

## Russian depictives and attributives: the role of the verb

Russian secondary predicates can use two different case patterns: the instrumental case or the agreeing case. In this paper we discuss the behavior of the adjective in the position of the secondary predicate and we refer to the patterns of agreement discussed above as depictive constructions (taking the instrumental) and attributive constructions (taking the agreeing case), see the examples (1-2).

(1) Depictive construction:			
X <sub>nom</sub>	V	(Y <sub>acc</sub> )	A <sub>ins</sub>
On	vstretil	ego	pjanym
he <sub>i</sub>	met	him <sub>i</sub>	drunk <sub>i/j</sub>

(2) Attributive construction			
X <sub>nom</sub>	V	(Y <sub>acc</sub> )	A <sub>nom</sub> / A <sub>acc</sub>
On	vstretil	ego	p'anyj/p'anogo
he <sub>i</sub>	met	him <sub>i</sub>	drunk <sub>i/j</sub>

Although some researchers (see, for example, Bailyn 2001) propose a purely syntactic approach to the choice of pattern, most scholars agree that the mechanism of the predicate case choice is semantically ruled. It is usually pointed out that a depictive construction has of meaning of temporality or instability and allows only stage level predicates as in (3) (see Borkovskij and Kuznecov 2006 [1963]; Nichols 1981; Strigin and Demjanow 2001; Timberlake 2004).

In this paper we show that the verb in the construction needs to be taken into account. Verbs of change of state (e.g., *stat* 'become') and verbs of perception (e.g., *kazat'sja* 'seem')<sup>1</sup> can be also used with individual level predicates (4-5). These verbs provide the whole construction with temporality or instability meaning. This happens because verbs of change of state contrast the event before and after acquiring the feature, the same way as verbs of perception contrast the actual facts with the perception of them. In both cases the final event does not fulfill initial expectations, which makes it unstable. The instability feature of the construction is satisfied and the construction does not have specific requirements for the adjective. Therefore both stage level and individual level predicates are allowed.

- (3) Pоезд            prišel    čist-ym/\*nov-ym/\*dlinn-ym/ \*železn-ym.  
train:NOM.SG    arrived clean-INS.SG/new-INS.SG/long-INS.SG/metal-INS.SG  
The train arrived clean/new/long/metal.
- (4) Nosok            vyšel                    dlinn-ym.                    (change of state)  
sock:NOM.SG    came.out            long-INS.SG  
The sock happened to be long.
- (5) Dver'            vygljadit            železn-oj.                    (perception)  
door:NOM.SG    looks            metal-INS.SG  
The door looks like metal.

It is usually claimed that predicates with more specified temporal properties favor the depictive construction (see, for example, Krasovitsky et al. 2008). This would mean that a depictive construction tends to use stage level predicates, while an attributive construction tends to use individual level predicates. However, an attributive construction has the same restrictions on the adjective as a depictive construction: it allows only stage level predicates (6).

<sup>1</sup>And their causative counterparts such as *sdelat* 'make' – causation of change of state, and *sčitat* 'consider' – causation of perception.

