

# The morphophonology of passives and the architecture of Grammar

EGG 2017, Olomouc

# Passives: types and analyses II (the ugly complex truth)

- (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

# Disjoint reference effect (Bruening 2014):

- widely held claim: adjectival passives allow for reflexive interpretation, verbal passives enforce disjoint reference

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

# Disjoint reference effect (Bruening 2014):

- some verbal passives also allow reflexive interpretation
  - a. The children are being sorted. They're doing it themselves.  
(sorted children)
  - b. The children are being divided into groups. They're doing it themselves.  
(the children appear divided into groups)
  - c. The children are being exposed to the disease. They're doing it themselves.  
(exposed children)
  - d. The children are currently being named. They're choosing their own names.  
(The children all appear named.)

# Disjoint reference effect (Bruening 2014):

- some adjectival passives also disallow reflexive interpretation
  - a. frequently punished children (The children are being punished.)
  - b. adopted children (The children are being adopted.)
  - c. quickly removed children (The children are being removed.)
  - d. neglected children (The children are being neglected.)
  - e. The children remain placed in foster homes. (The children are being placed in foster homes.)
  - f. abandoned children (The children are being abandoned.)
  - g. well-taught children (The children are being taught.)
  - h. an opened door (The door is being opened.)
  - i. chopped wood (The wood is being chopped.)

# Disjoint reference effect (Bruening 2014):

- ‘There is only a contrast between verbal and adjectival passives with certain verbs...’
  - a. well-combed children vs. The children are being combed.
  - b. an unshaven man vs. The man is being shaved.
  - c. an undressed woman vs. The woman is being dressed.

# Disjoint reference effect (Bruening 2014):

- the availability of the reflexive interpretation may depend on the scale of reflexivity
- ‘naturally reflexive verbs’ vs. ‘naturally disjoint verbs’ (Kemmer 1993, Alexiadou and Schäfer 2014)
- NDVs do not allow reflexive reading no matter what
- but are the verbs that allow reflexive reading even in verbal passives NRVs?
- they are not *grooming* verbs (dress, comb, shave), or ‘social events’ (kiss, fight, meet)
- Do they show preference for simple reflexive pronouns: Pl. *się* vs. *sam sobie*?

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# ECM/raising constructions (Bruening 2014):

- 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.

# ECM/raising constructions (Bruening 2014):

- the absence of adjectival passives based on ECM/raising constructions is expected for the 'active/procedural lexicon theories'
- if adjectival passives are derived in the lexicon, and ECM/raising is a later syntactic process, then adjectival passives cannot be based of ECM/raising verbs

# ECM/raising constrictions (Bruening 2014):

- a. a known communist
- b. a known reactionary

- How to paraphrase these?

# ECM/raising constructions (Bruening 2014):

- a. a known communist
- b. a known reactionary

- ‘a person known to be a communist’ (but this should be ungrammatical!)

# ECM/raising constrictions (Bruening 2014):

*assume*

- a. The “laws” of market supply and demand remain assumed to be naturally regulated for production of the public interest.
- b. The size of this variety of pasta seems assumed to be general knowledge; . . .
- c. I’m really fuzzy on the whole blank file thing that seems assumed to be thought understood.

# Licensing of *by*-phrases (and other sorts of modifiers)

- 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/ pompką/ na podłodze  
mattress is pumped up by Thomas/ with a pump/ on the floor

# Licensing of *by*-phrases (and other sorts of modifiers)

Materac **został** napompowany (adjectival passive)  
mattress became pumped up

Materac **został** napompowany przez Tomka/ pompką/ na podłodze  
mattress is pumped up by Thomas/ with a pump/ on the  
floor

BUT

Materac **jest** napompowany powietrzem/helem.  
mattress is pumped up with air/with helium.

# Licensing of *by*-phrases (and other sorts of modifiers)

- Gehrke (2015)

- a. \*Die Reifen sind am (letzten) Dienstag aufgepumpt.  
the tires are on last Tuesday inflated  
*intended*: ‘The tires are inflated on/last Tuesday.’<sup>32</sup>
- b. #Die Reifen sind in Minnesota aufgepumpt.  
the tires are in Minnesota inflated  
*intended*: ‘The tires are inflated in Minnesota.’



