

Franc Marušič, *Stony Brook University* <lanko.marusic@guest.arnes.si>  
 Tatjana Marvin, *University of Ljubljana* <tatjana.marvin@guest.arnes.si>  
 Rok Žaucer, *University of Ottawa* <rok.zaucer@guest.arnes.si>

## Depictive Secondary Predication with no PRO\*

### 1. Introduction

In this paper we argue against the standard analysis of depictive secondary predicates—a right-adjoined small clause with a PRO in its subject position—as advocated in Stowell (1981), Koizumi (1994), Bowers (2001), Strigin & Demjjanov (2001), among others (cf. also Rapoport 1999, Baylin 2001, Ardid-Gumiel 2001 and Pylkkänen 2002). Instead we will propose that the host DP and the depictive form a constituent, Dep(ictive)P, which is merged directly in the syntactic position of the host DP. We will provide both empirical and theoretical support for our proposal. In Section 2, we review the standard analysis of depictives and show that its assumption that depictives are restricted to subject- and direct-object hosts is crosslinguistically invalid. We further argue that case-specification identity between the host and the depictive in fact presents a problem for any small-clause analysis with PRO. In Section 3, we present the crucial data and—elaborating on Marušič *et al.* (2003)—put forth a proposal that makes no use of PRO. In Section 4, we discuss some consequences of our proposal, drawing on several types of data (subject/direct-object vs. indirect-object asymmetry, depictives in embedded clauses, scopal differences with frequency adverbs, multiple depictive predicates), before finally wrapping up the paper with a summary of the results.

### 2. Depictives in Slovenian: problems for the standard analysis

#### 2.1. Standard analysis and the subject-/direct-object restriction

The bracketed diagram in (1a) below gives the structure standardly proposed for direct object-oriented depictives, the diagram in (1b) gives the structure for subject-oriented depictives. In the former, the small clause is adjoined to V', while in the latter, the small clause is adjoined to VP, thereby avoiding a possible control of PRO by the object.

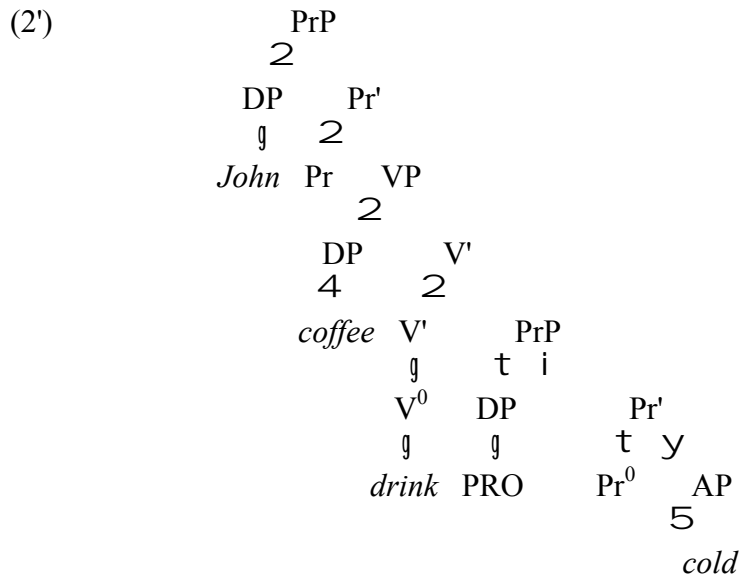
- (1) a. [VP [V' [V *ate*] [NP *meat*]] [SC [DP PRO] [AP *raw*]]]  
 b. [VP [VP *left the room*] [SC [DP PRO] [AP *angry*]]]

Bowers' implementation of this general idea is given in (2) below, which represents a DO-oriented depictive. The depictive AP is placed inside a small clause, which Bowers calls PrP (Pr for predication), with PRO acting as the subject DP of this secondary PrP. It is usually assumed that the controller of PRO has to be a c-commanding element. This structure is thus built to capture the basic English facts: it allows both subject- and direct object-oriented depictives but cannot derive indirect object-oriented depictives since the indirect object either cannot c-command the PRO from inside a PP or else is embedded too deeply inside the VP. (For a more extensive review of the literature, see Marušič *et al.* (2003).)

- (2) [PrP [DP John] [Pr [Pr Ø] [VP [DP coffee] [V' [V drink] [PrP [DP PRO] [Pr [Pr Ø] [AP cold ]]]]]]]]

---

\* We thank the audience at FDSL 5 for useful comments.



Although such structures nicely account for the basic data in English, they are empirically falsified by the data from several other languages, including Slovenian. In Slovenian, the distribution of depictives is much freer than in English; depictives can be hosted by nearly any kind of arguments or adjuncts, as discussed in Orešnik (1996) and Marušič *et al.* (2003). Therefore, any proposal that restricts depictive secondary predicates to subject and direct object hosts, such as the structure in (2), is inadequate and needs revision.

