

Polish resultative adjectives are derived in the syntax

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The paper argues against the claim made in Cetnarowska (2000) that Polish resultative adjectives, which I analyse as passive participles of unaccusative verbs, such as *posiwiały* ‘that became grey-haired’ or *upadły* ‘fallen’ are derived in the lexicon by conversion of verbal *ł*-stems. My proposal contributes to the ongoing debate concerning the status of adjectival passives. Works such as Wasow (1977) or Horvath and Siloni (2008) claim that the differences between verbal and adjectival passives suggest that the latter must be derived in the lexicon. As noted by Bruening (2014) the view according to which the syntax is the only engine of the grammar is more parsimonious and the *onus probandi* is on the part of the proponents of the ‘active lexicon’. I am going to argue that the arguments presented by Cetnarowska (2000) in favour of the lexical derivation of resultative adjectives are not sufficient to deny the syntactic status of their derivation. These arguments comprise:

1. The exponence of the passives of reflexively marked verbs. It has been noted by Cetnarowska (2000: 52) that resultative adjectives in Polish fall into two morphological categories: adjectives in *-ł-* and adjectives in *-n/t-*. As shown by Cetnarowska, resultative adjectives in *-ł-* are derived from unaccusative verbs, while *-n/t-* affix is a regular realization in passive participles derived from reflexively marked verbs, e.g. *ogolić się* ‘shave, intr.’ - *ogolo-n-y* ‘shaved’, *otworzyć się* ‘open, intr.’ - *otwar-t-y* ‘opened’. She also singles out reflexively marked verbs whose resultative adjectives take *-ł-*, e.g. *rozeschnąć się* ‘to become dry’ - *rozesch-ł-y* ‘that became dry’, *zsiąść się* ‘to become sour’ - *zsiad-ł-e* ‘that became sour’. For Cetnarowska, the irregularities in the exponence of the resultatives based on reflexively marked verbs suggest that resultatives come about in the lexical process of conversion.

2. Doublets in *-ł-* and *-t-*. Cetnarowska (2000, 2012) points out to a tendency observed among resultative adjectives in *-ł-* to slowly but gradually give way to forms in *-t-* (as in *zachryp-ł-y* → *zachryp-nię-t-y* ‘hoarse’, *zamarz-ł-y* → *zamarz-nię-t-y* ‘that became frozen’). She claims this phenomenon to be a case of paradigm uniformity (forms in *-nię-t-* resemble the infinitives and non-past forms) and that it is enhanced by the frequency of the participles in *-t-* based on semelfactive verbs. Paradigm uniformity effects, claims Cetnarowska, are a case of analogical extension which takes place in the lexicon.

3. Semantic idiosyncrasies. As pointed out by Cetnarowska many *ł*-adjectives show non-compositional semantics. Adjectives such as *czuły* ‘sensitive’, *wzniosły* ‘lofty’ or *okazały* ‘magnificent’ do not share meaning with the verbs they are based on (cf. *czuć* ‘feel’, *wznieść się* ‘rise up’, *okazać się* ‘appear (to be)’). The presence of resultative adjectives/adjectival passives with idiomatic meaning not shared with the base verb is claimed to be indicative of lexical rather than syntactic derivation.

Concerning **point 1.**, I am going to show that the passive participle marker *-n-* is found only in the participles which share the Voice head with their base verbs. I will show that the reflexively marked verbs mentioned by Cetnarowska (2000) in fact fall into three distinct types. Verbs such as *ogolić się* ‘shave, intr.’ are true reflexives, i.e. their referential argument is merged in the specifier of the Voice head. This is evidence by the fact that such predicates do not accept the prefixation with a quantificational *na-*: a prefix which requires the presence of a quantifiable internal argument (see 1).

(1) *Na-gol-i-ł-o się mężczyzn.
NA-shave-TH-PTCP-3.SG.NEU SELF man-GEN.PL
Intended: ‘Many men shaved’

The second type are reflexively marked anticausatives which merge the referential argument as the internal argument (see Schäfer 2008) and the *się*-element as the head of the phrase in the specifier of VoiceP (see Krzek 2014). These verbs possess a non-thematic active Voice

head Schäfer (2008:175). They have causative counterparts, allow *na*-constructions and the agentive interpretations of dative arguments (see 2).

