

*Encoding the eventive/resultative/stative
distinction on passive participles*

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What this talk is about

Embick (2004) introduces a three-way distinction between eventive (1a), resultative (1b), and stative passive participles (1c).

- (1) a. The door was closed by Mary.
- b. The door remained carefully closed.
- c. The door was built closed.

- The eventive/resultative distinction with participles is computed differently in languages that mark (viewpoint) aspectual distinctions morphologically on the verb stem, and those that do not.
- Stative participles need not be root-derived (contra Embick 2004, Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 2008, in line with Anagnostopoulou & Samioti 2013)
- Verbal categorizers should be disassociated from event-introducing heads, which may not be verbal in nature

Roadmap

§2: Some background

§3: The rationale behind the eventive/resultative/stative distinction

§4: Eventive vs. resultative participles in two types of languages

§5: Stative participles in SC and beyond

§6: Conclusion

Background on passive participles

Since Wasow 1977, the broad consensus in the generative literature has been that there are verbal (2a) and adjectival (2b) passive participles (Bresnan 1982, Levin & Rappaport 1986, Kratzer 2000, Embick 2004, Alexiadou et al. 2014, a.o.)

- (2) a. The vase was broken by Mary.
b. The vase seemed broken.

However:

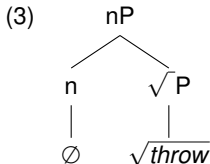
- ✳ Existing diagnostics do not test for category differences (Bešlin 2020)
- ✳ Both eventive and stative passive participles in SC have the syntax and morphology of (deverbal) adjectives (Bešlin 2020)
- ✳ Most contemporary accounts of the eventive/ resultative/ stative distinction are based on differences in internal structure
- Assumption: All passive participles are (deverbal) adjectives

Theoretical assumptions

I will be adopting a syntactic approach to word formation, à la Distributed Morphology (Halle & Marantz 1993, 1994, Marantz 1997, Harley & Noyer 1999, Harley 2014, Marantz 2019)

- *Syntax-all-the-way-down*
- Syntactic terminals are populated by:
 - (i) acategorical roots
 - (ii) functional heads
- Vocabulary insertion and meaning assignment:
 - (i) happen at the PF and LF interfaces, respectively
 - (ii) are competition based (the Elsewhere Principle)

Theoretical assumptions cont'd



(4) Interface instructions (Harley 2014:244)

PF: $\sqrt{\text{throw}}$ \leftrightarrow /θrow/

LF: $\sqrt{\text{throw}}$ \leftrightarrow "vomit" / [v [[\square] \sqrt [up]_P]]_{VP}

\leftrightarrow "a light blanket" / [n [\square] \sqrt]

\leftrightarrow "throw" elsewhere

The 3 types of passive participles

Eventives vs. Resultatives

Agentive *by*- phrases

- (5) a. The door was opened by Mary.
b. *The door seemed opened by Mary.

Complements of *seem* and *remain*

- (6) a. The door remained opened by Mary.
b. The door remained (carefully) opened.

Reversative and negative *un*-

- (7) a. The presents were unpacked by the children.
b. The presents seemed (carefully) unpacked.

The 3 types of passive participles cont'd

Resultatives vs. Statives

Adverbial modification

- (8) a. The package remained carefully opened/closed.
 b. *The package remained carefully open/closed.
- (9) a. the recently opened door
 b. the recently open door

Verbs of creation

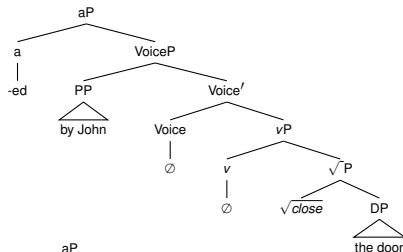
- (10) a. *The door was built opened/closed.
 b. The door was built open/closed.

Resultative secondary predicates

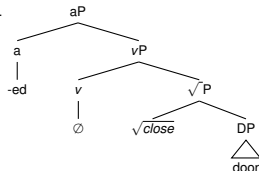
- (11) a. *He kicked the door opened/closed.
 b. He kicked the door open/closed.