In (3) below we give examples of a depictive hosted by a prepositional object, (3a), a locative argument, (3b), and an indirect object, (3c). This is by no means an exhaustive list of the possible depictive-host combinations that escape the standard account (for some further possibilities, see Marušič *et al.* 2003). There seem to be rather few restrictions on the type of the host, some of which will be discussed below.

- (3) a. *Včeraj smo na Vida<sub>i</sub> še čisto pijanega<sub>i</sub> naleteli na Prešercu<sup>1</sup>*  
 yesterday AUX onto V<sub>ACC</sub> still completely drunk<sub>ACC</sub> ran on Prešeren-square  
 'Yesterday we ran into Vid<sub>i</sub> at Prešeren square, and he<sub>i</sub> was still completely drunk<sub>i</sub>'
- b. *Peter je dal knjigo na mizico<sub>i</sub> že vso razmajano<sub>i</sub>*  
 P<sub>NOM</sub> AUX gave book<sub>ACC</sub> on table<sub>LOC</sub> already all<sub>LOC</sub> wobbly<sub>LOC</sub>  
 'Peter put the book on the little table<sub>i</sub>, and it<sub>i</sub> was already completely wobbly<sub>i</sub>'
- c. *Peter je dal Meti<sub>i</sub> piškote že vsej polomljeni<sub>i</sub>*  
 P<sub>NOM</sub> AUX gave Meta<sub>DAT</sub> biscuits<sub>ACC</sub> already all<sub>DAT</sub> broken<sub>DAT</sub>  
 'Peter gave Meta<sub>i</sub>, some biscuits all broken<sub>i</sub> (=back-sore<sub>i</sub>)'

Similar oblique-hosted depictives are possible at least in Icelandic (Maling 2001), German (Maling 2001), Warlpiri (Schultze-Berndt & Himmelmann 2004), Venda (Pylkkänen 2002) and Russian (Richardson 2003: 460); a Russian example is given in (4a). In fact, Maling provides examples of prepositional argument-oriented depictives even for English, (4b-c).

- (4) a. *Ja dala emu<sub>i</sub> den'gi p'janomu<sub>i</sub>* (Richardson 2003: 460)  
 I gave him<sub>DAT</sub> money drunk<sub>DAT</sub>  
 'I gave him<sub>i</sub> money, and he<sub>i</sub> was drunk<sub>i</sub>'

<sup>1</sup> Note that the judgments of all examples hold under neutral intonation.

- (4) b. *The perverted orderly liked to look at female patients<sub>i</sub> nude<sub>i</sub>* (Maling  
 c. *The brain surgeon had to operate on the patient<sub>i</sub> wide-awake<sub>i</sub>* 2001: 424)

The absence of the restriction on depictives to subject and direct-object hosts is thus a cross-linguistically fairly widespread phenomenon and cannot be dismissed as a quirk of Slovenian. (Note that restrictions on depictive hosts have also been stated in terms of thematic roles, e.g. Rothstein 1985, but these are likewise empirically incorrect, cf. Rapoport 1999: 655, Marušič *et al.* 2003: 378, as well as in terms of verb lexical semantics/Vendlerian verb classes, e.g. Rapoport 1999, also empirically incorrect, cf. Marušič *et al.* 2003: 378-9.) Moreover, besides empirical inadequacy, the standard analysis of depictives also runs into some theoretical problems.

## 2.2. Phi- and case-specification identity, PRO, and the movement theory of control

The first theoretical problem lies in the fact that Slovenian depictive secondary adjectives obligatorily carry the same gender, number and case specification as their host DP, as in (3a-c) (also Russian (4a)). Since PRO is the subject of the small clause, the matching gender/number/case specification should be transmitted from the host to the depictive via this element. However, if PRO has null case, as argued in Chomsky (1995), case-specification transmission between the host and the depictive should not be allowed over PRO. PRO cannot carry/transmit the nominative, accusative, dative, etc., case from the DP to the depictive.<sup>2</sup>

Secondly, although depictives in English mostly cannot modify indirect objects, (5a) (but cf. (4b-c))—thus giving some (language-specific) merit to the standard proposal—indirect objects in English otherwise *are* possible controllers, (5b), as pointed out by Koizumi (1994). This discrepancy remains unaccounted for under the standard analysis of depictives.<sup>3</sup>

- (5) a. *I<sub>i</sub> told her<sub>j</sub> the truth drunk<sub>i/\*j</sub>.*  
 b. *I wrote him<sub>i</sub> a message to PRO<sub>i</sub> show his friend.*

<sup>2</sup> Baylin (2001), in an otherwise fairly standard analysis with a PRO as the subject of a small clause, states for Serbo-Croatian that the accusative on the direct object-oriented depictive is obtained by LF movement of the depictive adjective to the closest structural case-checking position (in this case Spec of *vP*), bypassing PRO, which produces the 'sameness' of case effects and limits them to structural case. Ignoring the details of this mechanism, we just point out that this is designed to work only for subject- and direct object-oriented depictives.

