The morphophonology of passives and the architecture of Grammar

EGG 2017, Olomouc

Course outline:

- (Wasow 1977), Laskaratou and Philippaki (1984), Smirniotopoulos (1992), Horvath and Siloni (2008): at least some passives are **derived in the lexicon**

- lexicon is a subcomponent of the grammar in which certain operations can be performed

- these are usually semi productive operations that refer to the idiosyncratic properties of morphemes, analogical extension etc.

Course outline:

- Marantz (1997), Embick (2004), Bruening (2014), Alexiadou et al. (2015): lexicon is a list/several lists of features and relations between features

- no procedural knowledge in the lexicon

- all passives are derived syntactically

- the seemingly idiosyncratic properties of certain passives can be accounted for with reference to properties of syntactic pieces

- Bruening (2014): **the latter view is simpler as everybody has to assume the existence of syntax and the lexicon as a list**

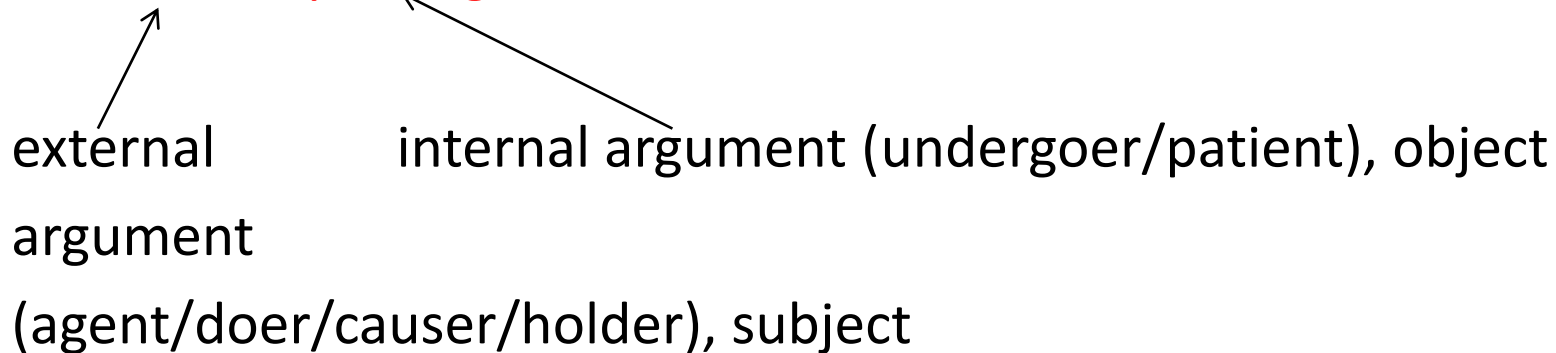- the burden of proof is on the proponents of the 'procedural lexicon'

Course outline:

- Class 1: Passives: types and analyses I (well-known 'facts')

- Class 2: Passives: types and analyses II (the complex ugly truth)

- Class 3: The morphosyntax of passives: a case study of Polish

- Class 4: The morphophonology of passives: a case study of Polish

- Class 5: Are Polish resultative adjectives derived in the lexicon?
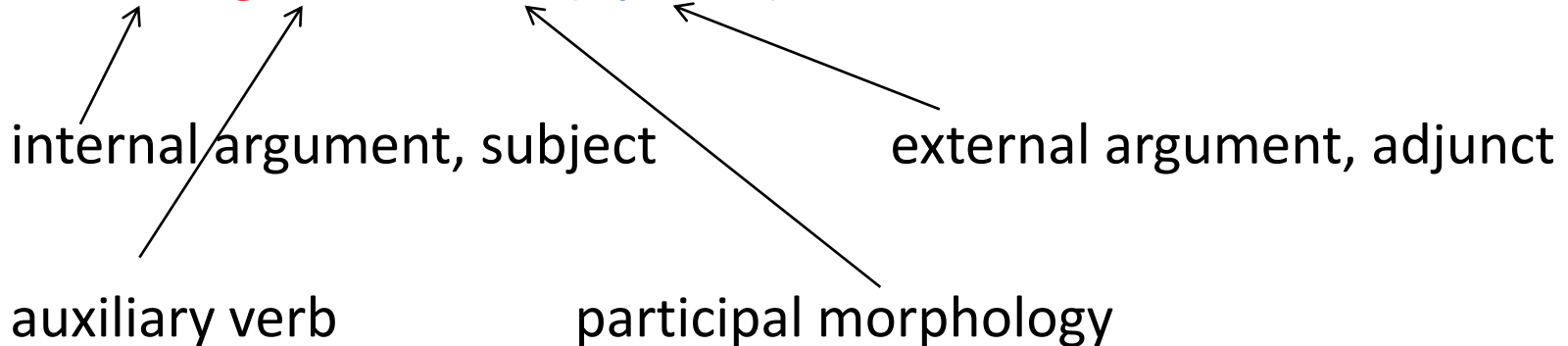
Passives: types and analyses

