Comments on the Paper by Hoshi

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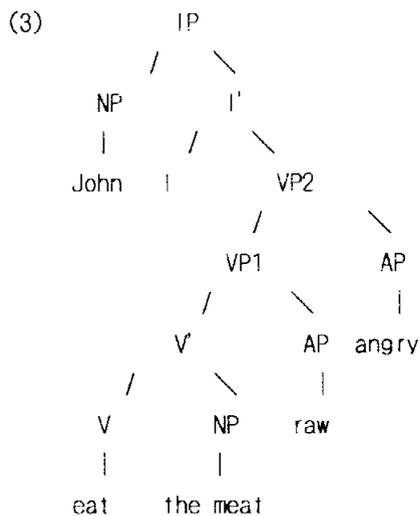
In his paper, Hidehito Hoshi examines secondary predicates like the following:

(1)a. John ate the meat rare.
 b. John ate the meat angry.

One of his major concern is to investigate how such secondary predicates behave with respect to wh-movement:

(2)a. How rare did John eat the meat?
 b.*How angry did John eat the meat?

By presenting a number of syntactic tests, he concludes that secondary predicates have the following configuration:

(3)
```
                IP
              /    \
          NP          I'
          |         /   \
        John   I        VP2
                        /      \
                   VP1          AP
                  /    \         |
               V'        AP    angry
              /   \       |
            V       NP   raw
            |        |
          eat     the meat
```

With this syntax of secondary predicates in mind, he proposes the next constraint:

(4) In an adjunct structure, [x...[x...]] (where X is a maximal projection), the top segment of the maximal projection is absolute barrier

Given this stipulation, VP2 in (3), for instance, constitutes absolute barrier. Extraction out of this domain violates the Empty Category Principle (ECP) becuase its trace fails to be antecedent governed or theta-governed. I have challenged this idea by presenting some data that run counter to this constraint, especially those sentences that are recently claimed to have surface subject derived from VP-internal positions and contain absolute barrier:

(5) The storm frightened the boy nude in the yard.
(6) A girl appeared on the stage nude.

The locative PP in (5) and the secondary predicate in (6) counts as absolute barrier. One might claim that adverbs plays no role in absolute barrier, but this idea turns out dubious in the light of the following sentences, where an adverb does play a role in absolute barrier when a phrase is moved rightward across it:

(7)a. John ate [the meat which Mary cooked carefully] raw quickly.
   b. *John ate raw quickly [the meat which Mary cooked carefully].

One way around this problem would be to make A/A'-distinvtion in the formulation of absolute barrier. See Nishikawa (1990) and Nakamura (forthcoming) for such the idea that rightward movement like Heavy NP Shift (HNPS) is A-movement. In this connection we must also take into consideration Larson's (forthcoming) important idea that HNPS is not derived by moving Heavy NP rightward but by moving a verb leftward.

The second issue that I would like to raise concerns the syntax of secondary predicate in (3). One of the motivation that leads Hoshi to place different secondary predicates is an asymmetrical linear order of secondary predicates:

(8)a. John ate the meat raw nude.

   b. *John ate the meat nude raw.

The ungrammaticality in (8b) is claimed to stem from the fact that an object oriented secondary predicate has a closer relationship to V than a subject oriented secondary predicate does. I have suggested an alternative idea. (8b) could be explained by what Pesetsky (1982) calls Path Containment Condition(PCC), which disallows two paths from one position into another to cross. Pesetsky advanced the PCC to deal with the ungrammaticality of a wh-movement sentences like (9). I have suggested the PCC could extend to secondary predicate sentences as in (10) (see Hasegawa (1981) for this approach), inalienable possession sentences like (11) (see Endo (1992)), etc.:

(9)a. *What1 do you wonder who2 John gave t1 to t2 ?
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      |------------------|--------------|    |
                         |------------------|
```

(10)a. John ate the meat raw nude.
```
      |          |------|    |
      |------------------ -|
```

   b. *John ate the meat nude raw.
```
      |---------|-------|   |
               |------- ---|
```

(11)a. John1 pulled Mary2 by the arm2 toward him1.
```
      |               |----------|                 |
      |---------------- --------------------------|
```

   b. *John1 pulled Mary2 toward him1 by the arm2.
```
      |------------|------------|          |
                  |-------------------- |
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