The morphophonology of passives and the architecture of Grammar

EGG 2017, Olomouc

Polish passives and the role of the lexicon:

- The motivation of the conversion analysis of resultative adjectives (= passives of unaccusatives) by Cetnarowska (2000)

- Further arguments in defence the syntactic approach

- Target vs. resultant state passives in Polish

Polish passives and the role of the lexicon:

- Cetnarowska (2000) postulates that Polish resultative adjectives such as *upadły* 'fallen', *pożółkły* 'that became yellowish', *zamarznięty* 'frozen' are derived in the lexicon by the process of conversion

- she claims that the relevant forms are not derived in the syntax due to '…high degree of idiosyncrasy…' (2000:57) involved in their derivation

Polish passives and the role of the lexicon:

- forms in *-ł-* are 'derived from' unaccusatives

- forms based on transitive verbs are marked with *-n/t-*

- BUT there are intransitive verbs marked with *-n-*: intransitive ('reflexive') verbs

Polish passives and the role of the lexicon:

(a) *prze+strasz+o+n+y* 'frightened' - *prze+strasz+y+ć się* 'to get frightened'
(b) *z+bi(j)+Ø+t+y* 'broken' - *z+bi(j)+Ø+ć się* 'to get broken, break by itself'
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(d) *za+mk+nię+t+y* 'closed' - *za+mk+ną+ć się* 'to close by itself'
(e) *o+gol+on+y* 'shaved, shaven' - *o+gol+i+ć się* 'to shave oneself'
(f) *u+my(j)+Ø+t+y* 'washed' - *u+my(j)+Ø+ć się* 'to get washed'
(g) *z+gromadz+o+n+y* 'gathered' - *z+gromadz+i+ć się* 'to assemble'

Polish passives and the role of the lexicon:

- moreover, in Polish there are reflexively marked verbs marked with *-ł-*

(a) zsiadłe mleko 'sour milk' (from zsiąść się 'to become sour and curdled')

(b) przelękłe dziecko 'frightened child' (from przeleknąć się 'to become frightened')

(c) postarzały mężczyzna 'man that has grown old' (from postarzeć się 'to grow older')

(d) rozeschłe drzewo 'wood that has dried up' (from rozeschnąć się 'to dry and crack')

(e) zleżały towar 'goods that have become spoiled by lying in the shop for too long' (from zleżeć się 'to become shopworn, to lie for too long in the shop')

Polish passives and the role of the lexicon:

- being an unaccusative does not imply that the passive will be marked with *-ł-*

- and neither does being a reflexively marked verb with unaccusative semantics

- the morphological marking on resultative adjectives (= passives of unaccusatives) is unpredictable: stored lexically/decided in the lexicon

Polish passives and the role of the lexicon:

- resultative adjectives show doublets in *-ł- and -t-* or *-n-*

Polish passives and the role of the lexicon:

(a) zamarznięty or zamarzły 'frozen' (from zamarznąć 'to freeze')

(b) przesiąknięty or przesiąkły 'permeated (e.g., with sweat)' (from przesiąknąć 'to become permeated')

(c) nasiąknięty or nasiąkły 'that has absorbed (water)' (from nasiąknąć 'to absorb')

(d) namoknięty or namokły 'saturated (with water)' (from namoknąć 'to become wet')

(e) spierzchnięty or spierzchły 'chapped (of skin)' (from spierzchnąć 'to become chapped')

(f) wyschnięty or wyschły 'dried' (from wyschnąć 'to dry')

(g) spuchnięty or spuchły (rare) 'swollen' (from spuchnąć 'to swell')

(h) zziębnięty or zziębły (rare) 'freezing, chilled, that feels cold' (from zziębnąć 'to start feeling chilly')

(i) zachrypnięty or zachrypły 'that has become hoarse' (from zachrypnąć 'to become hoarse')

Polish passives and the role of the lexicon:

(a) umarty (dial.) or umarły 'dead' (from umrzeć 'to die')

(b) zemdlony or zemdlały (rare) 'in a faint' (from zemdleć 'to faint')

(c) znieruchomiony (rare) or znieruchomiały 'motionless, that has ceased moving' (from znieruchomieć 'to become motionless')

