A PUZZLE FOR THE SYNTAX-SEMANTICS OF DEPICTIVES*

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The main claim of this paper is that object-oriented depictive secondary predicates in English are sensitive to the telicity (and duration) of the main predicate, only successfully forming a complex predicate with those that are telic (and durative). The pattern does not hold for subject-oriented depictives. The paper provides evidence for this generalization and places it in a theoretical context.

1. Depictives and Resultatives

To review the difference between depictives and resultatives, note the examples in (1) – (2). A resultative secondary predicate, (1), describes a state an argument of the verb is in as a result of the event expressed by the verb. A depictive secondary predicate, (2), expresses a state one of the arguments of the verb is in for the duration of the event denoted by the verb.

(1) a. John cooked the **steak black**.
b. Karen hammered the **metal flat**.

Depictives, the topic of this paper, can be subject-oriented or object-oriented. An example of the former is given in (2a), the latter in (2b). This paper will be primarily concerned with object-oriented depictives.

(2) a. **John** drove the car **drunk**.
b. Alex ate the **fish raw**.

2. What is Not a 'Depictive' (But Looks Like One)?

There is debate in the literature regarding whether depictive secondary predicates are small clauses or form complex predicates with the matrix predicate (Pylkkänen 2008, Williams 1980, Cormack and Smith 1999, Yatsushiro 1999). I would like to suggest that the way to resolve this debate is to acknowledge that *some* of them are small clauses, and some of them are not. A one-size-fits-all analysis will not work, because the different kinds of 'depictives' show different properties, and should not all be unified under one

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analysis. In other words, a lot of things can masquerade as 'depictives,' and I am in favour of pruning down the class of things we call 'depictive secondary predicates.' First, we will look at what some of these masquerading things are.

2.1 Complements and Small Clauses

First on our list of 'things that are not depictives' are small clause complements and complements in general. One way to identify small clause complements, and therefore separate them out from the true depictive secondary predicates, is to test whether they can be paraphrased with an infinitive copular verb phrase. True depictives cannot be paraphrased this way. The examples in (3) – (4) are small clause complements since they pass this test, while (5) is not.

(3) I considered **it stupid**. ≈ I considered it to be stupid.
(4) She preferred **her men tall**. ≈ She preferred her men to be tall.
(5) She eats **her fish raw**. ≠ * She eats her fish to be raw.

Complements can also be diagnosed by the fact that they typically form a semantic unit with the direct object, while depictives and direct objects do not form such a unit (Heringa 2009). While (6) entails she drank her coffee, (7) does not entail she prefers coffee (i.e. over another beverage). In (7), *coffee* and *black* form a semantic unit.

(6) She drank **her coffee black**.
(7) She prefers **her coffee black**. (Heringa 2009)

Another way to tell complements apart from true depictives is to consider whether the suspected depictive is optional or not. If it's obligatory, it's not a true depictive (Schultze-Berndt & Himmelmann 2004:65, Heringa 2009). For example, in (8), *al dente* is not a depictive since it is not optional.

(8) She preferred **her pasta** ***(*al dente***).

Next, we consider another linguistic phenomenon that can appear to be depictive-like, but isn't upon closer inspection.

2.2 'Appositive Depictives'/Circumstantials

'Appositive depictives' or circumstantials should also not be confused with true depictives. While there is some terminological disagreement on what these things should be called (*appositives*, *circumstantials*, *detached adjuncts*, *absolutes*, among others), and while all of these terms may not be entirely equivalent, the nuances between them are not important for our present purposes: what is important is that these things are not 'true' depictives. I will proceed labeling such constructions as 'appositive depictives.' To set these apart, I suggest the following tests.

First, appositive depictive adjectives can often be diagnosed by the intonational pause that precedes them (Schultze-Berndt & Himmelmann 2004, Heringa 2009). For example, in (9a), which is a true depictive, there is no

intonational pause before the depictive adjective, *angry*, while in (9b), the depictive adjective is preceded by a pause, indicated here with a comma. Appositive depictives are not true depictives.

(9) a. **John** left **angry**. (True depictive)
b. **John** left, **angry**. (Appositive depictive)

Something else that often separates appositive-type depictives from the true depictives is that appositive depictives sometimes express meaning about why the event of the main predicate took place (Irimia 2005:23). For example, (9b) can mean that John left *because* he was angry. Likewise, (10) can mean he didn't eat the meat because it was raw (for those speakers for whom (10) is grammatical).