- the universality and regularity of passive construction contributed to their prominent place in the Genarative literature

- John ate porridge.

external   internal argument (undergoer/patient), object

argument

(agent/doer/causer/holder), subject

Passives: types and analyses

- Porridge was eaten (by John).

internal argument, subject   external argument, adjunct

auxiliary verb   participal morphology

Passives: types and analyses

Chomsky (1957) 'Syntactic Structures'
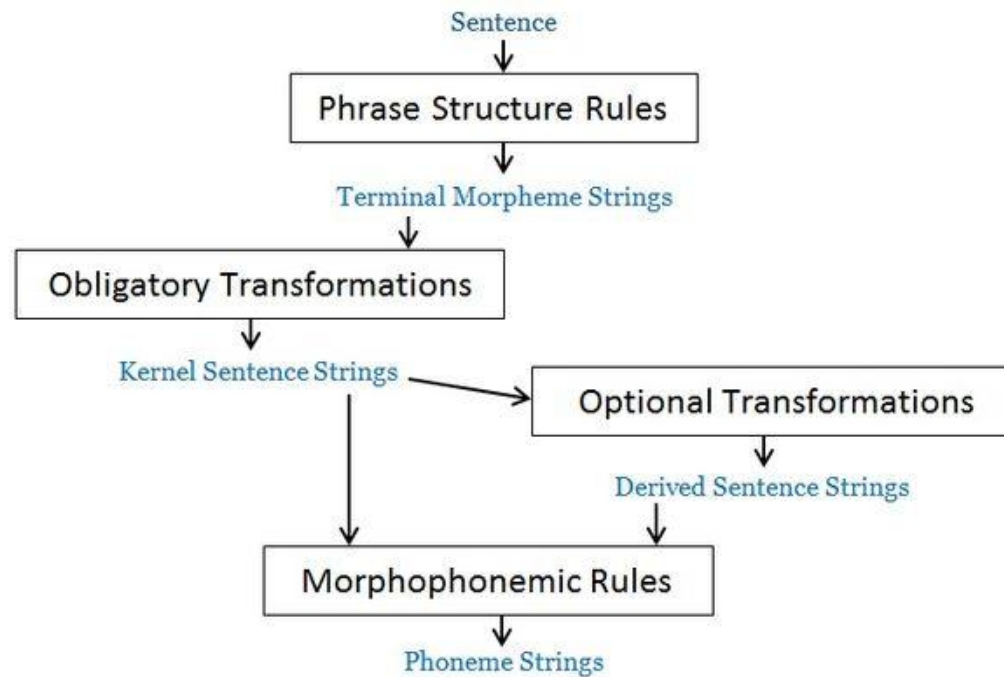
Passives: types and analyses

• passive transformation is an optional transformation

• passive strings are always derived from active sentences, which are kernel sentences ('...simple, declarative, active sentences...' (1957: 80))

(34)   If S_1 is a grammatical sentence of the form

$$NP_1 - Aux - V - NP_2,$$

then the corresponding string of the form

$$NP_2 - Aux + be + en - V - by + NP_1$$

is also a grammatical sentence.

