

# Unexpected Adjectival Passives

Elisabeth Gibert-Sotelo and Rafael Marín

## 1. Introduction

The generalization by Rapp (1996) on the formation of adjectival passives, originally proposed for German, is currently widely accepted: only participles of verbs denoting states or including a stative component can be part of adjectival passives. This is the case of participles of telic verbs (1), as well as participles of certain stative verbs, such as extent verbs (2a), object experiencer psych verbs (2b), or Davidsonian states (2c), all of them admitting the adjectival passive with *estar* in Spanish.<sup>1</sup> Note, by contrast, that activity verbs cannot be part of adjectival passives (3), as explicitly stated by Rapp (1996).

- (1) El coche *está reparado*.  
'The car is repaired.'
- (2) a. La casa *está rodeada* de árboles.  
'The house is surrounded by trees.'  
b. Juan *está preocupado*.  
'Juan is worried.'  
c. El edificio *está vigilado*.  
'The building is guarded.'
- (3) \*El perro *está acariciado*.  
'\*The dog is petted.'

Telic verbs give rise to a resultative meaning in adjectival passives (1), since the state codified by the participle is understood to start after the culmination of a prior event. In (2), the state codified by the participle is derived, at least partially, from the stative component of the verbal base (Marín & Fábregas 2021). As far as no stative component is available in activity verbs, the adjectival passive is not accepted (3). However, we have identified a new group of verbs, those of the type of *perseguir* (4), which, despite undoubtedly denoting activities (cf. §2), can be part of adjectival passives (5).

- (4) *perseguir* 'to follow, to chase, to pursue', *buscar* 'to look for, to search', *acosar* 'to harass, to pursue relentlessly', *acompañar* 'to accompany', *escortar* 'to escort'.
- (5) Villarejo *está perseguido/ buscado* por la justicia.  
'Villarejo is persecuted/ wanted for justice.'

---

\* Elisabeth Gibert-Sotelo, Universitat Rovira i Virgili, elisabeth.gibert@urv.cat. Rafael Marín, CNRS (UMR 8163) & Université de Lille, rafael.marin@univ-lille.fr. We wish to thank the audience of WCCFL 39 for comments and discussion. Elisabeth Gibert-Sotelo is grateful for funding from the Juan de la Cierva fellowship FJC2018-035901-I (Spanish Ministry of Science, Innovation and Universities), the projects FFI2017-87140-C4-2-P and FFI2016-80142-P (Spanish Ministry of Economy, Industry and Competitiveness), and the Research Group 2017SGR165 (AGAUR, Catalan Government).

<sup>1</sup> One of the diagnostics used in Spanish to distinguish adjectival passives from verbal ones is that the former take the copula *estar* (the stage-level copula) instead of the auxiliary *ser* (cf. Gehrke & Marco 2014, and references therein). Notice, however, that adjectival passives built on individual-level state verbs take the copula *ser* (the individual-level copula); cf. *Este vecino es muy odiado* 'This neighbor is very hated'. In this respect, see Gibert-Sotelo (2017, 2020) and Marín (2020).

*Perseguir*-verbs, then, pose a serious problem to Rapp's generalization; mainly, because they denote activities (§2). However, they describe a particular type of activities: those referring to motion events that are maintained in a central coincidence relation (§3). It is this central coincidence relation, we argue, what provides the stative layer needed in adjectival passives (§4); so, we can conclude that Rapp's generalization is still tenable (§5).

## 2. *Perseguir*-verbs denote activities

By applying a number of standard tests on dynamicity and telicity, we are going to demonstrate that *perseguir*-verbs indeed denote activities. We will show, firstly, that they are dynamic (§2.1); secondly, that they are atelic (§2.2).

### 2.1. Diagnosing dynamicity

*Perseguir*-verbs show a totally different behavior from (prototypical) stative verbs, such as *pertenecer* 'to belong' or *preferir* 'to prefer', with respect to most diagnostics on dynamicity (Dowty 1979; Maienborn 2005; Fábregas & Marín 2017).