The structure of English passive participles

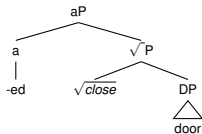
- (12) a. The door was closed by John.



- b. The door seemed (carefully) closed.



- c. The door was built closed.



Resultative passive participles

→ Unlike in English, resultative participles in SC allow agentive *by*-phrases:

- (13) a. Ta vaza mi se činila iz-lomljena od strane
 that vase me SE seemed PERF-broken by side
 nestašnih patuljaka.
 mischievous dwarfs

‘That vase seemed broken by the mischievous dwarfs’

→ Alexiadou et al. (2014) note this contrast for German and Greek

Resultatives cont'd

A brief summary of AGS 2014:

- * Events enter the derivation as predicates of event kinds, and get instantiated when they are embedded under further functional structure, e.g. tense/ aspect.
- * In German (and English) adjectival participles are not directly embedded under tense/aspect → the event remains in the kind domain → naming event participants is impossible
- * In Greek (and SC) the additional aspectual structure instantiates the event → naming the agent of the event is possible

3 problems:

Encoding aspect is not a sufficient condition for verbs to be compatible with *by*-phrases in stative contexts, or even with stative contexts as such (14); perfective aspect is needed (or the *perfect*, as in Greek.)

- (14) *Ta vaza mi se činila lomljena (od strane
 that vase me SE seemed broken.IMPf (by side
 nestašnih patuljaka).
 mischievous dwarfs)
 'That vase seemed broken (by the mischievous dwarfs)'

3 problems:

Base imperfectives ↗ syntactic aspect? But then...

- The analysis in AGS 2014 still cannot account for the general incompatibility of imperfectives with stative contexts;
- How is the event instantiated with eventive participles, which are also deverbal adjectives?;
- Secondary imperfectives are also bad:

(15) *Ova kupola mi se činila o-slik-a-va-n-a
 this dome me SE seemed PERF-paint-V-IMPF-ADJ-FEM.SG
 (od strane talentovanih umetnika)
 by side talented artists
 'This dome seemed painted (by talented artists)'

3 problems:

Comparing (13) with (14) and (15), it is clear that the availability of the stative reading on SC participles in general is dependent on the presence of perfective aspect.

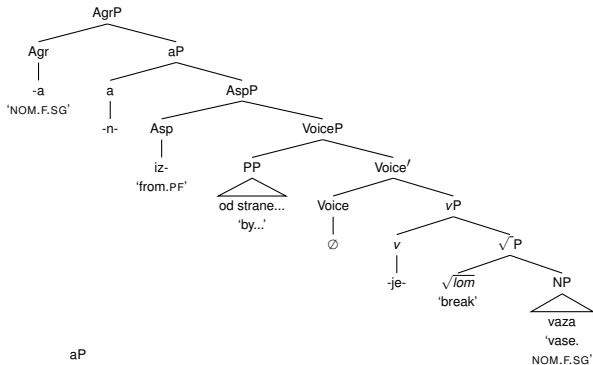
- (16) a. Ta vaza mi se činila iz-lomljena od strane nestašnih...
 that vase me SE seemed PERF-broken by side mischievous
 'That vase seemed broken by the mischievous...'
- b. *Ta vaza mi se činila lomljena (od strane nestašnih...).
 that vase me SE seemed broken.IMPF (by side mischievous)
 'That vase seemed broken (by the mischievous...)'
- c. *Ova kupola mi se činila o-slik-a-va-n-a (od...)
 this dome me SE seemed PERF-paint-V-IMPF-ADJ-FEM.SG by
 'This dome seemed painted (by...)'

