

Heterogeneity of states in Polish stative passives¹

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The syntax and semantics of stative (or adjectival) passives have recently attracted a lot of attention in the literature, primarily in languages such as English, German, Hebrew and Greek. The most widely disputed problem has been the question whether participles in stative passives that are ultimately adjectives are formed in the lexicon (Maienborn 2007, Meltzer-Asscher 2011) or in the syntax (Kratzer 1994, Bruening 2014, Gehrke 2015).

The paper aims to analyse the syntax of Polish stative passives formed of eventive and stative verbs, which have not been given due attention yet (apart from the analysis of resultative adjectives in Cetnarowska (2000) and Kibort (2004), which treat such forms as derived in the lexicon). In contrast, the analysis proposed here provides support for a syntactic derivation of stative passives in Polish.

First, we examine two types of stative passives of eventive verbs: resultant state and target state passives (Kratzer 2000), illustrated in (1) and (2), where the former refer to irreversible states, while the latter denote the reversible ones.

- (1) Wyrok jest (*wciąż) wydany.
sentence-nom is (*still) passed-perf²
'The sentence is (*still) passed.'
- (2) Pokój jest wciąż wynajęty.
room-nom is still rented-perf
'The room is still rented.'

It is argued that resultant state passives closely resemble eventive (verbal) passives, as they allow modification by place, time and manner adverbials. They host an implicit external argument, since they tolerate *by*-phrases, instrument phrases, Agent-oriented adverbials, and allow control into adjuncts. Target state passives, on the other hand, cannot host any modifiers of the underlying event, but can exhibit modifiers of the target state only (cf. (3) below) or those responsible for continuing the state expressed by the participle (see (4) below), e.g.:

- (3) Maria jest wciąż elegancko ubrana.
Mary-nom is still elegantly dressed-perf
'Mary is still elegantly dressed.'
- (4) Stadion jest wciąż otoczony przez policję
stadium is still surrounded by police
'The stadium is still surrounded by the police.'

It is proposed that Polish stative passives derived of eventive verbs closely resemble stative passives in Greek, and therefore are susceptible to the structural analysis offered for Greek stative passives by Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou and Schäfer (2015). Following Alexiadou et al. (2015), we propose that the stativiser (cf. Kratzer 2000) in resultant state passives is placed above VoiceP, and hence allows Voice related modification, while in target state passives, the stativiser is located below VoiceP, and hence admits only state related modification. This analysis correctly derives the modification patterns available in the two types of stative passives described above.

The second part of the paper examines passives derived of two types of (arguably) stative verbs in Polish, i.e., Subject and Object Experiencer predicates. While the latter regularly form target state passives, the former, beside target state passives, can also give rise to *być* + imperfective passive participle passives, as in (5):

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²The following abbreviations have been used: imperf – imperfective, nom – nominative, perf – perfective.

- (5) Marek jest (wciąż) kochany przez Marię.
 Mark-nom is still loved-imperf by Mary
 'Mark is loved still by Mary.'

The passive in (5) shows modification patterns typical of verbal passives. However, it cannot represent the resultant state passive, as it can host *wciąż* 'still' (cf. (5) with (1)), and it does not depend on a prior event, but is rather related to a prior state. Still, we treat it as a verbal passive. Gehrke and Grillo (2009) suggest that Subject Experiencer verbs in English can form verbal passives because they are type-shifted from states to achievements. We demonstrate that Polish SE verbs cannot be analysed as coerced to achievements on the basis of different time-related entailments and the co-occurrence with *wciąż* 'still'. Rather, they resemble activities or inceptive events. We suggest that this property follows from their event structure consisting of the left boundary inceptive event followed by a state, which can be coerced to durative events (similar to what Fabregas and Marín (to appear) call non-dynamic events).

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