

PART III: The Passive and its Participle in English

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The Empirical Ground

(1) **The -ed Participle**

(a) I have rejected that idea.

Perfect participle

(b) The offer was rejected.

Passive participle

(c) The rejected offer.

Attributive -ed participle

(2) **Auxiliary and Main Verb Be**

(a) John *was* in the garden.

PP-predication be

(b) The computer *was* broken.

AP predication be

(c) The metal *was* hammered flat.

Passive be

(d) The thief *was* running.

Progressive be

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- Derive the ordering of forms without item-specific templatic specifications.

- (3)
- (a) The cat was chased by the dog.
 - (b) The dog has chased the cat.
 - (c) The cat has been chased by the dog.
 - (d) The recently chased cat....

Event Implications

- (4) (a) The door was built open.
(b) *The door was built opened.

According to Embick and much subsequent work, the problem with (4-b) is that the state of being 'opened' simply cannot be true in the world unless there has been a prior event of 'opening', i.e. it is not something that can be one of the door's properties before anything has happened to it. When there is no corresponding underived adjective to 'block' the use of the participle, it does appear that a participle in *-en/ed* can be used to give the non-event implicating reading.

- (5) The door was built closed.

Event Implications

But the diagnostics for 'actual event implications' are actually not so clear.

- (6) (a) The recently opened door.
- (b) The recently open door .

What do we even mean by 'event implications' ?

Conceptual event relatedness is not enough/not the same thing.

Is There a Stative ED Participle in English with Event Implications?

The Embickian 'resultative' participle in English because is it quite systematically degraded across the board in predicative position. (7-d) shows that the universal reading of the perfect is of course felicitous with the non-event implicating version of *closed*.

- (7)
- (a) ?The door is recently/carelessly closed.
 - (b) ?The door turned out to be recently/carelessly closed.
 - (c) ?The door has been carelessly closed since Monday night.
 - (d) The door has been closed since Monday night.

It has been acknowledged in the literature that these examples are degraded in many cases, but the excuse given is that the degradedness of the resultative participle arises only because of the necessity of coercing activity verbs into having a salient result state in context— a kind of ‘job done’ reading. This indeed seems to be the case for German, as reported by Kratzer.

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Target State Participles in Kratzer 2000

Kratzer distinguishes between ‘resultant state’ participles and ‘target state’ participles, but as Embick (2004) points out, the phrasal target state reading that she analyses and gives a denotation for *has event implications of necessity*, since it requires existentially binding the davidsonian event variable corresponding to the verb.

- (8) (a) *cool*: $\lambda x \lambda s [\text{cool}(x)(s)]$
 (b) *cooled*: $\lambda x \lambda s \exists e [\text{cool}(x)(s) \wedge s = f_{\text{target}}(e)]$

Resultant State Participles in Kratzer 2000

The resultant state passives in Kratzer (2000), on the other hand, are the ones where there is no readily available state in the denotation of the verb's meaning. Instead, the state that the participle denotes is the state that Parsons (1990) calls the 'resultant state'. The definition from Parsons is given in (9)

(9) **Resultant states**

"For every event e that culminates, there is a corresponding state that holds forever after. This is "the state of e 's having culminated," which I call the " Resultant state of e ," or " e 's Rstate." If Mary eats lunch, then there is a state that holds forever after: The state of Mary's having eaten lunch "

Both Target State and Resultant State Require Event Actualization for Kratzer

Kratzer (2000) 's semantics for the resultant state does not produce a property of events, but rather a property of times directly. However, it is important to note that her semantics for both the target state and the resultant state require actualization and have real event implications, since for her events are instantiated particulars. So with respect to event implications, target state passives and resultant state passives are on a par. The only difference is the way in which that state is constructed.

The diagnostic for the target state is felicity with the adverb *immer noch* 'still'.

- (10) Der Briefkasten ist (*immer noch) geleert.
The mail box is (*still) emptied.
? 'The mailbox is emptied.'

Resultant State (Kratzer)

- (11) *Kratzer's 2000 Semantics for Resultant State Participles*
 Stem+object: $\lambda e[\text{prove}(\text{the theorem})(e)]$
 Stativizer: $\lambda P \lambda t \exists e [P(e) \wedge \tau(e) < t]$
 Output: $\lambda t \exists e [\text{prove}(\text{the theorem})(e) \wedge \tau(e) < t]$

Kratzer's semantics for the resultant state participle is actually too weak. It is good for the resultant state perfect in English however.

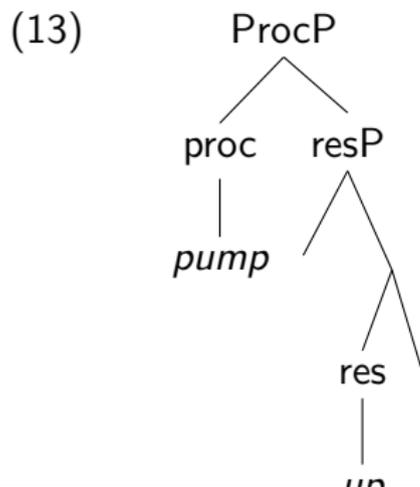
Target State (Kratzer)

If we consider the denotation Kratzer assumes for the target state verb *aufpumpen* 'pump up', we see that it contains the representation of a caused final state.