(d) skwaśnięty (dial.) or skwaśniały 'sour' (from skwaśnieć/skwasić się 'to turn sour')

(e) zgnity (dial.) or zgniły 'rotten, putrid' (from zgnić 'to become rotten')

(f) popękany or popękały (rare) 'cracked' (from popękać 'to crack')

Polish passives and the role of the lexicon:

- resultative adjectives show idiosyncratic semantics (different meaning than the verbal base)

(51)

(a) 'interpretation characteristic of active present -ąc- participles'

czuły 'sensitive, caring' - *czuć* 'to feel'
dbały 'careful' - *dbać* 'to take care'
nawisły 'overhanging' - *nawisnąć* 'to overhang'
przyległy 'adjoining'- *przylec* 'to adjoin'
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zamieszkały 'residing, resident' - *zamieszkać* 'to reside, to live'

(b) 'passive and/or potential interpretation'

zamieszkały dom 'a house that is lived in'
niedościgły 'that was not reached'
niedosięgły 'unattainable, out of reach'
obsiadły 'occupied, filled, taken up'

(c) 'meaning departs considerable from the meaning of the related verbs'
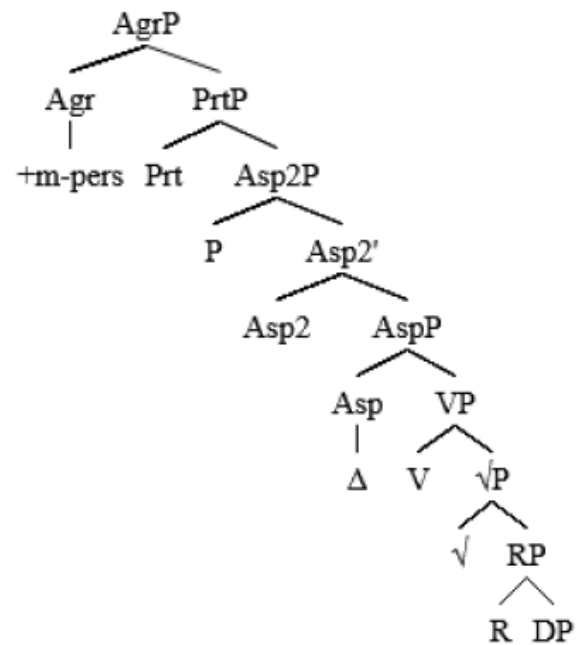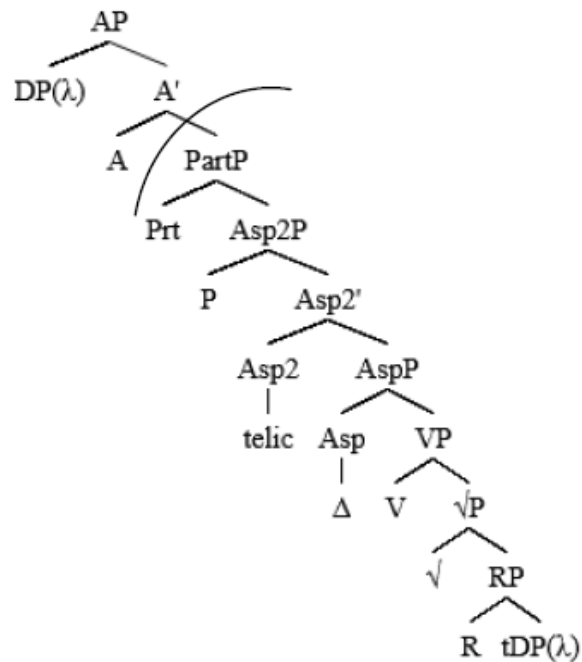
bywały (w świecie) 'experienced, knowledgeable' - *bywać* 'to frequent'
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(d) 'internal structure of -ł- adjective totally opaque'

pociągły 'oblong, slender' - *pociągnąć* 'to pull'
przebiegły 'shrewd, cunning' - przebiec 'to run'
smagły 'having a dark complexion' - *smażyć* 'to fry'
okazały 'magnificent' - *okazać się* 'to appear, to turn up'
wypukły 'convex' - *wypuklić* 'to belly sth. out'

The morphosyntax of Polish passives (cont.)

a) *zdziecinni*/a/*li* 'that have become childish'   b) *zdziecinni*/ɛ/*li* 'they became childish'

The morphosyntax of Polish passives (cont.)

