

Workshop on Aspect and Argument Structure of Adjectives/Adverbs and Participles/Prepositions

WAASAP 10th Anniversary Conference hosted by

[Centre for Research & Enterprise in Language \(CREL\)](#)



Venue: University of Greenwich, King William Building, London, SE10 9LS, UK

Dates: 16 & 17 June 2022

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WAASAP is an international Workshop series celebrated biannually that focuses on the aspect and argument structure of adjectives, adverbs, participles and prepositions. In the time of its existence, it has developed into a referential forum of discussion of the theory of predicative non-verbal categories. Past editions have taken place at the University of Greenwich (2012), The Arctic University of Norway at Tromsø (2014), The University of Lille 3 (2016), and the University Pompeu Fabra (2018). This year's edition is hosted by the University of Greenwich in London to celebrate how it all started.

WAASAP welcomes research on the aspectual and argument structure of nonverbal categories, with a focus on adjectives, participles, prepositions and adverbs. The topics that we are interested to include, but are not restricted to, are the following:

- (i) To what extent one can find correlates between the argument and aspectual structure of verbs and those of adjectives and prepositions, for instance in what relevant senses one can differentiate between classes of adjectives according to the interpretations they impose to their subjects, how one should analyse the prepositional complements of adjectives and adverbs or whether the figure / ground structure of prepositional structures has a parallel in the verbal domain and other empirical domains.
- (ii) How the aspectual primitives in verbs –dynamicity, eventivity, duration, telicity– have correlates in the non-verbal domain, for instance through general path structures, scales and boundedness at different levels
- (iii) What types of syntactic and semantic parallelisms and contrasts can be identified between verbal predicates and non-verbal predicates, for instance in phenomena like copular sentences, voice structures, raising predicates or control structures
- (iv) How the aspectual information emerges compositionally in syntactic combinations of verbs and adjectives (cf., degree achievements, other classes of deadjectival verbs) or verbs and adpositions (cf. the conative alternation and other lexical alternations involving adpositional marking, the structure of locative and movement verbs)
- (v) How the argument structure of verbs and adjectives or adpositions combine together in complex syntactic structures (eg., in secondary predication contexts involving adjectives, adpositions or adverbs)
- (vi) How the argument and aspectual structure of non verbal categories are manifested typologically, with a particular focus on sign language
- (vii) The acquisition and loss of the argument and aspectual structure of non verbal categories, in contrast when appropriate with the equivalent properties in the verbal domain

Programme

Thursday 16th June - University of Greenwich, King William Building, Room 003

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| 9:00-9:45 | Registration |
| 9:45-10:00 | Welcome (Professor Mark O'Thomas , Pro Vice Chancellor, University of Greenwich) |
| 10:00-11:00 | Opening Plenary by Patricia Cabredo (CNRS & Université Paris 8) <i>GIVE serial verbs and prepositions in Haitian and Martinican</i> |
| 11:00-11:15 | Coffee break |
| 11:15-11:55 | Mizuho Miyata & Yoshiki Mori (University of Tokio) <i>Interaction of phasal semantics of aspectual adverbs with tense-aspect information in Japanese: Mō versus Sude ni</i> |
| 11:55-12:35 | Dennis Wegner (University of Wuppertal) <i>Verbal and adjectival participles in imperative and declarative root configurations</i> |
| 12:35-13:15 | Isabel Crespí (Queen Mary University of London) <i>Pure and resultative states in Catalan: revisiting 'truncated' participles</i> |
| 13:15-14:45 | Lunch |
| 14:45-15:25 | Emily Hanink & Andrew Koontz-Garboden (University of Manchester) <i>Property concept roots and the semantics of categorization</i> |
| 15:25-16:05 | Alfredo García-Pardo (Purchase College) <i>Towards a typology of by-phrases: Evidence from Spanish</i> |
| 16:05-16:30 | Coffee break |
| 16:30-17:10 | Kristie Denlinger & Stephen Wechsler (University of Texas at Austin) <i>A frequency-based account of kind-denoting participle modifiers in English</i> |
| 17:10-17:50 | Martine W. Gallardo (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign) <i>Periphrastic passives and aspect in Italian</i> |

Friday 17th June - University of Greenwich, King William Building, Room 003

| | |
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| 9:30-10:10 | Makoto Kaneko (Aoyama Gakuin University) <i>An analysis of Russian perfective negative imperatives in terms of the causal model</i> |
| 10:10-10:50 | Tibor Kiss, Jutta Pieper, Katharina Börner (Linguistic Data Science Lab, Ruhr-University Bochum) <i>On the position of event-internal modifiers in German clause structure</i> |
| 10:50-11:20 | Coffee break |
| 11:20-12:00 | Cristina Sánchez López (Universidad Complutense de Madrid) & Margot Vivanco (Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha) <i>Pseudo-copular verbs as the origin of the IL/SL distinction in Spanish</i> |
| 12:00-13:00 | Closing plenary by John Beavers (University of Texas at Austin) <i>Scalar meaning in the roots of verbs and adjectives</i> |
| 13:00-13:15 | Closing remarks |

Keynote Speakers

- [Patricia Cabredo Hofherr \(CNRS – Université Paris 8\)](#)
- [John Beavers \(University of Texas at Austin\)](#)

Scientific committee

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Scalar Meaning in the Roots of Verbs and Adjectives

John Beavers

The University of Texas at Austin

(joint work with Andrew Koontz-Garboden, The University of Manchester, and Scott Spicer, The University of Texas at Austin)

In decompositional approaches to verb meaning (Dowty 1979, Rappaport Hovav and Levin 1998, Harley 2012, Beavers and Koontz-Garboden 2020) stative and change-of-state words are built from a state-denoting root plus some event template comprised of basic elements (e.g. functional heads) indicating the event or state's temporal and causal flow. The templatic operator responsible for introducing the semantic notion of change in change-of-state verbs is usually some sort of BECOME-type operator that says that at the end of the event the state denoted by the root holds, and it did not hold before. However, more recent approaches to change (Tenny 1994, Krifka 1998, Hay et al. 1999, Kennedy and Levin 2008, Rappaport Hovav 2008, Beavers 2011, 2012) have instead assumed that change is scalar in nature, where the final state of the patient is that it holds a higher degree of some property than it did before along some ordered ranking of possible degrees. Decompositionally, the root denotes a measure function that returns the degree to which an entity holds the relevant value — the same measure function that underlies corresponding scalar adjective meanings — while templatic structure introduces degree comparison that ensures the patient's final degree is higher than its initial degree. This approach provides a more unified way of subsuming a range of different types of changes of state under a single umbrella (creation/consumption, property change, motion; Beavers 2011, 2012) while also capturing the fact that different sorts of scales give rise to verbs with different aspectual properties (Kennedy and Levin 2008).

In this talk I present a novel argument (expanding on a suggestion by Beavers and Koontz-Garboden 2020) that English verbal roots denote states and not measure functions (see also Wellwood 2015). I furthermore argue that the relevant state is one that has comparison to some standard built into it already, i.e. the contribution of the root to verb and adjective meaning is comparison and not degrees. The primary role of templatic operators is instead to flesh out the details of the standard of the root-supplied comparison: verbs set the standard to a temporally prior degree while adjectives set it to a contemporaneous degree, i.e. adjectives describe comparison at a time and verbs describe comparison across a time. In addition, different templates may also derive new types of comparison that build off of what comes from the root, and also provide access to different degrees involved in the comparison for overt expression. Our argument is based on evidence from sublexical modification (e.g. by *again* and other such modifiers) as well as evidence from comparative morphology, degree modifiers, and the relationship of verbs to their corresponding adjectival forms. In addition to capturing more facts about change-of-state verbs, I also suggest that this approach better aligns scalar analyses with traditional decompositional work in verb meaning, even taking into account more recent complex typologies of possible root meanings á la Beavers and Koontz-Garboden (2020). It also provides another argument that change-of-state verbs are not built on simple or comparative adjectives, but instead verbs and their corresponding adjectives are derived equipollently from the same roots.

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GIVE serial verbs and prepositions in Haitian and Martinican

Patricia Cabredo Hofherr
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Serial verb constructions involving a second verb *give* can introduce recipients or beneficiaries, similar to datives marked by prepositions. The present talk examines the syntax and semantics of Haitian Creole BAY 'give' introducing a DP complement in a doubly comparative perspective, comparing Haitian BAY with its cognate BA in Martinican Creole and with core and non-core datives.

I show that Haitian BAY 'give' + DP shows hybrid syntactic behaviour allowing both patterns characteristic of prepositions and of verbs for a range of syntactic tests. The data from Haitian and Martinican show that grammaticalisation from a verb to a preposition does not preserve argument structure in that it may result in different selectional patterns for the full verb and the serial verb use. The Haitian second verb BAY 'give' + DP is limited to animate recipients, differing both from full verb BAY in Haitian and from its cognate BA in Martinican Creole.

Haitian has two semantically different BAY 'give' + DP constructions, one specifying the recipient of transfer verbs, the other adding a coercing beneficiary. While recipient-BAY resembles core datives insofar as it is linked to the argument structure of the main verb, command-BAY is different from better studied instances of benefactive datives in that it has additional semantic content and - for some speakers - additional syntactic restrictions.

Pure and resultative states in Catalan: revisiting “truncated” participles

Isabel Crespí (Queen Mary University of London)

This paper aims at exploring the difference between pure and resultative states in Catalan by analysing the syntax and semantics of perfective adjectives, the contrasts between these adjectives and resultative participles, and their combination with copulative verbs.

