Result state adjectives: valence and voice

Result states are states that ensue from prior events of change of state with the same name (Dixon 1982: 50). In this talk I discuss the formation of non-passive and passive result state adjectives, paying particular attention to valence and voice alternations. The bulk of my evidence is drawn from Italo-Romance, a family of Romance languages, which exhibit co-radical pairs of rhizotonic non-passive result state adjectives (like *asciutti* 'dry/dried' in 1a) and arhizotonic passive ones (like *asciugati* 'dried' in 1b).

(1) a. Questi sono i panni   asciutti [**non-passive**]   (Italian)
         these   are the clothes.MPL   dry.PTCP.MPL
         'These are the dry/dried clothes.'
     b. Questi sono i panni   asciugati   al/dal   sole [**passive**]
         these   are the clothes.MPL   dry.PTCP.MPL   at.the/by.the   sun
         'These are the clothes dried in/by the sun.'

In my analysis I adhere to two principles: (a) both arguments of a bivalent verb or adjective originate in a dedicated position in the lexical semantic structure of that verb or adjective; (b) there are no productive word formation processes that delete a component of meaning from lexical semantic structure, be it an operator or an argument position (for the latter, I refer to Koontz-Garboden's 2007, 2012 Monotonicity Hypothesis.) The above principles are by no means uncontroversial. Some scholars assume (a), but not (b), deriving non-passive result states by decausativisation, which amounts to the deletion of a causer position from semantic structure (Dubinsky & Simango 1996, Meltzer-Asscher 2011). Others argue that the agent argument is introduced in syntactic functional structure, specifically in VoiceP or vP (Kratzer 1994, 1996, Embick 2004), a claim that is hardly compatible with principle (a).

The results of compatibility and contradiction tests with the rhizotonic ~ arhizotonic adjectival pairs exemplified in (1a-b) suggest that the rhizotonic adjectives have event entailments, but no cause entailments. Accordingly, there can be no decausativisation in their formation. In contrast, the arhizotonic adjectives turn out to have both an event of change of state and a causer position in their lexical semantic structure. Therefore, they fit squarely an analysis of the passive whereby the argument that is most prominent thematically, which is a causer in this case, is demoted but not deleted in semantics, and can surface in a *by* phrase (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997, Kiparsky 2013). The history and synchrony of the rhizotonic ~ arhizotonic adjectival participial pairs in Italo-Romance, and in other Romance languages, support a lexicalist approach, in that these pairs constitute a well-defined lexical class, which describes events that can be caused externally (Levin & Rappaport Hovav 1995).

I also discuss other classes of non-passive result state adjectives. One of these is particularly puzzling, in that the adjective seemingly modifies the thematically prominent argument of an activity or an active accomplishment (Bentley & Ledgeway 2014, 2015). (For active accomplishments see Van Valin & LaPolla 1997, Van Valin 2017).

(2) Luca era completamente fumato [**non-passive**]   (Italian)
     Luke was completely   smoke.PTCP.MSG
     'Luke was completely stoned (as a result of smoking hash).'

I argue that this class provides robust evidence for principles (a) and (b), in that the starting point in the derivation of these result state adjectives must be an activity root with an agent argument, which is enriched to yield a more complex semantic representation whereby the agent also figures in a theme position in lexical semantic structure.

I propose that non-passive result state adjectives derive monotonically from acategorical roots or categorical thematic bases. The rhizotonic non-passive adjectives that alternate with arhizotonic passive adjectives (cf. 1a) derive from acategorical roots describing events of change of state which can be externally caused. The class that seemingly modifies an agent

(cf. 2) is derived by means of a more complex word-formation process, which starts from an activity root with an agent argument. None of the classes of result state adjectives under scrutiny provides evidence for a non-monotonic process of word formation. In turn, passive result state adjectives normally derive from a thematic base (cf. 1b) by demotion of the agent and stativisation. In Italo-Romance, all these derivations involve the addition of a participial allomorph (-*t*-, -*s*-, -*ø*-) to a base, an operation that turns the base into an adjective.

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