

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

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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: *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 {*iSer/ iEstar} 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.