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SOME CONSTRAINTS ON PASSIVE ATTRIBUTES AND PROBLEMS OF CATEGORIZATION

Abstract

*It has been noted that without the appropriate adverbial modification some passive participles are not acceptable in the attributive position in English: e.g. *a found suitcase, *a killed young man, *a built apartment block, as opposed to some passive participles that are not subject to this restriction: e.g. an abandoned village, a complicated man, the needed discipline.*

The assumption that identification of categorial status can be better seen at the level of larger constituents, has led us to propose some distributional diagnostic tests to confirm whether they retain their verbal force or have achieved their adjectival status in English, when used in the attributive position. Since their morphological form has not proved to be reliable for identification of their category, we have proposed to test them by classifying the types of adverbs enabling some of the passive participles to be used attributively. Given that the same adverbs can modify both, adjectives and verbs, we have focused on the classification of degree adverbs pre-modifying passive participles attributively used. The tests proposed in this paper may show that the open class degree adverbs that modify passive participles in both, attributive and predicative distribution do not fall into the single class but split up into the subclasses: degree adverbs/intensifiers and adverbs of measure/quantity modifying passive participles in attributive and predicative function, respectively. Since passive participles, too, may have different interpretation and either adjectival or verbal/passive reading when used as attributes, the open class degree adverbs are tested at the level of participial phrase used attributively within the NP. The examples were

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compared with the translation equivalents in BCS to see whether the same constraint affects passive attributes in BCS.

Keywords: degree adverbs, intensifiers, adverbs of quantity/measure, passive participles, complementary distribution

Introduction

The well-known fact is that the categorial status of a passive participle in both, the attributive and predicative function can be rather problematic, since it can be interpreted either as an adjective or as a verb.

It has been noted that without an appropriate adverbial premodification, some passive participles are not acceptable in the attributive position in English:

- (1) *a found suitcase/pronađeni kofer
 - (2) *a killed young man/ubijeni mladić
 - (3) *a built apartment block/izgrađeno stambeno naselje
- as opposed to some passive participles not being subject to this constraint:

- (4) an abandoned village/napušteno selo
- (5) a complicated man/kompliciran čovjek
- (6) the needed discipline/potrebna disciplina

The corresponding passive adjectives in BCS² are not subject to the noted restriction. They freely achieve their adjectival status in the attributive position.

However, even those that are ruled out in the attributive position in English may become acceptable if they are premodified by an adverb:

- (7) a recently found suitcase/(nedavno) pronađeni kofer
- (8) a brutally killed young man/(brutalno) ubijeni mladić
- (9) a newly built apartment block/(tek) izgrađeno stambeno naselje

The above-stated examples clearly show that such premodification of the corresponding passive adjectives in BCS is completely optional.

Given that some passive participles in English may be used as attributes if and only if they are premodified by an adverb has led us to propose the hypothesis that only the passive participles

² In this paper Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian (henceforth BCS) refers to the language traditionally known as Serbo-Croatian.

that retain their verbal force and verbal reading are subject to the stated constraint and should be treated as passive participle phrases not adjective phrases in this function.

The assumption that identification of a category can be better seen at the level of larger constituents has led us to propose some distributional diagnostic tests to confirm whether passive participles used attributively have achieved their full adjectival status or have retained their verbal force and verbal reading in English as opposed to the passive adjectives in BCS which are always freely used in the attributive function. Therefore, this paper examines: free or specifier-bound distribution of passive participles/passive adjectives in English and BCS respectively, and the combinatorial possibilities of adjectives and passive participles/passive adjectives at the level of their maximal projection when used as attributes. Assuming that some adverbs are not the common modifiers of adjectives and verbs we have tested the open class degree adverbs to provide the evidence proving that, in spite of their identical morphological form, the same distribution and almost the same semantic interpretation, they do not make a single class of adverbs but split up into two subclasses always occurring in complementary distribution: intensifiers and adverbs of quantity/measure that may occur as the modifiers of “adjectival” or “verbal” passive attributes respectively.

Methodology

Section 1 provides a brief survey of recent linguistic researches and problems of proper interpretation of passive participles used attributively.

The problems of categorial identification of *-en/-ed* deverbal forms are the subject of Section 2. This section deals with the multiple functions of *-en/-ed* suffix. Given that there is not a consistent correlation between passive participles used as attributes within the noun phrase and passive participles used in the predicative function and that *-en/-ed* suffix can be either an inflectional or the derivational morpheme attached to the verb stem, this section presents the examples showing that the morphological criterion for identification of passive attributes, and their, either verbal or adjectival, interpretation is not reliable enough. Therefore, their proper identification largely depends on syntactic criteria.

Section 3 deals with the obligatory adverbial premodification of some passive participles used attributively. The examples presented clearly show that the syntactic projection of adjectives proper and *-en/-ed* attributes is not always, and not necessarily, identical. While adjectives and some *-en/-ed* participles may be freely realized in the attributive position, some other *-en/-ed* participles may occur in this function only if they are premodified by an adverb which is not an optional but an obligatory element in the structure of the phrase. Assuming that proper identification of the type of the obligatory adverbial pre-modifier at the phrase level might reveal whether passive attributes, subject to the above mentioned constraint, are to be interpreted as adjectives or as passive participles with verbal reading, Section 4 deals with the analysis of degree adverbs, traditionally called intensifiers (Quirk et al., 1985), that typically occur as the modifiers of adjectives. Given that two subclasses can be distinguished within the large class of degree adverbs: intensifiers modifying only adjectives, on the one hand, and adverbs of quantity/measure modifying only verbs, on the other, we assumed that either adjectival or verbal reading of passive participles used attributively can be better seen indirectly by identifying the type of the adverbial modifier that can co-occur with passive attributes. Therefore, we proposed the diagnostic tests with the open class degree adverbs to identify the passive participles that have verbal reading and are, therefore, subject to the constraint mentioned in the introduction. The test results have revealed that degree adverbs indeed fall into two above-mentioned subclasses and that the passive participles with passive, i.e. verbal reading may occur in the attributive position only if they are premodified by the adverbs typically modifying verbs, i.e. the adverbs of quantity/measure, whereas intensifiers occur only with adjectives and passive participles with adjectival interpretation. The better and more thorough insight into *-en/-ed* participial attributes can also support the idea that the matter of *-en/-ed* participial attributes is a matter of continuum rather than a clear-cut between the two above-mentioned classes. Between the two subclasses, “adjectival” and “verbal” participial attributes, the continuum also involves yet another subclass known as “resultative participles” that retain their verbal force and passive interpretation in the attributive position but are not subject to the above mentioned constraint. “Resultative participles” do not co-occur with intensifiers i.e. adverbs of degree, typical modifiers of

adjectives, but, at the same time, they need not be premodified by adverbs of quantity (or any other adverb typically modifying verbs), to occur in the attributive position. Thus, the inconsistency and asymmetry in the syntactic realization of passive participles in the attributive position provides good syntactic evidence for their categorial identification and semantic interpretation.