- (12) *das Boot aufpump-* - 'pump up the boat'
 $\lambda s \lambda e [\text{pump}(e) \wedge \text{event}(e) \wedge \text{inflated}(\text{the-boat})(s) \wedge \text{cause}(s)(e)]$

Target States under a Ramchandian (2008) asf Decomposition

I will represent the existence of a caused internal state as an embedded resP under proc, following the general theory of decompositions proposed in Ramchand (2008). Thus the tree structure licensed by a verb that gives rise to a target state participle, looks like (13).



The Target State cont.

According to Kratzer's semantics, the output of the stativizer *-en/ed* is a predicate of states, exactly the one that is inside the verb's complex event semantics. The external event variable (the 'process' variable in my terms), is existentially bound.

- (14) Stativizer: $\lambda R \lambda s \exists e R(s)(e)$
 Output: $\lambda s \exists e [\text{pump}(e) \wedge \text{event}(e) \wedge \text{inflated}(\text{the-boat})(s) \wedge \text{cause}(s)(e)]$

So the participle morphology in her system does not do very much work except to existentially bind the 'davidsonian' event, and also to licence the absence of verbal inflection.

Event Relatedness without Event Implications

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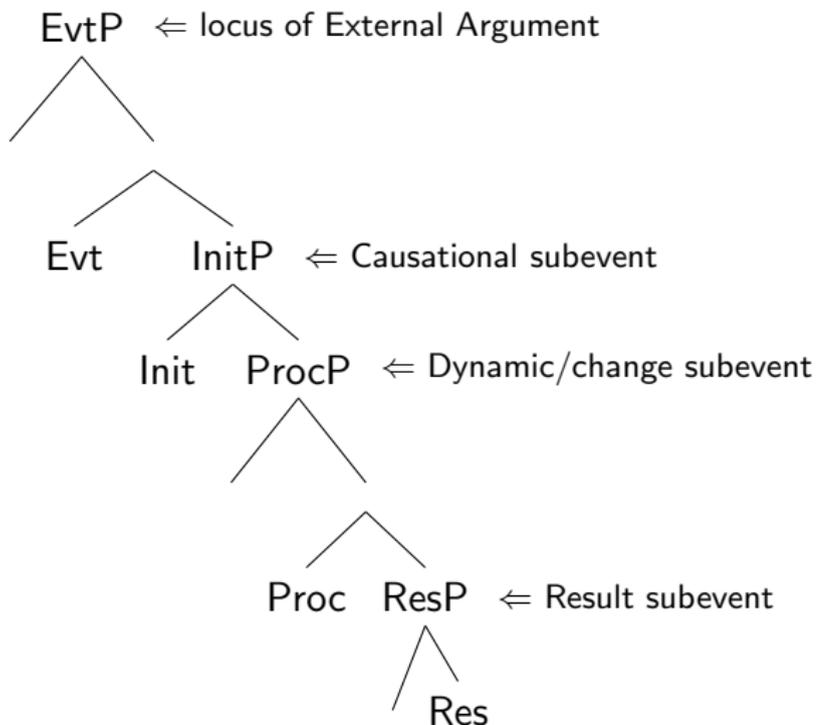
I implement my version by associating the participial form with a *subportion* of the phrase structure decomposition determined by the verb.

When it does so, the element of D_{μ} so formed has a reduced conceptual contribution.

Event implications are avoided because we are manipulating members of D_{μ} .

Conceptual event relatedness is still achieved however, and we capture the fact that there is a relationship between the full meaning of the verb and the possibility of a true target state.

Event Decomposition in the First Phase (Symbolic Domain)



Example: The case of 'Destroy'

- (15) The verb `destroy` has the denotation:

$$[[\text{destroy}]] = \langle \text{destroy}, \langle \mathbf{init}, \mathbf{proc} \rangle, \lambda e[\text{destroy}(e)] \rangle$$

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- (16)
$$[[\text{destroy}]] = \langle \text{destroy}, \langle \mathbf{init}, \mathbf{proc}, \mathbf{res} \rangle , \lambda e \lambda e_{init} \lambda e_{proc} \lambda e_{res} [e = e_{init} \rightarrow [e_{proc} \rightarrow e_{res} \wedge \text{destroy}(e_{init}) \wedge \text{destroy}(e_{proc}) \wedge \text{destroy}(e_{res})]] \rangle$$

The Target State of 'Destroy'

The Target participle in *en/ed* is the spell out of a *subpart* of the structure listed in the verbal specification.

