

How to cause a passive state

Berit Gehrke (Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona)

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1 Introduction

- German morphologically distinguishes between so-called verbal/eventive and adjectival/stative passives (Kratzer 2000; Rapp 1997; von Stechow 1998; Maienborn 2007a, among others):

- *werden* ‘become’ with verbal passives ((1-a))
- *sein* ‘be’ with adjectival passives ((1-b))

- (1) a. Die Reifen werden aufgepumpt.
the tires become up-pumped
‘The tires are (being) inflated.’
b. Die Reifen sind aufgepumpt.
the tires are up-pumped
‘The tires are inflated.’

(example after Kratzer 2000)

- Traditional view (Wasow 1977; Bresnan 1982; Borer 1984; Levin and Rappaport 1986):¹
 - Adjectival passives: Copula-adjective constructions
 - Verbal passives: Periphrastic verb forms→ Received view for German adjectival passives
- German adjectival passives can combine with event-related modifiers, in particular manner modifiers, instruments, *by*-phrases ((2)) (Kratzer 1994, 2000; Rapp 1996, 1997; Schlücker 2005; Maienborn 2007a, 2009, 2011; Gese 2010).²

- (2) a. Der Brief ist mit roter Tinte geschrieben.
the letter is with red ink written
‘The letter is written with red ink.’
b. Das Haar war schlampig gekämmt.
the hair was sloppily combed
‘The hair was combed in a sloppy manner.’
c. Die Zeichnung ist von einem Kind angefertigt.
the drawing is by a child produced
‘The drawing was produced by a child.’

→ There is an implicit event and/or an implicit agent (or cause(r)).

Different proposals:

- Phrasal adjectivisation of VPs (Kratzer 1994, 2000; Rapp 1996)
- Pragmatic licensing (Maienborn 2007a, 2009, 2011)
- Event coercion / pragmatic enrichment (Gese 2010)
- Modification of the state associated with the AP (Meltzer-Asscher 2011, for Hebrew)

¹This distinction is also made for other languages (even when they lack morphological differentiation); see, e.g., Embick (2004); Emonds (2006); McIntyre (2011) on English; Dubinsky and Simango (1996) on Chichewa; Anagnostopoulou (2003) on Greek; Travis (2005a,b) on Malagasy; Horvath and Siloni (2008); Meltzer-Asscher (2011) on Hebrew.

²For recent discussion of similar data from English and Hebrew, see McIntyre (2011) and Meltzer-Asscher (2011), respectively.

This paper:

- What are the precise restrictions on event-related modification?
- What is the nature of the implicit event?
- What is the nature of the *by*-phrase with adjectival passives?

2 Background assumptions

- Received view: The participle is adjectival³
 - Compatibility with A(P)-selecting verbs ((3-a))
 - Compatibility with adjectival morphology (*un*-negation (3-b), gradation (3-c))

- (3)
- Das Gebäude bleibt evakuiert.
the building remains evacuated
 - Die Haare waren ungekämmt.
the hairs were uncombed
 - Dieser Reifen ist aufgepumpter als jener.
this tire is inflated-er than that
'This tire is more inflated than that one.'

⇒ **Adjectival passives as copular constructions: A stative property is ascribed to an individual.** (Kratzer 2000; Rapp 1996; von Stechow 1998; Maienborn 2007a)

- Degree-based approach to the semantics of adjectives; e.g. Kennedy and McNally (2005):
 - The semantics of gradable adjectives involves three elements:
 - * a measure function
 - * a particular domain in which the measure is occurring
 - * an ordering relation on that domain, i.e. a scale
 - Adjectives without degree morphology or modifiers involve a covert degree operator 'pos' that measures its argument along a particular dimension in comparison to some standard.
 - The same should hold for adjectivised participles: They specify a degree on a scale in comparison to some standard on that scale.
- Adjectival passives are not generally blocked by primary adjectives ((4)).

- (4)
- Das Fenster ist geöffnet / offen.
the window is opened / open
 - Der Briefkasten ist geleert / leer.
the mailbox is emptied / empty

→ There must be some difference. Common intuition (cross-linguistically): The participle expresses the result or outcome of an event.

⇒ The input to adjectivisation has to specify a (one-dimensional, unique) scale:

- Result verbs (in the sense of Rappaport Hovav and Levin 2010): Verbs that specify scalar change, characterised in terms of an ordered set of values of a single attribute (See appendix and Gehrke to appear, for more details).
- Change-of-state: Contrast between two states on a particular scale.
- Adjectivised participles specify an upper bound on a scale of change associated with the underlying verb.

³There are a few verbal analyses of adjectival passives (e.g. Helbig 1987; Leiss 1992); see also Emonds (2006) for English.

3 Restrictions on event-related modification

- The underlying event can be modified by agent-oriented manner modifiers, instrumentals, and agent/cause-oriented *by*-phrases ((2)); some more examples:

- (5)
- a. Er ist von der Musik beeindruckt.
he is by the music impressed
'He is impressed by the music.'
 - b. Das Haus ist von Studenten bewohnt.
the house is by students in-lived
'The house is inhabited by students.'
 - c. Der Ordner war mit einem Passwort gesichert.
the folder was with a password secured
'The folder was password-protected.'
 - d. Der Brief war mit (einem) Bleistift geschrieben.
the letter was with a pencil written
'The letter was written with a pencil.'

- Common assumption: Only those modifiers are allowed that relate to event participants that still have an impact on / are still 'visible' in the consequent state.