Unlike states (examples b), *perseguir*-verbs (examples a) are compatible with the progressive (6), are available as infinitival complements of perception verbs (7), and accept manner modification (8).

- (6) a. Están buscando al jefe.  
'(They) are looking for the boss.'  
b. \*Están prefiriendo las acelgas.  
'\*(They) are preferring chard.'
- (7) a. *Vi* a Eva perseguir al jefe.  
'(I) saw Eva chasing the boss.'  
b. \**Vi* a Pedro pertenecer a un partido populista.  
'\*(I) saw Pedro belonging to a populist party.'
- (8) a. Eva busca al jefe *discretamente*.  
'Eva looks for the boss discreetly.'  
b. \*Pedro prefiere las acelgas *discretamente*.  
'\*Pedro prefers chard discreetly.'

Likewise, again differing from states (examples b), *perseguir*-verbs (examples a) are compatible with *parar* 'stop' (9), with velocity adverbs (10), and receive a habitual reading in present tense (11), while stative verbs show the opposite behavior.

- (9) a. Eva *ha parado* de acosar al jefe.  
'Eva has stopped harassing the boss.'  
b. \*Pedro *ha parado* de preferir las acelgas.  
'\*Pedro has stopped preferring chard.'
- (10) a. Eva persigue al jefe *despacio/rápidamente*.  
'Eva chases the boss slowly/quickly.'  
b. \*Pedro pertenece a un partido populista *despacio/rápidamente*.  
'\*Pedro belongs to a populist party slowly/quickly.'
- (11) a. Eva persigue al jefe (*una vez por semana*).  
'Eva chases the boss (once a week).'  
b. #Pedro prefiere las acelgas (*una vez por semana*).  
'#Pedro prefers chard (once a week).'

The examination of the data presented here is conclusive: *perseguir*-verbs are not stative, but clearly dynamic.

## 2.2. Diagnosing (a)telicity

Now we are going to show that *perseguir*-verbs are atelic; this, along with their dynamic denotation, leads us to the conclusion that they denote activities.

Note, first, that *perseguir*-verbs (examples a) are compatible with *for x time* modifiers, but not with *in x time* (12) or *to take x time* ones (13), just the opposite behavior of telic predicates (examples b).

- (12) a. Eva ha perseguido al jefe *\*en/ durante una hora*.  
 ‘Eva has chased the boss *\*in/ for an hour*.’  
 b. Pedro ha pintado un cuadro *en/ #durante una hora*.  
 ‘Pedro has painted a picture *in/ #for an hour*.’
- (13) a. *\*Eva ha tardado una hora en* perseguir al jefe.  
 ‘*\*It took Eva an hour to chase the boss*.’  
 b. Pedro *ha tardado una hora en* pintar un cuadro.  
 ‘It took Pedro an hour to paint the picture.’

Second, telic verbs are allowed as complements of *acabar* (or *terminar*) ‘to finish’; *perseguir*-verbs are not.

- (14) a. *\*Eva ha acabado/ terminado de* perseguir al jefe.  
 ‘*\*Eva has finished chasing the boss*.’  
 b. Pedro *ha acabado/ terminado de* pintar el cuadro.  
 ‘Pedro has finished painting the picture.’

Third, the progressive of telic predicates does not imply the perfect (the imperfective paradox; cf. Dowty 1979), whereas the progressive of *perseguir*-verbs does.

- (15) a. Eva está persiguiendo al jefe → Eva ha perseguido al jefe.  
 ‘Eva is chasing the boss → Eva has chased the boss.’  
 b. Pedro está pintando un cuadro ↗ Pedro ha pintado un cuadro.  
 ‘Pedro is painting a picture ↗ Pedro has painted a picture.’

As illustrated in (15), if we interrupt Eva while she is chasing the boss, it is entailed that she has chased the boss (15a); but, if we interrupt Pedro while he is painting a picture, it is not entailed that he has painted a picture (15b).

