

Definite event kind participants in adjectival participles

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① The point of departure

GERMAN ADJECTIVAL PASSIVE (AP) (Kratzer 1994, 2000; Rapp 1996, 1997; Maienborn 2007a, 2009, 2011, i.a.)

- Copula + adjectival participle: (in contrast w/ verbal passive (VP))

(1) Die Aufgabe {ist / *wird} ungelöst. (AP example from Rapp 1996:251)
the task is_{cop} / became_{aux} unsolved

- Adjectival participles (unlike adjectives) allow event-related modification:

(2) a. Der Brief war {mit einem Bleistift / von einem Kind} {geschrieben / *schön}.
the letter was with a pencil / by a child written / beautiful
b. Das Haar war ziemlich schlampig {gekämmt / *fettig}. (Kratzer 1994)
the hair was rather sloppily combed / greasy

- Restrictions on event-related modification:

(3) *Der Mülleimer ist {von meiner Nichte/langsam/genüsslich/mit der Heugabel} geleert.
the garbage bin is by my niece/slowly/with pleasure/with the pitchfork emptied
(examples from Rapp 1996:246)

② The proposal in Gehrke (2015)

(extension of Gehrke 2011, 2012, 2013)

- The implicit event in adjectival participles is a definite event kind.

→ E.g. (4) refers to the realisation of the consequent state kind of an event kind.

(4) Die Tür ist geschlossen. 'The door is closed.'
 $\exists s_o, s_k, e_k [\text{close}(e_k) \wedge \text{BECOME}(e_k, s_k) \wedge \text{closed}(s_k) \wedge R(s_o, s_k) \wedge \text{Theme}(s_o, \text{door})]$

- Event-related modification is pseudo-incorporated into the participle.

(5) mit Klebeband verschlossen_{adj} 'closed_{adj} with tape' (e.g. (9))
 $\lambda y \lambda s \exists e_k [\text{tape-close}(e_k) \wedge \text{BECOME}(e_k, s) \wedge \text{tape-closed}(s) \wedge \text{Theme}(s, y)]$

PREDICTIONS OF THE PROPOSAL

- Only event kind modification is possible.
- Such modification has to derive an established event subkind.
- Event-related PPs can only contain weakly/non-referential nominals.

③ Evidence for event kinds in adjectival participles

- The event cannot be located in time and space.

→ No temporal or spatial modifiers, which locate an event token, are possible:

(6) Die Tür war kürzlich geöffnet.
the door was recently opened
 \approx 'The door has recently been in an open state.'
 $\not\approx$ 'The opening of the door took place recently.'

(7) #Die Reifen sind in der Garage aufgepumpt.
the tires are in the garage inflated

(#: spatial modification of states is only possible if it gets reinterpreted as temporal frames; cf. Maienborn 2007b)

- Only event-internal locatives are possible; these derive an event subkind:

(8) Die Suppe war in einem Edelstahltopf zubereitet / gekocht / gegart.
the soup was in a stainless steel pot prepared / cooked / refined
(event-internal locatives in the sense of Maienborn 2003)

- Event-related PPs behave like manner modifiers: (NB: acceptable ADVs are also always manner)

(9) Mund und Nase waren mit Klebeband verschlossen. (Frankfurter Rundschau corpus)
mouth and nose were with tape closed

(Assumption: Manner is event kind modification; see below)

Excursion: Manner as event kind modification (Landman & Morzycki 2003)

(Landman & Morzycki 2003, Landman 2006, Anderson & Morzycki 2015)

EVENT KIND ANAPHORA

- Morphological identity in, e.g., German (13), Polish ...
- Nominal domain: SO refers back to a kind (Carlson 1977)
- Verbal domain: SO refers back to an event kind (manner)

(10) a. so ein Hund wie dieser
such a dog WH this
b. Jan hat so getanzt wie Maria.
John has such danced WH Mary

→ Kind anaphora denotes a property of the respective entity (individual/event) that realises a (particular contextually supplied) kind (see also Anderson & Morzycki 2015).

FURTHER EMPIRICAL SUPPORT

- Spatio-temporal event token modifiers are unacceptable antecedents for SO:

(11) a. *Maria hat am Dienstag getanzt, und Jan hat auch so getanzt.
Intended: 'Mary danced on Tuesday and John also danced like that.'
b. *Maria hat in Minnesota gegessen, und Jan hat auch so gegessen.
Intended: 'Mary ate in Minnesota and John also ate like that.'

- Spatial modifiers that derive an event subkind (interpreted like manner modifiers) are acceptable:

(12) Maria schläft in einem Schlafsack & Jan schläft auch so.
'Mary sleeps in a sleeping bag and John also sleeps like that.'