- E.g. Kratzer's (2000) (2-b): Only acceptable in a context in which the hair also looks sloppily combed (not in a context in which the combing of the hair was sloppy but nevertheless resulted in nicely combed hair)
- E.g. contrast between (2) & (5) vs. (6) (examples after Rapp 1996)

- (6) Der Mülleimer ist (*von meiner Nichte / *langsam / *genüsslich / *mit der Heugabel)
the rubbish bin is by my niece / slowly / pleasurably / with the hay fork
geleert.
emptied

- The event lacks spatiotemporal location:

- A modifier like *recently* cannot modify the underlying event but only the state ((7)).

- (7) Die Tür war kürzlich geöffnet.
the door was recently opened.
The door was in the opened state recently, but probably is no longer.
(*NOT*: The door is in the opened state, the opening having taken place recently.)

- Adjectival passives are incompatible with temporal frame adverbials ((8)) (examples from von Stechow 1998) (see also Rapp 1996, 1997).

- (8)
- a. *Der Computer ist vor drei Tagen repariert.
the computer is before three days repaired
(‘The computer is repaired three days ago.’)
 - b. Der Computer ist seit drei Tagen repariert.
the computer is since three days repaired
'The computer has been in a state of being repaired since three days.'

→ adjectival passives are statements about the present (in contrast to present perfect verbal passives, which are statements about the past⁴).

⁴See also Rapp (1996); Kratzer (2000); Maienborn (2007a) and literature cited therein for arguments against treating adjectival passives as an ellipsis of a verbal passive perfect construction.

- Spatial modifiers that pick out the location of the event that brought about the consequent state are also generally bad ((9)).

- (9) a.???Die Reifen sind in der Garage aufgepumpt.
 the tires are in the garage inflated
 b.???Das Kind war im Badezimmer gekämmt.
 the child was in the bathroom combed

⇒ **The event is not instantiated.**

3.1 Adjectival passives involve event kinds

- Event kinds are natural to expect if we assume:⁵
 - Events form a subsort in our ontology of (token) individuals (Davidson 1967; Parsons 1990);
 - Kinds form another subsort in that ontology (Carlson 1977); and
 - As a rule, any token in the ontology should be the realisation of some kind in that ontology.
- Recall: Adjectivised participles specify an upper bound (a degree) on a scale of change associated with the underlying verb.
- Morzycki (2011): Degrees can be modeled as state kinds (see there for formal details).

⇒ Adjectivised participles instantiate state kinds, i.e. the result state of an event kind; event-related modifiers modify the event kind (see also Gehrke to appear).

3.1.1 Modeling manner in terms of event kinds

(Landman and Morzycki 2003; Landman 2006; Morzycki 2011)

- Semantic and syntactic parallels with *so*-anaphora in the nominal and verbal domains across various languages; examples from German are given in (10).

- (10) a. so ein Hund (wie dieser)
 so a dog (like this)
 ‘such a dog like this one’ *adnominal use*
 b. Er hat so getanzt (wie Maria).
 he has so danced (like Mary)
 ‘He danced in the same manner as Mary.’ *adverbial use*

- Elements like *so* (*such*) under the adnominal use ((10-a)) are commonly treated as kind anaphors, following Carlson (1977).
- Landman and Morzycki (2003) treat adverbial *so* analogously, as anaphor to event kinds: *so* denotes a property of events that realise a (particular contextually supplied) kind ((11)).

- (11) $\llbracket \text{so}_i \rrbracket = \lambda e.e \text{ realises } k_i$

⁵Event kinds have an analog in e.g. the Situation Semantics notion of event type (Barwise and Perry 1983), though the formal details are quite different. Empirical arguments for event kinds as an ontological category have been made in e.g. Landman and Morzycki (2003); Ginzburg (2005); Sailer (2010); Gehrke and McNally (2011).

- An additional argument that kinds are involved:
 - Temporal and locative adverbials generally cannot antecede adverbial *so* ((12)).
 - Sometimes locatives are ok, if they can be seen as creating a new (or sub-)kind ((13)) (examples from Landman and Morzycki 2003).

- (12) a. *Maria hat am Dienstag getanzt, und Jan hat auch so getanzt.
 Mary has on Tuesday danced and John has also so danced
 b. *Maria hat in Minnesota gegessen, und Jan hat auch so gegessen.
 Mary has in Minnesota eaten and John has also so eaten

- (13) Maria schläft in einem Schlafsack, und Jan schläft auch so.
 Mary sleeps in a sleeping bag and John sleeps also so
 ‘Mary sleeps in a sleeping bag and John does so, too.’

(Such modifiers are then like manner modifiers: answer the question ‘How?’, rather than ‘Where?’)

- Landman and Morzycki suggest to generally treat manner modifiers as event kind modifiers.

3.1.2 *Event-related modifiers name subkinds or establish kinds based on unique scales*

- The modifiers discussed in Landman and Morzycki (2003) behave the same with BE-passives, which follows directly from the current proposal:

- Spatial and temporal modifiers, which modify an event token, are not acceptable.
- Manner modifiers, which modify an event kind, are acceptable (name subkinds).