In Catalan, like in Spanish or English, some participles coexist with an adjective created with the same root; these adjectives are known as perfective adjectives or “truncated participles” (*participios truncos*, Bosque 1989, 1999). We have then doublets such as: *net* – *netejat* (‘clean – cleaned’), *buit* – *buidat* (‘empty – emptied’), *malalt* – *emmalaltit* (‘ill – become ill’), etc. Some authors, like Embick (2004), consider that, in these cases, the participle expresses a resultative state (1a) and the adjective expresses a pure state, that is, a state that is not the result of any event and that has no event implications (1b).

- (1) a. *Aquesta escultura està buidada a mà per darrere*
this sculpture is emptied by hand from behind
b. *Van treure la caixa del vaixell però {estava / era} buida*
PAST.3PL extract the box from+the boat but {was_{estar} / was_{ser}} empty

I also assume that the participle in these doublets expresses a resultative state. Specifically, following Parsons (1990) and Kratzer (2000) on the distinction between target and resultant states, I show that the participles that appear in these doublets normally express a resultant state, that is, an irreversible state, therefore incompatible with the adverb *encara* (‘still’).

- (2) a. *La nena (*encara) està emmalaltida*
the girl (*still) is become-ill
b. *La caixa (*encara) està buidada / netejada*
the box (*still) is emptied / cleaned

On the other hand, there is some debate about the classification of the adjective in these doublets. In English, Embick considers that the adjective expresses a pure state. However, many authors have claimed that perfective adjectives express a result in Spanish (*seco* – ‘dry’, *lleno* – ‘full’). I argue that perfective adjectives are not homogeneous in Catalan and that, in fact, they can be divided into two different groups: resultative and stative. Resultative adjectives always express the result of a previous event (*malalt* – ‘ill’, *complet* ‘complete’, *content* – ‘happy’). Therefore, the event cannot be denied (3a). Stative adjectives, on the other hand, are not inherently resultative, they can express a result but they can also express a state with no event implications, a pure state (*net* – ‘clean’, *sec* – ‘dry’, *buit* – ‘empty’) (3b).

- (3) a. *La Maria està malalta, #tot i que no s’ ha emmalaltit*
the Mary is ill, #although NEG. PR.REFLEX has become-ill
b. *La casa {és / està} buida, tot i que no l’ hem buidada*
the house {is_{estar} / is_{ser}} empty, although NEG. ACC.3SG have emptied

Resultative adjectives express target states, as illustrated by the contrast between (2a), where the participles express a resultant state and therefore reject *encara*, and (4), where the adjectives admit the combination with this adverb.

- (4) *La nena (encara) està malalta / contenta*
the girl (still) is ill / happy

From a formal point of view, I propose that both resultative participles and resultative adjectives are created from a verbal base since they express a result and, therefore, are related to an event. In my approach I consider the formation of resultative participles and resultative adjectives as two different lexicalisation patterns of the event structure presented in Ramchand (2008). Specifically, my proposal is that resultant states (such as the resultative participles) are the result of lexicalising the event structure of a predicate up to ProcP (Ramchand 2008) –ResP may or may not be in the structure–, while target states (such as resultative adjectives) are the result of

lexicalising just ResP. In fact, in the cases when a resultative participle coexists with an adjective that is inherently resultative, it is very common to use the adjective instead of the participle to express the result of the event, precisely because it is the lexicalisation of the result component present in the verb. That is why examples like (2a) are very infrequent (though possible), in preference of examples like (4). However, the resultative participle is preferably used instead of the adjective when eventive modifiers such as *by*-phrases or manner adverbials are to be added in the structure (5a). In my proposal, this can be explained by the fact that resultant states have ProcP and can admit eventive modifiers, but target states do not (5b).

(5) a. *Aquest equip està **completat** pels guies dels monuments*
 this team is completed by+the guides of+the monuments

b. **Aquest equip està **complet** pels guies dels monuments*
 *this team is complete by+the guides of+the monuments

In the case of stative adjectives, I propose that, when they do not have event implications, they express properties, not states. First, because they express a quality that is not the result of any event and, therefore, that has been inherently present in the entity. This inherent nature corresponds to properties (Milsark 1974, Diesing 1992, Marín 2009). Second, because they combine with *ser*. As it is known, in Spanish and Catalan there are two copulative verbs: *ser* and *estar*. In very general terms, *ser* combines with properties and events (eventive passive) and *estar* with states. In Spanish perfective adjectives are normally considered as a homogeneous group and are said to express states because they combine with the verb *estar*. However, the scenario in Catalan is different. Putting aside the dialectal variation found in the use of these verbs, there are clear tendencies when it comes to their combination with perfective adjectives. In the case of resultative adjectives, *estar* is always the preferred option, what confirms these adjectives express states (6). However, in the case of stative adjectives, when the adjective expresses a result, it normally appears combined with *estar* (7a), but if it expresses a pure state (no resultative), it appears with *ser* (7b). As for the analysis, stative adjectives with no event implications are pure adjectives and, thus, they are not created from a verbal base. I assume that they have an adjectival structure (AdjP); the same we would propose for adjectives like *feliç* ('happy') or *vermell* ('red') when they express properties.

(6) *La Maria { *és / està } malalta*
 the Maria { *iS_{ser} / iS_{estar} } ill

(7) a. *Aquesta caixa ja està buida, l' hem buidada en Joan i jo*
 this box already is empty, ACC.3SG have emptied the Joan and me
 b. *Aquesta caixa és buida, no hi ha res a dins*
 this box is empty, NEG. there is nothing inside

After revising these data and the evolution and behaviour of copulative verbs, I claim that, at least in Catalan, states are acquired qualities, they are the result of an event that generates them. States are always results. And they always combine with *estar*. Thus, when a quality appears with *estar* in Catalan, it is expressing a result, not a property. From a formal point of view, I consider that states (results) have a more complex structure than properties and I propose that they lexicalise a preposition (P) as part of their structure. This P stativises the structure it attaches to. For instance, in the case of resultant state participles, they are the result of lexicalising ProcP (and ResP, if present). However, this structure would still be eventive, and resultative participles express states. Thus, I propose that the stativisation of the event is carried out by this P. I also explore if this P is also related to the combination of these elements with the verb *estar*. Authors like Zagona (2009) and Gallego & Uriagereka (2009, 2016) have proposed that *estar* in Spanish combines with predicates that are internally PPs and lexicalises their preposition. If states are internally PPs, this could explain why they combine with *estar* and not with *ser* and why stative adjectives do not take *estar*, as they do not lexicalise any P.

Selected references: Embick, D. (2004). On the Structure of Resultative Participles in English. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 35:3, 355–92. **Marín**, R. (2009). Spanish individual-level and stage-level adjectives revisited. Ms. **Milsark**, G. (1974). Existential Sentences in English. PhD dissertation. MIT. **Ramchand**, G. (2008). *Verb meaning and the lexicon: A first-phase syntax*. Cambridge University Press.

A frequency-based account of kind-denoting participle modifiers in English

Kristie Denlinger and Stephen Wechsler

The University of Texas

We provide an analysis of English adjectival passives as kind-denoting, following Gehrke's (2015) analysis of German, and show how it plays out in English prenominal syntax. We further argue that apparent well-establishedness and informativity conditions on modifiers of prenominal participles are really frequency effects.

English adjectival passives as kind-denoting. Verbal passives, like their active counterparts, express event tokens¹, and in (existential) perfect aspect, they denote *post-states* (see 1b), which hold eternally following the originating event token (Kratzer (2000)'s resultant state participles).

- (1) a. The bottle has been opened/broken by John.
b. $\lambda t \exists e [\text{break}(\text{John}, \text{the bottle}, e) \ \& \ \tau e \leq t]$ (τ is the temporal trace)

Pre-nominal participles can also express post-state properties of the modified noun (see 2a). Alternatively, they can express *target state* properties, in which case there is evidence of a category change 2b, to adjectives. Unlike post-states, target states need not persist.

- (2) a. a recently opened_V/broken_V bottle
b. a(n) open_A/broken_A bottle
c. $\lambda s \exists e_k [\text{break}(e_k) \ \& \ \text{broken}(\text{bottle})(s) \ \& \ \text{BECOME}(e_k)(s)]$

Crucially, post-states are defined w.r.t. event tokens, while target states are defined w.r.t. event kinds, an analysis floated by (Gehrke 2015:915) for German, but ultimately discarded. An event token lacks a unique result, as argued in detail by Dowty (1979: 267-9). Instead, target states are generalizations over events, generic results associated directly with event *kinds*. Following Carlson (2003) *inter alia*, (pseudo-)incorporated nouns are kind modifiers. In English target state sub-kinds can be expressed through incorporation of modifiers including event participants such as agents, instruments, or locations 3a. That the compounds are kind- and not token-denoting can be seen from the contrast in 3b-3c.

- (3) a. man-made, women-owned, oven-baked, London-based, frequency-based, etc.
b. a recently designed_V house
c. *a recently architect-designed_A house

We propose that the prenominal position in English has a bias for expressing kind meanings, for which the syntax is adapted: a right-branching X^0 structure lacking the phrasal recursion needed to describe the details of event tokens (cp. **an owned by women business*).

Frequency effects on modifiers. Event related modifiers of property state words vary in acceptability. Rapp (1996:256) reports the contrast *von Picasso/*Maria gemalt* 'painted by Picasso/*Mary' for German adjectival (stative) passives, and similarly for English incorporation: *Wright-designed / *Joe-designed*. A variety of pragmatic formulations have been floated for these sorts of data, involving well-establishedness, noteworthiness, and informativity (Maienborn 2009, Gehrke 2015, i.a.). Instead we explain such contrasts as frequency effects.

