

The morphophonology of passives and the architecture of Grammar

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The morphosyntax of Polish passives

- Polish distinguishes between verbal and adjectival passives

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

Other such verbs are: *(po)zostać* 'remain', *stać się* 'become'

The morphosyntax of Polish passives

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

The morphosyntax of Polish passives

- Both verbal and adjectival passives show adjectival agreement with the surface subject:
- Materac zostanie/jest napompowany
matress.**masc.sg.** will get/is pumped up.**masc.sg**
- Piłka zostańnie/jest napompowana
ball.**fem.sg.** will get/is pumped up.**fem.sg.**
- Koło ratunkowe zostanie/jest napompowane
lifebuoy.**neu.sg.** will get/is pumped up.**neu.sg**

The morphosyntax of Polish passives

- both verbal and adjectival passives are adjectives for the purposes of agreement
- only adjectival passives are adjectives for the purposes of semantic interpretation (Emonds 2006: ‘...interpretation as a property seems to be exactly what verbal passives lack.’)
- Emonds (2000, 2006) argues that both verbal and adjectival passives in English carry the category A: both categories are complements of verbs whose complement has to be an AP
- for adjectival passives these are numerous verbs such as *be*, *seem*, *remain*, *appear*
- for verbal passives these are only *be* and *get*

The morphosyntax of Polish passives

- In Polish, verbs which introduce adjectival passives also subcategorize for adjectives
- however, the auxiliary that introduces verbal passives **never** subcategorizes for adjectives
- Tomek jest/pozostaje zasmucony/smutny/ogłupiony/głupi/
'Thomas is/remains sad_{prt}/sad_{adj}/stupid_{prt}/stupid_{adj}'
- Tomek został zasmucony/*smutny/ogłupiony/*głupi.
'Tomek got sad_{prt}/*sad_{adj}/stupid_{prt}/*stupid_{adj}'

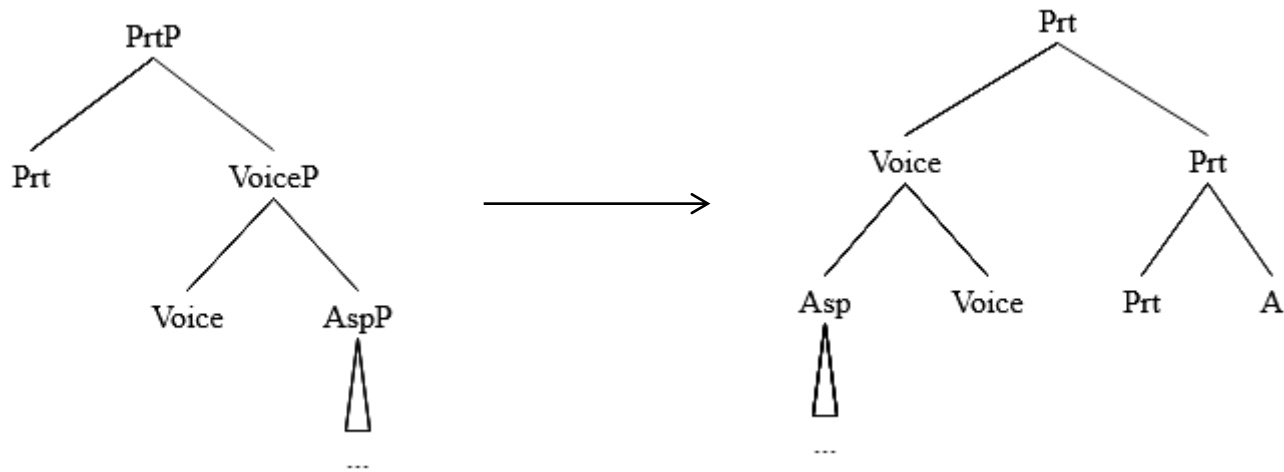
The morphosyntax of Polish passives

- Paradox: verbal passives show adjectival agreement/inflection but are found in the environment in which adjectives should not be found
- how can the paradox be resolved?