- Instrumentals and (some) *by*-phrases also name a subkind → manner in a broad sense:

- (14) *Examples from the Frankfurter Rundschau (FR) corpus:*
 a. Ihr weißgetünchter Körper ist mit Binden geschnürt.
 her whitewashed body is with bandages strapped
 b. Mund und Nase waren mit Klebeband verschlossen.
 mouth and nose were with tape closed

- Locative modifiers, when acceptable with adjectival passives, have the same subkind-naming effect as in (13):

- (15) Die Suppe war in einem Edelstahltopf zubereitet / gekocht / gegart.
 the soup was in a stainless steel pot prepared / cooked / refined

- Yet other modifiers help establish a unique scale for event kinds based on non-scalar verbs:

- (16) Der Brief war (mit roter Tinte / (einem) Bleistift) geschrieben.
 the letter was with red ink a pencil written

(see also (2) & (5) vs. (6))

- Finally, some modifiers modify the state directly (see Section 4).
- Complements of *by*-, *with*-phrases have a more ‘generic’ character (see also Section 4):
 - Bare nouns (e.g. (16)), indefinite NPs, few concrete people / objects / proper names
 - Do not introduce discourse referents

3.2 Similar restrictions on kind modification in the nominal domain

- Definite singular generics in English have to refer to ‘well-established kinds’ (Carlson 1977; Krifka et al. 1995) (examples from Carlson 2009):

(17) a. The Coke bottle has a narrow neck.
b. ??The green bottle has a narrow neck.

(18) a. The Indian elephant has smallish ears and is easily trained.
b. ??The friendly elephant is easily trained.

- Dayal (2004):

- Kinds can also be contextually established.
- Contrast between (17-b) and (19-a), on the one hand, and (20), on the other.

(19) a. #The airport is a busy place.
b. Airports are busy places.

(20) a. The factory produces two kinds of bottles, a green one for medicinal purposes and a clear one for cosmetics. The green bottle has a long neck. The clear bottle ...
b. Of all the places I am forced to spend time waiting during my numerous commutes, the airport is my least favorite. At least from the train station, it is possible to go out into the town.

- Weak definites, which have also been analysed as involving kinds (Aguilar Guevara and Zwarts 2011), display similar properties (examples mostly from Aguilar Guevara and Zwarts 2011):

- Can only be modified by subkind modification ((21-a)) (see also Schulpen 2011, for respective data from Dutch) (# signals that the weak reading disappears)
- Limited capacity to establish discourse referents ((21-b))

(21) a. Lola is in the medical hospital. vs. #Lola is in the new hospital.
#You should see the doctor who works in the medical center.
b. ?Sheila took the shuttle-bus_i to the airport. It_i was a huge gaudy Hummer.
(example from Scholten and Aguilar Guevara 2011)

4 The argument structure of the underlying verb

4.1 The theme argument

- The internal (theme) argument of the underlying verb:
 - The stative property is ascribed to the theme argument of the underlying verb.
 - Only verbs with internal theme arguments can appear in adjectival passive constructions.
 - Cross-linguistically, the DP in subject position behaves like an external argument (of the AP): Failure of unaccusativity tests (Levin and Rappaport 1986; Cinque 1990; Borer 2005)⁶

⇒ **Externalisation of the verb’s internal argument**

⁶Commonly assumed unaccusativity diagnostics for German are: BE-auxiliary selection, possibility of using the past participle as an attribute, impossibility to be used in impersonal passives, impossibility to derive agent nominals (e.g. Haider 1984). Given that these diagnostics work for verbs only (not for adjectivised participles), they cannot really be applied to adjectival passives. On the other hand, the copula *sein* (and also the auxiliary *werden*) displays BE-auxiliary selection, and the past participles in adjectival passives can always be used attributively.

- Claim in Levin and Rappaport (1986); Meltzer-Asscher (2011); McIntyre (2011):
 - The theme does not start out internally to the participle, but is externalised in the lexicon and syntactically merged in the AP-external position.
 - E.g. coordination and ATB-movement in (22): *very* only scopes over the participle but not over *likely* (Meltzer-Asscher to appear, cited in McIntyre 2011).
 - * Scoping over both would violate the Coordinate Structure Constraint ((23-a)).
 - * If the argument started out from a position internal to the participle, ATB movement should be possible, but the reading related to such a structure is not available ((23-b)).
- (22) a. The are very depressed and likely all to leave.
 b. They are [_{SC} *t_{they}* [_{AP} very depressed] and [_{SC} *t_{they}* [_{AP} likely all *t_{they}* to leave]]].
- (23) a. *They are *t_{they}* [_{AP} very [_{AP} [_{AP} depressed] and [_{AP} likely all *t_{they}* to leave]]].
 b. #They are *t_{they}* [_{AP} very [_{AP} [_{AP} depressed *t_{they}*] and [_{AP} likely all *t_{they}* to leave]]].
- This is not testable in German, because German does not have adjectives like *likely*, or subject-to-subject raising, in general (see van der Auwera and Noël 2011, for recent discussion).
 - Is this the only way to analyse the data?
 - Subject-to-subject raising might not be the same as deep object-to-surface subject movement.
 - Alternatively, the structured could be the one in (24):
 - * Prior to coordination, *they* has moved to provide the subject for the SC (to enable predication).
 - * The degree modifier *very* is still lower because it does not modify the SC, but rather specifies the degree of the result state associated with the participle.
- (24) They are [_{SC} *t_{they}* [_{AP} very depressed *t_{they}*] and [_{SC} *t_{they}* [_{AP} likely all *t_{they}* to leave]]].
- At the point at which the participle is an AP, the internal argument has already ‘moved’ / been externalised in the syntax.