Section 5 presents the syntactic projection of passive attributes subject to the constraint and shows that the same restriction is not imposed on passive adjectives in BCS.

Sections 6 and 7 present a brief conclusion and questions requiring further researches.

Theoretical background

Given that passive participles are:

- categorially neutral between verbs and adjectives;
- may have either verbal or adjectival interpretation;
- share the same distribution with adjectives: attributive and predicative;
- in the reduced diathesis with the copula *be/biti* the subject-complement and the passive construction may be almost indistinguishable;
- the distributional evidence for “verbal” and “adjectival” passives is mixed;

they have been and still are one of the most challenging topics of linguistic researches.

A number of sources deal with the identification and proper classification of passive participles. They discuss the following:

- dynamic or statal interpretation of passive participles occurring in the predicative function (Quirk et al., 1985; Huddleston and Pullum, 2002);
- syntactic contexts in which “verbal” and “adjectival” passives fail to overlap (Wasow, 1977; Abney, 1987, etc.);
- morphological operations in the lexicon such as null-affixation (Lieber, 1980; Levin and Rappaport, 1986; Kratzer, 1994) or conversion (Bresnan, 1982, 1995, 2001);
- syntactic operations: whether *-en/-ed* suffix is attached to the VP for “verbal” or Vo for “adjectival” passives (Jackendoff, 1977, Abney, 1987) or Vo is dominated by the AspP for “verbal” passives as opposed to the “adjectival” passives that have no projection on the top (Embick, 2000);

- semantic orientation of *-en/-ed* participial attributes and the semantic constraints on formation of the resultative passive participles such as affectedness by the previous event and telicity (Haspelmath, 1994, Bresnan, 1982, 1995, 2001).

However, these approaches do not deal with the constraint being the subject of this analysis.

The only available linguistic explanations of the phenomenon of the obligatory modifiers of passive attributes are either semantic, pragmatic or morphological:

The reasons for this phenomenon are:

- unknown (Levin and Rappaport, 1986);
- the event structure of a verb requires some type of obligatory adjuncts to form the acceptable APPs (Grimshaw and Vikner, 1993);
- general pragmatic principles: non-redundancy, informativeness, the contrastive function in the context of a discourse (Ackerman and Goldberg, 1996);
- passive participles with the obligatory adverbial premodification are compounds (Adams, 2001, Plag, 2003; Biber, 1999).

The problems of proper identification of passive participles in the attributive position

Morphological and morphosyntactic properties of passive participles show that they share the grammatical properties with two word classes: adjectives and verbs. For this reason, when functioning as attributes they may have either adjectival or verbal reading.

The problems of adjectival or verbal interpretation of passive participles used attributively arise from their grammatical properties.

I. Traditionally, all *-en/-ed* deverbial forms are called past participles, the notion still widely-used in literature to refer to the deverbial *-en/-ed* forms used either in the predicative or in the attributive function. The well-known fact is that the *-en/-ed* suffix is used for the derivation of denominal adjectives and the deverbial forms from both: intransitive verbs (*decomposed/raspadnut*, *vanished/iščezli*, *frozen/zamrznut*, *escaped/odbjegli*, etc.) as well as transitive (*stolen/ukraden*, *abandoned/napušten*, etc.). However, with respect to the way they modify the noun when functioning as

attributes, passive participles derived from both verb classes, may have different semantic orientation towards the noun they modify:

(10) the escaped prisoner/odbjegli zatvorenik

(11) the decomposed body/raspadnut leš

(12) the confessed crime/priznat zločin

(13) the confessed killer/ubica koji je priznao zločin

The examples from (10) through (13) clearly show that the *-en/-ed* attributes may be semantically either agent-oriented or theme/patient-oriented regardless of the category of transitivity. We may conclude that transitivity which is the precondition for the derivation of the passive construction, is not the guarantee that the derived *-en/-ed* attribute will necessarily be passive. For the reasons stated above, the agent-oriented *-en/-ed* attributes are often referred to as the perfect active participles, whereas those theme/patient-oriented are called passive participles or resultatives.³ More thorough insight into the interplay between the form and the meaning of the *-en/-ed* deverbal forms functioning as attributes also shows that they may be parsed as:

- adjectives proper with the corresponding subject-complement construction at the sentence level (*tired, embarrassed, excited, etc.*);
- participial attributes derived from both: intransitive and transitive verbs with the corresponding active construction at the sentence level in which case they may be either agent- or theme/patient-oriented as illustrated by the examples (10), (11) and (13)⁴
- participial attributes derived from transitive verbs with the corresponding passive construction at the sentence level (example (12)).

³ For more details on the semantic orientation of *-en/-ed* participles and the semantic constraints imposed on the derivation of the resultatives, such as affectedness by the previous event and telicity see Haspelmath, 1994 and Bresnan, 1982.

⁴ The analysis has shown that the passive participles derived from the unaccusative verbs may have either active or passive adjective as the translation equivalent in BCS (*uvehli, iščezli* vs. *raspadnuti, smrznuti*, etc). It has been noted that the vast majority of those that have the form of the passive adjective are derived from the intransitive verbs with the intransitive particle „se“. For more details on the functions of the particle „se“ in BCS see Riđanović, 2003:67-71. However, no generalisation in this respect is possible without further research.

As stated above, transitivity is not a grammatical feature reliable enough for proper identification of passive participles in the attributive function. For all these reasons, passive attributes in this paper are considered to be the ones theme/patient-oriented whether derived from transitive or intransitive/unaccusative verbs.

II. Some passive participles may be graded and used in the comparative constructions:

(14) a more complicated problem/komplikovaniji problem

(15) a piece of gear as complicated as the car/mjenjač komplikovan kao i auto

as opposed to the ones that may not:

(16) *a more abandoned village/*napuštenije selo

(17) *the suitcase is as stolen as the documents/*kofer je jednako ukraden kao i dokumenti

III. Some passive participles may be freely used as attributes:

(18) the needed discipline/potrebna disciplina

(19) a stolen suitcase/ukradeni kofer

as opposed to the ones that are subject to the constraint in English discussed in this analysis:

(20) *a constructed aircraft/konstruirani avion

(21) *the photographed places/fotografirana mjesta

IV. Why passive attributes should not be analysed in relation to the passive diathesis (although many papers relate these two functions in order to distinguish “adjectival” and “verbal” participles) has been partly explained under the item 1. However, there are some other reasons for which we claim that “adjectival” and “verbal” interpretation of passive attributes should not be related to the predicative use of the same forms. The fact is that where the derivation of the passive attribute is possible, the derivation of the passive construction may not be and vice versa:

a) The passive attribute is possible but the passive diathesis is not with the unaccusative verbs (See Haspelmath, 1994; Bresnan, 2001)

(22) the wilted lettuce/uvehla salata (Haspelmath, 1994; Bresnan, 2001)

(23) *The lettuce has been wilted./Salata je uvehnula.⁵

⁵ The only acceptable translation equivalent in BCS is the active diathesis: „Salata je uvehnula“ since the unaccusative verb „wilt/uvehnuti“ can only occur in the active sentence. Besides, some unaccusative verbs in BCS cannot be used

b) The passive attribute is not possible but the derivation of the passive diathesis is with the:

- *Promotion of the indirect object:*

(24) The captured bird was shown the way out.