## 3. *Perseguir*-verbs do not denote canonical activities

In this section, we will show that *perseguir*-verbs constitute a hitherto unnoticed class of activity verbs. We will first point out the distinguishing property of these verbs (§3.1) and, after that, we will offer a structural account that naturally derives their particular behavior (§3.2).

### 3.1. A new type of activity verbs

So far we have demonstrated that *perseguir*-verbs behave as activities. However, these verbs differ from canonical activities in a crucial fact: they cannot be telicized or coerced into a telic reading. As noted by Rothstein (2008: 194), activities can be interpreted as telic accomplishments when a limit to the event is contextually determined, as in (16), where the quantized object (16a) and the *hasta*-headed PP (16b) delimit the extent of the event. By contrast, *perseguir*-verbs cannot be telicized by contextually delimiting their extent, as illustrated in (17), and so their denotation is always atelic.

- (16) a. Luisa ha corrido *tres kilómetros* (en diez minutos).  
 ‘Luisa has run three kilometers (in ten minutes).’  
 b. Empujó el carro *hasta la esquina* (en cinco minutos).  
 ‘(S/he) pushed the cart up to the corner (in five minutes).’

- (17) a. Juan la acompañó *tres kilómetros* (\*en veinte minutos).  
 ‘Juan accompanied her three kilometers (\*in twenty minutes).’  
 b. La policía persiguió al ladrón *hasta la frontera* (\*en dos horas).  
 ‘The police chased the thief up to the border (\*in two hours).’

Besides, even though activity verbs are disallowed in adjectival passives, they can be used in such constructions when coerced into a ‘job-done’ reading (18) (Kratzer 2000, Anagnostopoulou 2003, García-Pardo 2018). *Perseguir*-verbs are naturally used in adjectival passives with *estar*, but they do not give rise to a ‘job-done’ reading, denoting instead a situation in progress where no final state is available (19).

- (18) a. El carro (ya) está empujado.  
 ‘The cart is (already) pushed.’  
 b. El perro (ya) está acariciado.  
 ‘The dog is (already) petted.’
- (19) a. El ladrón (?ya) está perseguido.  
 ‘The thief is (?already) chased.’  
 b. La secretaria (?ya) está acosada.  
 ‘The secretary is (?already) harassed.’

What distinguishes *perseguir*-verbs from canonical activities, therefore, is that the former have no possible endpoint: they encode a dynamic motion event that lacks a natural culmination. Hence, despite being fully dynamic, the event they denote is understood to be maintained, a property which approaches *perseguir*-verbs to non-dynamic eventualities.

### 3.2. A structural account

By adopting Ramchand’s (2008, 2018) syntactic approach to the verbal domain, we derive the special nature of these predicates from their subeventive hierarchical configuration. As extensively illustrated in the previous sections, *perseguir*-verbs belong to the aspectual class of activities (they are dynamic and atelic), even though they differ from canonical activities on the impossibility of being coerced into a telic reading.

We assume, in line with Ramchand (2008) and Fábregas & Marín (2012), that the dynamicity of these verbs lies in the presence of a PathP at the complement of the event-introducing head (i.e., Proc) that defines it as an event involving motion. Evidence on the presence of this Path component is provided by the ability of the verbs under study to co-occur with adjuncts that focus on the route followed in the course of the event (20a), on its direction (20b), or on its extent (20c).