4.2 The external argument of the underlying verb

- The external (agent/cause) argument of the underlying verb is not syntactically active:
 - No purpose clauses ((25-a)), no disjoint reference effect ((26-a)) ((26) from Kratzer 1994)
 - This contrast with verbal passives ((25-b), (26-b)) (cf. Baker et al. 1989)
- (25) a. ???Der Reifen war aufgepumpt, um die Fahrt fortsetzen zu können.
 the tire was inflated in order the journey continue to can
 b. Der Reifen wurde aufgepumpt, um die Fahrt fortsetzen zu können.
 the tire became inflated in order the journey continue to can
 ‘The tire was (being) inflated in order to continue the journey.’
- (26) a. Das Kind war schlampig gekämmt.
 the child was slopp(il)y combed
 (i) Someone (else) (has) combed the child. *disjoint reference*
 (ii) The child (has) combed him/herself. *reflexive*
 b. Das Kind wurde schlampig gekämmt.
 the child became slopp(il)y combed
 = Someone (else) (has) combed the child. *only disjoint reference*

- Different options how to account for *by*-phrases with adjectival passives (and similarly, manner and instruments which relate to an agent):
 - These *by*-phrases are different from *by*-phrases with verbal passives.
 - Combinations of *sein* ‘be’ + participle that allow *by*-phrases are not real adjectival passives:
 - * Option 1: They are instances of verbal passives, only some verbs do not use *werden* ‘become’ (because they do not involve a process component?)
 - * Option 2: These constructions involve genuine adjectives that combine with *von*-phrases, similar to, e.g. (27).

(27) (un)glücklich über diese Entwicklung
 (un)happy about this development

- Such *by*-phrases are still different from *by*-phrases with verbal passives:
 - The nouns in such modifiers do not introduce discourse referents (cf. contrast in (28)).
 - Such nouns cannot control into purpose clauses (cf. contrast in (29)).
 - Such nouns cannot be modified (cf. contrast between (30) and (31)).

(28) a. Die Zeichnung wurde von einem Kind angefertigt. Es hatte rote Haare.
 the drawing became by a child produced it had red hairs
 ‘The drawing has been produced by a child. He/she had red hair.’
 b. Die Zeichnung ist/war von einem Kind angefertigt. ??Es hatte rote Haare.
 the drawing is/was by a child produced it had red hairs

(29) a. Die Zeichnung wurde von einem Kind angefertigt, um seinen Eltern
 the drawing became by a child produced in order its parents.DAT
 eine Freude zu machen.
 a happiness to make
 ‘The drawing has been produced by a child in order to make his/her parents happy.’
 b. ??Die Zeichnung ist/war von einem Kind angefertigt, um seinen Eltern
 the drawing is/was by a child produced in order its parents.DAT
 eine Freude zu machen.
 a happiness to make

(30) a. Die Zeichnung wurde von einem blonden Kind angefertigt.
 the drawing became by a blond child produced
 ‘The drawing has been produced by a blond child.’
 b. Die Zeichnung wurde von einem Kind angefertigt, das ich im Kindergarten
 the drawing became by a child produced that I in.the kindergarten
 getroffen habe.
 met have
 ‘The drawing has been produced by a child that I met at the kindergarten.’

(31) a. Die Zeichnung ist/war von einem blonden Kind angefertigt.
 the drawing is/was by a blond child produced
 b. ??Die Zeichnung ist/war von einem Kind angefertigt, das ich im Kindergarten
 the drawing is/was by a child produced that I in.the kindergarten
 getroffen habe.
 met have

⇒ **The external argument is syntactically and semantically absent, but conceptually given.**

- Gese's (2010) data about implicit agents/causes and implicit events ((32)-(33))

- Continuation of verbal passive in (32-a) with (33): *
- Continuation of adjectival passive in (32-b) with (33): OK

- (32) a. Der Briefumschlag wurde geöffnet.
 the envelope became opened
 b. Der Briefumschlag war geöffnet.
 the envelope was opened

- (33) Allerdings hat ihn niemand geöffnet, sondern er ist während des Transports von
 however has him nobody opened but he is during the transport by
 alleine aufgegangen.
 alone open-gone
 ‘However, nobody has opened it, but it went open by itself during the transport.’

- Continuation of verbal passive in (34-a) with (35-a,b,c): OK
- Continuation of adjectival passive in (34-b) with (35-a,b): ?, with (35-c): *

- (34) a. Die Haare wurden gefärbt.
 the hairs became dyed
 b. Die Haare waren gefärbt.
 the hairs were dyed

- (35) a. Die Friseurin verstand offenbar ihr Handwerk.
 the hairdresser understood obviously her craft
 b. Die Coloration stand noch auf dem Tisch.
 the dye stood still on the table
 c. Es war eine aufwendige Prozedur.
 it was an elaborate procedure

- Continuation of verbal passive in (36-a) with (37): OK
- Continuation of adjectival passive in (36-b) with (37): ?

- (36) a. Der Tisch wurde dekoriert.
 the table became decorated
 b. Der Tisch war dekoriert.
 the table was decorated

- (37) Das Falten der Serviettenblumen war am schwierigsten.
 the folding the.GEN napkin-flowers.GEN was at the difficult-st
 ‘The folding of flowers out of table napkins was the most difficult.’

4.3 Event kind vs. state token modifiers: Two types of *by*-phrases

- Two types of *by*-phrases:
 - Prosodic differences and different complements (facts discussed in Schlücker 2005)
 - (In)compatibility with *un*-prefixed participles and word order differences (Rapp 1996)

- My interpretation of these facts:
 - *By*-phrases that modify the event kind:
 - * Name a sub-kind or establish a kind (see above)
 - * Behave like other event-related modifiers of adjectival passives
 - *By*-phrases that modify the state token:
 - * Fully acceptable only with stative predicates
 - * Contrast with other event-related modifiers
- *By*-phrases as event kind modifiers:
 - Form a prosodic unit with the participle: Neutral stress is on the modifier ((38-a)).
 - Such *by*-phrases are incompatible with *un*-prefixation ((38-b)).
 - Such *by*-phrases cannot switch order with the participle ((38-c)).
 - The complements have a more generic character (e.g. *von Feuer* ‘by fire’, *von Bomben* ‘by bombs’).
 - In all these respects such *by*-phrases behave like other event-related modifiers that are allowed with adjectival passives ((39)).