• active ł-participles differ from their passive counterparts in the presence of feature [-act] and A-head

• the vocabulary item is underspecified for feature [active] co it may realize both active and passive ł-participles

{(Asp), (Asp2), (Voice), Prt, (A)} ⟷ /ł/

The morphosyntax of Polish passives (cont.)

• the vocabulary item that realizes Prt-head in passives of transitive verbs (1) cannot be inserted in unaccusatives or active participles; (2) will always win out against /ł/ in passive participles of unaccusatives
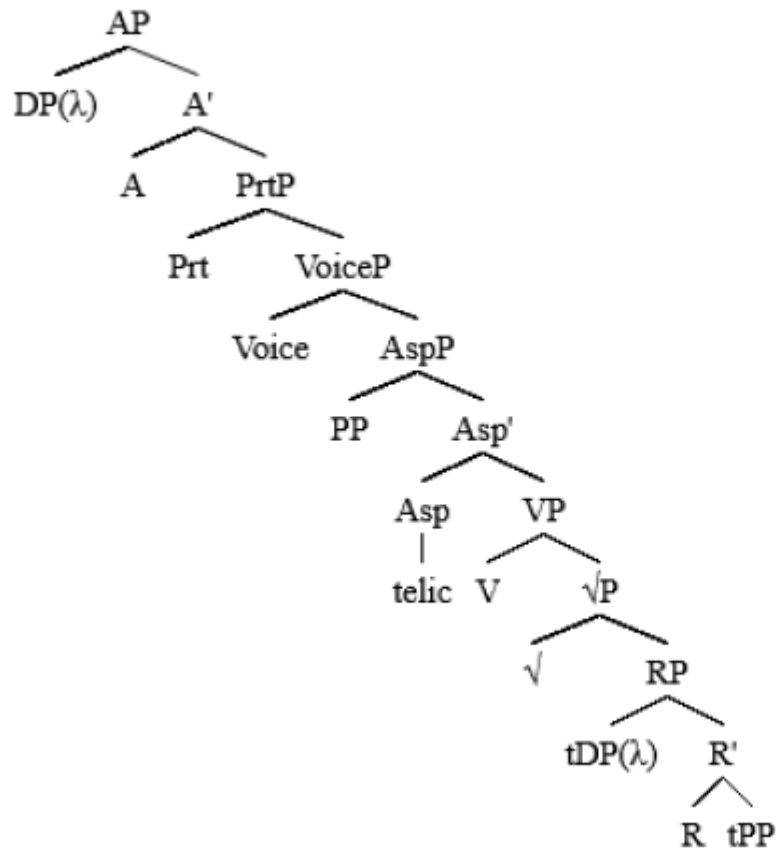
a) {(Asp2), Voice, Prt$_{[-act]}$, (A)} ⟷ n/t (złapa+n+y 'caught',
otwar+t+y 'open')

b) {(Asp), (Asp2), (Voice), Prt, (A)} ⟷ /ł/ (ogłuch+ł+y 'that
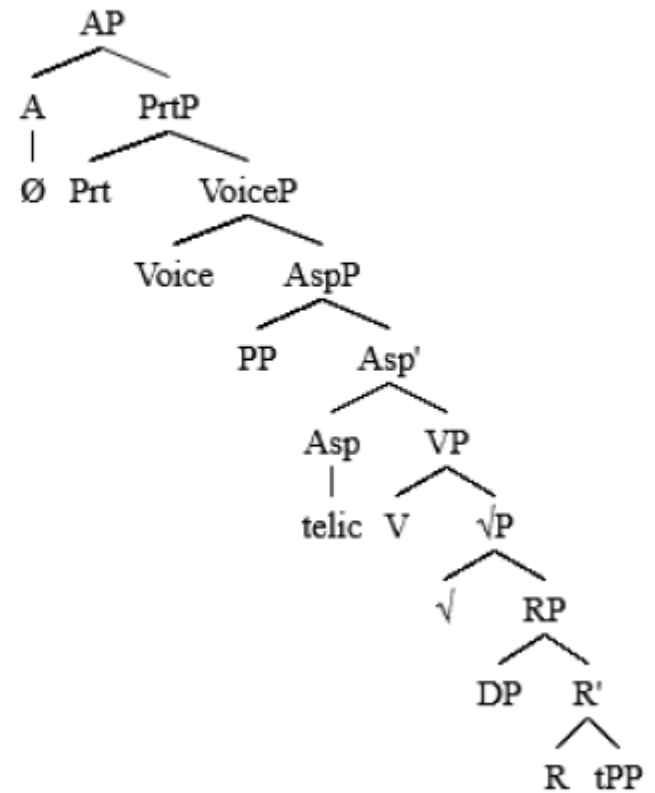became deaf', zzielenia+ł+y 'that became green')