Instead of existential binding of event variables, we simply drop the non-expressed elements of the syn-sem representation. Thus, in the case of *destroy* above, the formation of a target state participle such as *destroyed*, would give rise to a derived element of D_{μ} which looks as in (17) and which denotes therefore just a simple state.

$$(17) \quad [[\text{destroyed}]] = \langle \text{destroyed}, \langle \mathbf{res} \rangle, \lambda e[\text{destroy}_{res}(e)] \rangle$$

Classification of Verb Types

- (18)
- (a) **Unaccusative**: $\langle \text{Evt}_i, \text{proc}_i, \text{res}_i \rangle$
 - (b) **Unergative**: $\langle \text{Evt}_i, \text{init}, \text{proc} \rangle$
 - (c) **Transitive**: $\langle \text{Evt}, \text{init}, \text{proc} \rangle$
 - (d) **Transitive(result)**: $\langle \text{Evt}, \text{init}, \text{proc}_i, \text{res} \rangle$

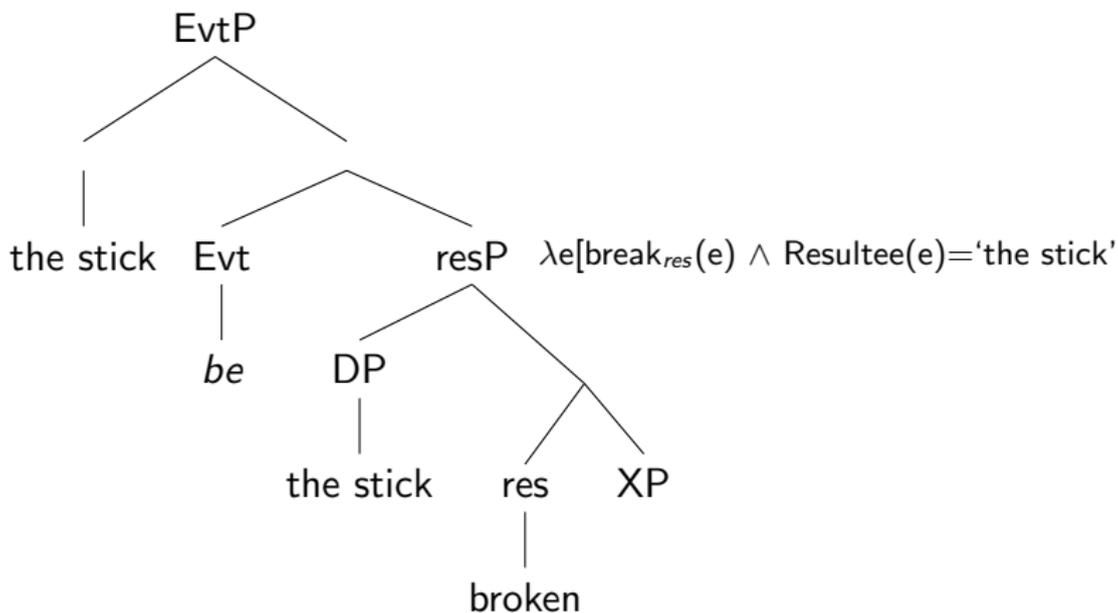
The Tensed Forms

- (19) (a) **Unaccusative** (Tensed) : $\langle \text{Asp}, \text{Evt}_i, \text{proc}_i, \text{res}_i \rangle$
(b) **Unergative** (Tensed) : $\langle \text{Asp}, \text{Evt}_i, \text{init}, \text{proc} \rangle$
(c) **Transitive** (Tensed): $\langle \text{Asp}, \text{Evt}, \text{init}, \text{proc} \rangle$

The Participle Forms

- (20) (a) **Unaccusative** (*en/ed* participle) : $\langle ((Evt_i,) \text{ proc}_i,) \text{ res}_i \rangle$
- (b) **Unergative** (*en/ed* participle) : $\langle ((Evt_i), \text{ init},) \text{ proc} \rangle$
- (c) **Transitive** (*en/ed* participle): $\langle ((Evt,) \text{ init},) \text{ proc} \rangle$

Building a Stative Participle



Recouping the Target vs. Resultant State Distinction

- (21) **Participles in En/Ed** :
- (a) Stative Participles: Express ResP in a phrase structure.
 - (i) 'Target' State (Verb has res in its lexical specification)
 - (ii) 'Resultant State' (Verb has no res, ResP is coerced and added constructionally)

Neither of these two versions of the target state stative has genuine situational entailments in terms of actual event particulars, but contextual coercion gives rise to situational implications in the case of activity verbs.

Event 'Implications'

- (22)
- **Event Actuality Implications:** An event of the type named by the verb *must have actually occurred* for the state ascription to be true.
 - **Conceptual Event Implications:** An event of the type named by the verb *is the type that has such a state type as its result*.

Central Properties of the Eventive Passive

- A Existential binding of the external argument
- B Preservation of verbal aktionsart.
- C Participle modifies only the internal argument.
- D The Passive VP lies within the lowest Event Domain of the clause
- E Passive does not occur with unaccusatives (Germanic), or with intransitives more generally in English

Building the Eventive Passive

I propose that the analysis of the eventive passive that fulfils these requirements is one that involves the expression of a slightly larger subtree than the one expressed in the stative participle by the *en/ed* form.

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The existence of the *init* (causing) projection guarantees the existence of some sort of 'agent' for the passive event, but because the verb does not actually project the Evt head that will allow the external merge of a DP fulfilling that role, the external argument gets bound by default existential closure.

