Polish resultative adjectives are passives of unaccusatives

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This paper offers a novel analysis of the cross-linguistically attested distinction between target state passives (TSPs), resultant state passives (RSPs) (see Parsons 1990, Kratzer 2000, Anagnostopoulou 2003, Alexiadou et al. 2015 as well as Bondaruk and Rozwadowska in press for Polish) and statives. At the same time it is a voice in favour of Tokarski's (1978: 194-196) claim that Polish resultative adjectives such as *posiwiały* 'that became grey-haired' or *zwiędły* 'withered' are in fact passive participles of unaccusative verbs (contra Grzegorczykowa (1979: 66) and Kallas (1998)).

Perhaps the most convincing argument in favour of the treatment of resultative adjectives as participles of unaccusatives is that, just like passive participles of transitive verbs, they show the distinction between TSPs and RSPs. RSPs have perfective semantics and are incompatible with the modifier *wciąż* 'still' and the verb *pozostać* 'remain' (see 1 vs. 2).

(1)

(a) **wciąż przy-by-ł-y   posłaniec*
     still   next-be-PTCP-NOM.SG.M   messenger-NOM.SG
     Intended: 'a messenger who is still arrived'

(b) **Posłaniec   po-zost-a-ł   przy-by-ł-y.*
     messenger-NOM.SG   after-remain-TH-PTCP.3.SG.M   next-be-PTCP-NOM.SG.M
     Intended: 'The messenger remained arrived.'

(2)

(a) *wciąż prze-marz-nię-t-e   dłoni-e*
     still   through-freeze-TH-PTCP-NOM.PL.NVIR   hand-NOM.PL
     'hands that are still frost-bitten'

(b) *Dłoni-e   po-zost-a-ł-y   prze-marz-nię-t-e.*
     hand-NOM.PL   after-remain-TH-PTCP.3.PL.NVIR   through-freeze-TH-PTCP-
                                                            NOM.PL.NVIR

     'Hands remained frost-bitten.'

It has been observed in Anagnostopoulou (2003), Alexiadou et al. (2015) and Bondaruk and Rozwadowska (to in press) that TSPs based on transitive verbs are incompatible with *by*-phrases that introduce external arguments of passive constructions as well as other agent-oriented modifiers. Passives that are the subject of this study are not expected to be compatible with *by*-phases and agent-oriented modifiers on the account of being based on unaccusative verbs. Nevertheless, the types of modifiers that TSPs based on unaccusatives allow are systematically restricted. As illustrated in (3c) passives of unaccusatives modified by *wciąż* 'still' cannot be modified by completion adverbials, although they are compatible with event-type modifiers not attested with root adjectives such as *gęsto* 'thickly' or *całkowicie* 'completely' (see 3d).

(3)

(a) *wciąż za-kwit-ł-e   wiśni-e*
     still   for-flower-PTCP-NOM.PL.NVIR cherry-NOM.PL
     'cherry trees that are still blossomed'

(b) *za-kwitł-e   w jedn-ą   noc   wiśni-e*

for-flower-PTCP-NOM.PL.NVIR   in one-ACC.SG night-ACC.SG cherry-NOM.PL

'cherry trees that became blossomed in the course of one night'

(c) *wciąż za-kwit-ł-e   w jedn-ą   noc   wiśni-e

still   for-flower-PTCP-NOM.PL.NVIR   in one-ACC.SG night-ACC.SG cherry-

NOM.PL

Intended: 'cherry trees that are still blossomed and became so in the course of one night'

(d) wciąż   gęst-o/całkowici-e   za-kwit-ł-e   wiśni-e

still   thick-ADV/complete-ADV for-flower-PTCP-NOM.PL.NVIR   cherry-NOM.PL

'cherry trees that are still thickly/completely blossomed'

In addition to the TSPs and RSPs Polish possesses a class of statives, which show morphological features of passives (verbal prefixes, *ł*-marker, thematic vowels) but do not accept any kind of event modification (be it event-type or event-token modification) and, unlike T/RSPs, allow for the formation of adverbials (see 4).

(4) Stative   Adverbial

wy-trw-a-ł-y 'persistent' - *wy-trw-a-l-e* 'persistantly'

wz-nios-ł-y 'lofty, nobel' - *wz-nioś-l-e* 'in a lofty way'

prze-bieg-ł-y 'cunning' - *prze-bieg-l-e* 'cunningly'

o-kaz-a-ł-y 'magnificent' - *o-kaz-a-l-e* 'magnificantly, amply'

I will argue that the best way to capture the differences between TSPs, RSPs and statives is to analyse them as structures which are increasingly lacking in semantic content.

The relevant representation of RSPs is composed of the root merging with the categorizing V-head which introduces the event variable into the structure. The VP merges with the Aspect Phrase whose head contains an open value in need of range-assignment (see Borer 2005). The merger of the PP headed by a prefix in the specifier of AspP results in the assignment of a range to the relevant open value. Thus, RSPs are eventive telic constructions compatible with completion adverbials (as in 3b).

The structure of TSPs will be taken to contain the root merged with the V-head that introduces the event variable. The Asp-head that merges with the VP is taken to be an empty shell with no open value. Thus the events denoted by TSPs are atelic uninstantiated event-types and only allow event-type modifiers that directly contribute to the description of the state such as *gęsto* 'thickly' or *całkowicie* 'completely' (see Gehrke 2015, McIntyre 2015).

In statives the root is merged with an empty V-shell which does not introduce the event variable. That the V-head is present in the structure as evidenced by the presence of thematic vowels, which have been assumed to realize the categorizing V-heads (see e.g. Szpyra 1989). Similarly, the presence of prefixes in the structure of statives shows that they possess the Asp-layer. As in TSPs, the Asp-head in statives does not introduce the open value.

The lack of the event variable in statives causes them to be incompatible with any type of event modification and allows them to give rise to adverbials. T/RSPs possess event variables and are, therefore, functional verbs. Since verbs cannot modify other verbs, adjectives or adverbials, T/RSPs do not give rise to adverbials.

Selected references: Alexiadou, A, E. Alagnistopoulou and Florian Schäfer. 2015. External arguments in causativity alternations: a layering approach. Oxford: Oxford University Press.; **Anagnostopoulou**, E. 2003. Participles and Voice. In *Perfect Explorations*, 1-36. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.; **Bondaruk**, A. and B. Rozwadowska (in press) Heterogenity of states in Polish stative passives. In *Canonical and non-canonical structures in Polish*, Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL.; **Kratzer**, A. 2000. Building statives. In *Proceedings of the twenty-sixth annual meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*, 385–399. Berkeley: University of California, Berkeley Linguistics Society.