c) {(Asp2), (Voice), Prt$_{[-act]}$, (A)} ⟷ [pal]t / ɔ̃__ (kopnię+t+y
'kicked', zamarznię+t+y 'frozen')

The morphosyntax of Polish passives (cont.)

(a)

AP
- DP(λ)
- A'
  - A
  - PrtP
    - Prt
    - VoiceP
      - Voice
      - AspP
        - PP
        - Asp'
          - Asp
            - telic
          - VP
            - V
            - √P
              - √
              - RP
                - tDP(λ)
                - R'
                  - R
                  - tPP

(b)

AP
- A
  - Ø
- PrtP
  - Prt
  - VoiceP
    - Voice
    - AspP
      - PP
      - Asp'
        - Asp
          - telic
        - VP
          - V
          - √P
            - √
            - RP
              - DP
              - R'
                - R
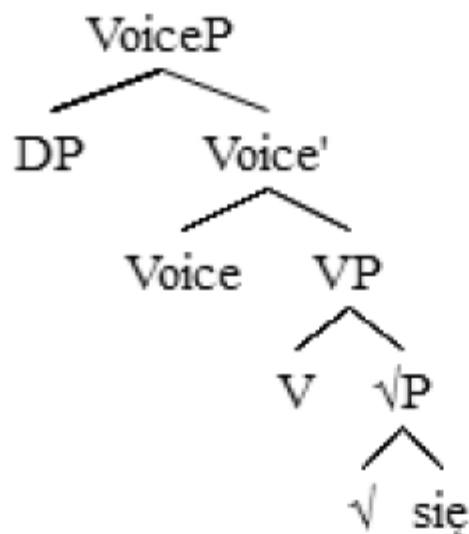   - tPP

Polish passives and the role of the lexicon:

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(c) *o+twar+t+y* 'open' - *o+tworz+y+ć się* 'to open by itself'
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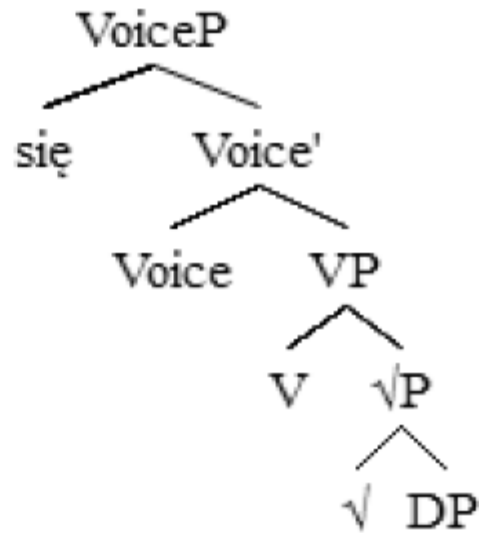
The morphosyntax of Polish passives (cont.)

- these verbs contain an external argument introducting head

- they may either be treated as reflexives (Fehrmann et al. 2014)

- or as morphologically/reflexively marked anticausatives (Schäfer 2008 and subsequent works)

The morphosyntax of Polish passives (cont.)

a. reflexive

```
        VoiceP
       /      \
     DP       Voice'
             /      \
          Voice      VP
                    /   \
                   V    √P
                       /   \
                      √    się
```

b. anticausative

```
        VoiceP
       /      \
     się      Voice'
             /      \
          Voice      VP
                    /   \
                   V    √P
                       /   \
                      √    DP
```

The morphosyntax of Polish passives (cont.)

