The prosodically isolated adjective in sentence-initial position in (19c) suggests a reduced causal sentence more strongly than in sentence-final position (19b):

- (19) a. Nije došao umoran.
 AUX.NEG came tired
 'He arrived and was not tired'; or: 'He did not arrive at all.'
- b. Nije došao, umoran.
 AUX.NEG came tired:NOM.SG.M
 'He did not arrive because he was tired'; or: 'He did not arrive and he was tired.'
- c. Bolestan, nije se vratio kući.
 ill:NOM.SG.M AUX.NEG REFL came home
 'He did not come home because he was ill.'

Out of context, the more likely interpretation of sentence (19d) would tend to the negation of the secondary predicate; that is, *Vratio se, ali nije bio bolestan* [već je bio ozdravio] 'He came back, but he was not ill [He had already recovered]':

- (19) d. Nije se vratio kući bolestan.
 AUX.NEG REFL came home ill:NOM.SG.M
 'He did not come home ill.'

On the other hand, if *bolestan* 'ill' is prosodically detached from the rest of the clause, as in (19c), there is a strong preference for a circumstantial, in particular causal, interpretation (. . . *jer je bio bolestan* 'because he was ill'). Only prosody

– and orthographic marking – determines the exact sentence semantics. Prosodic isolation alone does not necessarily change the interpretation: it apparently depends upon the semantics of the main verb and its interaction with the semantics of the depictive:

- (20) Sava teče *mutna* i *prljava*.
 Sava:NOM.SG.F flows turbid:NOM.SG.F and dirty:NOM.SG.F
 ‘The Sava flows turbid and dirty.’

Mutna ‘turbid’ and *prljava* ‘dirty’ maintain their depictive interpretation even if prosodically isolated: a paraphrase of the adjectives with causal, temporal, or conditional clauses would result in odd utterances: ^{??}... *jer/ako/kad je mutna i prljava* ‘because/if/when it is turbid and dirty’.

3. Depictives: A classification based on semantics and grammatical characteristics

Following the typology proposed by SCHULTZE-BERNDT & HIMMELMANN (2004), the sections that follow comprise an overview of the semantic range of secondary predicates in Croatian using examples taken from the Internet.¹¹ For the sake of completeness, the classification includes not only examples that are clearly definable as depictives, but some borderline cases as well.

3.1 Depictives of quality, state and condition

The first quantitatively prominent group of secondary predicates semantically encodes physical, emotional, or motivational states or conditions in constructions with verbs of motion, manipulation/affect, change of state or ingestion:

- (21) a. Pio je kavu *hladnu*.
 drank AUX coffee:ACC.SG.F cold:ACC.SG.F
 ‘He drank his coffee cold.’
 b. Pio je pivo *hladno*.
 drank AUX beer:ACC.SG.N cold:ACC.SG.N
 ‘He drank his beer cold.’

11 The examples were gathered through a Google search. Sources that illustrate standard language use in various functional styles are taken into consideration. Colloquial language use is taken into consideration as well, but chatroom discussions and blogs were omitted.

- c. Pio je čaj hladan.
 drank AUX tea:ACC.SG.M cold:ACC.SG.M
 'He drank his tea cold.'

Typical depictives of this type are adjectives and adjectival participles. Nevertheless, there are many prepositional phrases and prepositionless (genitive) phrases equivalent to adjectives in this group as well. This type comprises both subject-related and object-related adjectival depictives:

- (22) a. Moshe ide ulicom
 Moshe:NOM.SG.M goes street:INS.SG.F
uplašen i *posramljen*. [subject-related]
 frightened:NOM.SG.M and ashamed:NOM.SG.M
 'Moshe is walking through the street in fear and ashamed.'
- b. Našao sam ga pijana. [object-related]
 found AUX him:ACC drunk:ACC.SG.M
 'I found him drunk.'

Depictives involving instrumental prepositional phrases with the preposition *s(a)* in the following example might be paraphrased with a simple adjectival depictive:

- (23) Ona je hodala ulicom s namještenom
 she AUX walked street:INS.SG.F with done:INS.SG.F
frizurom.
 hair:INS.SG.F
 'She was walking through the street with her hair done.'

Accordingly, *s namještenom frizurom* 'with her hair done' in (23) is nearly equivalent to the participial form *isfrizirana/počešljana* 'with her hair done, combed'. Another equivalent construction is the prepositionless genitive (*namještene frizure* 'hair in place'). The antonymic counterpart of *s* is *bez* 'without':

- (24) Prolazi bez kape i kaputa.
 passes by:PRS without hat:GEN.SG.F and coat:GEN.SG.M
 'He/she is passing by without hat and coat.'

Again there are near-equivalent adjectives: *gologlav* 'bare-headed' and *neobučen* 'not dressed, naked'.

When a depictive occurs in the form of a prepositionless genitive construction as in (25), it might be replaced either with a simple adjectival depictive (e.g., *pokunjen* 'woebegone', *Stoji tamo pokunjen* 'He is standing there woebegone'), or with an instrumental PP with the preposition *s(a)*; for example, *Stoji tamo s pognutom glavom* 'He is standing here with his head bowed':

- (25) Stoji tamo *pognute glave*.
stands there bowed:GEN.SG.F head:GEN.SG.F
‘He/she is standing there with his head bowed.’

Similarly, there are some depictive locative phrases with *u* ‘in, at’ which have near-equivalent adjectival counterparts (*pijan* ‘drunk’, *triježan* ‘sober’, *skraćen* ‘shortened’) for sentences as in (26):

- (26) a. To je uradio *u pijanom stanju*
that AUX did in drunk:LOC.SG.N state:LOC.SG.N
u triježnom stanju.
in sober:LOC.SG.N state:LOC.SG.N
‘He did it drunk [in a drunk state]/in a sober state.’
- b. Film smo vidjeli *u skraćenom obliku*.
film:ACC.SG.M AUX saw in abridged:LOC.SG.M
form:LOC.SG.M
‘We saw the film in an abridged form.’

A depictive in the locative case with the preposition *u* ‘in’ often encodes a material something is made of:

- (27) Sjaji se sva *u zlatu i srebru*.
shines REFL all:NOM.SG.F in gold:LOC.SG.N and silver:LOC.SG.N
‘She is shining, all in gold and silver.’

A depictive occurs as an accusative phrase with the preposition *uz*:

- (28) Budila bih se iscrpljena *i bezvoljna, uz bolove u mišićima*.
awoke would REFL exhausted:NOM.SG.F and unhappy:NOM.SG.F
with pain:ACC.PL.M in muscle:LOC.PL.M
‘I would wake up worn out and unhappy, with pains in my muscles.’

Furthermore, a depictive occurs as a phrase with the adjectives *pun* ‘full’ + genitive, *ispunjen* ‘full’ + instrumental:

- (29) a. Ovo pišem *pun bijesa*.
this write:PRS full:NOM.SG.M anger:GEN.SG.M
‘I am writing this full of anger.’
- b. Sada već potpuno *ispunjen bijesom*
now already entirely full:NOM.SG.M rage:INS.SG.M
pogleda prema *zbunjenom*
looked:AOR in.direction confused:DAT.SG.M

ćelavcu.

bald man:DAT.SG.M

'Already full of rage, he looked in the direction of the confused bald man.'

A group of expressions encoding posture (*potrbuške* 'prone' [lit. 'on one's stomach'], *poledice* 'supine' [lit. 'on one's back'], *naglavačke* 'head first') are morphological adverbs. However, they allow an event-oriented, adverbial reading and a participant-oriented, depictive reading. They can be interpreted as indicating the manner of falling (*naglavačke*), being, sitting or standing (*potrbuške*, *poledice*). At the same time, they indicate the posture of the participant at the time of the event expressed by the main predicate.

- (30) Htio sam ostati u položaju, *poledice*
wanted AUX remain in position:LOC.SG.M on.back:ADV
i htjedoh se okrenuti, da olakšam
and wanted:AOR REFL turn.around to make.easier:PRS
disanje – *potrbuške*.
breathing:ACC.SG.M on.stomach:ADV
'I wanted to remain on my back – and I wanted to turn over, to be able to breathe easier, onto my stomach.'

The depictive status of such expressions is questionable. They might be paraphrased by a prepositional phrase (*na leđima*, *na trbuhu* 'on (one's) back', 'on (one's) stomach' (prone or supine)). A depictive that encodes posture frequently occurs as a PP with *u* plus *položaj* 'position':

- (31) Laura je *u istom položaju*
Laura is in same:LOC.SG.M position:LOC.SG.M
u kojem si je ostavio.
in which:LOC.SG.M AUX her:ACC left
'Laura is in the same position you left her in.'

Prepositional phrases with *s(a)* plus a noun denoting a body part in the instrumental and expressions denoting additional locational expression denote posture as well. The posture is made explicit if the body part involved is made explicit:

- (32) a. Sušenje treba započeti *s glavom*
drying:ACC.SG.N needs:IMPERS begin:INF with head:INS.SG.F
okrenutom prema dolje.
turned:INS.SG.F towards down
'The drying must begin with the head turned downwards.'

An absolute construction as in (32b) is functionally more or less equivalent to the construction in (32a), as well as to the genitive constructions in (32c):

- b. On sjedi *glava okrenuta udesno.*
 he sits head:NOM.SG.F turned:NOM.SG.F to.right
 ‘He is sitting there, his head turned to the right.’
- c. On sjedi *glave okrenute udesno.*
 he sits ‘head:GEN.SG.F turned:GEN.SG.F to.right
 ‘He is sitting there, his head turned to the right.’

Expressions of arrangement and shape are functionally closely related to expressions of posture. However, with arrangement and shape multiple entities are involved:

- (33) a. Hodali su *jedan za drugim.*
 walked AUX one:NOM.SG.M after another:INS.SG.M
 ‘They walked, one after another.’
- b. Izlazimo *visoko dignutih ruku,*
 come out:PRS high lifted:GEN.PL.F hand:GEN.PL.F
u redu jedan iza drugog.
 in queue:LOC.SG.M one:NOM.SG.M after another:GEN.SG.M
 ‘We are coming out, our hands up, in a queue, one after another.’

3.2 States and conditions derived from events

Passive participles, such as *oprana* ‘washed’ and *obrijan* ‘shaved’, denote states and may function as depictives, just like the adjectives *pijan* ‘drunk’ and *triježan* ‘sober’. More complex participial sentences can be used in the same function. Both constructions denote a state resulting from a previous event that occurs simultaneously with the event encoded by the main predicate:

- (34) Boce *treba vratiti oprane.*
 bottle:ACC.PL.F needs:IMPERS return washed:ACC.PL.F
 ‘The bottles should be returned washed.’

One group of constructions expressing state or condition resulting from an event comprises passive participles (verbal adjectives) and verbal adverbials (“gerunds”) in a depictive function. Verbal adverbs ending with *-ći* in Croatian denote events that clearly apply during the same time-frame as the main predicate. In addition, they are usually clearly participant-oriented. In the following example, it is stated of the participants that they were crying (while coming). Evidently, it is not the manner of their coming that is crying:

- (35) Došli su k meni *plačući*.
 came AUX to me:DAT crying
 'They came to me crying.'

In Croatian, this type of depictive in common standard language use can only be subject-controlled. KATIČIĆ (1986, 462) cites some examples containing active present-participles with non-subject controllers. The author describes them as rare and stylistically marked, for example *Odlazeći, od njih, zaneseni, /mene, muče vrele žudnje* (Tadijanović) 'I was tortured by seething longings, [while] going away from them, enraptured'. Object-controlled participial depictives, which are common in German, are hardly possible in neutral Croatian language use. Thus, adjectival depictives (cf. 2.1) and participial depictives behave quite differently. Therefore, *plačući* 'crying' in example (36) can be understood as object-related only in a poetic context; normally it would be interpreted as subject-related:

- (36) Oni su me gledali *plačući*.
 they:NOM AUX me:ACC looked crying
 'They have been looking at me, crying.'

Because of the ambiguous status of at least some participial constructions, they will not be discussed in detail.

Prepositional phrases containing action nominals with the prepositions *pri* + locative, *kod* + genitive and *u* + locative are semantically similar to verbal adverbs denoting simultaneous events. Constructions with *pri*, *kod* and *u* can have both object and subject controllers:

- (37) a. Pomaže mu *pri učenju* / *kod učenja*
 helps him:DAT by learning:LOC.SG.N / at GEN.SG.N
 / *u učenju*.
 / in learning:LOC.SG.N
 'She/he helps him while studying.'
- b. Ponekad zaspim *pri čitanju* / *kod*
 sometimes fall asleep:PRS by reading:LOC.SG.N / at
čitanja.
 GEN.SG.N
 'Sometimes I fall asleep while reading.'
- c. Ja ga gledam *kod čitanja*.
 I him:ACC look:PRS at reading:GEN.SG.N
 'I am looking at him while I am reading / while he is reading.'

In (37c), the interpretation tends to relate the action of reading to the last participant (the sentence object, *ga* 'him') mentioned before it. Although more probable, it is not the only possible interpretation.

The prepositions *pri* 'by; while' and *kod* 'by, close to; while' with a verbal noun can express an event simultaneous to the event expressed by the main predicate, not necessarily the participant relation. *Pri čitanju* and *kod čitanja* could also be used in the context of describing reading by someone not mentioned in the clause, but known from previous context.

3.3 Expressions of function/role/property, age and life stage

Some predicative phrases marked with the predicative marker *kao* 'as' are considered cases of depictive constructions. However, as already indicated, these phrases may also function as obligatory predicative complements, attributes and appositions. Predicative *kao*-phrases may express a function, role, temporary property or life stage, which holds for the time-frame of the main predicate:

- (38) *Pepeljaru su kupili kao suvenir*
 ashtray:NOM.SG.F AUX bought as souvenir:ACC.SG.M
u malenom mjestu na Jadranu.
 in small place:LOC.SG.N at Adria:LOC.SG.M
 'They bought that ashtray as a souvenir in a small Adriatic town.'

Whereas adjectival depictives tend to be placed at the end of a clause, the tendency is much less obvious with *kao*-depictives (cf. example (38)).

As an expression of function/role/property, *kao* is often replaced with the secondary markers *u svojstvu/ulozi/funkciji* 'in the function of, as a'. This is typical for administrative style and implies an official role/function. Therefore, *Na premijeri sudjeluje u svojstvu gosta* 'He is attending the premiere in the function of a guest' would be unusual, whereas the following examples are perfectly natural:

- (39) a. *Naša delegacija na sastanku sudjeluje*
 our delegation:NOM.SG.F at meeting:LOC.SG.M takes.part
u svojstvu zemlje kandidata.
 in role:LOC.SG.M country:GEN.SG.F candidate:GEN.SG.M
 'Our country is taking part in the meeting in the role of a candidate country.'
- b. *Pozvali su ga u svojstvu ambasadora.*
 invited AUX him in role:LOC.SG.M ambassador:GEN.SG.M
 'They invited him [in his role] as an ambassador.'

BARIĆ et al. (1997, 572) cite examples of “predicate extension” (“predikatni proširak”) consisting of a noun without *kao*, stating that they are characteristic of poetic speech:

- (40) *Prognanik* u pučkoj
 expatriate:NOM.SG.M in common people:LOC.SG.F
 rulji sam se skrio. (A. G. Matoš)
 crowd:LOC.SG.F AUX REFL hid
 ‘I was hidden in the crowd of common people as an expatriate.’

The examples cited in BARIĆ et al. (1997) suggest that a noun as a depictive can occupy any position in the sentence, with most examples occupying either initial or final sentence position. The depictive noun is usually placed distant to its sentence controller, more often being a pronoun than a noun. Due to the fact that Croatian is a pro-drop language the controller may be coded just in the verbal ending:

- (41) *Samac* sam jadu pod
 alone:NOM.SG.M AUX sorrow:DAT.SG.M under
 zamahe pao. (S. S. Kranjčević)
 swing:ACC.PL.M fell
 ‘I was defeated by sorrow as a lonely person.’

3.4 Similitive and similitive-like expressions

Similitive expressions like those in examples (42) that take the similitive marker *kao* in Croatian function as manner adverbials (HASPELMATH & BUCHHOLZ 1998, 213). However, they also meet the definition of depictives: similarity to something else is stated for one of the participants in a specific event. This similarity holds simultaneously with the event expressed by the main predicate. Consequently, similitive expressions alternate semantically between event orientation and participant orientation. Strong participant orientation is expressed in the following example:

- (42) a. Svi oko nje su se ustrčali da joj pomognu,
 all around her:GEN AUX REFL run:3PL to her:DAT help:PRS
 a ja sam stajao kao ukopan i
 and I AUX stood as paralysed:NOM.SG.M and

snimao.

took.pictures

‘Everyone around her ran in all directions in order to help her, and I just stood there *as though I were paralyzed* and took pictures.’

b. Pratio ga je poput sjene.

followed him:ACC AUX like shadow:GEN.SG.F

‘He followed him like a shadow.’

It does not make much sense to describe the manner of staying in (42a) as *kao ukopan*. The subject’s referent is described as *kao ukopan*. This characteristic holds at the same time as standing. The subject describes his condition (fear, state of not being able to behave like others). An adjective or a noun in a similitive *kao*-construction agrees in case, number and gender with its controller. It is usually, although not exclusively, subject-oriented:

(43) Ležala je kao mrtva.

lay AUX like dead:NOM.SG.F

‘She lay there like a dead person.’

In the following paragraphs, some expressions will be considered whose depictive status is questionable. However, they do allow a depictive interpretation.

3.5 Causal expressions

The depictive status of causal expressions similar to the following is questionable:

(44) a. Isus je trpio iz ljubavi i
Jesus:NOM AUX suffered from love:GEN.SG.F and
poslušnosti.

obedience:GEN.SG.F

‘Jesus suffered because of love and obedience.’

b. Viknuo je od straha.

screamed AUX of fear:GEN.SG.M

‘He screamed out of fear.’

However, similar causal phrases ascribe a state or condition to an event participant. That state is simultaneous to the main event. At the same time, it is the cause of the event coded by the main predicate, as can be shown by a paraphrase of (44b): ‘He screamed. At the same time, he was afraid.’ SCHULTZE-BERNDT & DAWUDA (2001, 15) observe that translational equivalents of similar expressions

in some Australian languages are depictives, showing typical agreement for depictives.

3.6 Expressions of purpose and intention

The depictive status of this construction type can be considered even more problematic than the status of expressions of cause. Expressions of purpose and intention are not usually regarded as depictives, although their semantics might allow this view. The expression of an intended action or purpose is connected with the pre-state of an event. That is, one temporal part of it is ascribed to one of the participants. That pre-state is simultaneous with the event denoted by the main predicate. A state is most clearly ascribed to a participant in constructions involving nouns denoting state or consciousness; for example, *nada* 'hope':

- (45) Žena se udaje za muškarca u
 woman:NOM.SG.F REFL marries for man:ACC.SG.M in
 nadi da će se on promijeniti.
 hope:LOC.SG.F that AUX REFL he change
 'A woman marries a man in the hope that he will change.'

The depictive-like status of similar expressions is confirmed by the possibility of paraphrasing them with an active participle (*nadajući se* 'hoping').

3.7 Expressions with quantifiers

Quantifying adjuncts are more often subsumed under adverbials than under depictives (for exceptions, see PLANK 1985, MÜLLER-BARDEY 1990). Quantifiers outside of noun phrases exhibit a clear semantic relationship to one participant of the main predicate, and therefore can be considered semantically depictive. A group of collective numerals indicating the size of a collection of entities can be characterized as depictive numerals. The form containing a collective numeral (*troje*) and the preposition *u* is non-inflected. The expression also occurs as a grammaticalized, single-word form (cf. *utroje* in (46)). Quantifying adjuncts occupy a position typical of depictives and allow the same type of paraphrase ('They were sitting. At the same time, there were three of them there'), indicating that *u troje/utroje* applies to the participants, not to the way of sitting:

- (46) Sjedili su *troje* / *utroje*.
 sat AUX three:COLL.NUM.INDECL / in.three:COLL.NUM.INDECL
 'The three of them were sitting there.'

Still, examples such as (46) remain insolubly vague regarding the event or participant orientation.

An ordinal number also applies to the participant in the same manner as an adjective, cf. the paraphrase of example (47): ‘They had to go. At the same time, they were the first [that had to go].’

- (47) Morali su otići *prvi*.
 had AUX go first:NOM.PL.M
 ‘They had to go [as the] first [ones].’

In this last example, *prvi* functions in the same way as an adjectival depictive. Compare the paraphrase of the last example and of *Morali su otići bijesni* ‘They had to go angry’: ‘They had to go. At the same time, they were angry.’ The temporal frame of the main predicate and the temporal frame of the quantifying expression coincide. The following construction involves a quantity expression in a depictive function as well (paraphrase: ‘The people arrived. At the same time, there were many of them’):

- (48) Ljudi je došlo *puno*.
 people:GEN.PL.M AUX came many
 ‘The people arrived, many of them.’

Quantifying noun phrases with the prepositions *u* (plus locative case) and *na* (plus accusative case), which specify the total number of referents, enable a depictive reading, but at the same time allow an adverbial interpretation. Consequently, they are vague as to the event or participant orientation.

- (49) a. Ljudi onamo putuju *u hrpama /*
 people:NOM.PL.M there travel:PRS in drove:LOC.PL.F /
hrpimice.
 drove:ADV
 ‘People are travelling there in droves.’
- b. Dolazili su *na hrpe*.
 came AUX in drove:ACC.PL.F
 ‘They were coming in droves.’

3.8 Expressions of accompaniment and contiguity relations

Expressions of accompaniment relations with the preposition *s(a)* ‘with’ are usually treated as adverbials. Expressions of concomitance are marked with a comitative preposition and the instrumental case, and exhibit a relationship to one of the arguments of the main predicate that is accompanied by the referent of the comitative phrase within the temporal frame set by the main predicate. The

comitative expression in the following example relates to the subject participant of the main predicate indicating contiguity:

- (50) Severina je nastupila sa štakama.
 Severina AUX performed with crutch:INS.PL.F
 'Severina performed on stage with crutches.'

These comitatives, as well as negated comitatives expressed by *bez* + genitive (*bez štaka* 'without crutches'), do not express a prototypical instrument, but an additional part in contiguity relation.

The "ornamental" relation between clothing and a participant can be expressed by *u* + locative where the locative noun denotes parts of clothes, as in (51a). An alternative expression is an absolute construction, as in (b), or an instrumental phrase (c):

- (51) a. Izišao je na ulicu u papučama.
 went AUX on street:ACC.SG.F in slipper:LOC.PL.F
 'He went into the street in slippers.'
- b. Izišao je na ulicu, papuče
 went AUX on street:ACC.SG.F slipper:NOM.PL.F
na nogama
 on foot:LOC.PL.F
 'He went into the street, slippers on his feet.'
- c. Izišao je na ulicu s papučama
 went AUX on street:ACC.SG.F with slipper:INS.PL.F
na nogama
 on foot:LOC.PL.F
 'He went into the street with slippers on his feet.'

3.9 Expressions of location

Locative expressions can have an adverbial reading, indicating the location of an event as a whole. However, when indicating the location of one of the participants in an event only, they acquire a depictive reading. In the next example, the locative phrase has an object-related depictive reading:

- (52) Donose stvari u kemijsku čistionicu u torbi.
 bring:PRS thing:ACC.PL.F in cleaners:ACC.SG.F in bag:LOC.SG.F
 'They are taking their things to the cleaners in a bag.'

4. Concluding remarks

The goal of this analysis was to point out formal and semantic characteristics of secondary predicates in Croatian, concentrating mainly on depictives. Among the topics discussed were case patterns, controllers of depictives, the use of definite and indefinite adjectives, and semantic and structural ambiguities connected with depictive (or circumstantial) constructions. Also dealt with was the relation of secondary predicates to adverbials and attributes as well as the distinction between depictives and circumstantials. The last section summarises semantic and grammatical characteristics of depictives on the basis of corpus examples. The analysis has only touched on some problems that deserve detailed study but have not received enough attention so far; these include the distinction between postponed attributes and depictives, appositions and depictives, a detailed semantic classification of *kao*-phrases in Croatian, and semantic, prosodic, and pragmatic factors that distinguish circumstantials and depictives.

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Notizen zu türksprachigen Gerundialformen (Konverbialformen) als verbale Kerne von Rollenprädikaten

Die Türksprachen bilden eine Sprachfamilie, die mehr als zwanzig Schriftsprachen und eine ganze Reihe illiterater Einheiten umfaßt.

Die modernen Türksprachen lassen sich in verschiedene genetische Untergruppen unterteilen, wie im Folgenden nur zur Orientierung dargestellt wird:

- (1) Oghusisch (Türkeitürkisch, Gagausisch, Aserbaidshanis, Irak-Türkisch, westliches Iran-Oghusisch [(1.1) Westoghuisch]; Türkmenisch [(1.2) Ostoghuisch]; (1.3) Chorassantürkisch; (1.4) Salarisch etc.),
- (2) Kiptschakisch (Karaimisch, Krimtatarisch [(2.1.1.1) Fernwestlich-Kiptschakisch]; (Wolga-)Tatarisch, Baschkirisch [(2.1.1.2.1) Wolga-Ural-Kiptschakisch]; Karatschaisch-Balkarisch, Kumükisch [(2.1.1.2.2) Kaukasus-Kiptschakisch, zusammen mit der vorhergehenden Untergruppe (2.1.1.2) Wolga-Ural-Kaukasus-Kiptschakisch, alle vorhergenannten zusammen: (2.1.1) Westkiptschakisch]; (2.2.1) Nogaisch; Karakalpakisch, Kasachisch, Kiptschak-Uzbekisch [(2.2.2) Zentralasiatisch-Kiptschakisch, zusammen mit Nogaisch: (2.2) Zentralkiptschakisch]; sibirisch-tatarische „Dialekte“ mit der stärker abgesetzten Untergruppe (2.4) Kirgis-Kiptschakisch (Kirgisisch, Süd-Altaitürkisch),
- (3) Südosttürkisch (Teile von Usbekisch sowie Neuuigurisch und seine zahlreichen, oft stark abweichenden „Dialekte“),
- (4) Sajantürkisch (Tuvinisch, Tofa),
- (5) Chaladsch,
- (6) Jakutisch (samt Dolganisch; „Lenattürkisch“)

und

- (7) Bolgartürkisch (Tschuwaschisch);

der genaue Status von

- (8) Nord-Altaitürkisch,
- (9) Tschulymtürkisch,
- (10) Schorisch,
- (11) Chakassisch und
- (12) Gelbuigurisch

sowie das exakte Verhältnis dieser Sprachen zueinander und zu anderen ist noch zu bestimmen; sie sind auf jeden Fall Bestandteile des kiptschakoiden Südsibirisch Türkischen, s. u.)

Diese Zweige bzw. ihre Mitglieder bilden wiederum areale Gruppen wie (I) Südsibirisch-Türkisch (Altaitürkisch, Tschulymtürkisch, Schorisch, Chakassisch, Sajantürkisch), (II) Nordosttürkisch (Südsibirisch Türkisch, Jakutisch, Gelbuigurisch), (III) Wolgatürkisch (Tschuwaschisch und Wolga-Kiptschakisch), (IV) Zentralasiatisch-Türkisch (Kasachisch, Karakalpakisch, Kirgisisch, der usbekische und der neuuigurische Dialektkomplex), (V) *-GAn-Türkisch*¹ (Kiptschakisch, Südosttürkisch, Südsibirisch-Türkisch, manchmal unter Einschluß des Tschuwaschischen, Türkmenischen, Salarischen und Gelbuigurischen) etc.

Weiterhin finden wir eine (VI) Nord-Süd-Teilung der Türk Sprachen, wobei Nordtürkisch vor allem Kiptschakisch, Neuuigurisch, Nordosttürkisch und Tschuwaschisch umfaßt. Eine ebenfalls feststellbare (VII) West-Ost-Teilung zeigt eine stark oszillierende Grenzlinie, die vielleicht durch die Überlagerung verschiedener westlicher und östlicher Areale entsteht; hier sind weitere Untersuchungen vonnöten. Aufgrund der Entwicklung gewisser Merkmale können wir das Türkische noch in (a) Zentraltürkisch und (b) Randtürkisch (Tschuwaschisch, Chaladsch, Jakutisch, der größte Teil von Nordosttürkisch) sowie (A) Normtürkisch und (B) Non-Normtürkisch (Tschuwaschisch, Chaladsch, Jakutisch) einteilen.

Unter diachronen Gesichtspunkten können wir das Türkische in Neutürkisch (die modernen Türk Sprachen), Mitteltürkisch (ab dem Mongolensturm im 13. Jh. bis vielleicht ins 17./18. Jh.) und Archaisch-Türkisch („vortschingissidisches Türkisch“) einteilen. Mitteltürkisch umfaßt Altosmanisch (genauer: frühes Anatolisch-Oghusisch und Verwandtes) bis Mittelosmanisch, die kiptschakischen Varietäten Komanisch (zumindest ein Teil des *Codex Cumanicus* aus der Goldenen Horde, wohl Ende 13. Jh.), Armeno- und Mamluk-Kiptschakisch, die Sprache der südosttürkischen Quellen Choresmtürkisch und Tschagataisch, die Sprache der wolgabolgarischen Grabinschriften sowie die sprachlich meist sehr konservative Fortsetzung von Alttürkisch über den Mongolensturm hinaus. Archaisch-Türkisch² zerfällt in Spät-Alttürkisch (Karachanidisch und jüngerer Alttürkisch, ca. 11.-13. Jh.), Alttürkisch (die Sprache(n) der Quellen in „runischer“, manichäischer, uigurischer, syrischer, tibetischer und Brahmi-Schrift) und (vielleicht) die weitgehend unleserlichen, in einer eigenen „Runen“-Schrift geschriebenen kurzen Inschriften, die zwar griechisch geschriebenen, aber schwer deutbaren Inschriften Südosteuropas sowie verstreute (in ihrer türkischen Identität oft fragliche) Sprachreste in chinesischen, tibetischen, iranischen, kaukasischen, griechischen, lateinischen, slawischen etc. Quellen.

Die genetische Verwandtschaft des Türkischen mit Mongolisch, Tungusisch, Koreanisch und Japanisch (und sogar mit Drawidisch), wie in verschiedenen Versionen der Altaischen Hypothese behauptet, muß noch immer als unbewiesen gelten (vielleicht sogar als unbeweisbar, wenn nicht neue Quellen entdeckt werden); in weitaus stärkerem Maße gilt dies natürlich für die (heute außerhalb gewisser uninformiert-chauvinistischer Kreise in der Türkei kaum noch aufrecht erhaltene) Ural-Altäische Hypothese oder gar die famose Nostratische Hypothese. (Siehe zu alledem PTF, SCHÖNIG 1999 und SCHÖNIG 2005).

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- 1 So genannt, weil hier anstelle des alten Perfektpartizips auf *-mİš* das Partizip auf *-GAn* verwendet wird.
 - 2 Von mir so bezeichnet, da sich der Begriff „Alttürkisch“ für die Sprache einer gewissen Gruppe von Quellen seit langem eingebürgert hat.

Türksprachen besitzen grammatische deverbale Einheiten zur Bildung von Verbaladverbien, die entweder als Gerundien oder Konverbien bezeichnet werden. In vielen Türksprachen können solche Gerundien, vor allem in Verbindung mit dem Verb für ‘werden; sein’³, dazu verwendet werden, Rollenprädikationen zu bilden, d. h. Prädikationen, die angeben, in welcher Rolle der Subjektsreferent des übergeordneten Satzes dort auftritt; diese Rolle wird durch das der Gerundialform zugefügte Prädikatskomplement („Prädikatsnomen“) bezeichnet. Die Partizipantenbezogenheit dieser gerundialen Konstruktion ist dadurch bestimmt, daß das Subjekt der Gerundien gewöhnlich mit dem des übergeordneten finiten Verbs identisch ist. — Ein Beispiel für eine solche Verwendung ist etwa der türkeitürkische Satz:

- (1) Filiz turist ol-arak gel-di
 F. Tourist sein-GER kommen-PRT.3SG
 ‘Filiz kam als Tourist/in.’

