When passive becomes active: on some past participles with motion verbs in Romance

Isabel Crespí
Centre de Lingüística Teòrica / Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

This study analyses a structure found in some Romance languages, formed by a motion verb (*venir* 'come', *arribar* 'arrive', *sortir* 'leave') combined with a past participle (1). We name these structures *Active Participle with Motion Verbs* (APMV) since the participle, despite not being an active participle, receives an active reading. Interestingly, this pattern can be found in different Romance varieties, such as Catalan or Spanish, but it is impossible in Germanic languages (2).

(1) a. *Aquí s'   ha de **venir plorat** de   casa*   [Catalan]
    here pr.imp. has to come cried from home
    Literally: 'Here you must come cried from home'
    Intended: 'You must come here after crying at home'

  b. *Per escoltar el pianista Grigori Sokolov cal   **sortir tossit**   de   casa*   [Catalan]
    to   listen   the pianist   Grigori Sokolov must leave coughed from home
    Literally: 'To listen the pianist Grigori Sokolov, you must leave coughed from home
    Intended: 'You must come to listen to the pianist Grigori Sokolov after coughing at home'

  c. *De   casa se   **viene eructado, estornudado y   tosido***   [Spanish]
    from home pr.imp. come belched   sneezed   and coughed
    Literally: 'From home you must come belched, sneezed and coughed'
    Intended: 'You must come here after belching, sneezing and coughing at home'

(2) a. *To this work, you must come cried from home   [English]
  b. *Zu dieser Arbeit musst du geweint von zu   Hause kommen   [German]
    to   this   work must you cried   from your home come

The interest of these data lies in the fact that the participles involved in these structures are not active (Borgonovo 1999, Di Tullio 2008, Armstrong 2017), as proves the fact that they are ungrammatical in the canonical uses of active participles: as predicates in copulative sentences (3a) or as nominal modifiers inside a DP (3b). However, they acquire an active reading when combined with some motion verbs, so that *venir eructado* (lit. 'come belched') in (1c) does not mean 'to come after *being* belched (by someone)', but 'to come after *having* belched'.

(3) a. **El Joan està   **plorat** / **eructat***   [Catalan]
    the Joan is   cried   belched

  b. **Un noi **plorat** / **eructat** va interrompre la classe*   [Catalan]
    a boy cried   belched did interrupt   the class

Despite the similarity, APMV are different from those structures formed with the participle of a consumption verb (*vinc sopat,* lit. 'I come dined') since, in the latter, the participle does behave as a real active participle, allowing the uses in (3), as we show in (4).

(4) a. *Els nens **estan sopats** i   dins el llit*   [Catalan]
    the kids are   dined and in   the bed

  b. ***Un niño desayunado** responde intelectualmente mejor*   [Spanish]
    a   boy breakfasted responds intellectually   better

We revise the data that patterns the APMV configuration cross-linguistically, focusing on the difference between Romance and Germanic languages, since in the latter this structure (<motion verb + past participle>) is never allowed with the active reading, even with consumption verbs (*I come dined). Regarding the formal analysis, firstly, we note that the participle derives from an unergative verb of emission (Levin 1993): *tossit* (coughed)*, eructat* (belched)*, esternudat* (sneezed), *pixat* (pissed), etc. With Armstrong (2017), we classify these structures as active resultatives. According to the author, the formation of resultative active participle is restricted to

verbs that have an existential implicit object. The test given by Armstrong to prove the structural presence of this implicit object is that these verbs may take unspecified objects in episodic contexts, requirement that our verbs meet: *¿Qué pasó? María lloró lágrimas de alegría* (Sp.) ('What happened? María cried tears of joy'). *¿Qué pasó? Juan tosió sangre* (Sp.) ('What happened? Juan coughed blood'). Therefore, despite seeming unergative, these verbs have an implicit object, which, in terms of Armstrong, can be paraphrased as "some amount of X": 'to cry' implies to cry 'some amount of tears'. In addition, this correctly predicts that we can create an active participle from *llorar* ('cry'), but not from a verb like *trabajar* ('work'), which does not involve any implicit object: *¿Qué pasó? *María trabajó trabajos buenos* ('What happened? *María worked good works') / *Hay que venir trabajado* ('*You must come worked').

Formally, Armstrong proposes that there is a resultative Asp head (Asp$_R$) involved in the creation of a resultative active participle. This head selects a transitive Voice head (Voice$_{tr}$) and "creates a state by binding the event argument and implicit internal argument variable of a verb with an existential operator". This forces the externalisation of the External Argument and results in the creation of an active participle. Once the participle is created, we propose it projects a predicative absolute clause (PredP) which codifies anteriority. Bello (1847) suggests that absolute clauses with participles have an omitted gerund; we propose that the gerund here could be 'having', which evince the active reading of these constructions and adds the anteriority value to the clause. We also explore the possibility that, instead of a gerund, there could be a covert prepositional element with the same meaning, such as 'after'. Actually, *venir plorat* means 'come after crying'.

Thirdly, the main verb is always an inherently directed motion verb (Tesnière 1959, Talmy 1975) and expresses a change of location, this is, a traversal of a path (Levin & Rappaport Hovav 1995). Following Rigau (1997, 2013), we propose that APMV constructions project an unergative structure, despite motion verbs have been claimed to be unaccusative. Note that the subject does not behave as a Theme (GIEC 2016: §21.4): it cannot be indeterminate (5a), nor postverbal (5b) (it cannot appear neither after the main verb nor after the participle), and it does not allow *en* cliticization in Catalan (5c).

(5)   a. *__Periodistes__ han de venir plorats de   casa   [Catalan]
         journalists have to come cried   from home
      b. *__Han de venir periodistes__ plorats / *Han de venir __plorats periodistes__*   [Catalan]
          have to come journalists cried   /   have to come cried   journalists
      c. *__N'__   han de venir plorats   [Catalan]
         pron.part have to come cried

Then, it follows that the subject is agentive, both syntactically and semantically (intentional agent, Davidson 1971). This is also related to another fact: all these structures have an operator of deontic modality that has scope over the whole construction. It can have the form of the periphrasis <*haver de* + infinitive> ('have to + infinitive'), the modal verbs *caldre* (Cat.) or *deber* (Sp.) ('must'), or just the deontic present tense (*presente de mandato*, NGLE 2011: §23.3.2c). In our proposal, the modal element heads a Modality Phrase (ModP) and c-commands the whole structure, including the subject of the verb, to which it imposes a semantic obligation.

(6)   [ModP [Mod *ha de*] [VoiceP [Agent] [VP [PredP *plorat*] [V' [V *venir*]]]]]

In this respect, the subject tends to be indefinite (pronoun *es*) or collective (i.e. *people*), for what we suggest it refers to a generic "everybody". Then, the structure expresses a moral obligation (*ought-to-be* reading, Rech & Varaschin 2018). Therefore, APMV constructions generate a semantic implication with a conditional value, so that the interpretation is that the generic subject, everybody, must fulfil the action expressed by the participle as a condition to carry out the action denoted by the main verb, that is, the change of location. Hence, this structure could be a type of covert conditional: 'To the theatre one has to "come coughed"' = 'if you have coughed, you can come to the theatre'

References (selected): Armstrong, G. (2017) Spanish participios activos are adjectival antipassives, *The Linguistic Review* 34(1). **Institut d'Estudis Catalans (2016)** *Gramàtica de la llengua catalana* (GIEC). **Rigau, G. (2013)** La preposició silent d'alguns verbs de moviment local, *Els Marges: revista de llengua i literatura*, 100.