(a) *z+siad+ł+e mlek+o* 'sour milk' - *z+siąś+Ø+ć się* 'to become sour and curdled'
(b) *prze+lęk+ł+e dziec+k+o* 'frightened child' - *prze+lęk+ną+ć się* 'to get frightened'
(c) *po+starz+a+ł+y mężczyzn+a* 'man that has grown old' - *po+starz+e+ć się* 'to grow older'
(d) *roze+sch+ł+e drzew+o* 'wood that has dried up' - *roze+sch+n+ą+ć się* 'to dry and crack'
(e) *z+leż+a+ł+y towar* 'goods that have become spoiled by lying in the shop for too long'
  - *z+leż+e+ć się* 'to become shopworn, to lie for too long in a shop'

(a) **siąś+Ø+ć się*   (e) **roze+sch+ną+ć*
(b) **lęk+ną+ć się*   (f) **leż+e+ć się*
(c) **prze+lęk+ną+ć*   (g) **z+leż+e+ć*
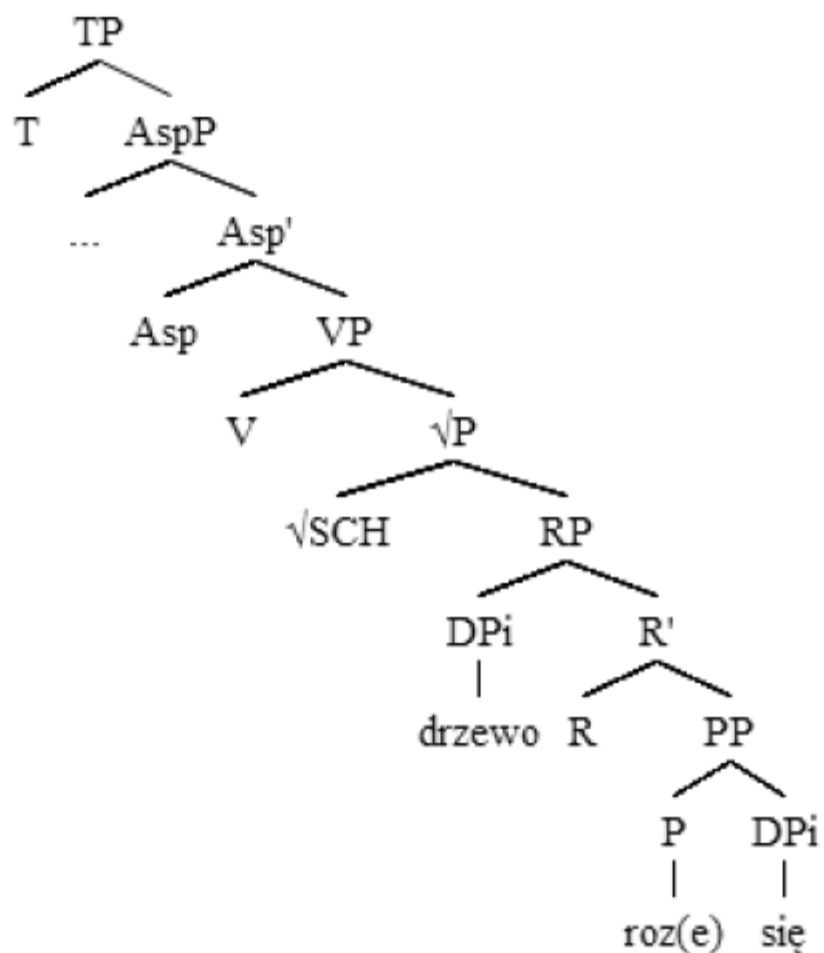(d) **sch+ną+ć się*   (h) **po+starz+e+ć*[2]

Polish passives and the role of the lexicon:

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(g) *z+gromadz+o+n+y* 'gathered' - *z+gromadz+i+ć się* 'to assemble'

(a) Drzewo   rozeschło   się.
     wood.nom.sg.   dried and cracked.3.sg.neu.   SIĘ

'The wood dried and cracked.'