¹Or they express kinds, that can type-shift to instantiate.

First, the grammar of English lacks a general compositional rule for creating compounds such as *Wright-designed*; cp. the variety of roles in 3a. So how does a speaker decide whether to utter this form? Given the well-established principle that people (and animals) learn best through repetition, we posit a production algorithm in which *a speaker is more likely to use a form x to refer to y , the more times they have heard x used to refer to y before, as a proportion of all previous tokens of x* . To allow for innovation, the frequency count includes not only the exact words in x , but also semantically similar words in the same construction (e.g. *Corbusier-designed*), decremented with a similarity coefficient between 0 and 1.

Input frequency is affected by message biases: a well-known designer like Frank Lloyd Wright is more likely to be mentioned as filling the designer role. But the likelihood that x means y depends on the proportion of such utterances to all uses of x , including those with non- y reference. For common nouns as in *woman-owned* the proportion is high: *woman* almost always refers to women; similar for place names, as in *London-based*: *London* almost always refers to London. For proper names consider this example:

Famed landscape architect Lawrence Halprin was known to friends and associates as *Larry*. A designer who worked for him reports to us that people in his office would use locutions 4a or 4b, but that 4c would be strange— even though they otherwise referred to him as *Larry*:

- (4) a. a Halprin-designed project
- b. a project designed by Halprin/Larry
- c. ??a Larry-designed project
- d. a project designed by me
- e. *a me-designed project

Similarly Halprin himself might utter 4d but never 4e. The generalization follows from the production algorithm: 4a in reference to Halprin, and similar (other famous designers, e.g. *Olmstead-designed*), has been heard; 4c is relatively rare overall because the name Larry is only used for Halprin by a small set of friends (and often used for other people); 4e is virtually non-existent, as the only person who refers to Halprin as *me* is Halprin himself.

Even pronouns anaphoric to kinds fail, as predicted:

- (5) a. Beavers are amazing. They build dams. *a they/them-built dam
- b. The beaver is amazing. It can build dams. *an it-built dam
- c. me-centered, we-centered
- d. $\lambda x[\text{centered-on}(x, x)], \lambda x \exists Y [\text{centered-on}(x, Y) \wedge x \in Y]$

Of the many occurrences of *they*, *them*, and *it* in the language, very few refer to beavers. But first person pronouns are almost always used in self-reference, so that reflexive sense can be the basis for a kind, as in the attested forms 5c, interpreted in 5d.

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Periphrastic Passives and Aspect in Italian

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Introduction

Italian *essere* (*be*) and *venire* (*come*) passives differ in their aspectual properties, both lexical and grammatical. Squartini's (1999) analysis of *venire* passives accounts for their incompatibility with perfect aspect. In the present study, I account for this property as well as passive *venire*'s incompatibility with statives and its behavior with event structural modifiers by analyzing passive *venire* as a light verb.

Background

Squartini (1999) observes that *essere* passives are compatible with perfect aspect, as in (1), while *venire* passives are not, as in (2).

- (1) L' edificio è stato costruito
 The building be.PRES.3 be.PTCP.MASC build.PTCP.MASC
 'The building has been built'
- (2) *L' edificio è venuto costruito
 The building be.PRES.3 come.PTCP.MASC build.PTCP.MASC
 'The building has been built'

Additionally, Volpato et al. (2016) observes that *essere* passives are ambiguous between verbal and adjectival passives, as in (3) and (4).

- (3) La gara è aperta da Maria
 The race be.PRES.3 open.PTCP.FEM by Maria
 'The race is opened by Maria'
- (4) La gara è apert-issima a tutti (*da Maria)
 The race be.PRES.3 open-SPRL.FEM to everyone (*da Maria)
 'The race is very open to everybody'

The *by*-phrase in (3) indicates that it is a verbal passive (Frigeni, 2004). Conversely, the suffix *-issima* and the ungrammaticality of the *by*-phrase in (4), indicates that it is an adjectival passive.

Venire passives, however, admit only verbal passives, as in (5) and (6).

- (5) La gara viene aperta da Maria
 The race come.PRES.3 open.PTCP.FEM by Maria
 'The race is opened by Maria'
- (6) *La gara viene apert-issima a tutti
 The race comes.PRES.3 open-SPRL.FEM to everybody
 'The race is open to everybody' (Volpato et al., 2016)

Finally, I observe that *essere* and *venire* show differences in terms of lexical aspect. *Essere* passives are compatible with all classes, but *venire* passives are ungrammatical with statives as in (7).

- (7) *La verità viene conosciuta da tutti
 The truth come.PRES.3 know.PTCP.FEM by everyone
 'The truth is known by everyone'

Proposal

In order to account for *venire* passives, I propose the structure in (8), in which passive *venire* realizes *v*.

- (8) [vP [\bar{H} v [v AspP [Asp PartP [Part VP [V \bar{H}]]]]]]]

I begin from the observation that lexical *venire* is compatible with perfect aspect, as in (9).

- (9) Il traditore è venuto dall' Inghilterra.

The traitor be.PRES.3 come.PTCP.MASC from England
 ‘The traitor came from England’

Assuming passive *venire* is a light verb accounts for its incompatibility with perfect aspect, as light verbs in Italian cannot form passive participles (Folli & Harley, 2013). This is because Italian passive participles are derived via movement of the lexical verb in V to a higher participial projection, Part. Therefore, elements located above V cannot derive participles.

To account for the stative incompatibility, I follow MacDonald (2009) in assuming an aspectual projection (AspP) between vP and VP, which is projected for all aspectual classes except for statives. I further assume passive *venire* realizes a *v* which selects for eventivity. The existence of functional elements which select for eventivity has been independently established, such as the *do* of *do so* replacement, as in (10).

(10) ?John owes money to the bank and Frank does so too (Hallman, 2004).

Finally, I consider similarities between Italian *venire* and English *get* passives in light of the analysis of *get* passives developed by Biggs and Embick (2020). Pursuing these similarities predicts that *get* passives and *venire* passives may share event structural properties. This prediction is shown to hold for differences with *for* X modification (Dowty, 1979), which is ambiguous between a period of events and a repetition of events reading. Biggs and Embick show that this ambiguity holds for *be* but not *get* passives as in (11) and (12).

(11) The door was opened by the test robot (for three hours)

Readings: three hours of opening events; door maintained in an open state for three hours

(12) The door got opened by the test robot (for three hours)

Readings: three hours of opening events

Similarly, this ambiguity holds for *essere* but not *venire* passives as in (13) and (14), suggesting there are event structural similarities between *get* and *venire* passives.

(13) La porta è aperta dal robot per tre ore
 The door is.PRES.3 open.PTCP.FEM by.the robot for three hours

‘The door is opened by the robot for three hours’

Readings: three hours of opening events; door maintained in an open state for three hours

(14) La porta viene aperta dal robot per tre ore
 The door come.PRES.3 open.PTCP.FEM by.the robot for three hours

‘The door is opened by the robot for three hours’

Readings: three hours of opening events

Conclusion

This study accounted for the aspectual properties of *venire* passives by analyzing passive *venire* as a light verb. By assuming an aspectual projection and event structural differences, the present study surpassed the empirical coverage of the previous analysis, while also identifying interesting crosslinguistic similarities to be pursued in future work on passives.

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Towards a typology of *by*-phrases: Evidence from Spanish

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Goals: We argue for the need to distinguish two types of *por* ‘by’-phrases in Spanish nominal, verbal and adjectival passives: one is a causal adverbial and the other introduces the external argument, and is restricted to human agents. In addition, we outline a typology of languages with respect to the types of event participants that their *by*-phrases can introduce.

Setting the stage: Alexiadou et al. (2014) argue that Spanish *por*-phrases in nominals show the direct participation effect (DPE), meaning that they can only introduce initiators (human or not) that directly bring about the event denoted by the nominal (e.g. (26)), from op.cit). Alexiadou et al (2013) link the DPE to the thematic restrictions of *by*-phrases, noting that there are similar effects in Romanian, where the preposition *de cadre* introduces direct participants (human or not), as well as in German, where the preposition *durch* introduces human agents, both in verbal passives and nominalizations.

- (26) a. El huracán justificó la evacuación de los habitantes
‘The hurricane justified the evacuation of the inhabitants’
b. #La justificación de la evacuación de los habitantes por el huracán
‘The justification of the evacuation of the inhabitants by the hurricane’
c. El huracán destruyó nuestros cultivos
‘The hurricane destroyed our crops’
d. La destrucción de nuestros cultivos por el huracán
‘The destruction of our crops by the hurricane’

Problems with this view: It is not clear that *por* ‘by’-phrases in Spanish nominals introduce the external argument. The most salient reading in (26d) is one in which the hurricane was the cause of the destruction of the crops, but not a direct participant. It could be that the hurricane brought about a plague of some sort, which in turn destroyed the crops. More importantly, it could also be that farmers themselves decided to destroy the crops foreseeing dire consequences from an upcoming hurricane. Moreover, (26b) sounds perfectly fine under the causal reading of *el huracán*, i.e. where an implicit agent justified the evacuation on account of the hurricane. More problematically, (26d) can be paraphrased as the impersonal *se* passive in (1a), which does not accept agentive *por*-phrases (compare with (1b), ungrammatical under an agentive reading for “the enemy soldiers”). Spanish nominals can, however, introduce agents by means of a *por* (*parte de*)-phrase, which is restricted to human entities (e.g. (2)).