(38) a. Die Zeichnung ist von einem KIND angefertigt.
 the drawing is by a child made

b. Die Suppe ist (*von Maja) ungewürzt.
 the soup is (*by Maja) unseasoned

c. *Der Brief war geschrieben von einem Experten.
 the letter was written by an expert

(39) a. Der Brief war mit (einem) BLEIstift geschrieben.
 the letter was with (a) pencil written

b. *Der Brief war mit (einem) Bleistift ungeschrieben.
 the letter was with (a) pencil unwritten

c. *Der Brief war geschrieben mit (einem) Bleistift.
 the letter was written with (a) pencil

- *By*-phrases as state token modifiers:
 - Do not form a prosodic unit with the participle: Neutral stress is on the participle; secondary stress on the modifier ((40-a)).
 - Such *by*-phrases are compatible with *un*-prefixed participles ((40-b)).
 - Such *by*-phrases can switch order with the participle ((40-c)).
 - The complements have a more concrete character (e.g. *vom Feuer* ‘by the fire’, *von der Bombe* ‘by the bomb’).
 - In all these respects such *by*-phrases behave differently from other event-related modifiers that are allowed with adjectival passives ((39)).

(40) a. Er ist von der MuSÍK beÈINDruckt.
 he is by the music impressed

b. Die Dresdner Bürger sind von solchen Problemen unbeeindruckt.
 the Dresden- citizens are by such problems unimpressed
 ‘The citizens of Dresden are not concerned with such problems.’

c. Die Dresdner Bürger sind unbeeindruckt von solchen Problemen.
 the Dresden- citizens are unimpressed by such problems

- The proposal is in agreement with the observations in Rapp (1996):
 - The former *by*-phrases are action/process-related, the latter appear with stative predicates.
 - Phrasal adjectivisation of a VP with BE-passives in combination with event-related modifiers is not compatible with *un*- (following Kratzer 1994).
 - Absence of a clash between *un*- and a *by*-phrase in the stative examples: The *by*-phrase expresses an argument of the adjective and modifies the AP.
 - The proposal is not in agreement with Schlücker (2005):
 - Schlücker: The former *by*-phrases are ‘V-adjuncts’ (following Maienborn 2007a), the latter are ‘VP-adjuncts’ (in the sense of Kratzer 2000)
 - She overlooked the division between eventive and stative predicates.
 - However, Schlücker’s observation about the different nature of the complements fits the general idea of this paper:
 - If the *by*-phrase modifies an event kind rather than an event token, the potential agent or cause of such a kind naturally has a more generic character.
 - *By*-phrases modifying an actual state token → less generic
 - Additional observation: State-modifying *by*-phrases behave more like *by*-phrases with verbal passives, and different from event-kind-modifying *by*-phrases (recall (28)-(31)):
 - The nouns in such modifiers can introduce discourse referents ((41-a)).
 - Such nouns can be modified ((41-b)).
- (41) a. Er ist von der Melodie beeindruckt. Diese hatte er gestern im Radio gehört.
 he is by the melody impressed this had he yesterday in the radio heard
 ‘He is impressed by the melody. Yesterday, he had heard it on the radio.’
 b. Er ist von der Melodie beeindruckt, die er gestern im Radio gehört hatte.
 he is by the melody impressed which he yesterday in the radio heard had
 ‘He is impressed by the melody that he had heard on the radio yesterday.’

5 Towards an account

- Participle formation:
 - Is the input a root (e.g. Kratzer 1994, 2000; von Stechow 1998) or a verb?
 → A verb (but it could also be a root, as long as we allow roots to project: see next point)
 - Can the input be phrasal (e.g. Kratzer 1994, 2000) (contra Maienborn 2007a, and subsequent work)?
 → Yes: Event-related modifiers modify a VP; VP-internal phrasal material, such as resultative PPs, can also be the input to participle formation (see also appendix)
- The event is not instantiated, we are dealing with an event kind:
 - The verb’s event variable has to be existentially bound (as a kind) at some stage, either when the participle is formed or when the participle is adjectivised.
 - Event-related modifiers have to apply before this step.
- Adjectivisation of the participle:
 - Following Lieber (1980), it is generally assumed that the participle is turned into an adjective by zero-affixation: COP [_{AP} [_A [geöffnet] ∅]]