(b)

	Participle in -[pal]t-	Tokens in NCP	Participle in -ł-	Tokens in NCP
a.	zamarz+nię+t+y	78	zamarz+ł+y	3
	przesiak+nię+t+y	130	przesiąk+ł+y	1
	namok+nię+t+y	15	namok+ł+y	4
	spierzch+nię+t+y	4	spierzch+ł+y	1
	wysch+nię+t+y	47	wy+sch+ł+y	10
	spuch+nię+t+y	140	spuch+ł+y	0
	zzięb+nię+t+y	209	zzięb+ł+y	5
	za+chryp+nię+t+y	238	za+chryp+ł+y	44
	umar+t+y	1	umar+ł+y	163
	skwaś+nię+t+y	0	skwaś+ni+a+ł+y	0
	zgni+t+y	5	zgni+ł+y	462
b.	zemdl+o+n+y	63	zemdla+ł+y	1
	znieruchomi+o+n+y	0	znieruchomi+a+ł+y	66
	popęk+a+n+y	62	popęk+a+ł+y	0

[26] Glosses (top-down): 'frozen', 'permeated', 'saturated (with water)', 'chapped (of skin)', 'dried', 'swollen', 'freezing, that feels cold', 'hoarse', 'dead', 'sour', 'rotten', 'in a faint', 'motionless, that ceased to move', 'cracked'.

Polish passives and the role of the lexicon:

- Cetnarowska (2000, 2012): forms in *-t-* are growing more popular because they are analogius to the forms of the passives of semalfactive verbs (*kop+nię+t+y* 'kicked')

- semalfactives show more stable paradigms, so the passives of degree achievements are analogically attracted to passives of semalfactives

- analogical extension is a feature of the 'lexical derivation'

Polish passives and the role of the lexicon:

	Infinitive	Forms in *-ną-*				
		Non-past paradigm	Imperative	Infinitive	Participle	Past tense paradigm
a.	*kop+ną+ć*	*-ną-*	*-ną-*	*-ną-*	*-ną-*	*-ną-*
b.	*prze+mok+ną+ć*	*-ną-*	*-ną-*	*-ną-*	*-ną-*	-
c.	*o+głuch+ną+ć*	*-ną-*	*-ną-*	*-ną-*	-	-
d.	*u+paś+Ø+ć*	*-ną-*	*-ną-*	-	-	-
e.	*z+gni(j)+Ø+ć*	-	-	-	-	-

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Polish passives and the role of the lexicon:

(a) $\{(\text{Asp2}),(\text{Voice}),\text{Prt},(\text{A})\} \leftrightarrow /\textturnleft/$

(b) $\{(\text{Asp2}),(\text{Voice}),\text{Prt}_{[-act]},(\text{A})\} \leftrightarrow [\text{pal}]t \ / \ \tilde{\text{o}} \underline{\quad}$

(c) $\text{Asp}_{[-\alpha,-\beta,\Delta/\text{SEM}]} \leftrightarrow /\text{nõ}/$

(d) $\{\sqrt{\text{CHRYP}},((\text{V}_{[-\alpha]})_i, \text{Asp})_{ii}\} \leftrightarrow /\text{xrip}/ \ / \underline{\quad} \begin{Bmatrix} [+\text{sp},-\text{pl}]_i \\ [-\text{part},+\text{pl}]_i \\ \text{Prt}_{[+\text{act}]ii} \end{Bmatrix}$

(e) $\{\sqrt{\text{CHRYP}},((\text{V}_{[-\alpha]})_i, \text{Asp})_{ii}\} \leftrightarrow /\text{xrip}/ \underline{\quad} \begin{Bmatrix} [+\text{sp},-\text{pl}]_i \\ [-\text{part},+\text{pl}]_i \\ \text{Prt}_{[+\text{act}]ii} \\ \text{Prt}_{[-\text{act}]ii} \end{Bmatrix}$

• the preference towards passives in *-t-* is the consequence of the choice of a simpler vocabulary item realizing the root