Passives: types and analyses

• the optionality of *by*-phrase accounted for by an optional 'elliptical transformation'

• (34) is clearly motivated by the impressive productivity of passivization

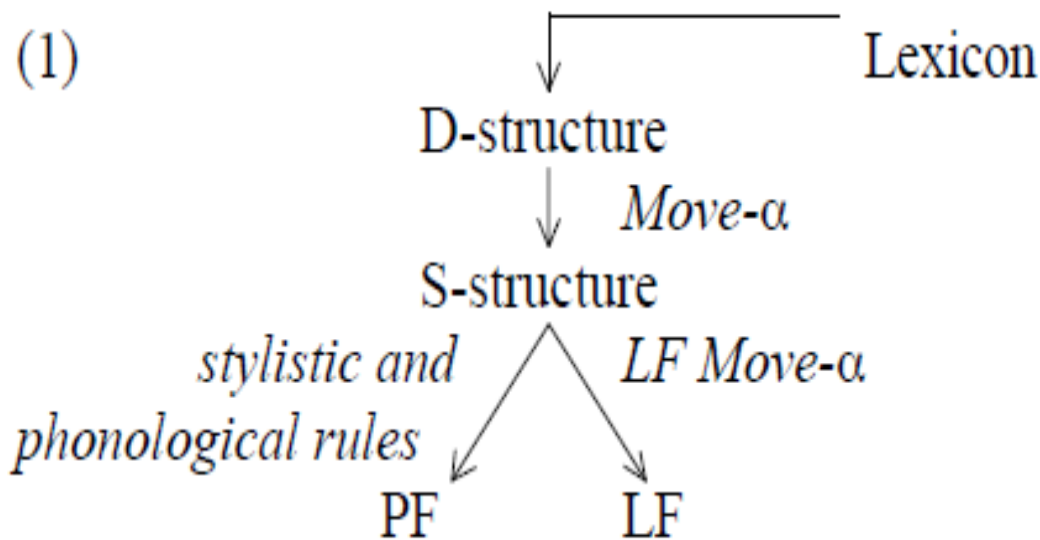(34) If S_1 is a grammatical sentence of the form
$$NP_1 - Aux - V - NP_2,$$
then the corresponding string of the form
$$NP_2 - Aux + be + en - V - by + NP_1$$
is also a grammatical sentence.

Chomsky (1981) 'Lectures on Government and Binding'

(1)

```
                         ┌──────────────────┐
                         ↓            Lexicon
                    D-structure
                         │   Move-α
                         ↓
                    S-structure
   stylistic and       ╱  ╲   LF Move-α
 phonological rules    ╱    ╲
                     PF      LF
```

Passives: types and analyses

- Case filter:

  Every overt NP must be assigned abstract case

- θ-criterion:

Each argument bears one and only one θ-role, and each θ-role is assigned to one and only one argument
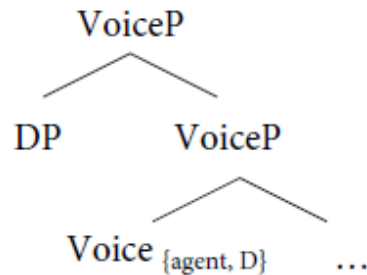
Passives: types and analyses

- The assignment of case makes sure that an NP is visible. Only visible NPs may be assigned θ-roles (thematic roles, 'agent', 'patient' etc.)

- It was assumed that passive morphology is an argument so it: (1) **absorbs** the ACC case; (2) **absorbs** the θ-role of the external argument

- the internal argument cannot receive ACC case so it moves up to receive NOM case

- the external argument cannot be projected as there is neither case nor θ-role for it

- it may be introduced optionally in a by-phrase adjuncts
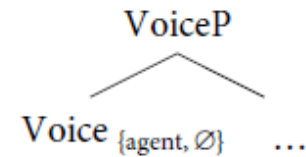
Passives: types and analyses

- in the current syntactic literature (e.g. Alexiadou et al. 2015, 2017) passive constructions differ from their active counterparts in the properties of the external argument introducing head

