

Unexpected adjectival passives

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The Problem

- Activity verbs are assumed not to be possible in adjectival passives (APs) because they lack a stative component (Rapp 1996).
 - However, we have identified a group of Spanish verbs (1) which, despite being activities, are able to form APs (2):
- (1) *perseguir* 'follow, chase, run after', *buscar* 'look for, search', *acosar* 'harass, pursue relentlessly', *acompañar* 'accompany', *escortar* 'escort'
- (2) *Pedro está perseguido/acosado por la policía.*
'Pedro is (being) chased/harassed by the police.'
- Crucially, these APs do not have a result/perfect meaning (as in canonical APs obtained from telic verbs; cf. *El coche está reparado* 'The car is repaired'), but a progressive one (cf. (2)).

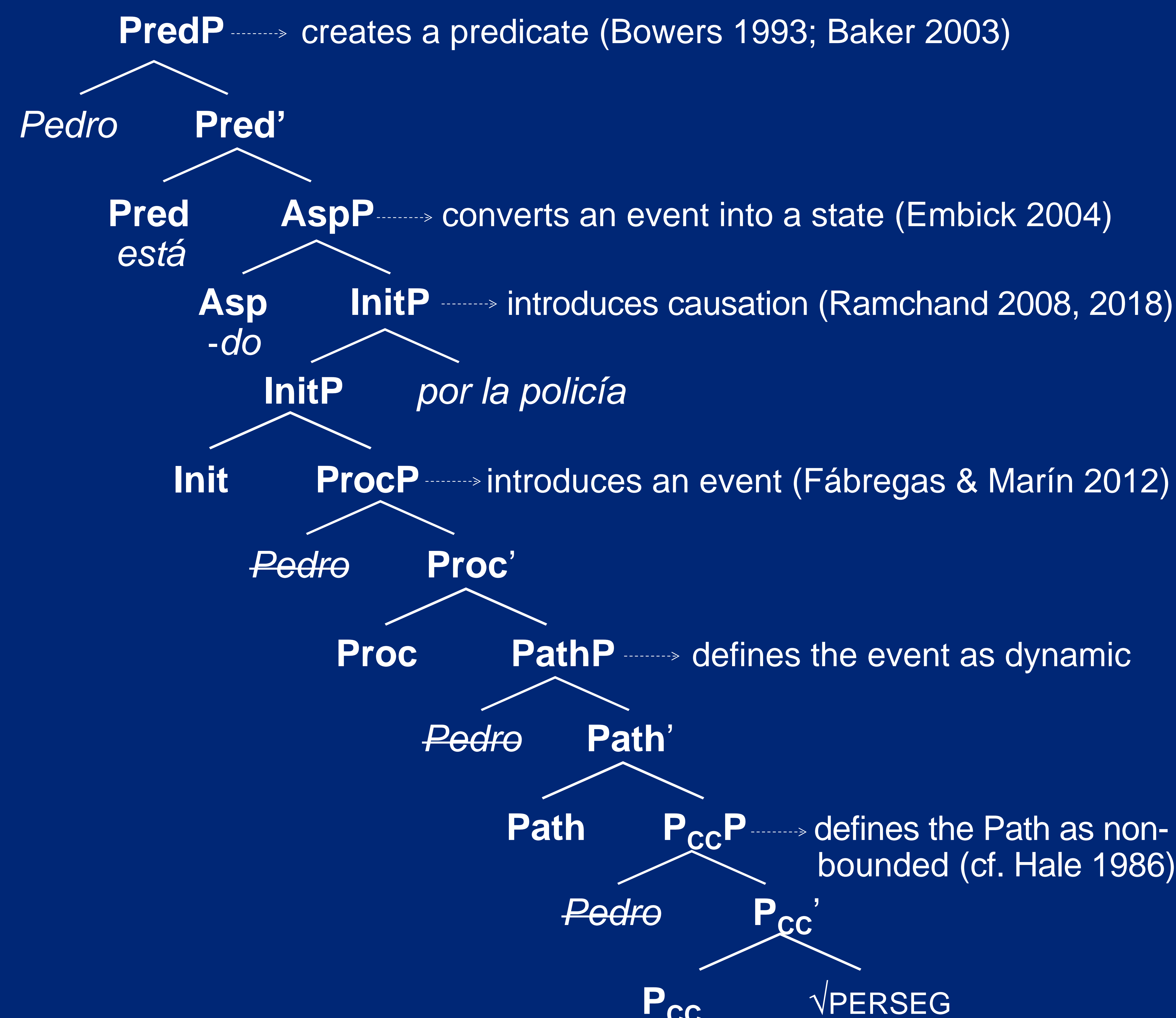
Progressive APs

- Several authors (Fábregas & Marín 2012, 2017; Bosque 2014; García-Pardo 2020) have pointed out that other verbs, those of the type of *vigilar* 'guard' (3), give also rise to a progressive reading in APs (4):
- (3) *vigilar* 'guard', *gobernar* 'rule', *controlar* 'control', *dirigir* 'manage', *proteger* 'protect'
- (4) *El edificio está vigilado por la policía.*
'The building is (being) guarded by the police.'
- As shown in the Table below, *vigilar*-verbs have a mixed behaviour, between states –which enables them to be part of APs– and activities –which explains their progressive reading in APs.
 - By contrast, *perseguir*-verbs at first glance seem to lack any stative component. How can they be part of APs, then?

	<i>Vigilar</i> -verbs	<i>Perseguir</i> -verbs
Progressive	✓	✓
Perception verbs	✓	✓
Manner adverbs	✓	✓
<i>Parar</i> 'stop'	X	✓
Velocity adverbs	X	✓
Habitual reading	X	✓

Analysis

- (5) *Pedro está perseguido por la policía.*
'Pedro is (being) chased by the police'.



On the nature of the underlying activity:

- Perseguir*-verbs encode a volitional (Init) dynamic motion event (Proc + Path) that is steadily maintained in a central coincidence relation (P_{CC}).
- Such a P_{CC} (which is crucially different from Place; cf. Real Puigdollers 2013: §2.2.1) provides the stative layer needed in the AP.
- The AP obtained involves a progressive reading because the P_{CC} at the complement of Path blocks a resultative or 'job done' (Kratzer 2000) reading to emerge.

Further evidence

- Perseguir*-verbs admit modifiers that focus on the route followed in the course of the motion event (6a) or on its extent (6b) (evidence for Path).
- (6) a. *Buscó al ladrón por toda la ciudad.*
'(S/he) looked for the thief throughout the city'.
b. *Persiguió el coche hasta la frontera.*
'(S/he) chased the car up to the border'.
- They cannot be telicized or coerced into a telic reading by contextually delimiting the extent of the event (7b), in contrast to canonical activities (7a) (evidence for a P_{CC} at the complement of Path).
- (7) a. *Empujó el carro hasta la esquina (en 5 minutos).*
'(S/he) pushed the car up to the corner (in 5 minutes)'.
b. *Persiguió el coche hasta la frontera (*en 5 min).*
'(S/he) chased the car up to the border (*in 5 minutes)'.

Conclusions

- Despite denoting activities, *perseguir*-verbs are found in APs, apparently contra Rapp (1996).
- Perseguir*-verbs constitute a special type of activity:
 - Like canonical activities, they are eventive, dynamic and atelic.
 - Unlike canonical activities, the dynamic event is maintained and cannot be telicized.
- The APs obtained from *perseguir*-verbs, like the ones obtained from *vigilar*-verbs, involve a progressive value: the event is maintained through the state defined by the AP.
- Based on insights in Fábregas & Marín (2012, 2017), we derive the progressive/maintenance value from a stative P_{CC} layer, preserving Rapp's generalization.

Selected references

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