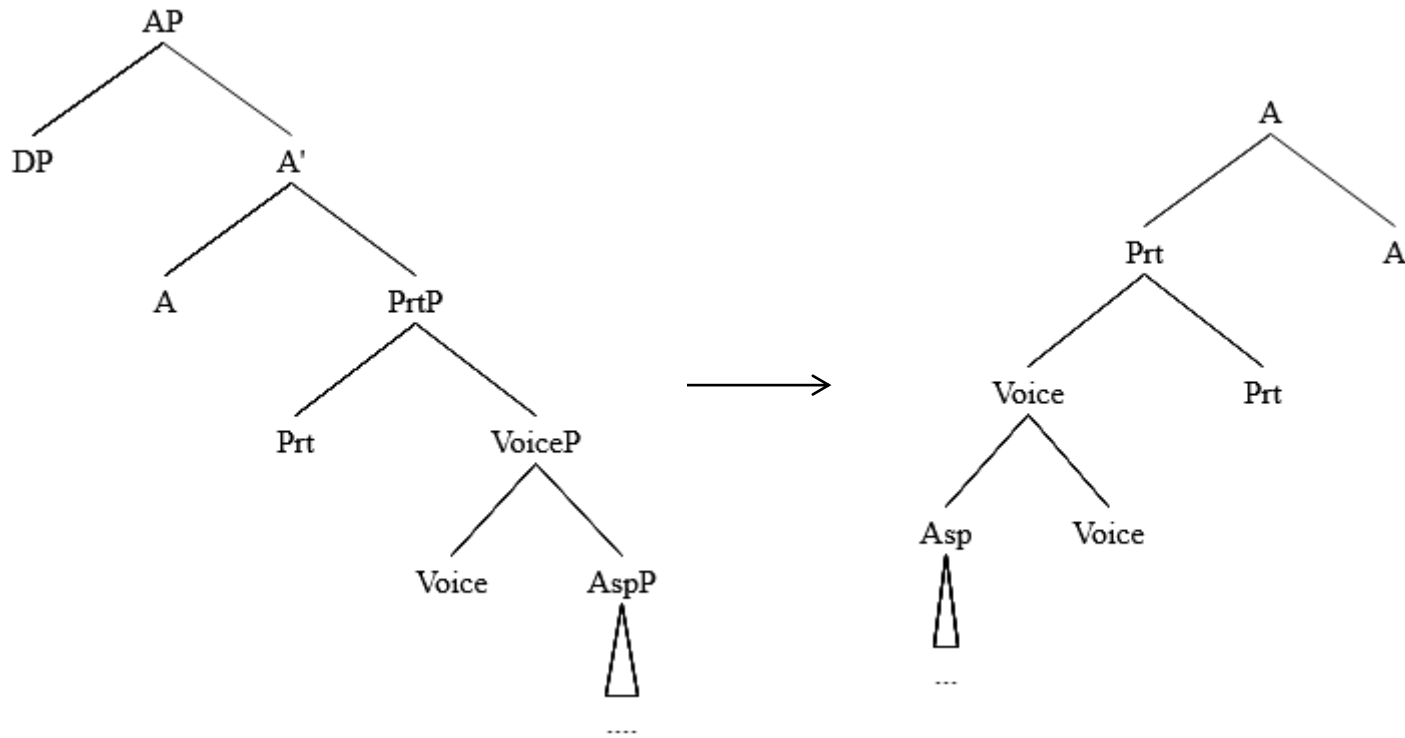
The morphosyntax of Polish passives

- the A-head in Polish adjectival passives is merged in the syntax and makes it into LF
- The A-head in verbal passives is adjoined post syntactically to the functional projection in the structure of the participle: P_{rt}-head

The morphosyntax of Polish passives



The morphosyntax of Polish passives



The morphosyntax of Polish passives

- Consequences of such a solution:
- agreement is post-syntactic
- PF as a ‘morphological readjustment component’

The morphosyntax of Polish passives

- Alternative:
- verbal passives possess a semantically empty A-head in the syntax: simply [+verb, +noun]
- adjectival passives possess A-heads with stativizer semantics
- no need to postulate post-syntactic readjustment operations (adjunction)
- verbal passive auxiliary ‘zostać’, would have to be claimed not to accept representations with stative semantics as its complements

The morphosyntax of Polish passives

- Disjoint reference:

(13)

(a) Dzieci są ładnie uczesane.
children.nom.sg. are nicely combed.nom.sg.

