

Passives of Subject Experiencer verbs in Polish¹

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The presentation focuses on the nature of passives of SE verbs in Polish at the background of current literature related to different types of passives on one hand and to properties of psych predicates on the other hand. We address the question whether passives of Polish SE verbs (which cross-linguistically are considered to be stative), are stative or eventive. Polish resembles German and Spanish in that it signals the distinction between the stative/adjectival and the eventive/verbal passive by means of different combinations of the auxiliary and passive participles. Following Nagórko (1996) and Laskowski (1998), we assume that the combination of the auxiliary *być/bywać* and the perfective passive participle is a stative passive, whereas the eventive passive has two possible forms: (i) the auxiliary *być* + the imperfective passive participle and (ii) the auxiliary *zostać* + the perfective passive participle. Gehrke (2015) observes that SE verbs in German do not constitute good inputs to stative passives, because with these verbs the holder of the state is an external argument, not the internal one (in contrast to OE verbs). Gehrke (2015) postulates 2 generalisations for German:

Generalisation 1: Only verbs with internal (Theme or Experiencer) argument can appear in German adjectival passives.

Generalisation 2: Only verbs that are associated with a change of state along a (unique, one-dimensional) scale can appear in German adjectival passives.

Similar to German, Polish SE verbs, such as *kochać* ‘to love’, *lubić* ‘to like’, *nienawidzić* ‘to hate’, *uwielbiać* ‘to love’, *ubóstwiać* ‘to love’, *podziwiać* ‘to admire’, *doceniać* ‘to appreciate’, *szanować* ‘to respect’, *gardzić* ‘to despise’, etc., can only sporadically give rise to the stative passive. Evidence from the National Corpus of Polish (www.nkjp.pl) confirms an observation already made in Biały (2005) that some perfective SE verbs like *pokochać* ‘to start to love’ (also *polubić* ‘to start to like’) are disallowed in the stative passive, as in (1):

- (1) *Prezydent jest pokochany przez naród.
president-nom is loved-perf by nation
‘The president is loved by the nation.’

However, some perfective passive participles, illicit in the stative passive like (1), are perfectly acceptable with the auxiliary *zostać* ‘to become’ in the eventive passive, as in (2):

- (2) Prezydent został pokochany przez naród.
president-nom became loved-perf by nation
‘The president was loved by the nation.’

The fact that SE verbs can give rise to *zostać*-passives is unproblematic, as it contains the passive participle derived from the perfective form of the verb, which is always eventive and describes the beginning of a state. What is problematic in view of Gehrke’s generalisations is the ability of stative SE verbs to appear in the *być* + imperfective passive, as in (3) – (4):

- (3) Jest podziwiany, ale nie jest lubiany.
he-is admired-imperf but not is liked-imperf
(4) Milingo jest uwielbiany przez swoich współziomków.
Milingo-nom is admired-imperf by his countrymen
‘Milingo is admired by his countrymen.’

We argue that the *być* + imperfective passives formed of SE verbs are neither resultant state nor target state passives (cf. Kratzer 2000) and suggest that they represent the eventive passive despite their stative interpretation. However, we show that they cannot be taken to be coerced

¹ This research is funded by grant 2014/15/B/HS2/00588 from National Science Centre, Poland.

into achievements (as proposed for English by Gehrke and Grillo 2009). SE verbs in the passive may co-occur with *wciąż* ‘still’, as in (5), whereas achievements do not tolerate it, as in (6):

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

(6) Obraz jest (*wciąż) znaleziony przez Marka.
 painting-nom is (*still) found-perf by Mark
 ‘The painting is (*still) found by Mark.’

Moreover, states and achievements give rise to different temporal entailments, diagnosed by the tests adopted from Bar-el (2005), such as culmination cancellation and event continuation:

(7) ??Robotnicy poszerzyli drogę, ale nie skończyli/przestali (jej poszerzać).
 workers-nom widened road but not finished/stopped its widening
 ‘The workers widened the road, but didn't finish (widening it).’

(8) Janek pokochał Zosię i nie przestał jej kochać.
 Janek-nom love-perf Zosia-acc and not cease her
 love-imperf
 ‘Janek started to love Zosia and he didn't cease to love her.’

(9) ??Robotnicy poszerzyli drogę i nadal ją poszerzają.
 workers-nom widened-perf road-acc and still it widen-imperf
 ‘The workers widened the road and they're still widening it.’

(10) Janek pokochał Zosię i nadal ją kocha.
 Janek-nom loved-perf Zosia-acc and still her loves-imperf
 ‘Janek started to love Zosia and he still loves her.’

The above tests distinguish between achievements and inceptive states with respect to the presence of final points. With achievements, final points are diagnosed in the event structure, whereas with inceptive states, no final points are diagnosed. These and other properties of Polish SE verbs as opposed to achievements allow us to conclude that their ability to appear in eventive/verbal passives cannot be accounted for in terms of coercion to achievements. Instead, we treat them as non-dynamic events, as proposed by Fábregas and Marín (2017) for Spanish predicates referring to the maintenance of a situation, such as *protect*, *hold*, *govern*, *block*, etc. The predicates analysed by Fábregas and Marín (2017) display mixed properties of activities and states. The same may be observed for SE verbs in Polish. Since SE verbs only partly resemble activities, but also show some properties typical of states, we would like to propose that they can be coerced to represent the class which Fábregas and Marín (2017) call non-dynamic events. The possibility of coercing states into events is responsible for the fact that SE verbs can give rise to the eventive *być* + imperfective passive in Polish.

Selected References: Biały, A. 2005. *Polish Psychological Verbs at the Lexicon-Syntax Interface in Cross-linguistic Perspective*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang; Fábregas, A. and R. Marín. 2017. “On non-dynamic eventive verbs in Spanish”. *Linguistics* 55(3). 451-488; Gehrke, B. 2015. “Adjectival participles, event kind modification and pseudo-incorporation”. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 33. 897-938; Gehrke, B. and N. Grillo. 2009. “How to become passive”. In: Grohmann, K. (ed.), *Explorations of Phase Theory: Features, arguments and interpretation at the interfaces*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. 231-268; Kratzer, A. 2000. “Building statives”. *Proceedings of Berkley Linguistics Society* 26. 385-399. Laskowski, R. 1998. “Kategorie morfologiczne języka polskiego – Charakterystyka funkcjonalna” [Morphological categories of the Polish language – Functional characteristics]. In: Grzegorzycykowa, R., R. Laskowski and H. Wróbel (eds.), *Gramatyka współczesnego języka polskiego. Morfologia*. [Grammar of Contemporary Polish. Morphology]. Warszawa: PWN. 151-221.