- (1) a. Se destruyeron los cultivos por el huracán.
Se destroyed the crops by the hurricane
b. *Se destruyeron los cultivos por los soldados enemigos.
Se destroyed the crops by the soldiers enemy.PL
(2) La destrucción de los cultivos por parte de {los soldados enemigos/ *del huracán}
the destruction of the crops by part of the soldiers enemy.PL of.the hurricane

The generalization: On the basis of these data, we argue that Spanish deverbal nominals can have one of two different *por*-phrases:

- *Por parte de*-phrases, restricted to human agents. These are argumental.
- *Por*-phrases, which introduce causal complements and are not true argumental agents.

Then, Spanish is more akin to German, in that *por parte de* introduces human agents, and not like Romanian, where *by*-phrases are sensitive to direct participation, and not humanhood.

Extension to verbal and adjectival passives: This situation is reminiscent of Jiménez & Marín's (2000) discussion of *por*-phrases in Spanish verbal passives, where they show that the agent restriction also holds (e.g. (3)).

- (3) a. La puerta ha sido abierta por el bedel/ *por el viento.
 the door has been opened by the janitor by the wind
 b. Los precios han sido aumentados por el gobierno/ *por la inflación.
 the prices have been raised by the government by the inflation

Interestingly, verbal passives provide a fertile testing ground to show that these two *por*-phrases are indeed distinct. While nominalizations do not generally allow for more than one event-related modifier, verbal passives are more permissive. Indeed, we can see in (4) that the two *por*-phrases can co-exist, one being argumental (with a human agent) and the other being a causal adverbial.

- (4) Los cultivos fueron destruidos por los granjeros por el huracán
 the crops were destroyed by the farmers by(=due to) the hurricane

Adjectival passives provide yet more evidence for the need to keep the two *por*-phrases distinct. As is known, *by*-phrases in adjectival passives tend to be restricted (see García-Pardo 2020 for a recent overview and proposal). As (5) shows, argumental *por*-phrases give rise to ungrammaticality, whereas a causal adverbial is licit.

- (5) Los ciudadanos están escondidos { *por el ejército/ por la decisión del gobierno }
 the citizens are hidden by the army by the decision of the government

Typology and analysis: Our findings, coupled with that of other authors, suggest the following typology of *by*-phrases cross-linguistically.

- *By*-phrases have no semantic restrictions: English (Bruening 2013)
- *By*-phrases restricted to direct participants: Romanian (Alexiadou et al. 2013)
- *By*-phrases restricted to human agents: German (Alexiadou et al. 2013) and Spanish

For the first type (unrestricted *by*-phrases), we assume Bruening's (2013) analysis in which the *by*-phrase attaches to Voice as an adjunct and saturates the external argument position, the preposition *by* being semantically empty (e.g. (6)). For the second type, we follow the spirit of Alexiadou et al. (2014) in that the *by*-phrase is associated to a *v* projection that denotes the process sub-event: this triggers an aspectual effect that bars indirect causers, as they are not directly related to the event (see also Alexiadou 2014 on this point) (e.g. (7)). For the latter type (the Spanish type), we propose that the *por*-phrase has a [+HUMAN] uninterpretable feature that imposes the restriction that the participant it introduces be human (e.g. (8)).

- | | |
|--------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| (6) [PassP/nP [VoiceP [<i>by</i> -phrase] [vP]]] | English-type languages |
| (7) [PassP/nP [VoiceP [vP [<i>by</i> -phrase]]]] | Romanian-type languages |
| (8) [PassP/nP [VoiceP [<i>by</i> -phrase [+HUMAN]] [vP]]] | Spanish-type languages |

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Property concept roots and the semantics of categorization

Emily Hanink (U Manchester) & Andrew Koontz-Garboden (U Manchester)

Intro. *Property concepts* (PCs) (Dixon 1982, Thompson 1989) – expressions such as *tall* or *happy* that are canonically categorized as adjectives in English – are often categorized as nouns or verbs in other languages. While this type of variation is well-known, we address in this talk the less-studied question of whether the lexical semantics of property concepts is systematically tied to how they are categorized. For example, Francez & Koontz-Garboden (2017) (FKG) show that some PC nouns do not characterize individuals (as adjectives do), but rather denote predicates of abstract qualities (e.g., *goodness*, a set of portions of goodness) in the mass domain. Menon & Pancheva (2014) (MP) build on this and conjecture that the roots forming **all** property concept words, independent of category, have FKG’s mass semantics, though variation in the morphosemantics of categorization potentially masks this underlying universality.

Claim. We argue for MP’s core idea that PC roots are mass-denoting, drawing on data from nominal, verbal, and adjectival categorization in three unrelated languages. We show that, despite variation in category, PCs in these languages receive a unified analysis if mass-denoting PC roots must be categorized by a head encoding a possessive semantics to form predicates.

Background. MP suggest that, universally, PCs are built on acategorical roots that must be categorized by a head introducing a possessive semantics in order to create a predicate of individuals. Their analysis is based on Malayalam (Dravidian), which lacks an adjectival category, with many PC words instead being verbs. MP argue, building on FKG, that Malayalam in this case makes use of a **covert** categorizing *v* head – that encodes possession – in order to turn a

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|-----|----|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|--------------------------------------------------|
| (1) | a. | aval [nalla-]val | aanə | mass-denoting root (e.g., \sqrt{nall}) into a |
| | | she [having.goodness-] _{F.SG EQ.COP} | | property of individuals (<i>nalla</i> ‘having |
| | | ‘She is good (one having goodness).’ | | goodness’). The resulting verb is then |
| | b. | [[[\sqrt{nall} + $\emptyset_{v.poss}$] _v + POS] _v -a] _{rel} | | conventionally turned into a reduced |
| | | | | relative in predicate constructions, as |
| | | | | shown in (2b) for the example in (2a). |

Proposal. While the possessive categorizer MP propose is covert, we argue that several unrelated languages express this type of categorizer **overtly**. This type of possessive categorization is moreover not limited to verbalization: we find evidence across languages for overt possessive categorization resulting in nouns, verbs, as well as adjectives. Despite this variation in category however, we propose that a unified semantic treatment of the categorizer can capture the full range of presented data. Specifically, we argue that the categorizer shares the following properties across language and category: i) it introduces a possessive semantics (as in 2) and ii) it categorizes the root (as in 3). In all cases, we treat the root being categorized as denoting a set of states, following Parsons 1990, Baglini 2015, and Wellwood 2015, 2019. In this way,

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|-----|---------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|
| (2) | [[$v_{poss}/n_{poss}/a_{poss}$]]: | $\lambda P_{\langle e,t \rangle} \lambda x_e \exists y [P(y) \ \& \ \mathbf{have}(x,y)]$ | regardless of category, the meaning of |
| (3) | [$vP/nP/aP$ [$\sqrt{PC-ROOT}$] [$v_{poss}/n_{poss}/a_{poss}$]] | | the categorizer takes a root denoting a |
| | | | property of states as its first argument, |

returning a characteristic function of individuals possessing that state. We now demonstrate this in more detail with nominal, verbal, and adjectival categorizers in Ulwa, Washo, and English.

Nominalization. FKG argue that the PC categorizer in Ulwa (Misumulpán) is a nominalizer in the form of the possessive suffix *-ka*. Crucially, this suffix is used in both nominal possession (4) and property concept predication (5). Adopting the present analysis (2-3), (6) offers the derivation of the meaning *yûhka* ‘have tallness’.

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|-----|----------------------|-----|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (4) | Alberto pan -ka | (5) | Alas yûh-ka atrang. |
| | Alberto stick-3.POSS | | s/he TALL-3.POSS will.be |
| | ‘Alberto’s stick’ | | ‘S/he will be tall (have tallness)’ |

- (6) a. $\llbracket_{\text{n}} -ka \rrbracket: \lambda P_{\langle e,t \rangle} \lambda x_e \exists y [P(y) \ \& \ \mathbf{have}(x,y)]$ The meaning of (6c) is then the set
 b. $\llbracket \sqrt{YUH} \rrbracket: \lambda s_e [\mathbf{tall}(s)]$ of individuals possessing a contextually salient state of tallness (where
 c. $\llbracket y\hat{u}hka \rrbracket: \lambda x_e \exists y [\mathbf{tall}(y) \ \& \ \mathbf{have}(x,y)]$ context-sensitivity is the result of \exists -

quantification, not POS, see FKG). Note that evidence that pre-categorized property concepts such as *yûh* are roots comes from the fact that they are bound morphemes in the language.

Verbalization. Second, many PCs in Washo (Hokan/isolate) are complex and must likewise be overtly derived. However, Washo PCs are *verbalized* by the so-called ‘attributive’ suffix *-i?*, which otherwise expresses possession of an ordinary entity (Jacobsen 1964, Hanink & Koontz-Garboden 2020). (7-8) show again that the same suffix is used in both nominal possession and property concept predication, while (9) derives *-í:yeli?* ‘have bigness’. Crucially, v_{poss} *-i?* in

- (7) di-gúšú? **-i?** -i (8) dalá?ak ? *-í:yel -i?* -i
 1-PET -ATTR -IND mountain 3-BIG -ATTR -IND
 ‘I have a pet/pets.’ ‘The mountain is big (has bigness).’
 (9) has the same meaning as n_{poss} *-ka* in (9) a. $\llbracket_{\text{v}} -i? \rrbracket: \lambda P_{\langle e,t \rangle} \lambda x_e \exists y [P(y) \ \& \ \mathbf{have}(x,y)]$
 Ulwa. (Note here that evidence that (7)- b. $\llbracket \sqrt{TYEL} \rrbracket: \lambda s_e [\mathbf{big}(s)]$
 (8) are verbal in category comes from c. $\llbracket í:yeli? \rrbracket: \lambda x_e \exists y [\mathbf{big}(y) \ \& \ \mathbf{have}(x,y)]$
 verbal agreement and TAM suffixes.)