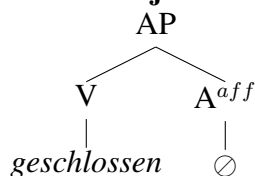
- Stativisation:
 - Input requirement: Verbs that lexically specify scalar change or resultative VPs.
 - The relevant state in adjectival passives: A specific degree on a given scale, that is associated with the degree a theme normally has at the end of an event involving scalar change, which is the standard of comparison associated with the respective measure of change function (the scalar maximum if the input scale has such a maximum element, otherwise contextually fixed).
 - This state is instantiated at some later stage and temporally located, so that temporal modifiers can access the state’s temporal index (some operator binds the state variable and asserts that that state takes place at an instant, which is part of an interval) (building on insights from Kamp 1979; Higginbotham 1985) (see, e.g. Truswell 2011, for discussion of such an operator).
- External argument:
 - External arguments are severed from the verb and introduced by a separate functional projection (VoiceP) (in the sense of Kratzer 1996), which is absent in adjectival passives (e.g. Kratzer 2000).
 - (Alternative: Saturation, i.e. existential closure of the verb’s external θ -role (see Chierchia 2004; Reinhart 2002), in the lexicon (as proposed for Hebrew by Meltzer-Asscher 2011, and by others for other languages))
 - Decausativisation with inchoatives (Meltzer-Asscher 2011)? – No.
Meltzer’s arguments: inchoative adjectival passives do not combine with manner modifiers, instrumentals, or *by*-phrases; however, this is so because they are not lexically specified for an agent (which is what manner modifiers and instrumentals need) but only for a cause - they are compatible with *by*-phrases that specify a cause (see examples above).
- Internal argument of the verb is the subject of the AP: Externalisation in the lexicon (e.g. Levin and Rappaport 1986; Meltzer-Asscher 2011; McIntyre 2011) or in the syntax (Kratzer 2000)?

- (42) a. Die Tür ist geschlossen.
the door is closed
- b. $\exists e_k, s_k, s$ [BECOME(e_k, s_k) \wedge THEME(e_k , **door**) \wedge **closed**(s) \wedge THEME(s , **door**) \wedge **R**(s, s_k)]

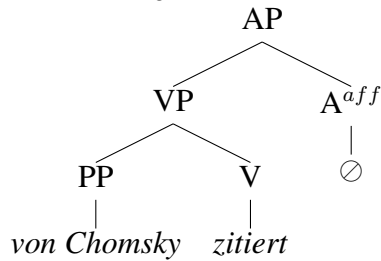
- (43) An attempt, but not quite right:
- a. Lexical semantics of *schließen*–: $\lambda x \lambda s \lambda e$ [**close**(e) \wedge BECOME(s)(e) \wedge **closed**(x)(s)]
- b. Prt^0 *ge-en/t*: $\lambda P \lambda s \exists e_k$ [$P(e_k)$ \wedge BECOME(s)(e_k)]
- c. PrtP *geschlossen*: $\lambda x \lambda s \exists e_k$ [**close**(e_k) \wedge BECOME(s)(e_k) \wedge **closed**(x)(s)]
- d. AP *die Tür geschlossen*: $\lambda s \exists e_k$ [**close**(e_k) \wedge BECOME(s)(e_k) \wedge **closed**(**the door**, s)]
- e. copula *sein*: $\exists s \lambda t$ etc.

- Possibility of phrasal and lexical adjectivisation (Kratzer 1994, 2000; Rapp 1996)

(44) **Lexical adjectivisation**



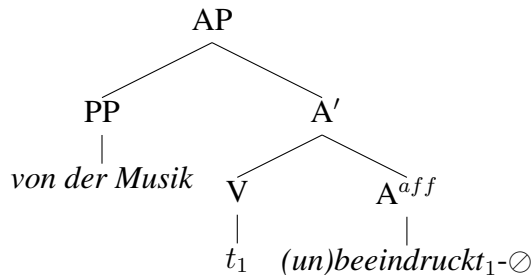
(45) **Phrasal adjectivisation: Event kind modifiers**



⇒ The PP is prosodically integrated into the participle and cannot appear after it.

⇒ *Un*-prefixation is not possible, since only lexical adjectivisation is compatible with *un*-.

(46) **Modifiers of AP: State modifiers**



⇒ These modifiers are not prosodically integrated into the participle.

⇒ They can appear after the participle.

⇒ The participle itself, which is the output of lexical adjectivisation, is compatible with *un*-.

6 Some previous accounts

- Claim in Meltzer-Asscher (2011) (for Hebrew):

- Seemingly event-related modifiers with adjectival passives modify the state directly and do not modify an event.
- The restrictions on such modification follow from the general restriction on modification of states. (similar claim in Maienborn 2007a, though not worked out in detail)

(47) $V(\Theta_{\text{CAUSE}}, \Theta_2) \rightarrow V_{\text{DECAUS}}(\Theta_2)$

(48) $\text{FREEZE}(\Theta_{\text{CAUSE}}, \Theta_{\text{THEME}})$, telic

- (49) a. The wind froze the water.
 b. Interpretation: $\lambda e \lambda s. \text{Freezing}(e) \ \& \ \text{Cause}(e, \text{the wind}) \ \& \ \text{Theme}(e, \text{the water}) \ \& \ \text{Frozen}(s) \ \& \ \text{Theme}(s, \text{water}) \ \& \ \text{CAUSE}(e, s)$

- (50) a. *Adjectival decausative formation (in the lexicon):*
 ADJ: $\text{FREEZE}(\Theta_{\text{THEME}\lambda\text{-ABSTR}})$, stative
 b. *Output:* $\lambda x \lambda s. \text{Frozen}(s) \ \& \ \text{Theme}(s, x)$

- (51) a. ADJ: $\text{FREEZE}(\Theta_{\text{CAUSESAT}}, \Theta_{\text{THEME}\lambda\text{-ABSTR}})$, stative
 b. ADJ: $\text{WRITE}(\Theta_{\text{AGENTSAT}}, \Theta_{\text{THEME}\lambda\text{-ABSTR}})$, stative

- (52) a. $\lambda x \lambda s. \exists y [\text{Frozen}(s) \ \& \ \text{Theme}(s, x) \ \& \ \text{Cause}(s, y)]$
 b. $\lambda x \lambda s. \exists y [\text{Written}(s) \ \& \ \text{Theme}(s, x) \ \& \ \text{Agent}(s, y)]$

