

In favour of the raising analysis of passivisation

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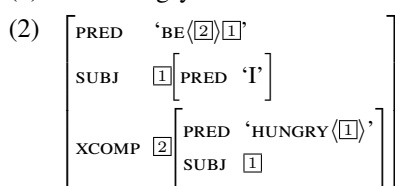
Introduction

This abstract presents an argument in support of the raising analysis of passivisation in LFG (discussed in Bresnan 1982 for English) on the basis of attested data from Polish, showing that it is preferable to the current mainstream analysis where the passivised verb is treated as the main verb while the form of BE is treated as an auxiliary which does not have an f-structure of its own, but instead contributes relevant features to the f-structure of the passivised verb (Bresnan 2000, Dalrymple 2001, Kibort 2004).

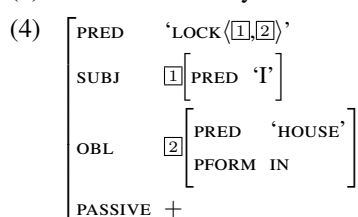
Coordination with predicative adjectives

In current LFG analyses predicative adjectives are treated differently than passive verb forms, the difference is how the form of BE is analysed. In (1) BE is the main verb taking the predicative adjective as an argument, see the f-structure in (2). By contrast, in (3) the passive form is the main verb, while BE is an auxiliary, see (4).

(1) I am hungry.



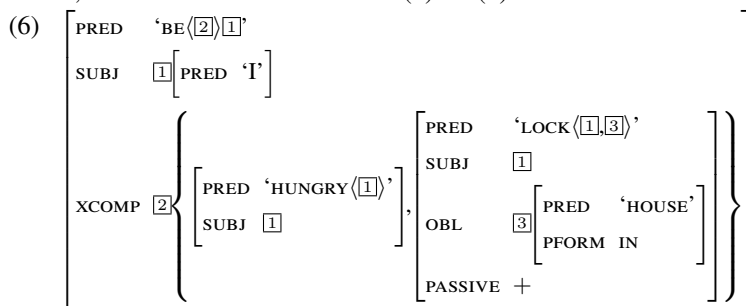
(3) I am locked in my house.



It turns out, however, that the split analysis of BE is not suitable for Polish, where predicative adjectives and passive verb forms can be coordinated, as in the attested example below:

(5) Jestem zamknięta w domu i głodna.
 be locked in house and hungry
 'I am locked in my house and hungry.' (Google)

As a result, a uniform treatment of BYĆ 'to be' must be adopted in Polish. There are two possibilities: BYĆ can be analysed as a raising verb (as with predicative adjectives in English, see (2)) or as an auxiliary (as with passive verb forms in English, compare (4)). The next section provides an argument from negation for adopting the raising verb analysis in Polish, as shown in the f-structure in (6) for (5) above:



Handling of negation

Though according to Polish orthographic conventions the negative marker *nie* is sometimes written separately from the ensuing verbal form (e.g., in case of finite forms; cf. (7) from the National Corpus of Polish; NKJP), and sometimes attached to a verbal form (e.g., in case of passive participles; cf. (8)), it should always be analysed as a verbal prefix, as argued, e.g., in Kupść and Przepiórkowski 2002 on the basis of the narrow scope of negation in coordination, the impossibility to separate the negative marker from the ensuing verbal forms, etc. Crucially, regardless of the orthographic conventions, negative markers always trigger the genitive of negation (where the otherwise accusative argument receives the genitive case) and license *n*-words (in so-called *negative concord*).

(7) Mnie jednak taka odpowiedź nie zadowoliła.

I though such answer NEG satisfy
 'Though such an answer did not satisfy me.' (NKJP)

(8) Izba jest niezadowolona?

chamber be dissatisfied
 'Is the Chamber dissatisfied?' (NKJP)

Since both orthographic varieties of negation have the same effect on such phenomena, they are modelled uniformly as a positive value of the NEG attribute. The f-structure in (9) below corresponds to (7) above: negation is represented in the f-structure of the past verb form. On the other hand, two alternative f-structures are provided for (8): (10) involves BYĆ as the raising verb, with negation present in the f-structure of its XCOMP complement, while (11) is the representation where BYĆ is an auxiliary and the passive verb acts as the main verb – negation is therefore represented in the f-structure of the passive verb.

- (9)
$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \text{ 'SATISFY} \langle \underline{1}, \underline{2} \rangle \text{ ' } \\ \text{SUBJ} \ \underline{1} \left[\text{PRED} \text{ 'ANSWER' } \right] \\ \text{OBJ} \ \underline{2} \left[\text{PRED} \text{ 'I' } \right] \\ \text{NEG} \ + \end{array} \right]$$
- (10)
$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \text{ 'BE} \langle \underline{2} \rangle \underline{1} \text{ ' } \\ \text{SUBJ} \ \underline{1} \left[\text{PRED} \text{ 'CHAMBER' } \right] \\ \text{XCOMP} \ \underline{2} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \text{ 'SATISFY} \langle \underline{1} \rangle \text{ ' } \\ \text{SUBJ} \ \underline{1} \\ \text{NEG} \ + \\ \text{PASSIVE} \ + \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$
- (11)
$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \text{ 'SATISFY} \langle \underline{1} \rangle \text{ ' } \\ \text{SUBJ} \ \underline{1} \left[\text{PRED} \text{ 'CHAMBER' } \right] \\ \text{NEG} \ + \\ \text{PASSIVE} \ + \end{array} \right]$$

A problem arises when negation is used twice, with *być* and with the passive verb form, as in (12):

- (12) Nie jestem niezadowolony z remisu.
 NEG be unsatisfied from draw
 'I am not unsatisfied with the draw.' (NKJP)

Under the flat representation shown in (11), where the passive verb form is the main verb, stand-alone negation which depends on *jestem*, a form of *być*, is represented in the same place as the attached negation from the passive verb form (*niezadowolony*). As a result, under this representation the f-structure corresponding to (12) would be identical to the f-structures of (13) and (14) (ignoring the contribution of the negative adverb there; see below); this f-structure is provided in (15). This is an unwelcome result since such representation clearly distorts the semantics of (12). Furthermore, there are problems with the licensing of *n*-words – in Polish *n*-words are licensed in the scope of sentential negation (when the *n*-word is in the scope of *NEG* attribute), so (13) should be as grammatical with *Nigdy* ('never'), as in (14), counter to fact.

- (13) (**Nigdy*) jestem niezadowolony z remisu. (14) (*Nigdy*) nie jestem zadowolony z remisu.
 never be unsatisfied from draw never NEG be satisfied from draw
 'I am unsatisfied with the draw.' 'I am not satisfied with the draw.'

By contrast, when the raising analysis is adopted instead, resulting f-structures are different because stand-alone negation is represented in the f-structure of *być*, the raising verb, while attached negation used with passive verb forms is represented in its own, distinct f-structure. The following f-structures are produced for relevant sentences: (16) corresponds to (12), (17) represents (13), while (18) is the counterpart of (14) (with the *ADJ* attribute of *BE* corresponding to *Nigdy* omitted). These f-structures make correct predictions with respect to the semantics of the relevant sentences and with respect to *n*-word licensing (with scope properly marked).

- (15)
$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \text{ 'SATISFY} \langle \underline{1}, \underline{2} \rangle \text{ ' } \\ \text{SUBJ} \ \underline{1} \left[\text{PRED} \text{ 'I' } \right] \\ \text{OBL} \ \underline{2} \left[\text{PRED} \text{ 'DRAW' } \right] \\ \text{NEG} \ + \\ \text{PASSIVE} \ + \end{array} \right]$$
- (16)
$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \text{ 'BE} \langle \underline{2} \rangle \underline{1} \text{ ' } \\ \text{SUBJ} \ \underline{1} \left[\text{PRED} \text{ 'I' } \right] \\ \text{XCOMP} \ \underline{2} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \text{ 'SATISFY} \langle \underline{1}, \underline{2} \rangle \text{ ' } \\ \text{SUBJ} \ \underline{1} \\ \text{OBL} \ \underline{2} \left[\text{PRED} \text{ 'DRAW' } \right] \\ \text{NEG} \ + \\ \text{PASSIVE} \ + \end{array} \right] \\ \text{NEG} \ + \end{array} \right]$$
- (17)
$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \text{ 'BE} \langle \underline{2} \rangle \underline{1} \text{ ' } \\ \text{SUBJ} \ \underline{1} \left[\text{PRED} \text{ 'I' } \right] \\ \text{XCOMP} \ \underline{2} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \text{ 'SATISFY} \langle \underline{1}, \underline{2} \rangle \text{ ' } \\ \text{SUBJ} \ \underline{1} \\ \text{OBL} \ \underline{2} \left[\text{PRED} \text{ 'DRAW' } \right] \\ \text{NEG} \ + \\ \text{PASSIVE} \ + \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$
- (18)
$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \text{ 'BE} \langle \underline{2} \rangle \underline{1} \text{ ' } \\ \text{SUBJ} \ \underline{1} \left[\text{PRED} \text{ 'I' } \right] \\ \text{XCOMP} \ \underline{2} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \text{ 'SATISFY} \langle \underline{1}, \underline{2} \rangle \text{ ' } \\ \text{SUBJ} \ \underline{1} \\ \text{OBL} \ \underline{2} \left[\text{PRED} \text{ 'DRAW' } \right] \\ \text{PASSIVE} \ + \end{array} \right] \\ \text{NEG} \ + \end{array} \right]$$

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