- after Kratzer (1996) they assume the relevant head to be the Voice-head

- Voice is a functional projection merged above the categorizing verbal head

- In Slavic languages it is also merged above the InnerAspect layer

- the function of Voice is to relates the event variable from VP with the argument variable

Schäfer's (2008) typology of Voice Phrases

a. thematic active Voice:

```
        VoiceP
        /    \
      DP    VoiceP
             /    \
        Voice {agent, D}  ...
```

b. thematic passive Voice:

```
        VoiceP
        /    \
   Voice {agent, ∅}  ...
```

a. non-thematic active Voice:

```
        VoiceP
        /    \
      DP    Voice'
             /    \
        Voice {∅, D}  ...
```
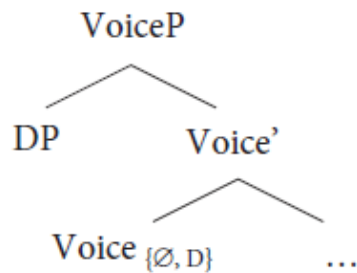
b. non-thematic passive Voice :

```
        Voice'
        /    \
   Voice {∅}  ...
```
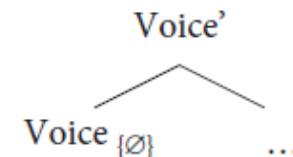
• verbal vs. adjectival passives

• some languages utilize different auxiliary verbs to introduce verbal vs. adjectival passives (e.g. German)

Das Buch wurde geschrieben.
The book was written

Das Buch ist gut geschrieben.
The Buch is well written

• verbal vs. adjectival passives

• English does not always to that. This results in ambiguity (Embick 2004)

The door was opened.
a. *Eventive passive*
   Someone opened the door.
b. *Resultative*
   The door was in a state of having become open. (requires state resulting from an event; see Kratzer 1994)

• verbal vs. adjectival passives

• Only adjectival passives can be nagated by un- (Bruening 2014)

Harry is being beaten (by his opponent). (verbal passive)
* Harry is being unbeaten. (adjective in verbal environment)

verbal vs. adjectival passives

• Only verbal passives may be fed by ECM/raising (*look, act, seem, be known etc.* Wasow 1977)

John is unknown.

John is known to be a communist.

*John is unknown to be a communist.

verbal vs. adjectival passives

• only verbal passives may be modified by *by-phrases,* which introduce the external argument (Polish)

Materac   jest napompowany (adjectival passive)

mattress   is   pumped up

???Materac   jest   napompowany   przez   Tomka

  mattress   is   pumped up   by   Thomas

verbal vs. adjectival passives

• only verbal passives may be modified by *by-phrases,* which introduce the external argument

Materac   został   napompowany (verbal passive)
mattress   became   pumped up

Materac   został   napompowany przez   Tomka
mattress became   pumped up   by   Thomas

verbal vs. adjectival passives

• verbal passives do not allow reflexive reading, 'disjoint reference' (McIntyre 2013)

John was being dressed up.   [verbal participle; disjoint reference]
John seemed very dressed up.   [adjectival participle; coreference possible]

verbal vs. adjectival passives

• unaccusative verbs give rise only to adjectival passives, never to verbal passives (Bruening 2014)

      a recently arrived train

      a fallen tree

    * The train was recently being arrived.

    * The tree was being fallen.

verbal vs. adjectival passives

• indirect objects and applied arguments cannot occur with adjectival passives

(Wasow 1977:343 (54))

a.   * John {looks/acts/seems} given first prize every time we have a contest.

b.   * John {looks/acts/seems} told the bad news.

