

# Depictive Secondary Predication as Long-Distance Modification: Theory and Corpus Evidence

Benjamin Burkhardt\*, Laura Kallmeyer\*, Timm Lichte\*\*  
(\*University of Düsseldorf, \*\*University of Tübingen)

English DEPICTIVE SECONDARY PREDICATES (DSPs), which we consider instances of long-distance modification (see (1)), exhibit a number of interesting properties, e.g. target-ambiguity and targeting of unrealized verbal arguments.

- (1) a. Kim<sub>i</sub> ate the apple<sub>j</sub> unwashed<sub>i/j</sub>. (target-ambiguity)  
b. We<sub>i</sub> usually bake gluten-free<sub>\*i/x</sub>. (targeting an unrealized element)

Our talk will consist of the following three parts: First, we will summarize our observations about the frequently discussed DSP data in the existing literature. Then, we will report our initial analysis of DSPs within our framework (Burkhardt, Lichte & Kallmeyer 2017), which combines LTAG Syntax with frames to model semantic composition. Crucial to our analysis, the framework features an EXTENDED DOMAIN OF LOCALITY (EDL), which means that interactions between syntactic units are less restricted in terms of linear order and distance. This is particularly helpful when analyzing long-distance phenomena in general.

In our analysis, we model DSPs within the semantic component of our grammar, which is based on a unified syntactic structure that is independent of whether the target is the subject or the object:

- (2) a. Kim ate the steak<sub>j</sub> raw<sub>j</sub>.  
b. Kim<sub>i</sub> ate the steak tired<sub>i</sub>.

In either case of (2), the DSP structure adjoins at VP-level. Consequently, semantic restrictions by the DSP are applied by unifying the DSP frame with the verb frame. The general ambiguity regarding the selection of the target (i.e. the subject or the object in (2)) is modelled by introducing an ambiguity operator explicitly into the frame representation of the DSP construction. Finally, in order to restrict the set of semantic roles that a DSP can target, we employ SEMANTIC MACRO ROLES (ACTOR, UNDERGOER) in the sense of Van Valin 2005. Following this hypothesis, we predict that oblique arguments cannot be targeted by DSPs.

In the last part of our talk, we will present some results of our on-going corpus study of DSPs in real world data extracted from the large web corpus ENCOW16AX. We will explain our extraction method and discuss some statistics and what they imply regarding our initial analysis. Finally we will discuss some non-prototypical example DSPs, that challenge our analysis and raise further questions about the nature of DSPs.

**References** • Burkhardt, Benjamin, Timm Lichte & Laura Kallmeyer. 2017. Depictives in English: An LTAG approach. In *Proceedings of the 13th International Workshop on Tree Adjoining Grammars and Related Formalisms*, 21–30. Umeå, Sweden: Association for Computational Linguistics. • Van Valin, Robert D., Jr. 2005. *Exploring the syntax-semantics interface*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.