# Licensing of *by*-phrases (and other sorts of modifiers)

Die Suppe war in einem Edelstahltopf zubereitet / gekocht / gegart.  
the soup was in a stainless steel pot prepared / cooked / refined  
'The soup was prepared / cooked / refined in a stainless steel pot.'

- a. Ihr weißgetünchter Körper ist mit Binden geschnürt.  
her whitewashed body is with bandages strapped  
'Her whitewashed body is strapped with bandages.'
- b. Mund und Nase waren mit Klebeband verschlossen.  
mouth and nose were with tape closed  
'Mouth and nose were closed with tape.'

# Licensing of *by*-phrases (and other sorts of modifiers)

- Gehrke (2015): events in adjectival passives are **event kinds** not event tokens. States brought about by such event kinds are **state kinds**. The modification involved in event-kind modification
- the nominals found in *by*-phrases or instrumental *with*-phrases undergo pseudo-incorporation (show semantic but not syntactic properties of being incorporated)
- in the examples in the previous slide we have to do with ‘a kind of cooking’, ‘a kind of strapping’ and ‘a kind of closing’ but **not** actual events

# Licensing of *by*-phrases (and other sorts of modifiers)

Das Bild ist von Picasso gemalt.

the painting is by Picasso painted

‘The painting is painted by Picasso.’

*(from Rapp 1996, 256)*

Der Brief ist mit der Feder von Tolstoj geschrieben.

the letter is with the quill of Tolstoj written

‘The letter is written with the quill of Tolstoj.’

\*Das Bild ist von Maria gemalt.

the painting is by Mary painted

\*Der Brief ist mit der Feder von Hans Hansen geschrieben.

the letter is with the quill of Hans Hansen written

# Licensing of *by*-phrases (and other sorts of modifiers)

- **well-establishedness:** ‘These data suggest that the constituents of the VP together have to name a kind of event that is well-established as a prototypical category in the background knowledge of speaker and hearer.’ (Gehrke 2015: 930)

# Licensing of *by*-phrases (and other sorts of modifiers)

- McIntyre (2015) expresses doubts about the necessity of the well-establishedness as a criterion
- a. Der Briefkasten ist mit Teilen von Schachuhren vollgestopft. [mit Briefen]  
The letterbox is stuffed full with parts of chess clocks. [with letters]
  - b. Auf dem Blatt ist ihr Name mit Kettenfließfett geschrieben. [mit roter Tinte]  
On the paper her name is written with chain lubricant. [with red ink]
  - c. Der Hund ist mit einer Krawatte festgebunden. [mit einer Leine]  
The dog is tied up with a necktie. [with a leash]

# Licensing of *by*-phrases (and other sorts of modifiers)

- The road is blocked by the supporters.
- The stadium is remained surrounded by the police.
- The text was written with a green pen/\*short pen.
- The dog remained tied \*by John/ to a tree/with a leash.

# Licensing of *by*-phrases (and other sorts of modifiers)

McIntyre (2015) following Rapp (1997), Meltzer-Assech (2011):

**State Relevance Hypothesis:** In adjectival passives in e.g. German, English, Hebrew, event-related satellites are unacceptable unless they contribute to the description of the state expressed by the participle or of the theme during the interval  $i$  during which this state holds. They are most acceptable if they provide information which can be inferred solely by inspection of the theme during interval  $i$ .

# Feeding word-formation

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

Harry is being beaten (by his opponent). (verbal passive)

\* Harry is being unbeaten. (adjective in verbal environment)



# Feeding word-formation

- another argument in favour of adjectival passives being derived in the lexicon
- verbal passives are derived in the syntax, after all word-formation
- adjectival passives are derived in the lexicon, so they may feed later word formation processes

# Feeding word-formation

- ...zagrożenie na dzień dzisiejszy jeszcze może być, skoro tam **zostały niespełnione** jakieś warunki.
- ‘...as for today some threat may exist since some conditions **have not been fulfilled** there.’
- Trudno mi zgłaszać poprawki, skoro zgłaszałem je przy wnoszeniu tej inicjatywy i skoro **zostały nieuwzględnione** przez Senat *in corpore*...
- ‘It is hard for me to propose emendations as I proposed them on the occasion of the submission of the said initiative and as they **have not been taken into consideration** by the Senate *in corpore*...’