- (53) *Verbal passive*
- The letter was written.
 - Interpretation: $\exists e \exists s \exists y [\mathbf{Writing}(e) \wedge \mathbf{Agent}(e, y) \wedge \mathbf{Theme}(e, \mathbf{the\ letter}) \wedge \mathbf{Written}(s) \wedge \mathbf{Theme}(s, \mathbf{the\ letter})} \wedge \mathbf{CAUSE}(e, s)]$
- When confronted with a Θ -role but no appropriate event to accommodate it, the semantic component reconstructs an event in which the Agent or the Cause has taken part; Meaning postulate:
- (54) $\lambda x \lambda s. \exists y [\mathbf{State}(s) \wedge \mathbf{Theme}(s, x) \wedge \mathbf{Cause/Agent}(s, y)]$
 $\rightarrow \lambda x \lambda s. \exists y [\mathbf{State}(s) \wedge \mathbf{Theme}(s, x) \wedge \exists e [\mathbf{Event}(e) \wedge \mathbf{Cause/Agent}(e, y) \wedge \mathbf{Theme}(e, x) \wedge \mathbf{CAUSE}(e, s)]]]$
- (55) a. The dog is tied with a leash. (*Hebrew example in M.-A.*)
- $\lambda s. \exists y [\mathbf{Tied}(s) \wedge \mathbf{Theme}(s, \mathbf{the\ dog}) \wedge \exists e [\mathbf{Tying}(e) \wedge \mathbf{Agent}(e, y) \wedge \mathbf{Theme}(e, \mathbf{the\ dog}) \wedge \mathbf{CAUSE}(e, s)]] \wedge \mathbf{Instrument}(s, \mathbf{a\ leash})]$
- (56) a. The book is edited by an excellent editor. (*Hebrew example in M.-A.*)
- $\lambda s. \exists y [\mathbf{Edited}(s) \wedge \mathbf{Theme}(s, \mathbf{the\ book}) \wedge \exists e [\mathbf{Editing}(e) \wedge \mathbf{Agent}(e, y) \wedge \mathbf{Theme}(e, \mathbf{the\ book}) \wedge \mathbf{CAUSE}(e, s)]] \wedge \mathbf{By}(s, \mathbf{excellent\ editor})]$

Doubts about treating all event-related modifiers as state modifiers

- The restrictions on modification with states feel different (cf. Katz 2003, 2008; Mittwoch 2005; Maienborn 2007b):
 - Both states and adjectival passives do not easily allow spatial modifiers (unless the spatial frame creates some kind of temporal frame); cf. (57-a)
 - Both allow temporal modifiers: in both cases these modifiers temporally locate the state (never the event with adjectival passives); cf. (57-b)
- (57) *examples from Maienborn (2007b)*
- *Das Kleid ist auf der Wäscheleine nass.
the dress is on the clothes-line wet
 - Carolin war gestern / immer / zweimal / tagelang müde.
Carolin was yesterday always twice for days tired
- However, only adjectival passives allow manner adverbials, *by*-phrases, instrumentals; states do not ((58-a)).
- In the rare cases where states allow such modifiers, the effect is rather different ((58-b,c)).
- (58) *examples from Maienborn (2007b)*
- *Bardo war friedlich / mit seinem Teddy / ohne Schnuller müde.
Bardo was peacefully with his teddy without pacifier tired
 - Peter war mit Begeisterung Angler.
Peter was with enthusiasm fisherman
- Maienborn's take on (58-b):
- * Coercion of a state into an activity, based on world knowledge, to resolve the sortal conflict (between a Kimian state and a modifier that needs to apply to an event)
 - * 'event coercion', where the event is non-compositionally inserted (hence, similar to *He began the book.* etc., see Pustejovsky 1995; Egg 2003, among others for discussion)
 - * ('and, by the way, *Angler* is a deverbal noun')

- Similar story for adjectival passives in Maienborn’s & colleagues’ papers on adjectival passives as involving event coercion & pragmatic enrichment (see also Gese 2010)
- Hence, different from Meltzer-Asscher (2011).

- But why don’t we just assume an implicit event with deverbal nouns and adjectives to begin with?

7 Conclusion

- German adjectival passives refer to the instantiation of a consequent state kind of an event kind.
- Event-related modifiers with adjectival passives are acceptable if they modify either the event kind or the (consequent) state token.

Some remaining puzzles about *by*-phrases:

- Schäfer (2011):
 - Distinction between formal licensers (e.g. Voice licensing external arguments) and thematic licensers (e.g. resultative / bi-eventive structures licensing causers)
 - Structural dissociation of introduction of external arguments (Spec, VoiceP) and causative semantics (e.g. v_{CAUS}) (see also Alexiadou et al. 2006; Pylkkänen 2008)
 - Causers are inherently eventive, thematic licensing is necessary to integrate a DP interpretatively into an event.