Building the Eventive Passive

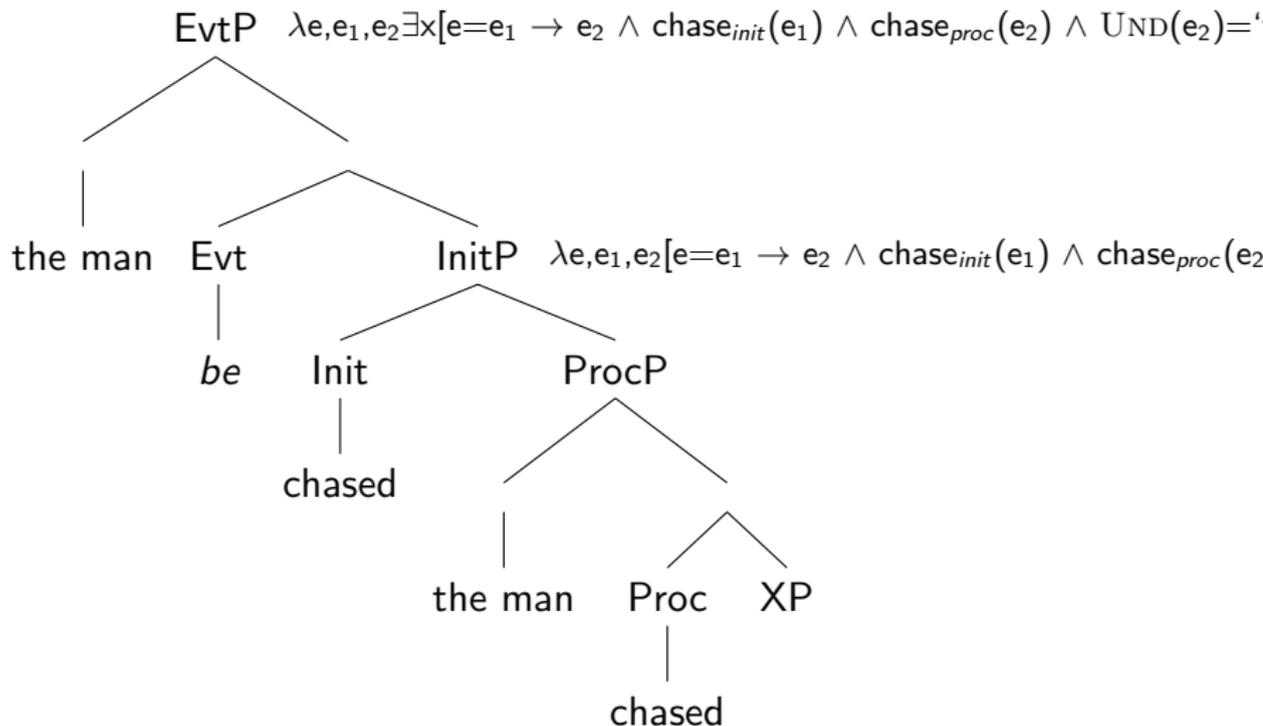
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Instead, an independent *Evt* head hosting *be* must be merged whose specifier is filled by internal merge from the direct object position.

Building the Eventive Passive



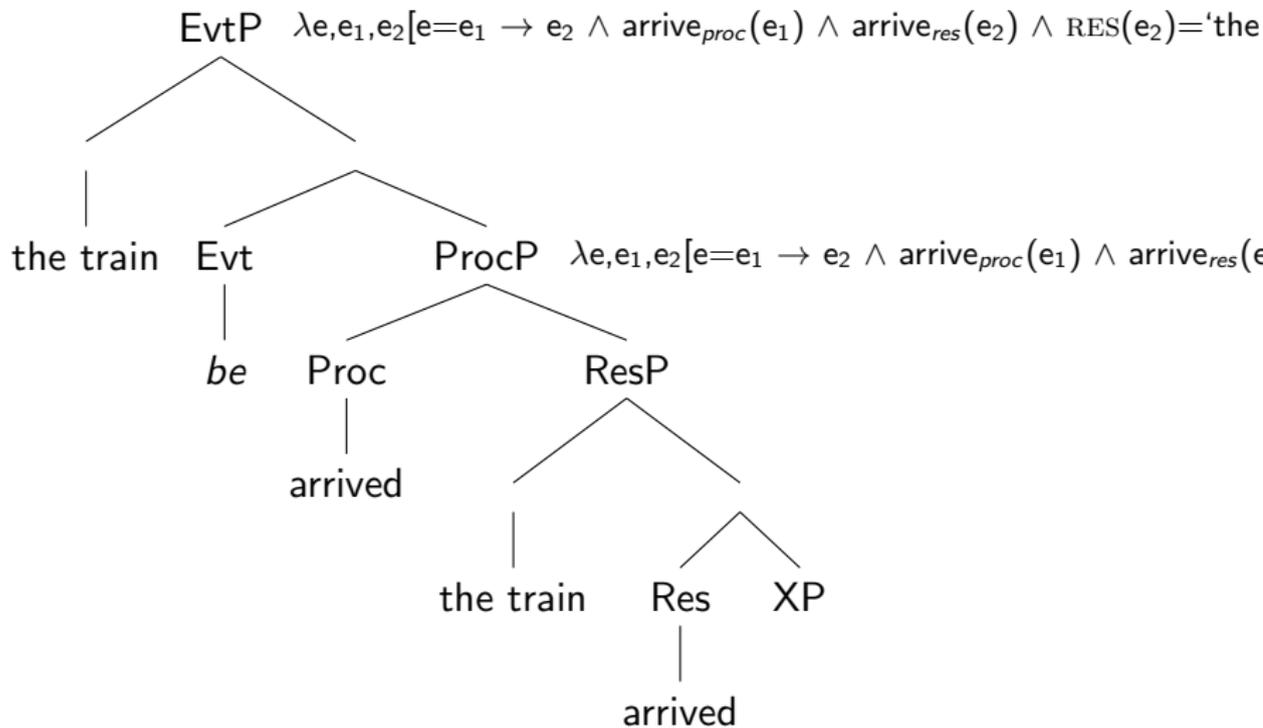
Why No Passive of Unergatives?