Hier wird dem Referenten des Subjekts *Filiz* (weibl. Eigennamen) zum Prädikat *geldi* ‘kam’ mittels der Gerundialform *olarak* die Rolle ‘Tourist’ zugewiesen.⁴ Das *-(y)ArAk*-Gerundium ist eine Einheit, die, grob gesagt, Äquivalente zu deutschen mit *wobei* ... eingeleiteten Nebensätzen bildet (mitunter auch als „Gerundium modale“ bezeichnet), so daß die der rollenprädikativen Übersetzung unseres Beispielsatzes zugrundeliegende Übersetzung etwa lauten würde ‘Filiz kam, wobei sie Tourist war’. Wir können die Funktion des *-(y)ArAk*-Gerundiums (und seiner Äquivalente in anderen Türksprachen) somit vielleicht als unterordnend bezeichnen.⁵

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- 3 Das im Alttürkischen als *är-*, später als *ä(r)-*, *e(r)-*, *i(r)-* etc. belegte Verb für ‘sein’ ist, sofern es überhaupt noch verwendet wird, „defektiv“, d. h. es kann nicht alle grammatischen Suffixe annehmen. In Fällen, in denen eine grammatische Form von *är-* nicht bildbar ist, wird das Verb für ‘werden’ verwendet, westghusisch (türkeitürkisch, aserbaidisch, gagausisch etc.) *ol-*, übrige Türksprachen **bol-*. Beachte: Der Asterisk wird hier dazu verwendet, eine gemeinsame Grundform anzugeben, die in verschiedenen Einzelsprachen lautlich abweichende Formen aufweisen können.
- 4 Dabei bedeutet die Schreibung *-(y)ArAk*, daß nach vokalisch auslautenden Verbstämmen eine mit *y* anlautende Form und nach konsonantisch auslautenden Stämmen eine mit *A* anlautende Form verwendet wird; die Majuskel *A* meint dabei, daß an Verbstämmen mit hinterem Vokal (d. h. *a*, *i*, *o* oder *u*) in letzter Silbe ein *a* erscheint, an Verbstämmen mit vorderem Vokal (d. h. *ä*, *i*, *ö* oder *ü*) in letzter Silbe dagegen *ä*. Man beachte, daß das Türkeitürkische für den Laut *ä* das Graphem *e* verwendet.
- 5 Im Rahmen dieses sehr summarischen Überblickartikels möchte ich die Funktion(en) dieses Gerundiums nicht weiter diskutieren, da dies unweigerlich in einen Exkurs über türkische Gerundialsysteme führen würde, was den Rahmen dieser Arbeit übersteigen würde.

Im Türkeiitürkischen ist die Anzeige der Rollenfunktion eine der Hauptaufgaben von *olarak*; dieser Tatsache verdankt diese Gerundialform auch eine entsprechende Aufnahme ins deutsch-türkische Wörterbuch von STEUERWALD (1974, 23b, *sub* 'als').⁶ Wie sieht es aber nun in anderen Türkssprachen aus, die teilweise ganz andere Gerundialsysteme zeigen?

1. Entlehnungen

Das *-(y)ArAk*-Gerundium ist zunächst eine typisch westoghusische Form.⁷ Den Verwendungen der Entsprechungen von *olarak* in den anderen westoghusischen Schriftsprachen Aserbaidtschanisch und Gagausisch oder den illiteraten westoghusischen Dialekten (sofern vorhanden, möglicherweise sogar in Rollenprädikationen) kann hier nicht nachgegangen werden.

Zunächst seien aber einige Fälle erwähnt, wo das *-(y)ArAk*-Gerundium entlehnt worden ist; Anspruch auf Vollständigkeit wird dabei nicht erhoben.

1.1. Im (Wolga-)Tatarischen hat *-(y)ArAk* ebenfalls eine modifizierende, Nebenumstände bezeichnende Funktion (TatGr 259). Unter den eher seltenen *-ArAk*-Formen⁸ findet sich vor allem *bularaq* (< **bol-* 'sein; werden' [s. Fn. 3] + *-ArAk*), die Entsprechung von türkeittürkisch *olarak*:

(2) *šähit bul-araq äyt-äm* (TatGr 259)
 Zeuge sein-GER sagen-PRS.3SG
 'ich sage als Zeuge'

(3) *dust-ım bul-araq, sin miřa*
 Freund-POSS.1SG sein-GER PERSPRON.2SG ich(DAT)

6 Erstaunlicherweise verzeichnet das türkisch-deutsche Wörterbuch von STEUERWALD (1972, 708b, s. v. *olarak*) diese Funktion nicht explizit, sondern bemerkt nur: „Gerund zu *olmak* 1. seiend, werdend 2. (häufig zur Bild. von Adv. Zu 2. *kati* ~ *yasak* streng verboten *ilk defa* ~ zum erstenmal *bunun neticesi* ~ als Ergebnis hiervon *sarhoř* ~ in betrunkenem Zustand“.

7 Dies zeigt sich formal am Vorhandensein eines Konsonanten als Hiatusstiller, eine Technik, die ab der mitteltürkischen Periode von den meisten Türkssprachen außer Oghusisch und Tschuwaschisch (sowie Einzelformen im Jakutischen und Salarischen) aufgegeben wurde. Daß es sich bei vereinzelt Formen dieses Gerundiums um Entlehnungen in andere Türkssprachen handelt (wie noch besprochen wird), zeigt auch deren geringe Frequenz.

8 Leider finden sich keine genaueren Informationen zu den Allomorphen dieser Einheit im Tatarischen, so daß ich nur eine solche Form ansetzen kann, die keine Information über postvokalische Allomorphe enthält. Die Großschreibung des *-K* geht darauf zurück, daß in den meisten Türkssprachen (und so auch im Tatarischen) gewöhnlich zwischen Allophonen von /k/ in vorder- und hintervokalischer Umgebung unterschieden wird.

buliŝ-İR-ĞA tiyeŝ i-de-ŋ (TatRS 83)
 helfen-AOR-DAT verpflichtet.sein sein-PRT-2SG
 ‘als Freund mußttest du mir helfen’

- (4) Puŝkin lirik bul-araq
 P. Dichter sein-GER
 ‘Puschkin als Dichter’
 ‘Puŝkin kak lirik’ (RTatS 207 s.v. (russ.) *kak*)

Wie *olarak* im Türkeitürkischen hat auch *bularaq* im Tatarischen seinen Platz in den Wörterbüchern gefunden, so als Eintrag im russisch-tatarischen Wörterbuch s.v. *kak* (RtatS, 207)⁹ oder im tatarisch-russischen Wörterbuch: *bularaq* ‘kak, buduči, v kačestve; v dolžnosti’ (TatRS, 83).¹⁰

1.2. BENZING (1959, 743f.) erwähnt auch für das Tschuwaschische ein Suffix *-ArAx*, etwa in:

- (5) Uksine ikkēlen-erex tār-at
 U. zweifeln-GER stehen-PRS.3SG
 ‘Xenie steht (zweifeln >) unschlüssig da’

Möglicherweise ist diese Form über das Tatarische ins Tschuwaschische gelangt.¹¹

1.3 Auch das seit dem 15. Jahrhundert stark vom Osmanischen (dem Vorläufer des modernen Türkeitürkischen) beeinflusste *Krimtatarisch* hat das Gerundium auf *-ArAK* entlehnt¹² („selten“, s. DOERFER 1959, 386); wir finden es etwa in dem bei DOERFER (1959, 386) zitierten Satzfragment:

- (6) buŋa ĵāvap ol-araq
 DEM(DAT) Antwort sein-GER
 ‘als Antwort darauf’

9 Hier finden wir als Synonym noch *buluw yağinnan* angegeben (*bu-luw yağ-in-nan* – sein-GER Seite-POSS.3SG-ABL).

10 Laut dem einsprachigen tatarischen Wörterbuch ist *bularaq* daneben auch kausal verwendbar (TTAS I 190).

11 Natürlich könnte die *-ArAK*-Form auch ein Merkmal des westlich-türkischen Areals sein. Da es aber außerhalb des Westghusischen eher selten zu sein scheint und sein Vorhandensein im Krimtatarischen und Tatarischen gut auf osmanisch-türkeitürkischen Einfluß, sein Vorliegen im Tschuwaschischen wiederum gut auf tatarischen Einfluß zurückgeführt werden kann, gehe ich bis zur Entdeckung weiterer Belege in anderen westlichen Türksprachen bzw. bis zum Auftauchen anderer Evidenz für westlich-türkische Herkunft einstweilen von westghusischer Herkunft der Form aus.

12 Zum Problem des Ansatzes dieser Form s. Fußnote 8.

2. Entsprechungen in nicht-westoghusischen Sprachen

Wie erwähnt, handelt es sich bei den *-ArAK*-Formen im Krimtatarischen um Entlehnungen aus dem Türkeitürkischen. Wie alle Entlehnungen weisen auch diese Formen auf einen Einfluß der Gebersprache auf die Nehmersprachen im Rahmen von Kulturkontakten. Dabei haben diese Entlehnungen den Nehmersprachen aber nicht etwas vollkommen Neues gebracht, sie sind lediglich neben die auch in diesen Sprachen schon vorher vorhandenen Möglichkeiten zum gerundialen Ausdruck von Nebenordnung und Bildung von Rollenprädikationen getreten. Um die Ausdrucksmittel der nicht-westoghusischen Türksprachen zu verstehen, müssen wir uns kurz in die türkische Sprachgeschichte begeben.

Das Türkeitürkische *-(y)ArAk* geht auf eine Kombination des vokalisches auslautenden Gerundiums *-(y)A* und des „Komparativ-“ (oder auch: Similitiv-) Suffixes *-(I)rAK* zurück.¹³ Zumindest in der alttürkischen Periode hatte dieses Gerundium noch nebenordnende Funktion.¹⁴ Schon bald wurde es, vielleicht wegen der aus seiner Kürze resultierenden Unmarkantheit, funktional in einige Nischen abgedrängt, in denen es noch heute in den meisten Türksprachen existiert.¹⁵ Die Funktion, in syntaktisch freier Verwendung Nebenumstände zu signalisieren, wurde im Westoghusischen vom neu gebildeten *-(y)ArAk*-Gerundium übernommen, in den meisten anderen Türksprachen ging sie auf das Gerundium auf *-(I)p* (westoghusisch *-(y)Ip*) über. Dieses fast allen Türksprachen gemeinsame Gerundium¹⁶ wird oft als „Gerundium coordinativum“ bezeichnet

13 Dieses Suffix wird heute in der türkeitürkischen Standardsprache nicht mehr zur Komparation verwendet.

14 Im Alttürkischen hatte es — abhängig vom Verblexem — nach konsonantisch auslautenden Stämmen die Allomorphe *-A* (d. h. *-a* oder *-ä*), *-I* (d. h. *-i* oder *-ı*) und *-U* (d. h. *-u* oder *-ü*), nach vokalisches auslautenden Stämmen hatte es die Form *-yU*; das Aoristpartizip wurde durch Anfügung von *-r* an diese Suffixe gebildet. Durch Analogieprozesse wurde in den meisten Türksprachen das Allomorph *-A* für postkonsonantische Formen verallgemeinert. Die meisten nicht-westoghusischen Sprachen gingen dann zu einer postvokalischen Form **-y* über, während das Westoghusische nach Vokalauslaut *-yA* verwendete (s. ERDAL 1991, SCHÖNIG 1991, 1999).

15 So erscheint das vokalisches Gerundium zum einen in Hilfsverbverbindungen, in denen es das sinntragende Hauptverb mit dem funktionstragenden Hilfsverb verbindet, wie etwa in der türkeitürkischen Möglichkeitsform *-A bil-*. Weiterhin erscheint es noch in adverbialen Bildungen zum Ausdruck andauernder Nebenumstände, bestehend aus *-A*-Formen zweier identischer Verben (wie etwa in der türkeitürkischen Grußformel *güle güle*, etwa: 'ständig lächelnd/lachend'; Beispiele dafür finden sich schon in spätalttürkischem Karachanidisch [s. MANSUROĞLU 1959, 104f.]) oder auch antonymischer Verben (türkeitürkisch *düşe kalka* 'ständig hinfallend und aufstehend').

16 Genauer: das den meisten normtürkischen Sprachen gemeinsame Gerundium (s. SCHÖNIG 1999). Zumindest im Tatarischen kann auch das *-(y)Ip*-Gerundium mit dem Suffix *+(I)rAK* kombiniert werden; dabei fällt der Bindevokal aus, hinterläßt als Spur allerdings die Stimmhaftigkeit des

und koordiniert in syntaktisch freier Verwendung zwei Prädikationen im Sinne des deutschen *und*, d. h. es kann sowohl eine zeitliche Abfolge ('und dann'), zeitliches Nebeneinander ('und dabei') als auch ein nicht näher qualifiziertes gemeinsames Vorliegen von Ereignissen an einer Zeitstelle ausdrücken. Gerade die zweite der genannten Unterfunktionen befähigte diese Einheit zur Übernahme der Funktion des alten, vokalisch auslautenden Gerundiums.¹⁷ Dies war auch deshalb möglich, weil die meisten nicht-westoghusischen Türksprachen seit der mitteltürkischen Periode über ein Gerundium auf *-GAč* verfügten, das — im Gegensatz zu *-(I)p* — qualifiziert eine Abfolge im Sinne von 'nachdem', 'und dann' u.dgl. ausdrückte (erwähnt sei auch, daß es mitunter auch konditionale Bedeutung hat). Durch dieses Gerundium auf *-GAč* wurde das Gerundium auf *-(I)p*, das auf der einen Seite durch die Übernahme der Funktionen des vokalischen Gerundiums stärker belastet war, auf der anderen Seite wieder entlastet.

2.1 Als Konsequenz aus diesen Entwicklungen finden wir in den nicht-westoghusischen Türksprachen, die ein *-(I)p*-Gerundium aufweisen, seit mitteltürkischer Zeit **bol-* + *-(I)p* als funktionales Äquivalent zu türkeitürkisch *olarak*. So zeigt etwa der *Codex Cumanicus* (s. o.) ein entsprechend interpretierbares *olam bolup* (124,7), 'in Menschengestalt' (nach GABAIN 1959, 69). In den modernen nicht-westoghusischen Sprachen finden sich ebenfalls reichlich Belege für eine Verwendung von **bol-* + *-(I)p* als funktionales Äquivalent zu *olarak*. So bezeugt die sowjetzeitliche Standardgrammatik für das ostoghusische *Türkmenisch* eine dem komanischen Beispiel vergleichbare Wendung:

- (7) insan bol-up
Mensch sein-GER
'kak ... čelovečeskoe suščestvo' (TkmGr, 370)
'als menschliches Wesen'

Auslauts *b < p*, etwa *yylabraq ešlä* 'arbeite wohlüberlegt' (TatGr, 260, *yyla-* 'denken' + **[-(I)p + (I)rAK]*, *ešlä-* 'arbeiten' + \emptyset [Imperativ2.Pers.Sg.]). Während THOMSEN (1959, 418) im Einklang mit unserem Beispiel angibt, die Form *-(I)brAK* diene im Tatarischen zur Verstärkung der Tätigkeit, meint WURM (1959, 512f.), *-(i)braq* wirke im Usbekischen abschwächend oder diene zum Ausdruck von deutsch 'kaum daß ...'.

17 Daneben erscheint es auch häufig in Hilfsverbverbindungen; außerdem erscheint es in vielen nicht-westoghusischen Türksprachen (aber sporadisch auch im Westoghusischen, z.B. im Altosmanischen; s. MANSUROĞLU 1959a, 175f.) auch zum Ausdruck andauernder Nebenumstände, etwa im Kumückischen *yylarman oylap oylap* 'ganz nachdenkend weinte ich' (BENZING 1959a, 404; *yila-* 'weinen' + *-r* Aoristpartizip + *+mAn* Personkennzeichnung 1.Pers.Sg., *oyla-* 'denken' + *-(I)p*-Gerundium). S. auch Fn. 12.

Für das zentralasiatische K a r a k a l p a k i s c h finden wir etwa:

- (8) ol basliq bulip isle-gen (KkpRS, 113)
DEM Vorsteher sein-GER arbeiten-PRFP
'er hat als Vorsteher gearbeitet'

Beispiele aus dem geographisch benachbarten U s b e k i s c h e n sind:

- (9) traktorči bül-ip išla-moq
Traktorist sein-GER arbeiten-INF
'rabotat' traktoristom' (UzbRS, 96)
'als Traktorfahrer arbeiten'

oder

- (10) tikuči bol-ip išlä-
Schneider sein-GER arbeiten
'als Schneider arbeiten' (WURM 1959).

Weiterhin belegt TatRS (83) die Funktion von *bulip* < *bol-* + *-(I)p* als Rollenprädikator im Tatarischen; für das Neuuigurische finden wir entsprechende Angaben für *bolup* (RUigS 459, s.v. *kak*).¹⁸

Von besonderem Interesse ist noch das folgende Beispiel aus dem U s b e k i s c h e n. Es hat ein Objektskomplement, das durch das Gerundium des Verbs für 'machen' gekennzeichnet ist:

- (11) uni prezidant qil-ip saylä-dilär
DEM(ACC) Präsident machen-GER wählen-PRT.3PL
'sie wählten ihn als Präsidenten' (WURM 1959, 513)

Es scheint, daß im Usbekischen zumindest die Möglichkeit besteht, anstelle von **bol-* + *-(I)p* eine Ableitung von **qil-* 'machen' zur Kennzeichnung einer Rollenprädikation zu verwenden, wenn das übergeordnete transitive Verb ein Objektskomplement hat.¹⁹ Dies bedarf aber noch eingehender Untersuchungen. **qil-*

18 Hier wird als angeblich synonyme Ausdrucksweise zu **X bolup* eine Bildung *X+liq yolda* (*+liq* denominales Adjektivbildungssuffix, *yol* 'Weg' + *+DA* Lokativsuffix) angeführt.

19 Eine solche Morphologisierung der Kategorie „Transitivität“ finden wir auch beispielsweise im Tatarischen bei aktionsartmarkierenden Hilfsverben. So können im Falle der finaltransformativ Verben erzeugenden Hilfsverbverbindungen *-(I)p jät-* (*jät-* 'erreichen') und *-(I)p bet-* (*bet-* 'aufhören, zu Ende gehen') die Kausativformen *jätker-* bzw. *beter-* der als Hilfsverben fungierenden Einheiten verwendet werden, wenn das zu modifizierende Hauptverb transitiv ist (s. SCHÖNIG 1984). Entsprechendes scheint für richtungsanzeigende Hilfsverbverbindungen des Typs *-(I)p men-* (*men-* 'auf-, hinauf-, besteigen') zu gelten, wo in entsprechenden Fällen die Kausativform *mender-* auftreten kann. Weiterhin besteht der Eindruck, daß bei tatarischen denominalen Verbalbildungen mit Hilfe des „phraseologischen“ Hilfsverbs *it-* 'machen' (urspr.: 'errichten'; ein jüngeres funktionales Äquivalent zu dem bereits erwähnten Verb **qil-*) die Kausativform *itter-* verwendet werden kann, wenn das derart abgeleitete Verb transitiv ist.

wird sonst zur Bildung denominaler Verben gebraucht, z.B. (wie auch im T ü r - k e i t ü r k i s c h e n) *namaz*, '(vorgeschriebenes) Gebet' + *qil-* > *namaz qil-* 'beten'.

2.2 In der Sprache des Codex Cumanicus treffen wir auf eine weitere Art gerundialer Rollenprädikation, deren verbaler Kern von *ägäč* gebildet wird. Dabei handelt es sich um eine Bildung aus dem alten Kopulativverb **är-* 'sein' und dem Gerundium auf *-GAč*, das eine qualifizierte Abfolge im Sinne von 'nachdem', 'und dann' etc. ausdrückt (s. o.). GABAIN (1959, 69) schreibt diesem *ägäč* fälschlich die Bedeutung 'während, obwohl' zu, erklärt aber nicht, woher die Form ihre adversativ-konzessive Bedeutung bezieht. Tatsächlich leistet *ägäč* in den Belegen nicht mehr als etwa das türkeitürkische *olarak*. Die adversativ-konzessive Bedeutung ergibt sich lediglich aus der Semantik oder Pragmatik der beteiligten Konstituenten, wo die Bedeutung des Prädikatskomplements im Widerspruch zu der des übergeordneten Prädikats steht. Betrachten wir die Beispiele:

- (12) *kötür-di qiz, qiz e-geč,*
 tragen-PRT.3SG Jungfrau Jungfrau sein-GER
emanuel-ni (151,12)
 E.-ACC
 'die Jungfrau hat, obwohl sie Jungfrau war, den Emanuel getragen'
 (zugrundeliegend: 'es trug die Jungfrau — als Jungfrau — den Emanuel')

oder

- (13) *Jesus tattli, eč yamansız e-geč, ne qiyına-r*
 J. süß völlig makellos sein-GER was sich.quälen-AOR
sen, eč yazıqsız e-geč, öz nezik
 du völlig sündenlos sein-GER REFL fein
boy-uñ-ni? (149,3f.)
 Körper-POSS.2SG-ACC
 'Oh Jesus, während Du lieblich und ganz ohne Makel bist, was quälst Du, während Du ganz ohne Sünde bist, deinen zarten Körper?' (zugrundeliegend: 'Jesus, Lieblicher, als völlig Makelloser, was quälst du dich, als völlig Sündenloser, deinen (eigenen) zarten Körper?')

oder

- (14) könü e-geč ogl-un öl-di (142, 7)
gerecht sein-GER Sohn-POSS.2SG sterben-PRT.3SG
'während er doch gerecht ist, ist Dein Sohn gestorben' (zugrundelie-
gend: 'als Gerechter ist dein Sohn gestorben')

Es erscheint möglich, daß *ägäč* im Komanischen vielleicht nur bei semantischen Konstellationen wie den in den Beispielen aufgeführten verwendet wurde und sich auf dem Weg zur Grammatikalisierung zu einem adversativ-konzessiven Rollenprädikator befand. Ebenso könnte aber auch in der Form *ägäč* die ursprüngliche Funktion des Gerundiums auf *-GAč* kontextunabhängig entsprechend umgedeutet sein ('nachdem; wenn' > 'während, wo doch').

3. Zusammenfassung

Wie wir gesehen haben, können Rollenprädikate in den Türksprachen mit Hilfe von Gerundialformen des Verbs für 'werden; sein' gebildet werden; das dabei verwendete Gerundium versteht die Funktion eines „Gerundium modale“, d. h. es wird ansonsten dazu verwendet, Äquivalente zu deutschen mit *wobei...* eingeleiteten Nebensätzen zu bilden. Im Westoghusischen handelt es sich hierbei um das Gerundium auf *-(y)ArAK*, in anderen Türksprachen wird diese Funktion aufgrund anderer Gerundialsysteme durch das Gerundium auf *-(l)p* (oghuisch *-(y)lp*) wahrgenommen. Wohl aufgrund des Prestiges des Osmanischen als imperialer Sprache sind die *-(y)ArAK*-Formen in verschiedene Türksprachen entlehnt worden, wobei sie mehr oder minder an die Gegebenheiten der jeweiligen Nehmersprachen angepaßt wurden; etwa im Tatarischen existieren sie (*bularaq*) neben den dort zu erwartenden Formen *bulip* < *bol-* + *-(l)p*. Interessant ist die Verwendung von **qil-* 'machen' anstelle von **bol-* 'werden; sein' in einem Beispiel aus dem Usbekischen, wo das Verb des übergeordneten Satzes transitiv ist; hier sind aber noch weitere Untersuchungen notwendig, um die tatsächliche Verbreitung dieses Phänomens und mögliche weitere Bedingungen, die zu seinem Auftreten notwendig sind, festzustellen. Ein weiteres interessantes Phänomen zeigt sich im mitteltürkischen *Codex Cumanicus*, wo eine Gerundialform *ägäč* des alten Verbs *är-* 'sein' offenbar zur Bildung adversativ-konzessiver Rollenprädikate verwendet wurde.

Damit endet dieser kleine Überblick über türkische Gerundialformen als verbale Kerne von Rollenprädikationen. Gewiß ist er mehr als lückenhaft und im Hinblick auf die Wichtigkeit des Themas viel zu knapp ausgefallen. Ich hoffe aber, daß er für die Türksprachen einen nützlichen Anstoß und einen verständli-

chen ersten Zugang zu diesem noch weitgehend unerschlossenen Arbeitsgebiet bietet.

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Abkürzungen

- KkpRS = *Karakalpaksko-russkij slovar'*. Moskva 1958
- PTF = DENY, J. et al. 1959: *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*. Bd. I. Wiesbaden
- RTatS = *Russko-tatarskij slovar'*. Moskva 1984
- RUigS = *Russko-ujgurskij slovar'*. Moskva 1956

- TatGr = *Sovremennyj tatarskij literaturnyj jazyk. Leksikologija, fonetika, morfologija.* Moskva 1969
- TatRS = *Tatarsko-russkij slovar'.* Moskva 1966
- TkmGr = *Grammatika turkmenskogo jazyka. I. Fonetika i morfologija.* Ašxabad 1970
- TTAS = *Tatar teleneñ aňlatmaly süzlege. I–III.* Kazan 1977–1981
- UzbRS = Borovkov, A. K. 1959: *Uzbeško-russkij slovar'.* Moskva

Adverbial modification and secondary predicates in Turkish: a typological perspective

This article is an attempt to describe the specific form-function relations of Turkish manner adverbials and secondary predicates, and to relate these to general typological properties of Turkish which distinguish Turkish sharply from English and German. I arrive at a tentative explanatory hypothesis which will have to be tested in a broader cross-linguistic investigation.

1. A classification of adjuncts

Secondary predicates will be taken to be non-sentential adjuncts. Adjuncts are non-obligatory elements of sentences or clauses. A syntactic classification of adjuncts can be made according to the syntactic layer of the sentence to which they belong (sentence – verb phrase – predicate, cf. DIK et al. 1990). A semantic classification of adjuncts can be made on the semantic level of the sentence on which they have some kind of modificational force (event-internal adjuncts – event-related adjuncts – propositional adjuncts – speech-act adjuncts – connecting adjuncts, cf. RAMAT & RICCA 1998, PITTNER 1999, FREY 2003).

Event-internal adjuncts modify elements of the event and may be elements of the event itself. Five types can be distinguished:

- Comitatives and instrumentals add further circumstantial participants to the event.
- Adverbials of intensity (... *closed the door fully/half-way*) modify the degree of fulfilment of the process or action which the event expresses.
- Manner adverbials (...*closed the door silently*) express the manner in which a process or action is carried out or occurs.
- Depictive secondary predicates (... *closed the door naked*) express the state of one participant of the event (the “controller”) while the process or action is carried out.

- Distributives (... *closed the doors two by two*) convey a repetitive actional modification of the process or action while at the same time quantifying the subject or object participant.

Manner adverbials and secondary predicates can be distinguished with regard to their different semantic orientation within the event-internal modification: participant orientation (secondary predicates), and process or action orientation (manner adverbials, cf. SCHULTZE-BERNDT & HIMMELMANN 2004, HIMMELMANN & SCHULTZE-BERNDT 2005). Vagueness and ambiguity between orientations is, however, possible, just as secondary orientation is possible besides primary orientation.

Manner adverbials can also be classified according to the different aspects of the process or action they modify (DIK 1975, GEUDER 2000, JACKENDOFF 1972, 84, PLATT & PLATT 1972, SCHROEDER 2004, Chp. 6):

- A manner adverbial may be *activity-oriented*. That is, it may predicate something about the manner in which the agent performs the action: *Joe kicked Fred viciously*: Joe performed this action in a vicious manner. The way he did it was vicious.
- A manner adverbial may be *verb-oriented*. That is, it may predicate something about the manner in which the process or action occurs / comes about: *Maggie kissed Fred excessively*: The kissing (itself) is excessive or performed in an excessive manner.
- A manner adverbial may be *effect-oriented*. That is, it predicates something about the effect the process or action has on the experiencer or otherwise: *He was wounded badly*: He was wounded in such a way that it had a bad effect on him.

Different types of secondary predicates, on the other hand, can be distinguished according to the semantic quality expressed by their predication (HIMMELMANN & SCHULTZE-BERNDT 2005, 27ff.) – function/role, physical, emotional, psychological state, color, collectivity, individuality, and so on.

2. Form and semantics of Turkish event-internal adjuncts

Up to now, my definitions and sub-classifications of secondary predicates and manner adverbials are purely heuristic – and they are based on onomasiological distinctions of possible typological relevance. Thus, one does not expect every language to code all these distinctions by different forms in their range – or, for that matter, to have manner adverbs and secondary predicates as non-sentential constituents. Nor does one expect languages necessarily to distinguish between

the different modificational properties and orientations on the expression side of manner adverbs and secondary predicates, i.e. to have different forms of adjuncts according to different orientations.

The first question leading my investigation, then, is the following:

How does the form of manner adverbials and secondary predicates in Turkish relate to their semantic orientation?

The answer to this question requires me to give an overview of the morphological form and semantics of the constructions which Turkish employs for secondary predicates and manner adverbials. I start with secondary predicates and begin with those forms that are most frequent and may express a wider range of semantics. Subsequently, forms with more specific semantics will be presented.

2.1 Secondary predicates in Turkish: main forms and semantics

Before looking at different forms of Turkish secondary predicates a remark on their controller relations is in order. In general, one can say that the subject and the object of the sentence are the default controllers of secondary predicates in Turkish. Some forms of secondary predicates can only be subject-controlled (they will be dealt with in connection with their respective description below). Oblique controllers seem to be highly restricted – only the *-ken*-converb (see 2.2) allows a dative-marked controller next to an (accusative-marked) object and subject.

2.1.1 *olarak* phrases

olarak is the (frozen) converb form of the copular verb *ol-* ‘to be’ with the converb suffix *-ErEk*¹ (see also SCHÖNIG, this volume). *olarak* has become grammaticalized as a junctor which forms phrases with adjectival, participial or nominal complements. *olarak* phrases are used to form adjuncts on different semantic layers, with the semantic core of the adjunct being expressed as its complement. As event-internal adjuncts, *olarak* phrases form secondary predicates with a wide range of semantics: function or role, physical, psychological, emotional state, color, collectivity/individuality, resultant state (with resultative participle), and position:

1 The vowel variation is conditioned by vowel harmony, a characteristic feature of Turkish morpho-phonology. All suffix vowels assimilate to the preceding vowel, with the distinctive features [+ palatal], [+ labial], and [+ high] being determinative. Vowels which are subject to vowel harmony are spelled in capitals here.

- (1) *Kurmay yüzbaşı olarak görev-e başla-dı.*
 general.staff captain JUNC service-DAT begin-PRT(3SG)
 ‘He started his service *as a captain.*’
- (2) *Öğretmen-ler okul-a hazırlıklı olarak*
 teacher-PL school-DAT prepared JUNC
gel-meli-dir-ler.
 come-OBLIG-FACT-PL
 ‘The teachers must come to school *prepared.*’
- (3) *ABD’de pembe renk-li olarak sat-ıl-an*
 USA-LOC pink color-ADJ JUNC sell-PASS-PTCP
ilaç
 medicine
 ‘the medicine, which is sold *pink-colored* in the United States...’
- (4) *Ankara valiliğ-i yaklaşık bin fakir ve*
 A. governor’s.office-POSS around thousand poor and
kimsesiz çocuğ-u toplu olarak sünnet
 orphan child-ACC collective JUNC circumcision
et-tir-ecek.
 make-CAUS-FUT(3SG)
 ‘The governor’s office of Ankara will circumcise around a thousand poor and orphan children *together.*’

2.1.2 Adjective reduplication

Adjective reduplication is a frequent device for forming secondary predicates, in particular in informal speech. As secondary predicates, adjective reduplications express physical, psychological, and emotional states. In addition to their event-internal modificational semantics as secondary predicates (and manner adverbials, see 2.3.2. below), adjective reduplications always contain a component of event continuity or iteration, depending on the semantics of the main predicate:

- (5) *Bunları kus-ana dek çiğ çiğ ye-r-im.*
 these(ACC) vomit-CVB until raw(REDUPL) eat-AOR-1SG
 ‘I eat them *raw* until I vomit.’