<sup>3</sup> In a recent alternative proposal, Pylkkänen (2002) derives the lack of depictive secondary predication on indirect objects from the distinction between high and low applicative arguments, claiming that depictives are allowed only on high-applicative hosts but not on low-applicative hosts due to semantic-type mismatch. Since English 'indirect objects' are always an instantiation of low applicative arguments, (i), it is expected that they cannot host depictives. On the other hand, 'indirect objects' in languages such as Albanian are said to be merged as high applicatives, and therefore they do allow depictives.

- (i) \**John baked Mary<sub>i</sub> a cake drunk<sub>i</sub>.*

Such a proposal fails for Slovenian, which has both types of applicative arguments. Contrary to Pylkkänen's prediction, depictives are possible not only on high applicatives, (iia), but also on low applicatives, (iib).

- (ii) a. *Jan je Petri odprl vrata že vsej majavi*  
 J<sub>NOM</sub> AUX Petra<sub>DAT</sub> opened door already all wobbly<sub>DAT</sub>  
 'Jan opened the door to Petra<sub>i</sub>, and she<sub>i</sub> was already all wobbly'
- b. *Jan je Petri spekel torto še vsej utrujeni*  
 J<sub>NOM</sub> AUX Petra<sub>DAT</sub> baked cake still all tired<sub>DAT</sub>  
 'Jan baked a cake for Petra<sub>i</sub>, and she<sub>i</sub> was still all tired'

To account for these facts, Marušič *et al.* (2003) propose a movement analysis of secondary predication, where PRO is replaced by the host DP itself. In taking PRO to be just the trace of the host DP, their proposal comes close in spirit to Hornstein's (1999, 2001) movement analysis of control. For Hornstein, all cases of obligatory control involve movement of the subject of the lower clause to the appropriate  $\theta$ -position in the matrix clause. To allow such an operation, he considers  $\theta$ -roles to be simply features checked by the nominals moving into appropriate structural positions. (Some further modifications need to be made but they are not particularly relevant at this point and will thus be ignored.) The sample structures for subject and object control sentences are given in (6a) and (6b), respectively.

- (6) a. *John* [<sub>VP</sub> *hopes* [<sub>IP</sub> ~~*John*~~ to [<sub>VP</sub> *win the race*]]]  
 b. *John* [<sub>VP</sub> *suggested to Mary* [<sub>IP</sub> ~~*Mary*~~ to [<sub>VP</sub> *wear bigger earrings*]]]

Although Hornstein (1999, 2001) discusses neither depictive small clauses nor secondary predication in general, these phenomena are clearly relevant for such a theory. If there is no place in syntactic theory for an independent control/PRO module, we should dispense with PRO altogether. And since depictive small clauses are typically analyzed as containing a PRO, a movement analysis of depictives is a natural extension of Hornstein's proposal. A similar proposal has been (independently) put forth in Ardid-Gumiel (2001).

### 3. Proposal

In Section 2, we established that depictives are not restricted to subject and direct-object hosts, and so the standard analysis has to be abandoned. In this section, we present a proposal which is based not on theory-internal motivation but rather on two crucial empirical observations.

First, depictives hosted by prepositional arguments are impossible in Slovenian if the depictive and its host DP are disjoined. As shown in (7a), a depictive can modify the DP inside the locative PP, with which it also exhibits case-specification identity, that is, they both carry the locative case. On the other hand, such modification is ruled out in (7b), where the depictive AP has been moved to the beginning of the clause. Note that the restriction does not come from a more general ban on fronting of depictive APs, since such fronting of the AP is fine when the host DP is in a non-prepositional case, (8).

- (7) a. *Kosilo vedno jem* [<sub>PP</sub> *pri Špeli* [<sub>AP</sub> *vsej utrujeni od dela* ]]  
 Lunch always eat at Špela<sub>LOC</sub> all tired<sub>LOC</sub> from work  
 'I always eat lunch at Špela's, and she is very tired from work'
- b. \* [<sub>AP</sub> *vsej utrujeni od dela* ] *vedno jem kosilo* [<sub>PP</sub> *pri Špeli* ]  
 all tired<sub>LOC</sub> from work always eat lunch at Špela<sub>LOC</sub>
- c. [<sub>PP</sub> *Pri Špeli* [<sub>AP</sub> *vsej utrujeni od dela* ] *vedno jem kosilo*.  
 at Špela<sub>LOC</sub> all tired<sub>LOC</sub> from work always eat lunch
- d. ?\* [<sub>PP</sub> *Pri Špeli* ] *vedno jem kosilo* [<sub>AP</sub> *vsej utrujeni od dela* ]  
 at Špela<sub>LOC</sub> always eat lunch all tired<sub>LOC</sub> from work
- (8) [<sub>V</sub> *vsemu utrujenemu od dela* ] *sem pomagal Petru pri parkiranju*  
 all tired<sub>DAT</sub> from work AUX helped P<sub>DAT</sub> at parking  
 'I helped Peter with parking, and he was all tired from work.'