Nothing in principle should prevent *danced* from spelling out InitP here too as proposed above. However, this will leave no argument at all to raise to subject position. English sentences require an overt subject, as is well known (23-a). However, expletive insertion also fails in these cases (23-b).

- (23) (a) * Was danced.
 (b) *It was danced./*There was danced.

This needs to be English-specific, since as we have seen, it does not hold in Norwegian. I will make the assumption that in addition to the overt subject requirement, English has an 'EPP requirement' (in the descriptive sense) at the level of the first phase. For us, this means essentially that there must be an overt DP in the specifier of EvtP. In other words, EvtP requires an overt Topic argument in English.

Eventive Passive for Unaccusative (Tree)



Why Doesn't This Work?

This should in principle be fine given what we have said so far, and there would be an argument available to Spec, EvtP. There would simply be no extra external argument which would undergo existential binding. Why then is the passive construction so formed no good (24-a) , although the corresponding stative passive is marginally acceptable (24-b) ?

- (24) (a) *The train was arrived.
 (b) ?The train is newly arrived at the station.

The structure above is perfectly legitimate as the input to adjectivalization. There, the effect of participialization is not vacuous presumably because it suspends the continuation of the verb to tense inflection and anchoring, and makes adjectivalization possible.

- (25) The recently arrived train....

Causatives Feed Passivization

- (26) (a) The chocolate was melted over the fire.
(b) The melted chocolate dripped over the car seat.

But can (26-b) also have an unaccusative source? The eventive passive in (26-a) certainly seems to force the existence of an (existentially quantified) agent, but what about the attributive modification in (26-b)? My intuition here and the judgements of other English speakers I have consulted indicate that the attributive participle can indeed have an unaccusative/inchoative interpretation.

Corroborating Evidence from Swedish

Lundquist (2008)

In (27) we see a passive formed from the transitive version of 'sink', and in (28), we see the ungrammatical passive based on the unaccusative. Finally, we see that the unaccusative passive participle is perfectly good in attributive position, and has an eventive interpretation.

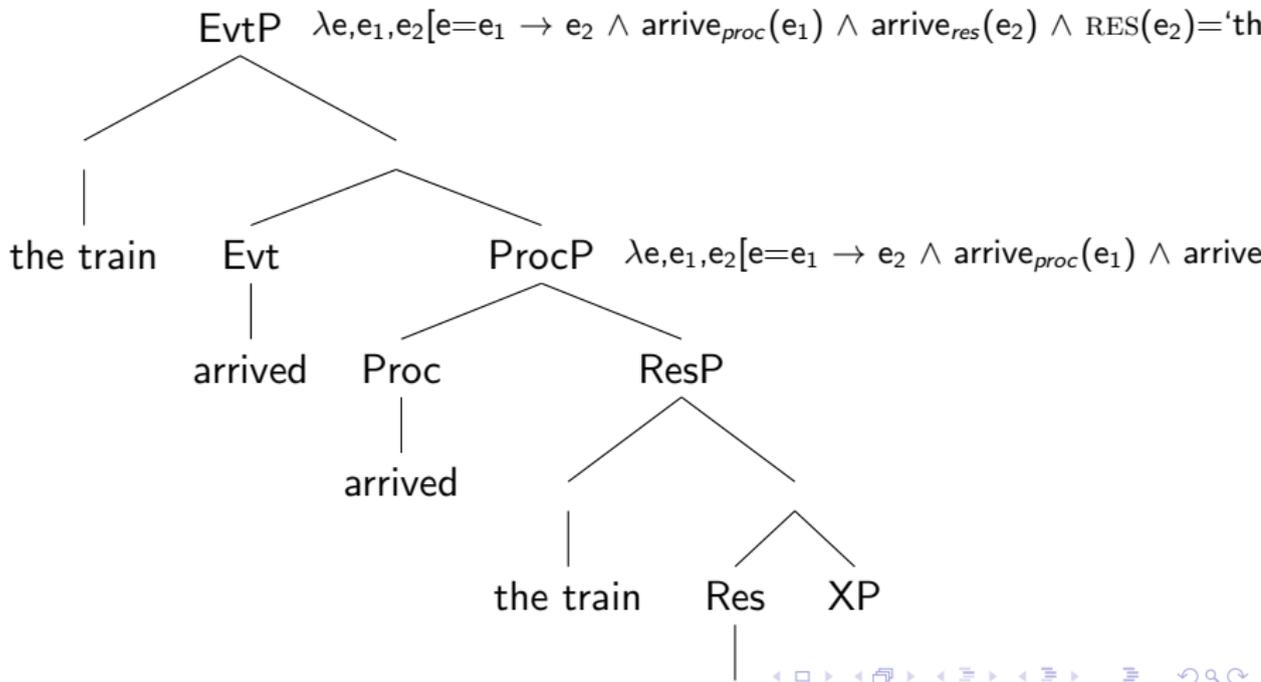
- (27) Skeppen blev sänkta
 Ship.DEF was sunk_{tr}-PPL.
 'The ship was sunk'
- (28) *Skeppen blev sjunkna
 Ship.DEF was sunk_{intr}-PPL
 'The ship was sunk.'
- (29) Den (*fortfarande) sjunkna ubåten
 The (still) sink-PPL submarine.DEF
 'The sunken submarine.'