Adjectivalization. Finally, we further add the English suffix *-y* to the typology, which we argue is a categorizer à la Ulwa *-ka* and Washo *-i?* (a similar state of affairs holds for German *-ig*). The OED’s description of this suffix is ‘... having the qualities of’ or ‘full of’ that which is denoted by the noun (10) a. salt-y, sugar-y
 b. happ-y, tin-y
 to which it is added...’. Contrary to the description that

-y is a nominal suffix, we find evidence for the claim that *-y* is a *root* categorizer from the fact that the input in many cases is clearly not a noun: while the nominal source of the adjectives in (10a) seems transparent enough, many *-y* adjectives are formed from bound roots (10b). We therefore assign an adjective such as *happy* the derivation in (11), which works just like *-ka* and *-i?*, adding adjectivalizers to the typology of categorizers that introduce a possessive semantics in order to form PCs from mass-denoting roots.

Upshot. Taking the above data together, we find overt evidence across a range of unrelated languages – Ulwa, Washo, and English – that different categorizers – nominalizers, verbalizers and adjectivalizers – encode a possessive semantics in order to turn mass-denoting roots into property concept words that predicate of individuals. While the resulting category of the PC may vary, what remains constant is the meaning of the categorizer (2), which invariably selects and categorizes an acategorical root (3) and expresses possession, a fact which, following FKG’s logic, argues for the kind of mass-type denotation we assign to the categorized root.

Conclusion and impact. First, our proposal adds to the observed empirical landscape of (property concept)-categorization across languages, and points to a prolific use of possession as a means to create PC predicates of individuals. While we remain agnostic about MP’s claim that PC roots are *universally* mass-denoting, the data at least point to this as a robust crosslinguistic option, as well as a potential point of variation across languages. Second, in arguing that categorizers can have particular kinds of meanings, our proposal offers some potential in answering the question raised by DM-style approaches like ours why not all roots can be categorized by all categorizers (see Potts 2007:358) – the categorizers discussed here semantically subcategorize for very specific kinds of (mass-type) meanings, which not all roots have.

An analysis of Russian perfective negative imperatives in terms of the causal model

Makoto Kaneko (Aoyama Gakuin University, Japan)

1 Introduction: Kuehnast's (2008) analysis of preventive negative imperatives with perfective aspect

This paper aims at shedding a new light on negative imperatives with perfective aspect in Russian by applying a version of Copley & Kagan's (2021) analysis of Russian perfective aspect in the context of negation. In Russian, prohibitive negative imperatives about an intentional action (e.g. Don't open the window! / Don't kill Ivan! etc.) are marked by imperfective aspect only, while preventive imperatives towards a non-intentional situation are marked by perfective aspect, as in (1) and (2).

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|-----|-----|-----------------------------|------------------------------------------------|
| (1) | Ne | upadi! (Kuehnast 2008: 189) | |
| | not | fall-PFV.IMP | 'Be careful! Don't (inadvertently) fall down!' |
| (2) | Ne | razbej | čašku! (<i>idem.</i> 190) |
| | not | break-PFV.IMP | cup 'Don't (inadvertently) break the cup!' |

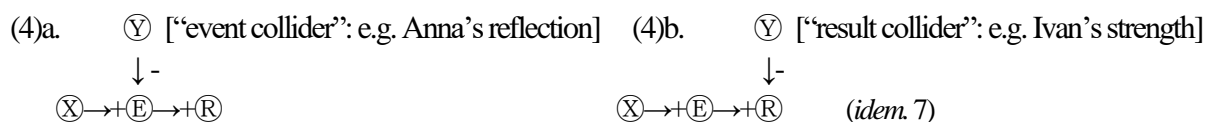
This aspectual "division of labor" leads to ask why and how perfective aspect allows, in the negative context, non-intentional situations to be compatible with imperatives, which by their essence require an intentional action on the part of the addressee. Kuehnast (2008: 190) points out that "preventives depict a complex situation representing cause-effect chain, from which only the last link is addressed". According to this author, (2) may thus be uttered by a mother when "there is a cup on a table and [her] child is pulling the tablecloth" (*idem.* 192). The child understands that pulling the tablecloth may cause the cup's falling down and ultimately its breaking and can infer that (2) "is a hint to change the current behavior, which is not mentioned explicitly" (*ibid.*). Therefore, "the imperative force is directed to an activity or a state of affairs [in the preparatory phase] which the addressee is indeed able to control" in (2)]" (*ibid.*). Kuehnast (2008: 184) further points out that "negation affects the perfectivity of the predicate by discarding the change of state expressed by the perfective verbs. The spotlight of the verbal reference time span moves from the resulting state [where the cup is broken for (2)] back to the source state [where the child is pulling the tablecloth]". Thus, according to this author, the role of perfective consists of invoking an implicit state of affairs in the preparatory phase which is controllable by the addressee. However insightful, Kuehnast's analysis seems to remain speculative and even ad hoc: it crucially refers to an implicit preparatory phase, whose status should be clarified and independently justified. It should further be stated in a more general and principled way to be applicable to other cases. Copley & Kagan's (2021) analysis of perfective aspect in past negative contexts turns out to offer such a general framework.

2 Copley & Kagan's (2021) analysis of perfective aspect in past negative sentences

Copley & Kagan (2021) first point out that, in past negative sentences, "the choice of [perfective] aspect means that something happened in the world that made an instantiation of the negated event plausible, expected, or feasible". They use the term 'specificity effect' to refer to this meaning of perfective aspect. Thus, the example (3) "informs the addressee that, although the killing of Ivan by Anna did not successfully take place, it was reasonable to expect such a murder. For instance, it is possible that Anna tried to kill Ivan but failed as he was stronger [in this case, the murder event effectively took place but did not reach completion]. Alternatively, she may have planned the murder but ultimately decided not to perform it (because that would be too risky) [in this case, the murder event did not even begin]."

- | | | | | | |
|-----|------|-----|-------------|---------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|
| (3) | Anna | ne | ubila | Ivana. (Copley & Kagan 2021: 4) | |
| | Anna | NEG | killed-PERF | Ivan | 'Anna didn't kill Ivan (end up killing Ivan).' |

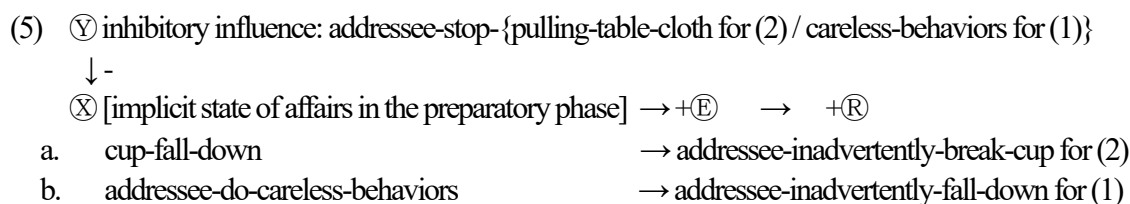
They further propose a causal model " $(\textcircled{X}) \rightarrow^+ (\textcircled{E}) \rightarrow^+ (\textcircled{R})$ ", which is read as follows: \textcircled{X} (= implicit state of affairs in the preparatory phase: e.g. Anna-plan-to-kill-Ivan) is efficacious for \textcircled{E} (= denoted event: e.g. Anna-kill-Ivan), which is efficacious for \textcircled{R} (= result: e.g. Ivan-dead). The "specificity effect" is due to a presupposition, induced by the perfective aspect, that \textcircled{X} effectively occurs (represented by $\exists s. \textcircled{X}(s)=1$). Now, the above two scenarios conceived for (3) are modeled by (4a) and (4b), where \textcircled{Y} represents some inhibitory influence.



(4a) corresponds to an “event collider” case where some \textcircled{Y} (e.g. Anna’s reflection about the risk of murder) prevents \textcircled{E} ’s occurrence; (4b) corresponds to a “result collider” case where another \textcircled{Y} (e.g. Ivan’s strength) stops \textcircled{R} ’s realization. The necessity to refer to state of affairs in the preparatory phase is thus independently confirmed to account for the specificity effect in past perfective negative sentences. Copley & Kagan (2021) also argue that, while \textcircled{X} is agentive and \textcircled{X} ’s effect of towards the occurrence of \textcircled{E} is intentional in (3), \textcircled{X} may be a mere circumstance and \textcircled{X} ’s effect towards the occurrence of \textcircled{E} may be unintentional. Such a case is illustrated by “Anna didn’t fall-PFV”, where \textcircled{X} may, for example, correspond to Anna’s careless behaviors. According to their analysis, \textcircled{X} ’s realization is here presupposed. The sentence “Anna didn’t fall-PFV” should thus mean that, in spite of an effective occurrence of \textcircled{X} (e.g. Anna’s careless behaviors), \textcircled{E} (=her falling) didn’t occur thanks to some inhibitory influence \textcircled{Y} (e.g. Ivan’s intervention to stop her falling). The situation should be different in negative imperatives where no external inhibitory influence can be expected.

