Contents

Acknowledgments —— V

Abbreviations —— XI

List of Figures —— XIII

List of Tables —— XV

1 Introduction —— 1
1.1 Examples of grammatical extractions from adjuncts —— **3**
1.2 Participle adjuncts and extraction patterns —— **5**
1.3 Empirical scope and focus —— **6**
1.4 Central research question and sketch of the proposal —— **9**
1.5 Conventions —— **13**
1.6 Outline —— **14**

2 Present participle adjuncts: structure and interpretation —— 16
2.1 Research questions and chapter outline —— **16**
2.2 Towards a syntactic analysis of BPPAs —— **17**
2.2.1 Reduced adverbial clause analysis —— **20**
2.2.2 Converb construction analysis —— **23**
2.2.3 Depictive secondary predicate analysis —— **26**
2.2.4 Interim conclusion —— **29**
2.3 The interpretational space of BPPAs —— **30**
2.3.1 The semantics of depictives —— **31**
2.3.2 Event specification and expansion with co-eventive adjuncts —— **35**
2.3.3 Interpreting complex event structures —— **40**
2.4 Licensing conditions on depictive constructions —— **45**
2.4.1 Licensing conditions on the depictive —— **46**
2.4.2 Licensing conditions on the host predicate —— **50**
2.4.3 Resultative BPPA constructions —— **57**
2.5 Chapter conclusion —— **60**

3 Previous approaches to extraction from adjuncts —— 63
3.1 Research questions and chapter outline —— **63**
3.2 Syntactic gap-licensing accounts —— **67**
3.2.1 Optional feature sharing (Boeckx 2003; Oseki 2015) —— **67**

Bibliografische Informationen
https://d-nb.info/1284588270

digitalisiert durch DEUTSCHE NATIONAL BIBLIOTHEK

3.2.2 Attachment height and forced spell-out (Narita 2014) — **71**
3.2.3 Top-down structure building (den Dikken 2018) — **74**
3.2.4 Interim conclusion — **77**
3.3 Interaction accounts — **78**
3.3.1 Reanalysis (Demonte 1988) — **78**
3.3.2 Reflexivity (Borgonovo & Neeleman 2000) — **82**
3.3.3 Aspectual classes and extraction (Truswell 2007) — **87**
3.3.4 Event groupings and agentivity (Truswell 2011) — **97**
3.3.5 Semantically conditioned feature inactivity (Ernst 2022) — **108**
3.3.6 Spanish gerund complements (París 2003) — **112**
3.3.7 Maximal event templates (Fábregas & Jiménez-Fernández 2016a,b) — **118**
3.3.8 Pragmatic conditions on extraction (Chaves & Putnam 2020) — **125**
3.3.9 Coherence and extraction from adverbial clauses (C. Müller 2019) — **134**
3.3.10 Interim conclusion — **138**
3.4 An independence approach (Brown 2017) — **138**
3.5 Chapter conclusion — **150**

4 Experimental evidence — 153
4.1 Research questions and chapter outline — **153**
4.2 Categorical and factorial models of acceptability — **155**
4.3 Factors — **158**
4.3.1 General factors relevant to extraction from islands — **158**
4.3.2 Specific factors for adjunct islands — **160**
4.4 Methodology — **162**
4.5 Study series 1: Event structure — **166**
4.5.1 Experiment 1: Aspectual classes across constructions — **167**
4.5.2 Experiment 2: Event structure in declaratives and interrogatives — **178**
4.5.3 Experiment 3: Adjunct integration — **183**
4.5.4 Interim conclusion for study series 1 — **188**
4.6 Study series 2: Grammatical verb type — **190**
4.6.1 Experiment 4: Transitives, unaccusatives, and unergatives — **192**
4.6.2 Experiment 5: Complex unaccusatives and transitives — **200**
4.6.3 Interim conclusion for study series 2 — **206**
4.7 Study series 3: *get*-predicates and achievements — **206**
4.7.1 Experiment 6: *get*-predicates — **209**
4.7.2 Experiment 7: Progressive achievements — **220**
4.7.3 Experiment 8: *get*-predicates & achievements — **228**

4.7.4 Interim conclusion for study series 3 — **235**
4.8 General discussion and conclusion — **237**
4.8.1 Conclusions for the research questions — **237**
4.8.2 The relation to the islands debate — **241**
4.8.3 Summary of factors — **244**

5 A factorial acceptability model for present participle adjuncts — 246
5.1 Main experimental findings — **248**
5.2 Deriving the factorial acceptability model — **250**
5.2.1 Independence — **250**
5.2.2 Durativity — **253**
5.2.3 Scalar change — **258**
5.2.4 Transitivity — **264**
5.2.5 Description of the final model — **268**
5.3 Predictions and advantages of the factorial model — **273**
5.3.1 Empirical coverage — **274**
5.3.2 Compatibility with CED-style locality conditions — **277**
5.3.3 Activities with directional phrases — **278**
5.3.4 Differences to adjunct licensing in Brown (2017) — **281**
5.3.5 A connection between durativity and scalar change — **283**
5.4 Potential challenges — **286**
5.4.1 Event specification or event expansion — **286**
5.4.2 Perception verbs — **288**
5.4.3 Gap site ambiguity — **289**
5.4.4 The cases of *show up* and *appear* — **292**
5.4.5 V–V linearization — **293**
5.4.6 Informativity — **296**
5.5 Similarities to past participle adjuncts — **297**
5.6 Chapter conclusion — **300**

6 Conclusion and outlook — 301

References — 307

Index — 327