No Problem With the Eventive Unaccusative Participle *per se*

This means that there is nothing in principle wrong with a reduction from $\langle \text{Evt}, \text{proc}, \text{res} \rangle$ to $\langle \text{proc}, \text{res} \rangle$. In other words, there is no *requirement* that there be an external argument there to be existentially bound off for well formedness—i.e. the passive is not somehow contributing an existential quantifier that will give rise to illformedness if its binding effects are vacuous. The existential binding of the external argument we find in eventive passives must rather be some sort of default rule that kicks in when appropriate.

Comparison with the Simple Unaccusative

A more interesting possibility for the unavailability of the eventive passive for an unaccusative verb emerges however if we consider what the simple tensed unaccusative tree would look like.



Blocking

This is identical to the tree proposed for the participial structure both in terms of phrase structure and semantic interpretation. The only difference is that in the simple unaccusative, the structure is spelled out with one lexical item, whereas in the unaccusative eventive passive it is spelled out by the unaccusative participle plus *be*.

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Lundquist (2008) also gives a phrasal blocking account for the identical phenomenon in Swedish, and adds to it the evidence from Hindi, taken from Bhatt (2008) which I discuss next.

Passive in Hindi

In Hindi, there is a productive construction by which a simple underived adjective combines with the light verbs *ho*-‘become’ or *kar*-‘do’ to give intransitive or transitive dynamic predications respectively. The forms with the adjective *gillaa*-‘wet’ , are shown below.

- (30) kapṛe giile ho gaye
 clothes.M wet.MPL become go.PERFECTIVE.MPL
 ‘The clothes became wet.’
- (31) Atif-ne kapṛe giile kiye
 Atif-ERG clothes.M wet.MPL do.PERFECTIVE.MPL
 ‘Atif wet the clothes.’

Passive in Hindi cont.

Interestingly, there is another class of adjectives, which are participial forms derived from verbs. These have the same *-aa* ending as the underived adjectives and decline for agreement in the same way as the other adjectives, *but they are systematically ungrammatical in the very same constructional frames!*

- (32) *kapṛe suukhe ho gaye
 clothes.M dry.MPL become go.PERFECTIVE.MPL
 'The clothes became dry.'
- (33) *Atif-ne kapṛe suukhe kiye
 Atif-ERG clothes.M dry.MPL do.PERFECTIVE.MPL
 'Atif dried the clothes.'

Passive in Hindi cont.

Bhatt (2008) notes the following generalization: forms with 'become' are blocked precisely when there is a simple unaccusative verb, and forms with 'do' are blocked exactly in the case where there is a simple transitive verb.

- (34) kapṛe sukḥ gaye
 clothes.M dry_{intrans} go.PERFECTIVE.MPL
 'The clothes dried.'
- (35) Atif-ne kapṛe sukḥaa-ye
 Atif-ERG clothes.M dry_{trans}-PERFECTIVE.MPL
 'Atif dried the clothes.'

Blocking in Passive

I therefore take the phenomenon of phrasal blocking to be well attested: lexicalization via deverbal morphology plus helping verb is systematically blocked by the existence of underived lexicalization via the simple verb.

Blocking in Passive

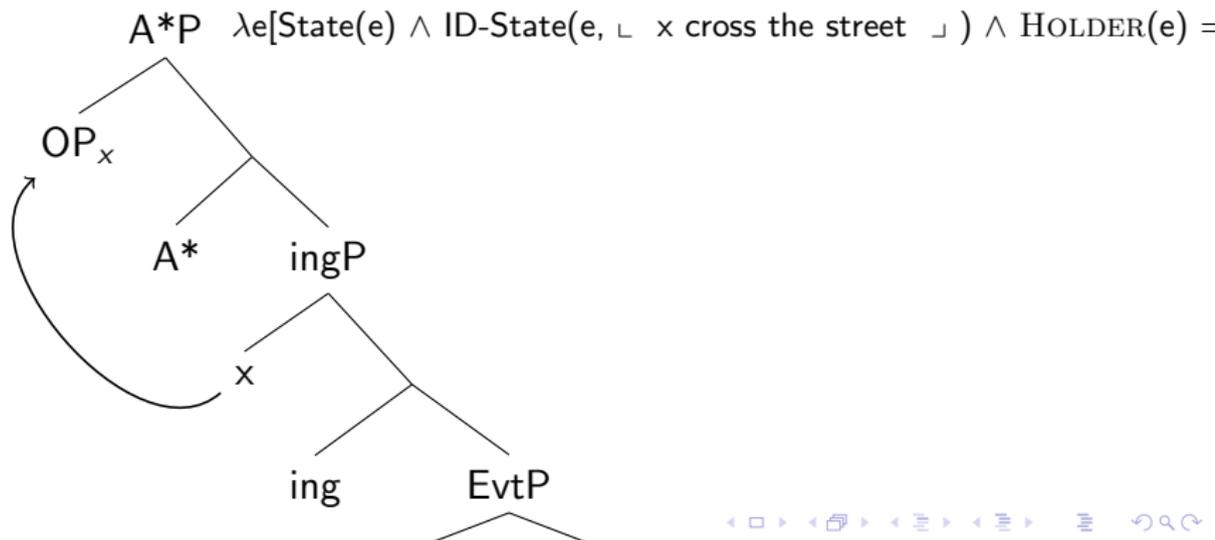
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Phrasal Blocking in Auxiliary Constructions