3 Proposals

To apply Copley & Kagan’s causal model to perfective negative imperatives as in (1) and (2), I propose to paraphrase the above Kuehnast’ remark about preventive negative imperatives as follows: “the imperative force (=an intentional inhibitory influence \textcircled{Y}) is directed to an activity or a state of affairs which the addressee is indeed able to control (=an implicit \textcircled{X} , rather than to an uncontrollable event \textcircled{E} or result \textcircled{R})”. The semantics of perfective negative imperatives in (1) and (2) may thus be represented in the causal model, as in (5a) and (5b).



According to this proposal, as in Copley & Kagan’s analysis, perfective aspect in preventive negative imperatives serves to existentially quantify \textcircled{X} . But unlike their analysis, negation here scopes over this existential quantification, which is represented by $\neg \exists s. \textcircled{X}(s)$. From this perspective, negative imperatives in (1) and (2) instantiate “preparatory phase collider cases” where the addressee’s cautious action will prevent \textcircled{X} ’s occurrence, which leads to non-realization of \textcircled{E} and \textcircled{R} . This hypothesis in terms of an externalization of negation is supported by the fact that, while a PPI indefinite *komu-nibud* ‘someone’ is not accepted in imperfective negative imperatives with a predicate denoting a priori a controllable situation, as *call* in (6a), it becomes acceptable with perfective aspect when the predicate is contextually interpreted as non-controllable, as in (6b).

| | | | | |
|-------|-----|---------------|-------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|
| (6)a. | Ne | zvoni | {nikomu / *komu-nibud}! | |
| | not | call.IPFV.IMP | {anyone / *someone} | ‘Don’t call anyone!’ (Esipova 2021: 1) |
| b. | Ne | pozvoni | slučajno komu-nibud! | |
| | not | call.PFV.IMP | accidentally someone | ‘Don’t accidentally call someone!’ (<i>idem.</i> 2) |

In sum, this paper answers the above question, by assuming not only \textcircled{E} collider and \textcircled{R} collider cases, but also \textcircled{X} collider cases, as follows: perfective aspect allows non-intentional situations to be compatible with imperatives because it invokes, in negative contexts, a state of affairs in the preparatory phrase \textcircled{X} , whose non-occurrence the addressee is required to realize though her intentional inhibitory influence \textcircled{Y} .

Reference: Copley, B. & Kagan, O. 2021. A causal approach to perfectivity. https://oasis.cnrs.fr/sites/oasis.cnrs.fr/files/files/CopleyKagan_Russian_perfective.pdf;
 Esipova, M. 2021. On abstinence and avoidance. <https://esipova.net/files/esipova-ail1-hdt.pdf>; Kuehnast, M. 2008. Aspectual coercion in Bulgarian negative imperatives. In W. Abraham & E. Leiss (eds.), *Modality-Aspect Interfaces: Implications and typological solutions*, 175-196. John Benjamins.

On the position of event-internal modifiers in German clause structure

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Word order constraints on adverbials in German clauses have been subject to a long-standing debate. Recent analyses (Frey & Pittner 1998; Haider 2000; Frey 2003) have proposed that word order constraints on adverbials differ from word order constraints on arguments in that the former are subject to intrinsic properties, class membership in particular. To this end, the authors propose different adverbial classes, which give rise to different base positions in German clause structure. We assume that previous analyses of adverbial base positions are problematic from an empirical and a conceptual perspective. Empirically, problems emerge from disregarding lexical variance of adverbials; conceptually, the approaches use intrinsic properties of proposed *adverbial* classes, while the serialization of *arguments* is dealt with in terms of extrinsic properties. Focusing on event-internal adverbials, such as comitatives and instrumentals, we argue that the respective serialization constraints should not be formulated in terms of class-based (intrinsic) properties. We will show that constraints on their serialization should be proposed in terms of extrinsic properties instead, such as *Anaphoricity*, and *Thematic Integration* and present evidence from two experimental studies that the adverbials may occupy various positions depending on the application of *Anaphoricity*, *Thematic Integration*, and the lexical interpretation of the adverbials. *Thematic Integration* assumes that the internal argument of an adverbial PP can be incorporated into the thematic structure of the modified event. Being integrated into this structure, the syntactic position of the bearer of the thematic role will be determined due to constraints on word order based on thematic ranking. Thematic relations are known to govern serializations in German clause structure at least since Uszkoreit (1986). Whether such an integration takes place, is – however – subject to the interpretation of the adverbial as well. For comitatives and instrumentals, we can show that the distinction between affirmative and privative (abessive) interpretations is relevant. The respective readings and their consequences are illustrated in (1) and (2).

- (1) a. Ich habe gehört, dass ein Virologe **zusammen**
I have heard that a.NOM virologist.M.NOM together
mit einem Pharmakologen was getestet hat.
with a.DAT pharmacist.M.DAT what.ACC tested has
- b. Ich habe gehört, dass ein Virologe was **zusammen mit einem Pharmakologen** getestet hat.
'I've heard that a virologist tested something in tandem with a pharmacist.'
- (2) a. Ich habe gehört, dass ein Polizist was
I have heard that a.NOM policeman.M.NOM what.AC
ganz ohne einen Kollegen überprüft hat.
entirely without a.ACC colleague.M.ACC sifted has
- b. Ich habe gehört, dass ein Polizist **ganz ohne einen Kollegen** was überprüft hat.
'I have heard that a policeman sifted something without a colleague.'

We will present an experimental study (2-Alternative Forced Choice Study, modelled by a binomial random slope generalized linear mixed model) on *Thematic Integration*, which corroborates the assumption that affirmative comitatives headed by *mit* ('with') show a clear preference to be realized to the left of a (fixed) object (1a), while the opposite holds for privative comitatives, yielding a preference for a serialization of the adverbial PP below the object (2a).

We account for the contrast between (1) and (2) as follows: Both adverbial PPs are realized in positions where they are c-commanded by the phrases towards which they are oriented (the subjects in (1) and (2)), showing the influence of the extrinsic property *Anaphoricity* (which we tested in a separate Likert Scale-study with random slope cumulative link mixed models). But a preference for a position to the left of the object in (1a) is derived because affirmative comitatives introduce an additional role of (co-)agent. This role is integrated into the thematic structure of the modified event, as illustrated in (3), and the bearer of the role – i.e. the adverbial PP – is arranged in order of the thematic hierarchy.

- (3) $\lambda e \exists x \exists y \exists z [\text{test}(e) \wedge \text{virologist}(z) \wedge \text{agent}(e, z) \wedge \text{pharmacologist}(x) \wedge \textbf{agent}(e, x) \wedge \textbf{participate}(e, z, x) \wedge \text{theme}(e, y)]$

The same does not apply to (2). First, we should notice that the privative reading of the adverbial is best captured by representing it through a negated universal quantifier. The privative comitative in (2) differs from the affirmative comitative in (1) in that we do not find an existential presupposition of the internal argument of the preposition. What is more, we also do not find the negation of such a presupposition in (2). These properties are best captured by assuming a negated universal quantification, as is illustrated in (4).

- (4) $\lambda e \exists y \exists z [\text{sift}(e) \wedge \text{policeman}(z) \wedge \text{agent}(e, z) \wedge \text{theme}(e, y) \wedge \forall x [\text{colleague}(x) \Rightarrow \neg \textbf{participate}(e, z, x)]]$

We will further discuss that comitatives differ from instrumentals in that the distinction between affirmative and privative readings – although present with the latter as well – does not play a role for instrumentals. We assume that this is due to the nature of the thematic role introduced by instrumentals: while comitatives may introduce a (co-)agent, instrumental adverbials of course mark their internal arguments as *instruments*, regardless of its lexical interpretation (affirmative vs. privative). The resulting phrases thus rank lower in the thematic hierarchy and the preferred position below the object is predicted.

Summarizing our results, we can show that the serialization of adverbial PPs can be derived from the interaction of extrinsic constraints (*Anaphoricity*, *Thematic Ranking*) with the lexical semantics of the adverbials involved, yielding contrasts between adverbial types (comitatives, instrumentals) that have been predicted to show uniform behaviour by prior proposals. Even within adverbial types such as comitatives, we can observe contrasts in serialization which do not follow from class-based constraints on word order but can be explained by considering the interpretation of the adverbials involved.

Note: The experimental studies can be found (in anonymized form) at <https://anonymouse4open.science/r/word-order-constraints-on-event-internal-modifiers-60EB/RE-ADME.md>

References:

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Interaction of phasal semantics of aspectual adverbs with tense-aspect information in Japanese: *Mô* versus *Sudeni*

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This presentation will focus on the Japanese adverbs *mô* and *sudeni*. Both adverbs are translated as *already*. The relationship between *already* and tense-aspect is discussed by Ernst (2001), who assigns the meaning of (1) to *already* based on Michaelis's (1998) analysis.

- (1) ALREADY = [s O t & [s' [e = begin(s)] & e < t' & s' ⊆ t']] (Ernst 2001: 342)

Ernst supports the meaning of *already* given by Michaelis, while Löbner (1989) and others have different views. Therefore, it is questionable whether Ernst's formulation accurately captures the meaning of the adverb corresponding to *already*. One of the typological problems in this regard is evident when we consider the relationship between the Japanese adverbs *mô* and *sudeni*, and tense-aspect information. *Mô* and *sudeni* are similar to *already* in that they typically co-occur with the verb inflection *-teiru*, which at least in one reading denotes perfect. However, they behave differently from *already* in several ways: first, they do not always take a stative predicate as their scope, as stated by Michaelis (1998). *Mô* and *sudeni* can co-occur with the verbal inflection *-ta* for the past, accompanied by the adverbial *ni-nen mae-ni* “two years ago” as shown in (2).