2.1.3 State phrases with locative case

The most frequent non-verbal device for forming secondary predicates is the use of noun phrases marked with the locative case *-DE*, where the head of the noun phrase is a noun meaning, broadly, “state” or “manner”, and the semantic core of the secondary predicate is expressed by its adjectival modifier to this noun.

There are several nouns used for this type of construction, *hal*, *şekil*, *durum*, and *biçim*. The semantics of the respective secondary predicates partly group according to the different nouns: state-phrases may express physical, psychological, emotional state (*halde*, *şekilde*), position (*durumda*, *şekilde*), form (*biçimde*), collectivity/individuality (*halde*), resultant state (with a resultative participle) (*halde*, *şekilde*), and concomitant event (with present participles) (*halde*, *şekilde*). It has to be added that secondary predicate state-phrases formed with *şekilde* are always subject-related and always have a secondary action-/process orientation.

- (6) Çayı kızgın bir hal-de iç-ti.
tea angry a state-LOC drink-PRT(3SG)
'He drank the tea *angrily*.'
- (7) İnci'-yle ciddi bir şekil-de birbirimize
İ.-INS earnest a state-LOC each.other(DAT)
süz-er-di-k.
examine-AOR-PRT-IPL
'İnci and I would examine each other *earnestly*.'
- (8) eğik durum-da bekl-iyor-du denizaltı
tilted state-LOC wait-PROGR-PRT submarine
'the submarine was waiting *in a tilted position*'
- (9) uyku-sun-u al-ma-mış bir hal-de
sleep-POSS-ACC take-NEG-RESULT a state-LOC
uyan-ır
wake.up-AOR(3SG)
'he awoke *unrested*'

2.1.4 State-phrase with instrumental case

The noun *hal* may also combine with the instrumental case in order to form a secondary predicate expressing physical, psychological, or emotional state. Secondary predicates of this type always show possessive agreement with their controller:

- (10) ve kilise bombala-n-mış hal-i-yle
and church bomb-PASS-RESULT state-POSS.3SG-INS
koruma alt-ın-a al-ın-mış-tır
protection under-POSS-DAT take-PASS-PRT-FACT
'and the church was taken under protection *in its bombed state*'

2.1.5 Zero-derived adjectives

Another frequent device for forming secondary predicates in Turkish is the use of zero-derived adjectives in immediate preverbal position. This form may express physical, psychological and emotional state. It is, however, syntactically and semantically restricted (see 2.4 below).

- (11) Çayı *soğuk* iç-er-im.
tea cold drink-AOR-1SG
'I drink the tea *cold*.'
- (12) Komiser kadın-a *biraz kızgın* sor-du: ...
inspector woman-DAT a.little angry ask-PRT(3SG)
'A little angry, the police inspector asked the woman: ...'

2.2 Secondary predicates in Turkish: semantically specific forms

Apart from the forms introduced above, Turkish also uses a number of forms which can be called more "marginal" in the sense that they are semantically more specific. These include

- reduplications of dative nouns which express body-part contacts between plural referents, such as *el el-e* (hand hand-DAT) 'hand in hand'; *omuz omuz-a* (shoulder shoulder-DAT) 'shoulder to shoulder'²,
- formally bare adverbs which express bodily position or individuality/collectivity, such as *yalınayak* 'barefoot', *ayakta* 'upright', *tek başıma* 'alone', *beraber* 'together',
- locative noun phrases which express place (as in (13)), age (with *yaş* 'age' as their head noun, as in (14)), color (with *renk* 'color' as their head noun) and psychological/emotional state (compounds with *iç* 'in', as in (15), which are always subject-controlled),
- noun phrases in the instrumental case which express a psychological/emotional state, as in (16), or convey a comitative (exclusive-confective or ornative) meaning, as in (17). Both are very rarely used and always subject-controlled. Constructions with comitative semantics always have possessive agreement with their controlling subject.

- (13) *kızgın ızgara-nın üzerin-de* 10-15 dakika pişir-in
hot grill-GEN over-POSS-LOC 10-15 minute cook-IMP.2PL
'cook it *over the hot grill* for 10-15 minutes'

2 To this may be added the lexicalized form *nefes nefes-e* (breath breath-DAT) 'out of breath'.

- (14) İlk film-in-i 13 yaş-in-da çek-er.
 first film-POSS-ACC 13 age-POSS-LOC shoot-AOR(3SG)
 ‘He shoots his first film *at the age of 13.*’
- (15) Ağrı-lar iç-in-de çabala-dı-m dur-du-m.
 pains-PL in-POSS-LOC struggle-PRT-1SG keep.on-PRT-1SG
 ‘I kept on struggling *in pains.*’
- (16) derin bir suçluluk duygu-su-yla baş-ım-ı
 deep a guilt feeling-POSS-INS head-POSS.1SG-ACC
 kaldır-ıp
 raise-CVB
 ‘raising my head *with a deep feeling of guilt...*’
- (17) deniz-kızı çıplak meme-ler-i-yle yan-ın-a
 seamaiden naked breast-PL-POSS.3SG-INS side-POSS-DAT
 sokul-ur
 cuddle.up-AOR(3SG)
 ‘the seamaiden cuddled up beside him *with her naked breast*’

Turkish also employs reduced converb clauses as secondary predicates; they are “reduced” in the sense that they consist only of the converb itself and exhibit an intonational pattern which integrates the converb clause closely into the matrix clause.³ Two converbs are candidates for a reduction to the level of a secondary predicate: the *-ErEk* converb which is already known from the ‘frozen’ combination with *ol-* ‘to be’ (see 2.1.1 above), and the converb with *-ken*. *-ErEk* forms verbal secondary predicates which convey an event in conflation with the event expressed by the main predicate (cf. SLOBIN 1995). The subject of the *-ErEk* clause is always co-referential with the subject of the main predicate:

- (18) Türk-ler-e karşı davranış-lar-ın-ı üzü-erek
 Turk-PL-DAT towards manner-PL-POSS-ACC be.sad-CVB
 izle-mek-te-yim
 watch-INF-LOC-1SG
 ‘I *sadly* watch their manners of behaviour towards the Turks’

The clitic *-ken* forms temporal adjunct clauses of ‘temporal inclusion’ (cf. JOHANSON 1995, 320). It is the only Turkish converb which can be combined with non-verbal bases. Reduced *-ken* clauses express life stage, age, or time spans. The subject of these secondary predicates may be co-referential with the

3 See the discussion in SCHULTZE-BERNDT & HIMMELMANN (2004, 98ff.).

subject or with an accusative-marked or dative-marked argument of the primary predicate:

- (19) Eş-i ve kayınbirader-in-i uyku-da-yken
 wife-POSS and brother.in.law-POSS-ACC sleep-LOC-CVB
 öldür-dü.
 kill-PRT(3SG)
 'He killed his wife and his brother-in-law in *their sleep*.'
- (20) Kendi-sin-e çocuk-ken öğret-il-en
 REFL-POSS-DAT child-CVB teach-PASS-PTCP
 yasak-lar-ı hala geçerli say-mak-tadır.
 prohibition-PL-ACC still valid count-INF-LOC-FACT
 'He still holds the prohibitions valid which he has been told *as a child*.'

2.3 Manner adverbials in Turkish: forms and semantic orientations

I now proceed to manner adverbials and investigate their morphological forms and semantic orientations. In doing so, I will follow the semantic distinctions made in Section 1 and discuss further semantic properties where they can be identified.

2.3.1 -CE-derivations

-CE forms manner adverbials from adjectival and nominal bases.⁴ Manner adverbials formed with -CE are always activity-oriented, that is, they predicate the manner in which the agent performs the action:

- (21) Saliha onu bir süre sessiz-ce dinle-di.
 S. him a while silent-ADV listen-PRT(3SG)
 'Saliha listened to him *silently* for a while.'
- (22) biri çık-ıp da erkek-çe el-in-i
 somebody turn.up-CVB and male-ADV hand-POSS.2SG-ACC
 öp-üp ...
 kiss-CVB
 'if somebody came and kissed your hand *in a gentlemanly way* ...'

4 Note that -CE also forms agent phrases in passive sentences, with certain phrasal restrictions.

2.3.2 Adjective reduplication

In addition to expressing secondary predicates (see 2.1.2), reduplicated adjectives are also used to express manner adverbial relations, again in informal rather than in formal speech. Also, just like secondary predicate reduplications, they always contain a component of event continuity or iteration, depending on the semantics of the main predicate:

- (23) Herkes *rahat rahat* git-ti oy-un-u kullan-dı.
Everybody quiet(REDUPL) go-PRT vote-POSS-ACC use-PRT(3SG)
'Everybody went *peacefully* and used his vote.'
- (24) Öyle *sessiz sessiz* otur-uyor mu-ydu-n orada?
so silent(REDUPL) sit-PROGR QUE-PRT-2SG there (LOC)
'Have you been sitting so *silently* over there?'

As manner adverbials, adjectival reduplications are always verb-oriented in the sense defined in Section 1. Compare (21) with (24): *sessizce* in (21) means that the agent performed or fulfilled the action of listening in a quiet manner, whereas *sessiz sessiz* in (24) expresses the quietness of the sitting. The two forms are not interchangeable here without a change in meaning – *sessiz sessiz dinledi* instead of *sessizce dinledi* in (21) would mean that the agent listened and that there was quietness, without the event component of agent control being expressed by *sessizce*. *sessizce oturuyor*, on the other hand, would be semantically questionable in (24), since the verb *otur-* with a locative complement expresses an event type of position, which is not compatible with the agent control component of *-CE*.⁵

2.3.3 Ideophones

In informal speech, ideophones are a frequent device for forming descriptive manner adverbials. They are always verb-oriented, like the reduplications with which they share formal properties. They modify the verbal content with regard to its sound, form or movement, and are always attended by an emphatic nuance. Furthermore, as with reduplications, the verb-orientation of manner adverbial ideophones is accompanied by an actional modification, focussing on the process of the verbal content. As with reduplications, the type of actional orientation depends on the semantics of the respective verb. However, as JENDRASCHEK (2001) has shown, the different strategies of forming ideophones also contribute to the sub-type of actional content. See the following example which displays the four strategies of forming ideophones:

5 Lack of space does not allow me to develop the event-type approach used here any further. For a more elaborate discussion see SCHROEDER (2004, Chp. 6).

- (25) a. Yemeğ-i *lop lop* ağz-in-a at-tı.
 food-ACC IDEO mouth-POSS-DAT throw-PRT(3SG)
 ‘He threw the food into his mouth.’
- b. Yemeği *lopur lopur* ağzına attı.
- c. Yemeği *lop diye* ağzına attı.
- d. Yemeği *loppadak* ağzına attı.

In (25a), the reduplicated ideophone marks the brief iterativity of the action – the food is eaten in small chunks and very quickly. In (25b), where the reduplicated ideophone form as a base combines with a derivational suffix *-Ir*, the repeated action appears as continuous – the food is again eaten in chunks, but slowly. In (25c), where the junctor *diye* is combined with the ideophonic stem, the action is fulfilled in one go, and in (25d), where the stem is combined with the suffix *-EdEk*, there is an element of suddenness or spontaneity in addition to the actional content of the combination with *diye*.

2.3.4 Manner phrases with locative case

Locative noun phrases with a head meaning, broadly, “state” or “manner” have already been listed above (2.1.3) as a device for forming secondary predicates. Two of these nouns, *şekil* and *biçim*, may also head locative noun phrases which serve as manner adverbials – again with the modifying adjective representing the semantic core of the adjunct. With a manner-adverbial orientation, these two nouns display a clear distinction: *şekil* may form both verb-oriented and activity-oriented manner adverbials, as in (26) and (27). *biçim* on the other hand exclusively forms effect-oriented manner adverbials, as in (28):

- (26) *gürültülü bir şekil-de* kapan-an kapı-nın ses-i
 loud a state-LOC close-PTCP door-GEN sound-POSS
 ‘the sound of the door, which was closing loudly, ...’
- (27) mutfak bez-ler-in-i canlı bir şekil-de hava-da
 kitchen towel-PL-POSS-ACC brisk a state-LOC air-LOC
 silk-ti
 shake-PRT(3SG)
 ‘She *briskly* shook the kitchen towels in the air.’
- (28) Bu alışkanlık, küçüklüğ-ün-de bedel-i ağır bir
 this habit childhood-POSS-LOC price-POSS heavy a
biçim-de öde-n-dikten sonra edin-il-miş.
 state-LOC pay-PASS-CVB after acquire-PASS-EVID
 ‘This habit is said to be acquired after paying for it *heavily* in childhood.’

2.3.5 Noun phrases with instrumental case

A further device for forming manner adverbials is the formation of instrumental noun phrases; these are always activity-oriented. Two types can be distinguished: instrumental manner phrases which are formed with the noun *eda*, or sometimes *tavir* (both *eda* and *tavir* mean ‘manner’) plus modifying adjective, as in (29), and full lexical noun phrases, as in (30):

- (29) Nişanlı-m *mazlum bir eda-yla* (...) sor-ar-dı.
fiancée-POSS.1SG shy a manner-INS ask-AOR-PRT(3SG)
‘My fiancée would *shyly* ask me: ‘...’
- (30) *Hırs-la, hınç-la* sarıl-dı-m makine-ye.
anger-INS hate-INS attack-PRT-1SG machine-DAT
‘*Angrily and full of hate* I attacked the machine.’

2.3.6 Zero-derived adjectives

As shown in 2.1.6 above, zero-derived adjectives in immediate preverbal position may function as secondary predicates. Besides, they may be manner adverbials with the three types of semantic orientation defined in 2.1: verb orientation, as in (31), activity orientation, as in (32), and effect orientation, as in (33):

- (31) İş-ler *kötü* gid-iyor.
thing-PL bad go-PROGR
‘Things are going *badly*.’
- (32) Sözcük-ler-in-i *dikkatli* seç-er.
word-PL-POSS-ACC careful choose-AOR(3SG)
‘She chooses her words *carefully*.’
- (33) İp-ler-in hız-ı *çok kötü* kesi-yor-du
rope-PL-GEN speed-POSS very bad cut-PROGR-PRT(3SG)
el-in-i.
hand-POSS-ACC
‘The speed of the ropes cut his hand *badly*.’

Note again that the use of zero-derived adjectives as event-internal adjuncts is syntactically and semantically restricted (see 2.4 below).

2.3.7 Converb clauses

Two types of “reduced converb clauses” (see 2.2) can be interpreted as manner adverbials, namely clauses formed with the reduplicative converb *-E -E* and *-ErEk* clauses. In both types, the subject is always co-referential with the subject of the main predicate (for certain exceptions, see CSATÓ & JOHANSON

1992/1993), and both express activity-oriented events. *-E -E* clauses convey an additional actional modification – iterative or durative, depending on the semantics of the verbal base of the converb:

- (34) *Yürü-ye yürü-ye* Taşhan'-ın kapı-sın-a gel-miş-im.
 walk-CVB(REDUPL) T.-GEN door-POSS-DAT come-EVID-1SG
 'After much walking I seemed to have come to the gates of Taşhan.'
- (35) *yürü-yerek* uzaklaş-tı-lar
 walk-CVB move.away-PRT-PL
 'They moved away walking. / They walked away.'

2.3.8 *olarak* phrases

As shown above (Section 2.1.1), *olarak* phrases are the predominant strategy for forming secondary predicates. There is, however, one specific semantic domain where *olarak* phrases have the activity-oriented interpretation of a manner adverbial, namely where the language is expressed in which an action is carried out:

- (36) o da bizi *Fransızca olarak* selamla-dı.
 she and us(ACC) French JUNC greet-PRT(3SG)
 'and she greeted us in French'

2.4. Restrictions on zero-derived adjectives

In the preceding sections I have shown that Turkish employs a wide variety of forms for secondary predicates and manner adverbials. One form in particular resembles the most widespread strategy for forming event internal adjuncts in English and German, namely the use of bare (zero-derived) adjectives in this position. In general, in the latter languages, event-internal adjuncts appear to be underspecified with regard to their semantic orientation; the latter is specified by the lexical semantics of the respective form, not by its morphology.⁶ The fact that Turkish also employs bare adjectives in this position could, at first sight, lead us to the conclusion that Turkish is not very different from these languages when it comes to the formation of event-internal adjuncts.⁷ On closer inspection, however, it turns out that in Turkish, the adverbial use of adjectives is but a mar-

6 The abundance of literature on secondary predicates in German and English allows me to skip any further elaboration on this claim.

7 The mere existence of adjectives in adverbial use has, for example, led HENGVELD 1992 to classify Turkish as a language which does not distinguish between adjectives and adverbs – erroneously, as shown here.

ginal strategy which is highly restricted both syntactically and pragmatically. Three restrictions can be noted: word order, verbal valency of the primary predicate, and pragmatics.

Word order restriction: Zero-derived adjectives cannot be moved from their immediate preverbal position:

(11)' ? Çayı içerim soğuk.

(32)' ? Dikkatli sözcüklerini seçer.

(33)' ? Çok kötü iplerin hızı elini kesiyordu.

All other forms of event internal adjuncts may occupy other positions in the sentence – see, for example, (27) and (10) above.

Verb-valency restriction: Bare adjectives used as secondary predicates follow the transitivity pattern of the verb used as the primary predicate. That is, with a transitive verb, bare adjectives used as a secondary predicate are always interpreted as controlled by the accusative-marked object. A sentence like the following, then, is not acceptable:

(37) ? Çayı yorgun iç-ti-m.

tea tired drink-PRT-1SG

attempted meaning: 'I drank the tea tired.'

Other forms of secondary predicates do not follow the transitivity pattern of the verb (see (6) and (14)).

Pragmatic restriction: The semantic relationship between the bare adjective and the respective verb must be such that the adjunct ascribes a property which is 'expectable' either within the context of the respective sentence or within the ongoing discourse. For example, it is always acceptable to use a bare predicate in the Turkish equivalent of *drinking tea cold* or *quickly* or *slowly*, or *doing something bad* or *good*. Provided that the co-text or context creates an expectation based on world knowledge or culture, more specific modifications may be made with bare adjectives, as in (12): This example is taken from a scene in which a woman is interrogated by a police inspector who in the preceding text is described as an unfriendly person. Without the appropriate context, however, *asking something a little angry* (angrily) could not be expressed by a bare adjective; rather, a more specific form of secondary predicate would have to be used, just as the expression of *doing something naked in public* would probably always require a more specific form of secondary predicate in Turkish.

3. Intermediate Conclusion

In answer to the question advanced at the beginning of the last chapter, I hope to have shown so far that

- Turkish employs a high variety of productive, morphologically marked forms which function as event-internal adjuncts;
- the different forms can be classified according to their semantic orientation;
- there is one neutral form, viz. bare adjectives, where the semantic orientation is determined lexically. However, this form is syntactically and pragmatically highly restricted.

All in all, in Turkish, one can speak of a high degree of grammaticalization of morphologically differentiated forms according to their semantic orientation. Only one form is neutral in the sense that its orientation is determined lexically and not morphologically.

Turkish thus contrasts strongly to Germanic languages, which are underspecified with regard to the systematic/morphological expression of the semantic orientation of secondary predicates and manner adverbials. That is, in these languages, the interpretation of the semantic orientation relies on the lexical interpretation of the adjunct in question.

4. Search for typological correlates

If I left my conclusion at that, I would merely have established a difference between Turkish on the one hand, and English and German on the other. A more holistically oriented typology, however, looks for meaningful systematic correlates of the parameters identified, and this is what I will endeavor to do in the remaining sections of this paper. My second leading question is therefore:

Which other features of the languages under investigation correlate in a meaningful way with the different strategies of expressing event-internal adjuncts?
--

In answering this second question, I will not come up with new data but connect my findings with previously identified typological differences between Turkish and the Germanic languages. One is the fact that Turkish displays a strong *e x - t e r n a l* (morphological) differentiation between clause-level and noun phrase-level constituents (see 4.1) and the other is the fact that Turkish is a verb-framed language, as opposed to the Germanic languages, which are satellite-framed,

which leads to a strong internal (morphological) differentiation of event-internal adjuncts in Turkish (see 4.2).

4.1 Noun-phrase adjuncts versus clause-level adjuncts in Turkish

BOEDER & SCHROEDER (1998; 2000), as well as SCHROEDER (2000) have shown that Turkish is a language with a strong tendency to distinguish formally between noun-phrase adjuncts and clause-level adjuncts: adjectives are morphologically distinguished from adverbs, attributive clauses are formed by strategies which differ from those of adverbial clauses (the former are participles, the latter converbs), and there is also a strict distinction between attributive (genitive) and strictly adverbial cases (locative, ablative, instrumental): genitive-marked noun phrases can only be attributes (or predicates), whereas adverbial case-marked noun phrases are clause-level constituents (but not attributes and not always predicates). In line with this, Turkish exhibits a tight “grammatical straitjacket” with regard to clause-level adjuncts. They must have one of the following specific forms: (participant-controlled) converb, or adverbial form (adverb derivation), or noun phrase with adverbial case. The strategies for forming event-internal adjuncts conform to this, just as they conform with the distinction between noun-phrase level and clause level: none of the forms described in Section 2 can be used attributively – with the exception of the defective adverbial use of adjectives.

In English and German, the distinction between noun-phrase adjuncts and clause-level adjuncts is by far not as strict as in Turkish: adjectives, participles and prepositional phrases may function as attributes and adverbials, just as adverbs may be attributes. Also in German, the genitive, while being predominantly an attributive case, also functions as an adverbial case, limited as it may be.

Thus, the strategies for forming event-internal adjuncts in Turkish as described in Section 2 are consistent with the general strategies for forming clause-level adjuncts in Turkish: what you have in a noun phrase, you cannot have in a clause, and vice versa.

4.2 Maximal internal differentiation: Turkish as a verb-framed language

The second typological correlate leads us to the distinction between satellite-framed and verb-framed languages, as developed first by TALMY (2000 and earlier publications).

This distinction is developed in the framework of a cognitive-based, cross-linguistic concept of a Macro-Event⁸ as expressed in every verbal sentence. According to Talmy, a Macro-Event consists of two components, viz. its Framing Event and its Co-Event. Inherent to the Framing Event is the basic scheme of movement, locality or spatiality, and the contouring of the event with regard to its temporal and aspectual properties. Inherent to the Co-Event on the other hand are further Circumstances of the Framing Event, such as the Manner of the fulfilment of the Framing Event.

It is important to note that, in Talmy's terminology, Manner pertains not only to the qualitative, action- or process-oriented modification expressed by manner adverbials. It also includes all kinds of circumstantial information with regard to the Framing Event, be it action- or process-oriented, or participant-oriented, and be it expressed in the verbal predicate or outside of it.

Talmy, then, maps this cognitive Framing Event on natural language data and develops a bipartite typology, based on the assumption that when expressing the components of the event, each language tends to prefer one of the two alternatives:

- Satellite-framed languages tend to express the components of the Framing Event (spatiality, locality, movement, aspectuality, ...) outside of the verbal root, that is, as adjuncts or as 'satellites', i.e. additional sister elements of the root in the verbal complex. The verbal root on the other hand contains elements of the Co-Event, that is, it expresses the Manner-element of the event (where Manner is understood in Talmy's broad sense).
- Verb-framed languages on the other hand tend to express the components of the Framing Event in the verbal root, while satellites and adjuncts serve to express the Manner element of the event.

In line with this basic typology, SLOBIN (1996), ÖZÇALIŞKAN & SLOBIN (2000) and others have shown that Turkish and other languages, such as French, Japanese, Korean and Spanish can be classified as verb-framed languages, while English, German and other Germanic languages rather show properties of satellite-framed languages.

This typology has a number of consequences, and I will present only those which are important in connection with what I have presented so far:

- In an analysis of German or English sentences expressing some kind of movement according to their event components, their form can be schematically presented as in (38), while their Turkish equivalents have a form as in (39):

8 Talmy's terminology is spelled here with an initial capital.

(38)

	MOVEMENT & MANNER	PATH	
	Finite verb	Satellite	
<i>he</i>	<i>ran</i>	<i>inside</i>	<i>the house</i>
<i>er</i>	<i>rannte</i>	<i>hinein</i>	<i>ins Haus</i>

Satellite-framed language (English, German)

(39)

MANNER		MOVEMENT & PATH
Event-internal adjunct		finite verb
<i>Hızlı hızlı/çabucak/koşarak</i>	<i>eve</i>	<i>girdi.</i>

Verb-framed language (Turkish)

- Consequently, Turkish has more verbs which combine Path and Movement in their lexical root, while German and English have more verbs which combine Manner and Movement. This does not of course mean that Turkish lacks verbs expressing Movement together with Manner. However, these verbs show a tendency not to be used as predicates of a main sentence, but as converbs.
- The difference is not only one of frequency, but also one of semantic specificity: in German and English, descriptive verbs, i.e. expressive verbs which combine Manner and Movement, show much finer semantic distinctions than can be expressed by Turkish descriptive verbs. Take, for instance, English verbs like *gulp* (*sth. (down)*), *gobble* (*sth. up/down*), *scoff*, *slurp*, *chomp*: The information given is not only about the verbal action itself, but also about the size of the object, the noise being made during the action, the effect this action has on the speaker, and so on (SNELL-HORNBY 1983). In short, Turkish adjuncts, which are formally differentiated according to their event-internal semantic orientation (as described in Section 2), seem to have lexical (verbal) counterparts in satellite-framed languages such as English and German.

At the risk of skipping a few steps of reasoning, I now try to come to my point, namely that in combining the results of the above investigation on event-internal adjuncts with the satellite-verb-typology, the following can be said: In satellite-framed languages, the main load of expressing Manner is carried by the verbal root. Manner can, however, also be expressed outside of the verbal root, that is, in the form of event-internal adjuncts. But, as shown, satellite-framed languages such as German and English have a fairly low degree of grammaticalization of event-internal adjuncts with regard to their semantic orientation.

In verb-framed languages on the other hand, the main load of the expression of Manner is carried by event-internal adjuncts. This corresponds with a much higher degree of grammaticalization of event-internal adjuncts in terms of their semantic orientation.

As an answer to the second research question, then, I arrive at the following tentative hypothesis:

The fact that Turkish has such a high degree of grammaticalization of event-internal adjuncts can be linked to the fact that Turkish is a verb-framed language, i.e., it is a language in which event-internal adjuncts carry the full load of expressing Manner.

The fact that German and English have a comparatively lower degree of grammaticalization of event-internal adjuncts can be linked to the fact that these languages are satellite-framed languages, i.e., they are languages in which not event-internal adjuncts but the verbal root carries the main load of the expression of Manner.

The explanation for the different degrees of grammaticalization of event-internal adjuncts in Turkish, English and German is based on the different functional and semantic loads borne by event-internal adjuncts in these languages: where the load is heavier, as in Turkish, there is more grammaticalization, and where the load is lighter, as in German and English, there is less grammaticalization.

This is, of course, a highly preliminary generalization. It underlines the necessity to continue with research into the form-function relations of event-internal adjuncts in less investigated languages.

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Primary versus secondary predication in Classical Aztec

1. Introduction

Is the distinction between primary and secondary predication a universal of language?¹ SCHULTZE-BERNDT & HIMMELMANN (2004) circumvent this question as we still know little about secondary predication in thousands of languages. Nevertheless, the current vogue of studies on secondary predication (cf. the contributions to HIMMELMANN & SCHULTZE-BERNDT 2005a) is suggestive of a widespread, cross-linguistic phenomenon. Wherever secondary predication can be identified its presence implies the existence of primary predication in the same language. Table 1 surveys the logically possible constellations arising out of the distinction of these two types of predication.

status	predication	
	primary	secondary
attested	+	+
conceivable	+	¬
impossible	¬	+
	¬	¬

Table 1: Possible and impossible language types

Of the four options, two can be ruled out: those constellations in boxes with a grey background violate basic principles of language structure. A language without any predication (= the fourth type) is something we do not expect to find, as predication is considered an essential of human language. The third type allows only secondary predication, which is again nonsensical because the attribute “secondary” requires the existence of something that can be classified as “pri-

1 I am grateful to the audience at the University of Oldenburg. A word of thanks is due to Winfried Boeder, Gerd Hentschel, Utz Maas and Christoph Schroeder for their comments on the talk I delivered in December 2005. Their remarks have had an impact on the final written version. The comments of the three editors of this volume encouraged me to revise many of my original ideas and thus contributed to the re-shaping of the present article. The usual disclaimers apply, nevertheless.

mary". The remaining two types are of a different nature. Starting with the first type, we have evidence for the co-existence of primary and secondary predication in many languages world-wide and thus this constellation seems to represent the cross-linguistic norm. What about the second type? First of all, there are no a priori reasons for ruling out a language type which only allows primary predication. In a language of this type, however, it would make no sense to use the attribute "primary" in the absence of anything requiring the attribute "secondary". Thus, there is just "predication".

Before we assess the probability of the existence of this constellation, it might be useful to recapitulate the structural requirements for secondary predication to apply (HIMMELMANN & SCHULTZE-BERNDT 2005b, 4-27). Not only does secondary predication presuppose primary predication but also a sentence structure for utterances which allows the integration of several predicators in one larger unit (usually within one and the same clause). Moreover, the distinction between primary and secondary predication calls for a hierarchy, as the labels conventionally used for the two kinds of predication suggest a difference in rank. Ideally, different constructions and morpho-syntactic means should associate with primary and secondary predication in order to reflect their differences in status formally. One possible way to achieve this is to employ finite verbs for primary predication and non-finite verbs (or co-verbs and converbs) for secondary predication. Among other things, secondary predication may be one of the tasks of adjectives and adverbs. As word-classes, however, adjectives and adverbs are not universal, nor is the finite-infinite distinction for verbs. Admittedly, the typical functions of proper adjectives and adverbs can be carried out by members of other word-classes as well (attributive nouns and verbs, adverbials, etc.). Nevertheless, secondary predication has a predilection to associate with marked entities (namely adjectives, etc.) – and thus behaves like the marked member of the binary set of predications. According to the logic of typological markedness, if one component of a binary set of categories is missing in a language, this is usually the marked one. Therefore, the second type in Table 1 is highly unlikely to occur.

Odd as it may seem, there is one candidate for the status of language without secondary predication, namely Classical Aztec, to whose structural peculiarities in the realm of predication this contribution is devoted. The results are preliminary as they stem from a preliminary assessment of what Michel LAUNEY (1994; 2004) has observed on predicative structures in the language under scrutiny. Section 2 addresses the issue of predication: in 2.1 the concept of omnipredicativity is presented, 2.2 discusses possible instances of secondary predication in syntax, while 2.3 highlights a selection of word-internal strategies. The conclusions are given in Section 3.

Classical Aztec (Central Mexico) belongs to the southern branch of the Uto-Aztecan phylum. For further background information, see LAUNEY (1994, 17-20) and STOLZ (2001, 1-12). My examples are drawn from LauneY's corpus (1994, 9) which comprises eight major primary sources from the 16th-17th century with some 2,500 pages of running text in Classical Aztec. I also adopt his normalised rendering of Classical Aztec writings because the originals are characterised by widely unstable orthographical conventions.²

Thanks to the long tradition of research on Classical Aztec, the grammar of the language is well known (but not exhaustively described). It is therefore uncontroversial to characterise Classical Aztec as follows (for further details, cf. STOLZ 2001, 13-26). Classical Aztec has accusative alignment with a pragmatically flexible VSO word order. Pronominal subjects are rarely used unless topicalisation or focus is involved. Classical Aztec makes use of polysynthesis including the incorporation of nouns and verbs. Agglutinative prefixes and suffixes coexist. The language is predominantly head-marking with minor evidence of dependent-marking structures. There is an alienability correlation which pervades the language system. The classifier system is fragmentary. More importantly, Classical Aztec had neither adverbs nor adjectives. Adpositions are controversial too, as they have properties of relational nouns.

With this background information, we can proceed to the presentation and analysis of data which are relevant for the distinction between primary and secondary predication in Classical Aztec.

2. Predication in Classical Aztec

2.1 A wealth of primary predication

The French scholar LAUNEY (1994, 63) distinguishes five word classes based on their ability to function as arguments, predicates and/or adjuncts (see Table 2). Grey shading identifies those word classes which pass as predicates. The terms used in the French original are given in brackets.