For any two identical phrase structure representations, lexicalization via a deverbal form plus an auxiliary verb is systematically blocked by the possibility of lexicalization by the corresponding simple (underived) verbal form.

Adjectivalization in -ING

We saw in the chapter on the progressive that the *ingP* formed up by the attachment of *-ing* in the Event domain fed adjectivalization. The assumption there was that there was a null adjectivalization head, which I called A^* , which induced lambda abstraction over the highest argument in the *ingP* giving a property of individuals.



Adjectivalization in -ED

Now, we know that the *-en/ed*-participle which only ever modifies the argument that would have been an *internal* argument of the related verbal event. Importantly, this is true regardless of whether the argument in question will end up in subject position of the corresponding simple verb or not (36).

- (36) (a) John photographed a bear. → The much-photographed bear ...
 (b) John loved a pop band → The much loved pop band ...
 (c) John danced a jig. → *The much danced man ...
 (d) The leaves fell to the ground. → The fallen leaves ...

Adjectivalization in -ED

We can now invoke the very same A* head in the case of the *-en/ed*-participle as well and create an abstraction over the highest argument. This gives exactly the right results for both the stative and eventive passive participles with attachment to *resP* and *initP/procP* respectively.

Note that the prohibition against ‘subject’ modification by bare *en/ed*-participles carries over to the attributive use, as seen in (37).

- (37) (a) John is photographing a bear. → The man photographing a bear was tall.
 (b) John photographed a bear. * → *The man photographed a bear was tall.

The A* Head Requires a Stative Input

This fact was noted already in Bresnan (1982), stated as the fact that the 'passive participle' can be input to the adjectivalization rule, while the perfect participle cannot. In our case, we might ask ourselves why a hypothetical EvtP participle could not be input to adjectivalization in this way, on the same model as the participle in *-ing*.

Adjectivalization via A* in the first phase is restricted to *stative* projections with one designated 'subject of predication' position .

It can be fed by *-ingP* formation, which is a derived state constructed over the highest position (the other event description and its participant roles are rendered opaque by the derivation of higher secondary Event-state), but only by *-en/edP* formation if it is based on resP. In that case too, we have a state and there is a unique argument in the specifier position.

The Morphosyntax of the Perfect

- (38) **Differences Between Perfect and Passive Participles:**
- Perfect participles never feed adjectivalization
 - Perfect participles never reduce argument structure
 - Perfect participles are always possible— never ‘blocked’

The Morphosyntax of the Perfect

Another thing we should reiterate is that by the tests of height and zone given in chapter 2, the perfect participle and the passive participle are not in the same position. Specifically, the perfect participle comes *before* the expression of the low subject in expletive constructions (39-a) vs. (39-b); the passive participle must come *after* the expression of the low subject (39-c) vs. (39-d).

- (39)
- (a) There might have arrived many trains at this station.
 - (b) *There might have many trains arrived at this station.
 - (c) There might be many people arrested at the demonstration.
 - (d) *There might be arrested many people at the demonstration.

The Morphosyntax of the Perfect

When it comes to VP fronting, we can once again compare the passive and the perfect directly, even when used separately. The perfect participle does not seem to front very easily (40-a), but the passive one is fine (40-b).

- (40) (a) ??If Mary says that the children will have eaten already, then [eaten], they will have.
(b) If Mary says that the cakes will be eaten, then [eaten] they will be.

The Morphosyntax of the Perfect

Finally, while British *do*-substitution is crashingly bad for the passive participle (41-a), but marginally ok for the perfect (41-b) .

- (41) (a) *Mary was arrested and John was done as well.
(b) Mary has written to her local councillor and John has done as well.

The Morphosyntax of the Perfect

To my ear, the VP fronting of the perfect is not completely out, and British *do*-substitution is not completely perfect. The choice of position with respect to the subject in expletive constructions however is a very clear judgement.

It is also true that the *en/ed* participle of a main verb can be embedded under the *en/ed* participle corresponding to *be*, as in (42).

