

# Secondary predicates

Course in Semantics · Ling 531 / 731  
McKenzie · University of Kansas

Secondary

**Depictives** are predicates that describe (or depict) a participant in an event in a way that's not causally related to the event itself.

- (1) Elena ran the marathon **naked**

Depictives

The predicates are generally adjectives or prepositional phrases.

- (2) Elena ran the marathon **naked**. ⇒ Elena was naked
- (3) Elena sang **contented**. ⇒ Elena was contented
- (4) Elena ate the meat **raw**. ⇒ the meat was raw
- (5) The team reached the campsite **exhausted**. ⇒ the team was exhausted.
- (6) The package arrived in one piece.
- (7) Bring him back **dead or alive**

Some predicates of mental states trigger depictive readings, like *find*, *prefer*, *consider*

- (8) We found the missing letter **on the mantle**.
- (9) I consider him **beautiful**
- (10) She prefers her coffee **black**

Rothstein (1993) points out five facts about "secondary predicates" SP

- (11) SP can be stranded if subject-oriented
  - a. What Elena did naked was run the marathon
  - b. \*What Elena did red was paint the house
- (12) SP can stack (not easily, I find)
  - a. Elena [ painted the house red ] drunk ]
  - b. Elena [ drove the car broken ] drunk ]
- (13) SP do not form constituents with subject (compare to small clause predicates like a.)
  - a. Mary considers [ her husband intelligent ]  $\nRightarrow$  Mary considers her husband
  - b. Mary drank her coffee hot  $\Rightarrow$  Mary drank her coffee
- (14) SP are optional

(15) SP assign a thematic role

An AP SP must hold of the whole time the event is going on (depictives) and the whole result state that ensues after the event (resultatives). NP modifiers don't have to,

- (16) a. *I saw the mayor drunk today ... #he was sober.* (depictive)  
 b. *I saw the drunk mayor today ... he was sober.* (noun modifier)

It's clear that SPs introduce a new event.

(17) *ohn drove the car drunk from the cognac.*

Constraints:

1. Temporal dependency : they occur simultaneously,
2. The two events share an argument.
3. The two events are related as part-whole (the way a hand is part of you)

(18)  $\text{PART-OF}(e')(e) = [ e \text{ is part of } e' ] = 1$  iff  $\text{time}(e) \subseteq \text{time}(e')$ , and  $e$  and  $e'$  share a participant

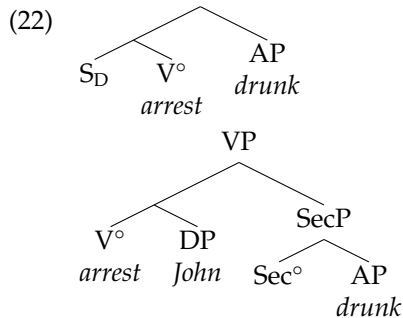
The Semi-davidsonian approach can capture the second condition automatically. Under other approaches, the syntax has to be weird.

(adapted to Semi-davidsonian)

(19)  $\llbracket \text{arrest} \rrbracket = \lambda x \lambda e. \text{arrest}(x)(e)$

(20)  $\llbracket \text{drunk} \rrbracket = \lambda x \lambda e. \text{drunk}(x)(e)$  (note!)

(21)  $\llbracket S_D \rrbracket = \lambda f_{e, \text{st}} \lambda g_{e, \text{st}} \lambda e_s. \exists e_1 \exists e_2 [ e = e_1 + e_2 \ \& \ f(e_1) = 1 \ \& \ g(e_2) = 1 \ \& \ \text{PART-OF}(e_2)(e_1) = 1 ]$

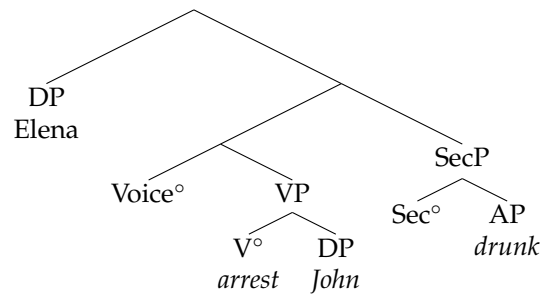


$\llbracket (\text{be}) \text{ drunk} \rrbracket = \lambda x \lambda e. \text{drunk}(x)(e)$

$\llbracket \text{Sec}^\circ \rrbracket =$

$\lambda f_{\text{est}} \lambda g_{\text{st}} \lambda e_s. \exists e_1 [ \text{time}(e) \subseteq \text{time}(e_1) \ \& \ g(e) = 1 \ \& \ f(\lambda x [ \text{part}(x)(e) ])(e_1) = 1 ]$

For agent-oriented ones, we only need to put SecP as an adjunct to VoiceP.



# Resultatives

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- (1) hammer the metal flat
- (2) wipe the table clean
- (3) freeze solid
- (4) paint the town red
- (5) slap him silly
  
- (6) Die Teekanne leer trinken  
the teapot empty drink.INF  
'To drink the teapot empty' (German)
- (7) daa2 sei2 gwo2 zek3 gau2  
hit dead that CL dog  
hit the dog and killed it (Cantonese)
- (8)

Doesn't work with all results

- (9) wipe the table \*dirty/ \*wet
- (10) hammer the metal \*safe / \*beautiful
- (11) froze \*slippery / \*dangerous
- (12) strangled ?dead / to death

Resultatives cannot apply to an external argument:

- (13) John hammered the metal flat  $\nrightarrow$  John became flat
- (14) The water froze solid = ok, because unaccusative
- (15) \*The tenor sang hoarse
- (16) The tenor sang himself hoarse = ok, because himself is the int. arg.

Note that resultatives don't always entail like modifiers do:

- (17) Mary ran the soles off her shoes  $\nrightarrow$  \*Mary ran the soles

It seems that the object is actually the subject of the result phrase.