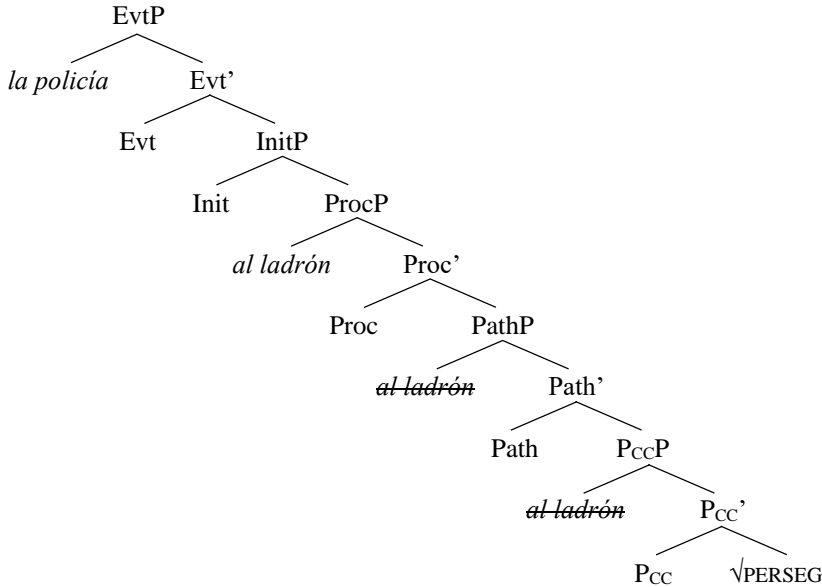
- (20) a. La policía buscó al ladrón *por toda la ciudad*.  
 ‘The police looked for the thief throughout the city.’  
 b. María acompañó a Cristina *hacia la salida*.  
 ‘María accompanied Cristina to the exit.’  
 c. Lo persiguieron *hasta la frontera francesa*.  
 ‘They chased him up to the French border.’

As for the necessary atelicity of these verbs, which denote motion events that never entail an endpoint (cf. §3.1), it emerges if the Path at the complement of Proc is non-bounded and, in addition, cannot be delimited by adding material at its complement. Based on insights in Fábregas & Marín (2012, 2017), we claim that this effect is obtained if a central coincidence preposition (P<sub>CC</sub>) (Hale 1986; Hale & Keyser 2002) is merged at the complement of Path, in a way so that a phrase defining a limit cannot be added

directly at the complement of the Path projection to provide it with a boundary (since this position is already occupied by the P<sub>CC</sub>).<sup>2</sup>

The structure we propose for these verbs is illustrated in (21).

(21) Analysis of *perseguir*-verbs (cf. *La policía persigue al ladrón* ‘The police chase the thief’)



Our analysis captures the nature of this particular type of activities, which encode the initiation (Init) of a dynamic process (Proc + Path) that is steadily maintained in a central coincidence relation (P<sub>CC</sub>). As volitional activities, their internal syntax must contain a causative subevent (Init), in addition to the Proc(ess) subevent. The agentive Initiator of such an activity is the DP merged at the specifier of EvtP, the projection that introduces the utterance situation and licenses the external argument (Ramchand 2018). As for the internal argument, it corresponds to the DP at the specifier of Proc, which is configurationally identified with the Undergoer of the process but which, being first merged at the specifier of P<sub>CC</sub> and Path, is also understood as a Figure moving through a non-delimited Path. The Path head at the complement of Proc defines the event as dynamic. Finally, the presence of a central coincidence preposition (P<sub>CC</sub>) at the complement of Path yields a non-bounded Path, which accounts for the necessary atelicity of these verbs and explains the idea of maintenance that they all involve. Crucially, this central coincidence P provides the stative component needed to be part of adjectival passives, as explored in the following section.

#### 4. *Perseguir*-verbs in adjectival passives

As we have seen in section 1, according to Rapp (1996)'s generalization, only participles from verbs including a stative component are allowed in adjectival passives; and there are essentially two ways for participles to include such a component: (i) be related to verbs denoting (at least partially) states, as is the case of extent verbs, object experiencer psych verbs or Davidsonian states, or (ii) be related to telic

<sup>2</sup> At this point it is important to bear in mind that the notion of central coincidence is crucially different from that of Place. Place defines a locative stative relation between a Figure (the located object) and a Ground (the location or reference object) (on the terms Figure and Ground, see Talmy 1975). When a Path projection takes Place as its complement, such a Place is by default understood as a final location (Jackendoff 1983; Svenonius 2010), and accordingly it defines a terminal coincidence relation, thus allowing for a bounded interpretation of the Path. By contrast, a central coincidence relation is one in which the center of the Figure coincides with the center of the Ground (Hale 1986: 239). As noticed by Real Puigdollers (2013: 31), the notion of central coincidence also covers cases in which the Figure moves along a Path but never leaves the limits of the Ground, thus describing an unbounded Path.

verbs giving rise to a resultative meaning, in which case the participle codifies a state that starts after the culmination of a prior event.