- (2) Tarô-wa {*sudeni* / (?)*mô*} ni-nen mae-ni sigoto-o yame-ta.
Taro-TOP *sudeni* *mô* two-years ago-OBL job-ACC finish-PST
lit. “Taro already resigned two years ago.”

Second, when the verbal affix *-ru* is used, *mô* expresses the “imminent future” as shown in (3).

- (3) Tarô-wa { **sudeni* / *mô* } tyûsyoku-o tabe-ru.
Taro-TOP *sudeni* *mô* lunch-ACC eat-NPST
“Taro is having lunch soon.”

From the above data, this presentation claims that Ernst's analysis is not enough and that *mô* introduces an abstract scale structure (Löbner 1989, Zimmermann 2018, Beck 2020) different from the temporal dimension, in contrast to *sudeni*. Verbal inflections determine the sentence tense, which is the relationship between speech time and event time. However, *-ta* and *-ru* underspecify the position of the reference time, i.e. the aspect information in the verbal morphology. The scale of *mô* uses the tense-aspect information of the sentence and disambiguates them by determining the position of the reference time. In other words, the temporal dimension, and the scale structure of *mô* project mutually and determine the tense-aspect information of sentences. Below is a detailed discussion of each adverb.

First, *sudeni* is an adverb for a temporal orientation toward the past. It is composed as a modification of the perfect operator (cf. Dowty 1982). The formulation of *sudeni* is as follows in (4) (cf. Katz 2003). From (4), *sudeni* can co-occur with *-teiru* and *-ta*.

- (4) $[[sudeni]] = \lambda P \lambda t' \lambda t [P(t') \ \& \ t' \subset EN(t)]$; $EN(t)$ is an extended now interval with t as its endpoint.

On the other hand, *sudeni* is infelicitous in (3), because the past orientation coded in *sudeni* contradicts the future orientation contained in *-ru*,

In contrast, *mô* introduces a two-phase scale consisting of a set of degrees $\langle d_0, d_1, d_2, \dots, d_n \rangle$. The scale has a transition point d_{\rightarrow} , in which p of type $\langle d, \langle s, t \rangle \rangle$ is applied from d_{\rightarrow} to d_n . From d_0 to d_{\rightarrow} , $\neg p$ holds. Then, *mô* introduces an evaluation point d_e and places d_e in the p range. Also, in some contexts, it may set the maximum value of scale (d_{max}) (figure 1).

When *mô* is used in sentences related to time, the ordered set of degrees is monotonically mapped onto time intervals. The d_e corresponds to

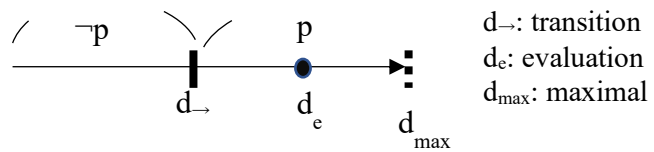


Figure 1 Scale of *mô*

the reference time so as to evaluate the proposition. Also, d_{\rightarrow} or d_{max} corresponds to the event time. If the event time should be at least before the reference time, then d_{\rightarrow} corresponds to the event time. However, when the event time follows the reference time as in the case of (3), the event time corresponds to d_{max} . We claim that *mô* disambiguates the reading of non-past morpheme *-ru* making it futurate such that it is semantically decomposed into PRESENT and PROSPECT. Then, (3) is interpreted not merely as a plain future, but rather as an imminent future.

We will also support the above argument, focusing on the multiple readings of *mô* which differentiates it from *sudeni*.

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Pseudo-copular verbs as the origin of the IL/SL distinction in Spanish

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Background. The I(individual)L(evel) / S(tage)L(evel) dichotomy (Carlson 1977) has received a great deal of attention regarding the Spanish double copula system (*ser / estar*, ‘to be’) in synchronic studies (see Fábregas 2012 for an overview of the large literature about this matter). In comparison, change of state pseudo-copular verbs (*hacer(se)*, *volver(se)*, *dejar/quedar*, *poner(se)*, etc., ‘to become’), which are often said to merely reproduce the IL / SL distinction found in true copulas, are much less studied (Porroche 1990, Demonte & Masullo 1999, Marín 2000, 2004; Morimoto & Pavón-Lucero 2007, García-Pardo 2021). From a diachronic perspective, the grammaticalization process undergone by *estar* is enough, though not extensively, documented (Bouzet 1953, Pountain 1985, Ranchhod 1989, Vallcorba 1996, Mateu 2009, Batllori & Roca 2011, Marco & Marín 2015), while the evolution of pseudo-copulas is yet to be explored.

Proposal. This study reveals data showing that the IL / SL distinction started out with change of state pseudo-copular verbs (12th-13th centuries) and spread later to copulas, once *estar* had advanced in its –slower– grammaticalization process (15th-16th centuries). The IL / SL distinction developed in the same way, but at different times, for pseudo-copulas and copulas. In both cases, the key is the grammaticalization of locative verbs that specialize in SL-predicates when they become (pseudo-)copulas, thus forcing the other existing (pseudo-)copulas to specialize in IL predicates. Crucially, change of state pseudo-copulas evolved sooner and faster, creating a model for copulas to adhere to.

The data. The establishment of the IL / SL distinction followed the same path with both pseudo-copulas and copulas, but at different times. First there is a (pseudo-)copula that combines with all adjectives, IL and SL. These were the pseudo-copulas *hacer(se)* and *tornar(se)* (1-2), heirs of latin *facio / fio* and *uerto*, respectively, and the copula *ser* (3):

- (1) a. Dixo la mugier: “Quien **te fyzo rey**?” (*Fazienda*, c.1200)
‘The woman said: “Who made you king?”’
b. Amola tanto troa ques **fizo enfermo por ella** (*Fazienda*, c.1200)
‘He loved her so much he got sick for her’
- (2) a. Muchos con grant cobdiçia **tórnanse usureros** (*Aleixandre*, c.1240-1250)
‘Many people become loan sharks out of greed’
b. Dexen estar la carne tanto en el vino fasta que **se torne blanca** (*Moamín*, c.1250)
‘Leave the meat soaking in wine until it gets white’
- (3) a. Longinos **era ciego**, que nuncuas vio alguandre (*Cid*, c.1140)
‘Longinos was blind, he never saw anything’
b. Pensaron de folgar ca **eran muy cansados** (*Alexandre*, c.1240-1250)
‘They thought they should rest because they were very tired’

The specialisation process takes place when a locative verb grammaticalizes and turns into a (pseudo-)copula, combining with SL predicates thanks to the abstract or metaphorical “locative” meaning these have (see Bouzet 1953; Pountain 1985; Marco & Marín 2015 for *estar*). In doing so, it displaces the other (pseudo-)copulas and forces them to specialise in IL predicates. In the case of pseudo-copulas, this happened first with causative *dejar* (‘to leave, abandon’) and its middle suppletive counterparts, *fincar*, *remanir* and *quedar* (‘to remain’). These pseudo-copulas are Romance creations and they have never combined with IL predicates. As full locative verbs, they took an optional secondary predicate (A/N/SP) (4) that was reinterpreted as an obligatory result complement along the lines described in (5). This grammaticalization is already complete in the 13th century (although *quedar* did not replace *remanir* and *fincar* until the 15th century) (6).

- (4) **Por muertas las dexaron**, sabed, que non por bivas. (*Cid*, c.1140)
‘They left them thinking they were dead’
- (5) a. He *deja* (‘leaves’) the soldier in the battlefield blind > He *deja* the soldier blind > ‘He causes the soldier to be blind’ (causative pseudo-copula)

- b. The soldier *queda* ('remains') in the battlefield blind > the soldier *queda* blind > 'The soldier becomes blind' (middle pseudo-copula)
- (6) a. [los siervos] que **auiedes dexado libres** & que fuessen en so poder. (GE4, 1280)
'The servants that you had set free and who belonged to him'
- b. el rey don Pedro... **fincara muy flaco** de la dolencia que ouiera
'King Pedro got very thin from his illness' (*Crónica de Pedro I*, c.1400)

Hacer(se) and *tornar(se)* react to these new SL-pseudo-copulas in slightly different ways: the variants that start specializing in IL predicates are the causative one for *hacer* (creating an early contrast with *dejar*), and the middle one for *tornar(se)*. In the 14th century the IL / SL opposition of pseudo-copulas is nearly complete: very few examples of *hacer(se)* and *tornar(se)* + SL-ADJ are found in the 15th century.

In turn, *estar*'s grammaticalization took longer because it did not start out with the locative meaning it has today. *Stare* meant 'to stand', so its evolution begins with a semantic change by which it competes with the locative uses of *ser* ('to be somewhere') since the 12th century (7). It also starts competing with *ser* + participle to convey adjectival copulatives (8) and resultative passives (9), which is the crucial step that allowed it to spread to SL-adjectives (Pountain 1985, Batllori & Roca 2011, Marco & Marín 2015). Crucially, despite some scarce examples between the 13th and the 14th centuries, the doble copula system does not develop until the end of the 15th century:

- (7) a. Salieron al campo **do eran los mojones** (*Cid*, c.1140)
'They went to the countryside, where the milestones were'
- b. Vanse pora San Pero, **do está** el que en buen punto nació (*Cid*, c.1140)
'They go to San Pedro, where he who was born in a good day was born'
- (8) a. tomassen ... del Jordan demientre que **estaua seco** estas doze piedras (*GE*, c.1280)
'They took these twelve stones from the Jordan, which was dry'
- b. [este animal] paras al sol fasta que **es seco** el lodo (*GE*, c.1280)
'This animal lies under the sun until the mud is dry'
- (9) a. [Para curar la fístula] ...abrir la apostema quando no **es abierta**
'To cure the fistula, open the abscess when it is not open' (*Tratado de cirugía*, 1493)
- b. Las puertas deste lugar **estauan abiertas** (*Crónica Alfonso XI*, c.1348-1379)
'The doors of this place were open'

According to Batllori & Roca (2011), the grammaticalization of *estar* consists of a change in its base-position within the tree: as a locative verb, it is base-generated in a low, lexical position, whereas as a copula it is base-generated in a higher, functional position (an aspectual one). An analysis in these lines will be explored for pseudo-copulas.