(25) *the shown bird/*pokazana ptica

- *Promotion of the location (adverbial of place):*

(26) This bed has been slept in/U ovom krevetu se spavalo

(27) *the slept-in bed/*spavani krevet

c) Passive diathesis is always possible with the prepositional verbs, but passive attributes are very rarely derived from such verbs:

(28) The boy was laughed at by everybody./lit.:Dječak je ismijan od svih.

(29) *the laughed-at boy/ismijani dječak

However,

d) both, passive attribute and passive diathesis are possible with phrasal verbs:

(30) the built-in installations/ugrađene instalacije

(31) The installations have been built in./Instalacije su ugrađene.

e) neither is possible with “middle verbs” (the notion introduced by Quirk et al., 1985:735) in both languages:

(32) *Her mother is resembled by her./Only active diathesis is possible in BCS: Na svoju majku liči (ona).

(33) *the resembled mother/*majka na koju se liči

V. Even when used as attributes, passive participles retain their verbal grammatical properties (transitivity, semantic valency and in BCS aspect as well). For this reason they are often attached to the verbal inflectional paradigm.

VI. When used as attributes, passive adjectives in BCS show the grammatical properties of the nominal class (agreement in gender, number and case). In addition, they may be marked for definiteness being the typical grammatical property only of adjectives.

VII. Despite the semantic constraints on formation of the resultatives, such as affectedness by the previous event and telicity (Haspelmath, 1994), in BCS it is possible to derive the resultative adjectives from the atelic verbs: *prodavani/sold:PROGR.*, *kažnjavani/punished:PROGR.*, *predlagani/proposed:PROGR.*

as the stem for derivation of the passive adjective. (e.g. the fallen leave/opali list vs. *opadnuti list, or wilted lettuce/uvehla salata vs. *uvehnuta salata).

However, it should be noted that this group of passive adjectives seems to be subject to the same constraint as the passive attributes in English:

- (34) *prodavana kuća
 *sold:PROGR. house
- (35) ? jeftino/dugo prodavana kuća⁶
 cheaply/long sold:PROGR. house

VIII. Not all passive attributes may occur in the multiple premodification of a noun with other adjectives:

- (36) *the founded ecumenical movement/osnovani ekumenski pokret
- (37) the newly founded ecumenical movement/tek osnovani ekumenski pokret

IX. Not all passive attributes may be coordinated with adjectives unless premodified:

- (38) *her sudden and criticised withdrawal/njeno iznenadno i kritizirano povlačenje
- (39) her sudden and much-criticised withdrawal/njeno iznenadno i veoma kritizirano povlačenje

X. Not all passive participles may serve as the base for the derivation of the adjectives opposite in meaning by the prefix *un-* (*educated/uneducated* vs *abandoned/*unabandoned*)

This test is widely proposed in most linguistic sources as a reliable indicator of the adjectival status of passive participles (first proposed by Siegel, 1973; Wasow, 1977; Bresnan, 1985; Quirk et al., 1985; Huddleston and Pullum, 2002)

However, we claim it is not reliable enough for 3 reasons:

- many adjectives cannot be subjected to this morphological operation (*big/*unbig*, *long/*unlong*);
- many passive participles that have already achieved the full adjectival status fail this test as well (*tired/*untired*, *disappointed/*undisappointed*, *bored/*unbored*);
- Besides, this test fails to provide the straightforward account for the obligatory adverbial premodification of some passive attributes.

⁶ Further research in this respect is absolutely necessary as it seems that the progressive aspect, morphologically marked on the verb in BCS, imposes the same type of the constraint (obligatory premodification) on a number of passive adjectives from this class. Without thorough analysis and testing no generalisation in this respect is possible.

For all the reasons previously stated it may be concluded that adjectival interpretation of passive participles used in the attributive position does not arise from the mere fact that once they are used as attributes they should be grammatically treated and syntactically analysed as adjectives/APs.

The fact is that the attributive distribution qualifies them for the class of adjectives, grammatically. For this reason passive attributes are usually called *participial adjectives* (Quirk et al., 1985) *adjectival passives* (Huddleston and Pullum, 2002), *resultative participles* as opposed to *passive participles* (Parsons, 1990; Langacker, 1991; Haspelmath, 1994; etc.) or simply *adjectives* resulting from the morphological processes in the lexicon (Levin and Rappaport, 1985; Bresnan, 1985; 1995; 2001).

The general conclusion is that passive participles/passive adjectives in the attributive position are grammatically treated as APs whether semantically interpreted as adjectives or verbs. This approach results from the fact that the structure of NP may only be:

NP = A + N and never

*NP = V + N.

Still, it is a paradox that a number of passive attributes have verbal/passive reading and retain their verbal grammatical properties (transitivity, aspect in BCS, semantic valency) even when they are used in the function which is, by default, associated with the category of adjectives.

Syntactic evidence

The fact that the straightforward interpretation of a word follows from syntax has led us to assume that the only reliable criterion for proper identification and classification of passive attributes is the syntactic one.

Therefore, this research involves:

- Free or specifier-bound attributive distribution of passive participles/passive adjectives in English and BCS respectively; and
- Combinatorial possibilities of adjectives and passive participles/passive adjectives at the level of the maximal projection of passive participles/passive adjectives used attributively.

The maximal projection of lexical categories

Since the lexical entry for each lexical category includes the information about s-selection and c-selection, the specifier in the maximal projection of lexical categories is generally considered to be optional,⁷ and, consequently, it is not specified in the lexical entry of the lexical item.

(40) NP: a (beautiful) girl/(lijepa) djevojka

(41) AP: (very) beautiful/(vrlo) lijepa

(42) Adv.P: (rather) slowly/(prilično) sporo

(43) PP: (well) beyond/(poprilično) izvan

In the maximal projection of all above stated lexical categories the specifier is a completely optional element.

However, if we observe the way passive participle projects in the function of the specifier of the headnoun within the NP, we shall see that this word class splits up into two groups as to the way it maps into the structure of the NP when functioning as an attribute:

(44) a [(mutually) agreed] goal/[(uzajamno) dogovoreni] cilj

(44a) an agreed goal/dogovoreni cilj

(45) a [partly built] hotel/[(djelimično) izgrađeni] hotel

(45a) *a built hotel/izgrađeni hotel

(44) and (44a) clearly show that in both languages the specifier is an optional element in the maximal projection of the attribute, whereas (45) and (45a) provide the evidence that the specifier is optional in BCS and obligatory in English.