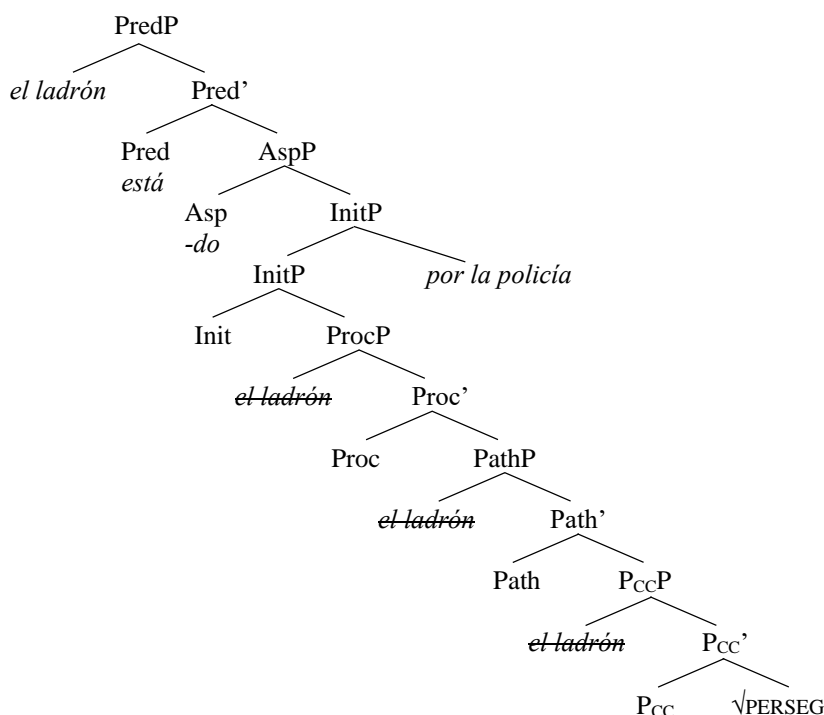
In section 2 we have shown that *perseguir*-verbs are not found in any of these two cases, since they denote activities. Yet, in section 3 we have shown that *perseguir*-verbs denote (non-canonical) activities including a central coincidence P, which provides a notion of maintenance, i.e., the stative element needed in the adjectival passive.

In this respect, it is interesting to observe that adjectival passives with *perseguir*-verbs give rise to a progressive reading, which is not the meaning that we expected in these constructions, since the Spanish adjectival passive with *estar* is typically used to express a result state (cf. Alcina & Blecaua 1975). Thus, (22) is roughly equivalent to *El ladrón está siendo perseguido por la policía* ‘The thief is being chased by the police’.<sup>3</sup>

- (22) El ladrón está perseguido por la policía.  
‘The thief is chased by the police.’

The progressive (or continuous) reading characteristic of this type of passive construction emerges from the Aktionsart of the underlying verb: *perseguir*-verbs are dynamic activities (Proc + Path), but the dynamic event they encode has no possible telos, and hence it is understood to be maintained in a central coincidence relation (P<sub>CC</sub>). Given that the event of the underlying verb lacks a limit, the state codified by the adjectival passive cannot be interpreted as starting once the event has culminated (the resultative reading), but as being simultaneous to the event (the progressive reading). This is summarized in (23) with the analysis of (22).

- (23) Analysis of (22).



