

Resultative passives and event structure: evidence from Catalan

This paper aims at analysing resultative passives (RPass) by providing a unifying proposal to account for the different puzzling aspects related to these constructions (interpretations, restrictions, contrasts, etc.), and showing what the formal analysis of RPass and its crosslinguistic study can reveal about the event structure of predicates. We take Catalan as the language of analysis, but we also revise and compare data from Spanish, English and Greek.

According to Embick (2004), RPass express a state that is the result of a previous event. Kratzer (2000), following Parsons (1990), claims that RPass can be divided into two groups, depending on whether they express a resultant state (permanent) or a target state (non-permanent). According to Kratzer, when a RPass expresses a target state (target-s), it can be combined with the adverb ‘still’, because it is expressing a state that can be transitory, and this is what the adverbial ‘still’ requires; while if it expresses a resultant state (resultant-s), it rejects the combination with ‘still’. (1) presents Kratzer’s German examples translated into Catalan:

- (1) a. *Els regals (encara) estan amagats.*
the presents (still) are hidden
- b. *El teorema (*encara) està demostrat.*
the theorem (*still) is proven

This paper offers a new outlook on the formation of passives as lexicalisation patterns of the event structure presented in Ramchand (2008, 2018). According to Ramchand (2008), any verbal predicate can be internally decomposed into a maximum of three projections: Initiation (InitP), Process (ProcP) and Result (ResP). Following Ramchand (2018), our main proposal is that a passive construction is the result of lexicalising a subpart of the event structure of a predicate. This means that some projections of the event structure (and their arguments) are not lexicalised. Depending on the subpart of the predicate that is lexicalised, we obtain different types of passive constructions: eventive, resultative (target/resultant-s), stative (Embick 2004). In the particular case of RPass, our proposal is that there are actually two operations involved in their formation: first, reduction of event and argument structure of the predicate (by lexicalising just a part of the structure); second, stativisation of the resultant structure.

Starting with the reduction of the structure, we propose that a RPass can lexicalise the event structure up to ProcP or ResP. In a similar vein to Anagnostopoulou (2003, 2017), if a RPass lexicalises the event structure of a verb up to ProcP, the result is the creation of a resultant-s; if a RPass only lexicalises ResP, the result is the creation of a target-s. This accounts for the optionality of a result component in resultant states (2a), but the need of ResP in target states (2b). InitP is always excluded and so is the external argument (only possible as a *by*-phrase):

- (2) Resultative passives
 - a. **Resultant state:** ProcP > (ResP)
 - b. **Target state:** ResP

Among others, this analysis allows us to predict that (i) all eventive transitive verbs allow the creation of at least one type of RPass, the resultant-s RPass, since they all have ProcP (3), (ii) only resultative verbs (verbs that have ResP) also allow the creation of a target-s RPass (4), (iii) stative verbs do not allow the creation of a RPass (5), because they do not have Proc or Res (only Init), and (iv) only resultant-s RPass will allow eventive modifiers and *by*-phrases, since they have ProcP. In this respect, there are two restrictions regulating the combination of a RPass with a *by*-phrase: (a) as said, the passive must express a resultant-s, and (b) the *by*-phrase must express a direct causer, i.e. a causer permanently involved throughout the causing eventuality, from beginning to end (Fábregas 2014; García-Pardo 2016) (6). This is because indirect causers are introduced at InitP (missing in RPass), whereas direct causers are introduced at ProcP.

- (3) *El document està {signat / amagat}.*
the document is {signed / hidden}
- (4) *El document **encara** està {*signat / amagat}.*
the document still is {*signed / hidden}

- (5) **El pintor està conegut / adminat.*
 *the painter is known / admired
- (6) *La ciutat està destruïda { *pels romans / per l' avarícia dels ciutadans }.*
 the city is destroyed { *by+the Romans / by the avarive of+the citizens }

In light of the contrasts found with RPass, some modifications are proposed regarding the structural characterisation of Vendlerian aspectual classes described in Ramchand (2008). The main one concerns a distinction between telicity and resultativity: we defend that results are not culminations but consecutive states. A test to determine if a verb is resultative is precisely the possibility of creating the target-s passive. Kratzer (2000) shows that target-s are created from a result component present in the verb. In a neoconstructionist framework such as the Ramchadian one, this result component would be represented as the ResP (as in Anagnostopoulou 2017). On the contrary, resultant-s can be created from verbs that are resultative or not, since, in Kratzer's proposal, they are not created from a result component, but with an aspectual operator that "maps properties of eventualities into properties of times" (Kratzer 2000: 12). If we follow Kratzer's reasoning, the possibility of creating a target-s passive constitutes a test to determine if a specific predicate is resultative or not.

According to Ramchand (2008), achievements always lexicalise ResP, what means achievements are always resultative; on the other hand, accomplishments do not lexicalise ResP, i.e., they are not resultative; instead, they have a Path complement that measures the event and, if this Path is bounded, the event will be telic. However, if we use the target-s test, it shows that some achievements do not allow the creation of the target state (7a), what would suggest they do not lexicalise ResP, and some accomplishments do allow the creation of the target state, what means they lexicalise a ResP (7b).

- (7) a. **La clau encara està trobada* (achievement, but incompatible with target state)
 *the key still is found
- b. *Els regals encara estan amagats* (accomplishment, but compatible with target state)
 the presents still are hidden

On the other hand, apart from the reduction of event and argument structure, we propose that a stativisation operation also takes places in the formation of RPass. If a RPass is the result of lexicalising ProcP (and/or ResP, if present), this structure would still be expressing an (unaccusative) event, but we know RPass express states. Thus, we propose that the stativisation of the event takes place with the projection of a preposition (P). There is strong evidence suggesting the presence of a P in the structure of participles in Spanish (Hernanz 1994; Fábregas 2008; Gallego 2010; Brucart 2012), which we assume for Catalan, but only for the case of RPass. This P, we argue, is a P of central coincidence (Hale 1984), and it makes the event become a state. Actually, since the participle in RPass is adjectival, this also connects with the idea that adjectives in Catalan are internally PPs (Mateu 2002). Besides, this P can also explain why RPass combine with *estar* (and not with *ser*, contrary to eventive passives): 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 RPass have a P and then are internally PPs, this could explain why they combine with *estar* and not with *ser*, and why stative passives cannot take *estar* (5) as they lack the P.

Selected references: Anagnostopoulou, E. (2017). Voice, manners, and results in adjectival passives. *The Verbal Domain*, edited by R. D'Alessandro et al. Oxford University Press, 105–128. Embick, D. (2004). On the Structure of Resultative Participles in English. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 35:3, 355–92. Gallego, Á. (2010). On the prepositional nature on non-finite verbs. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics* 9, 79–102. García-Pardo, A. (2016). "Agents and causers are (in-)direct causers." Poster at West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics 34. Kratzer, A. (2000). Building statives. In *Proceedings of the 26th Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*, vol. 26,1, 385–399. Ramchand, G. (2018). *Situations and syntactic structures: Rethinking auxiliaries and order in English*. Cambridge: MIT Press.