We may conclude that the specifier in the maximal projection of lexical categories is generally an optional element. The only lexical category that fails to fit into this generalization is a certain set of passive participles when used in the attributive position.⁸ Such a constraint does not affect passive adjectives in BCS.

⁷ VP is excluded here since the specifier of VP is differently treated in different theoretical approaches (VP-Internal Subject Hypothesis, VP-shells, or some alternative theoretical approaches claiming that adverbs are the elements that are licensed in the specifier position of different kinds of functional categories such as specific types of Asp., T, and Mood, etc.)

⁸ As this analysis is corpus-based (Collins Cobuild – Wordbanks Online), certain similarities but also the asymmetry in the case of the specifier-bound participial attributes have been noted. The fact is that some progressive active participial attributes are also subject to the same constraint discussed in this paper:

a far-reaching inquiry vs. **a reaching inquiry*; or *a naturally-occurring condition* vs. **an occurring condition*

Specifiers/modifiers⁹ of passive participles and adjectives in the attributive position

We claim that the obligatory specifiers of the passive participles used attributively show the potentials for identification of “adjectival” and “verbal” passives and eventually proper classification of passive participles in English and passive adjectives in BCS with respect to their adjectival or verbal interpretation.

However, the progressive active participles are much more frequently restricted in the attributive position if they are not specified by the complement noun when they are derived from transitive verbs:

a wine-producing region vs. **a producing region*; or *a rugby-playing doctor* vs. **a playing doctor*

For this reason the verbal force and “verbal” interpretation of the progressive active participial attributes is more transparent than in the case of passive attributes.

However, passive attributes, too, may be subject to the similar constraint, i.e. must be specified by the NP to function as attributes, though more rarely than the former ones:

a family-owned toaster vs. **an owned toaster*; or *a Russian-dominated region* vs. **a dominated region*

While the vast majority of passive attributes, being the subject of the constraint discussed in this paper may occur in the attributive position if and only if they are realized with the AdvP in the specifier position, the progressive active participial attributes are mostly subject to the obligatory NP in the specifier position if derived from transitive verbs. The problem obviously arises from the functions of the complements and adjuncts which, traditionally, have different syntactic and grammatical status within the VP. Therefore, further insight into the status of AdvP and NP/DP occurring as the obligatory elements of all participial attributes is necessary, as these problems, though discussed in the theory, have remained unanswered yet.

⁹ The fact is that adjuncts and modifiers are the terms used as syntactic/semantic counterparts when adverbials are analysed within the VP. However, as there are some theories that treat adverbials as specifiers even when they project within the VP, and since this paper deals with the passive participles with the obligatory adverbial premodification in the attributive function, the terms specifier/modifier are taken to be syntactic/semantic counterparts in the analysis of the passive participial phrase in the above function. The truth is that there are different theoretical approaches to adverbs in the verbal and non-verbal context (specifier vs adjunct approach). In this paper we have adopted the approach which considers these adverbs to be the specifiers in the projection of the passive participle in the attributive position. (For more details about specifier vs adjunct theoretical approach see Cinque, 2004; Laenzlinger, 1998, 2004; Alexiadou, 1997, 2004; vs. Ernst, 2004; Engels, 2004; Pittner, 2004; etc.)

With respect to the concept encoded by adjectives, verbs and passive attributes:

- ADJECTIVES: encode property/quality
- VERBS: encode events (action, process or state)
- PASSIVE ATTRIBUTES: may encode both concepts:
 - a) property/quality (*distinguished, complicated*) or
 - b) a state resulting from the previous event (either action or process) (*stolen, abandoned, altered*).

This means that both, adjectives and verbs, share the same modifiers – adverbs. Then, passive attributes in both interpretations, adjectival and verbal, will share the same adverbs in the specifier position. The question is: is there any possibility to distinguish the adverbs that may modify only adjectives, not verbs and vice versa? Which adverbs are not the common modifiers of adjectives and verbs?

All adverbs that typically modify verbs may also modify adjectives:

(46) a slowly progressive illness/bolest koja sporo napreduje – manner

(47) his often nervous dad/njegov često nervozan otac – time (frequency)

(48) the completely different vocabulary/potpuno drugačiji vokabular – degree

Therefore, the distinction between the adverbs typically modifying adjectives and their concepts and the ones typically modifying verbs and their concepts may provide the evidence as to whether passive attributes have verbal or adjectival reading.

We claim that the potentials for this distinction may be found in the large open class of the degree adverbs.

Adverbs of degree premodifying passive attributes

Whereas much attention has been paid to the closed class degree adverbs in a number of sources (See: Quirk et al., 1985; Huddleston and Pullum, 2002; Biber, 1999, Haegeman, 1999; etc.) the open class degree adverbs have not been thoroughly analysed. Regardless their distribution, whether they occur in the APs or VPs they are either called *intensifiers* (Quirk et al., 1985:445-448) or simply *degree adverbs* (Huddleston and Pullum, 2002:547-552 and 576-583). As previously stated, most of the linguistic sources pay much attention to the closed class degree adverbs and their

distribution, for which reason the diagnostic tests with the closed class degree adverbs *very*, *too* and *much* are most frequently proposed as a reliable indicator of either “adjectival” or “verbal” interpretation of the passive attributes (Quirk et al., 1985; Huddleston and Pullum, 2002).

However, not all “gradable” passive attributes may be premodified by the closed class degree adverbs *very* and *much*. Yet, they may be premodified by a number of degree adverbs from the open class. In order to identify “adjectival” and “verbal” passive attributes, this paper shall discuss the open class degree adverbs usually treated as a single class of adverbs. Assuming that the open class degree adverbs are not a single category we claim that they split up into two separate subclasses:

- intensifiers – modifying only adjectives and passive participles with adjectival reading and
- adverbs of quantity/measure that may modify only verbs and passive participles with verbal reading

and that these two subclasses of the open class degree adverbs may occur only in complementary distribution. Distributional evidence for the open class degree adverbs is mixed. Therefore they may occur as the modifiers of different categories:

- (49) The codes for five cities will change *completely*. – VP
(pozivni brojevi za pet gradova će se potpuno promijeniti)
- (50) We *utterly* condemn those responsible. – VP
(Mi u potpunosti osuđujemo odgovorne)
- (51) This can become *completely* invisible. – AP
(Ovo može postati potpuno nevidljivo)
- (52) an *utterly* different game – AP
(sasvim drugačija igra)
- (53) *completely* devastated parents – passive participle with adjectival reading
(potpuno shrvani roditelji)
- (54) a *completely* finished hull – passive participle with verbal/passive reading
(potpuno završen trup broda)
- (55) an *utterly* committed sportsman – passive participle with adjectival reading
(u potpunosti predan sportista)
- (56) the *utterly* destroyed system – passive participle with verbal/passive reading

(sasvim uništen system)

Given that all the open class degree adverbs share the identical morphological form, the same or almost the same semantic content, and the same distribution, they seem to comply with all the linguistic criteria to be considered as a single class of adverbs. In this paper we propose the appropriate linguistic tests providing the evidence in support of the claim previously stated. The tests proposed in this paper will straightforwardly account for the phenomenon that the open class degree adverbs such as *completely* or *utterly*, as illustrated in the examples from (49) through (56), do not fall into the single class but split up into the subclasses stated in the hypothesis. Since passive participles, too, may have different interpretation and either adjectival or verbal/passive reading when used as attributes, the open class degree adverbs are tested at the level of the participial phrase used attributively at the level of the NP.