Perfectivity with resultatives

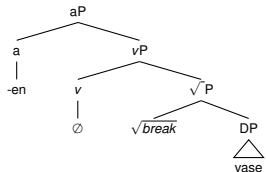
- A salient property of perfective viewpoint is that it includes in its denotation the final endpoint of a situation (Smith 1991); the imperfective does not.
- Since there is no endpoint, there can be no resulting state, i.e. no state for the resultative participle to refer to.
- If this prerequisite of perfectivity is satisfied, both agentive *by*-phrases and event-related modifiers are possible without any effect on the stative interpretation.
- This effect is obvious in SC where we can construct minimal pairs, but the analysis also extends to Greek which does not encode aspectual *distinctions* on passive participles

Compare:

(17) a.



b.



Stative passive participles

- Do not entail the existence of a prior event:

(18) a. I porta itan anix-ti / klis-ti.
 the door was open closed
 'The door was open / closed'

b. I porta itan anig-meni / klis-meni.
 the door was opened closed
 'The door was opened / closed'

(Anagnostopoulou 2003:12)

- Recall the analysis in Embick 2004, Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 2008:
 → stative passive participles are root-derived

SC statives

Stative passive participles in SC (19b) can contain a rich verbal structure:

(19) Trake su...

- a. mi se činile pažljivo is-pre-sav-i-ja-n-e
 me SE seemed carefully CMPL-PERF-fold-V-IMPF-ADJ-FEM.PL
 'The ribbons seemed carefully folded'
- b. 3D printerom napravljene is-pre-sav-i-ja-n-e.
 3D printer made CMPL-PERF-fold-V-IMPF-ADJ-FEM.PL
lit. 'The ribbons were made with a 3D printer folded'

NB: There is no folding event in (19b); *by-* phrases, event-related modifiers (e.g. *robotskom rukom* 'with a robotic arm') and manner adverbials (e.g. *silovito* 'forcefully') are all banned.

v VS. EVENT?

- (19b) suggests that verbalizers, which can apparently host further verbal structure such as aspect, should be seen as separate from event-introducing heads (contra Harley 1995 and subsequent work, Anagnostopoulou 2003, Embick 2004, A&A 2008, a.o.)
- Anagnostopoulou & Samioti 2013 argue, based on the fact that Greek stative participles occur with overt verbalizers, that there is a split between the abstract *v* head which introduces an event variable (*vE*) and morphological verbalizers (*vC*).

V VS. EVENT?

- Verbalizers can be present in English stative participles as well
- (20) **Context:** Imagine a set of giant statues in the form of Latin letters. If the statues were originally arranged in the right order, one could say:
The statues were built alphabetized.
- I would like to suggest that EVENT is not a species of *v* at all

v vs. EVENT? cont'd

- There seems to exist a double dissociation between EVENT and v:

→ stative passive participles (19b)

→ Kimian statives (cf. nouns derived from the same root):

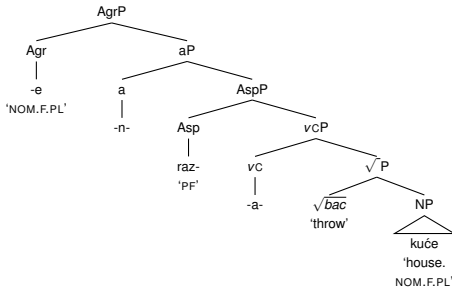
- (21) a. im-a-ti 'own-V-INF'
 b. lič-i-ti 'resemble-V-INF'
 c. mrz-e-ti 'hate-V-INF'
 d. mrž-nja 'hate-N'

→ simple event nominalizations:

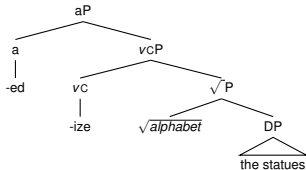
- (22) Divlja grad-nja je trajala godinama.
 wild build-N is lasted years
 'The illegal construction lasted for years'

Proposed structure for SC and English statives:

(23) a.



b.



Conclusions

- There is a clear divide between resultative participles in languages that morphologically encode aspect on verbs stems and those that do not.
- Perfective in aspect-marking languages is an overt realization of the result state → stativity cannot be overridden by the presence of agentive phrases.
- Purely stative passive participles need not be root-derived
- There is some evidence for the dissociation of verbal categorizers and event-introducing heads, which may not be verbal in nature

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