# Feeding word-formation

- Przyczyna śmierci  
Jak dotąd **została niewyjaśniona**. Kilka wzajemnie sprzecznych prób wyjaśnienia...powoduje, że historycy do dzisiaj gubią się w domysłach.
- ‘Cause of death. So far it **has not been explained**. Several mutually exclusive attempts to explain it cause that historians are lost in conjecture.’
- CAUTION: the ambiguity of ‘zostać’
- zostać: ‘become’ introduces verbal passives
- (po)zostać: ‘remain’ introduces adjectival passives

# Feeding word-formation

- it is quite a different thing to show that some verbal passives **can** be negated and a different thing to show that certain adjectival passives **cannot**
- **maybe all Polish passives are derived in the lexicon?**
- the proponents of 'active/procedural lexicon' would not like to say that (passivization is extremely productive and largely unrestricted in Polish)
- maybe only negated verbal passives are derived in the lexicon: weak hypothesis, hardly testable

# Feeding word-formation

- Nie jest jego winą, że **został niezrozumiany** przez tych, którzy go zrozumieć nie chcieli.
- ‘It is not his fault that he **was misunderstood** by those who did not want to understand him.’
- = Nie jest jego winą, że **nie został zrozumiany** przez tych, którzy go zrozumieć nie chcieli.

# Feeding word-formation

- Agnieszka wskazała mianowicie na problem miejskiej biedoty, który **pozostał niezrozumiany** i pominięty w następującym potem okresie wielkiego rozkwitu Czech za panowania ostatnich Przemyślidów oraz za panowania cesarza Karola IV...
- ‘Agness pointed out the problem of the poverty of the plebs which **remained misunderstood** and not taken care of in the approaching period of the prosperity of Czechia during the reign of the last kings of the House of Přemyslid and emperor Charles IV...’

# Feeding word-formation

- Agnieszka wskazała mianowicie na problem miejskiej biedoty, który **pozostał niezrozumiany** i pominięty w następującym potem okresie wielkiego rozkwitu Czech za panowania ostatnich Przemyślidów oraz za panowania cesarza Karola IV...
- ≠ Agnieszka wskazała mianowicie na problem miejskiej biedoty, który **nie pozostał zrozumiany**...

Agness pointed out a problem of the poverty of the plebs that **did not remain understood**...

# Feeding word-formation

- nie- 'neg' has a different status in verbal and in adjectival passives
- What is this status?



# Passivization of V+DP idioms

- Emonds (2006): ‘... adjectival passives disallow any semantic relation other than ‘pure argumenthood’ between a subject DP and the participle's V stem,’...

Some advantage may finally {be/\*feel} taken of our new wealth.

A great deal {was/\*sounded} made of your visit.

No attention {is being paid/\*seems paid} to minor officials.

# Passivization of V+DP idioms

- Emonds (2006):
  - a. In adjectival passives, the head [<sub>A</sub> -en] is present in both LF and PF.
  - b. In verbal passives, [<sub>A</sub> -en] is absent in LF and present only in PF.
- the idiomatic reading is possible only if there is no intervening material between the heads and arguments at LF
- since in adjectival passive the [A -en] head intervenes no idiom formation is possible

# Passivization of V+DP idioms

- **Topór wojenny** między Piłsudskim a Wielkopolską **pozostał zakopany** aż do maja 1926 roku. (<https://szlakami.pl/pilsudski-zaczy-przeciw/>)
- ‘The hatchet betwee Piłsudski and the Greater Poland **remained burried** up until May 1926’

# Passivization of V+DP idioms

- CAUTION: the idiom must really be active in its 'basic form'
- *zakopać topór wojenny* 'burry the hatchet'
- NOT *topór wojenny został/był zakopany*: 'hatchet has been burried'

# Passivization of V+DP idioms

- *usunąć wszelkie/wszystkie przeszkody*:  
'remove all the hurdles/obstacles'

NOT

- *wszelkie przeszkody są/zostały usunięte*: 'all the hurdles have been removed'

# Passivization of V+DP idioms

- Zdawało mu się też, że jeśli Ligia go kocha, to tym samym **wszystkie przeszkody są usunięte...**
- ‘It seemed that if Ligia loves him **all the obstacles are removed...**’

# Passivization of V+DP idioms

- If Polish adjectival passives possess a semantically visible [A -en] head, the intervention solution does not work for Polish
- apparently, the [A -en] blocks idiomatic readings in some languages but not all
- or perhaps the arguments in adjectival passives are not merged VP internally at all?