(10) ? He didn't eat **the meat**, **raw**.

The acceptability of such adjuncts can improve if the adjunct is heavier (Quirk et al. 1985:425, as cited in Simpson 2005:73):

(11) He didn't eat **the meat**, **raw all the way through**.

Simpson (2005:73) suggests that since appositives can occur at the right periphery, and thus mimic depictives, we can test a true (object-oriented) depictive by putting it inside a sentential argument, as in (12a). The (object-oriented) depictive is part of the VP constituent, but an appositive is not, so making the VP the sentential subject is a test the true object-oriented depictive should pass. In (12b), the appositive depictive, *drunk*, cannot be preposed as part of the VP when placed in the sentential subject position, as in (12c).

(12) a. Eating **the fish raw** is inadvisable.
b. John thanked **Bill**, **drunk**.
c. * Thanking **Bill drunk** is a good idea.

Another test of true depictives versus appositive depictives is their behaviour under negation: appositives are not within the scope of negation, but true depictives are (Simpson 2005:73, Schultze-Berndt & Himmelmann 2004:68). For example, (13a) is true if he ate the fish cooked or not at all. (13b), on the other hand, is true if John didn't leave, and is *not* true if John left (even if he left while he was angry). In fact, (13b) suggests that the reason John stayed is because he was angry.

(13) a. He didn't eat **the fish raw**. (Depictive inside scope of negation)
Meaning: He ate the fish cooked or he didn't eat it at all.

b. **John** didn't leave, **angry**. (Appositive not in the scope of negation)
Meaning: John didn't leave, perhaps because he was angry.

The list of depictive-like things presented in sections 2.1 and 2.2 is not exhaustive, but takes care of many phenomena that can pose as depictives.

2.3 Diagnostics for a 'True Depictive'?

Do we then have a list of criteria for what constitutes a 'true depictive'? Possibly. True depictives are not appositives or circumstantials, small clauses, or complements (see also Schultze-Berndt & Himmelmann 2004: 77 – 8). They form complex predicates with the main/matrix predicate, and they can be contained within a sentential argument, as in (14).[1] They *do not* form an independent semantic unit with the direct object, as complements do, for example, in (15).

(14) Eating **the fish raw** is risky.
(15) She prefers **her coffee black**.

Furthermore, the argument and the true depictive *do not* form a syntactic constituent, which can be diagnosed by movement tests. So in (16) and (17), *raw* and *broken* can be true depictives since they do not form a constituent with the direct object, whereas in (18) and (19), *drunk* and *sober* are not true depictives, since they pass the movement test.

(16) * The fish raw, John ate. (True depictive)
(17) * The car broken, John bought. (True depictive)
(18) **John drunk**, Bill admired. (Not a true depictive)
(19) **John sober**, I never understood. (Not a true depictive)

The lesson from this discussion is that not all things that are called 'depictives' in the literature share the same properties. What I have labeled 'true depictives' will be the focus of the rest of this paper. Once we have pared away all the things which are not true depictives, we can observe some interesting patterns in the data that remains.

3. Pylkkänen's (2008) Framework: Distribution of Depictives in English

Depictives play an important role in Pylkkänen's (2008) framework, but her analysis doesn't predict the distributions of English depictives that we find upon closer inspection of the data. First, we will review the analysis of depictives in Pylkkänen (2008), then discuss the unexpected distributions of depictives in Sections 4 - 6.

Pylkkänen uses applied arguments' (indirect objects') compatibility with depictives as a cross-linguistic diagnostic for whether those applied arguments are high or low, which helps account for why, in some languages (e.g. Luganda), indirect objects/applied arguments can host depictive secondary predicates, but can't in other languages (e.g. English, Japanese). Pylkkänen (2008:27) claims that the depictive test is valid for those languages with an "English type" pattern of depictive secondary predication. The criteria for having "English type" depictive secondary predication is whether a language has the same basic distributions of depictives as English. The criteria for an English-type

[1] However, see Schultze-Berndt & Himmelmann (2004:69-72) for the view that depictives should be treated differently than true complex predicates.

distribution are as follows: depictives can modify direct objects (20) and subjects (21), but not implicit subjects (22)[2], or DPs occurring inside PPs (23).