2 A macron indicates vowel length, a gravis accent is used for a postvocalic glottal stop in medial position; in word-final position the glottal stop is represented by a circumflex. The digraphs <hu>/<uh> and <cu>/<uc> represent a bilabial glide /w/ and a labialised velar plosive /k^w/, respectively. Another digraph, <tz>, renders the alveolar affricate /ts/, <ch> stands for /tʃ/ and <x> for /ʃ/. The lateral affricate /tʃ/ is orthographically <tl>. All other symbols correspond to the values associated with them in Spanish.

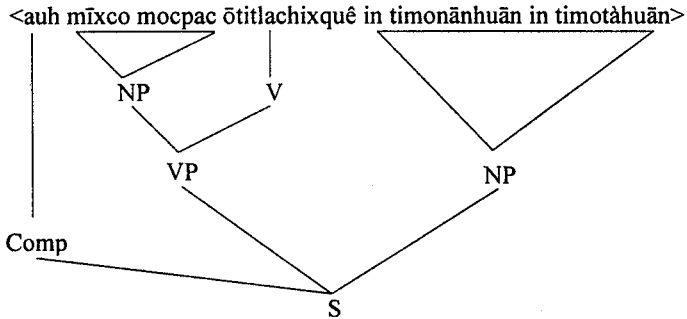
word class	syntactic status		
	argument (actant)	predicate (prédicatif)	adjunct (circonstant)
LOCATIVE	yes	yes	yes
VERB	yes	yes	no
NOUN	yes	yes	no
DEICTIC	yes	no	no
PARTICLE	no	no	no

Table 2: Word classes in Classical Aztec

What strikes the eye is the parallel behaviour of verbs and nouns. Both are classified as potential arguments and potential predicates. In this respect they differ not only from so-called locatives, which appear to be omni-purpose words whose functional range extends to adjunct status, but also from deictics and particles, which lack the capacity to become predicates.

How can verbs and nouns be distinguished if they behave identically in terms of their syntactic status? To answer this question, a closer look at a passage from my main source is helpful. Unless otherwise stated, I closely follow the line of argumentation in LAUNEY (1994; 2004). For obvious reasons, however, I have to skip many details and side-issues discussed at length there. Example (E1) is taken from the *Huehuetlàtōlli*, i.e. the ritualised speech of parents when addressing their new-born child. I provide a syntactic tree (bottom-up) without any attempt at sophistication – of the kind undergraduates would draw when confronted with a non-SAE language for the first time in their career. The morphological analysis of (E1) is given separately in (E2).

(E1) (Huehuetlàtōlli I [3] = [LAUNEY 1979, 14])



‘And we, your parents, have looked at you.’

The detailed analysis in (E2) reveals that the structures of Classical Aztec and English cannot be translated blindly into each other. In (E2), the first line contains the orthographic forms of the syntactic words which are then broken down into their morphological parts in line 2. The morphemes are identified and glossed in line 3, while line 4 indicates the word-class to which the entire syntactic word belongs. The word-by-word translation completes the picture in line 5. Owing to the complexity of the structures, the presentation of the analysis has to be broken down into several small tables. The abbreviations are spelled out in the appendix.

(E2) Transmorphemization

<i>auh</i>	<i>mīxco</i>			<i>mocpac</i>		
{ <i>auh</i> }	{ <i>m</i> }-	{ <i>ix</i> }	-{ <i>co</i> }	{ <i>mo</i> }-	{ <i>cpa</i> }	-{ <i>c</i> }
CONJ	POR.2SG	face	LOC	POR.2SG	seat	LOC
PARTICLE	LOCATIVE			LOCATIVE		
and	at your face			at your seat		

<i>ōtītlachixquē</i>					
{ <i>ō</i> }-	{ <i>ti</i> }-	{ <i>tla</i> }-	{ <i>chix</i> }	-{ <i>qu</i> }	-{ <i>ē</i> }
ANT	1PL	OBJ.INDF.NONHUM	watch	PERF	PL
VERB					
we have watched (something [already])					

<i>in timonānhuān</i>					
{ <i>in</i> }	{ <i>ti</i> }-	{ <i>mo</i> }-	{ <i>nān</i> }	-{ <i>uh</i> }	-{ <i>ān</i> }
DET	1PL	POR.2SG	mother	PUM	PL
PARTICLE	VERB				
we, your mothers					

<i>in timotàhuān</i>					
{in}	{ti}-	{mo}-	{tà}	-{uh}	{-ān}
DET	1PL	POR.2SG	father	PUM	PL
PARTICLE	VERB				
we, your fathers					

The fact that Classical Aztec can do without a conjunction is perhaps no cause for surprise.³ Except for the deictics, every word-class postulated in Table 2 occurs at least once in the analysed fragment of text. The particles do not require any detailed coverage. The locatives can be easily understood as possessed nouns inflected for the general locative, the nouns being *īxtli* ‘face’ and *icpatl* ‘seat, throne’ in their so-called absolutive or citation form. The disappearance of morphological (= absolutive suffix) and phonological (= initial short /i/ before two consonants) material in the dependent forms is absolutely regular.

Nouns and verbs each have an exclusive set of morphological categories. Nouns may not take TMA and directional affixes, whereas verbs cannot be marked for possession or host the absolutive or locative suffixes. These morphological restrictions notwithstanding, both nouns and verbs may be used freely as arguments and predicates, meaning: word-class membership is largely dissociated from the syntactic status a given word may have in an utterance (LAUNEY 1994, 59). Consider the two putative members of the NP in (E1): *timonānhuān* and *timotàhuān*. These are formally verbs (inflected with the prefix {ti}- of the 1st person plural, which belongs to a set of subject markers that differ from the possessive prefixes [in this case {to}- of the possessor 1st person plural]) based on the possessed forms of the kinship terms *nāntli* ‘mother’ and *tātli* ‘father’.⁴ However, in the syntactic contexts these finite verbs behave like the equivalents of English nouns because they combine with the determiner *in* whose functional characteristics will be highlighted below. What can happen to a noun (and to a verb) is schematically depicted in Table 3.

3 Classical Aztec is notorious for so-called doublets (= conventionalised binominals) made up of two content words which inflect in a parallel fashion (STOLZ 1991, MONTES DE OCA VEGA 2004). Thus, in *timonānhuān* in *timotàhuān* is the distributed expression corresponding to *your parents* in English. Note that both content words are inflected for plural although there is only one mother and one father! These doublets are constructions with a fixed meaning and resemble co-compounds very closely (WÄLCHLI 2005).

4 The “verbal” character of nouns has been discussed throughout the history of typological linguistics with reference to the indigenous languages of the Americas, and is the major topic of SASSE (1993).

CONSTRUCTION	GLOSS	QUALITY
{nān}-{tli}	mother	nominal
{mo}-{nān}	your mother	nominal
{mo}-{nān}-{uh}-{ān}	your mothers	nominal
{ti}-{mo}-{nān}-{uh}-{ān}	we are your mothers	verbal
{in}# {ti}-{mo}-{nān}-{uh}-{ān}	we, your mothers	nominal

Table 3: From noun to verb and back

A bona fide noun like *nāntli* may host the same subject prefixes as typical verbs and thus become a full-blown (nominal) predicate, whereas finite verbs and the determiner go together well, giving rise to a new nominal construction.

Classical Aztec does not employ a proper copula in the present tense (LAUNEY 2004, 59). Nevertheless, it is possible to have nominal predicates, as shown in Table 4.

Verbal predicate			Nominal predicate		
subject	SING	plural	subject	MOTHER	plural
1SG	{ni}-	{cuīca}	{ni}-	{nān}	-{tli}
2SG	{ti}-	{cuīca}	{ti}-	{nān}	-{tli}
3SG		{cuīca}		{nān}	-{tli}
1PL	{ti}-	{cuīca}	^{-}	{nān}	-{tin}
2PL	{an}-	{cuīca}	^{-}	{nān}	-{tin}
3PL		{cuīca}	^{-}	{nān}	-{tin}
I sing/I am singing etc.			I am a mother etc.		

Table 4: Verbal and nominal predicates - paradigms

In both types of predication, the same subject prefixes are used. The nominal predicate retains the typically nominal affixes. Any noun can thus be turned into a nominal predicate. Before we pursue the implications of this issue any further, a glimpse at verbal and nominal predication outside the context of the present tense is called for (LAUNEY 1994, 54). Table 5 shows examples from the future and the past tenses.

VERBAL PREDICATE	NOMINAL PREDICATE
I will sing, etc.	I will be a mother, etc.
{ni}-{cuīca}-{z}	{ni}-{nān}-{tli}# {ni}-{ye}-{z}
{ti}-{cuīca}-{z}-{qu}-{ê}	{ti}-{nān}-{tin}# {ti}-{ye}-{z}-{qu}-{ê}
{cuīca}-{z}	{nān}-{tli}# {ye}-{z}
I sang, etc.	I was a mother, etc.
{ni}-{cuīca}-{c}	{ni}-{nān}-{tli}# {ni}-{cat}-{ca}
{ti}-{cuīca}-{qu}-{ê}	{ti}-{nān}-{tin}# {ti}-{cat}-{ca}-{^}
{cuīca}-{c}	{nān}-{tli}# {cat}-{ca}
mono-clausal	bi-clausal

Table 5: Beyond the present tense

The interesting fact about these data is not so much the disparity between truly verbal predication and nominal predication, but the presence of the verbally inflected nouns in the new constructions. Irrespective of the presence of an inflected copula for future *ye* ‘will be’ and past *catca* ‘was’, the noun also hosts the subject prefixes. The various forms of the copula in nominal predication serve the purpose of encoding tense and aspect, which are excluded from purely nominal predicates. The co-occurrence of two verbally inflected syntactic words makes the whole construction bi-clausal, whereas the verbal predication is mono-clausal. The clause is defined here as the syntactic unit that contains a predicate and its subject argument.

This state of affairs induces LAUNEY (1994, 60) to draw far-reaching conclusions the gist of which I present here as “Launey’s analogy”. The general outline is schematised in (D1).

(D1) Launey’s analogy

ni-nān-tli : nān-tli

ni-cuīca : cuīca

According to Launey’s line of reasoning, we have to accept as a fact that all forms of nouns, including those which lack an overt subject prefix, are predicates because verbs do not have subject prefixes for the 3rd persons of both numbers. Thus, every lexicon or absolutive form of a noun is morphologically made up of a zero subject prefix and a nominal predicate: *nāntli* = {Ø-}{nān}-{tli} ‘(it is a) mother’.⁵ In this way, every content word (noun, verb, locative) becomes a predi-

5 This is in line with ANDREWS (1975, 147) who describes every Classical Aztec noun as being equipped with a pronominal prefix – including {Ø}. Other more didactically oriented treatments

cate in its own right. This is the basic idea on which Launey builds his theory of omnipredicativity.

Omnipredicativity turns (E1) from a sentence with eight words into a succession of five predicates (= the five content words), which are connected to each other with the help of three particles. Each of these five predicates may be considered a full-blown sentential unit by itself. In the early years of linguistic typology, Classical Aztec functioned as the showcase of the supposed language type for which word and sentence were considered largely commensurate units (RINGMACHER 1996). Even where the morphological complexity of word-forms is far from impressive, content words as such are potentially sentential units. The predicative properties of content words yield the minimal "sentence structure" schematised in (D2). For the possibility of sentence structure to go beyond the minimal version of (D2), cf. (D3) below.

(D2) Minimal sentence structure

$$S \rightarrow (\text{Comp}) \left\{ \begin{array}{c} V \\ N \\ \text{Loc} \end{array} \right\}$$

This skeleton of a grammar allows content words to function as sentences on their own. The Comp position may be left empty, although the so-called assertive particle *ca* 'it is the case that' is highly frequent in equivalents of English declarative sentences and in topicalisation. Its optionality, however, is a fact. Table 6 presents examples of sentences with and without assertive particles.

ASS	PRED		gloss
{ca}#	{cal}-{li}		'it is a house'
	{house}-{ABS}		
{ca}#	{cuīca}		's/he is singing'
	{sing}		
{ca}#	{cual}-{cān}#	{in}# {ni}-{cān}	'it is good hereabouts'
	{good}-{place}	{DET}# {1SG}-{place}	

Table 6: Optional assertive particle (LAUNEY 1981, 54)

As the utterances seem to be equally grammatical independent of the presence of *ca*, an important question arises. Given that any minimal utterance consisting of one single content word qualifies as a (potential) sentence, how do we analyse

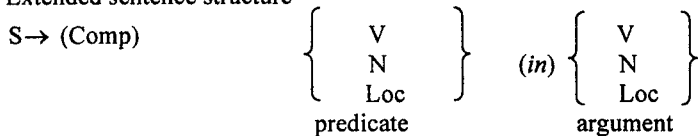
of Classical Aztec (SULLIVAN 1988, GARIBAY 1989, CAMPBELL/KARTTUNEN 1989) make do without this analysis.

chains of content words? Each content word is syntactically self-sufficient and thus constitutes a full-blown sentence of its own. What appear to be sentences in our translations of Classical Aztec texts turn into agglomerations of (autonomous) minimal sentences. If the notion of secondary predication requires the hierarchical combination of at least two predicators in one clause (HIMMELMANN & SCHULTZE-BERNDT 2005b, 22), Classical Aztec appears to be a language without secondary predication. In what follows, I discuss a selection of observations which suggest that the case is far from clear.

2.2 (No) ways out of the dilemma?

The situation is much more complex than the observations in the preceding section suggest. In point of fact, content words can be combined in Classical Aztec to yield more extended syntactic structures. However, this is done in special ways which rely heavily on a depredicativisation strategy which involves the ubiquitous determiner *in*. This *in* is in fact a multi-purpose morpheme whose functional range covers the functions of the English definite and indefinite articles and the proximal demonstrative as well as those of the relative pronouns. It is therefore very often associated with definiteness or, more precisely, with specificity. These functions are well attested in Classical Aztec but they are probably outnumbered by the many occurrences in which *in* is used as a depredicativiser: content words can be made into arguments of other content words by adding *in* to their left (LAUNEY 1994, 59). If *in* accompanies any content word in an utterance, this utterance must contain at least one other content word of which the one in the scope of *in* is an argument. The appropriate extended sentence structure is given in (D3). It is important to note that often, predicate and argument belong to different word-classes, i.e. no two verbs (alone) would be in a predicate-argument relationship, nor would two locatives, whereas two nouns are freely combinable. Thus, there are certain restrictions over the admissible combinations of content words in the extended sentence structure model. A complication lies in the fact that *in* is optional as an argument-marker.

(D3) Extended sentence structure



The assertive particle *ca* and the depredicativiser *in* interact in interesting ways in topicalisation and focus constructions as evidenced by the examples in Table 7.

(a)	{ca}	{tzàtzi}			's/he is crying'
	{ASS}	{cry}			
(b)	{ca}	{tzàtzi}	{in}	{pil}-{li}	'the/a child is crying'
	{ASS}	{cry}	{DET}	{child}-{ABS}	
(c)	{in}	{tzàtzi}	{ca}	{pil}-{li}	'the crying is (done by) a child'
	{DET}	{cry}	{ASS}	{child}-{ABS}	

Table 7: Topic construction (LAUNEY 1981, 31)

The verbal predicate *tzàtzi* 'cry' can be made the topic of a construction by depredicativisation (= (c)). It is preceded by *in* and thus demoted from predicate status while the noun *pilli* 'child' is promoted from argument to predicate status because it is no longer accompanied by *in*. In addition to Table 7, the "sentence" $\{ca\}\# \{pil\}\text{-}\{li\}$ 'it is a child' is admissible whereas $\ast\{ca\}\#\{in\}\#\{pil\}\text{-}\{li\}$ 'it is the/a child' and $\ast\{ca\}\#\{in\}\#\{tzàtzi\}$ 'the/a crier(?)' are not.

If definiteness is at issue in pragmatically marked contexts, a different construction is called for. Definiteness of a topicalised/focussed constituent requires the use of the so-called emphatic pronouns which form separate predications, cf. *yèhuātl* '(it is/as to) him (= topicalised/focussed *he*)' in (E3).

(E3) Definite focus (LAUNEY 1981, 45)

{ca}	{yè}-{huā}-{tl}	{in}	{tzàtzi}#	{{in}}	{pil}-{li}
ASS	3-PRO-ABS	DET	cry	DET	child-ABS
'it is the child who is crying'					

Again, the co-occurrence of *ca* and *in* is prohibited. $\{ca\}\#\{yè\}\text{-}\{huā\}\text{-}\{tl\}\#$ 'it's him/her' is admissible, whereas $\ast\{ca\}\#\{in\}\#\{yè\}\text{-}\{huā\}\text{-}\{tl\}\#$ 'it's him/her' is ungrammatical.

Therefore, *ca* and *in* occupy identical slots and their co-occurrence with one and the same content word is blocked. This restriction can be interpreted in the following way: if *in* is a depredicativiser and cannot be combined with *ca*, *ca* in turn may have the function of a de-argumentiviser/de-attributiviser.

As mentioned above, Classical Aztec lacks a distinct word-class of adjectives. Qualities are ascribed either via verbal or nominal predicates. For convenience, I call these predicates nominal and verbal attributes. Table 8 contains an assortment of nominal attributes.

{in}	{cual}-{li}	{tlāca}-{tl}	‘the/a good person’
DET	good_one-ABS	man-ABS	
{in}	{it}-{ê}	{tlāca}-{tl}	‘the/a fat person’
DET	belly-PROPRIETOR	man-ABS	
{in}	{te}-{yô}	{ô}-{tli}	‘the/a stony road’
DET	stone-PROPRIETOR	road-ABS	

Table 8: Nominal attributes (LAUNEY 1981, 109)

These attributive constructions can easily be turned into predications. A construction like $\{ca\}\# \{cual\}\text{-}\{li\}\# \{in\}\# \{tlāca\}\text{-}\{tl\}$ ‘the man is good’ is as grammatical as $\{ca\}\# \{n\}\text{-}\{it}\text{-}\{ê\}\#$ ‘I am fat (= I am bellied)’. If reference is made to persons other than the 3rd singular, both content words are inflected for person and number: $\{ti\}\text{-}\{cual\}\text{-}\{li\}\# \{in\}\# \{ti\}\text{-}\{tlāca\}\text{-}\{tl\}$ ‘you are a good man’ or $\{an\}\text{-}\{cual\}\text{-}\{tin\}\# \{in\}\# \{an\}\text{-}\{tlāca\}\text{-}\{tl\}$ ‘you (PL) are good men’ (LAUNEY 1981, 303). LAUNEY (2004, 61-2) uses the term co-indexation to label constructions of this kind.

Verbal attributes are presented in Table 9. In all cases, we are confronted with regular verb forms of the perfect marked by the so-called participle affix $\text{-}\{c\}\text{-}$ or its allomorphs.

{in}	{mic}-{qui}	{in}	{tlāca}-{tl}	‘the/a dead man’
DET	die-PERF	DET	man-ABS	
{in}	{chicāhua}-{c}	{in}	{tlāca}-{tl}	‘the/a strong man’
DET	become.strong-PERF	DET	man-ABS	
{in}	{cuauh}-{ti}-{c}	{in}	{tlāca}-{tl}	‘the/a tall man’
DET	tree-INCH-PERF	DET	man-ABS	

Table 9: Verbal attributes (LAUNEY 1981, 110-111)

If we drop the leftmost *in* (and optionally replace it with the assertive particle), we get perfectly well-formed “sentences” with a verbal predicate, namely $\{ca\}\# \{mic\}\text{-}\{qui\}\# \{in\}\# \{tlāca\}\text{-}\{tl\}$ ‘the/a man has died’, $\{ca\}\# \{chicāhua\}\text{-}\{c\}\# \{in\}\# \{tlāca\}\text{-}\{tl\}$ ‘the/a man has become strong’ and $\{ca\}\# \{cuauh\}\text{-}\{ti}\text{-}\{c\}\# \{in\}\# \{tlāca\}\text{-}\{tl\}$ ‘the/a man has become tall’, i.e. these are instances of resul-

tative perfects. In a way, $\{in\}\# \{cuauh\}-\{ti\}-\{c\}\# (\{in\})\# \{tlāca\}-\{tl\}$ translates more literally as ‘the man (is one who) has become like a tree’.

Nominal and verbal attributes fail to fulfil a syntactic requirement for being classified as secondary predicates because the syntactic organisation of utterances into more basic clausal units is often indicative of equal hierarchical ranks of the various predicates involved. Both content words have to be de-predicativised by *in* (the second *in* being optional). The linear order in which the depredicativised units occur is by no means strict and the examples in Tables 8-9 may be inverted without creating ungrammatical structures (LAUNEY 1981, 302).

On the basis of the above description, consider the following examples (E4)-(E7), which LAUNEY (1981, 307) compares to typical secondary predicates with participant orientation in French. In the translations, “secondary” predicates and the participants to which they relate are indexed by lower case _i.

(E4) Agent-oriented

cocōx-qui in tlāl-ti-cpac quīza-z
 be.ill-PERF DET earth-LIG-on come.out-FUT
 ‘He_i will appear on earth (as a) sick_i (being).’
 [French: ‘Il viendra (= sortira) au monde malade.’]

(E5) Patient-oriented

cecē-c in m-ī-z in pà-tli
 be.cold-PERF DET REFL-drink-FUT DET medicine-ABS
 ‘The medicine_i will be drunk cold_i.’
 [French: ‘Le médicament se boira froid.’]

(E6) Patient-oriented

totōn-qui in xi-c-cua in mo-tlaxcal
 be.hot-PERF DET IMP-OBJ3.DEF-eat DET POR.2SG-tortilla
 ‘Eat your tortilla_i (while it is still) hot_i.’
 [French: ‘Mange ta tortilla chaude.’]

(E7) Resultative

tlātoā-ni ō-qui-tlāli-qu-ê
 speak-EVENT ANT-OBJ3.DEF-install-PERF-PL
 ‘They made him_i king_i.’
 [French: ‘Ils l’ont installé comme roi.’]

Superficially, these examples come relatively close to what we would identify as secondary predication. In (E4)-(E7), there is always a candidate for a predication to which a participant associates which is represented by a pronominal affix on the verb (including {Ø}) and/or by a lexical noun. However, on closer inspec-

tion, (E4)-(E7) do not meet our expectations because in these examples it is the supposed “secondary” predicate that serves as main predication: *cocōxqui* ‘he is ill’, *cecēc* ‘it is cold’ and *totōnqui* ‘it is hot’ differ from the remainder of the utterances in which they occur in so far as they are the only units which are not explicitly depredicativised. In addition, they occupy the leftmost position and thus conform with the verb-first word order principles of Classical Aztec. The other content words in the same examples behave like arguments of these main predicates as they are depredicativised by *in*. Note that in (E5)-(E6), *in* occurs twice: the first *in* depredicativises the verbal predicate and the second *in* the nominal predicate. (E7) is exceptional as there is no overt depredicativisation of the verbal predicate – but, as mentioned above, *in* is optional (though far less often than *ca*) and thus we may assume that the presence of the so-called determiner *in* between the two content words would not render the utterance ungrammatical. The combination of *in* with the leftmost predicate in the above examples, however, is ruled out. Pragmatically, the leftmost content words in (E4)-(E7) have properties of focussed elements.

The problems arising out of the internal hierarchy of Classical Aztec utterances is reflected in (E8). The English translation consists of two co-ordinated clauses including adverbials. I split the original text into several smaller units which may be considered autonomous. Each of these is translated separately into English.

(E8) Codex Florentinus, XII, 22 (= LAUNEY 1979, 364)

- a. *auh in īn-tzontecon ic quimilihui*
and DET POR.3PL-skull with be.wrapped
‘and their skulls what they are wrapped in’
- b. *zan nō yê in ichca-huīpil-li*
only also PRO.3SG DET cotton-blouse-ABS
‘it is just the same as the cotton blouse’
- c. *Thuān īn-què-quetzal īm-icpa-c*
and POR.3PL-REDUPL-feather POR.3PL-seat-LOC
‘and their (various) feathers (are) on them’
- d. *c-on-què-quetz-tihui-^*
OBJ.3.DEF-DIR-REDUPL-erect-ITIVE-PL
‘they go erecting it’

- e. *xè-xeliuh-tiuh* *mò-moyāhua-tiuh*
 REDUPL-be.split-ITIVE REDUPL-disperse-ITIVE
 ‘it goes split, it goes dispersed’

‘And their heads are wrapped in the same cotton material and they put their feathers on them – each feather separately.’

The most relevant part of this example is the description of how the feathers used as adornments are distributed over the clothes of their carriers. This description extends over the lines (c)-(e). In (c), the general location of the feathers is indicated – the many various feathers (*īnquèquetzal*)⁶ are on (*īmicpac*) their carriers – whereas in (d) the subjects (= the warriors mentioned in the previous context) are depicted as “erecting” something, i.e. they put the feathers onto their clothes in such a way that the feathers stand up straight. This temporary property of being in a vertical/orthogonal position to a base is expressed by the verb *quetza* ‘be erect’ (made transitive) which is etymologically connected to the noun *quetzalli* ‘feather’ (lit. ‘the one that is made erect’). We now know that the feathers have a certain position specified by the first verbal predicate. This first verbal predicate is immediately followed by two further verbal predicates whose task it is to convey more information about the feathers:⁷ *xèxeliuhtih* ‘it goes split’ and *mòmoyāhuatiuh* ‘it goes dispersed’ refer to the relative proximity of the various feathers to each other. They are not available in bunches but as single feathers, and they are attached to the clothes leaving spaces between the feathers.

The chain of predicates in this passage attests to a rather shallow hierarchy, if at all. The verb forms are all self-sufficient potential “sentences” and could easily pass as instances of primary predications. There is no formal means of subordination: neither do we find subordinators such as conjunctions, nor does Classical Aztec employ a specialised mood to single out subordinated predica-

6 Plural marking is restricted to expressions referring to human or animate beings. Inanimate nouns such as *quetzalli* ‘feather’ are normally transnumeral (though formally singular). That is why the finite verb forms in the remainder of this passage either carry the definite object marker of the 3rd person singular or are verbs with a 3rd person singular subject. The subject of the transitive verb *conquèquetzihui* ‘they go erecting it’ thus can only refer to animate agents mentioned elsewhere in the text. There is, however, one possibility to encode dispersive plural (= ‘many various individuals of class X’) on inanimate nouns, namely through partial reduplication as in *īnquèquetzal* (in lieu of simple *īnquetzal*) (LAUNEY 1981, 267).

7 The chaining effect of clauses is typical of Amerindian discourse strategies which prefer structures with one lexically realised participant per clause at the most (= “Chafe’s principle”). Further participants are introduced separately in subsequent clauses which often contain identical or (partially) synonymous main predicates – sometimes with different valency or orientation (MITHUN 2004, 261).

tions.⁸ Perhaps the only aspect of dependence is linear order, although it is not inconceivable for the three verbal predicates to be combined differently. Even if there are constraints on the order in which predicates may form a chain, one thing is clear, namely the difficulty of ascribing an overarching sentence structure to (E8). It is the English translation alone which suggests sentence structure – Classical Aztec however suggests a juxtaposition of clauses.

This is not to deny the possibility that there is structure beyond the clause level in Classical Aztec. However, more complex supra-clausal constructions are not always the preferred option, as demonstrated by (E8). If there is a way to avoid syntactic complexity, Classical Aztec tends to opt for this solution. This renders the “secondary” predication of the depictive type difficult, as the participant-oriented predications of Aztec form syntactically autonomous units and remain external to the clauses in which their controller occurs. Only where de-predicativisation applies do we have a degree of syntactic complexity that provides the necessary structures for secondary predication to arise. However, as demonstrated above, even in these cases, Classical Aztec is special because the “secondary” predicates are formally identical to their “primary” counterparts and to those expressions representing the participants to which the potential depictive is oriented. Moreover, putative “secondary” predicates often turn out to be primary predicates. All these aspects make Classical Aztec stand out among the many languages world-wide for which secondary predication has been described in a relatively homogeneous way so far.

2.3 Composition and incorporation

The survey of participant-oriented predications has revealed that Classical Aztec is unlikely to have proper depictives. Combinations of syntactic words are obviously multi-clausal chains and thus at best allow deviant forms of secondary predication. There are, however, other ways of predicating additional information about participants of an event. What about the event itself? Recall that there is no class of adverbs in Classical Aztec. This absence of a dedicated word-class is, of course, no obstacle for the existence of adverbials. However, in the light of the above discussion, there are good grounds for being sceptical about the probability of identifying adverbials in the strict sense because we have already cast

8 This statement refers exclusively to the sample sentence. Classical Aztec has morphemes which resemble conjunctions (= relational nouns) and there is a special irrealis mood. In addition, the future tense is employed for purposive and purpose clauses (LAUNEY 1981, 211 and 320). However, these grammatical means are not resorted to when the distinction between primary and secondary is at issue.

doubt on supra-clausal syntax in Classical Aztec. For adverbials to be there, clauses with slots for them are a syntactic prerequisite. If clauses syntactically tend to consist preferably of only one content word (plus particles), the probability of adverbials existing diminishes because the “adverbial” would have to contain at least one content word – and thus form a new clause of its own.

What does Classical Aztec do about this? The magic formula is incorporation and/or compounding (LAUNEY 2002). For the present purpose, so-called verb-verb compounding/incorporation is the most relevant strategy. Two lexical morphemes of verbs are joined together by the interfix (or participial suffix) *-{cā}*- (LAUNEY 1981, 261). The final verb represents the main predication, while the internal verb has a modifying function. (E9) contains the verb *melāhua* ‘to make go straight’ as first member of the compound and the verb *caqui* ‘to hear’ as the second member, whose grammatical properties (transitivity, subject person, etc.) are valid for the entire compound, too. Note, however, that the indefinite non-human object prefix *{tla}*- is the obligatory morphological reflex of the transitivity of the incorporated verb.

(E9) “Adverbial” (LAUNEY 1981, 261)

ni-mitz-tla-melāuh-cā-caqui

1SG-OBJ.2SG-OBJ.INDF.NONHUM-make.go.straight-LIG-hear

‘I understand you well.’ (lit. ‘I hear you in a straight manner.’)

The internal verbal element is event-oriented in the sense that it qualifies the way in which the perceptive action of hearing is carried out. *Melāhua* fulfils the task of the adverb/adverbial of the English translation. LAUNEY (1981, 261) states that it is hard to formulate any restrictions on the combinations of verbs in this kind of compound. In a way, both slots may be filled freely by any verb unless the combination is semantically contradictory.

In addition to the event-oriented functions of verb-verb compounds, there are numerous cases which involve participant-orientation based on the same kind of *cā*-compounding. The examples (E10)-(E11) instantiate what LAUNEY (1981, 261) terms subject-orientation and object-orientation.

(E10) Subject orientation

ō-māuh-cā-mic

ANT-be.terrified-LIG-die.PERF

‘He died in a state of shock.’

(E11) Object orientation

Ni-c-xeliuh-cā-cua in no-tlaxcal

1SG-OBJ3.DEF-be.split-LIG-eat DET POR.1SG-tortilla

‘I eat my tortilla piece by piece.’

In (E10), the incorporated verb *māhui* ‘to be terrified’ predicates over the undergoer-subject, viz. the one who died. In (E11), it is the patient (= the tortilla) which is more narrowly described by the incorporated *xelihui* ‘to be split’. The same kind of incorporation strategy may also be used for resultatives. Compare (E12) to (E7) above.

(E12) Resultative (LAUNEY 1981, 261)

ō-qui-tlātò-cā-tlāli-qu-ê

ANT-OBJ3.DEF-speak-LIG-install-PERF-PL

‘They made him king.’ (lit. ‘They made him speak.’)

In (E7), the semantically-based resultative comes in the shape of the so-called eventualis *tlātoāni* ‘one who habitually speaks (= king)’ whereas in (E12), the verb *tlātoa* ‘to speak’ is incorporated in its truncated form. The incorporated *-{tlātò}-* predicates something over the referent of the object prefix *{qui}*.