⇒ MANNER IS EVENT KIND MODIFICATION

④ Evidence for pseudo-incorporated event participants

- NPs in event-related modifiers are non-(or at most weakly) referential.
 - Acceptable event participants in the previous examples are indefinite or bare N(P)s.
 - Definite NPs are usually not possible; e.g. (3) (but see below).

→ PSEUDO-INCORPORATION (PI)

- (More or less) bare NPs in internal argument position with semantic but not (morpho-)syntactic properties of incorporated nominals.
- Common analysis: Incorporated nominals denote properties (type $\langle e, t \rangle$).
(on PI: Massam 2001, Farkas & de Swart 2003, Dayal 2011, Espinal & McNally 2011, i.a.)
(on incorporation more generally: Mithun 1984, Baker 1988, van Geenhoven 1998, Chung & Ladusaw 2003, i.a.)

EVENT PARTICIPANTS IN APs: TYPICAL PROPERTIES OF PI-ED NOMINALS

- Obligatory narrow scope:

(13) Alle Briefe waren mit (einem) Bleistift geschrieben.
all letters were with (a) pencil written
 \approx 'All letters were pencil-written.'
 $\not\approx$ 'There was a particular pencil that all letters were written with.'

- Discourse opacity:

(14) Die Karte ist mit [(einem) Bleistift]_i geschrieben. *Er_i war blau.
the card was with a pencil written he was blue

- No token modification:

(15) *Die Karte ist mit einem kurzen Bleistift geschrieben.
the card is with a short pencil written

- V+N name an institutionalised activity:

(16) *Der Mülleimer ist {von einer Nichte / von Nichten / mit Heugabeln} geleert.
the garbage bin is by a niece / by nieces / with pitchforks emptied

- Intuition: The event kind in an adjectival passive has to be established.

- WRITE has established event subkinds WITH PENCIL, WITH INK, etc.
- EMPTY does not have established event subkinds BY NIECES, WITH PITCHFORKS etc.

⇒ ANALYSIS: Property-denoting NPs; PI into participle before adjectivisation

- Bare NPs denote properties. (e.g. McNally 1998, Carlson 2003)
- Some indefinites also denote properties. (e.g. Zimmermann 1993, van Geenhoven & McNally 2005)
- The preposition specifies the relation between the VP and the NP-property.

⑤ Definite NPs, proper names (PNs)

POTENTIALLY PROBLEMATIC:

(17) a. Der Brief ist mit dem Bleistift geschrieben.
the letter is with the pencil written
b. Das Bild ist von Picasso gemalt. (Rapp 1996:256)
the painting is by Picasso painted

POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS

- The definites behave like weak definites (18).

→ Amendable to a PI approach to weak definites (e.g. Schwarz 2014)

(18) a. Jeder Brief ist mit dem Bleistift geschrieben. → can be different pencils
every letter is with the pencil written
b. #Der Brief ist mit dem schönen Bleistift geschrieben.
the letter is with a beautiful pencil written
c. Der Brief ist mit [dem Bleistift]_i geschrieben. #Er_i war/ist schön.
the letter is with the pencil written he was/is beautiful
(on weak definites see also: Carlson & Sussman 2005, Puig Waldmüller 2008, Schwarz 2009, Aguilar-Guevara 2014, i.a.)

- The PNs have to name somewhat famous people:

(19) Das Manuskript ist von {Chomsky / ?Sandberger} zitiert. (Maienborn 2011)

- It is not possible to replace 'Chomsky' in (19) by a(n in-)definite description:

(20) #Das Manuskript ist {von einem berühmten Linguisten / vom 'Begründer der Generativen Grammatik'} zitiert.
the manuscript is by a famous linguist / the founder of Generative Grammar cited

- PNs have several uses with indefinite article, e.g. (21) (von Heusinger 2010):

(21) Ein Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart wäre nie bekannt geworden, wenn er der Sohn von Bauern gewesen wäre. 'A Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart would never have become famous had he been the son of farmers.'

- von Heusinger's manifestation reading of indefinite PNs

- Condition: Saliency of a very prominent bearer of the PN
- Manifestation of substantial aspects of the individual (which are generally known to hearer & speaker)
- Manifestation as instantiation of a kind, expressed by the PN

⇒ Proposal for examples with PNs (like (17b) and (19)):

- These involve the non-instantiated counterpart of example like (21).
- VP+PN must describe an event kind that is anchored in background knowledge of hearer/speaker.
- PNs as event kind modifiers are only possible if they can be (re-)interpreted as 'no less of an x than PN'.