From the set of data in (7) and (8), we can conclude that the depictive and the DP form a constituent, while—crucially—the preposition and the DP on their own, i.e. without the depictive, do not.

The other crucial piece of data is given in (9) below. Since we concluded from the data in (7) that the DP and the depictive form a constituent, we have to establish how intimate this constituenthood is, i.e., how close a constituent the two elements make. The depictive in (9a) is *not* understood as a restriction on the quantifier of the host DP, while this is precisely the interpretation the postnominal adjective in (9b) receives. Another difference lies in that even if the DP and the depictive form some sort of a constituent, it can still be broken up by clitics—in this case the auxiliary clitic *so*—which is not the case for the postnominal adjective in (9b).

- (9) a. [*Vse* [*punce*]] *so* *pijane ko mambe* *preganjale fante*  
 all girls<sub>NOM</sub> AUX drunk<sub>NOM</sub> as mambas chased guys  
 'All the girls were chasing guys, and they were dead drunk'
- b. [*Vse* [*punce* *pijane ko mambe*]] *so* *preganjale fante*  
 all girls<sub>NOM</sub> drunk<sub>NOM</sub> as mambas AUX chased guys  
 'All the girls who were dead drunk were chasing guys'

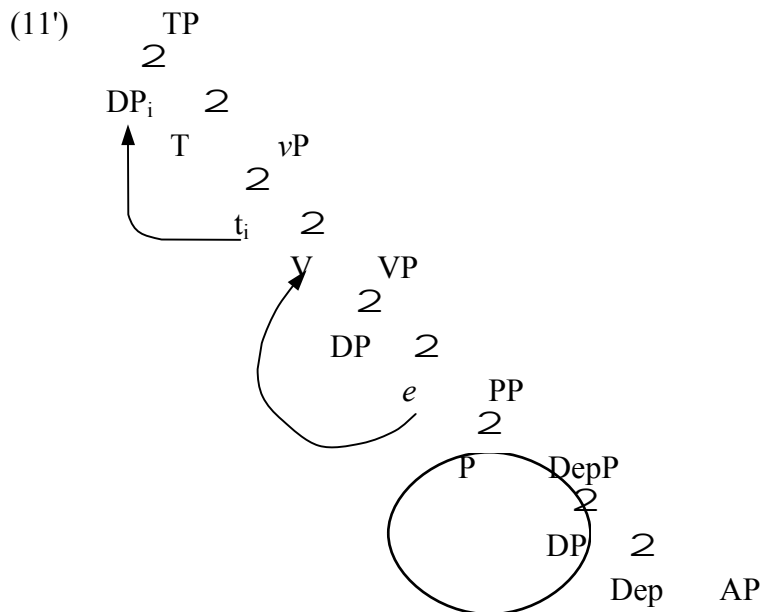
In addition, while aspectual adverbials such as *še* 'still' or *že* 'already' are perfectly natural inside depictives, as shown in (10a) below, they are not allowed with postnominal adjectives, (10b). (For some further contrasts between depictives and postnominal adjectives, see Marušič *et al.* 2003)

- (10) a. [*Vse* [*punce*]] *so* *še čist* *pijane* *osvajale fante*  
 all girls<sub>NOM</sub> AUX still completely drunk<sub>NOM</sub> conquer guys  
 'All the girls who were still completely drunk were hitting on guys.'
- b.?\* [*Vse* [*punce* *še čist* *pijane*]] *so* *osvajale fante*  
 all girls<sub>NOM</sub> still completely drunk<sub>NOM</sub> AUX conquer guys  
 'All the girls who were still completely drunk were hitting on guys.'

Depictives therefore do not lie within the DP, yet they do form a constituent with it. Unlike in post nominal adjectives, the depictive is a small-clause-like constituent with the DP in its specifier and the AP in its complement, which we will call Dep(ictive)P. The several properties that postnominal adjectives and depictives nevertheless have in common arise from a similar underlying structure, namely the noun and the adjective forming a constituent in both cases.