Besides this pattern, there is another one which appears to be much more restrictive as to the combinations of lexical morphemes it allows. One may say that one of the morphological slots contains more strongly grammaticalised verbs, which LAUNEY (1981, 254) classifies as auxiliaries. The lexical verb and the auxiliary are joined by the interfix *-{ti}-*. There are auxiliaries which specify the bodily posture of the agent during the event described by the lexical verb. These positionals are usually associated with various aktionsarten (durative, progressive, habitual, etc.) in the domain of the imperfective aspect. In addition to the positionally neutral *cā* ‘to be doing’, the paradigm of positionals comprises the auxiliaries *īcac* ‘to do something while standing’ and *oc* ‘to do something while lying’, cf. (E13)-(E14) (LAUNEY 1981, 255). As in (E4)-(E7), the “primary” predicate is subordinated to the supposed “secondary” one in these examples.

(E13) Standing

cuīca-t(i)-īcac-â

in pī-pil-to-tōn-tin

sing-LIG-be.standing-PL DET REDUPL-child-REDUPL-DIM-PL

‘The little children are singing in a standing position.’

(E14) Lying

coch-t-oc

in chan-ê

sleep-LIG-be.lying DET place-PROPRIETOR

‘The landlord is sleeping (stretched out).’

Furthermore, there are several auxiliaries which are derived from verbs of movement. Their functional range corresponds to phasal verbs such as *tēca* ‘to lie down’ and *tlālia* ‘to sit down/up’ which mark inchoative and ingressive aktionsarten (LAUNEY 1981, 158). In contrast to the above positionals, these auxil-

iaries display a much higher degree of grammaticalisation which is reflected by the semantic dissociation from the meaning of the non-auxiliary: the auxiliary does not necessarily describe a lying or sitting position of the agent. Two auxiliaries have acquired the meaning of ‘to do something very quickly’ which corresponds to a grammatical celerative, namely *huetzi* ‘to fall down’ and *quīza* ‘to leave’, cf. (E15)–(E16) (LAUNEY 1981, 257).

(E15) Celerative I

ni-tla-(i)cuilò-ti-huetzi
 1SG-OBJ.INDF.NONHUM-write-LIG-fall
 ‘I am writing quickly.’

(E16) Celerative II

ō-qui-chīuh-ti-quīz
 ANT-OBJ3.DEF-make-LIG-leave.PERF
 ‘He did it very quickly.’

These auxiliaries likewise deviate from the semantics of their source lexemes. In addition, they predicate something over the event. As a matter of fact, this event-orientation is achieved via a metonymic re-interpretation of a former participant orientation. Example (E16), for instance, could also read as ‘he did it and then left’ (LAUNEY 1981, 257). The quick succession of the two sub-events of doing something and walking away (after completion of sub-event I) implies the idea that something is done quickly.

Without pursuing this issue further, we understand that secondary predication is closely linked to primary predication as they occur alongside each other in one and the same word form. Secondary and primary predication are integrated and largely a matter of word grammar (in lieu of sentence structure). Therefore, it would be too far-fetched to conceive of Classical Aztec as a language completely devoid of secondary predication. However, secondary predication obeys highly specific rules in Classical Aztec which render the language an outsider in comparison to the paradigm cases of secondary predication.

3. Conclusions

Classical Aztec is a challenge to all attempts to universalise the more familiar patterns of secondary predication. As the above has shown, there are strategies that allow the combination of two (sometimes even more) predicative units. In the realm of syntax, however, these possibilities are severely restricted and involve the mechanism of de-predicativisation. If de-predicativisation is avoided, the principles of omnipredicativity make it practically impossible to impose a

hierarchy on predications – and formal means with which to distinguish primary from secondary predications are largely absent. Classical Aztec syntax is predominantly clause-based, and clauses revolve around one content word. Chains of content words without intervening de-predicativisers constitute chains of syntactically independent predications of equal rank. What translates into English as distinct primary and secondary predicates included in one English clause/sentence, are sequences of self-sufficient units. The only link which ties the members of these chains to each other is of a purely semantic nature, as they modify one another or are co-referential in the sense that they share the same participant(s). Those constructions in which the secondary predicate of the English version translates the primary predicate of the Classical Aztec original are false friends. These problems notwithstanding, Classical Aztec incorporation and compounding opens major possibilities for the asymmetrical combination of predicative elements in one word. One of the two verbal morphemes resembles typical secondary predicates in, say, English as it predicates something additional over either a participant or the event itself. What makes these word-based constructions especially interesting is the fact that in the case of *cā*-compounding, the candidate for the status of secondary predicate is the incorporated verb, whereas for *ti*-incorporation the word-final auxiliary provides the information normally associated with secondary predicates. In other words, even where there is a structural hierarchy as within word grammar such that head and modifier may be distinguishable, the role of “secondary” predicate is by no means reserved for only one of the two components. In sum, the distinction of primary and secondary predication is only rather weak at best in Classical Aztec.

This raises several questions. First of all, one might want to know whether Classical Aztec is a typological loner in the sense that omnipredicativity and related properties are unique to this particular language. A detailed survey of other polysynthetic and incorporating languages would be helpful in this regard. One might also ask whether these traits of the classical language have survived into modern times. Do the varieties spoken today preserve the egalitarian syntax of Classical Aztec, or have they departed from this state of affairs? If it turns out that the successors of Classical Aztec nowadays distinguish different kinds of predications, was it Spanish, with its “European” system of secondary predication, that contributed to this development? If the possibility of contact-induced typological change is discussed, one has to consider the areal aspects (STOLZ & STOLZ 2001) at work in the realm of secondary predication, as demonstrated by BOEDER & SCHROEDER (1998). Before we can set out to answer these and similar questions, we still have to invest more time and energy in a large-scale, in-depth analysis of the extant material in order to determine whether or not the above analysis can stand the test at all. Only if my interpretation of the facts is corrob-

rated by a thorough cross-check on a much richer empirical basis will it also have a bearing on the general linguistic theory of (secondary) predication.

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Secondary predication and the instrumental case in Russian

1. Introduction

Sentences with two constituents in predicative function that are predicated of one and the same constituent, as in

(1) Ann came home angry

occur in many languages. The phenomenon in English is called *secondary predication*. The intuitive understanding of (1) seems clear, but already in English it is not clear which phenomena should be called secondary predication in general, e.g. is *on the train* in *I ate an ice-cream on the train* a secondary predicate or an adverb? If it is the latter, then how does it differ to (1)? Things get even more difficult when other languages employ one systematic device to mark both cases similar to (1) and other phenomena absent in English.

This paper examines the relation between secondary predication and the use of the instrumental case in Russian. English will be used to define core properties which seem to be important for secondary predication. Compared with English, the treatment of Russian data will suggest that entities other than subject and object could be the subjects of secondary predicates, and that the semantics of secondary predication is more varied.

The paper reports on the results of an investigation with the theoretical aim to expand the bounds of the phenomenon of secondary predication both in Russian and in general. Viewed pragmatically, the aim is to discover as many uses as possible of the instrumental case which are similar to typical secondary predication.

The detailed results of the investigation have already been presented in a series of papers (cf. DEMJANOW & STRIGIN 2000, DEMJANOW & STRIGIN 2001, DEMJANOW & STRIGIN 2003, STRIGIN 2004, STRIGIN & DEMJANOW 2001). The presentation here will be fairly informal. The theoretical part of the investigation was motivated by two conjectures: the first one by Roman JAKOBSON (1936 [1984]), who claims that the Russian instrumental is a default case for the periphery of the situation referred to in the utterance, the second one by PEŠKOVSKIJ (1956), who posits that the interpretation of a constituent marked by instrumental is largely determined by our world knowledge.

The first section of this paper introduces some aspects of secondary predication in Russian. The second sketches some components of the analysis developed along the lines of the two hypotheses. The third discusses the possible extent of generalization which might be achieved. The conclusion discusses our approach in general, some of its difficulties and its relevance to typological research.

2. Secondary predication in English and Russian

Part of the phenomenon which later came to be known as secondary predication in English was described in 1924 by Jespersen as a nexus-object (JESPERSEN 1963, 122). Jespersen describes a nexus as the relation covering, e.g., the two terms *the dog* and *barks* in *the dog barks*, but also the terms *the cage* and *empty* in *I found the cage empty*. The predicate-part of the nexus may be any word or group that can be a predicative after the verb *to be*. Jespersen insists moreover that the nexus-object is the whole phrase *the cage empty*, i.e. it is an object containing a nexus.

His argument runs like this (though not quite in these words): if we accept that *the cage* is an object, then by analogy the inferences from (a) to (b) in (2) and (3) would be expected to go through, probably because the putative logical form of e.g. (2a) could be represented in quasi-logical notation as *I found (Fanny) & ¬at home (Fanny)*, from which *I found (Fanny)* should follow.

- (2) a. I found Fanny gone
- b. I found Fanny
- (3) a. I found Fanny not at home
- b. I found Fanny

This is not the case, however. On the other hand, if we assume *Fanny gone* to be an object, the inference is blocked. By viewing secondary predication as a clause-defining nexus relation, Jespersen thus proposed a syntactic structure which was later reintroduced under the name of 'small-clause analysis' of depictives and resultatives (HOEKSTRA 1988).

To sum up Jespersen's hypothesis: a secondary predicate is a predicate embedded in a clause that is conjoined with the clause containing the primary predicate.

The analysis of secondary predication in Russian adopted in this paper is described in detail in the next section. Following Jespersen, it assumes a small-clause analysis as modified in the treatments by BOWERS (1993); BOWERS (1997); BOWERS (2001) and BAILYN (1995); BAILYN (2001); BAILYN & CITKO (1999). Under this analysis a secondary predicate is an ordinary, potentially

predicable constituent packaged into a clausal constituent but without temporal information. The clausal constituent is an adjunct to the clause with the main predicate.

Possibly the smallest set of properties defining secondary predications (SP) in English seems to be the following:

Core properties of SP (following Jespersen)

1. In addition to a finite verb in a finite clause there is at least one constituent which is able to occur as the predicate of a copula sentence;
2. a SP serves as a semantic predicate of one of the constituents in the clause, although there is no explicit copula present which codes this relation, and therefore it is unmarked for tense and/or aspect;
3. the group consisting of this predicate and the subject it is predicated of has roughly the semantics of a clause;
4. the basic semantic structure of a sentence with secondary predication is some sort of conjunction of the matrix clause and a secondary predicate clause – perhaps with some additions.

NICHOLS (1978), whose analysis of Russian secondary predication was the first in the generative framework, distinguishes four groups of secondary predicates in English¹ and Russian. The four groups are illustrated below. The examples are Nichols'.

Type 1

- (4) a. He works *as an engineer*.
b. They elected him *president*.
c. Rocks serve them *as support*.
d. He played *goalkeeper*.

Type 2

- (5) a. He sat there *sad*.
b. He returned *a hero*.

Type 3

- (6) a. First they weigh the truck *empty*.
b. He drank the tea *cold*.

1 Nichols acknowledges that these groups also have other names, including "types of nexus".

Type 4

- (7) a. *As a child* he lived in Paris.
b. This tea isn't good *cold*.

The groups are not homogeneous: the first three types seem to possess the core properties. The inclusion of (4a, 4c, 7a) disregards the particle *as*, but Nichols considers it to be just a morphological expression of secondary predication, which can also be left morphologically unexpressed. More importantly, note that (7a) is not a simple conjunction. Consider its truth conditions. Whatever the interval at which the conjunction is true, both its conjuncts must be true at this interval, too. If we take the interval at which the primary predicate is true, the secondary predicate must be true at this interval, too. If the speaker in (7b) was drinking tea, and for some time the tea was not cold, then (6a) is false. Not so in (7a): the subject might have lived in Paris only for a short period, and not during his whole childhood. In other words we will need some additional computation over and above the conjunction. Nichols considers all four types a syntactically uniform phenomenon:

"All the examples given would be derived . . . from structures in which the main verb and the secondary predicate appeared in separate clauses, each as a predicate of its own clause. . ."

Apart from these four types, Nichols also mentions separately the type usually termed "resultative secondary predication":

- (8) wash it clean

This type differs intuitively in that the state which is described by the secondary predicate comes about as a result of the change in the state of the subject of the predication. This change is associated with the process denoted by the finite verb. In a similar way to Type 4, this is no longer a standard conjunction. But if we try to extend the term to cover Type 4, we can try to include resultatives in SP, too.

Now what about Russian? The examples below are again Nichols'.

Type 1

- (9) a. Он работает инженером
he works engineer:INS
'He works as an engineer.'
b. Его выбрали президентом
he:ACC elected:3PL president:INS
'They elected him president.'

- c. Камни им служат опорой
rocks they:DAT serve support:INS
'Rocks serve them as support.'
- d. Он играл вратарем
he played goalkeeper:INS
'He played goalkeeper.'

Type 2

- (10) a. Он сидел грустный
he:NOM sat sad:NOM
'He sat there sad.'
- b. Он вернулся героем
he returned hero:INS
'He returned a hero.'

Type 3

- (11) a. Сначала машину взвешивают пустую
first truck:ACC weigh empty:ACC
'First they weigh the truck empty.'
- b. Он выпил чай холодным
he drank.up the tea:ACC cold:INS
'He drank the tea cold.'

Type 4

- (12) a. Ребенком он жил в Париже
child:INS he lived in Paris
'As a child he lived in Paris.'
- b. Холодным этот чай не вкусный
cold:INS this tea:NOM not tasty:NOM
'This tea isn't good cold.'

So far we find more or less the same core properties in the four types. The examples show that in Russian secondary predicates are usually in the instrumental case.² This morphological marking of the secondary predicate constitutes a major

2 Secondary adjectival predicates of subjects may occur in the nominative, secondary adjectival predicates of objects may occur in the accusative, cf.

Он выпил чай сонный/сонным
he drank the tea-ACC sleepy-NOM/INS
'He drank up the tea sleepy.'

challenge for an analysis of Russian secondary predication, because, as is well known, Russian instrumental has quite a number of uses which do not necessarily have a secondary predicate counterpart in English. Consider (13) from JAKOBSON (1936/1984), where only (13a) has a SP counterpart in English.

- (13) a. Он ел *ребёнком* икру
 he ate *child:INS* caviar
 'He ate caviar *as a child.*'
- b. Он ел *пудами* икру
 he ate *pood:INS* caviar
 'He ate caviar *by the pood.*'³
- c. Он ел *ложкой* икру
 he ate *spoon:INS* caviar
 'He ate caviar *with a spoon.*'
- d. Он ел *дорогой* икру
 he ate *road:INS* caviar
 'He ate caviar *on the way.*'
- e. Он ел *утром* икру
 he ate *morning:INS* caviar
 'He ate caviar *in the morning.*'
- f. Он ел *грешным делом* икру
 he ate *sinful:INS* *matter:INS* caviar
 'He ate caviar, *I am sorry to say.*'

Evidently the semantic relations between the NP in the instrumental and the rest of the sentence are not uniform in (13). The core properties would classify (13a) as a secondary predication, but not (13f), which definitely classifies eating caviar itself, and not the eater, as a sinful matter so the notion of predication here seems to be rather different. And there are more uses of the instrumental which are arguably different from the core cases. WIERZBICKA (1980), for instance, enumerates seventeen uses of the instrumental case in Russian, of which those in (14) will be discussed below.

Сначала машину взвешивают пустую/пустой
 first the truck-ACC weigh empty-ACC/INS
 'First they weigh the truck empty.'

The congruent case is called case agreement. The factors governing case agreement are not as yet clear. Congruent case is impossible for nouns as SPs in present-day Russian.

3 Approx. 36 lbs.

- (14) a. Иван ударил Петра палкой
 Ivan hit Peter stick:INS
 'Ivan hit Peter *with a stick*.'
- b. Ивана убило деревом
 Ivan:ACC killed tree:INS
 'Ivan was killed *by a tree*.'
- c. Он приехал автомашиной
 he arrived car:INS
 'He arrived *by car*.'

Wierzbicka speaks of different meanings of the predicative NPs. Should we believe that being a secondary predicate is then just one meaning of the instrumental case in Russian, alongside with a number of other meanings?

The treatment of the instrumental case in Russian in this paper takes a different line. It posits a very general formal meaning of the instrumental and considers ways in which this meaning can be made more specific in a given context using both our grammar and our world knowledge. This approach is not entirely new, and similar suggestions have already been made, as we shall see in the next section, though not clearly implemented.

3. Basic syntax and semantics

The basic syntax and semantics provide a specific implementation of the core properties of secondary predicates.

Free Russian instrumental as a mark of a secondary predicate

This paper assumes the syntactic clause structures adopted for Russian in earlier studies like STRIGIN & DEMJANOW (2001) following BAILYN (1995); BAILYN (2001); BAILYN & CITKO (1999); BOWERS (1997); BOWERS (2001) for all Russian examples cited below. The approach sets out from the assumption that all sentences contain a special Predicative Phrase constituent (PrP). A secondary predication introduces an additional predicative constituent as an adjunct (i.e. as a freely disposable syntactic element). Within a sentence its subject and predicate are selected by a functional head, which is just a way of saying that some temporal, aspectual and modal information is available for the primary predicate, whereas the basic structure of a secondary predicate is just composed of a subject and a predicate, without such information:

- (15) a. [_{FC} NP¹ [_{FC} FC [_{PrP} NP¹ [_{Pr} Pr {VP|NP|AP|PP}]]]]]
 b. [_{PrP} NP [_{Pr} Pr {NP|AP|PP}]]

Now let us assume that this is the unique structure underlying all the cited uses of the instrumental. An obvious question would then be: "If this is the case, then where do all the different semantic relations come from?" This question highlights the major difficulty in the semantic analysis of the adjuncts in the instrumental. The number of possible different meanings of such adjuncts with an NP in the instrumental is vast, and we do not want to ascribe a specific meaning to each individual NP in the instrumental, thereby unintentionally creating an extreme noun polysemy in every context. The endeavor to assign some kind of meaning to the instrumental case, similar to meaning complexes that are sometimes assigned to prepositions, simply shifts the problem of extreme polysemy to this new case meaning. To accept the catalogue of WIERZBICKA (1980), for instance, would yield seventeen very general meanings of the instrumental case for every secondary predicate, since even typical depictive SP are in the instrumental in Russian.

In the series of papers by Demjjanow and Strigin mentioned above this problem of interpretation was treated as a part of the broader problem of how to construct meanings in context. According to these authors the meanings of free adjuncts in the instrumental are constructed from different ingredients present in the context of their interpretation; they are constrained by various kinds of grammatical, pragmatic and encyclopaedic knowledge. This "meaning construction" makes use of an inferential abduction mechanism, i.e. hypothetical reasoning.

An interesting hypothesis proposed by Roman Jakobson may serve as a first step in this direction. It suggests that in Russian, the meaning of the instrumental arises partly through its opposition to other morphologically expressed cases, and partly from the interaction with the context. To quote JAKOBSON (1936 [1984], pp. 82, 78)

"The I<nstrumental> itself denotes nothing more than peripheral status; it occupies the same position among the peripheral cases that the Nominative does among the full cases: that of the unmarked category. ... Everything other than peripheral status is given in individual uses of the I by the actual meaning of its referent and by the context, but not by the case form."

"... what is specific to the peripheral cases is not that they indicate the presence of two points in the utterance, but only that they render one peripheral with respect to the other. ... [the peripheral point] could be omitted without impairment to the central one, as is the effect of the peripheral cases."

This can be understood in the following way: partition the situation into the core semantic relations and the peripheral. If there is no specific realization of a peripheral relation, we use the instrumental case as a formal marker and leave it to the hearer to compute the exact nuance intended. A similar idea concerning the uses of instrumental is implicit in the work of one of the most interesting Russian linguists of the early 20th century Alexandr Matveevič Peškovskij (PEŠKOVSKIJ 1956). Discussing different shades of use of the instrumental which he termed semi-predicative (as in (10a)), he writes: “These shades of meaning, as it seems, depend solely on the material side of the speech...” (p. 244, Ch. XI, §7). From the subsequent discussion it is clear that this material side of speech is constituted by general knowledge compatible with the context.

Taking these suggestions as a guideline, it follows

- that in Russian an NP in the instrumental case is a (secondary) predicate by default;
- that in Russian the case form associated with the predicate of a free predicative phrase is the instrumental case;
- that a free adjunct predication relation reminds us that we speak of a certain detachable part of situation which constitutes a certain kind of periphery (which approximates to an explication of Jakobson’s notion of periphery, if one is interested in pursuing this line).

Not all uses of the instrumental can easily be analyzed on the basis of these assumptions. The most recalcitrant candidates are real instrumental phrases such as *топором* in *рубить топором* ‘cut with <an> axe’, discussed below, and cases of case congruence, both in secondary and in primary predicates. For a tentative explanation of the latter see BAILY (2001, 2002).

The core meaning of a secondary predicate

To deal with the second part – that of isolating the core meaning and determining its contextual extensions – some agreement on the nature of semantic structures is needed.

Let us assume that sentences denote situations. A situation, as the term is understood here, is a device to structure and convey information about the world. Situations contain eventualities (events or states) and the actors of the latter (referents), which stand in various thematic relations (semantic roles) to the eventualities. We now assume this information to be contained in a representational structure which we may call a *situation scheme*. A situation scheme is the basis of the semantic structure associated with a sentence.

An interesting basic theory of secondary predication semantics was put forward by ROTHSTEIN (2001b; 2003). According to this approach, secondary predicates provide their own partial description of a situation, introducing a new eventuality and a new actor – a dummy entity – which stands in an unspecified semantic relation to the first eventuality and of which the NP or AP in the instrumental is predicated. This extension lacks the anchors which would allow it to be considered as classifying a situation independently of the situation scheme of the primary situation, as in the case of standard conjunction or disjunction. It should therefore be placed in some relation with the primary eventuality of the situation from which these anchors can be computed. The relation itself has to be plausibly computed in the context of the utterance, too. The computation consists of using the situation scheme of the primary situation (i.e. eventualities and actors) to provide underspecified information pieces for the eventuality of the secondary predicate, including the identity of the dummy referent. The two events are integrated in a complex eventuality. Such a combination of events – their sum – is equivalent to a conjunction in many cases, if its temporal information is appropriately specified. The basic meaning of the Russian instrumental thus consists in adding a new part of the situation scheme with a new ‘dummy’ actor and a predicate to it – a periphery scheme.

Basic computable SP relations in Russian

Two kinds of relations can be computed for the new eventuality. One kind are the relations between the primary and the secondary eventuality, the other kind comprises relations between a referent belonging to the primary situation and the dummy referent, i.e. the actor in the periphery scheme, which is the subject of the secondary predicate. The third component, which will only be slightly touched upon here, is the adaptation of the meaning of the secondary predicate proper to make the whole statement coherent. This decomposition is a crucial point, and a controversial one, so it deserves more comment. Clearly the eventuality of the secondary predicate is static – call it *st* – and it lacks an independent temporal frame. Its thematic relation with the dummy referent – which we can call *x* – is a static one, something like *x is a bearer of state st*. But it has no connection to the primary eventuality, hence no role in the situation. To provide with a role we use the dummy referent, connecting this one to the primary eventuality. To do this we simply identify *x* with an appropriate actor referent or with some other referent connected with the primary eventuality in this situation. This gives us a set of acceptable thematic relations whose referents may be identified with the referent of the secondary eventuality. The null hypothesis to be tested is therefore that by default anything goes:

The interpretation hypothesis

Any referent of the primary situation may serve as a referent of the secondary predicate if this can plausibly be inferred.

In other words, it can be assumed that in Russian any referent belonging to the primary situation may in principle be the actor of the eventuality of the secondary predicate, if this choice allows the computation of a coherent relation between the primary and the secondary eventualities and does not violate pragmatic factors (e.g. quantificational restrictions on the predicative phrases). The consequences of this hypothesis will be explored in the next section. Here we will consider one relation between the eventualities which seems to be coherent.

It may probably be assumed that the adjunct relation is generally interpreted as a generalized conjunction (LASERSON 1992): a new complex eventuality is formed from two eventualities. Its semantics is by default that of conjunction. But there is certainly a difference to the standard uses of conjunction if the adjunct is a secondary predicate: the second eventuality has no properties of its own that anchor it within the situation. We therefore assume that in addition to the conjunction aspect the semantic analysis has to specify that by default the relevant event of the primary situation is temporally included in the secondary eventuality, thus providing the absent anchoring. This is a very basic relation, but it already enables us to explain some properties of secondary predicates in simpler cases.

4. Sample cases: computing the meaning in context

Let us start illustrating this process of identification with what should be the easiest case in terms of necessary computations, i.e. with depictives.

Depictives

First, the generalized conjunction conjoins clauses; i.e. takes two event contexts, and produces a new context with a new event referent. Consider again (11b).

(11b) Он выпил чай холодным
he drank up the tea cold

The formal interpretation outlined above states that there are two events in the complex event which is contained in the situation. Moreover, the event of

drinking (a portion of tea) is included in the state in which this tea is cold.⁴ The additional shade of meaning that all the tea was drunk may fall out if we assume that the intrinsic endpoint of the drinking event is within the temporal course of the situation – the information given by the prefix *vy-*. This use of the instrumental picks up a core semantic relation, associated usually with the subject and the direct object. Some approaches suggest that it is impossible to pick up semantic relations for indirect objects, e.g. it is very difficult to interpret sentence (16) as meaning that *she* was laughing. The reason, as some theories would maintain, is that such referent identification would involve a reanalysis of the syntactic position of the predicative.

(16) *He gave tea to her, laughing.

Acknowledging this or similar syntactic constraints, we could then assume that core semantic relations (i.e. argument relations) can provide referents to be identified with the dummy referent of the secondary predicate. So far this reasoning is applicable both to English and Russian.

Temporal instrumental

The first interesting problem of Russian is the use of nouns in the instrumental to form temporal adverbials.⁵ This use displays two variants: the noun marked with the instrumental is a general noun, or a temporal noun.

(a) General nouns

Consider (13a) again:

(13a) Он ел ребёнком икру.
'He ate caviar *as a child*.'

The first step of the interpretation is the same as with depictives: a new eventuality is introduced and aggregated with the primary event to form a complex event, inducing a conjunctive reading. The additional condition that the primary event is included in the secondary eventuality means that he was eating caviar at some period during his childhood. But things are not so simple. The difficulties start with (18).

4 In case there are objections to this notion of inclusion it can be interpreted as a relation between the two temporal courses. The shift makes no difference at this point.

5 'Adverbial' is used in the functional sense here, so secondary predicates may very well be adverbials.

- (17) Ребёнком он часто болел
 child:INS he often be.ill(IPFV)
 'As a child, he was often ill.'

Clearly, if someone was ill as a child, s/he was ill at some time under certain circumstances. But if someone was often ill as a child under these circumstances, s/he need not have often been ill in general. A simple conjunctive analysis which gives *часто* scope over the secondary predicate yields the wrong conclusion that somebody was often a child and ill simultaneously. The remedy is to adopt a more complex structure of situations and to allow the referents from this complex structure to be accessible for secondary predicates. This modification is outlined below.

A highly convincing analysis of adverbs of frequency like *often* runs like this: suppose an adverb is applied to a matrix sentence. To evaluate the sentence we must restrict our attention to the time or times with respect to which we intend to evaluate this sentence, and then assert the matrix sentence relative to this restricted situation with the appropriate quantification. If we want to assert that somebody often drank wine, we restrict our situation to eventualities when he was drinking and assert that many of them were eventualities of his drinking wine. The portion of the description defining the base of quantification is called the restrictor of the adverb.

HAJČOVÁ et al. (1998, Ch. 2) propose that propositions have a quantificational structure in a broad variety of cases even if there is no explicit quantificational adverb. This structure would account e.g. for the iterative use of the simple past tense in English. The quantificational structure of a proposition consists of a restrictor, a nuclear scope (i.e. the predication), and a quantifier that may be some adverb of quantification or be implicit.

- (18) He drank his tea cold
 restrictor: he drink- tea
 nuclear scope: the tea is cold
 implicit quantifier: whenever
 time: before now

To obtain the correct consequences we must now assume that the temporal instrumental constrains the restrictor of the quantificational structure of the adverb *часто*. To assert sentence (17) we restrict our attention to the eventualities in which he was a child, and claim that in many of them he was ill. The decision to choose the position in the restrictor for the secondary predicate in the example is based on plausibility, because it is also possible in some contexts to place the predicate in the matrix clause, giving it a depictive reading, e.g.

- (19) Он ушел на войну ребёнком
 he went on war child:INS
 'He went to war as a child.'

The implications of the meaning here are depictive-like rather than temporal. The sentence can also be modified by *často*, cf. (20):

- (20) Он часто уходил на войну ребёнком
 he often went on war child:INS
 'He often went to war as a child.'

But, though grammatically perfectly OK, it has some strange implications: the person's childhood must be interspersed with periods when he went to war and was not a child, to provide the possibility of comparison. Which is implausible.

(b) Temporal nouns

Free instrumental expressions in Russian can also mark temporal adverbials like *летом* 'summer_{INS}' or *утром* 'morning_{INS}'. They are also formed from nouns, but these nouns denote time periods. Depending on their position in the proposition structure they modify either merely the restrictor or the whole situation. Consider:

- (21) Летом он часто болел
 summer:INS he often be_ill:IPFV
 'He was often ill in summer'

Sentence (21) can mean either that he was often ill in some particular summer, or that, as a general tendency, he was often ill in summer. A major difference to the first temporal use is that such nouns function not as predicates of subjects or objects, but as predicates of the temporal referent of the situation, i.e. of its temporal anchor. This is also the only difference relating to the construction itself, all the others being due to the semantics of the plural and the temporal nouns. Since temporal referents are bona fide referents of the situation scheme, and since we tentatively adopted the interpretation hypothesis, the second temporal use of the instrumental is clearly a secondary predicate.

The so-called measure instrumental is a more difficult case.

Measure instrumental

This use is illustrated by (13b) and (22).

- (22) Он пил вино стаканами
 he drank wine glasses:INS.PL
 'He drank (used to drink) wine by the glass ("by glasses").'

It is limited to plural nouns in the instrumental denoting units of measurement as secondary predicates. The point with this kind of use is that a noun in instrumental is a distributive secondary predicate with the intrinsic meaning of “more than one” provided by the plural and a possibility to be interpreted as a measure unit. This accounts for the lack of singular in this use. The secondary predicate introduces an eventuality which is distributive due to the plural noun. The core interpretation arises here due to the so-called theta-role homomorphism proposed by KRIFKA (1989; 1992; 1998). In brief, if an argument of an event is a distributive entity, the event is so, too, and vice versa. Now since the measure unit plural is a distributive entity, and if it is predicated of some referent of the primary eventuality, this referent, and therefore also its event, must be distributive, too. We thus measure the eventuality. It has also been suggested by Krifka that measuring the event is done by measuring any entity in the core part of the event. In other words, measuring an event is characterized by measuring its participants. So, in (23) it is understood that whenever he drank wine he drank more than one glass of it.

Instrumental of “instrument”

Perhaps the treatment outlined above has much in its favor. The controversial issues begin where the instrumental is neither an argument of the primary eventuality nor of its temporal characteristics. This concerns, e.g., the typical use of instrumental to denote an instrument:

- (23) Иван ударил Петра палкой
 Ivan hit Peter stick:INS
 ‘Ivan hit Peter with a stick.’

This case can easily be treated by analogy with the case of argument referents. It is not at all clear, however, why it should be treated as a secondary predicate. Some support for the latter treatment can be found in Russian sentences like:

- (24) Ивана убило деревом
 Ivan:ACC killed:N tree:INS
 ‘Ivan was killed by a tree.’

If there is no actor responsible for using an instrument, the instrumental noun acquires the status of some natural force. The non-responsibility is expressed through the absence of subject in the nominative case and the neuter gender marking of the verb. Theoretically, a covert empty pronoun may be posited as subject in this case, which only introduces an unspecified referent. The similarity to the sentence with *дерево* in the nominative is due to the possibility of taking the dummy pronoun to form a depictive construction with the secondary predicate and thus to become simultaneously characterized as the agent and a tree.

Volition cannot be attributed to the empty pronoun, though, which distinguishes the two possibilities.

Some other cases may be treated similarly. In (25) the matrix event is located on a path, and the path referent is identified as the referent of the secondary predication.

- (25) Он ел дорогой икру
he ate road:INS caviar
'He ate caviar *on the way*.'

In (26) an implicit means of transport, which is due to the lexical meaning of the verb, is identified with the secondary predicate referent.