(20) a. Alex ate **the peanuts salted**.
b. They drank **the beer warm**.

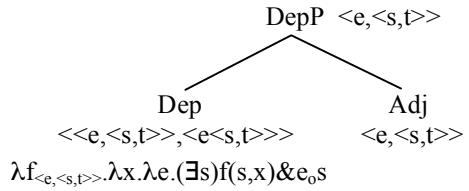
(21) a. **Jill** wrote the memo **drunk**.
b. **John** cooked the breakfast **naked**.

(22) a. * The house was built drunk.
b. * The breakfast was cooked drunk.

(23) a. * John filled the wagon [$_{PP}$ with **hay green**] (Williams 1980:204)
b. * Mary wrote the letter [$_{PP}$ to **John drunk**].

This distribution is argued to fall out from the compatibility of semantic types. For Pylkkänen (2008:23-4), depictive adjectives form a constituent with the functional head, Dep, that introduces them, forming a DepP (depictive phrase) of type <e,<s,t>> (see 24).

(24)



Pylkkänen employs Geuder's (2000) 'overlap' function, "$_o$", in her semantics for Dep (given in the figure above), to indicate that the state described by the depictive adjective, and the event of the main predicate, are overlapping. The types given above predict that DepP can combine (via Predicate Modification) with constituents of the same type (<e,<s,t>>), and from this fact fall out the distributions of depictives across languages. The details are summarized below.

In Pylkkänen's framework, both Voice' (where subject-oriented Dep phrases are assumed to attach), and transitive verbs (where object-oriented Dep phrases are assumed to attach) are of type <e,<s,t>>, so we would expect direct objects and subjects to be able to have depictives predicated of them. In contrast, indirect objects (in English) are not available for depictive secondary predication because they are introduced by an applicative head, Appl. For a depictive to be hosted by an indirect object, the DepP would have to attach at Appl', which in

[2] There seems to be some contention regarding the data in (22), which I have found reported by many native speakers to be perfectly grammatical. I will not dwell on this point here, since it is not directly relevant to the main point of this paper.

Pylkkänen's framework is of type <e<<e,<s,t>>,<s,t>>>: too complex to combine with DepP (see Pylkkänen 2008:22-7).

English indirect objects are low applied arguments; the high applied arguments that appear in many other languages are argued by Pylkkänen to be available for depictive modification because they are like external arguments (recall that external arguments in English can host depictives). Pylkkänen thus uses the possibility of depictive secondary predication as a diagnostic for whether an applied argument is high or low: low applied arguments (like indirect objects in English) cannot have depictive secondary predicates, and high applied arguments can. The prerequisite for using this test on a language's applied arguments is that the language has English-type depictive secondary predication—that is, the distribution described above and exemplified in (20) – (23). Thus, the distribution of depictives in English has theoretical consequences for the validity of this test, which is proposed by Pylkkänen (2008:27) to have cross-linguistic validity where an "English-type" distribution of depictives holds.

However, Pylkkänen's analysis incorrectly predicts that direct objects should always be able to be modified by a depictive in English. The distribution of depictives in English is in fact more nuanced: object-oriented depictives show a sensitivity to the aspectual class of the verb (Rapoport 1999), a fact that we will discuss in more detail below.

4. Rapoport (1999): 'Activity' Verbs and Object-oriented Depictives

Rapoport (1999:654) notes that Vendler's (1967) 'activity' verbs do not allow their direct objects to be modified by depictives. Rapoport's original data are presented in (25).

(25) a. Jones_i phoned Smith_k $\text{sad}_{i/*k}$
b. Jones_i pushed Smith_k $\text{sick}_{i/*k}$
c. Jones_i chased Smith_k $\text{angry}_{i/*k}$
d. Jones_i slapped Smith_k $\text{sober}_{i/*k}$
e. I_i kicked John_k $\text{depressed}_{i/*k}$
f. The policeman_i punched John_k $\text{drunk}_{i/*k}$

With these activity verbs, object-oriented depictives are ungrammatical (*k* indices), while subject-oriented depictives are allowed (*i* indices). Rapoport also notes that an object-oriented *resultative* reading is possible, while the depictive reading is not (in fact, the preference for this resultative reading can be strong enough to make it difficult to see the depictive reading). In (25d), Jones can slap Smith to make him sober (the resultative reading), but the reading where Smith is sober throughout the slapping event (the depictive reading) is not acceptable. Counter to the English-type distribution of depictives described by Pylkkänen, object-oriented depictives seem to be unavailable with these verbs.