Parallel to nominalisations:

- Grimshaw (1990):
 - Complex event nominals have event structure and therefore argument structure and thus combine with arguments.
 - Simple event nominals (e.g. *trip*) and result nominals lack event and argument structure, but which can combine with event participants.
- Alexiadou et al. (2009):
 - In English, *by*-phrases can be licensed by Voice (e.g. in verbal passives) or by encyclopaedic knowledge associated with the (underlying) verb (e.g. in *-(a)tion*-nominalisations)
 - German counterparts of *-(a)tion*: *-ung*
- Puzzles:
 - *-ung*-nominalisations do not combine with *von*-, but only with *durch*-phrases (introducing both agents and causers).
 - Adjectival passives cannot combine with *von selbst* ‘by itself’

A The verbal input to adjectival passives

- **Result verbs** (in the sense of Rappaport Hovav and Levin 2010) ((59)):

- Verbs which lexicalise scalar change
- Scalar change is characterised in terms of an ordered set of values of a single attribute
- For Rappaport Hovav and Levin, this involves a BECOME predicate

- (59) a. Die Tür ist geöffnet / geschlossen.
the door is opened / closed
b. Der Antrag ist eingereicht.
the application is submitted

- **Causative psych verbs:**

- (60) Marie ist genervt / verärgert / amüsiert.
Marie is annoyed / angered / amused

- **Event/extent verbs** (the extent reading is commonly characterised as a stative reading, see Gawron 2009; Koontz-Garboden 2010, for discussion):

- (61) a. Das Haus ist von Polizisten umstellt / umzingelt.
the house is by police-men around-positioned / enclosed
'The house is surrounded by police-men.'
b. Das Haus ist von Bäumen umgeben.
the house is by trees around-given
'The house is surrounded by trees.'

- **Resultatives** can also render an adjectival passive acceptable:

- Adjectives, PPs, particles ((62))
- Prefixes ((63))

- (62) a. Die Teekanne ist leergetrunken.
the teapot is empty-drunk
'The tea in the pot is finished.' (Kratzer 2000)
b. Das Brett ist ?(in zwei Teile) gesägt.
the plank is in two parts sawn
'The plank is sawn in two pieces.' (Welke 2007)
c. Die Katze ist ??(genug/ fertig) gestreichelt.
the cat is enough/ ready/done petted
'The cat has been petted enough / (Someone) is done petting the cat.' (Rapp 1996)

- (63) a. good inputs: *umgeben*, *umzingeln* 'to surround', *überfluten* 'to flood', *überströmen* 'to overflow', *bedrohen* 'to threaten', *zerstören* 'to destroy', *erschrecken* 'frighten', *verärgern* 'to anger'
b. less good inputs: *fluten* 'to flood', *strömen* 'to flow', *fördern* 'to sponsor, support', *kaufen* 'to buy', *bauen* 'to build', *zählen* 'to count', *führen* 'to lead', *ärgern* 'to anger'

- With other verbs, adjectival passives are acceptable only in certain contexts ((64)-(66) from Maienborn 2009) (see also Kratzer 2000):

- Manner verbs (in the sense Rappaport Hovav and Levin 2010), which are often classified as activities or processes ((64), (65)) (These verbs might be associated with change, but only multi-dimensional change, so there is no unique scale)
- (Other) state predicates ((66))⁷

- (64) a. #Die Katze ist gestreichelt.
the cat is petted
- b. Anna hat ihre Nachbarspflichten erfüllt: Der Briefkasten ist geleert, die Blumen sind gegossen, und die Katze ist gestreichelt.
Anna has her neighbour-duties fulfilled the mail-box is emptied the flowers are watered and the cat is petted
'Anna has done her neighbourly duties: the mailbox is emptied, the flowers are watered and the cat is petted.'
- (65) a. #Das Manuskript ist zitiert.
the manuscript is cited
- b. Das Manuskript ist von Chomsky zitiert.
the manuscript is by Chomsky cited
- (66) a. #Die Antwort ist gewusst.
the answer is known
- b. Ist die Antwort gewusst oder geraten?
is the answer known or guessed

⇒ Despite of the absence of a scale associated with the verb, the context can make available a scale (possibly non-temporal), along which change is measured, which renders the adjectival passive acceptable:⁸

- Temporal scale in (64-b): The cat is now in the state it was supposed to be in; opposition between the job not being done yet and the job being done.⁹
- Scale of quality in (65-b): The manuscript is cited by Chomsky and not just by some undergrad student in a term paper.
- The immediate context provides a contrasting state on a particular scale in (66-b): The answer is known, not guessed.

- Even some accomplishments are not so good out of context: Sometimes a BE-passive gets better with an additional modifier ((67)) (observation and example from Welke 2007).

- (67) Der Brief ist ?(mit roter Tinte geschrieben) geschrieben.
the letter is with red ink written

→ Rappaport Hovav and Levin argue that verbs like *write*, *eat*, *drink* etc. are manner verbs, not result verbs (see also Kennedy to appear, for a similar claim).

⁷Other (transitive) state verbs that are not good inputs to adjectival passives: *haben* 'to have', *besitzen* 'to own' (but: genuine A *besessen* 'obsessed'), *kennen* 'to know' (but: genuine A *bekannt* '(well-)known'), *lieben* 'to love' (but: genuine A *beliebt* 'popular'), *fürchten* 'to fear (sth.)' (*er ist gefürchtet* means that other people are scared of him, not that he is scared), *hassen* 'to hate' (better: *verhasst* 'hated'), *bewundern* 'to admire'.

⁸Many speakers do not even accept (65-b) and (66-b) with the additional context, whereas (64-b) is accepted by everyone.

⁹Kratzer (2000) proposes two different adjectival passives, the target state passive, which is similar to the proposal implicit here, and the resultant state passive, which involve precisely this kind of 'job is done'-flavour. Contra Kratzer, I assume that both readings can be derived from the same semantics by underspecifying the relevant scale, along which change is measured. A uniform account is also proposed by Maienborn (2007a) and colleagues, however, this proposal is too underspecified. (See Gehrke to appear, for more detailed discussion.)

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