• the existence of doublets is not an argument against a syntactic appraoch to word formation

(51)
(a) 'interpretation characteristic of active present -*ąc*- participles'

> *czuły* 'sensitive, caring' - *czuć* 'to feel'
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> *okazały* 'magnificent' - *okazać się* 'to appear, to turn up'
> *wypukły* 'convex' - *wypuklić* 'to belly sth. out'

(g) przybyły na miejsce tragedii prezydent 'the president who has arrived at the scene of the tragedy'

(h) opadły na ziemię liść 'a leaf that has fallen to the ground'

(i) przybyły z Gdańska mężczyzna 'the man who has come from Gdańsk'

(j) porosły mchem kamień 'a moss-covered stone'

(k) pozostałe po obiedzie resztki 'left-overs remaining after dinner' (lit. remained after dinner left-overs)

(l) przepadłe bez wieści dzieci 'children who have disappeared without a trace'

(m) zetlałe na węgiel belki 'beams that have smoldered away, turning into charcoal'

(n) zmarły na zapalenie płuc kuzyn 'a cousin who died because of pneumonia'

(o) rozgorzały na nowo spór 'the quarrel that has broken out again'
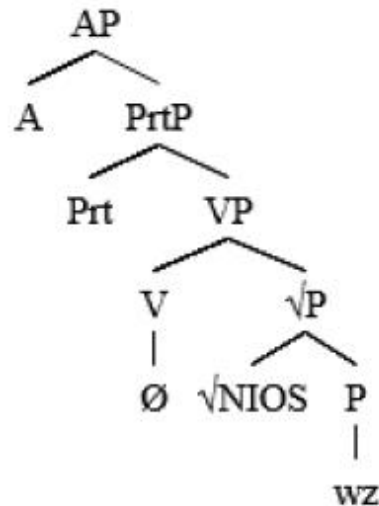
Polish passives and the role of the lexicon:

- the forms with 'special semantics' have a specific syntactic property: they do not allow event modification

- *dwa dni temu* '2 days ago'/*zimą* 'during the winter' *etc.*

- *zamarzniety zimą staw* 'a pond that froze during the winter'

- *owdowiały przed tygodniem mężczyzna* 'a man that has become a widower a week ago'

- *upadły przed wiekami anioł* 'an angel that has fallen centuries ago'

Polish passives and the role of the lexicon:

- *Wytrwały dwa dni temu alpinista…* 'A mountain climber that was **persistent** 2 days ago'

- …dziś stracił zapał 'lost his verve today.'

- semantically they are adjectives

- morphologically: passives (prefixes, /ł/)

- Embick's (2004): statives

Polish passives and the role of the lexicon:

- *wz+nios+ł+y* 'lofty'

Polish passives and the role of the lexicon:

- Marantz (2013): semantically empty v-heads may be realized phonologically and count for cyclic-spell out

- statives are predicted to be immune to root allosemy triggered by the noun

- the allosemy of the root may still stem from the root receiving alternative meaning in the context of a semantically empty V-head

Polish passives and the role of the lexicon: SUMMARY

- reflexively marked intransitive verbs possess Voice-head so they are not expected to give rise to ł-passives

- reflexively marked intransitives in -ł- are true unaccusatives so they are not expected to get n-passives

- the existence of doublets and the preference of t-participles reflects the preference to use less burdensome vocabulary items

- semantically anomalous readings are not unpredicted/problematic in a syntactico-centric framework

- syntactico-centric framework places constraints on what can influence meaning

Polish passives and the role of the lexicon: SUMMARY

- 'Polish resultative adjectives (= passives of unaccusatives) must be derived in the laxicon' is not a necessary conclusion

- following Bruening (2014): if it is not proven that they must be derived in the lexicon, they should be considered to be derived in the syntax

- Polish data do not support the 'procedural lexicon' view

SUMMARY

• the procedural lexicon vs. lexicon as a list debate has been actual for 40 - 50 years

• the list-like lexicon approach seems to promote a simpler model of the Grammar

• it is far from settled

• passivization is unmatched in its cross-linguistic attestedness

•find a language and dismantle the system of the passives!

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