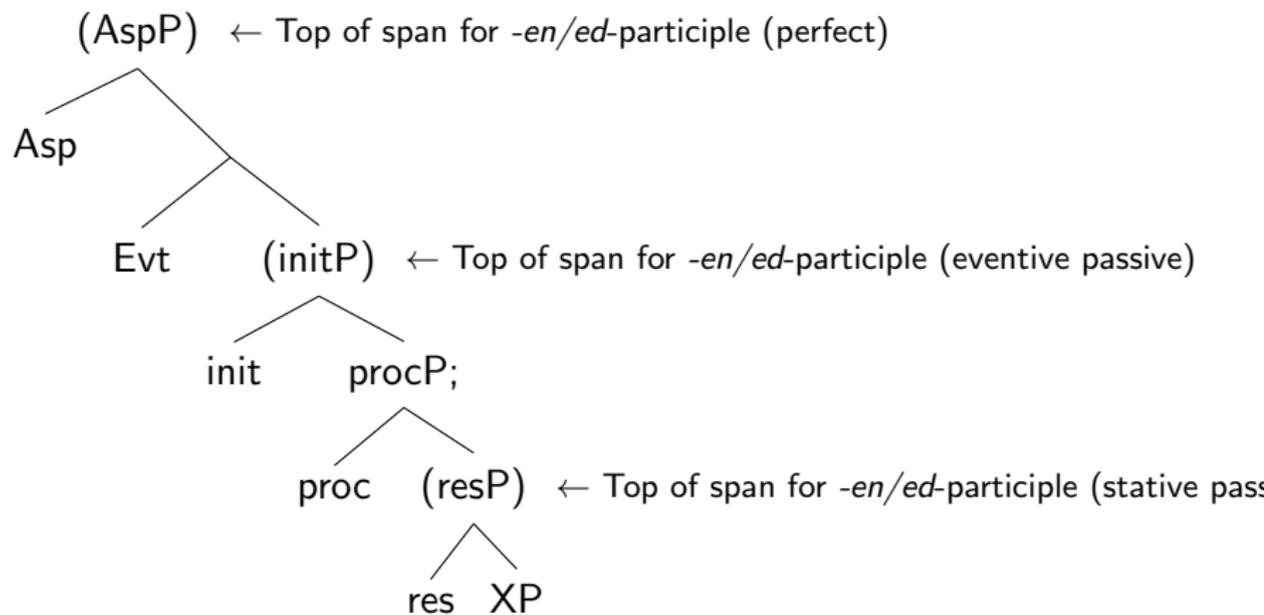
(42) The boys have been chased.

So when they cooccur, the so-called 'passive' participle is clearly lower in the spellout order than the so called 'perfect' participle.

What I would like to propose for the perfect participle, therefore is that *-en/ed* in this case spans all the way up to Asp in our proposed functional sequence, just as inflected verbal forms do, lacking only the uninterpretable syntactic features for T and agreement found with the latter.

If the suffix *-en/ed* is allowed to express a span all the way up to Asp, then what we get is the very same property of Events as determined by the verb, including the addition of the external argument, and the position of the participle is higher than the low position of the external argument as diagnosed by the expletive construction test. But now the verb cannot express tense anchoring directly itself, but must combine with a helping verb to receive anchoring information.

Scope of Spell-Out for the -EN/ED-Participle



The Unified -ED Participle

The meaning of the *-en/ed*-participle turned out to be extremely weak, essentially negative, in comparison to the corresponding main verb. It's role is as the spellout of subportions of the verbal denotation. While the passive participle form was clearly within the lowest symbolic conceptual domain of the clause, the perfect participle resides at the lowest point of the temporal-inflectional domain. To what extent can we see these as the 'same' participle, then, given all the differences we have noted between them.

Compared to the specification of the uninflected root, the passive participle is consistently a 'stunted' version of that root. If we consider the larger inflected verbal form, though, a stunted version of that lexical item would include the possibility of what we have assumed for the perfect participle— a version with 'agreement' and tense features missing. To unify the participle in English then, we could say that it is a stunted version of the inflected verbal form. To get the distinction as expressed in a language like

Swedish, we could say that the passive participle is a stunted

Blocking

Another important thing that has emerged from the investigation so far is the phenomenon of Blocking. Contrary to standard D(istributed) M(orphology) ideology, I have employed a general system of phrasal blocking, whereby a simple non-auxiliated verbal lexicalization always blocks the auxiliated version that spells out the same representation. Since otherwise my starting assumptions are rather different from the ones found in DM, it is not clear that the prohibition against phrasal blocking found there (see ?) is something that I should expect to carry over to the present system. Phrasal blocking is a coherent option for the system I am assuming here where lexical verbs are specified with category features and span chunks of phrasal projections (see also ? ,

Blocking

- (43)
- ‘Attach *-ing* to any complete event structure and fill in with dummy verb *be*’:
blocked by stative verbs.
 - ‘Spell out resP as *-en/ed* participle and spell out Evt with dummy verb *be*’
blocked by adjectives in the case of deadjectival verbs.
 - ‘Spell out procP as *-en/ed* participle and spell out Evt with dummy verb *be*’:
blocked by unaccusative verbs.

Blocking of Auxiliation:

In cases where a single verbal lexical item generates the same Event description as an Auxiliary structure, expression by means of an auxiliary is blocked.

Syntactic Specifications

The syntactic specifications for the lexical items used so far are repeated here in the list below.

- (44) (a) Inflected Transitive Verb: < Asp (plus uT), Evt, Init, Proc, Res >
 (b) Bare Root Form: < Evt, Init, Proc, Res >
 (c) Participle in *en/ed*: < (((Asp without uT) Evt), Init,) Proc,) Res>
 (d) Dummy *Be*: < T, Asp, Evt >
 (e) Perfect *Have*: < T, Asp >

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