(2)

(a) *Na-otwier-a-ł-o* *się drzwi.*
 NA-open-TH-PTCP-3.SG.NEU SE door-GEN.PL
 'Many door opened'

(b) *Mark-owi* *niechcąc-y* *otwar-ł-y* *się drzw-i.*
 Mark-DAT.SG unintentional-ADV open-PTCP-3.PL.NVIR SE door-NOM.PL
 'Mark opened the door unintentionally'

Verbs such as *zsiąść się* 'become sour' or *rozeschnąć się* 'become dry', which mark resultative adjectives with *-ł-*, lack the Voice head altogether. Such verbs do not possess causative counterparts and their dative arguments cannot be interpreted agentively (see 3).

(3)

**Mark-owi* *niechcąc-y* *zsiad-ł-o* *się mlek-o.*
 Mark-DAT.SG unintentional-ADV sit-PTCP-3.SG.NEU SE milk-NOM.SG
 Int: 'Mark unintentionally caused the milk to become sour'

I take the presence of the Voice-head to be the prerequisite for the agentive interpretation of the dative argument. The passive participial head in the passives of reflexively marked verbs is realized by means of *-ł-* only in the absence of the Voice-head. If the Voice-head is present, the participle may be realized as *-n-* or *-t-* depending on the morphophonology of the stem.

2. Doublets in *-ł-* and *-t-*. I will demonstrate that the relative markedness of resultative adjectives in *-ł-* is the effect of the tendency to simplify the vocabulary items that realize the resultatives. I will demonstrate that the presence of exponent *-t-* depends on the Asp-head in the relevant participle to be realized by means of exponent *-nq-*. This is possible only if the Asp-layer is not realized by means of the stem. I will argue that the vocabulary items that realize the low layers of verbal structure in Polish mention the environments in which the stem realizes the functional heads V and Asp. The fewer such environments are mentioned, the greater the number of forms of a given verb which realize the Asp-head by means of *-nq-*. I will argue that the tendency to replace the participles in *-ł-* (*za-marz-ł-y* PREF-ROOT.V.ASP-PTCP-NOM.SG.M 'that became frozen') with participles in *-nię-t-y* (*za-marz-nię-t-y* PREF-ROOT.V-ASP-PTCP-NOM.SG.M 'that became frozen') is the surface manifestation of the tendency to select the simpler vocabulary items that realise a given participle and, in the long run, to decrease the number environments in which the stem realizes the functional layers. The observed 'analogical levelling' is, therefore, an epiphenomenon: a surface consequence of the tendency to simplify the environment of vocabulary items.

3. Semantic idiosyncrasies. I will show that adjectives such as *czuły* 'sensitive', *wzniosły* 'lofty' or *okazaly* 'magnificent', differ from most resultative adjectives in that they do not allow event modification. Hence the semantically anomalous adjectives should be treated as stative (Embick 2004). Moreover, I will argue that the presence of non-compositional semantics is fully predicable under the syntactico-centric approach to word formation, and that such an approach, unlike the lexicalist approach, places structural restrictions on the nature of the triggers of idiomatic semantics. These properties of the syntactic approach allow it to account for the difference between the root adjective such as *ślepy* 'blind' or *biały* 'white', and the resultative adjectives/adjectival passives such as *osłepły* 'that become blind' and *zbielaly* 'that became white'. Whereas the former may show idiomatic semantics triggered by the nouns they modify, the latter retain their meaning regardless of the noun they occur with.

Selected references: Bruening, B. 2014. Word formation is syntactic: adjectival passives in English. *NLLT*, 32: 363-422. Cetnarowska, B. 2000. Resultative adjectives in Polish. *Acta Linguistica Hungarica*, 47: 47-79. Schäfer, F. 2008. *The Syntax of (Anti-)Causatives*.

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