

Secondary predicates in Slovenian

Like many other languages, Slovenian displays the secondary predicate construction (SPC) shown in (1). But unlike English, which shows such predication in the nominative and accusative only, Slovenian also allows it in the dative and genitive (Orešnik 1995), as shown in (2). Note that in such constructions the DP predicated of and the predicative adjective agree in number, gender, and case.

(1) *Janez je ves utrujen pekel piškote.*
 Janez-NOM-SG-M AUX all tired-NOM-SG-M baked biscuits-ACC
 "Janez baked biscuits (completely) tired."

(2) *Mariji sem ponudil piškote vsej utrujeni.*
 Marija-DAT-SG-F AUX offered biscuits-ACC all tired-DAT-SG-F
 "I offered biscuits to a (completely) tired Marija."

The SPCs of (1) and (2) correspond to post-nominal adjectives (PNAs) in terms of their form and meaning. The modification they require (4) is of the same type as that of an adjective in its predicative use (PA) or of a PNA (3).

(3) *hiša velika *(kot hrib) (PNA); Hiša je velika (kot hrib) (PA) vs. (kot hrib) velika hiša*
 house big (as hill) ; house is big (as hill) vs. (as hill) big house

(4) *Metki sem zoprni *(kot hudič) povedal, kaj se je zgodilo.*
 Metka-DAT AUX moody (as devil) told, what REFL AUX happened
 "I told Metka, who was being extremely difficult, what had happened."

The SPCs in (1-2) or (4) can only have a stage-level and intersective interpretation. Likewise, (5a) below can only mean that Špela was beautiful (looked good) when she came to pick up the cake, but not that she is beautiful in general. Since the adjectives in (5a) are all i-level adjectives, their interpretation in the SPC is something like: "she pretended to be more beautiful/tall/intelligent than she really is", or "she looked more beautiful/tall/intelligent than I know her to be". Also, similarly to PNAs, SPCs can only have the intersective interpretation, while pre-nominal adjectives are ambiguous between the intersective and non-intersective interpretation. Thus, (5b) is not ambiguous between "a friend whom I have known long" (non-intersective) and "a friend who is old" (intersective); it only has the intersective interpretation and the s-level reading ("while cooking lunch, my friend appeared old").

(5)a. *Špela je prišla po pecivo vsa lepa / vsa visoka/ vsa inteligentna.*
 Špela AUX came for cake all beautiful/ all tall / all intelligent
 "Špela came to pick up the cake (looking) all beautiful/ all tall/ all intelligent."

b. *Prijatelj je ves star kuhal kosilo.*
 friend AUX all old cooked lunch "My friend cooked lunch, stooping with age."

The adjectival predicates of SPCs, as in (1-2), thus share several properties with PNAs and PAs, in the spirit of Bolinger (1967) and Larson (1999), among others. Given their properties stated above, one might conclude that SPCs are structurally parallel to PNAs but dislocated from the DP in the spell-out. However, while in PNAs both the adjective and the noun are quantified (6b), giving a restricted interpretation, the adjective of SPCs modifies the entire quantified DP (6a), which suggests that the structures of PNAs and SPCs are not equivalent.

(6)a. *[Vsi [gusarji]] so zadeti kot mina jedli. (SPC)* b. *[Vsi [gusarji zadeti kot mina]] so jedli. (PNA)*
 all pirates AUX drunk as mine ate all pirates drunk as mine AUX ate
 "All pirates ate, and they were dead drunk." "All pirates who were dead drunk ate."

We propose that the predicate and the DP of SPCs start the derivation as adjacent in a small clause (Burzio 1986), in the position of an external (1) or internal argument (2). The DP then moves up leaving behind the rest of the small clause. The pre-movement structure of (2) is thus as in (7).

(7) [_{SC}[_{DP} Mariji] [_{AP} vsej utrujeni]]

The SPC construction, such as (1-2), is ungrammatical with verbal complements in the instrumental and locative case, as shown in (8). In our proposal this falls out naturally. In the inst. and loc., the preposition and the DP alone do not form a constituent, which makes it impossible for them to move to the front of the sentence together. The base structure of (8) is given in (9).

(8) **Pri mami sem vsej utrujeni od dela gledal televizijo.*
 At mother-LOC AUX all tired from work watched television.
 "I watched television at my mother's, who was all tired from work."

(9) [_{PP} pri [_{SC}[_{DP} mami] [_{AP} vsej utrujeni od dela]]]