- (26) Он приехал автомашиной
he arrived car:INS
'He arrived *by car*.'

There is, however, also a major argument against treating the instrumental of instrument as a case of secondary predication, i.e. identifying the instrument as the referent, and that is that universally quantified NPs are seldom predicates. The instrumental of instrument NPs are more easily universally quantified than the uses of the instrumental considered before, so they differ from usual predicates. There is as yet no commonly accepted general explanation for this restriction, however, so universal quantification in predicate NPs remains an open question in general, and we have to postpone the solution to this subproblem (with the instrumental) until a better general understanding is available.

The absence of resultative SPs in Russian

By providing some tentative analyses it was argued, so far, that Russian has many more secondary predicates than English. On the other hand, Russian does not have resultatives. This seems like a serious flaw in the theory which at first sight has nothing to eliminate this interpretation. An attempt to connect this absence with the regular use of perfectivizing affixes in Russian was made in STRIGIN (2004).

The basic idea is that, as resultatives are assumed to identify the secondary predicate state with some endpoint state of a potentially telic primary predicate (ROTHSTEIN 2001a; 2001b; 2003), a learner of Russian would be confronted with two alternatives: either s/he has to learn a more specific means for marking endpoints with the help of perfectivizing affixes, or s/he has to use secondary predication for the same purpose.

In STRIGIN (2004) it was suggested that Russian has a grammaticalized event-bounding operation, which English does not have. This operation forms part of

the rules mapping situation schemes onto syntactic structures requiring that situations with endpoints of their events must be mapped via lexical templates which operate on verbs. It may be assumed that a grammatical feature, called, say, [+b] for bounded, is associated with this template operation and is interpreted via verb perfectivization in Russian. That is, since Russian verbs are either perfective or imperfective with *tertium non datur*, the verb either has [+b] or [-b]. The feature [+b] must be interpreted if its presence is to be licensed at all. Using English-style resultatives in perfective contexts would require doing the same thing twice. But Russian lexical templates are much more specific than resultative secondary predicates in English. The situation would be similar for English speakers if they were expected to learn *-en* as a regular plural alongside with *-s*. So perhaps some learning mechanism prevents this in perfective contexts. In Russian, English-style resultatives with imperfective verbs cannot have the same interpretation, since they do not make claims about endpoint states holding in the situation referred to by uttering the sentence.⁶ The net result of this predicament is that the resultative type of interpretation is blocked in Russian and enforces a bounding operation via lexical templates.

5. Conclusions

It seems that the notion of secondary predication can be conceived on a broader scale than mere depictives in Russian, if the treatment of secondary predication outlined above is plausible. All the cases considered satisfy the core properties of secondary predication, if we accept the possibility that any referent which can be conceptually added to the situation scheme may be the subject of a secondary predicate, even if it is only implicit in the situation. This was expressed in the interpretation hypothesis. If none of more specific options to express the same content blocks it, a secondary predication of any referent in the situation scheme is possible. There are two sources of additional variation. One can be traced down to the interplay of the identification operation with the semantic structures of the matrix sentence, e.g. positioning of the referent in the nuclear scope or in the restrictor of the quantified propositional structure. The other is conceptual accommodation, which remained largely undiscussed here. The leading idea for

6 Imperfective verbs, especially with plural objects, may sometimes have either a purely distributive or a habitual perfective reading, similarly to simple past uses like *While he wrote I read* or *He wrote a letter every week*. The general property of the Russian imperfective aspect is that it can be used for homogeneous events. Such events may be built up from bounded atomic events, expressing iteration. The difference between the English progressive and the Russian imperfective is that the latter is not limited to homogeneous events. See FORSYTH (1970).

a treatment is that the secondary predicate is preferably given the interpretation which makes the interplay of all the factors involved coherent. Thus, in *Он был волком* 'He howled like a wolf', we interpret the instrumental NP as a comparison not because this is some specific meaning, but simply because we must make sense of the whole situation. It is conceivable that there is a temporal reading, meaning that every time he was a wolf, he howled, but we do not want to entertain the idea that humans turn into wolves from time to time. This is exactly the insight articulated by Peshkovskij.

As far as the relation of secondary predication to adverbial modification is concerned, we may assume that pure predicative, non-quantifying adverbs are predicated directly of eventualities. So, *on the train* in *I ate an ice-cream on the train* is not a secondary predicate in the same sense of the term, and we should look for some other way of explaining the inference *I was on the train*.

A potential weak point of the whole theory is its global nature. Trying to explain why language X does not have the whole spectrum of possible referents for secondary predicates might involve very detailed analyses of other aspects of X which may interact during the interpretation to block some possible secondary predication. Such investigations may be not feasible at present. On the positive side of the program is the realization that explanations of linguistic facts may be based on simple principles, however complicated the details of their application may be.

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Die morphosyntaktische Markierung substantivischer sekundärer Prädikative im Litauischen *

0. Einführendes

0.1. Mit diesem Aufsatz soll die für die heutige litauische Schriftsprache charakteristische morphosyntaktische Markierung substantivischer sekundärer Prädikative¹ angesprochen werden, wie sie durch die Beispiele (3)-(5) illustriert wird. Letztere wird mit der morphosyntaktischen Markierung substantivischer primärer Prädikative in Sätzen mit der Kopula *būti* 'sein' wie in (1) und (2) verglichen werden.

- (1) Jon-as buv-o mokytoj-as (/ mokytoj-u).
Jonas-NOM.SG sein-PRT.3SG Lehrer-NOM.SG (/ Lehrer-INS.SG)
'Jonas war Lehrer.'
- (2) Tau reikėj-o bū-ti mokytoj-ui (/ mokytoj-u).
Du.DAT müssen-PRT sein-INF Lehrer-DAT.SG (/ Lehrer-INS.SG)
'Du hättest Lehrer sein müssen.'
- (3) Jon-as grįž-o namo
Jonas-NOM.SG zurückkehren-PRT.3SG heim
didvyr-is (/ didvyr-iu).
Held-NOM.SG (/ Held-INS.SG)
'Jonas kam als Held nach Hause.'

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1 Der Terminus *Prädikativ* wird hier wie bei HOLVOET & TAMULIONIENE (2005) verwendet, d. h. ein *Prädikativ* ist ein prädikativ verwendetes Nomen, syntaktisch ein Dependens des Verbs, wobei die syntaktische Dependenz zweierlei Formen haben kann: Modifizierung oder Dependenz.

- (4) Jon-ui nemalon-u grįž-ti namo
Jonas-DAT.SG peinlich-ADJ.N zurückkehren-INF heim
nevykél-iai (/nevykél-ia).
Versager-DAT.SG (/Versager-INS.SG)
'Jonas ist es peinlich, als Versager heimzukehren.'
- (5) Jon-as man pasirod-ė
Jonas-NOM.SG ich.DAT vorkommen-PRT.3SG
keistuol-is (/keistuol-ia).
Sonderling-NOM.SG (/Sonderling-INS.SG)
'Jonas kam mir wie ein Sonderling vor.'

In (1) bildet das substantivische Prädikativ *mokytojas* 'Lehrer' zusammen mit der Kopula *buvo* 'war' die primäre, die Hauptprädikation des Satzes, wobei das substantivische Prädikativ *mokytojas* im Kasus mit dem Subjekt des Satzes (*Jonas*) kongruieren kann, aber nicht muss. In (2) kann das substantivische Prädikativ *mokytojas* 'Lehrer' im Kasus mit dem im Dativ stehenden Nullsubjekt, das mit dem Subjektsdativ (*tau*) des Matrixprädikats (*reikėjo*) referenzidentisch ist, kongruieren oder nicht.² In (3) bis (5) drücken die Prädikative *didvyris* 'Held', *nevykėlis* 'Versager' und *keistuolis* 'Sonderling' eine sekundäre, zusätzliche Prädikation aus, und die sekundären substantivischen Prädikative *didvyris*, *nevykėlis*, *keistuolis* können wie in (1)-(2) im Kasus mit dem Subjekt des die primäre Prädikation kodierenden Prädikats *grįžo* 'kehrte zurück', *grįžti* 'zurückkehren', *pasirodė* 'kam vor' kongruieren oder nicht. Wie zu sehen ist, steht bei Kongruenz das substantivische Prädikativ im Nominativ (wie in (1), (3), (5)) oder im Dativ (wie in (2), (4)), bei Nichtkongruenz im Instrumental. In gewissen Fällen kann neben kongruierendem Kasus/Instrumental auch die Konstruktion mit *kaip* 'als' plus mit dem Subjekt der Hauptprädikation kongruierendem Kasus verwendet werden:

- (6) Ten jis laimėjo daug svarbių pergalių ir
į Paryžių grįž-o kaip didvyr-is
in Paris-ACC zurückkehren-PRT.3SG als Held-NOM.SG
(/ didvyr-is / didvyr-ia).
(/ Held-NOM.SG / Held-INS.SG)
1798 m. vadovavo žygiui į Egiptą, bet

2 Vgl. dazu HENTSCHEL (1991b) zum Russischen.

gana nesėkming-ai. KT³

genug erfolglos-ADV

‘Dort errang er viele wichtige Siege und *kehrte als Held nach Paris zurück*. 1798 leitete er den Feldzug nach Ägypten, jedoch ziemlich erfolglos.’

Wie zu sehen ist, gelten hier als sekundäre Prädikative nicht nur die sekundäre Prädikation bezeichnenden substantivischen Prädikative, die im Satz als Adjunkte funktionieren, also *Depiktive*⁴, die *prädikativen Attribute* der klassischen litauischen Sprachwissenschaft (ULVYDAS 1976, 437ff.; VALECKIENĖ 1967, 97-116; vgl. auch AMBRAZAS 1994, 490f., 627), sondern auch wie in (5) die sekundäre Prädikation bezeichnenden substantivischen Prädikative, die vom Verb verlangt werden, d.h. Argumente des die Hauptprädikation kodierenden Verbs, die wie in (5) als Komplement funktionieren (vgl. dazu KŘÍŽKOVÁ 1969, 19f.; NICHOLS 1978; AARTS 1995; HOLVOET & TAMULIONIENĖ 2005). Ich werde im Folgenden die morphosyntaktische Markierung der substantivischen primären und sekundären Prädikative behandeln, wobei die ersteren, die substantivischen Prädikative in Kopulasätzen sowie die substantivischen Komplementative Dependientia des Verbs, die substantivischen Depiktive dagegen Modifizierer des Verbs (Adjunkte) sind.

Wir beschränken uns hier bei der Behandlung der substantivischen primären und sekundären Prädikative auf die Fälle, in denen sie durch Kasuskongruenz und/oder Instrumental und/oder *kaip*⁵-Konstruktionen markiert sind (vgl. (1)-(6)).

3 Die Beispiele mit Hinweis KT sind dem Textkorpus der heutigen litauischen Schriftsprache der Vytautas-Magnus-Universität (Kaunas) entnommen. Die Sätze ohne Hinweis stammen von der Autorin.

4 *Depiktiv* als Terminus für sekundäre Prädikative wird hier im engeren Sinne verwendet. Ein solches Depiktivum ist Element der Verbalphrase und wird in Opposition zu den Zirkumstantialen, nämlich Elementen der Satzebene, verwendet. Im weiteren Sinne umfasst der Depiktiv-Begriff nicht nur Depiktive im engeren Sinne, sondern auch die Zirkumstantialen, die beide in Opposition zu resultativen sekundären Prädikativen beschrieben werden (vgl. HIMMELMANN & SCHULTZE-BERNDT 2005, 4ff.; SCHULTZE-BERNDT & HIMMELMANN 2004, 7f.).

5 In den Arbeiten zur litauischen Grammatik wird *kaip* ‘als/wie’ als Konjunktionswort des Vergleichs betrachtet. Die Konjunktion wird als ‘unselbständige Wortart, bestehend aus unflektierten Lexemen, die Wörter, Wortgruppen oder Satzglieder des zusammengesetzten Satzes verbinden’ definiert (AMBRAZAS 1997, 424ff.; AMBRAZAS 1994, 455, 459; ULVYDAS, 1976, 433f., vgl. 448). *Kaip* ‘als’ bezeichnet jedoch im Gegensatz zu *kaip* ‘wie’ keinen Vergleich und fungiert als Adjunktionswort. Wie wir im Weiteren (s. 2.2, 2.4) sehen werden, gibt es aber zwischen *kaip* ‘als’ und *kaip* ‘wie’ Überlappungen. *Kaip* ‘wie’-Konstruktionen stehen andererseits im Litauischen (wie im Slawischen) dem Instrumental des Vergleichs nahe. Es handelt sich dabei um Überlappungs-

Nicht Gegenstand dieser Arbeit sind (i) substantivische Prädikative in Verbindung mit anderen Kopulas als *būti* 'sein', wie in:

- (7) Jonas liko mokytojas.
'Jonas blieb Lehrer (Nominativ).'

(ii) restriktive substantivische sekundäre Prädikate, wie in:

- (8) Santariškėse mačiau aš merginą kaunietę. KT
'In Santariškės habe ich ein Mädchen aus Kaunas (wörtl.: 'Mädchen.ACC Kaunasserin.ACC') gesehen.'⁶

(iii) so genannte semantische Depiktive (vgl. SCHULTZE-BERNDT & DAWUDA 2001; SCHULTZE-BERNDT & HIMMELMANN 2004, 93f., 123f.), wie in:

- (9) Jonas grįžo geros nuotaikos.
'Jonas kehrte (in) guter Stimmung (Genitiv) zurück.'

(iv) resultative sekundäre Prädikative, wie in:

- (10) Joną išrinko prezidentu.
'Jonas wurde zum Präsidenten (Instrumental) gewählt.'

(v) zirkumstantiale sekundäre Prädikative, wie in:

- (11) Dar vaikas išvažiavo jis iš šio miesto ir niekada daugiau čia nebegrižo.
'Noch als Kind (Nominativ) verließ er diese Stadt und kehrte nie mehr hierher zurück.'

sowie (vi) präpositional markierte substantivische Prädikative, wie in:

- (12) Jonas buvo be nuotaikos.
'Jonas war lustlos (wörtl.: 'ohne Stimmung').'

0.2. Ausgehend von Ergebnissen der bisherigen Diskussion (BUCHELI BERGER 2005, 146; VAN DER AUWERA & MALCHUKOV 2005; PLANK 1985, 174f.) kommen wir zu dem Schluss, dass im Litauischen die morphosyntaktische Markie-

fälle zwischen Instrumental des Vergleichs und Instrumental des Depiktivs, wie in *vėjas pasikėlė umar-u* (INS.SG) 'der Wind erhob sich als ein Sturm, wie ein Sturm, d. h. ungestüm'.

- 6 Das Substantiv *kaunietė* 'Kaunasserin' kann einerseits als nachgestelltes Attribut oder als Apposition verstanden werden, andererseits könnte solch ein Substantiv auch als restriktives sekundäres Prädikat zu interpretieren sein. Auch wenn ich beide Interpretationen für möglich halte, so bin ich doch der Meinung, dass in solchen Aussagen das nachgestellte Substantiv eher als sekundäres Prädikat denn als Attribut der Nominalphrase zu betrachten ist: Der Grund für eine solche Interpretation liegt in der Position des Substantivs *kaunietė* nach seinem Bezugswort sowie in der Tatsache, dass es nicht durch ein Komma abgetrennt ist, wie es für nachgestellte Attribute kennzeichnend wäre (ULVYDAS 1976, 552; dazu auch VAN DER AUWERA & MALCHUKOV 2005, 405).

nung der Depiktive zwar der in Kopulasätzen ähnlich ist, sich aber auch davon unterscheidet und immer mehr mit der morphosyntaktischen Markierung substantivischer Komplementativa konvergiert (vgl. HOLVOET & TAMULIONIENĖ 2005, 10ff.).

In der heutigen russischen Schriftsprache stehen sowohl Prädikative in Kopulasätzen als auch Depiktive und Komplementative im Regelfall im Instrumental (vgl. z.B. KŘIŽKOVÁ 1969, 9ff.; NICHOLS 1981, 267; FRANKS 1995, 221ff.; VAN DER AUWERA & MALCHUKOV 2005, 408; HENTSCHEL 2005, 8f.). Es wird in diesem Artikel eine Analyse der Situation im Litauischen versucht. In Anlehnung an die bei HENTSCHEL (2005, 9) verwendete Skala werden für das Litauische folgende Tendenzen hinsichtlich der Verwendung des Instrumental postuliert:

- (13) primäres (substantivisches) Prädikativ < sekundäres (substantivisches) Prädikativ bzw. substantivisches Prädikativ in Kopulasätzen < substantivisches Depiktiv < substantivisches Komplementativ.

Spezielle Beachtung verdient auch die Konstruktion mit *kaip* 'als', die des Öffteren neben dem Kongruenzkasus und dem Instrumental verwendet, jedoch in Arbeiten zur litauischen Grammatik oft nicht berücksichtigt wird.

Im Hinblick auf die morphosyntaktische Markierung substantivischer primärer und sekundärer Prädikative sind folgende Fragen zu beantworten:

- (i) Welche semantischen und/oder formalen Kriterien beeinflussen den Gebrauch einer bestimmten morphosyntaktischen Markierung des substantivischen Prädikativs?
- (ii) Können verschiedene morphosyntaktische Markierungen ohne Bedeutungsunterschied nebeneinander verwendet werden?
- (iii) Gibt es eine Tendenz zu verschiedener Markierung von primären und sekundären Prädikativen?
- (iv) Kann dieselbe morphosyntaktische Form oder Konstruktion nicht nur als substantivisches Prädikativ sondern auch anders, z.B. als Adverbialbestimmung zu interpretieren sein?

Auf der Basis dieser Fragen und der oben erwähnten Prämissen werde ich hier zuerst kurz die morphosyntaktische Markierung substantivischer Prädikative in Kopulasätzen (Prädikativsätzen) behandeln, d.h. von Substantiven, die das Hauptprädikat des Satzes darstellen (1). Nach der Diskussion der substantivischen Prädikative sind genauere Voraussagen über die zu erwartende morphosyntaktische Markierung von substantivischen Depiktiven möglich. Ebenso kann die Frage beantwortet werden, ob sich die Markierung von Depiktiven zum Ausdruck der sekundären Prädikation von der für die primäre Prädikation typischen Markierung unterscheidet. Nach den substantivischen Prädikativen in Kopulasät-

zen werde ich auf die morphosyntaktische Markierung substantivischer Depikitive zu sprechen kommen (2). Im Verlauf der Diskussion werde ich auch kurz den Zusammenhang zwischen Depiktiven und Adverbialbestimmungen ansprechen. Gegen Ende dieses Aufsatzes werde ich noch einige Bemerkungen zur morphosyntaktischen Markierung von substantivischen Komplementativen anfügen (3). Schließlich werden noch einige Schlussfolgerungen gezogen (4).

1. Die morphosyntaktische Markierung von substantivischen Prädikativen in Kopulasätzen

1.1. In den akademischen Grammatiken der heutigen litauischen Schriftsprache wird aufgrund eines semantischen Kasusverständnisses die Meinung vertreten, dass der Nominativ in prädikativen Substantiven zum Ausdruck eines dauerhaften oder vorübergehenden Zustands verwendet wird, der Instrumental dagegen nur zum Ausdruck eines vorübergehenden Zustands (AMBRAZAS 1997, 472; AMBRAZAS 1994, 505f.; ULVYDAS 1976, 68f., 364). Die Unterscheidung erfolgt nach der semantischen Opposition „dauerhaft“ vs. „vorübergehend“, wobei ein dauerhafter Zustand durch den Nominativ markiert ist, ein vorübergehender Zustand sowohl durch den Instrumental als auch den Nominativ, jedoch nicht umgekehrt (vgl. MILIŪNAITĖ 2003, 75ff).

Ich selbst vertrete die Meinung, dass in der heutigen litauischen Schriftsprache sowohl dauerhafte (vgl. (14)) als auch vorübergehende Zustände (vgl. (15)) gleichermaßen durch den Nominativ wie durch den Instrumental des substantivischen Prädikativs ausgedrückt werden können (vgl. SEMĖNIENĖ 2004).⁷

- (14) Niekada [aš] ne-būsiu
 Niemals [ich.NOM] nicht-sein.FUT.ISG
 politik-e (/politik-ė). KT
 Politikerin-INS.SG (/Politikerin-NOM.SG)
 ‘Niemals werde ich Politikerin.’

- (15) Šitas susitarimas buvo pradėtas rengti,
 kai aš dar buvau
 als ich.NOM noch sein.PRT.ISG

7 Vgl. dazu HENTSCHEL (1991a; 1992; 1993a/1993b; 1994), der dasselbe für das gegenwärtige Russische (HENTSCHEL 1991a; 1992; 1993a) und für das Polnische des 16. und 17. Jhs. (HENTSCHEL 1993b; 1994) festgestellt hat.

ministr-as (/ministr-u). KT
 Minister-NOM.SG (/Minister-INS.SG)
 ‘Diese Einigung begann man vorzubereiten, als ich noch Minister war.’

Dass im heutigen Litauischen der Instrumental nicht nur einen vorübergehenden Zustand bezeichnet, scheint nichts Ungewöhnliches zu sein. Schon in den älteren Schriften des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts finden sich Beispiele, in denen der Instrumental des substantivischen Prädikativs zum Ausdruck eines beständigen, andauernden Zustandes des Subjekts herangezogen wird. Auch wenn zu berücksichtigen ist, dass der Gebrauch des Instrumentals durch die Übersetzung der Texte aus dem Polnischen ins Litauische beeinflusst werden konnte und wurde, gibt es in den litauischen Texten jener Zeit Belegstellen, wo der Instrumental auch dann verwendet wird, wenn das polnische Original einen prädikativen Nominativ zeigt (ZINKEVIČIUS 1998, 182; PALIONIS 1967, 163f.; 1995, 66).

In den Fällen, wo das substantivische Prädikativ in Kopulasätzen im Prinzip sowohl durch den Nominativ als auch durch den Instrumental markiert werden kann, ist auch die Verwendung der *kaip*-Konstruktion möglich⁸, z.B.:

(16) Ta institucij-a galėt-ų bū-ti
 Diese Institution-NOM.SG können-CONJ.3SG sein-INF
 kaip ministerij-os padalin-ys
 als Ministerium-GEN.SG Abteilung-NOM.SG
 (/padalin-ys / padalin-iu). KT
 (/Abteilung-NOM.SG / Abteilung-INS.SG)
 ‘Diese Institution könnte als Abteilung des Ministeriums fungieren.’

Natürlich gibt es Fälle, in denen der Verwendungsbereich des einen oder anderen Kasus aus semantischen oder syntaktischen Gründen beschränkt ist (s. auch im Folgenden). So erfolgt die Nominativ-Markierung des substantivischen Prädikativs in (17) und die Instrumental-Markierung des substantivischen Prädikativs in (18) aus Gründen der Semantik des Prädikativs. In (17) ist das Substantiv *intelektualas* ‘Intellektueller’ kein typisches Substantiv zur Benennung von Dingen, bezeichnet keine Person, sondern eine permanente Eigenschaft der Person.

8 In den Arbeiten zur litauischen Grammatik wird bei der Behandlung solcher Konstruktionen das Moment des Vergleichs anerkannt (s. Fußnote 5). Sogar dann, wenn man die *kaip*-Konstruktion z. B. in (16) auch als einen Vergleich mit einem Geltungsanspruch auffasst, vertritt die Autorin die Meinung, dass es Fälle gibt, in denen die *kaip*-Konstruktion keinen Vergleich bezeichnet, wie in: *Jūsų komitetas galėtų būti kaip papildomas komitetas. Du komitetai – biudžeto ir finansų ir ekonomikos komitetas. Seimas turbūt neprieštarauja, kad būtų du komitetai.* (KT) ‘Euer Komitee könnte als ein zusätzliches Komitee fungieren („sein“). Zwei Komitees: Komitee für Budget und Finanzen und Komitee für Wirtschaft.’

Das Substantiv *asmuo* 'Person' in (18) bezeichnet den Menschen als Persönlichkeit oder als eine der Bezeichnung "Mensch" würdige Person. Der Instrumental in (19) dagegen wird aus syntaktischen Gründen verwendet: Das substantivische Prädikativ mit dem Infinitiv von *sein* nimmt die Position des propositionalen Arguments eines Vollprädikats ein (vgl. HOLVOET 2004, 76f., 82ff.).

- (17) Be to, [jis] būdamas intelektual-as (*intelektual-u), jis šiek tiek per menkai vertin-a t-ą neartikuliūt-ą ir apibrėžt-os form-os neturintį maldingum-ą. KT

Außerdem [er.NOM] seiend Intellektueller-NOM.SG (*Intellektueller-INS.SG), er.NOM etwas unterschätzen-PRS.3SG jen-ACC.SG unartikulierte.ADJ-ACC.SG und ohne fest-GEN.SG Form-GEN.SG Frömmigkeit-ACC.SG

'Außerdem unterschätzt er als Intellektueller etwas die unartikulierte Frömmigkeit ohne feste Formen.'

- (18) Kad [tu] būt-um asmen-iu (*asmuo), tur-i lem-ti save tiktai savo dvas-ios laisv-ės pagrind-u. KT

Damit [du.NOM] sein-CONJ.2SG Person-INS.SG (*Person.NOM.SG), dürfen-PRS.2SG verlassen-INF REFL.ACC nur auf REFL.GEN Geist-GEN.SG Freiheit-GEN.SG Grund-INS.SG

'Um eine Person zu sein, darfst du dich nur auf die Freiheit deines Geistes verlassen.'

- (19) Jis nevert-as bū-ti jūsu pavaduotoj-u (*pavaduotoj-as).

Er.NOM unwürdig-ADJ.M.NOM.SG. sein-INF Ihr Stellvertreter-INS.SG (*Stellvertreter-NOM.SG)

'Er ist doch nicht der Richtige, um Ihr Stellvertreter zu sein.'

1.2. Aus den vorangehenden, sehr allgemeinen Beobachtungen geht hervor, dass im Litauischen substantivische Prädikative in Kopulasätzen verschieden markiert werden:

- (i) durch Kasuskongruenz (vgl. (17));
- (ii) durch nicht kongruierenden Kasus, nämlich Instrumental (vgl. (18), (19));
- (iii) durch Kasuskongruenz oder Instrumental (vgl. (1), (2), (14), (15));
- (iv) durch Kasuskongruenz, Instrumental und/oder *kaip*-Konstruktion (vgl. (16)).

In (iii) und (iv), wo im Kopulasatz im Prinzip ohne Bedeutungsunterschied sowohl kongruierender als auch nicht kongruierender Kasus stehen kann, werden diese als *morphosyntaktische Varianten* verwendet, d.h. in Anlehnung an

HENTSCHEL (1992; 2001) werden in ein und derselben, mit derselben Situations-Perspektive verbundenen strukturellen Position wenigstens zwei verschiedene morphosyntaktische Formen desselben semantischen Arguments verwendet. In diesem Fall wird der Kasus nach stilistischen, pragmatischen und ähnlichen Kriterien gesetzt. Falls keine Wahlmöglichkeit besteht und einer der Kasus z.B. aufgrund der syntaktischen Distribution blockiert und folglich ein Kasusaustausch in ein und demselben Kontext nicht möglich ist, werden kongruierender und nicht kongruierender Kasus (Instrumental) zu *Positionsvarianten*.

2. Die morphosyntaktische Markierung von substantivischen Depiktiven

In den Arbeiten zur litauischen Grammatik wird bei der Behandlung der so genannten depiktiven Konstruktionen vor allem auf adjektivische Depiktive (prädikative Attribute) eingegangen, wie in (20), wobei betont wird, dass diese immer im Kasus mit einem der Argumente des Hauptprädikats kongruieren müssen.

- (20) Sūn-us grįž-o liūdn-as ir
 Sohn-NOM.SG zurückkehren-PRT.3SG traurig-NOM.SG und
 ne-ram-us.
 un-ruhig-NOM.SG
 'Der Sohn kehrte traurig und unruhig zurück.'

Auf substantivische Depiktive wird meist nur mit wenigen Sätzen eingegangen, die selbst im Kontext der Beiträge desselben Autors eher widersprüchlich erscheinen. So behauptet z.B. ŠUKYS (1998, 249) bei der Behandlung des Kasus- und Präpositionengebrauchs im heutigen Litauischen, dass der Instrumental in Verbindung mit den Verben *gimti* 'geboren werden', *grįžti* 'zurückkehren', *atvažiuoti* 'gefahren kommen' u.ä. nicht selten sei (Hervorhebung L.V.-S.). Kaum zehn Seiten weiter lesen wir jedoch⁹:

'In den litauischen Dialekten finden wir stellenweise noch solche doppelten [d.h. kongruierenden] Kasuskonstruktionen, deren zweites Glied [d.h. Kongruenzziel] [...] ein substantivisches Wort ist. [...] In der Schriftsprache ist eine solche Kasus-kongruenz mit substantivischem zweitem Glied normalerweise nicht verwendbar (Hervorhebungen d. Verf.). Hier ist der substantivische Instrumental des Seins wählbar.' (ŠUKYS 1998, 263)

9 „Lietuvių kalbos tarmės vietomis net tebėra išlaikiusios tokius dvejetainius [t. y. derinamuosius] linksnius, kurių antrasis demuo [t. y. derinimo gaviklis] yra [...] daiktavardiškasis žodis. [...] Bendrinėje kalboje dvejetainiai linksniai su daiktavardiškuoju antruoju dėmeniu paprastai nebevertojami. [...] Čia renkamasi daiktavardiškąjį būvio įnagininką“ (ŠUKYS 1998, 263).

Wollte man den etwas vagen Formulierungen von Šukys folgen, so müsste man konsequenterweise den Schluss ziehen, dass entweder (i) Depiktive im Instrumental ähnlich häufig sind wie Depiktive in kongruierendem Kasus, oder dass (ii) in der heutigen litauischen Schriftsprache substantivische Depiktive tendenziell eher im Instrumental als im kongruierenden Kasus stehen.

Ich möchte mich hier nicht ungeprüft einer der Formulierungen von Šukys anschließen. Ich vertrete die Meinung, dass es auf der einen Seite auch in der heutigen litauischen Schriftsprache Fälle gibt, in denen substantivische Depiktive obligatorisch im Kasus mit dem Bezugswort kongruieren, dass jedoch auf der anderen Seite neben den Fällen, in denen sowohl kongruierender Kasus als auch Instrumental als morphosyntaktische Varianten möglich sind, auch solche existieren, in denen das Depiktiv nur durch den Instrumental oder durch eine andere Konstruktion markiert werden kann (vgl. MILIŪNAITĖ 2003, 78, 86). Anders gesagt, in qualitativer Hinsicht werden substantivische Depiktive morphosyntaktisch ähnlich markiert wie substantivische Prädikative in Kopulasätzen. Die mögliche morphosyntaktische Markierung des substantivischen Depiktivs hängt nicht nur von der Form des die primäre Prädikation bezeichnenden Verbs ab, sondern auch von der Semantik des depiktivisch verwendeten Substantivs, vom Kontext oder von dem, was der Sprecher im Satz hervorheben will.

2.1 Durch Kongruenz markierte substantivische Depiktive

Unter den allein durch Kongruenz markierten substantivischen Depiktiven fallen als erste depiktivisch verwendete Bezeichnungen für Lebensabschnitte auf (vgl. BOEDER 2005, 211f.; KRÍŽKOVÁ 1969, 23):¹⁰

- (21) Jon-as grįž-o namo sen-is
 Jonas-NOM.SG zurückkehren-PRT.SG heim alter-NOM.SG
 (*sen-*iu*).
 (*alter-*INS.SG*)
 ‘Jonas kehrte alt / als alter Mann nach Hause zurück.’

10 In morphosyntaktischer Hinsicht besteht kein Unterschied zwischen substantivischen Depiktiven, die Lebensabschnitte bezeichnen, und temporalen Adverbialbestimmungen (Zirkumstantiale). Sowohl Lebensabschnitte bezeichnende Depiktive als auch substantivische Zeitadverbiale kongruieren mit dem Bezugswort, vgl. Satz (11). Vgl. dazu NICHOLS (1981, 267, 279) zum Russischen und HENTSCHEL (2006) zum Polnischen.