‘Children are nicely combed’

(b) Dzieci zostały ładnie uczesane.
children.nom.sg. got.3rd pl. nicely combed.nom.sg.

‘Children have been/got nicely combed’

The morphosyntax of Polish passives

- some verbal passives also allow reflexive interpretation Bruening (2014)
 - 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.)

The morphosyntax of Polish passives

- Dzieci zostały wystawione na działanie chorób. Zrobiły to same. (???)
Children got.3.pl exposed on working deseases did.3.pl it alone

Childer were exposed to desease (vp). They did it theselves.

- Dzieci zostały podzielone na grupy. Zrobiły to same. (???)
children got.3.pl divided on groups did.3.pl it alone

Children were divided into groups (vp). They did it themselves.

The morphosyntax of Polish passives

- 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.)

The morphosyntax of Polish passives

- No reflexive interpretation
- ukarane dzieci ‘punished children’
- Dzieci są adoptowane. ‘Children are adopted’
- Dzieci są zaniedbane. ‘Children are neglected’
- porzucone dzieci ‘abandoned children’
- **otwarte drzwi ‘open(ed) door’**

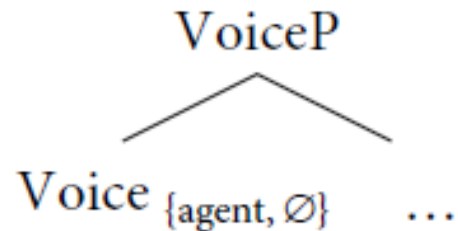
The morphosyntax of Polish passives

- Polish verbal passives always obligatorily show disjoint interpretation
- Polish adjectival passives typically show reflexive interpretation
- a. passives based verbs that may be classified as naturally disjoint (NDV) strongly disprefer reflexive interpretation

The morphosyntax of Polish passives

- verbal passives of transitive verbs
(Schäfer 2008 and subsequent works)

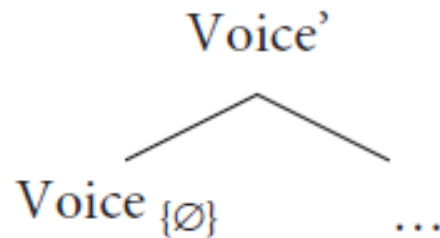
thematic passive Voice:



The morphosyntax of Polish passives

- adjectival passives of transitive verbs

non-thematic passive Voice :



The morphosyntax of Polish passives

- According to Przepiórkowski and Rosen (2005) Polish does not have ECM
- Some examples are found in Boniewicz (1982)
- raising verbs are few and far between in Polish and do not undergo any type of passivization

The morphosyntax of Polish passives

(17)

(a) Ściany zdają się mieć uszy. *but* *został/był zdany (się)

‘Walls seem to have ears.’

(b) Gra wydaje się być warta świeczki. *but* *został/był wydany (się)

‘The game seems to be worth a candle.’

The morphosyntax of Polish passives

- No applied arguments as subjects of adjectival passives

(18)

(a) John has been sent a letter.

(b) *John remains sent a letter.

- Ania wysłała Tomkowi list.
Ann.nom sent Thomas.dat letter.acc
- *Tomek został wysłany list.
Thomas.nom got.3.sg sent.part letter.acc
- *Tomek był wysłany list.
Thomas.nom was.3.sg sent.part letter.acc

The morphosyntax of Polish passives

- List pozostał niewysłany Tomkowi.
letter.nom remained.3.sg unsent.part Thomas.dat

The letter remained unsent to Thomas.

- List jest/był wysłany Tomkowi pocztą/z opóźnieniem
letter.nom is/was sent.part Thomas.dat by post/with delay

The letter is sent to Thomas by post.