5. Narrowing the Distribution of Depictives

We have seen that depictives can only selectively modify direct objects, depending on the aspectual class of the verb. I argue below that Rapoport's

generalization that activity verbs cannot have direct object-oriented depictives should be broadened to include verbs of other aspectual classes. In fact, the only (Vendler) class of verbs that appears to be consistently able to have its direct objects modified by depictives is the class of 'accomplishment' verbs. Table 1 below from Rothstein (2008:176) indicates that what distinguishes accomplishment verbs from other aspectual categories of verbs is that accomplishments are both telic (can appear with telic modifiers) and durative/extended (can occur in the progressive). This is summarized in Table 2 (based on Comrie 1976), with the addition of semelfactives (punctual, 'single-action' events).[3]

Table 1	[± occur in the progressive]	[± occur with telic modifiers]
States	-	-
Activities	+	-
Achievements	-	+
Accomplishments	+	+

Table 2	Telic	Atelic
Durative	Accomplishments	Activities, States
Non-durative	Achievements	Semelfactives

The data in (26) illustrate that accomplishments allow their direct objects to have depictives.

Accomplishments:

(26) a. We drank **the beer warm**.
b. We ate **the candy salted**.
c. We climbed **the wall wet**.
d. We cooked **the meat salted**.
e. They served **the meal hot**.

On the other hand, for the activities in (27), the achievements in (28), and the semelfactives in (29), direct object-oriented depictives do not seem possible.[4]

Activities:

(27) a. * John kissed **Mary drunk**.
b. * The ninja kicked **John drunk**.
c. * John chased **Bill sober**.

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[3] Note that Comrie's (1967) categorization puts states in the durative class.

[4] Note that I exclude states from this list, mainly because they show peculiar behaviour with respect to depictives, in part because so many stative verbs take complements that are 'depictive-like.'

d. * I rolled **the ball deflated/inflated**.
e. * John and I threw **the baseball wet**.
f. * I crumpled **the paper dry**.
g. * I rolled **the stone dry**.
h. * I carried **the computers damaged**.

Achievements:

(28) a. * John reached **Jane drunk.**
b. * John lost **the hat crushed/crumpled**.
c. * John won **the hat crushed/crumpled**.
d. * John recognized **Jane sober**.

Semelfactives:

(29) a. * The bluejay flapped [**its wing**] (once) **broken**.
b * The drunk blinked **his eyes** (once) **bloodshot**.[5]

One problem we encounter in the data in (27), for activities, is that it is often hard to rule out accomplishment readings of activity VPs in English.[6] Since accomplishments *do* allow their direct objects to have depictive secondary predication, it may be difficult to isolate the ungrammaticality of direct objects with depictives under the 'activity' reading. With some of the activity examples in (27) we can also get grammatical *resultative* readings (e.g. (27c) can mean John chased Bill until he became sober).

Some of the ungrammatical examples above also improve if we add an intonational pause between the direct object and the depictive adjective, thus making them into appositive depictives instead of true depictives, as in (30). The generalization argued for in this paper is that it is true depictives which show the interesting selectional restriction, so the fact that some of the examples improve when deliberately made into appositive depictives is evidence that the true depictives have their own unique pattern of compatibility with certain verb classes.

(30) a. The ninja kicked **John**, **drunk**.
b. I carried **the computer**, **undamaged**.
c. I crumpled **the paper**, **dry**.

The data presented above thus seem to support the generalization that true (object-oriented) depictives are only compatible with VPs that are both telic and durative/extended. In the next section (and indeed for the rest of this paper), I

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[5] In the semelfactive examples, 'once' is used to force the 'single action' (i.e. semelfactive) reading rather than the activity reading which might result otherwise.

[6] In fact, if the reader has difficulty with the judgments for the data in (27), consider whether an accomplishment interpretation is interfering. It may also be the case that a grammatical 'appositive depictive' reading interferes here, as in (i).

(i) John chased **Bill**, **sober**.

will provide more evidence for the role that telicity plays, and leave the issue of durativity to future work.