The adjectival passives obtained from *perseguir*-verbs keep the subeventive configuration of the underlying verb but for the EvtP licensing the DP external argument, thus forcing such a constituent to be introduced as an adjunct *by*-phrase at InitP (cf. Ramchand 2018). The AspP dominating the

<sup>3</sup> Other verbs that also give rise to a progressive meaning in adjectival passives are those of the type of *vigilar* ‘to guard’ or *proteger* ‘to protect’ (Bosque 2014; García-Pardo 2017), which have been analyzed as a subtype of Davidsonian states (Maienborn 2005) by Fábregas & Marín (2012, 2017).

subeventive configuration converts it into a state and provides the participial morphology (Embick 2004). As far as the state encoded by the participle is derived from an eventive configuration, we do not obtain a ‘pure’ individual-level state, but a stage-level one, which explains the compatibility of these participles with *estar*. Finally, the PredP merged on top defines a (non-verbal) predicate (Bowers 1993; Baker 2003) and introduces the copula (cf. Den Dikken 2006), licensing the subject of predication at its specifier.

The restriction by Rapp (1996) can be formally captured by assuming that the projection that defines the adjectival passive (in our analysis, Asp if dominated by Pred) requires a stative layer in the subeventive configuration to be licensed. In the adjectival passives of *perseguir*-verbs, the required stative layer corresponds to the central coincidence P that defines the Path as unbounded. Asp picks up the central coincidence P, in a way so that this component gets focused, thus yielding a stativized reading of the underlying activity. Evidence that this is the case is given by the fact that the Path component of *perseguir*-verbs (which is the locus of their dynamicity) gets blurred in the adjectival passive, and accordingly the modifiers that focus on this component are not always licensed (compare (24) with (20)).

- (24) a. El ladrón está buscado (por la policía) ?*por toda la ciudad*.  
 ‘The thief is looked for (by the police) ?throughout the city.’  
 b. Cristina está acompañada (por María) \**hacia la salida*.  
 ‘Cristina is accompanied (by María) \*to the exit.’  
 c. Estuvo perseguido \**hasta la frontera francesa*.  
 ‘He was chased \*up to the French border.’

At this point, it is interesting to remark that the adjectival passives of *perseguir*-verbs involve a progressive reading but are crucially different from the corresponding progressive *be* passive constructions. Hence, whereas in the former case the dynamic meaning of the underlying verbs has been partially lost (24), this dynamicity is fully preserved in the latter case (25).

- (25) a. El ladrón está *siendo* buscado *por toda la ciudad*.  
 ‘The thief is being looked for throughout the city.’  
 b. Cristina está *siendo* acompañada (por María) *hacia la salida*.  
 ‘Cristina is being accompanied (by María) to the exit.’  
 c. Estuvo *siendo* perseguido *hasta la frontera francesa*.  
 ‘He was being chased up to the French border.’

In a way, it seems that adjectival passives of *perseguir*-verbs such as (22) and (24) have a sort of generic flavor that prevents them from being properly ‘actualized’. Thus, *estar perseguido por la policía* means being in a state of persecution by the police –mostly out of spatial and temporal frames– rather than being actually chased by the police.<sup>4</sup> Space prevents us from delving into this discussion here, so we leave it for further research.

## 5. Conclusion

It is the received view that only verbs including a stative component (i.e., telic or stative ones) can be part of adjectival passives (Rapp 1996). However, we have identified a group of activity verbs –those of the type of *perseguir*– which, despite being atelic and fully dynamic, are found in adjectival passives. *Perseguir*-verbs constitute a special type of activities: like canonical activities, they are dynamic and atelic; unlike canonical activities, the dynamic event they denote is maintained in a central coincidence relation and cannot be telicized. We claim that such a central coincidence relation provides the stative layer needed in the adjectival passive, according to Rapp (1996)’s generalization. The adjectival passives obtained from *perseguir*-verbs, though, involve a progressive reading, rather than a resultative one, given that the underlying verb encodes a non-culminating event that is interpreted as simultaneous to the state codified by the adjectival passive.

<sup>4</sup> Observe that this is expected given our analysis in (23), since EvtP, the projection that introduces the utterance situation and converts the subeventive configuration into a Davidsonian event (Ramchand 2018: 16), is missing in the adjectival passives of *perseguir*-verbs.

## References

- Alcina, Juan & José Manuel Blecaua 1975. *Gramática española*. Buenos Aires: Losada.
- Anagnostopoulou, Elena. 2003. Participles and Voice. In Artemis Alexiadou, Monika Rathert & Anrim von Stechow (eds.), *Perfect Explorations*, 1-36. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Baker, Mark C. 2003. *Lexical Categories: Verbs, Nouns and Adjectives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bosque, Ignacio. 2014. On resultative past participles in Spanish. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics* 13. 41-77.
- Bowers, John. 1993. The Syntax of Predication. *Linguistic Inquiry* 24(4). 591-656.
- Den Dikken, Marcel. 2006. *Relators and Linkers. The Syntax of Predication, Predicate Inversion, and Copulas*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Dowty, David R. 1979. *Word Meaning and Montague Grammar*. Dordrecht: Reidel.
- Embick, David. 2004. On the Structure of Resultative Participles in English. *Linguistic Inquiry* 35(3). 355-92.
- Fábregas, Antonio & Rafael Marín. 2012. Differentiating eventivity from dynamicity: the Aktionsart of Davidsonian state verbs. *LSRL* 42. Cedar City, UT: Southern Utah University.
- Fábregas, Antonio & Rafael Marín. 2017. On non-dynamic eventive verbs in Spanish. *Linguistics* 55(3). 451-488.
- García-Pardo, Alfredo. 2017. Aspect and argument structure in adjectival passives. *Borealis: An International Journal of Hispanic Linguistics* 6(1). 21-52.
- García-Pardo, Alfredo. 2018. *The Morphosyntax of States: Deriving Aspect and Event Roles from Argument Structure*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Southern California.
- Gehrke, Berit & Cristina Marco. 2014. Different *by*-phrases with adjectival and verbal passives: Evidence from Spanish corpus data. *Lingua* 149. 188-214.
- Gibert-Sotelo, Elisabeth. 2017. *Source and negative prefixes: On the syntax-lexicon interface and the encoding of spatial relations*. Doctoral dissertation, Universitat de Girona.
- Gibert-Sotelo, Elisabeth. 2020. Los participios adjetivales: clasificación y análisis sintáctico. Ms, Universitat Rovira i Virgili.
- Hale, Kenneth (1986). Notes on world view and semantic categories: Some Warlpiri examples. In Peter Muysken & Henk van Riemsdijk (eds.), *Features and Projections*, 233-254. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Hale, Kenneth & Samuel J. Keyser (2002). *Prolegomenon to a Theory of Argument Structure*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Jackendoff, Ray. 1983. *Semantics and Cognition*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Kratzer, Angelika. 2000. Building statives. In Lisa Conathan, Jeff Good, Darya Kavitskaya, Alyssa Wulf & Alan Yu (eds.), *Proceedings of the Twenty-sixth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*, 385-399. Berkeley, Ca: Berkeley Linguistics Society.
- Maienborn, Claudia. 2005. On the limits of the Davidsonian approach: the case of copula sentences. *Theoretical Linguistics* 31(3). 275-316.
- Marín, Rafael. 2020. Las pasivas de los verbos psicológicos de experimentante sujeto. *RSEL*, 50(2). 165-183.
- Marín, Rafael & Antonio Fábregas. 2021. Participles and Gerunds. In Antonio Fábregas, Víctor Acedo-Matellán, Grant Armstrong, María Cristina Cuervo & Isabel Pujol Payet (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Spanish Morphology*, 484-498. London: Routledge.
- Ramchand, Gillian. 2008. *Verb Meaning and the Lexicon: A First Phase Syntax*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ramchand, