

Adjectival Passives and the Generative Lexicon

Yoon-kyoung Joh
(Mokpo National University)

Joh, Yoon-kyoung. (2015). Adjectival Passives and the Generative Lexicon. *The Linguistic Association of Korea Journal*, 23(2), 19-36. For adjectival passives, it is generally known that a conversion process is necessary to shift the verbal category into an adjective. However, there is no consensus on exactly what kind of conversion process it must be. This paper would like to propose a type coercion mechanism introduced by the Generative Lexicon Theory for adjectival passives, considering their two sub-types. Kratzer (2000) and many others identify two types of adjectival passives: resultant state adjectival passives and target state adjective passives. This paper claims that the two types of adjectival passives can be generated if we take into account the Qualia Structure. When the agentive role is specified by the natural kind in the conversion process, the adjectival passive has the resultant state reading. However, when the agentive role is characterized by the causal chain in the coercion process, the adjectival passive has the target state interpretation.

Key Words: Adjectival Passives, resultant state adjectival passives, target state adjectival passives, Qualia Structure, Type Coercion

1. Introduction

Wasow (1977) makes a distinction between verbal passives and adjectival passives. The verbal passives in (1) refer to an activity while adjectival passives in (2) refer to an already attained state.

- (1) a. During my visit, that door was quickly taken off by the tenant.
b. John's requests are getting satisfied.

- (2) a. At my arrival, that door was already completely taken off.
b. John now seems very (un)satisfied.

In German, as Kratzer (2000) notes, the two kinds of passives introduced above are manifested by different lexical choices. Verbal passives are formed by the passive auxiliary *werden* as shown in (3) while adjectival passives are formed by the auxiliary *sein* as shown in (4). This different lexical realization has made many researchers work on German when it comes to different types of passives.

- (3) a. Die Schublade wurde geschlossen.
The drawer became closed.
'The drawer was closed.'
- b. Die Schublade wurde leise von dem Dieb geschlossen.
The drawer became quietly by the thief closed
'The drawer was quietly closed by the thief.'
- c. *Die Schublade wurde jahrelang geschlossen.
The drawer became for years closed
'The drawer was closed for years.'
- (4) a. Die Schublade war geschlossen.
The drawer was closed.
'The drawer was closed.'
- b. *Die Schublade war leise von dem Dieb geschlossen.
The drawer was quietly by the thief closed.
'The drawer was quietly closed by the thief.'
- c. Die Schublade war jahrelang geschlossen.
The drawer was for years closed
'The drawer was closed for years.'

Kratzer (2000) further subclassifies adjectival passives into two categories: target state passives in (5) and resultant state passives in (6), discussing German examples. Target state passives delineate the states that are characteristically reversible, and thus can be transitory while resultant state passives express that a contextually salient event described by the participle is

over by the reference time. This semantic difference results in a grammatical contrast with the phrase *immer noch* 'still.' Target state passives can co-occur with *immer noch* whereas resultant state passives cannot, as illustrated below.

- (5) a. Die Geisslein sind immer noch versteckt.
The little goats are still hidden.
- b. Die Reifen sind immer noch aufgepumpt.
The tires are still pumped up.
- c. Der Deckel ist immer noch abgeschraubt.
The lid is still screwed off.
- d. Das Gebäude ist immer noch geräumt.
The building is still evacuated.
- e. Die Ausfahrt ist immer noch versperrt.
The departure is still locked up.
- (6) a. Das Theorem ist (*immer noch) bewiesen.
The theorem is (*still) proven.
- b. Der Briefkasten ist (*immer noch) geleert.
The mail box is (*still) emptied.
- c. Die Wäsche ist (*immer noch) getrocknet.
The laundry is (*still) dried.
- d. Die Gäste sind (*immer noch) begrüßt.
The guests are (*still) greeted.
- e. Die Töpfe sind (*immer noch) ab gespült.
The pots are (*still) washed up.

This paper would like to address the question how verbal passives and adjectival passives are distinguished in grammar, considering the fact that there are two different kinds of adjectival passives. In the literature, it was generally admitted that, for adjectival passives, additional conversion process is necessary to shift the verbal category into an adjective. Yet, this paper would like to specify exactly what kind of coercion process is appropriate for adjectival passives. This paper will argue that the type coercion mechanism introduced by the Generative Lexicon Theory can appropriately account for the conversion process for adjectival passives since it can adequately generate the two kinds of

adjectival passives by the means of the Qualia Structure.

2. Previous Studies

This section will discuss the differences between verbal passives and adjectival passives observed by Edmonds (2006), on the one hand, and the differences between two types of adjectival passives, on the other, briefly reviewing how they were addressed in the previous literature. First of all, the verbal passives in (7) are observed not to have the interpretation of completed activity expressed by adjectival passives in (8).

- (7) a. The door got/was closed during the noon hour.
(door can be open at noon)
- b. The door is being (*un)painted.
(painting incomplete)
- (8) a. The door remained/was closed during the noon hour.
(door closed by noon)
- b. The door looked (un)painted.
(painting complete)

Thus, Edmonds (2006) notes that some verbs which are incompatible with the completed meaning cannot appear in adjectival passive constructions, as shown in (9).

- (9) a. *New York seems very approached/left in the tourist season.
- b. *That good dinner felt accompanied/followed by too much drink.
- c. *Many polluted cities remain (un)avoided/escaped during the summer.
- d. *The clay looked (too) handed around to
 students/pressed into a bowl.
- e. *The message appeared slipped to the spy/put in the drawer.
- f. *Some basketballs sounded dribbled across the floor/thrown against
 the wall.

Second, Edmonds (2006) further points out that, characteristically, adjectival passives can be affixed with *un-* while verbal passives cannot.

- (10) a. That work seemed unknown/unpainted/unrewarded.
- b. Those books should remain untouched/unfinished/unsold.
- (11) a. *That work was/seemed unleft in good hands/unfollowed by others.
- b. *Those books should get/remain unthrown/unhanded to any customers.

Third, only verbal passives have a noun phrase which serves as its logical subject which is either expressed by a *by*-phrase or by a covert DP, as illustrated in (12). However, adjectival passives lack such an argument as shown in (13).

- (12) a. The meeting was started on time (by Susan) in order to please the host.
- b. The chairs were moved around on purpose (by the guests).
- c. This corn has been grown voluntarily (by peasants) to stave off famine.
- d. Our workers are better paid intentionally (by the new boss.)
- e. Art classes are being restored (by the Board) in order to qualify for funding.
- (13) a. That series of meetings sounds completed (*by the committee).
- b. Most of our furniture is still unmoved (*by the company).
- c. We judge the corn fully grown (*voluntarily/to stave off famine).
- d. Our workers remain better paid (*intentionally).
- e. Some art classes seem restored (*in order to qualify for funding).

It is claimed that the overt *by*-phrase or the covertly represented logical subject of verbal passives are responsible for accounting for two additional properties of verbal passives described in (14).

- (14) a. The logical subject may (not necessarily must) control the optional PRO subject of a higher infinitive of purpose, optionally introduced by *in order*, as in (12a, c, e).

- b. A syntactically present animate subject seems to be a necessary condition for adverbs of intentionality as in (12b, c, d) and for that matter for adjunct purpose clauses as well.

Furthermore, verbal passives allow idiomatic V-NP combinations while adjectival passives disallow them, as illustrated in (15). Adjectival passives are incompatible with any kind of semantic relation other than so-called pure argumenthood between a subject noun phrase and the participle's stem.

- (15) a. Some advantages may finally be/*feel taken our new wealth.
 b. A great deal was/*sounded made of your visit.
 c. No attention is being paid/*seems paid to minor officials.

Interestingly, this contrast is manifested by a difference between inflectional morphology and derivational morphology. A verb formed with a fully productive inflectional morphology as shown in (16) allows idiomatic combinations but derivational formations shown in (17) disallow them. This contrast suggests that verbal passives are inflectional while adjectival passives are derivational.

- (16) a. During the trial, all were impressed by John's maintaining silence.
 b. His paying bribes/attention to minor officials was foolish.
 c. This show is pleasing local kids no end.
 d. They heard Mary boring us to tears.
 (17) a. *During the trial, all were impressed by John's maintenance of silence.
 b. His payment of bribes/attention to minor officials was foolish.
 c. This show seems pleasing to local kids (*no end).
 d. Mary sounded so boring (*to tears).

It has widely been known that the discussion on the differences between verbal passives and adjectival passives so far can direct us to the conclusion that adjectival passives literally have the properties of an adjective. Given that the completed sense of adjectival passives is a property of the syntactic category of adjectives, Lieber (1980) describes the difference between adjectival

passives and verbal passives as in (18), where the suffix *-en* stands for the head of the passive participle and it is generally admitted that for the adjectival characteristic, adjectival passives must undergo a conversion process.

- (18) a. In adjectival passives, the head [_A -en] is present in both LF and PF.
 b. In verbal passives, the head [_A -en] is absent in LF and present only in PF.

Stolterfoht, Gese and Maienborn (2013) conducts a psycholinguistic study and finds that adjectival passives need more processing time than verbal passives and they argue that these additional processing costs come from the category conversion operation of the adjectival passives. What seems to be at issue now is exactly what kind of conversion process it must be. Before answering the question, let us look at the two kinds of adjectival passives that can reveal more detailed aspects of adjectival passives.

Parsons (1990) describes the differences between resultant state adjectival passives and target state adjectival passives as in (19).

- (19) a. Resultant States: "For every event *e* that culminates, there is a corresponding state that holds forever after. This is the state of *e*'s having culminated, which I call the resultant state of *e* or *e*'s R-state. If Mary eats lunch, then there is a state that holds forever after: the state of Mary's having eaten lunch.
 b. Target States: It is important not to identify the Resultant-state of an event with its target state. If I throw a ball onto the roof, the target state of this event is the ball's being on the roof, a state that may or may not last for a long time.

To address the differences described above, Kratzer (2000) argues for two zero-affixes by which the verbal participle is coerced into an adjective. These stativizers are supposed to account for the two different readings of adjectival passives. The zero affix described in (20a) generates a resultant state reading of an adjectival passive while the zero affix delineated in (20b) yields a target state reading of an adjectival passive.

- (20) a. Resultant State Zero Affix: $\lambda P \lambda t \exists e [P(e) \ \& \ \tau(e) < t]$
 b. Target State Zero Affix: $\lambda R \lambda s \exists e [R(s)(e)]$

Maienborn (2009) illustrates the stativizers above with the following examples. For the sentence in (21a), the semantics of the resultant state zero affix applies to the verb stem *beweis-* as in (21b) and yields the reading described in (21c). In this reading, the verb’s event holds forever after. On the other hand, for the sentence in (22a), the semantics of the target state zero affix operates on the verb stem *aufpump-* described in (22b) and generates the reading in (22c). The target state interpretation indicates that a lexically specified target state is caused by the verb’s event.

- (21) a. Das Theorem ist bewiesen.
 The theorem is proven
 b. *beweis-*: $\lambda x \lambda e [\text{prove}(x)(e)]$
 c. $\lambda t \exists e [\text{prove}(\text{the theorem})(e) \ \& \ \tau(e) < t]$
- (22) a. Der Reifen ist Aufgepumpt.
 The tire is pumped-up
 b. *aufpump-*: $\lambda x \lambda s \exists e [\text{pump}(e) \ \& \ \text{inflated}(x)(s) \ \& \ \text{cause}(s)(e)]$
 c. $\lambda s \exists e [\text{pump}(e) \ \& \ \text{inflated}(\text{the tire})(s) \ \& \ \text{cause}(s)(e)]$

Maienborn (2009), however, criticizes Kratzer’s (2000) approach and proposes a single zero affix that converts a verbal participle into an adjectival participle as in (23). The adjectival zero affix induces a free contextual variable *Q* for the property that holds true for the subject referent *x* in a given state *s*. *Q* is further constrained by the verbal event *e*. In Maienborn’s approach, what derives the difference between the resultant state reading and the target state reading is the pragmatic information that provides a contextually appropriate value for the free variable *Q*. Thus, in Maienborn (2009), the distinction between the two kinds of adjectival passives is not a pre-established, lexically coded property but a pragmatically induced one.

- (23) Adjectival Zero Affix: $\lambda P \lambda x \lambda s \exists e [s: Q(x) \ \& \ \text{result}(e, s) \ \& \ P(e)]$

3. Proposal

In the previous section, I have briefly reviewed how previous studies approach adjectival passives themselves and the two sub-types of adjectival passives. However, the previous approaches are not flawless. This section will start with discussing the limitations of the previous studies and then make a new proposal.

Maienborn (2009) points out limitations of Kratzer (2000) in the following two aspects. The resultant state stativizer and the target state stativizer have nothing in common except for the existential binding of the verbs' event argument. This is not desirable considering the obvious relatedness of the two constructions. Second, in Kratzer's approach, the operation of the stativizers is determined by the argument structure of the main verb. In other words, the target state interpretation is only possible for target state verbs and the resultant state interpretation is only available for resultant state verbs. However, this is argued to be in conflict with the contextual flexibility of adjectival passives. Maienborn (2009) finds that the target state interpretation of adjectival passives is much more broadly observed than the prediction of Kratzer's lexical account. As a matter of fact, if enough contextual assistance is provided, both types of adjectival passive readings are possible for nearly any kind of verb.

Thus, to overcome this limitation, Maienborn (2009) has added a contextual variable in the denotation of the zero affix that is responsible for the conversion process of adjectival passives. Although Maienborn's (2009) observation is insightful, her pragmatic mechanism is also limited since it is too broad. She does not specify what kind of pragmatic information can fill the value of the contextual variable she introduces. In a word, her pragmatic device is not restricted enough.

To overcome the problems of the previous studies, we need a conversion process that is pragmatically constrained. For this purpose, I would like to introduce the Generative Lexicon Theory that is equipped with a Type Coercion mechanism which is constrained by the Qualia Structure.

First of all, the Qualia Structure that Pustejovsky (1996) incorporates in the Generative Lexicon Theory is a generative factor as Moravcsik (1975) points out. The generative factor is claimed to drive our fundamental understanding

of an object or an event in the world. The Qualia Structure consists of the following four basic roles: Constitutive, Formal, Telic and Agentive as shown from (24) to (27). These roles can provide a constrained structural template when semantic alternations or transformations occur.

- (24) Constitutive: the relation between an object and its constituents, or proper parts
 - (a) material
 - (b) weight
 - (c) parts and component elements
- (25) Formal: that which distinguishes the object within a larger domain
 - (a) orientation
 - (b) magnitude
 - (c) shape
 - (d) dimensionality
 - (e) color
 - (f) position
- (26) Telic: purpose and function of the object
 - (a) purpose that an agent has in performing an act
 - (b) built-in function or aim which specifies certain activities
- (27) Agentive: factors involved in the origin or bringing about of an object
 - (a) creator
 - (b) artifact
 - (c) natural kind
 - (d) causal chain

A semantic representation facilitates a logical inference and this inference is driven by language-specific constraints. The constraints are represented by the Qualia Structure in the Generative Lexicon Theory. The Qualia Structure of the complement contributes to specifying the semantics of the verb *use* in the following sentences.

- (28) a. John used the new knife on the turkey.
- b. Mary has used soft contact lenses since college.

The sentences in (29) further elucidates how Qualia Structure that represents various pragmatic knowledge derives an interpretational inference in a constrained way. The contextualized interpretations of the verb *enjoy* are specified in the parenthesis in the following examples. To be specific, the Qualia Structure has the information that the movie is to watch, his morning coffee is to drink and Steven King's last book is to read. At the presence of the Qualia Structure, the derivable interpretations in a constrained fashion can be ellipsed.

- (29) a. Mary enjoyed the movie last night. (watching)
 b. John quite enjoys his morning coffee. (drinking)
 c. Bill enjoyed Steven King's last book. (reading)

Next, let us look at what Type Coercion is. Pustejovsky (1996) defines the generative mechanism of Type Coercion as in (30). Rescuing a type error, this process converts an argument to the type that is required by the predicate.

- (30) Type Coercion: A semantic operation that converts an argument to the type which is expected by a predicate, where it would otherwise result in a type error.

The sentence in (31a) is interpreted as the sentences in (31b) and (31c). Pustejovsky (1996) claims that this semantic shifting is not arbitrary but undergoes a systematic coercion process that is constrained by the Qualia Structure.

- (31) a. John began a book.
 b. John began reading a book.
 c. John began to read a book.

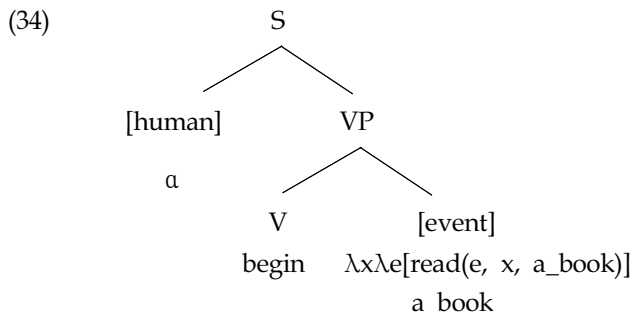
As shown in (32), the governing verb *begin* requires its second argument to be an event. Yet, in (31a), the noun phrase complement does not meet the type requirement of the predicate *begin*. Thus, the verb invokes a coercion rule and converts the noun phrase complement into an event. This coercion process is not arbitrary but is constrained by the Qualia Structure of the noun phrase. In

(33), there are two event interpretations available in the Qualia Structure of the NP *book*: the value of the AGENTIVE role and the value of the TELIC role. The coerced event-denotation is derived from these specific roles.

$$(32) \left[\begin{array}{l} \textit{begin} \\ \textit{EVENTSTR} = \left[\begin{array}{l} E1 = e1 : \textit{process} \\ E2 = e2 : \textit{state} \\ \textit{Restr} = < \infty \end{array} \right] \\ \textit{ARGSTR} = \left[\begin{array}{l} \textit{ARG1} = x : \textit{human} \\ \textit{ARG2} = e2 \end{array} \right] \\ \textit{QUALIA} = [\textit{FORMAL} = P(e2, x)] \end{array} \right]$$

$$(33) \left[\begin{array}{l} \textit{book} \\ \textit{ARGSTR} = \left[\begin{array}{l} \textit{ARG1} = x : \infty o \\ \textit{ARG2} = y : \textit{physobj} \end{array} \right] \\ \textit{QUALIA} = \left[\begin{array}{l} \infty o.\textit{physobj} - \textit{lcp} \\ \textit{FORMAL} = \textit{hold}(y, x) \\ \textit{TELIC} = \textit{read}(e, w, x, y) \\ \textit{AGENTIVE} = \textit{write}(e', v, x, y) \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

Let me schematically illustrate the coercion process explained above with the tree structure in (34). The governing verb *begin* coerces the type of the complement since it requires the complement to recover an event-denoting expression and embeds the semantics of the noun phrase within this expression.



Another construction that the type coercion mechanism applies is the concealed question construction which was scrutinized by Grimshaw (1979), Heim (1979) and many others. This alternation can be explained by the fact that the verbs are typed as taking an argument of an interrogative type, permitting a proposition to be the argument at the same time.

- (35) a. John's favorite drink is obvious.
 = What John's favorite drink is is obvious.
 b. That John is silly is obvious.
- (36) a. They revealed the winner of the contest.
 = They revealed who the winner of the contest is.
 b. They revealed that John is the winner.
- (37) a. John understands the problem.
 = John understands what the problem is.
 b. John understands that there is a problem.

Now let us apply the generative mechanism to adjectival passives. The auxiliary verb *sein* of the adjectival passives has the lexical structure described in (38). What is noteworthy about it is that it requires a state as its complement.

$$(38) \left[\begin{array}{l} \textit{sein} \\ \textit{EVENTSTR} = [E1 = e1 : \textit{state}] \\ \textit{ARGSTR} = \left[\begin{array}{l} \textit{ARG1} = x \\ \textit{ARG2} = e1 \end{array} \right] \\ \textit{QUALIA} = [\textit{FORMAL} = P(e1, x)] \end{array} \right]$$

Due to the requirement of the auxiliary, the verbal past participle in (39) and (41) type-coerced into the adjectival category described in (40) and (42). The conversion make changes in the following three aspects. First, the head of the event structure shifts. In the verbal category, the head is the first event. However, in the adjectival category, the second event which is specified as a state becomes the head of the event structure. This commonality is responsible

for the sense of completed activity of adjectival passives. Second, the coercion process yields a change in the argument structure. The default argument in the verbal category cannot be found in the adjectival category any more. This represents the lack of by-phrase in adjectival passives. There is a change in the qualia structure as well. The formal quale of the verbal category takes two nominal arguments even though one is the true argument and the other is the default argument. However, in the formal quale of the adjectival category, the formal quale cannot take the default argument any more since it is not present in the argument structure. Instead, the formal quale takes the only nominal argument in reference to the state described.

$$(39) \left[\begin{array}{l} \textit{aufgekumt} \textit{'pumped-up}'(V) \\ \textit{EVENTSTR} = \left[\begin{array}{l} E1 = e1 : \textit{process} \\ E2 = e2 : \textit{state} \\ \textit{RESTR} = < \infty \\ \textit{HEAD} = e1 \end{array} \right] \\ \textit{ARGSTR} = \left[\begin{array}{l} \textit{ARG1} = x : \textit{physobj} \\ \textit{D-ARG1} = y : \textit{human} \end{array} \right] \\ \textit{QUALIA} = \left[\begin{array}{l} \textit{FORMAL} = P(x,y) \\ \textit{AGENTIVE} = \textit{Causal Chain of} (e2, e1) \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

$$(40) \left[\begin{array}{l} \textit{aufgekumt} \textit{'pumped-up}'(A) \\ \textit{EVENTSTR} = \left[\begin{array}{l} E1 = e1 : \textit{process} \\ E2 = e2 : \textit{state} \\ \textit{RESTR} = < \infty \\ \textit{HEAD} = e2 \end{array} \right] \\ \textit{ARGSTR} = \left[\textit{ARG1} = x : \textit{physobj} \right] \\ \textit{QUALIA} = \left[\begin{array}{l} \textit{FORMAL} = P(e2,x) \\ \textit{AGENTIVE} = \textit{Causal Chain of} (e2, e1) \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

$$(41) \left[\begin{array}{l} \textit{bewiesen 'proven' (V)} \\ \textit{EVENTSTR} = \left[\begin{array}{l} E1 = e1 : \textit{process} \\ E2 = e2 : \textit{state} \\ \textit{RESTR} = < \infty \\ \textit{HEAD} = e1 \end{array} \right] \\ \textit{ARGSTR} = \left[\begin{array}{l} \textit{ARG1} = x : \textit{physobj} \\ \textit{D-ARG1} = y : \textit{human} \end{array} \right] \\ \textit{QUALIA} = \left[\begin{array}{l} \textit{FORMAL} = P(x,y) \\ \textit{AGENTIVE} = \textit{Natural Kind of (e2, e1)} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

$$(42) \left[\begin{array}{l} \textit{bewiesen 'proven' (A)} \\ \textit{EVENTSTR} = \left[\begin{array}{l} E1 = e1 : \textit{process} \\ E2 = e2 : \textit{state} \\ \textit{RESTR} = < \infty \\ \textit{HEAD} = e2 \end{array} \right] \\ \textit{ARGSTR} = \left[\textit{ARG1} = x : \textit{physobj} \right] \\ \textit{QUALIA} = \left[\begin{array}{l} \textit{FORMAL} = P(e2,x) \\ \textit{AGENTIVE} = \textit{Natural Kind of (e2, e1)} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

Now let me discuss the differences between the conversion between (39) and (40) and the conversion between (41) and (42). In the type coercion process that generates the target state adjectival passive, the force of causation is present in connecting the pumping-up process and the pumped-up state. This is indicated in the agentive quale of the lexical structure.¹⁾ That is, when the agentive quale concerns the causal chain, the resulting adjectival passive has the target state reading. However in the type coercion process that yields the resultant state adjectival passive, the proven state is simply the natural kind resulting from the proving process. In other words, when the agentive quale denotes a natural kind, instead of causal chain, the derived adjectival passives have the resultant state reading. In this case, the temporal precedence cannot

1) The agentive roles for nominals are usually described to take nominal arguments. However, in the lexical structures in this paper, I have made them take eventive arguments since they are in the verbal domain or are converted from the verbal domain.

easily be reversed since it abides by the natural law and thus they are perceived to be permanent, in contrast to target state adjectival passives whose state is simply felt to be transitory when the force of causation ceases to exert.

In a nutshell, when the agentive role includes the information of natural kind, the adjectival passive has the resultant state reading. On the other hand, when the agentive quale has the information of causal chain, the adjectival passive has the target state reading. Thus, the two sub-types of adjectival passives are systematically constrained by the qualia structure, not by any pragmatic information. Since the Qualia Structure can account for the two sub-types of adjectival passives, this paper claims that the conversion involved in adjectival passives must be defined as the Type Coercion process that takes into account the Qualia Structure which provides restricted pragmatic constraints.

4. Conclusion

I have claimed that adjectival passives are derived by the generative mechanism of type coercion which is constrained by the qualia structure. The type coercion process for adjectival passives makes three changes, regardless of their sub-type. First, the head of the event structure shifts in a way to emphasize a state. This accounts for the sense of completed activity of adjectival passives. Second, the coercion process yields a change in the argument structure in a way to delete the default argument in the verbal category. This change in the lexical structure represents the feature of adjectival passives, the lack of by-phrase. The third change occurs in the qualia structure: the formal quale of the converted lexical structure only takes one nominal argument which is in reference to the state described by the predicate.

The most important advantage of applying the generative mechanism of type coercion to adjectival passives is that it can explain the two sub-types of adjectival passives in a systematic and constrained fashion. When the agentive quale has the information of the causal chain, the resulting adjectival passive has the target state reading. However, when the agentive quale denotes a natural kind, instead of causal chain, the derived adjectival passives have the

resultant state reading. In the case of resultant state adjective passives, the temporal precedence cannot easily be reversed since it abides by the natural law and thus they are perceived to be permanent, in contrast to target state adjectival passives whose state is simply felt to be transitory since the force of causation can cease to exert.

As a last remark, I would like to note that this study can be further developed, incorporating some ideas from previous studies such as Kim and Oh (2013) and Lee (2013).

References

- Edmonds, Joseph. (2006) Adjectival Passives: The Construction in the Iron Mask. In Everaert M. H., van Riemsdijk, and B. Hollebrandes (Eds.) *The Blackwell Companion to Syntax*, 16-60. Malden: Blackwell.
- Grimshaw, Jane. (1979) Complement Selection and the Lexicon. *Linguistic Inquiry* 10, 279-326.
- Heim, Irene. (1979) Concealed Questions In R. Bäuerle, U. Egli and A. von Stechow (Eds.) *Semantics from Different Points of View*, 12-52. Berlin: Springer.
- Kim, Jin-Young. and Seong-Rok Oh. (2013) Korean Serial Verb Construction. *The Linguistic Association of Korea Journal* 21, 199-229.
- Kratzer, Angelika. (2000) Building Statives. *Proceedings of Berkeley Linguistic Society* 26, 385-399.
- Lee, Youngsung. (2013) On Constraint Combinations. *The Linguistic Association of Korea Journal* 21, 151-172.
- Lieber, Rochelle. (1980) *On the Organization of the Lexicon*. Ph.D. Dissertation. Cambridge, MIT.
- Maienborn, Claudia. (2009) Building Event-Based Ad Hoc Properties: On the Interpretation of Adjectival Passives. *Proceedings of Sinn und Bedeutung* 13, 35-49.
- Moravcsik, Julius. 1975. Aitia As Generative Factor in Aristotle's Philosophy. *Dialogue* 14, 622-636.
- Parsons, Terence. (1990) *Events in the Semantics of English: a Study in Subatomic*

Semantics. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Pustejovsky, James. (1994) Linguistic Constraints on Type Coercion. In Saint-Dizier and E. Viegas. *Computational Lexical Semantics*, 12-43. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Pustejovsky, James. (1996) *The Generative Lexicon*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Stolterfoht, Britta, Helga Gese and Claudia Maienborn. (2013) *Word Category Conversion Causes Processing Costs: Evidence from Adjectival Passives*. Unpublished manuscript. University of Tübingen.

Wasow, Thomas (1977) Transformations and the Lexicon In Peter Culicover, Thomas Wasow, and Adrian Ak majian (Eds.) *Formal Syntax*, 327-360. New York: Academic Press.

조윤경

534-729 전남 무안군 청계면 영산로 1666

목포대학교 영어영문학과

전화: 061-450-2122

이메일: ykjoh@mokpo.ac.kr

Received on March 23, 2015

Revised version received on June 3, 2015

Accepted on June 25, 2015