The closed class degree adverbs modifying adjectives and passive attributes

The very well-known fact is that the tests with the degree adverbs *very* and *much* are proposed because *very* is not licensed as the modifier of the verb within the VP, whereas *much* may occur as the modifier of the adjective if and only if the adjective is in the comparative form or with the verbs within the VP. We have observed some passive attributes as to the way they map into the structure of the NP:

(57) a beautiful girl/lijepa djevojka vs.

(58) an educated girl/obrazovana djevojka

(59) a (very) beautiful girl/(vrlo) lijepa djevojka

(60) a (very) educated girl/(vrlo) obrazovana djevojka

This pair (adjective/passive attribute) shows:

- Equally free attributive distribution
- Possibility to take the same optional degree premodifier

(61) a beautiful girl/lijepa djevojka

(61a) a modified rule/izmijenjeno pravilo

(62) a (very) beautiful girl/(vrlo) lijepa djevojka

(62a) *a (very) modified rule/*(vrlo) izmijenjeno pravilo

(63) *a (much) beautiful girl/*(jako) lijepa djevojka

(63a) a (much) modified rule/*(jako)/(veoma) izmijenjeno pravilo

This pair (adjective/passive attribute) shows:

- Equally free attributive distribution
- But they fail to share the same degree adverbs from the closed class.

Therefore the diagnostic tests with the closed class degree adverbs *very* and *much* proposed in many sources, may be a good indicator of either “adjectival” or “verbal” interpretation of the passive attribute, respectively (Quirk et al., 1985; Huddleston and Pullum, 2002; etc.)

The open class degree adverbs

However, not all passive attributes may be premodified by the closed class degree adverbs *very* and *much*:

(64) *a very destroyed/finished/built system/*vrlo/veoma¹⁰
uništen/završen/izgrađen sistem

(65) *a much destroyed/finished/built system/?veoma
uništen/završen/izgrađen sistem

But, these may take the open class degree adverbs:

(66) the utterly destroyed system/potpuno uništen sistem

(67) a completely finished system/potpuno završen sistem

(68) a partly built system/djelimično izgrađen sistem

Now, if we compare not adjectives and passive attributes but two passive attributes modified by the same open class degree adverbs the following may be observed:

(69) completely devastated parents/lit. potpuno shrvani roditelji

(69a) a completely finished hull/potpuno završen trup (broda)

(70) a totally devoted loyalist/potpuno odan lojalist

(70a) the totally heated space/potpuno zagrijan prostor

(71) a partly disenchanted crowd/djelimično razočarana masa

(71a) a partly built hotel/djelimično izgrađen hotel

(72) his slightly embarrassed wife/njegova pomalo zbunjena žena

(72a) a slightly shortened version/malo/neznatno skraćena verzija

The pairs of phrases containing the passive attributes modified by the same degree adverbs show that the degree adverbs have:

- the same form
- the same distribution
- the same meaning

¹⁰ For the distribution of the degree adverbs *vrlo/veoma* and *mnogo/veoma* in BCS see Riđanović, 2012.

We claim that the open class degree adverbs from these sets of examples are not the same degree adverbs, but they split up into two subclasses: intensifiers and adverbs of quantity/measure which may occur only in complementary distribution as stated in the hypothesis.

Since the intensifiers, being the typical modifiers of adjectives, are generally grammatically optional because they fail to add any restrictive meaning to the adjective, they are mostly redundant. Their only function is to “indicate a point on an abstractly conceived intensity scale.... (relatively low or relatively high)” (Quirk et al., 1985:589). As the adjectives (and the passive attributes with adjectival reading) encode property/quality it is logical that property/quality may be indicated by the “high” or “low” intensity. On the other hand, verbs and passive participles with verbal reading encode the states resulting from the previous events (action or process), so it is logical that they may be indicated only by quantity or measure, never by intensity. Therefore, the passive participles retaining verbal/passive reading may be modified only by some restrictive adverbs which include the open class degree adverbs as well. And these may only be the adverbs of quantity/measure. Since the passive attributes retaining their verbal/passive meaning express the state resulting from the previous event, then, the degree adverbs modifying such passive attributes may only express the quantity/measure to which the noun has been affected by the previous event encoded by the passive attribute. As the semantically restrictive elements the adverbs of quantity/measure are neither redundant nor grammatically optional with some passive participles (see examples 69a, 70a, 71a and 72a), i.e. in some cases not the intensifiers but the adverbs of quantity/measure may become the obligatory elements in the passive participial phrase used in the attributive position (see 71a).

Diagnostic tests: the subclasses of the open class degree adverbs

The only diagnostic test for the degree adverbs proposed in literature is the question “to what extent?” (Greenbaum, 1970)

However, this test only provides the evidence for the status of the entire class of degree adverbs, generally. It seems to be relevant only for distinguishing the manner adverbs from the degree adverbs, since the same forms, usually associated with the adverbs

of manner, most frequently function as the degree adverbs when used to premodify the class of adjectives:

(73) badly hazy pictures/jako mutne slike – degree

(74) a badly performed play/loše izvedena predstava – manner

However, we also claim that even the adverbs of manner that change the class and function as the degree adverbs may be parsed as two subclasses and function either as the intensifiers or adverbs of quantity:

(75) a badly damaged boat/jako oštećen brod – intensifier

(75a) a badly cut face/jako isječeno lice – adverb of quantity

To provide the evidence for our claim that intensifiers and adverbs of quantity/measure are separate subclasses of the open class degree adverbs we propose the following tests:

By the analogy with APs:

(76) an unbelievably beautiful girl

How beautiful is the girl?

*How much is the girl beautiful?

Reply: unbelievably

We propose the following tests:

- **How X is somebody/something? – for intensifiers**
- **How much is somebody/something X? – for the adverbs of quantity/measure**

where X stands for the passive participle.

The tests were carried out with the assistance of two native speakers, both British. For each phrase we offered three questions:

- *How X is smb/sth? – for intensifiers*
- *To what extent is smb/sth X? – for all degree adverbs*
- *How much is smb/sth X? – for the adverbs of quantity/measure*

Test results for the open class degree adverbs

(77) completely devastated parents

How devastated are the parents?

To what extent are the parents devastated?

***How much are the parents devastated?**

Reply: completely

(77a) a completely finished hull

***How finished is the hull?**

To what extent is the hull finished?

How much is the hull finished?

Reply: completely

(78) an utterly committed sportsman

How committed is the sportsman?

