

Non-verbal Participles in Basque and Spanish

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1 Introduction

Adjectival participles have been argued to be mixed categories, since they show, at the same time, properties belonging to verbs and to adjectives. On the one hand, they are superficially adjectives: they denote a state predicated about an entity, and can occur in attributive (1) or predicative position (2). On the other hand, they can also be internally verbal, because, in some cases, participles also imply a previous event that has as a result the state denoted by the participle.

(1) The broken tree.

(2) The tree is broken.

The different types of participles constitute an area of substantive study for the analysis of the interface between syntax and the lexicon (Wasow 1977) and syntax and morphology (Marantz 2001, 2007; Anagnostopoulou & Samioti 2014), as well as for analysis of lexical categories and the projection of syntactic heads like *v*, Voice and Aspect. Depending on whether an event is implied or not, and on the acceptability of different event-related and subject-oriented modifiers, adjectival participles have been argued to be of different types, with different structural compositions, particularly involving different verbal layers (e.g. Anagnostopoulou 2003; Embick 2004; Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 2008; Bruening 2014; Doron 2014). Those without an event implication have been considered to be built on top of an acategorical Root (Embick 2004). In contrast, others may involve, at different degrees, verbal projections like *vP*, VoiceP and even a perfect AspP (Alexiadou et al. 2014; Alexiadou et al. 2015, see also Sleeman 2011, 2014).

In this chapter, Basque and Spanish adjectival (and adpositional) participles will be addressed, in the light of the literature on adjectival participles. As in most of the literature following Kratzer (1994, 2000), I will assume that there is a differentiation between adjectival and verbal participles: adjectival participles denote a state, whereas verbal participles describe an event. Additionally, I will also consider that adjectival participles can be phrasal and that

they can also have event implications. With this picture in mind, in this chapter, I will explore the properties of phrasal and non-phrasal non-verbal participles in Basque and Spanish, comparing them with verbal ones, and analyzing whether the presence/absence of these properties is subject to a classification of different types of non-verbal participles, such as resultant state / target state participles (Kratzer 2000) and resultative/stative participles (Embick 2004).

Spanish past participles have been studied in a number of works (among many others, Luján 1981; Demonte 1983; Bosque 1999, 2014; Marín 1997, 2000, 2004ab, 2009; Gehrke & Marco 2014), but there are not many studies about Basque non-verbal participles (Ortiz de Urbina & Uribe-Etxebarria 1991; Krajewska 2012, 2013; Berro 2017) and none comparing both Spanish and Basque. Both languages, although being typologically distant, build and use non-verbal participles in a strikingly similar way: they are alike in building resultative participles by means of a stage-level copula (*egon* in western and central Basque varieties and *estar* in Spanish) and an adjectival (or adpositional) participle. Additionally, as will be shown, both languages show a similar interaction between lexical aspect and grammatical aspect, with adjectival (and adpositional) participles interpreted in a non-resultative way when the embedded event is non-dynamic.

On the other hand, they also differ in a number of aspects. For example, Basque non-verbal participles are morphologically more complex (showing an additional resultative morpheme attached to the bare participle) and, depending on the suffix, they can be adjectival and adpositional. Moreover, they are, in principle, acceptable in more syntactic contexts, given that Basque non-verbal participles allow temporal and spatial modification of the event underlying the participle and, if the copula turns into *izan* 'be' (substituting *egon*), are compatible with all kinds of agent arguments. In Spanish, it has been argued that the insertion of *por*-phrases (*by*-phrases) in adjectival participles is restricted to those that modify an event kind (Gehrke & Marco 2014). However, as will be shown, at least, in the Spanish spoken in the Basque Country, temporal and spatial modification of the event is acceptable, and *por*-phrases with wide scope, strong determiners and discourse referents are also judged grammatical. These features have been taken as indicators for the presence of verbal projections in adjectival participles cross-linguistically (Gehrke 2011, 2015; Alexiadou et al. 2014; Alexiadou et al. 2015) and will be considered in this chapter in order to approach the structural composition of non-verbal participles in Basque and Spanish.

Apart from the different degrees of eventiveness implied by the participles, in this chapter, I will also pay attention to the configuration in which the participle occurs, particularly, to whether the participle occurs in the attributive or