2.2 Durch den Instrumental markierte substantivische Depiktive

Der Instrumental wird dagegen normalerweise dann verwendet, wenn eines der propositionalen Argumente des Hauptprädikats eine Infinitivkonstruktion mit Depiktiv ist, wobei das Antezedens des Nullsubjekts im Matrixsatz entweder im Subjektskasus (ähnlich wie im Kopulasatz (19)), Objektskasus (Genitiv in (22)) steht oder ein nicht-explizites Indefinitum ('man' in (23); vgl. dagegen (4)) ist.

- (22) Argi aš tavęs ne-praš-iau į
 Etwa ich.NOM du.GEN nicht-bitten-PRT.1SG nach
 Lietuv-ą grįž-ti mokytoj-u
 Litauen-ACC.SG zurückzukehren-INF Lehrer-INS.SG
 (*mokytoj-o)?
 (*Lehrer-GEN.SG)
 'Habe ich dich etwa nicht darum gebeten, als Lehrer nach Litauen zurückzukehren?'
- (23) Nemalon-u grįž-ti nevykël-iu
 Unangenehm-ADJ.N zurückzukehren-INF Versager-INS.SG
 (?nevykël-iui).
 (?Versager-DAT.SG).
 'Es ist unangenehm, als Versager zurückzukehren.'

Neben der syntaktischen Distribution im Satz kann auch der Satzzusammenhang eine instrumentalische Markierung des substantivischen Depiktivs hervorrufen. So steht der Instrumental in (24) infolge der „latent“ vorliegenden Bedeutung des Verbs *arbeiten* (vgl. (24a)), das nach dem Valenzwörterbuch des Litauischen von SLIŽIENĖ (1994, 182f) einen Aktanten im Instrumental verlangt. Es bleibt jedoch unklar, aus welchem Grund und mit welchen Argumenten die Autorin des Wörterbuchs die Konstruktion mit *kaip* 'als', die ohne weiteres anstelle des Instrumentals stehen kann, nicht als mögliche Aktantenmarkierung beim Verb *dirbti* 'arbeiten' anerkennt (vgl. (25)). Auch in Sätzen wie (24) kann neben dem Instrumental auch die Konstruktion mit *kaip* 'als' verwendet werden. Andererseits werden solche Konstruktionen mit *kaip* nicht nur in Sätzen wie (24) vermieden, sondern generell für die meisten depiktivisch (ähnlich wie im Kopulasatz) verwendeten Substantive, nämlich wegen ihrer Doppeldeutigkeit und ihrer semantischen Nähe zur Konstruktion mit der Konjunktion *kaip* 'wie', mit der ein Vergleich ausgedrückt wird.

- (24) Gerai, kad Antanas Bartkus buvo vedęs rusę, todėl tik išlėkė iš partinio darbo ir

grįž-o dėstytoj-u (/kaip dėstytoj-as,
zurückkehren-PRT.3SG Dozent-INS.SG (/als Dozent-NOM.SG,
aber: *dėstytoj-as) į universitet-ą. KT
aber: *Dozent-NOM.SG) an Universität-ACC.SG
'Gut, dass Antanas Bartkus mit einer Russin verheiratet war, deshalb
flog er nur aus der Partearbeit raus und kehrte als Dozent an die
Universität zurück.'

Vgl.:

(24a) Antanas Bartkus grįž-o
[dirb-ti dėstytoj-u] į universitet-ą.
[arbeiten-INF Dozent-INS.SG] an Universität-ACC.SG
'Antanas Bartkus kehrte an die Universität zurück, [um als Dozent
zu arbeiten].'

(25) Prof. A. Minkevič-ius nuolat dirb-o
Prof. A. Minkevičius-NOM.SG ständig.ADV arbeiten-PRT.3SG
kaip vyr-iausia-sis redaktor-ius
als ober-ADJ.SUPERL-NOM.SG Redakteur-NOM.SG
(/redaktor-iumi). KT
(/Redakteur-INS.SG)
'Prof. A. Minkevičius arbeitete ständig als Chefredakteur.'

Ähnlich wie im Fall der *kaip*-Konstruktion bleibt in Ermangelung eines breiteren Kontextes manchmal unklar, ob z.B. in (26) (vgl. (18)), die Verwendung des Nominativs durch die Bedeutung des Substantivs *žmogus* 'Mensch' ausgeschlossen, oder ob in diesem Fall mit dem Instrumental ein Vergleich und kein Depik-tiv bezeichnet wird.

(26) Jis tur-i atei-ti žmog-umi
Er-NOM haben-PRS.3SG kommen-INF Mensch-INS.SG
(/kaip žmog-us, aber: *žmog-us,) į jo
(/als/wie Mensch-NOM.SG aber: *Mensch-NOM.SG) in seine
pasaulį,
Welt.ACC

kad būtu išgirstas ir suprastas. KT
'Er muss als Mensch / wie ein Mensch in seine Welt kommen, um
gehört und verstanden zu werden.'

Für diesen Satz ist mehr als eine Interpretation möglich, nämlich eine depiktivi-sche und eine vergleichende. Nach depiktivischem Verständnis wäre er folgen-

dermaßen zu interpretieren: Er muss kommen und dabei ein Mensch (menschlich) sein. Hält man diese Interpretation für plausibel, dann muss man davon ausgehen, dass die Nominativbeschränkung infolge des depiktivisch verwendeten Substantivs besteht. Nach der anderen, vergleichenden Interpretation von (26) bezeichnet der Instrumental kein Depiktiv, sondern einen Vergleich, d.h. er muss so kommen, wie ein Mensch kommt.

2.3 Durch Kasuskongruenz oder Instrumental markierte substantivische Depiktive

Wie beim substantivischen Prädikativ treten kongruierender Kasus und Instrumental auch bei substantivischen Depiktiven als morphosyntaktische Varianten auf (s. (3), (4)).

Sowohl kongruierenden Kasus als auch Instrumental finden wir auch in den Fällen, wo ein Infinitiv eines Vollverbs mit einem Depiktiv in Verbindung mit einem Modalverb verwendet wird und das Depiktiv vom Nominativsubjekt des Matrixsatzprädikats (vgl. (27)) oder von dessen Objekt gebunden ist (vgl. (28)) (vgl. die Markierung im Russischen, wie sie in NICHOLS (1981, 247f., 259); HENTSCHEL (2005, 10) erörtert wird).

- (27) Jon-as norėj-o grįž-ti didvyr-is
Jonas-NOM.SG wollen-PRT.3SG zurückkehren-INF Held-NOM.SG
(/ didvyr-*iu*).
(/ Held-*INS.SG*)
'Jonas wollte als Held zurückkehren.'

- (28) Prašau likimo,
kad [jis] man leist-ų gim-ti
dass [er.NOM] ich.DAT erlauben-CONJ.3SG geboren werden-INF
žvaigžd-ei (/ žvaigžd-e). KT
Stern-DAT.SG (/ Stern-*INS.SG*)
'Ich bitte das Schicksal darum, dass es mir erlauben möge, als Stern geboren zu werden.'

- (29) Aš norėj-au bū-ti aktor-e
ich.NOM wollen-PRT.1SG sein-INF Schauspielerin-*INS.SG*
(/ aktor-*è*). KT
(/ Schauspielerin-*NOM.SG*)
'Ich wollte Schauspielerin sein.'

Die Daten des heutigen Litauischen, die zeigen, dass die Instrumental-Markierung für substantivische Prädikative in Kopulasätzen wie (29), (2) bei weitem

häufiger ist (SEMĖNIENĖ 2004; ŠUKYS 1998, 165, 263; vgl. zum Russischen NICHOLS (1981, 274); HENTSCHEL (1992)), lassen erwarten, dass auch in zusammengesetzten Sätzen wie (27), (28), (4) der Instrumental des substantivischen Depiktivs häufiger vorkommt als ein Kongruenzkasus, wobei es natürlich Fälle geben kann, in denen aus dem einen oder anderen Grund die Kasuskongruenz blockiert und nur der Instrumental möglich ist wie in (26).

2.4 Durch Kasuskongruenz, Instrumental oder *kaip*-Konstruktion markierte substantivische Depiktive

Wie beim substantivischen Prädikativ (vgl. (16)) kann neben kongruierendem Kasus und Instrumental auch die Konstruktion mit *kaip* 'als' depiktivisch verwendet werden. Im Gegensatz zu (6), wo aus dem Kontext hervorgeht, dass die *kaip*-Konstruktion eher depiktivisch zu verstehen ist (im Sinne von: 'Da er viele Siege errungen hatte, kehrte er nach Paris zurück und war dabei ein Held'), bleibt es in Ermangelung eines weiteren Zusammenhangs oft unklar, ob die *kaip*-Konstruktion, genau wie der auch im Sinne eines Vergleichs verwendbare Instrumental oder die *kaip*-Konstruktion in (26), depiktivisch oder als Vergleich zu verstehen ist:

- (30) Namo jje grįž-o kaip
 Heim sie.NOM.PL zurückkehren-PRT.3PL als / wie
 draug-ai (/ draug-ai / draug-ais).
 Freunde-NOM.PL (/ Freunde-NOM.PL / Freunde-INS.PL)
 'Sie kehrten nach Hause als / wie Freunde zurück.'

Eine der möglichen Interpretationen dieses Satzes ist die eines Vergleiches: Sie kehrten so nach Hause zurück, wie Freunde es tun, z.B. freundschaftlich miteinander plaudernd, während sie in Wirklichkeit gar keine Freunde waren. Die andere Interpretation ist die als Depiktiv: Sie kehrten heim und waren zugleich Freunde, d.h. sie hatten sich z.B. vorher zerstritten.

2.5 Durch Instrumental und *kaip*-Konstruktion oder nur durch *kaip*-Konstruktion markierte substantivische Depiktive

Bereits aus (24) und (26) ist ersichtlich, dass der kongruierende Kasus des Depiktivs infolge des Satzzusammenhangs oder der Semantik des substantivischen Depiktivs blockiert sein kann. In diesem Fall wird das Depiktiv instrumentalisch und/oder durch die *kaip*-Konstruktion markiert. Der kongruierende Kasus des substantivischen Depiktivs kann auch durch ein als Hauptprädikat funktionierendes Verb der Wahrnehmung wie *matyti* 'sehen', *regėti* 'dass.' u.ä. blockiert sein:

(31) Anot D. Vėbros, jau studijų metais

jis sav-e mat-ė kaip oper-os
er.NOM REFL-ACC.SG sehen-PRT.3SG als Oper-GEN.SG

daininink-ą (/ oper-os daininink-u,
Sąnger-ACC.SG (/ Sānger-INS.SG,

aber: *oper-os daininink-ą). KT

aber: *Sānger-ACC.SG)

‘Nach D. Vėbra sah er sich schon während seiner Studienzeit als Opernsānger.’

Es gibt auch Fälle, in denen das substantivische Depiktiv nur durch die *kaip*-Konstruktion markiert werden kann:

(32) Mums atrodė verta plačiai remtis šia ankstyvąja apybraiža dėl dviejų priežasčių. Pirma,

1802 m. Hegel-is [ja] raš-ė kaip
1802 Hegel-NOM [sie.ACC.SG] verfassen-PRT.3SG als

publicist-as (*publicist-as, *publicist-u)
Publizist-NOM.SG (*Publizist-NOM.SG, *Publizist-INS.SG)

ir vis dar nedemonstravo to nuostabaus dialektinių abstrakcijų rūbo, kuris jo filosofiją padarė tokią sunkią. KT

‘Es schien uns aus zwei Gründen angebracht, dass wir uns ausgiebig auf diese frühe Skizze stützten. Erstens verfasste sie Hegel 1802 als Publizist und stellte darin in keiner Weise das wunderbare Kleid aus dialektischen Abstraktionen zur Schau, das seine Philosophie so schwer verständlich machte.’

Aus den kurzen Ausführungen über die morphosyntaktische Markierung von substantivischen Depiktiven lässt sich folgern, dass letztere in morphosyntaktischer Hinsicht ähnlich markiert werden wie substantivische Prädikative in Kopulasätzen: Neben den Fällen, in denen die Kongruenz zwischen substantivischem Depiktiv und Bezugswort obligatorisch ist, existieren auch Fälle, in denen das Depiktiv fakultativ kongruiert, sowohl in einfachen Sätzen mit finitem Hauptprädikat als auch in zusammengesetzten Sätzen mit infinitem Hauptprädikat. Im letzteren Fall, d.h. wenn das substantivische Depiktiv in Bezug zu einem infiniten Prädikat steht und zweierlei morphosyntaktische Markierung möglich ist, kongruierende und nicht kongruierende, ist, ähnlich wie bei den nominalen Prädikativen in Kopulasätzen, nicht kongruierende Markierung im Instrumental vorherrschend, und zwar unabhängig davon, ob das substantivische Depiktiv (Prädikat) eine semantische Verbindung zum Bezugswort im Subjektsnomina-

tiv, -dativ oder Objektsakkusativ bzw. -dativ aufweist oder nicht. Wenn die infinitive Konstruktion mit dem subjektivischen Depikativ oder Kopulaprädikativ die Stelle des propositionalen Arguments eines anderen Prädikats einnimmt, kann der kongruierende Kasus blockiert und nur der Instrumental möglich sein. Überhaupt lässt sich feststellen, dass eine Markierung des substantivischen Depikativs durch Kasuskongruenz hier infolge semantischer oder syntaktischer Merkmale des Satzes um einiges öfter blockiert ist als beim substantivischen Prädikativ in Kopulasätzen. Auch in den Fällen, wo das substantivische Depikativ im Prinzip durch kongruierenden und/oder nicht kongruierenden Kasus markiert werden kann, ist der Instrumental, dessen Verwendung nicht als Markierung eines vorübergehenden Zustands erklärt werden kann, üblicher. Man kann davon ausgehen, dass im Litauischen in finiten Sätzen, ähnlich wie im Russischen (vgl. KRÍŽKOVÁ 1969, 14; FRANKS 1995, 222; zum Polnischen auch 276ff.), substantivische Depikative in den Fällen häufiger instrumentalisch markiert werden, in denen das Bezugswort nicht ein im Nominativ stehendes Subjekt des Hauptprädikats ist. Diese Hypothese wird auch dadurch gestützt, dass in Bezug zum Objekt stehende substantivische Komplementative im Litauischen durch den Instrumental markiert werden. Im Folgenden also kurz zur typischen Markierung von substantivischen Komplementativen.

3. Die morphosyntaktische Markierung substantivischer Komplementative

Im heutigen Litauischen werden substantivische Komplementative normalerweise durch den Instrumental markiert, wie in:

(33) Ją tēt-is vadin-o angel-u
 Sie.ACC.SG Vater-NOM.SG nennen-PRT.3SG Engel-INS.SG

(*angel-a).

(*Engel-ACC.SG)

‘Der Vater nannte sie einen Engel.’

Anders als in der heutigen litauischen Schriftsprache, wo z.B. in Verbindung mit *vadinti* ‘nennen’ oder anderen Nennverben (engl. “verbs of naming”) der Instrumental die Norm ist, finden wir in den Schriften des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts bei *vadinti* neben dem Instrumental auch Kasuskongruenz (dazu ausführlicher PALIONIS 1967, 151f; SCHMALSTIEG 1988, 143f; 249f.). Man kann also sagen, dass der Instrumental sich in der heutigen litauischen Schriftsprache zuerst in Verbindung mit Vollverben durchgesetzt hat, die einen Kasus regieren, d.h. in der Position des Arguments eines Vollverbs.

Neben den Fällen, in denen das substantivische Komplementativ nur im Instrumental stehen kann – was, wie oben erwähnt, vor allem für auf Objekte bezogene substantivische Komplementative gilt –, gibt es auch Fälle, wo sowohl Instrumental als auch (i) kongruierender Kasus (vgl. (5)) oder (ii) die *kaip*-Konstruktion (vgl. (25)) möglich ist. Anders als das substantivische Depiktiv oder Prädikativ in Kopulasätzen wird das substantivische Komplementativ nie nur durch Kasuskongruenz markiert. Es ist möglich, dass morphosyntaktische Varianten von kongruierendem Kasus und Instrumental dann auftreten, wenn das Bezugswort das Subjekt ist.

4. Schlussbemerkungen

Um auf die am Anfang dieses Aufsatzes erwähnte Skala (13) zurückzukommen, so lässt sich folgendes feststellen:

(i) Substantivische Prädikative in Kopulasätzen und substantivisch-prädikative Komplementative zeigen prinzipiell dieselben Markierungen. Nur die Häufigkeit der Verwendung des Kongruenzkasus einerseits und des Instrumentalkasus andererseits sind unterschiedlich. Die Tendenz zur Verwendung des kongruierenden Kasus im heutigen Litauischen nimmt folgendermaßen ab: Je weiter rechts sich ein Substantiv in dieser Skala befindet, desto häufiger steht es im Instrumental.

(ii) In Bezug auf das Substantiv als primäres bzw. sekundäres Prädikativ lässt sich die Dominanz der einen oder anderen morphosyntaktischen Markierung aufgrund syntaktischer oder semantischer Merkmale feststellen. In den einen Fällen werden verschiedene Formen als morphosyntaktische Varianten verwendet, in anderen, wenn der Gebrauch einer Struktur beschränkt ist, stehen die Kasus in einem Oppositionsverhältnis: Auch wenn im heutigen Schriftlitauischen der Instrumental für substantivische Komplementative üblich ist, so existieren für substantivische Prädikative und Depiktive doch Fälle, in denen Kasuskongruenz obligatorisch ist.

(iii) Neben den Fällen, in denen substantivische Prädikative in Kopulasätzen, Depiktive oder Komplementative obligatorisch durch kongruierenden oder nicht kongruierenden Kasus markiert werden, kann die primäre oder sekundäre Prädikation auch im Sinne von morphosyntaktischen Varianten durch kongruierenden Kasus und/oder Instrumental und / oder *kaip*-Konstruktion markiert sein. Es kann auch nur die *kaip*-Konstruktion in Frage kommen. Wenn das sekundäre substantivische Prädikativ durch die *kaip*-Konstruktion markiert ist, so nähert sich deren Semantik derjenigen einer Vergleichskonstruktion mit *kaip* 'wie' oder, anders gesagt, kann in solchen Fällen die auf eines der Argumente des Hauptprädikats

bezogene *kaip*-Konstruktion als adverbiale vergleichende Konstruktion verstanden werden, die auf das Satzprädikat bezogen ist und im Satz als Adverbialbestimmung funktioniert.

(iv) In den Fällen, wo das substantivische Prädikativ in Kopulasätzen durch die morphosyntaktischen Varianten kongruierender Kasus/Instrumental markiert sein kann, ist der Nominativ in Kopulasätzen mit finiter Kopula häufiger. Obwohl der Instrumental solcher Prädikative im Prinzip nicht bei expliziter oder impliziter Präsensform der Kopula verwendet wird, beeinflusst die morphologische Form der finiten Kopula die Tendenzen zur Verwendung des Kasus. Die Tendenz zur Überhandnahme des Instrumentals lässt sich an der Skala:

Präsens < Präteritum < Futur < Konjunktiv < Imperativ und Real < Irreal

ablesen. Die Verwendung des Nominativs mit Präsensformen von *būti* ist mit der Markierung von statischen Merkmalen zu erklären. Wenn man „X ist Y“ sagt, meint man, dass X die zeitlich unveränderliche Eigenschaft Y hat. Dagegen kann die wachsende Neigung, den Instrumental mit beim Präteritum, beim Futur und ähnlichen Formen von *būti* zu verwenden, durch Dynamizität erklärt werden: Aus „X wird Y“ folgt: „X ist (jetzt) nicht Y, wird aber zu Y“. Nominativ und Instrumental sind also prinzipiell als Varianten möglich, wenn die finite Form der Kopula eine veränderliche, also dynamische, Eigenschaft, d.h. einen Prozess, markiert; wenn die finite Form von *būti* dagegen eine unveränderliche, statische Eigenschaft markiert, verwendet man normalerweise den Nominativ (siehe auch STASSEN 2001). Einfluss auf die Verwendung des Kasus hat aber nicht nur das Tempus der Kopula, sondern auch die durch sie ausgedrückte Modalität: Je mehr die Modalität *irreal* möglich wird, desto wahrscheinlicher wird die Verwendung des Instrumentals (vgl. HENTSCHEL 1993b: 268). Deutlich häufiger als der Nominativ ist der Instrumental bei substantivischen Prädikativen mit infiniter Kopula, d.h. in zusammengesetzten Sätzen (SEMĒNIENE 2004; vgl. die von HENTSCHEL aufgestellten Hierarchien für das Polnische des 16. und 17. Jhs. (1993b) und das Russische (1991a; 1992; 1993b)).

(v) Der im Satz als Adjunkt (Modifizierer) funktionierende Instrumental sekundärer Prädikate, d.h. Depiktive, kommt ebenfalls regelmäßig in Verbindung mit Vollverben vor, wenn diese eine infinite Form aufweisen. Eine klare Tendenz zu überwiegendem Instrumentalgebrauch ist auch in Kontexten zu beobachten, wo das Vollverb eine finite Form aufweist.

Quelle

KT – Korpus der heutigen litauischen Schriftsprache der Vytautas-Magnus-Universität Kaunas <<http://donelaitis.vdu.lt>>

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Are there depictives in Adyghe?¹

1. Introduction

The term “depictive secondary predicate” (or simply “depictive”) is used here in the sense specified by Eva Schultze-Berndt and Nikolaus P. Himmelmann (SCHULTZE-BERNDT & HIMMELMANN 2004; HIMMELMANN & SCHULTZE-BERNDT 2005), who developed the following seven criteria for distinguishing depictive secondary predicates from simple predicates and adverbs (2004, 77-78):

A depictive secondary predicate construction is a clause-level construction which meets the following seven criteria:

- i. It contains two separate predicative elements, the main predicate and the depictive, where the state of affairs expressed by the depictive holds within the time frame of the eventuality expressed by the main predicate.
- ii. The depictive is obligatorily controlled, i.e., there exists a formal relation to one participant of the main predicate, the controller, which is usually interpreted as a predicative relationship (i.e., the depictive predicates an eventuality of the controller). The controller is not expressed separately as an argument of the depictive.
- iii. The depictive makes a predication about its controller which is at least in part independent of the predication conveyed by the main predicate, i.e., the depictive does not form a complex or periphrastic predicate with the main predicate.
- iv. The depictive is not an argument of the main predicate, i.e., it is not obligatory.
- v. The depictive does not form a low-level constituent with the controller, i.e., it does not function as a modifier of the controller.
- vi. The depictive is non-finite (it is not marked for tense or mood categories), or the dependency of the depictive on the main predicate is indicated in other formal ways.

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vii. The depictive is part of the same prosodic unit as the main predicate.

This concept of depictives is certainly useful for many European languages. Yet it is by no means evident that it should work for languages of a different typology. In this paper, I will discuss this issue using the data of Adyghe, a polysynthetic ergative language of the West Caucasian (Abkhaz-Adyghe) family.

Adyghe is spoken by around 130 000 people, mainly in the Adyghe Republic, Russian Federation. Native Adyghe speakers are also found in Turkey, Syria and other countries (KOŽEMJAKINA 2000, 37-38; KORJAKOV 2006, 22-23). Adyghe is subdivided into the Abzakh, Shapsug, Bzhedugh and Temirgoi (Chamgui) dialects. This study is based on the Temirgoi dialect as spoken in the village of Haqurinoahl, where it is influenced by the Abzakh dialect spoken nowadays by some of the village residents.²

In the first section, I will examine the main functions of the suffix *-ew*, the only suffix which can express the depictive meaning. Then I will show that adjectives with depictive meaning obligatorily agree with their controllers in person and that forms in *-ew* with person agreement can be marked by different tense forms. The latter means that Adyghe forms in *-ew* violate the first criterion mentioned above (being in the time frame of the eventuality expressed by the main predicate). Thus according to Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann's criteria they cannot be considered as depictive secondary predicates.

Person agreement is a property of predicates in Adyghe. As to participant-oriented adjectives in *-ew*, only a small number of them can express depictive meaning without person agreement markers. This class of adjectives is unstable and varies with different speakers. Only these adjectives can be called true depictives in Adyghe.

In the following section, I will examine the use of *-ew* with nouns (*He came to the meeting as a director*). Nouns with depictive meaning permit omission of person agreement with their controllers and cannot be marked by tense suffixes. They are more productive than adjectives, which permit the omission of person agreement while preserving their orientation to one of the participants. The only thing that might prevent us from classifying participant-oriented nouns in *-ew* as true depictives is the fact that they are not in the scope of negation of the main predicate.

I conclude with the hypothesis, which needs to be tested on a wider range of material, that in a polysynthetic language with extensive agreement and weak

2 The material for this paper was collected during my fieldwork in Haqurinoahl, Shovgenovskiy District, Adyghe Republic, Russian Federation in 2005 and 2006. The Abzakh variety represented there can be somewhat different from the variety described by Catherine PARIS (1989).

contrast between noun and verb, true depictives in the sense of Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann may not be a productive phenomenon.

2. The suffix *-ew*

The only candidate for a depictive marker is the suffix *-ew*, which has at least four functions.³

2.1 Main functions of the suffix *-ew*

1) The suffix *-ew* converts adjectives into adverbs (1)-(3):

- | | | | |
|-----|--|---|--------------------------------|
| (1) | psənç'e
'fast (adj.); light, easy (adj.)' | — | psənç'-ew
'quickly; easily' |
| (2) | fabe
'warm' | — | fab-ew
'warmly' |
| (3) | daxe
'beautiful' | — | dax-ew
'beautifully' |

2) *-ew* optionally marks the second argument ((5) vs. (4)) or the third argument ((7) vs. (6), (8) vs. (7)) of some predicates such as 'become', 'nominate', 'consider'. Grammars call *-ew* in this function an "adverbial case" (JAKOVLEV & AŠXAMAF 1941; ROGAVA & KERAŠEVA 1966; ZEKOX 2002).

- (4) mašjənjəst sə-χ^wə-š't
engine.driver 1SG-become-IRR
'I am going to be an engine driver (when I grow up).'
- (5) mašjənjəst-ew sə-χ^wə-š't
engine.driver-ADV 1SG-become-IRR
'I will become an engine driver (when I grow up).'
- (6) djərektor s-a-šə-β-ep
director 1SG-3PL-make-PST-NEG
'I was not nominated director.'
- (7) djərektor-ew s-a-šə-β-ep
director-ADV 1SG-3PL-make-PST-NEG
'I was not nominated director.'

3 In this paper I will not discuss the functions of this suffix in the closely related Kabardian language, where it may have somewhat different functions. For *-ew* in Kabardian, see JAKOVLEV (1948), ABITOV et al. (1957), KUIPERS (1962), BAGOV (1970), COLARUSSO (1992).

- (8) se sə-ʔ^wš-ew ze-se-łate-ž'ə
 I 1SG-clever-ADV REFL-1SG-consider-RE
 'I consider myself clever.'

3) *-ew* can be used to form "adverbial participles" (converbs) from verbal stems. Giorgi Rogava and Zainab Keraševa (ROGAVA & KERAŠEVA 1966, 170-236) state that adverbial participles cannot be marked for mood categories, though they can be used with all tense suffixes of dynamic verbs:

- (9) k^wen 'to go'
 k^w-ew 'while he is going' (go-ADV)
 k^wa-ɤ-ew 'while he was going' (go-PST-ADV)
 k^we-ɤa-ɤ-ew 'while he had been going' (go-PST-PST-ADV)
 k^wə-št-ew 'while he will go' (go-IRR-ADV)

Tense in Adyghe adverbial participles does not obligatorily coincide with the tense of the main predicate. Thus they do not satisfy Schultze-Berndt & Himmelmann's first and sixth criteria for a depictive secondary predicate construction. As Adyghe adverbial participles cannot be candidates for depictives, I do not discuss them in this paper.

Adyghe also possesses converbs marked by *-ze* (dialectal *-re*, *-zere*), *-me* (conditional suffix), *-č'e* (labelled "conditional second" in some grammars) and their various derivatives. All of them can be marked by various tense forms and will not be discussed here.

4) *-ew* can mark relative construction heads

- (10) se s-še-r-ep njepe g_wəpšəs-ew ə-g_wə jə-łə-r
 I 1SG-know-DYN-NEG today idea-ADV 3SG-heart LOC-lie-ABS
 'I don't know the ideas he has today.'

2.2 *-ew* constructions with depictive meaning

The following example shows that *-ew* can form constructions with depictive meaning. It can have two readings: 'Ramazan is walking around Moscow joyfully', where *č'ef-ew* is an event-oriented adverb; and 'Ramazan is joyful as he walks around Moscow' where *č'ef-ew* is participant-oriented.

- (11) ramazan č'ef-ew moskwa qə-š'-je-k^wəhe
 Ramazan joyful-ADV Moscow DIR-LOC-LOC-walk
 'Ramazan is walking around Moscow being joyful / joyfully.'

This brings up the issue of how one can formally distinguish between participant-oriented and event-oriented forms in *-ew*.

One of the criteria that could be used for distinguishing between event-oriented adverbs and participant-oriented adverbs in Adyghe seems to be the capacity of the latter to take the plural agreement suffix *-x*. Usually, this suffix is not found with event-oriented adverbs (12), while it is obligatory with participant-oriented adverbs when the controller is in the plural (13).

- (12) šə-re šəpχ^wə-re č'ef-ew adəga-bze-r
 brother-& sister-& joyful-ADV Adyghe-language-ABS
 zer-a-ka-še
 RECP-3PL-CAUS-know
 'The brother and the sister learn the Adyghe language with enjoyment ["joyfully"].'
- (13) šə-re šəpχ^wə-re č'efə-x-ew adəga-bze-r
 brother-& sister-& joyful-PL-ADV Adyghe-language-ABS
 zer-a-ka-še
 RECP-3PL-CAUS-know
 'The brother_i and the sister_j learn the Adyghe language with enjoyment ["joyful_{i+j}"].'

Nonetheless (14) and (15) show that this contrast is not strong, since here we find the plural marker with event-oriented forms in *-ew*. However, note that in these examples the adverbials are separated from their possible controllers. This suggests that participant-oriented forms in *-ew* with the plural marker cannot be separated from their controllers. By contrast, event-oriented forms in *-ew* can be marked with the plural marker only if they are placed near the predicate.

- (14) šə-re šəpχ^wə-re adəga-bze-r č'efə-x-ew
 brother-& sister-& Adyghe-language-ABS joyful-PL-ADV
 zer-a-ka-še
 RECP-3PL-CAUS-know
 'The brother_i and sister_j learn the Adyghe language joyfully / *joyful_{i+j}.'
- (15) šə-re šəpχ^wə-re ježape-m č'efə-x-ew
 brother-& sister-& school-ERG joyful-PL-ADV

adəga-bze-r zer-a-βa-ʃe
 Adyghe-language-ABS RECP-3PL-CAUS-know
 'The brother and sister joyfully learn the Adyghe language at school.'
 *'The brother, and sister, learn the Adyghe language at school joyful_{i+j}.'

The question we have to answer is what *č'ef-x-ew* 'joyful' in (13) is. Is it a specialized participant-oriented adverb (i.e. a depictive) or a general subordinated converb similar to what we saw in 2.1?

In the next section I will show that in Adyghe, the number agreement of participant-oriented forms in *-ew* like *č'ef-x-ew* 'joyful' in (13) and their adjacency to the controller are not sufficient to classify them as depictives.

3. Person agreement of participant-oriented forms in *-ew*

3.1 Person agreement in Adyghe

Adyghe verbs are divided into dynamic and static classes. Table 1 shows the way the static verb *š'ətən* 'to stand' agrees with its absolutive argument.

SG		PL	
1. se	sə-š'ət 'I am standing'	te	tə-š'ət 'We are standing'
2. we	wə-š'ət 'You are standing'	š ^w e	š ^w ə-š'ət 'You are standing'
3. ar	Ø-š'ət 'S/he is standing'	axer	Ø-š'ətə-x 'They are standing'

Table 1: Verbal person agreement

Notice that the 3rd person singular remains unmarked. The plural is conveyed by the suffix *-x*.