To what extent is the sportsman committed?

***How much is the sportsman committed?**

Reply: utterly

(78a) the utterly destroyed system

***How destroyed is the system?**

To what extent is the system destroyed?

How much is the system destroyed?

Reply: utterly

The same test was carried out with a number of other phrases containing degree adverbs and passive attributes with “adjectival” and “verbal” reading:

(79) a totally devoted loyalist/potpuno odan lojalist vs

(79a) a totally heated space/potpuno zagrijan prostor

(80) a partly disenchanted crowd/djelimično razočarana gomila vs

(80a) a partly built hotel/djelimično izgrađen hotel etc. etc.

(81) his slightly embarrassed wife/njegova pomalo zburnjena žena vs.

(81a) a slightly shortened version/malo/neznatno skraćena verzija

This test has proved that the question “to what extent” (Greenbaum, 1970) may only confirm the status of degree adverbs, but the other two provide the evidence for the distinction between those occurring only with “adjectival” and those premodifying only “verbal” passive attributes.

The tests have shown that, despite the same morphological form, the same distribution and almost the same semantic content, all open class degree adverbs fall into two subclasses:

1. INTENSIFIERS – that occur only with the passive attributes of “adjectival” reading and
2. ADVERBS OF QUANTITY/MEASURE – that occur only with the passive attributes retaining “verbal” reading and that they may occur only in complementary distribution when modifying passive attributes.

Classification of adverbs for the purpose of this analysis

To test “adjectival” and “verbal” passive attributes we have classified adverbs as follows:

1. Adverbs being typical but not the only adverbs premodifying adjectives and “adjectival” passive attributes – intensifiers; and

2. Adverbs being typical and the only modifiers of verbs and “verbal” passive attributes:

- adverbs of quantity/measure
- adverbs of manner
- adverbs of time
- adverbs of place¹¹

Other criteria for testing and classification of passive attributes

Besides the most important test with the class of adverbs, passive attributes were also tested with the following diagnostic tests:

1. Premodification by the closed class intensifiers *very* and *too*;
2. Possible comparison of passive attributes and their occurrence in the comparative constructions;
3. Distribution of passive participles after the verbs *seem/remain/look*;
4. Derivation of the adjective by the prefix *un-*;
5. Possibility to occur in the attributive function without premodification;
6. Possibility to occur in the multiple premodification of a noun with adjectives;
7. Unrestricted coordination with adjectives;
8. Premodification of the passive attribute by the closed class adverb *much* when passive participle is in its positive form;
9. Premodification of the passive attribute by the adverb of manner *well* which may occur only with the “verbal” passives when it functions either as the adverb of manner or the adverb of quantity, but never as the intensifier.

The tests from 1. through 4. provide the evidence for the adjectival status of passive attributes, and the tests 5, 6. and 7. provide the evidence for their already achieved adjectival status,

¹¹ Location is most frequently expressed not by adverbs but other syntactic structures with the adverbial function (PPs, adverbial clauses, etc.) that are not licensed in the specifier position within the APs used attributively. The only adverbs denoting location that may occur in this function are the deictic adverbs *here/there* that have proven to be almost irrelevant in this analysis since they rarely occur as the specifiers/modifiers of both, adjectives and passive attributes.

whereas the tests 8. and 9. may provide the evidence for the verbal interpretation and verbal status of passive attributes.

The results of the analysis

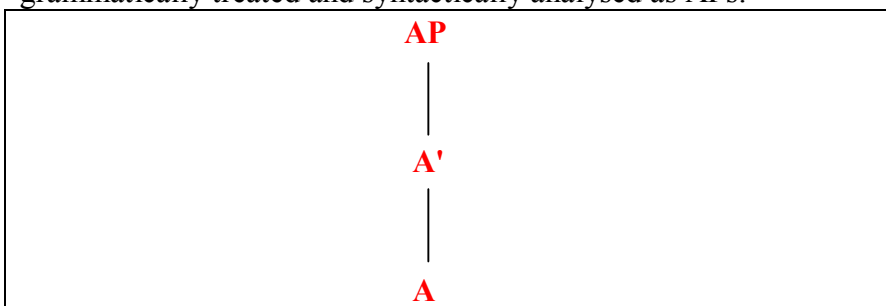
The testing was performed on the sample of approximately 800 passive participles used attributively. The passive adjectives in the attributive position in BCS were observed through the translation equivalents of the corresponding passive attributes in English.

Passive attributes in English

All the tests explained in the previous chapters have provided the evidence for the following identification and possible classification of passive attributes in English:

1. Adjectives: Despite the “passive” morphological form, this set of *-en/-ed* passive-like attributes have shown that they share all the grammatical properties with other adjectives in English, i.e. they may be optionally premodified by intensifiers. In addition, they satisfy all the criteria set up in the tests from 1 through 7 stated above. The tests have proved that this class of *-en/-ed* deverbial attributes have already achieved their full adjectival status in English, and therefore should be grammatically treated as adjectives.

Syntactically, their maximal projection is identical to the projection of all other adjectives for which reason they should be grammatically treated and syntactically analysed as APs:

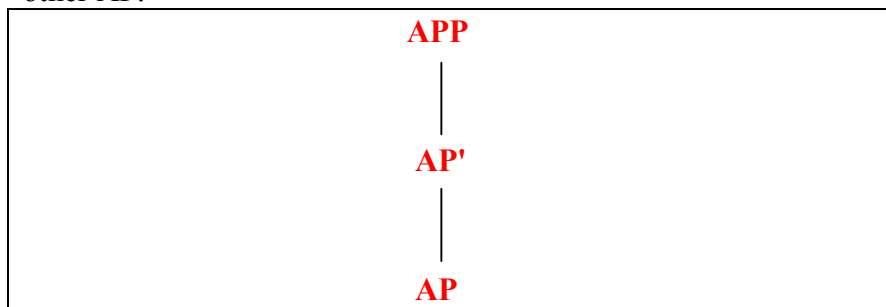


Resultative adjectival participles: Semantically, they retain their passive/verbal reading, but grammatically, they share some grammatical properties with adjectives, such as free attributive distribution the consequence of which is their unrestricted occurrence in the multiple premodification of a noun and the unrestricted coordination with other adjectives when functioning as attributes.

However, resultative adjectival participles may not be compared. Consequently, they may not occur in the comparative constructions nor may they appear in the subject-complement constructions after the verbs *seem/remain/look*. Therefore, the tests have shown that, despite their free attributive distribution they have not achieved their full adjectival status in English. However, despite this fact, free attributive distribution qualifies this set of passive attributes for “adjectival” grammatical treatment when used as attributes since they are not subject to the constraint discussed in this paper. The fact is that among the resultative passive participles there are some that may serve as the base for the derivation of the adjective opposite in meaning by the prefix *un-* but, as previously stated, this test has proved to be a very poor piece of evidence for confirming the adjectival status of a word. (as stated under item 10, chapter 2).

