

*Encoding the eventive/resultative/stative  
distinction on passive participles  
cross-linguistically*

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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:

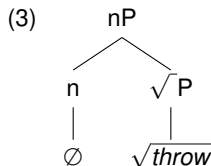
- ✳ Existing diagnostics do not test for category differences (Bešlin 2020)
- ✳ Both eventive and stative passive participles in SC have the syntax and morphology of (deverbal) adjectives (Bešlin 2020)
- ✳ Most contemporary accounts of the eventive/ resultative/ stative distinction are based on differences 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]<sub>P</sub>]]<sub>VP</sub>

$\leftrightarrow$  "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.

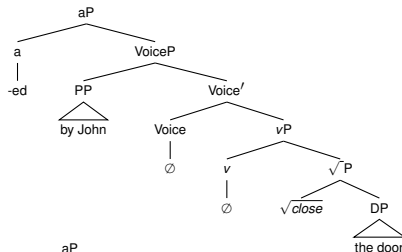
### Resultative secondary predicates

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

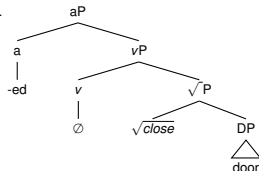


# The structure of English passive participles

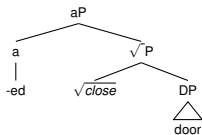
- (12) a. The door was closed by John.



- 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-lomlj-e-n-a  
 that vase me SE seemed PERF-break-V-ADJ-FEM.SG  
 od strane nestašnih patuljaka.  
 by side 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 lomlj-e-n-a  
 that vase me SE seemed broken.IMPf-V-ADJ-FEM.SG  
 (od strane nestašnih patuljaka).  
 (by side 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 as the structurally highest aspectual layer.

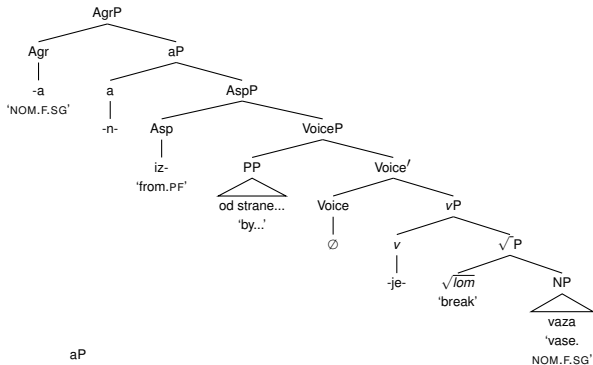
- (16) a. Ta vaza mi se činila iz-lomljena od strane nestašnih...  
 that vase me SE seemed PERF-broken by side mischievous  
 'That vase seemed broken by the mischievous...'
- b. \*Ta vaza mi se činila lomljena (od strane nestašnih...)  
 that vase me SE seemed broken.IMPF (by side mischievous)  
 'That 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-paintV-IMPF-ADJ-FEM.SG by  
 'This dome seemed painted (by...)'

# Perfectivity with resultatives

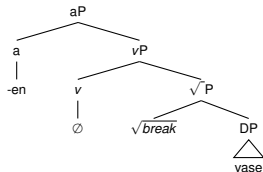
- A salient property of perfective viewpoint is that it includes in its denotation the final endpoint of a situation (Smith 1991); the imperfective does not.
- Since there is no endpoint, there can be no resulting state, i.e. no state for the resultative participle to refer to.
- If this prerequisite 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):

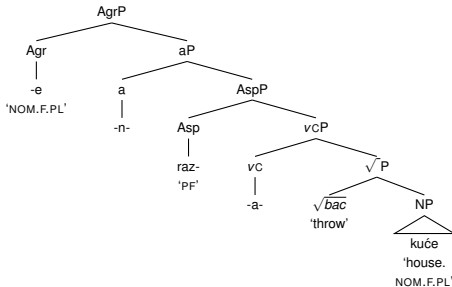
- (21) a. im-a-ti 'own-V-INF'  
 b. lič-i-ti 'resemble-V-INF'  
 c. mrz-e-ti 'hate-V-INF'  
 d. mrž-nja 'hate-N'

→ simple event nominalizations:

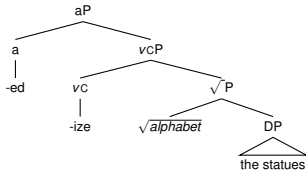
- (22) Divlja grad-nja je trajala godinama.  
 wild build-N is lasted years  
 'The illegal construction lasted for years'

# 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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