6. Object-oriented Depictives and Telicity

In addition to the evidence presented in the section above, there is further evidence that object-oriented depictive phrases require a telic VP. We know from the literature (e.g. Krifka 1998) that bare plural objects and mass noun objects tend to make VPs atelic. For example, by making the definite object in (31a) a bare plural noun in (31b), the sentence becomes atelic.

(31) a. I ate the apple. (Telic)
b. I ate apples. (Atelic)

As the data in (32) – (35) indicate, examples that seem fully grammatical with definite direct objects (the *a* variants) seem degraded or even ungrammatical with mass noun or bare plural direct objects (the *b* variants), where the VP is atelic.

(32) a. I ate **the apples raw**.
b. ?? I ate **apples raw**.

(33) a. I ate **the fish raw**.
b. ? I ate **fish raw**.

(34) a. We drank **the beer warm**.
b. * We drank **beer warm**.

(35) a. We drank **the water cold**.
b * We drank **water cold**.

Object-oriented depictives also don't seem possible with prepositional object variants that encourage an atelic reading. The "away at…" construction in (36b) and (37b) produces atelic alternants of the corresponding telic sentences in (36a) and (37a).[7] (38) demonstrates acceptable object-oriented depictive alternants of the telic sentences in (36a) and (37a). The examples in (39) show that adding an object-oriented depictive to the atelic alternants in (36b) and (37b) renders them ungrammatical. Although the examples in (39) would be excluded by the distributional requirements for "English-type" depictives—that they cannot modify DPs inside PPs—these data also seem to support the idea of a link between telicity and depictive secondary predication of direct objects.

(36) a. We ate the fish. (Telic)
b. We ate away at the fish. (Atelic)

(37) a. Alex carved the statue. (Telic)
b. Alex carved away at the statue. (Atelic)

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[7] Thanks to Diane Massam for suggesting this to me.

(38) a. We ate **the fish raw**. (Telic)
b. Alex carved **the statue upright**. (Telic)

(39) a. * We ate away at **the fish raw**. (Atelic)
b. * Alex carved away at **the statue upright**. (Atelic)

Recall now that we have focused on the behaviour of object-oriented depictives in this paper. The subject-oriented depictives do not show any restrictions based on the aspectual class of the VP, as illustrated in (40).

(40) a. **Jill** ate the sushi **drunk**. (Accomplishment)
b. **John** reached the hotel **drunk**. (Achievement)
c. **Jill** carried the bags **drunk**. (Activity)
d. **John** blinked his eyes (once) **drunk**. (Semelfactive)

The generalization we have therefore arrived at is that there is distributional evidence that object-oriented depictives select VPs denoting events that are both telic and durative/extended (although we haven't discussed the latter property in detail here). In contrast to object-oriented depictives, subject-oriented depictives do not show the same distributional restriction.

7. Conclusions

I've argued for an expansion beyond the original generalization of Rapoport (1999) that 'activity' verbs alone cannot have (direct) object-oriented depictives. Once we filter out those things that are not true depictives, there seems to be evidence that object-oriented depictives select events that are both telic and have duration—roughly speaking, events denoted by the 'accomplishment' verbs. Since the acceptability of object-oriented depictives varies with alternations of the direct object that affect the telicity of the event denoted by the VP, it seems to be a property of the VP (rather than the verb itself), to which the depictive is sensitive. As mentioned above, subject-oriented depictives do not exhibit the same distributional patterns. Since they are assumed to attach higher up in the syntactic structure (at Voice' in Pylkkänen's framework, for example), this also indicates that it is a property of some (atelic, non-durative) VPs that is incompatible with depictives.

This kind of distributional data might be useful in further refining a typology of depictives. The aktionsart of the VP might be usefully applied as a diagnostic for separating out a subclass (or subclasses) of depictives. This paper has a very modest goal of providing some evidence that object-oriented DPs show an interesting sensitivity to the aktionsart of the VP, which subject-oriented depictives do not share. This complicates the typically reported clear-cut distinction in the literature that direct objects in English can have depictives predicated of them. Further work is necessary to test the robustness of the judgments for the data in this study (since some of the judgments are very nuanced), and to develop further tests to filter out various other kinds of 'pseudo-depictives' and non-depictives. The hypotheses put forward here should

also be tested in other languages, to determine whether the generalizations argued for in this paper have cross-linguistic validity.

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