Speaking about the open class degree adverbs, resultative adjectival participles may not be optionally premodified by the intensifiers. However, they may occur with the optional adverbs of quantity/measure in the specifier position in their maximal projection. Finally, all resultative adjectival participles split up into two subsets: the ones that licence all the restrictive adverbs in the specifier position and the ones that may be modified by all the restrictive adverbs except the adverbs of quantity/measure¹².

Syntactically, resultative adjectival participles project as APPs – the structure of which is identical to the structure of any other AP.

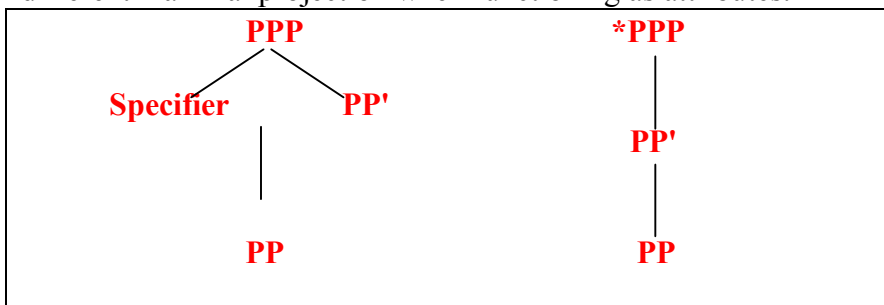


¹² If the verb which passive attribute is derived from does not encode the process component in the event structure it is most likely that such a passive attribute will not licence adverbs of quantity/measure in the specifier position. The event structure might be relevant for the difference between these two subsets of resultatives. For more details see Grimshaw and Vikner, 1993; Ackerman and Goldberg, 1996), although this is still an open question for further theoretical discussion.

2. Passive participles: They retain their verbal force and passive/verbal reading just like the resultative adjectival participles. However, this set of passive attributes is subject to the constraint discussed in this paper. They fail all the tests that might provide any evidence whatsoever to be considered as adjectives or “adjectivals” despite the fact that they may occur in the attributive position. The analysis has proved that the only grammatical properties they have are the ones that confirm their verbal status (see the tests 8 and 9). With respect to the obligatory premodification and the open class degree adverbs, if they may take degree modification at all, then they may be premodified only by the adverbs of quantity/measure, never by the intensifiers. It has also been noted that in the neutral context when they are not premodified by other restrictive adverbs, but they licence degree modification in the specifier position, then they must obligatorily project the closed class adverb of quantity *much* (*a much admired author* vs. **an admired author*; *a much performed play* vs. **a performed play*) for which reason the adverb of quantity *much* may be considered grammaticalised in such usage.

However, this set of passive attributes may also be parsed as two subsets: the ones that must be obligatorily premodified by all restrictive adverbs, and the ones that may not be premodified only by the adverbs of quantity/measure. (See footnote 11)

Syntactically, passive participles from this class have different maximal projection when functioning as attributes:



Passive attributes in BCS

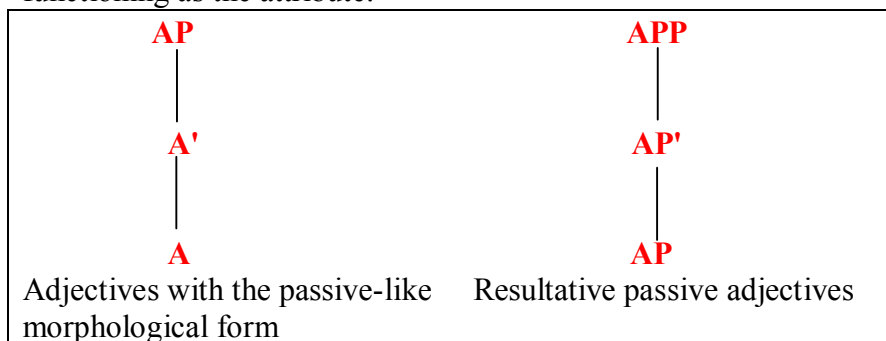
The parametric difference at the level of the NP between English and BCS has been already mentioned, i.e. contrary to English, BCS has the syntactic category of agreement of adjectives in gender, number and case with the headnoun when they occur in the attributive position. In addition, they may be marked for definiteness being the grammatical property only of adjectives. For

this reason the constraint affecting passive participles in English does not affect their counterparts in BCS.¹³ However, the tests carried out with the passive attributes in BCS have provided the evidence proving that passive adjectives split up into two subclasses:

1. Adjectives – that passed all the tests proving their full adjectival status; and
2. Resultative passive adjectives that retain their passive/verbal reading and fail some tests proving their full adjectival status (e.g. may not be compared or used in the comparative constructions etc.).

With respect to the degree adverbs, adjectives may be premodified by the intensifiers whereas resultative passive adjectives may licence only adverbs of quantity/measure. However, all the adverbs that may occur as the modifiers of both groups are completely optional in the projection of passive adjectives in BCS.

Syntactically, whatever class they belong to, their maximal projection is identical to the projection of any other adjective functioning as the attribute:



However, it has been noted that the passive adjectives derived from atelic verbs in which case the verbal aspect is morphologically marked, in BCS may also be affected by the similar restriction:

- | | |
|---------------------------------|--------|
| (82) *prodavana | kuća |
| sold-PROGR. | house |
| (82a) cf. <u>dugo</u> prodavana | kuća |
| <u>long</u> sold:PROGR. | house |
| (83) *pisana | knjiga |
| written:PROGR | book |

¹³ Except a certain number of those derived from the atelic verbs – see footnote 4.

(83a) cf. pažljivo pisana knjiga
 carefully written:PROGR. book

It seems that the same restriction noted in English also affects the attributively used passive adjectives derived from the verbs morphologically marked for progressive aspect. However, the more thorough research of the relatedness between verbal aspect and this restriction in BCS is absolutely necessary.

The test with the questions beginning with HOW vs HOW MUCH used to test the English passive participles and distinguishing intensifiers and adverbs of measure/quantity could not be applied in the same manner on the attributively used passive adjectives in BCS for the simple reason that the expressions *how* and *how much* used for making the distinction between the passive participles with adjectival or verbal reading, respectively, are neutralized in BCS by the same expression: *koliko*. Therefore the distinction between the two sets could not be checked by the same test in BCS.

Conclusion

Besides the evidence provided for possible “adjectival” or “verbal” interpretation of passive attributes this analysis has revealed some other relevant facts:

1. Specifiers in the lexical phrases are optional elements in the maximal projection of all lexical categories except the “verbal” passive attributes subject to the constraint discussed in this analysis (and possibly some progressive active participles used attributively – see footnote 6);
2. Degree adverbs do not make a single class of adverbs but split up into the subclasses: intensifiers and adverbs of quantity/measure occurring in complementary distribution;
3. We proposed that the maximal projection of the passive attributes falling into the class 3. (passive participles as opposed to the resultative adjectival participles and adjectives) is not the projection of APs or APPs but PPPs. These projections differ in that PPPs must project the specifier. Otherwise the phrase is ruled out as ungrammatical.
4. Besides the syntactic contexts in which adjectives and passive participles fail to overlap: causative constructions with the verb “have”, passivised complex transitive verbs,

subject-complement constructions with the verbs *remain/seem/look* (See Wasow, 1972; Abney, 1987), there is one more distribution where they fail to overlap – and that is the attributive position of the passive participles that must always project the specifier when functioning as attributes.