(Wasow 1977:344 (56d), (57d))

a.   * Bill was untold (the story).

b.   * Sue was unsent the letter.

verbal vs. adjectival passives

• adjectival passives may lack verbal bases (a) and form idiomatic readings not shown by the verbal bases (b)

(14)

(a) *otyły* 'obese' but **otyć*; *wypukły* 'convex' but **wypuknąć*; *zapadła (dziura)* 'one-horse town' but **zapaść* (in the sense 'to become one-horse town')

(b) *przebiegły* 'cunning' vs. *przebiec* 'to run a certain distance'; *przyszły* 'future' vs. *przyjść* 'to come', *skruszony* 'regretful' vs. *skruszyć* 'to crumble'

verbal vs. adjectival passives

- (Bruening 2014)

	Adjectival Passives	Verbal Passives
1.	Category: Adjective	Category: Verb
2.	Feed word formation	Do not feed word formation
3.	Cannot be fed by ECM/raising	Can be fed by ECM/raising
4.	No external argument present	External argument semantically present
5.	Permit reflexive interpretation	Obligatory disjoint reference
6.	Can be formed from unaccusatives	Cannot be formed from unaccusatives
7.	Cannot affect applied arguments	Can affect applied arguments
8.	Semantic drift	Interpretation is regular
9.	Idioms that input does not share	No idioms that input does not share
10.	Missing input	No missing input

target state vs. resultant state passives

- two subclasses of adjectival passives (Parsons 1990, Kratzer 2000)

Target state passives
(1) a.   Die Geisslein   sind immer noch versteckt.
         The little goats are   still   hidden.

    b.   Die Reifen sind immer noch aufgepumpt.
         The tires   are   still   pumped up.

    c.   Der Deckel ist immer noch abgeschraubt.
         The   lid   is   still   screwed off.

    d.   Das Gebäude ist immer noch geräumt.
         The building is   still   evacuated.

    e.   Die Ausfahrt   ist immer noch versperrt.
         The driveway is   still   obstructed.

target state vs. resultant state passives

Resultant state passives

(2) a.   Das Theorem ist (* immer noch) bewiesen.
     The theorem   is   (*still)   proven.

 b.   Der Briefkasten ist (* immer noch) geleert.
      The mail box   is (*still)   emptied.

 c.   Die Wäsche   ist (* immer noch) getrocknet.
      The laundry is   (*still)   dried.

 d.   Die Gäste   sind (* immer noch) begrüsst.
      The guests are (* still)   greeted.

 e.   Die Töpfe sind (* immer noch) abgespült.
      The pots are (*still)   washed up.

target state vs. resultant state passives

- the *immer noch*-test is not always unquestionably reliable

a. * The feast is still over.
b. * The homework is still done.
c. # Melchiades is still dead.
d. # The potatoes are still cooked.

target state vs. resultant state passives

• Kratzer (2000) notes that activity verbs are capable of giving rise to resultant states but render marked 'job is done' or 'it's over' reading

Die Katze ist schon   gestreichelt.
The cat   is already petted

Dieser Kinderwagen ist schon   geschoben.
This   baby carriage is already pushed.

target state vs. resultant state passives

• Kratzer (2000) proposes that: **(a)** target state passives involve the quantification of an argument of a predicate that also involves a target state argument; **(b)** the stativizer in resultant state passives denotes a property of times: times that are preceded by the running time of the event that brought about the state must always share this property

(a) $\lambda R \lambda s\ \exists e\ R(s)(e)$
(b) $\lambda P \lambda t \exists e\ [P(e)\ \&\ \tau(e)\ t]$

resultatives vs. statives

- resultative passives allow for manner modification, while so-called stative passives do not (Embick 2004)

The package remained carefully opened.
*The package remained carefully open.

the carefully opened package
*the carefully open package

resultatives vs. statives

• (a) means that the door was in the state of being open recently and the state does not hold anymore

• (b) is ambiguous; has the same meaning as (a) or means that the event of opening the door took place recently

a. the recently open door
b. the recently opened door

resultatives vs. statives

• only statives are possible with creation verbs (otherwise contradiction arises)

a.   This door was built open.
b.   *This door was built opened.

a.   This new ruler was built long.
b.   *This new ruler was built lengthened.

resultatives vs. statives

• Embick (2004) analyzes statives as not possessing eventive v-head

Stative tree diagram: AspP branches to ? and Asp. Asp branches to Asp_s and √Root.