DepP is merged in the position where the host of the depictive would otherwise be merged. If the DP is non-prepositionally case marked, it can move up and leave the predicate behind, as in (3c) above. However, if the host DP is a prepositionally case marked argument/adjunct, such raising is blocked. The DP would have to strand the preposition, and since preposition-stranding is not allowed in Slovenian, the resulting structure is ruled out, as in (7b)/(7d). The pre-movement structure of (7) is given in (11).

- (11) [[<sub>DP</sub> *Vid*]<sub>i</sub> *je* [<sub>VP</sub> *t*<sub>i</sub> [<sub>V</sub> *jedel* [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> *kosilo*]] [<sub>V</sub> *e* [<sub>PP</sub> *pri* [<sub>DepP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> *Špeli*]] [<sub>AP</sub> *vsej utrujeni*]]]]]]]]]]  
 Vid AUX eat lunch at Špela<sub>DAT</sub> all tired<sub>DAT</sub>



Recall from above that the depictive and its host DP obligatorily match in their number/gender/case specification. Case assignment/checking/valuing on the host DP is implemented with standard procedures, the exact nature of which depends on what structural position the host DP sits in. As for the agreeing case on the depictive, we assume that it is assigned/checked/valued via phi- and case concord/transmission between the host DP and the depictive (cf. Starke 1995: 257, Franks 1995: 225, Richardson 2003: 464-5).

The proposal we have made accounts for all of the empirical facts we mentioned, that is, for depictives not being restricted to a particular type of syntactic argument, for the impossibility of stranding a prepositional host and its depictive, and for the agreement between the depictive and its host. From a theoretical point of view, a first obvious advantage of our proposal is its avoidance of right adjunction, and consequently compliance with the LCA – Antisymmetry (Kayne 1994). The other theoretical advantage is the avoidance of PRO, for which one would have to postulate a number of available cases in order for it to carry the case specification from the host to the depictive. Getting rid of PRO in these structures allows us to preserve the standard view according to which PRO has null case. In addition, it offers a way of accounting for depictive secondary predication if one wants to adopt Hornstein's (1999, 2001) idea of discarding PRO from linguistic theory altogether.

### 3.1. A recent related proposal

Ardid-Gumiel (2001) makes a similar proposal in that she takes the depictive to form a small clause with the host DP in its subject position. However, her small clause still attaches to the same kind of adjoined positions small clauses attach to in the standard analysis (cf. Section 1), and the host DP is then moved from inside the small clause into the main clause with sideways movement. Her model thus avoids generating oblique-hosted depictives, but as we have seen, such an outcome is empirically incorrect, making her proposal flawed in the same way as the standard analysis. In the current proposal, on the other hand, DepP is merged directly in the argument position of the host DP, and it can also move to any other position the DP moves to.



(13b). The depictive can refer to a matrix-clause argument's predicate only when it actually sits inside the matrix clause, (13c).

(13)a. *Meta<sub>i</sub> mi je razlagala [koga (pro<sub>i</sub>) bo volila vsa pametna<sub>i</sub>]*  
 M<sub>NOM</sub> me AUX explain whom AUX vote all clever<sub>F,NOM</sub>  
 'Meta was telling me who she, all smart, would vote for.'

b. \**Meta<sub>i</sub> mi je razlagala [kdo jo bo občudoval] vsa pametna<sub>i</sub>*  
 M<sub>NOM</sub> me AUX explain who her<sub>ACC</sub> AUX admire all clever<sub>F,NOM</sub>  
 'Meta, all clever, was telling me who would admire her.'

c. *Meta<sub>i</sub> mi je vsa pametna<sub>i</sub> razlagala [kdo jo bo občudoval]*  
 M<sub>NOM</sub> me AUX all clever<sub>F,NOM</sub> explained who her<sub>ACC</sub> AUX admire  
 'Meta, all clever, was explaining to me who will admire her.'

The restriction can be observed in the other direction as well. When the depictive agrees with an argument of the matrix clause that is not present in the embedded clause, it cannot follow the embedded clause, as shown in (14a). Otherwise, there is no such restriction and the agreement pattern is possible, as (14b) shows, when the depictive actually sits in the matrix clause.

(14)a. \**Meta<sub>i</sub> je Vidu<sub>j</sub> razlagala [koga (pro<sub>i</sub>) bo volila] vsemu pijanemu<sub>j</sub>*  
 M<sub>NOM</sub> AUX V<sub>DAT</sub> explained whom AUX vote all drunk<sub>M,DAT</sub>  
 'Meta was explaining to Vid, who was all drunk, who she will vote for.'

b. *Meta<sub>i</sub> je Vidu<sub>j</sub> vsemu pijanemu<sub>j</sub> razlagala, [koga (pro<sub>i</sub>) bo volila]*  
 M<sub>NOM</sub> AUX V<sub>DAT</sub> all drunk<sub>M,DAT</sub> explained whom AUX vote  
 'Meta was explaining to Vid, who was all drunk, who she will vote for.'