The same person markers occur in predicative nouns:

SG		PL	
1. se	sə-pšaš 'I am a girl'	te	tə-pšaš 'We are girls'
2. we	wə-pšaš 'You are a girl'	š ^w e	š ^w ə-pšaš 'You are girls'
3. ar	Ø-pšaš 'She is a girl'	axer	Ø-pšaše-x 'They are girls'

Table 2: Nominal person agreement

Participant-oriented forms in *-ew* obligatorily agree with their controller in person. With 1st and 2nd person plural controllers, they can have an optional plural marker *-x*.

- (16) *sə-çəḵ^w-ew* *bjəbljəje-m* *s-jə-žə-ɸ*
 1SG-little-ADV Bible-ERG 1SG-3SG-read-PST
 ‘I read the Bible being a child’ (‘When I was a child I read the Bible.’)
- (17) *te* *wolejbol* *leš-ew* *tə-rə-raze-[x]-ew*
 we volleyball strong-ADV 1PL-INSTR-pleased-[PL]-ADV
t-je-ḡe
 1PL-3SG-play
 ‘We play volleyball with great pleasure.’
- (18) *we* *wə-λapç-ew* *wə-q-jəç’ə-ɸ* *se*
 you 2SG-barefooted-ADV 2SG-DIR-go.out-PST I
sə-b-ka-ḵ^wete-ž’ə-n-ew
 1SG-2SG-CAUS-go-RE-POT-ADV
 ‘You went out barefooted to see me off.’
- (19) *ḡ^we* *ḡ^wə-çəne-[x]-ew* *konfet* *qə-ḡ^w-a-tə-š’t-ep*
 you.PL 2PL-wet-[PL]-ADV sweets DIR-2PL-3PL-give-IRR-NEG
 ‘Being wet you will not get the sweets.’ (‘While/since you are wet they will not give you the sweets.’)

We may conclude that in examples like (13) (repeated here for convenience as (20)) forms in *-ew* are zero-marked for the 3rd person:

- (20) *šə-re* *šəpχ^wə-re* *Ø-č’efə-x-ew* *ježəpe-m*
 brother-& sister-& 3-joyful-PL-ADV school-ERG
adəga-bze-r *zer-a-ka-ḡe*
 Adyghe-language-ABS RECP-3PL-CAUS-know
 ‘The brother_i and the sister_j learn the Adyghe language with enjoyment [“joyful_{i+j}”].’

3.2 Controllers

Most Adyghe predicates can be categorized as monovalent intransitive (*ḵ^wen* ‘to go’), bivalent intransitive (*ježen* ‘to wait’), trivalent intransitive (*tə-qə-də-we-žə-ɸ* 1PL-DIR-COM-2SG-wait-PST ‘we were waiting for you with him’), bivalent transitive (*edən* ‘to sew’), or trivalent transitive (*qə-z-de-p-š’a-ɸ* DIR-1SG-COM-2SG-bring-PST ‘you brought him with me’).

Participant-oriented forms in *-ew* with person agreement can be used with different types of main predicates (intransitive, bivalent transitive, trivalent transitive) and can be controlled by subject of intransitive predicate (21), indirect object of intransitive predicate (22), subject of bivalent transitive predicate (23), direct object of bivalent transitive verb (24), subject of trivalent transitive predicate (25), direct object of trivalent transitive predicate (26) and indirect object of trivalent transitive verb (27).

- (21) *se sə-ʔ^wəš-ew* *we sə-b-de-ḵ^we*
 I 1SG-clever-ADV you 1SG-2SG-COM-go
 'Being clever I go with you.' ('Because I'm clever I'm going to marry you' / 'I'm clever and I'm going to marry you.' (ironic))
- (22) *se we wə-ʔ^wəš-ew* *sə-b-de-ḵ^we*
 I you 2SG-clever-ADV 1SG-2SG-COM-go
 'I, go with you_j being clever_j.' ('I'm going to marry you because you are so clever.' (ironic))
- (23) *we wə-dax-ew* *qepłanə-r w-e-wəç'ə*
 you 2SG-beautiful-ADV tiger-ABS 2SG-3SG-kill
 'Being beautiful you are killing the tiger.' ('Though you are beautiful, you are killing the tiger.')
- (24) *se we wə-nəbž'əç'-ew* *wə-sə-wəç'ə-št*
 I you 2SG-young-ADV 2SG-1SG-kill-IRR
 'I_i will kill you_j being young_j.' ('I will kill you while you are young.')
- (25) *we wə-dax-ew* *a-r se qə-z-de-p-š'a-κ*
 you 2SG-beautiful-ADV that-ABS I DIR-1SG-COM-2SG-bring-PST
 'You are beautiful and you brought him with me.' (lit.: 'Being beautiful you brought her/him with me.')
- (26) *tə-m a-š' se sə-nəbžəç'-ew sə-rjə-tə-κ*
 father-ERG that-ERG I 1SG-young-ADV 1SG-3SG-give-PST
 'My father gave me_i to somebody when I was young_i.' (lit.: 'The father gave me_i being young_i to somebody.')
- (27) *a-š' a-r se sə-dax-ew*
 that-ERG that-ABS I 1SG-beautiful-ADV
qə-s-f-jə-š'a-κ
 DIR-1SG-BEN-3SG-bring-PST
 'S/he_i brought her_j/him_j to me_k when I was beautiful_k.' (lit.: 'S/he_i brought her_j/him_j to me_k being beautiful_k.')

3.3 Semantics of forms with *-ew*

Depictive-like forms marked with *-ew* can refer to manner (13), lifetime (16) and color (29).

- (28) [š'aj š^wəçe]_{NP}⁴ wə-ješ^we
 tea black 2SG-drink
 'You are drinking black tea.'
- (29) š'aj š^wəç-ew wə-ješ^we
 tea black-ADV 2SG-drink
 'You drink tea black.' ('You drink tea if it is black.')

-ew can also be used with expressions of similarity (30) and time (31).

- (30) bl-ew zə-ʔ^wanɕe-š'tə.ɕe
 snake-ADV REFL-curve-IPFV
 'S/he was coiling like a snake.'
- (31) çəf-me č'eš'ə-ew š^weməç' q-a-wəβ^wejə-ɕ
 man-ERG.PL night-ADV coal DIR-3PL-collect-PST
 'The people were collecting coal at night.'

However these forms are event-oriented. Witness the following examples, where the similitive phrase *bl-ew* does not agree with its controller in person (32) and number (33).

- (32) [we] bl-ew / *wə-bl-ew zə-p-ʔ^wanɕe-š'tə.ɕe
 you snake-ADV 2SG-snake-ADV REFL-2SG-curve-IPFV
 'You were coiling like a snake.'
- (33) axer bl-ew / *ble-x-ew z-a-ʔ^wanɕe-š'tə.ɕe
 they snake-ADV snake-PL-ADV REFL-3PL-curve-IPFV
 'They were coiling like snakes.'

-ew is ungrammatical with group numerals (34), though it is allowed with quantified nominals (35).

- (34) jure-re se-re t-jə-ɕ^w / *t-jə-ɕ^w-ew t^wəč'anə-m
 Yura-& I-& 1PL-LNK⁵-two 1PL-LNK-two-ADV shop-ERG
 tə-ɕ^wa-ɕ
 1PL-go-PST
 'Yura and I both went to the shop.'

4 The structure of NP will be discussed in 3.4.

5 A linker is a special morpheme which is obligatory with numerals. In its form it is identical to the possessive marker. However we consider them different morphemes, because possessive *ɕə* is used only with some nouns, while the linker *ɕə* is obligatory with all numerals.

- (35) a-xe-r š'əsə-ke-x nebgər-jə-š'-ew
 that-PL-ABS sit-PST-PL man-LNK-three-ADV
 'They were sitting together the three of them.' (lit.: 'They were sitting as three man.')

In SCHULTZE-BERNDT & HIMMELMANN's (2004) list of possible depictives one can find expressions with comitative and locative meanings. In Adyghe, in the case of comitatives and locatives, either the *-ew* construction requires the presence of a subordinated predicate specifying the relation (cf. (36)-(37)) or it is not used at all (examples (38)-(39)).

- (36) milicionerə-r ha-xe-r jəḅʷəs-ew a-š'
 policeman-ABS dog-PL-ABS accompany-ADV that-ERG
 λəχʷə-š'tə.ke
 seek-IPFV
 'The policeman was seeking her/him with dogs.' (lit. 'The policeman_i was seeking her/him_j with dogs accompanying him_i.')
- (37) *milicionerə-r ha-x-ew a-š' λəχʷə-š'tə.ke
 policeman-ABS dog-PL-ADV that-ERG seek-IPFV
- (38) mafe qes qale-m meze-m-č'e we-ḵʷe
 day every town-ERG forest-ERG-INS 2SG-go
 'Every day you go to the town through the forest.'
- (39) *mafe qes qale-m mez-ew we-ḵʷe
 day every town-ERG forest-ADV 2SG-go

3.4 Attributive and *-ew* constructions

When asked to translate Russian sentences with depictive expressions into Adyghe, native speakers often provide attributive constructions. This suggests the idea that attributive and *-ew* constructions are in some way related to each other. Here I will try to establish what type of attributive construction can be transformed into constructions with *-ew*.

Adyghe has two attributive constructions.⁶ The first is structured as "semantic head + attributive", where the attributive is usually an adjective (*wəne fəž'ə-r* house white-ABS 'the white house'). The second is structured as "attributive + semantic head", where the attributive is usually a noun denoting for example

6 It should be noted that the constituents of both constructions phonologically, morphologically and syntactically form a single whole. Arguably, it is more correct to label these constructions "compounding" or "nominal incorporation". However, a discussion of this alternative analysis would go far beyond the scope of this paper.

material (*pxe pxentek^wə-r* wood chair-ABS ‘the wooden chair’).⁷ The former attributive construction can be transformed into a construction with *-ew*, as in (40)-(41), but the latter cannot (42)-(43).

- (40) *š^we [b^wətəlke neč’ə]_{NP-r} š^wə-q^wəta-ɤe*
 you.PL bottle empty-ABS 2PL-break-PST
 ‘You broke the empty bottle.’
- (41) *š^we b^wətəlke-r neč’-ew š^wə-q^wəta-ɤe*
 you.PL bottle-ABS empty-ADV 2PL-break-PST
 ‘You broke the bottle being empty.’ (‘You broke the bottle while/when it was empty.’)
- (42) *kol’e [pxe pxentek^wə]_{NP-r} ə-šta-ɤ*
 Kolja wood chair-ABS 3SG-take-PST
 ‘Kolja took the wooden chair.’
- (43) **kol’e px-ew pxentek^w-r ə-šta-ɤ*
 Kolja wood-ADV chair-ABS 3SG-take-PST
**kol’e pxentek^w-r px-ew ə-šta-ɤ*
 Kolja chair-ABS wood-ADV 3SG-take-PST

We thus see that the possibility of a presumed depictive formation correlates to some extent with the corresponding type of attributive construction: mainly those depictives are appropriate and meet the criteria which correspond to the “semantic head + attributive” pattern.

3.5 *-ew*-predicates formed from pronouns

Forms in *-ew* with person markers can even be formed from personal pronouns and the reflexive pronoun *jež’* ‘-self’. It is more typical, however, for such forms to serve as arguments of predicates such as *χ^wən* ‘become’ and *š^wešən* ‘seem’. Therefore they do not behave as depictives proper.

- (44) *se sə-we-r-ew sə-χ^wə-š’t jənə sə-χ^wə-me*
 I 1SG-you-COP-ADV 1SG-become-IRR big 1SG-become-COND
 ‘I will be [like] you when I grow up.’

7 The distinction between the first and the second attributive constructions is not clear-cut, nor is the distinction between adjectives and nouns, both being based on the tradition of Adyghe language descriptions. There is a class of “adjectives” which can be postposed and preposed to the semantic head (e. g. names of colors). There is also a class of “nouns” which can be preposed and postposed to the semantic head. Arguably, it is more correct not to distinguish between adjectives and nouns and to use the term “nominal stem” for both.

- (45) a-š' sə-jež'ə-r-ew qə-š^wešə
 that-ERG 1SG-self-COP-ADV DIR-seem
 'She believes me to be him.' (lit.: 'For her, I seem to be him.')

4. Participant-oriented forms in *-ew* with person marking

In this section I will examine properties of person-marked forms in *-ew* and try to determine whether they can be labeled depictives or not.

4.1 The scope of negation

To distinguish depictives from so-called free adjuncts (STUMP 1985), SCHULTZE-BERNDT & HIMMELMANN (2004), suggest scope of negation as a test. Consider the following examples:

- a. He didn't leave *outraged* (he left in a calm mood // he didn't leave at all)
- b. He didn't leave, *outraged* / *outraged*, he didn't leave (he didn't leave at all)

As is shown in these examples, depictives (a) are always in the scope of negation of the main predicate and thus in the same clause as the main predicate. Free adjuncts (b) are not in the scope of negation of the main predicate. However they "share one essential feature of a secondary predicate (i.e., predicates on one of the participants of a preceding or following finite verb) but lack another essential feature (i.e., not part of the same clause as the finite verb)" (SCHULTZE-BERNDT & HIMMELMANN 2004, 68).

Within the Adyghe construction discussed here, when the main predicate is negated, the form in *-ew* with person agreement can have two readings. Thus, example (46) can be used in one of the following two contexts: (a) – 'I didn't go home because I was dirty'; (b) – 'Today I washed myself and went home clean'.

- (46) njepe wəne-m sə-š^wej-ew sə-ḵ^we-ž'ə-ḵ-ep
 today home-ERG 1SG-dirty-ADV 1SG-go-RE-PST-NEG
 'Today I didn't go home dirty.'

This shows that the form in *-ew* in this construction can occur outside of the scope of clausal negation (reading a), yet it need not (reading b). Hence, according to the negation test, these forms can be classified as depictives.

4.2 Tense-aspect markers

In spite of the fact that forms in *-ew* with person markers can be in the scope of negation of the main predicate, they can have tense suffixes of their own, which differentiates them from depictives proper (criterion vi). For example:

- (47) *wə-səmaʒə-ew səd-a hadakə-m wə-z-č'e-kʷe-š'tə-r*
 2SG-ill-ADV what-Q funeral-ERG 2SG-REL-RSN-go-IRR-ABS
 'If you are ill, why are you going to the funeral?'
- (48) *wə-səmaʒa-β-ew səd-a hadakə-m wə-z-č'e-kʷe-š'tə-r*
 2SG-ill-PST-ADV what-Q funeral-ERG 2SG-REL-RSN-go-IRR-ABS
 'If you have been ill, why are you going to the funeral?'
- (49) *tə-ps'erəβ-ew wedə tə-χʷə-ž'ə-β*
 1PL-fat-PST-ADV thin 1PL-become-RE-PST
 'We were fat, [but/and] became thin.'
- (50) *tə-ps'erə-βa-β-ew wedə tə-χʷə-ž'ə-β*
 1PL-fat-PST-PST-ADV thin 1PL-become-RE-PST
 'We had been fat, [but/and] became thin.'
- (51) *wə-thamete-n-ew we wə-q-a-βe-λeβʷa-β*
 2SG-chairman-POT-ADV you 2SG-DIR-3PL-CAUS-see-PST
 'You were nominated as the future chairman.' (lit. 'You were shown that you will be the chairman.')

The examples above show that the forms in *-ew* addressed here can have the following tense suffixes: past (*-βe*), remote past (*-βa-βe*), future (*-n*). They have the same form as adverbial participles (converbs) of stative verbs like *š'ətən* 'stand' (ROGAVA & KERAŠEVA 1967, 234-236):

- š'ət-ew* 'while he is standing'
š'ətə-β-ew 'while he was standing'
š'ətə-βa-β-ew 'while he had been standing'

4.3 Parts of speech in Adyghe. Criterion of predicativity

Adyghe displays very little difference between nouns and stative verbs. Much like other languages of the same type, like Salishan, Wakashan, or Philippine (JACOBSEN 1979; VAN EIJK & HESS 1986; JELINEK & DEMERS 1994; MITHUN 1999; DAVIDSON 2002), it allows any notionally "nominal" stem (e.g. one denoting a material object or a person) to be used as a stem of a stative verb without any special "verbalizing" affix. In the following examples, the word 'guest' behaves like a finite stative verb (52a) or like a noun (52b). Verbs can be

used not only as predicates but as arguments as well, as in (53).⁸ Not only predicates but also nouns can be marked by tense (54):

- (52) a. a-r hač'e / hač'e-š
 that-ABS guest / guest-PST
 'S/he is a guest / was a guest.'
- b. hač'e[-r] qe-k^we-š't
 guest-ABS DIR-go-IRR
 'The guest will come.'
- (53) k_{wa}-ke-r hač'e
 come-PST-ABS guest
 '(The person) who came is a guest.'
- (54) č'elejekaže-š'tə-r qe_wet
 teacher-IRR-ABS find.IMP
 'Find the person that will be a teacher!' (LANDER & TESTELETS
 2006)

The only criterion that distinguishes predicates and nouns is the obligatory person marking of predicates. Thus forms in *-ew* with person agreement are closer to predicates than to adjuncts or depictives.

4.4 Conclusion

On the one hand, forms in *-ew* with person agreement are in the scope of negation of the main predicate (and are thus dependent elements); on the other hand, they can be marked with tense suffixes different from those of the main predicate (and thus violate the first and the sixth of Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann's criteria). Therefore, in accordance with Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann's criteria of a depictive construction, participant-oriented forms in *-ew* represent adverbial participles (converbs) of stative verbs rather than depictives.

8 Nonetheless, according to Yury LANDER and Yakov TESTELETS (2006) several differences between nouns and verbs can be noted. Verbs in argument uses, unlike nouns, cannot be used without an overt determiner (however, nouns provided with overt tense markers, like č'elejekaže-š'tə-r teacher-IRR-ABS 'a person who will be a teacher', cannot be used as arguments without a determiner as well); only nouns can have pronominal possessive prefixes.

5. Participant-oriented forms in *-ew* without person markers

In this section I will show that some of the forms in *-ew* permit omission of person marking.

In most instances, forms in *-ew* without person agreement prefixes are (event-oriented) adverbs, compare (23), repeated here as (55), with (56).

- (55) we *wə-dax-ew* qepλanə-ɾ w-e-wəç'ə
 you 2SG-beautiful-ADV tiger-ABS 2SG-3SG-kill
 'Being beautiful you are killing the tiger.' ('Though / Because you are beautiful, you are killing the tiger.')
- (56) we *dax-ew* qepλanə-ɾ w-e-wəç'ə
 you beautiful-ADV tiger-ABS 2SG-3SG-kill
 'You are killing the tiger elegantly.'

In some forms, person or 3rd person number marking may not be omitted. They do not function as adverbs, probably because their event orientation is less obvious:

- (57) se sə-qe-κ^wa-κ sə-melaç'-ew / *melaç'-ew
 I 1SG-DIR-go-PST 1SG-hungry-ADV
 'I came hungry.'
- (58) a-xe-ɾ qe-κ^wa-κe-x melaç'e-x-ew / *melaç'-ew
 that-PL-ABS DIR-go-PST-PL hungry-PL-ADV
 'They came hungry.'
- (59) wə-s-λeɸ^wə-κ wə-çən-ew / *çən-ew
 2SG-1SG-see-PST 2SG-wet-ADV
 'I saw that you were wet.'

Still, there is a small set of adjectives that allow omission of person agreement while preserving the orientation to one of the participants. These are *pçane* 'naked', *š^wej* 'dirty', *pš'erə* 'fat', *nəbž'əç* 'young', *səmaž* 'sick'.

- (60) [we] *wə-š^wej-ew* cirkə-m wə-κ^we-š't-ep
 you 2SG-dirty-ADV circus-ERG 2SG-go-IRR-NEG
 '[As/If] you are dirty, you won't go to the circus.'
- (61) [we] *š^wej-ew* cirkə-m wə-κ^we-š't-ep
 you dirty-ADV circus-ERG 2SG-go-IRR-NEG
 'You won't go to the circus dirty.'

The list of such adjectives may be not complete, and it varies with different native speakers. For example, some native speakers do not omit person agreement

of *nəbž'əç'* 'young' and *pš'erə* 'fat'. However, all the speakers I consulted can omit the person agreement with the adjective *pçane* 'naked'.

5.1 Controllers

The above-mentioned adjectives can be controlled by an intransitive subject as in (61), a transitive subject (63) and a transitive object (65) of a bivalent transitive verb.

- (62) [se] *sə-pçan-ew* pjersidska-bze
 I 1SG-naked-ADV Persian-language
ze-z-ka-še-r-ep
 REFL-1SG-CAUS-know-DYN-NEG
 'When/if I'm naked, I don't learn Persian.' (Russian: 'Kogda ja golyj, ja ne uču persidskij jazyk.')
- (63) [se] *pçan-ew* pjersidska-bze *ze-z-ka-še-r-ep*
 I naked-ADV Persian-language REFL-1SG-CAUS-know-DYN-NEG
 'Being naked I don't learn Persian.' (Russian: 'Ja golyj ne uču persidskij jazyk.')
- (64) *tə-nəbž'əç'e[-x]-ew* *zawe-m* *t-a-š'e-ka-κ*
 1PL-young[-PL]-ADV war-ERG 1PL-3PL-bring-PST-PST
 'They_i took us_j to the war being young_j' ('When we were young we were taken to war.') (Russian: 'Kogda my byli molodymi, nas zabrali na vojnu.')
- (65) *nəbž'əç'e-x-ew* *zawe-m* *t-a-š'e-ka-κ[-x]*
 young-PL-ADV war-ERG 1PL-3PL-bring-PST-PST-PL
 'Being young we were taken to war.'⁹ (Russian: 'Nas zabrali na vojnu molodymi').

With trivalent transitive verbs, person marking can be omitted only if the controller of the form in *-ew* is the subject (67) or the direct object (68).

- (66) *we wə-pçan-ew* *se a-š'* *sə-qə-de-p-š'a-x*
 you 2SG-naked-ADV I that-ERG 1SG-DIR-COM-2SG-bring-PST
 'Being naked you brought me somewhere with somebody.' ('When you were naked you brought me somewhere with somebody.')

9 According to some speakers' interpretation, in this sentence, the controller cannot be the absolutive of the main predicate. For other speakers, however, the interpretation given was the only possible one. With this reading, the plural suffix is obligatory.

- (67) we pčan-ew se a-š' sə-qə-de-p-š'a-κ
 you naked-ADV I that-ERG 1SG-DIR-COM-2SG-bring-PST
 'id.'
- (68) tə-m a-š' se nəbžəç'-ew sə-rjə-tə-κ
 father-ERG that-ERG I young-ADV 1SG-3SG-give-PST
 'The father gave me_i to somebody being young_i.' ('The father gave
 me to somebody when I was young.')(Russian: 'Otec obdal emu
 menja moloduju.')

If personal pronouns are omitted from sentences with trivalent transitive predicates, the only controller of forms in *-ew* will be the direct object (which, if explicitly expressed, is marked by the absolutive with this kind of predicate).

- (69) pčan-ew sə-qə-de-p-š'a-κ
 naked-ADV 1SG-DIR-COM-2SG-bring-PST
 'You_i brought me_j with somebody being naked_j.' ('When I was naked
 you brought me somewhere with somebody.')

With *pčan-ew* 'naked' used in sentence-final position, any participant may be the controller:

- (70) we se a-š' sə-qə-de-p-š'a-κ pčan-ew
 you I that-ERG 1SG-DIR-COM-2SG-bring-PST naked-ADV
 'You_i brought me_j with somebody_k being_{i/j/k} naked.' ('When I/you/he
 was/were naked you brought me somewhere with somebody.')

5.2 Negation test

As for the scope of negation, my data are controversial. Examples obtained from some native speakers show that participant-oriented adjectives which can omit person markers are not in the scope of negation of the main predicate:

- (71) se š^wej-ew wənə-m sə-κ^wa-κ-ep
 I dirty-ADV home-ERG 1SG-go-PST-NEG
 'Being dirty, I didn't go home.'
- (72) se njepe ježape-m səmaž'-ew sə-κ^wa-κ-ep
 I today school-ERG ill-ADV 1SG-go-PST-NEG
 'Being ill, I didn't go to school today.'

Thus the considered forms cannot be counted as true depictives, but participant-oriented adverbs such as the English *enthusiastically* in *John opened the door enthusiastically* (HALLIDAY 1967, 64) or the Russian *naročno* 'purposely', *nazlo* 'to spite' (always agent-oriented) or *polnost'ju* 'completely', *častično* 'partly' (always patient-oriented).

Examples obtained from other native speakers show that the reviewed forms are in the scope of negation of the main predicate (73), and can be viewed as true depictives. Example (73) can be used in two contexts: (a) 'I was so dirty today that I decided not to go home'; (b) 'I washed myself and went home clean today'.

- (73) njepe wəne-m §^wej-ew sə-k^we-ž'ə-ɤ-ep
 today home-ERG dirty-ADV 1SG-go-RE-PST-NEG
 'Today I didn't go home dirty.'

5.3 Tense markers

Participant-oriented adjectives in *-ew* without person agreement prefixes cannot have tense markers (74)-(75).

- (74) wə-səmažə-ɤ-ew səd-a hadaɤe-m wə-z-č'e-k^we-š'tə-r
 2SG-ill-PST-ADV what-Q funeral-ERG 2SG-REL-RSN-go-IRR-ABS
 'If you have been ill, why are you going to the funeral?'
 (75) *səmažə-ɤ-ew səd-a hadaɤe-m wə-z-č'e-k^we-š'tə-r
 ill-PST-ADV what-Q funeral-ERG 2SG-REL-RSN-go-IRR-ABS

5.4 Conclusion

The participant-oriented forms in *-ew* without person markers cannot be marked for tense. They are in the scope of negation of the main predicate (according to the data received from some native speakers). Consequently we can conclude that the discussed forms can be viewed as true depictives.

6. Nouns

6.1 Nouns marked by *-ew*

-ew can be attached not only to adjectives but to nouns as well. As we have seen in the first section, *-ew* can mark the arguments of some predicates (4)-(8). However, non-arguments can also be marked by *-ew* (76). In these cases, person markers are optional:

- (76) se [sə]-deputat-ew sobranije-m sə-qə-š'ə-g^wəš'ə?a-ɤ
 I 1SG-deputy-ADV meeting-ERG 1SG-DIR-LOC-speak-PST
 'As a deputy, I spoke at the meeting.'

Sometimes, under unknown conditions, participant-oriented nouns marked with *-ew* cannot take person markers in contrast to adjectives in *-ew*:

- (77) se [**sə-]*haç'-ew sə-qe-ķ^wa-ɤ
 I [1SG-]guest-ADV 1SG-DIR-go-PST
 'I came as a guest.'

Nouns in *-ew* can agree with their controller in number:

- (78) we djeɸwətət-ew tə-qə-ʔ^wə-b-ɤe-ķ^wə-š't
 you deputy-ADV 2SG-DIR-LOC-1SG-CAUS-go-IRR
 'You will dismiss us as deputies.'
- (79) we djeɸwətət-x-ew tə-qə-ʔ^wə-b-ɤe-ķ^wə-š't
 you deputy-PL-ADV 2SG-DIR-LOC-1SG-CAUS-go-IRR
 'id.'

6.2 Tense-aspect suffixes

Participant-oriented nouns in *-ew* cannot have tense markers.

- (80) se zexahe-m djeɸwətətə-ɤe-m fəd-ew
 I meeting-ERG deputy-PST-ERG like-ADV
 sə-qə-š'ə-g^wəš'əʔa-ɤ
 1SG-DIR-LOC-speak-PST
 'As a former deputy I spoke at the meeting.'
- (81) * se zexahe-m djeɸwətətə-ɤe-ew sə-qə-š'ə-g^wəš'əʔa-ɤ
 I meeting-ERG deputy-PST-ADV 1SG-DIR-LOC-speak-PST

6.3 Controllers

Nouns in *-ew* without person markers can be controlled by the subject of an intransitive verb (82), or the object of a bitransitive verb (83). Nouns in *-ew* cannot be controlled by agents of bitransitive verbs (83).

- (82) se [sə-]thamat-ew sə-qe-ķ^wa-ɤ
 I [1SG-]chief-ADV 1SG-DIR-go-PST
 'I came as a chief.'
- (83) we djeɸwətət-ew tə-qə-ʔ^wə-b-ɤe-ķ^wə-š't
 you deputy-ADV 1PL-DIR-LOC-2SG-CAUS-go-IRR
 'Being deputies/*, you, will dismiss us.' ('Although we are deputies, you will dismiss us.' / *'Although you are the deputy, you will dismiss us.')

6.4 Negation test

The following example has only one reading: 'Because I was a deputy, I did not speak at the meeting'. This means that the considered nouns in *-ew* are not in the scope of negation of the main predicate.

- (84) se ʔaʃhatjet-ew sə-qə-š'ə-g^wəš'əʔa-β-ep mə zexahe-m
I deputy-ADV 1SG-DIR-LOC-speak-PST-NEG this meeting-ERG
'Being a deputy, I didn't speak at the meeting.'

6.5 Depictive expressions with modifiers

Nouns in depictive function can be modified by possessor phrases and other attributes.

In the first case, *-ew* constructions do not change. Possessors are marked with the ergative case and precede the noun which is marked with the possessive prefix (85). The construction is similar to simple possessive constructions (86).

- (85) gosdume-m ja-djeputat-ew wə-ʔ^wə-d-ke-k^wə-š't
State.Duma-ERG POSS-deputy-ADV 2SG-LOC-1PL-CAUS-go-IRR
'We will dismiss you as a State Duma deputy.'

- (86) se se-λaβ^wə mə λe-m ja-məl pš'er-xe-r
I 1SG-see this man-ERG POSS-sheep fat-PL-ABS
'I see the fat sheep of this man.'

With non-possessive modifiers of participant-oriented nouns, an *-ew* construction is possible only with the word *fed-ew* 'like'-ADV which derives from the verb *fedən* 'look like', 'resemble'. If the noun is in the plural, the plural marker is attached to *fede* 'like' (87).

- (87) se djeputat dej fed-x-ew š^wə-ʔ^wə-z-ke-k^wə-š't
I deputy bad like-PL-ADV 2PL-LOC-1SG-CAUS-go-IRR
'I will dismiss you as [you are] bad deputies.'

- (88) *se djeputat dej-x-ew š^wə-ʔ^wə-z-ke-k^wə-š't
I deputy bad-PL-ADV 2PL-LOC-1SG-CAUS-go-IRR

6.6 Summary on nouns marked by *-ew*

Nouns marked with *-ew* can be used in the depictive function. Person markers are optional, but sometimes ungrammatical. Nouns in *-ew* agree with their controllers in number, and cannot have tense markers. They can be controlled by subjects of intransitive predicates and direct objects of bitransitive predicates. Nouns in *-ew* can have possessive and adjectival modifiers. The only thing that

prevents us from classifying participant-oriented nouns in *-ew* as true depictives is the fact that they are not in the scope of negation of the main predicate.

7. Conclusion

Adyghe adjectives in *-ew* can be distinguished from adverbs by their number agreement (adjectives always agree with their controllers in number, while adverbs do not). Most adjectives in *-ew* agree with their controllers in person and can have tense markers. The main problem is how to distinguish adjectives in *-ew* from adverbial participles of stative verbs, which agree in person and can have tense suffixes. The only possible way to distinguish between them is to find participant-oriented forms in *-ew* which allow the omission of person agreement. Adyghe has several adjectives in *-ew* which have this property (while preserving their orientation to a participant). The set of adjectives which allow person-marker omission is small, unstable and varies with different native speakers. Adyghe adjectives in the depictive function are thus nonproductive and peripheral.

Adyghe nouns in *-ew* allow omission of person markers. The only thing that might prevent us from classifying participant-oriented nouns in *-ew* as true depictives is the fact that they are not in the scope of negation of the main predicate. Depictive expressions formed from nouns are more productive than adjectives. Participant-oriented nouns in *-ew* can have possessive and adjectival modifiers.

According to the criteria of Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann, Adyghe has only a few lexemes which can function as true depictives. This can be accounted for by a hypothesis, which needs to be tested on a wider range of material, that in a polysynthetic language with extensive agreement and weak contrast between noun and verb, true depictives in the sense of Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann's may be a non-productive phenomenon.

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