Conclusion. This chronology sheds new light on the development of the Spanish complex (pseudo-)copular system and highlights the role of change of state pseudo-copulas which, instead of mirroring the behavior of *ser* and *estar*, are the ones that stablish the pattern copulas reproduce.

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Verbal and adjectival participles in imperative and declarative root configurations

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Apart from their use in periphrastic and adnominal contexts, past participles may also occur as the core of non-finite root clauses. These come in four different types in Germanic, as the German and Dutch cases in (1) to (4) exemplify: (i) directive participles with imperative force and (ii) commissive, (iii) expressive and (iv) representative participles with declarative force.

- (1) a. (HSV-Fans) Aufgepasst! b. (Ajax-fans) Opgepast!
 (HSV-fans) *out.watched!* (Ajax-fans) *out.watched!*
 ‘(HSV-fans) pay attention!’ ‘(Ajax-fans) pay attention!’
- (2) a. Versprochen! b. Beloofd! (3) a. *Gegrüßt! b. Gegroet! (4) a. Erledigt! b. Gedaan!
 promised *promised* *greeted* *greeted* *done* *done*
 ‘I promise!’ ‘I promise!’ ‘Greetings!’ ‘Done!’ ‘Done!’

As the contrast in (3) and the fact that (1) to (3) cannot be translated with a participle in English show, the use of participles as roots is subject to parameterisation: English shares with the North Germanic languages that only the type in (4) is permitted, whereas German additionally allows (1) and (2) and Dutch even permits the additional type in (3). While previous work mostly investigated the properties of the directive type (see Rooryck & Postma 2007; Coussé & Oosterhof 2012; Heinold 2014), recent work also considered non-directive performative participles (see Ørsnes 2020). By contrasting their argument structural and aspectual properties, the present paper argues that root participles with declarative force comprise verbal (passive) participles, whereas their declarative counterparts feature adjectival participles. The two types are taken to have different C-heads selecting for distinct participial complements.

Zugehört! (‘Listen up!’) – Alongside a plain infinitive (*Hinsetzen!* ‘Sit down!’) and a finite form (*Setz dich hin!* ‘Sit down!’), German and Dutch make use of participles to encode imperative force. These are traditionally taken to be quite restricted.¹ However, while bare infinitives indeed are more productive than their participial counterparts (cf. Wunderlich 1984: 98), Heinold (2014: 332) suggests that there are no grammatical restrictions in German and Coussé & Oosterhof (2012: 51f.) show that the main restriction in Dutch is that participial imperatives be weakly conjugated. Indeed, German is quite flexible with respect to allowing not just unergative but also (di-)transitive predicates to give rise to imperative participles.

- (5) a. *Hergehört! Hiergeblieben!* b. *Opgehoepeld! Ingerukt! Afgemarcheerd!*
 up.listened here-stayed *up-jumped in-pulled off-marched*
 ‘Listen up! Stay here!’ ‘Get lost! Dismiss! March off!’
- (6) *Den Müll rausgetragen! Den Bleistift gespitzt! Ihm den Rücken zugekehrt!*
 the trash out-taken the pencil sharpened him the back to-turned
 ‘Take out the trash! Sharpen the pencil! Turn your back to him!’

These demand the overt licensing of an IA if present in the argument structure, whereas Dutch is more restrictive and does not permit participles that would have to realise an IA.² While the EA is implicit (pro; licensing BY-phrases), it is bound by an overt or covert referent that is introduced in Spec, C: German and Dutch introduce quantificational subjects, which occur in the default case ACC when licensed overtly (cf. Rapp & Wöllstein-Leisten 2009: 168). These may even be further specified by external vocatives which are not integrated into the clause (as marked by an intonational break, e.g. when adding *Peter* or *spaarzame Nederlanders* to (7)).

- (7) a. *Alle Teilnehmer aufgestanden/hingesetzt!* b. *Allemaal/Leerlingen opgelet!*
 all participants up-stood down-sat *everyone/apprentices out.watched*
 ‘All participants, stand up/sit down!’ ‘Everyone/apprentices pay attention!’

The fact that a quantificational subject binds the EA may be related to the proper licensing of the IAs as in (6): ACC is available since the participle’s EA is bound by the head of the

¹ Hoeksema (1992) calls them a lexical, idiomatic quirk and Aikhenvald (2010) restricts them to motion/posture verbs.

² Unaccusatives are ruled out in both languages: while Heinold (2012: 323) presents examples with *sterben* (‘die’) and *aufwachen* (‘wake up’), these are subject to coercion. Similar cases appear in periphrastic passives.

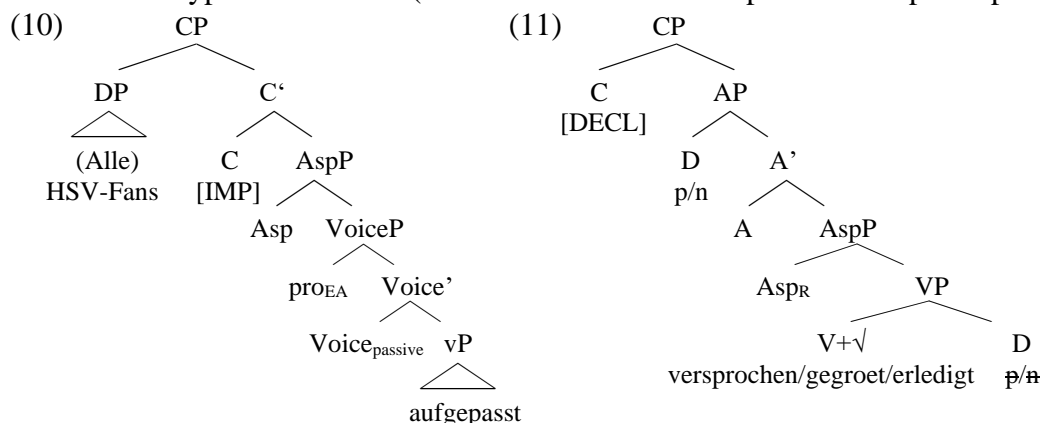
imperative structure (doing justice to Burzio’s 1986 generalisation; reminiscent of HAVE in identity approaches to passive and perfect participles, cf. Wegner 2019). Apart from argument structural considerations, their aspectual and modificational properties also support the claim that imperative root participles are based on verbal passives. They denote imperfective situations like their infinitival counterparts but unlike adjectival passive and verbal perfect participles. In fact, the events are tied to the moment of utterance, to “the immediate ‘here and now’” (Rooryck & Postma 2007: 285). Additionally, event-related modification is licit (e.g. with *vorsichtig* ‘careful’ or *langsam* ‘slowly’), whereas it is barred with adjectival participles.

Abgemacht und Hausaufgaben erledigt! (‘That is a deal and I have done my homework!’)
 – Participles in declarative root configurations, on the other hand, pattern with adjectival rather than verbal participles, e.g. in terms of denoting results. The cases in (2) commit the speaker to future actions by instantiating the result of a commissive event. (3b) as well as other Dutch cases like *Bedankt!* (‘Thanks!’) and *Gecondoleerd!* (‘Condolences!’), in turn, attribute the result of the expressive event to the addressee and representative cases like (4) just state that the result of a situation has been reached (either by the speaker in assertive cases like *Overruled!* or some other entity in verdictive cases like *Well played!*, which license the verdictive adverb external to the participial domain). The distinct types readily give rise to clausal counterparts in the form of stative passives, consider e.g. *Versprochen ist versprochen* (‘A promise is a promise.’), *Sei begrüßt* (‘Greetings!’), and *Die Hausaufgaben sind erledigt* (‘The homework is done.’). The lack of a grammatically represented EA may be taken to be at the core of the flexibility in terms of speaker-/hearer-orientation, unlike in imperative cases, in which the quantificational subject delimits the EA (pro) to a plurality of addressees. Additionally, the three types of declarative root participles differ with respect to the IA: while the implicit IA in commissive cases has to be propositional, it has to be a nominal referent for expressive cases. Representative participles permit both and even allow for an overt IA, unlike the other two sub-types. This seems to put into question that we are dealing with adjectival participles. However, possible subjects are restricted to bare nouns (lacking case) and not just participial cases like (8), but crucially also non-participial counterparts like (9) allow for these.

- (8) a. Einspruch abgewiesen! b. Mission accomplished! (9) a. Haus leer! b. Game over!
objection overruled *house empty*
 ‘Objection overruled!’

This suggests that the root configuration rather than the participle is responsible for licensing N. Additionally, what speaks out in favour of analysing such cases as adjectival is the lack of event-related modifiers (e.g. *aufrechtig* ‘sincerely’ in (2) and *vollständig* ‘completely’ in (4)).

Based on the distinct grammatical properties attested for imperative root participles of type (i), on the one hand, and declarative ones of types (ii) to (iv), on the other, the two variants may be syntactically contrasted along the lines of (10) and (11) pending more fine-grained contrasts between sub-types of the latter (assertive vs. verdictive representative participles).



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