The morphosyntax of Polish passives

- Polish shows the distinction between target state and resultant state passives
- target state passives denote reversible states and are compatible with 'still'
- passives compatible with 'still' are also compatible with duration modification (for X years/weeks/hours)
- resultant state passives denote irreversible states and do not go with 'still'

The morphosyntax of Polish passives

(22)

- (a) **wciąż przybyły posłaniec* ‘a messenger who is still arrived’
**Posłaniec był przybyły przez 2 godziny.* ‘The messenger was arrived for two hours.’
- (b) **wciąż odkryty gatunek* ‘a species that is still discovered.’
**Gatunek był odkryty przez 2 lata.* ‘A species was discovered for 2 years.’
- (c) **wciąż kopnięta piłka* ‘a ball that is still kicked’
**Piłka była kopnięta przez 15 minut.* ‘A Ball was kicked for 15 minutes’
- (d) *wciąż przemarznięte dłonie* ‘hands that are still frost-bitten’
przemarznięte przez 2 dni dłonie ‘hands that were frost-bitten for 2 days.’
- (e) *wciąż przykryte zwłoki* ‘a body which was still covered’
przykryte przez 2 godziny ciało ‘a body that was covered for two hours’
- (f) *wciąż udowodnione twierdzenie* ‘a theorem that is still proven’
Twierdzenie było udowodnione przez 3 lata. ‘A theorem was proved for 3 years.’¹¹

The morphosyntax of Polish passives

(24)

(a) *wciąż przykryte ciało* ‘a body that is still covered’

(b) *przykryte wczoraj ciało* ‘a body that was covered yesterday’

(c) **wciąż przykryte wczoraj ciało* ‘a body that is still covered and became covered yesterday’

(d) *wciąż uważnie przykryte ciało* ‘a body that is still meticulously covered’

(25)

(a) *wciąż przemoknięte ubranie* ‘clothes that are still drenched’

(b) *przemoknięte dwa dni temu ubranie* ‘clothes that became drenched two days ago’

(c) **wciąż przemoknięte dwa dni temu ubranie* ‘clothes that are still drenched and became
drenched two days ago’

(d) *wciąż do cna przemoknięte ubranie* ‘clothes that are still completely drenched’

The morphosyntax of Polish passives

(a) $\lambda R \lambda s \exists e R(s)(e)$

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

- (a) and (b) are semantic packaging of A-head
- 'still' may modify only passives with (a) stativizer
- why resultant state passives are incompatible with 'still'?
- why target state passives are incompatible with event modification?
- what does 'still' mean?

The morphosyntax of Polish passives

- The role of the valency and the morphology of passives

- Polish has transitive verbs:

- Tomek napompował materac.
Thomas pumped up mattress

‘Thomas pumped up the mattress’

- na + pomp + owa + n + y
pref + ROOT + thematic element + participial morpheme + inflection

The morphosyntax of Polish passives

- The role of the valency and the morphology of passives
- Polish has unaccusatives:
- Nauczyciel zachrypł
teacher became hoarse

‘The teacher became hoarse’

- za + chryp + ∅ + ł + y
pref + ROOT + thematic element + part. + infl

za + chryp + nię + t + y
pref + ROOT + thematic element + part. + infl

The morphosyntax of Polish passives

- The role of the valency and the morphology of passives
- Polish has unaccusatives:
- Tomek zzieniął
 Thomas became green

‘Thomas became green’

- z + zieleni + a + ł + y
 pref + ROOT + th. + part. + infl

The morphosyntax of Polish passives

- The role of the valency and the morphology of passives
- Polish has monoargumental verbs that do not form passives (unergatives?)
- Tomek zasnął.
- Thomas overslept

‘Thomas overslept’

* za+spa+n+y (not a passive)

The morphosyntax of Polish passives

(26)

(a) Należy unikać takich, które mają brązowe plamy lub żółkłe liście, są **zwiędłe** i wiotkie...

‘One should avoid those, which are covered in brown spots, have yellowish leaves, **are withered** and flabby...’

(b) Syn do dziś kaszle i **jest zachrypnięty**.

‘The son has been coughing ever since and **is hoarse**’

(c) **Jest poszarzały**... Przecież powinien być biały.

‘It **became grey**. But it should be white.’

The morphosyntax of Polish passives

(29)

(a) Później **został zapomniany**, a partytura zaginęła.

‘Later he **was forgotten**, while the (music) score was lost’

(b) Dzielnica **została ocalona**.

‘The district **was saved**.’

(c) Zamykają się okna, które **były otwarte**.

‘Windows which **were closed** open.’

(d) ...ktoś, kto o tym zapomni, może **zostać uszczypnięty**.

‘...a person who forgets that might **be pinched**.’