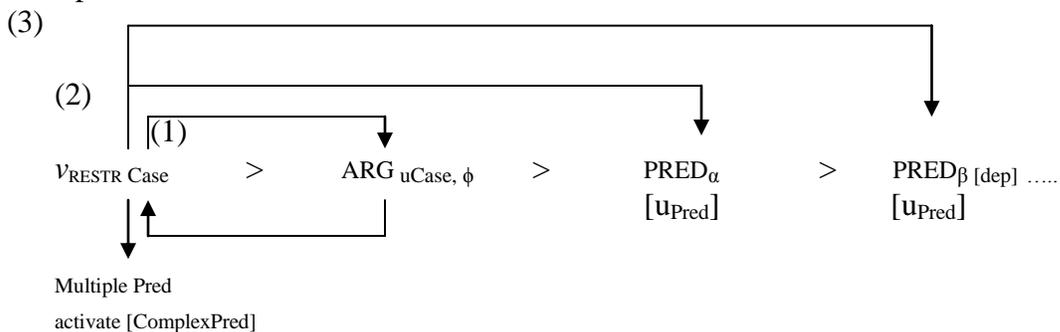


DEPICTIVES: FORMING COMPLEX EVENTS BY ADJUNCTION. Inside the class of so-called optional subcategorizing predicate complements (Bresnan 1982), the ‘free’ depictive subtypes (as illustrated in 1b, c, d, see also Timberlake 1988, Rothstein 1985, 2005, Winkler 1997, McNulty 1988, Chomsky 1981, 1986, etc.) raise non-trivial questions about structure building operations, recursion, and the typology of Merge. Crucially, minimalist implementations have to address the observation that these syntactic objects are in a sense distinct from both typical complements (in that they can be iterated), and typical adjuncts (in that reiteration is not unbounded, but severally restricted to two members of the same broad class), as shown in (2):

1. FREE DEPICTIVES: OVERLAP RELATIONS
  - a. The man<sub>i</sub> ate *tired*<sub>i</sub>.
  - b. The man ate the fish<sub>i</sub> *raw*<sub>i</sub>.
  - c. The man<sub>i</sub> wrote the letter *tired*<sub>i</sub>.
2. COMPLEMENTS OR ADJUNCTS
  - a. I drink lemon juice<sub>i</sub> *neat*<sub>i</sub> *fresh*<sub>i</sub>. (Halliday 1967)
  - b. After prancing *naked* into the office *drunk*, John’s career came to a sudden end. (Simpson 2005, ex. 28)

This paper proposed an account whose main syntactic ingredients are the process of Parallel Merge (Citko 2005, see also Hornstein 1999, 2001) under Multiple Agree (Hiraiwa 2004, Boeckx 2004, Chomsky 2008). The starting point is the cross-linguistically valid observation that “free depictives” are like other types of depictives, and resultatives, “part of an intricate system of building predicate meaning in the verb phrase, which is distinct from the sentence margin adjunct system.” (Simpson 2005) This specialized procedure is assumed to be closely connected to the process of serialization with a parametrization along the feature [+/-person] matched in complex event formation. The main claim is that ‘free depictives’ are similar to restructuring complexes, in that they involve a *bare* adjectival head (similarly to Wurmbrand’s 2001 restructuring non-finite predicates), which does not project a subject specifier layer (also Marantz 1984, Williams 1983, Rothstein 1985, etc.). Argumental secondary predication is parasitic on main predication, as a result of Multiple Agree (following Hiraiwa 2001, 2004, Chomsky 2008); the process is initiated by a functional restructuring head which flags these types of *syntactic complex predicates*. The proposed structure builds on ideas from Cinque (2005) regarding the nature of restructuring. Crucially the implementation is distinct in that it is proposed that types of restructuring complex predicates in which at least one of the predicates is larger than a head are constructed in syntax, via a process of Multiple Agree initiated by a functional head containing an [uComplex Pred] feature which needs to be checked against more than one predicative head.



Across languages, depictives (as well as resultatives) bear specific morphology (dedicated predicative Cases as in Finnish, Russian, special morphology as in Chinese, etc.) which supports the existence of a dedicated functional projection. Thus, what is represented in (3) as  $PRED_{\beta} [dep]$  is decompositionally [DEP [ $PRED_{\beta}$ ]]. The conclusion is that although these objects are introduced by processes of Parallel Merge or in a Sideward fashion, as a result of the Multiple Agree operation they are treated more similarly to complements. At least five pieces of evidence support this dual behavior: i) similarly to adjuncts, free depictives preserve their independent intonational domain (see Winkler 1997); ii) similarly to complements, they are subject to processes of restructuring (see also Stowell 1989), or overt incorporation into the main predicate (van der Auwera and Malchukov 2005); iii) as opposed to typical adjuncts, they do not constitute extraction islands (as seen in example 4 in Romanian);

(4) EXTRACTION OUT OF SECONDARY PREDICATE: ROMANIAN

a. *De cine a fugit [speriată t]?*  
 Of who has run afraid/scared.F.SG.  
 ‘Of who did she run away scared <of who>’ (*of who* as a modifier of *scared*)

EXTRACTION OUT OF ADJUNCT (ISLAND)

b. \**Pe cine a lăudat Maria în timp ce vizita?*  
 ACC. who has praised Maria in time when visited?  
 ‘Who has Maria praised while she was visiting <who>?’

(iv) again distinctly from more canonical adjuncts, free depictives have to exhibit aspectual and sortal matching with the matrix predicate; for example, individual-level predicates are not possible with aspectual non-homogeneous main predicates:

(5) a. \*He was eating intelligent. (he was intelligent while eating)  
 b. He was eating intelligently.

(v) as shown by the Romanian example in (4), the free depictive carry *overt* agreement features, contrasting with typical adjuncts. The mechanics of Multiple Agree enriched with a theory of long-distance Case agreement (tied to subtle aspectual specifications, as in Richardson 2007) is used to explain the free depictive agreement patterns. The conclusion reached in this paper is that secondary predicates of these types do not contain PRO. No current theory of PRO is able to account for the patterns of dedicated predicative Case alternating with argument host Case matching, cross-linguistically (see also Cecchetto and Oniga 2005), while the other features generally require perfect match. Enriching the theory of PRO in order to account for these special configurations would simply amount to nullifying it. Therefore this paper supports GB accounts postulating that ‘free depictives’ attach to the structure of the main predicate as adjuncts without PRO (Rothstein 1985, McNulty 1988). Finally, ‘free depictives’ are also similar to certain types of ‘non obligatory control’ infinitives in that they a) don’t require a local antecedent (see 1c), b) necessitate a c-commanding antecedent (they are not allowed with applicatives or obliques cross-linguistically, contra Pylkkänen 2008) c) permit sloppy readings only under ellipsis, as shown in (6); e) license parasitic gaps (7, from Pylkkänen 2008).

(6) John ate the meat tired, and Mary sick.

(7) Which country did he die for <which country> still loyal to <which country>?

These similarities show that these two classes share important structural properties and mechanisms which should be enriched in such a way as to give an account of their status as classes in between adjuncts and true complements.