Questions requiring further researches

In the light of this analysis the following issues deserve to be investigated in future:

1. Lexicalisation: are the phrases such as:
(68) a recently built hotel/nedavno izgrađen hotel
(69) the soon-to-be-privatized rail company/željeznička kompanija koja uskoro treba biti privatizovana

Compounds, as claimed by some linguists (see Adams, 2001; Plag, 2003 Biber, 1999), or they are the syntactic units (phrases).

2. Relationship between -ing and -en/-ed participial attributes (See footnote 6)
3. Aspect – in BCS passive adjectives may be derived from the atelic verbs as well, in spite of the semantic constraint imposed on the derivation of the resultatives (Haspelmath, 1994, Bresnan, 2001)
4. Adverbs of frequency – seem to be semantically incompatible with the concept of the resultatives and deserve more thorough analysis.

Further insight into these issues would shed more light on these fuzzy lexical elements frequently functioning as attributes in both languages.

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NEKA OGRANIČENJA PASIVNIH ATRIBUTA I PROBLEMI KATEGORIZACIJE

Kamiah Arnaut-Karović, Profesorica engleskog jezika

Sažetak

Uočeno je da bez odgovarajuće adverbijalne modifikacije neki pasivni participi nisu prihvatljivi u atributivnom položaju u engleskom jeziku, npr.: **a found suitcase*, **a killed young man*, **a built apartment block*, nasuprot nekim pasivnim participima koji ne podliježu ovom ograničenju, kao npr.: *an abandoned village*, *a complicated man*, *the needed discipline*.

Zbog pretpostavke da se identifikacija i kategorijalni status nekih oblika riječi u engleskom mogu bolje sagledati na nivou većih konstituenata, predložili smo neke distributivne dijagnostičke testove kako bismo utvrdili zadržavaju li pasivni participi svoju glagolsku interpretaciju ili su, pak, samom činjenicom da se pojavljuju u atributivnom položaju ostvarili svoj pridjevski status u engleskom jeziku. Budući da se njihov morfološki oblik nije pokazao kao pouzdan kriterij za identifikaciju kategorije, predložili smo da ih se testira tako što ćemo klasificirati tipove adverba koji omogućavaju nekim pasivnim participima da budu upotrijebljeni u atributivnom položaju. S obzirom na to da isti prilozi mogu modificirati i pridjeve i glagole, fokusirali smo se na klasifikaciju priloga za stepen koji predmodificiraju pasivne participe kada se koriste u atributivnom položaju. Testovi koji su predloženi u ovom radu mogu pokazati da prilozi za stepen koji modificiraju pasivne participe u atributivnom i u predikativnom položaju ne pripadaju jedinstvenoj klasi nego se razdvajaju u dvije potklase: priloge za stepen/intenzifikatore te priloge za mjeru/količinu koji modificiraju pasivne participe u atributivnom odnosno predikativnom položaju respektivno. Budući da pasivni participi mogu imati dvije različite interpretacije, odnosno pridjevsko ili glagolsko tj. pasivno čitanje čak i kada se koriste kao atributi, otvorena klasa priloga za stepen testirana je na nivou participne sintagme koja se pojavljuje u atributivnom položaju unutar imeničke fraze kako bi se utvrdilo jesu li pasivni atributi u ovoj distribuciji ostvarili svoj pridjevski status i pridjevsku interpretaciju, ili oni čak i u ovom sintaksičkom

položaju zadržavaju svoju glagolsku interpretaciju i pasivno čitanje. Primjeri su upoređivani s prevodnim ekvivalentima u BHS da bi se ustanovilo postoji li isto ograničenje i za trpne pridjeve u atributskom položaju u BHS.

Ključne riječi: prilozi za stepen, intenzifikatori, prilozi za količinu/mjeru, pasivni participi, komplementarna distribucija

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بعض القيود لصفات مبنية للمجهول ومشاكل تصنيفها

الخلاصة:

لوحظ أن بعض الصيغ المبنية للمجهول ليست مقبولة في محل النعت في اللغة الإنجليزية إلا بتعديل الظرفية المناسبة، مثلا: *a found suitcase, a killed young man, a built apartment block, an abandoned village, a complicated man, the needed discipline.* لا تخضع لهذا القيد، مثل: *needed discipline.*

وبسبب افتراض أن تحديد وتصنيف بعض صيغ الكلمات في اللغة الإنجليزية يمكن تحليلها على مستوى المكونات الكبرى، وقد اقترحنا اختبارات توزيعية تشخيصية حتى نتأكد ما إذا كانت أسماء المفاعيل تحافظ على الفعلية في التأويل أو هي قد حققت مكانة الصفة في اللغة الإنجليزية بظهورها في محلّ نعتي. ونظرا إلى أن صيغها الصرفية لم تكن مقياسا موثوقا في تصنيفها اللغوي فقد اقترحنا اختبارها من خلال أنواع الظروف التي تسمح لأسماء المفاعيل أن تستخدم في محل النعت. ونظرا إلى أن الظروف لها قوة تعديل الصفات والأفعال قد ركزنا على تصنيف الظروف التوكيدية الذي يعدل أسماء المفاعيل في استخدامها في محل النعت.

الاختبارات المقترحة في هذا البحث بإمكانها أن تبين أن الظروف التوكيدية التي تعدل أسماء المفاعيل في محل النعت ومحل الإسناد/الخبر لا تنتمي إلى صنف واحد بل لها فرعان: ظروف التوكيد وظروف الكمية التي تعدل أسماء المفاعيل في محل النعت ومحل الإسناد واضحة. نظرا إلى أن لأسماء المفاعيل تأويلين: صفة وفعليا، أي استخدامها للمجهول حتى ولو استخدمت صفات. ودرست ظروف التوكيد على المستوى العبارة المكونة من أسماء المفاعيل التي وجدت في محل النعت داخل عبارة

اسمية حتى تثبت هل الصفات المنبئة لمجهول في هذا التوزيع حققت محل صفة وتأويل الصفات أو هي حتى في هذا المحل التركيبي تحافظ على التأويل الفعلي والقراءة المجهولة. قورنت أمثلة بترجماتها باللغة البوسنية/ الكروواتية /الصربية حتى تثبت ما إذا كان القيد موجود في الصفات في اللغة البوسنية والكروواتية والصربية. الكلمات الأساسية: التوكيدات, ظروف الكمية, النعوت السلبية, توزيع الكماليات.