Adopting a right-adjunction analysis, we make the incorrect prediction that a reading should be available where the depictive is associated with the matrix predicate. Even worse, a right adjunction analysis can in fact only derive sentences where the depictive referring to the matrix event is located at the right edge of the clause, but examples like (14b) are perfectly fine.

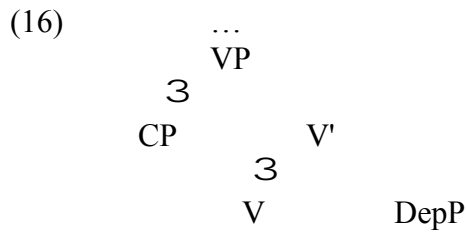
Contrary to what has just been shown for Slovenian, English does allow sentence-final depictives to modify an argument of the matrix clause and to refer to the time of the matrix-clause event, (15). Following our proposal, this is a result of the English restriction on the position of the merging of the DepP. As suggested above, the English depictive can only merge in the lowest complement position of the verb, from where the argument moves on.<sup>5</sup> In the case of clausal complementation, such a position should still be available, and since it will be lower than the position of the clausal complement, it will also be to the right of the embedded clause, as shown in (16).

(15) *Peter<sub>i</sub> explained to Mary [where Tom<sub>k</sub> lives] drunk<sub>i/k</sub>.*

<sup>5</sup> The fact that the other order of the clausal complement and the matrix clause associated depictive is also available, as shown in (i), might be related to a more general version of the heavy NP shift – maybe something like a heavy phrase shift.

(i) *Hank<sub>i</sub> told Greg drunk<sub>i</sub> how he spent his night in the capital.*





Data from Slovenian embedded finite clauses were shown to clearly favour the analysis proposed here over a right-adjunction analysis. A similar argument using non-finite clausal complementation is given in Marušič *et al.* (2003).

### 4.3. Frequency adverbs & scope differences

Frequency adverbs (event quantifiers) can have different scope with respect to the secondary predication. The sentences in (17) and (18) both contain two events, the event of Švrk's going to *Kud*, expressed by the matrix predicate, and the event of Švrk's being drunk, expressed by the subject-oriented depictive predicate. In addition, (17) and (18) both contain the frequency adverb *vedno* 'always'. Nevertheless, the interpretations that (17) and (18) receive are not the same. Casting the scopal differences in neo-Davidsonian representations, (19) captures the interpretation of (17) and (20) captures the interpretation of (18).

(17) *Švrk je pijan vedno šel v Kud.*  
 Švrk<sub>NOM</sub> AUX drunk<sub>NOM</sub> always go to Kud  
 'Whenever he was drunk, Švrk (always) went to Kud.'

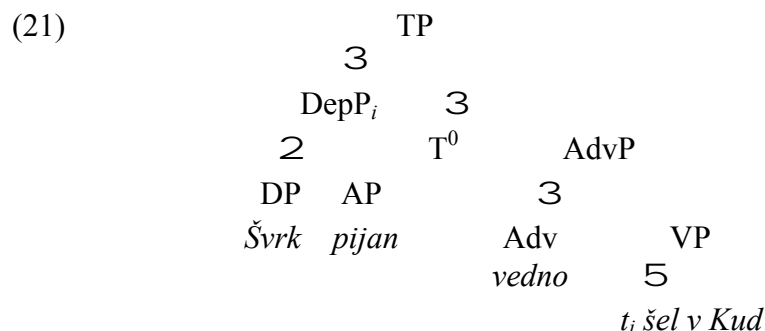
(18) *Švrk je vedno šel v Kud pijan / pijan v Kud.*  
 Švrk<sub>NOM</sub> AUX always go to Kud drunk<sub>NOM</sub> / drunk<sub>NOM</sub> to Kud  
 'Whenever Švrk went to Bunker, he was (always) Kud.'

(19)  $[\forall e: \text{drunk}(e) \ \& \ \text{Experiencer}(e,š) \ [\exists e': \text{Part-of}(e',e) \ \& \ \text{going}(e') \ \& \ \text{Agent}(e',š) \ \& \ \text{Goal}(e',k)]]$

(20)  $[\forall e: \text{going}(e) \ \& \ \text{Agent}(e,š) \ \& \ \text{Goal}(e,k) \ [\exists e': \text{Part-of}(e',e) \ \& \ \text{drunk}(e') \ \& \ \text{Agent}(e',š)]]$

From a syntactic perspective, we propose the following scenario. In (17), the depictive has moved to Spec of TP together with the host, thereby escaping the scope of the adverb *always*, which sits below TP (Cinque 1999). (We are assuming a phonologically-driven placement for the second-position clitic.) On the other hand, the sentence in (18) is a case where the depictive has stayed in the original position of the subject, i.e. inside the VP. Consequently, it is interpreted in the scope of the event quantifier *always*, as indicated by (20).

Although the resulting structure for the sentence in (17), given in (21), might not be directly translatable to the corresponding semantic interpretation, we consider the fact that our proposal derives two distinct syntactic structures a welcome result. A right adjunction analysis will predict the sentence in (18) to be ambiguous, since the depictive could be merged either higher or lower than the aspectual adverb, thus falling either inside or outside its scope.



Our proposal, on the other hand, treats (17) and (18) as crucially different. Their different syntactic structures duly reflect the fact that the interpretations of the adverb *always* in the two sentences are not, in fact, simply ambiguous but are rather unambiguously determined as one or the other of the two scope relations, that is, as (19) and (20), respectively. This suggests that the different clausal positions of the two depictives are truly syntactic in nature and cannot be reduced to some scrambling process at PF. If this were the case, the (17) and (18) should both be scopally ambiguous, contrary to fact. Note, finally, that the effects we discussed on the example of *always* carry over to other event quantifiers, such as *never*, *frequently*, etc.

Note that in an adjunction analysis, (17) and (18) may yield to an explanation with equal ease—granted that one is not overly restrictive regarding the amount of functional structure in the small clause. The adverb *always* could be seen as coming from the small clause in (17) and from the matrix clause in (18). Given that such an explanation is available also within our account, we give preference to our proposal simply because we have shown that it is superior on independent grounds (cf. Sections 2 and 3).<sup>6</sup>

#### 4.4. Multiple Depictive Predicates

As is widely recognized, a single DP is not limited to hosting just one depictive but can in fact host multiple (stacked) depictives. A Slovenian example is given in (23) (for English see Bowers 2001: 326). Presumably, this has also been a factor leading towards an adjunction analysis. However, adjunction is not the only way of dealing with depictive stacking. On our

<sup>6</sup> Another thing that needs clarification at this point regards Ardid-Gumiel's (2001) narrower understanding of what a depictive is. For her, only the APs in Spanish counterparts of sentences such as (i), which are said to exhibit a "no restriction reading", qualify as depictives, while she excludes sentences such as (ii) and (iii) as containing "concealed time interval constituents". (ii) and (iii) are said to exhibit a "head-clause restriction reading" and an "adjunct restriction reading", respectively.

- |       |                                       |   |
|-------|---------------------------------------|---|
| (i)   | <i>Micka je spočita brala časopis</i> | → "no restriction reading"                      |
|       | Micka AUX rested read newspaper       | ∃ [Micka read the newspaper rested]             |
| (ii)  | <i>Micka je brala časopis spočita</i> | → "head-clause restriction reading"             |
|       | Micka AUX read newspaper rested       | ∃ {Micka read the newspaper} [Micka was rested] |
| (iii) | <i>Spočita je Micka brala časopis</i> | → "adjunct restriction reading"                 |
|       | Rested AUX Micka read newspaper       | ∃ {Micka was rested} [Micka read the newspaper] |

We do not want to dispute the different interpretations of the depictive secondary predicate in (i-iii). However, against the background of the fact that the depictive predicate is temporally dependent on the matrix predicate under a 'part-of' relation (Rothstein 2000), we submit that the different readings simply reflect different scope relations between the two predications and an event quantifier, with the varying scopal relations resulting from syntactic movement. Furthermore, the obligatory agreement between the depictive and its host clearly suggest that we are not dealing with reduced temporal, conditional, etc., clauses but rather with true depictives, but that their interpretation can vary according to its position relative to the position of the main predicate.

account, the sentence from (23) would receive the representation in (24), where every DepP can have another DepP in its specifier.

(23) *Že rahlo opitemu<sub>i</sub> smo Petru<sub>i</sub> obvezovali rane napol golemu<sub>i</sub>*  
 already slightly drunk<sub>DAT</sub> AUX P<sub>DAT</sub> bandage wounds half naked<sub>DAT</sub>  
 'We bandaged Peter's wounds when he was half naked and already slightly drunk.'

(24)

		DepP	
	∨	○	
	DepP		AP
r	u		5
DP		AP	<i>napol golemu</i>
4	6		
			<i>Petru že rahlo opitemu</i>

Regarding the issue of stacking, then, our proposal fares no worse than the standard small-clause adjunction analysis. Finally, note that multiple depictives in a clause are of course possible also when each is hosted by a distinct argument (see Marušič *et al.* 2003: 389 for an example). Such a case likewise does not represent a problem for either analysis. Given that our DepP is merged into the structure in the position where its host would be merged if it appeared alone, the only restriction on the appearance of depictives is the restriction on the arguments of the verb themselves. Therefore, on our account depictives on distinct hosts each come from a separate DepP, while on the standard account they each come from a separate small clause.

## 5. Conclusion

We argued that the standard analysis of depictive secondary predicates—an adjoined small clause with a PRO subject—is too restrictive in that it rules out oblique-hosts for depictives, a pattern that is crosslinguistically widely attested. In addition, we argued that the analysis is problematic also on theoretical grounds. Expanding on Marušič *et al.* (2003), we proposed that the host DP and the depictive form a constituent, DepP, which is merged in the position where the DP would otherwise be merged. The host DP can move out of DepP, stranding the depictive. This allowed us to nicely account for an intricate pattern of data from Slovenian, where prepositionally case-marked depictive hosts behave differently from other oblique-object depictive hosts. By accounting for depictive secondary predicates without the use of PRO, we were able to avoid problems that otherwise arise with regard to the transmission of case from the host to the depictive, while the case-specification identity between the host and the depictive can be accounted for by the independently motivated mechanism of concord/case transmission. Finally, we demonstrated how depictive secondary predication can be implemented if one wants to adopt a movement theory of control.

## References

- Ardid-Gumiel, Ana. 2001. The syntax of Depictives, Subjects, Modes of Judgements and I-L/S-L Properties. In Nina Zhang (ed.) *ZAS Papers in Linguistics* 26. Available, 20/11/03, [<http://www.zas.gwz-berlin.de/papers/zaspil/articles/ZASPIL26Ard.pdf>]
- Baylin, J. 2001. The Syntax of Slavic Predicate Case. *ZAS Papers in Linguistics* 22: 1-23.
- Bowers, John. 2001. Predication. In M. Baltin & C. Collins (eds) *The Handbook of Contemporary Syntactic Theory*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.

- Chomsky, Noam. 1995. *The Minimalist Program*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Cinque, Guglielmo. 1999. *Adverbs and Functional Heads*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hornstein, Norbert. 1999. Movement and Control. *Linguistic Inquiry* 30 (1): 69-96.
- Hornstein, Norbert. 2001. *Move! A minimalist theory of Construal*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Kayne, Richard. 1994. *The antisymmetry of Syntax*. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press.
- Koizumi, Masatoshi. 1994. Secondary Predicates. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 3: 25-79.
- Maling, Joan. 2001. Dative: the heterogeneity of the mapping among morphological case, grammatical functions, and thematic roles. *Lingua* 111 (4-7): 419-464.
- Marušič, Franc, Tatjana Marvin & Rok Žaucer. 2003. Secondary Predication in Slovenian. In W. Browne *et al.* (eds) *FASL 11 (The Amherst Meeting, 2002)*. Ann Arbor: Michigan Slavic Publications.
- Nichols, Joanna. 1978. Secondary predicates. In *BLS 4*. Berkeley, CA: Berkeley Linguistics Society. pp. 114-127.
- Orešnik, Janez. 1996. Nauk novejšje slovenistike o povedkovem prilastku [Depictive Secondary Predication in Recent Slovenian Linguistics]. *SAZU Razprave II. razreda - Dissertationes Classis II XV*: 255-267.
- Pylkkänen, Liina. 2002. *Introducing Arguments*. PhD dissertation, MIT.
- Rapoport, Tova R. 1999. Structure, aspect, and the predicate. *Language* 75/4: 653-677.
- Richardson, Kylie. 2003. Developing the Case for Meaningful Case: The Link Between Event Structure and Case in Russian. In W. Browne *et al.* (eds) *FASL 11 (The Amherst Meeting, 2002)*. Ann Arbor: Michigan Slavic Publications.
- Rothstein, Susan D. 1985. *The Syntactic Forms of Predication*. Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Linguistics Club.
- Rothstein, Susan. 2000. Secondary predication and aspectual structure. *ZAS Papers in Linguistics* 17: 241-264.
- Schultze-Berndt, Eva & Nikolaus P. Himmelmann. 2004. Depictive Secondary Predicates in Cross-Linguistic Perspective. *Linguistic Typology* 8 (1): 59-131.
- Sigurðsson, Halldór. 1991. Icelandic case-marked PRO and the licensing of lexical arguments. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 9 (2): 327-363.
- Starke, Michal. 1995. On the format for small clauses. In A. Cardinaletti & M. T. Guasti (eds) *Syntax and Semantics 28: Small clauses*. San Diego: Academic Press.
- Stowell, Tim. 1983. *Origins of Phrase Structure*. PhD dissertation, MIT.
- Strigin, Anatoli. & Assinja Demjjanow. 2001. Secondary Predication in Russian. *ZAS Papers in Linguistics* 25: 1-79.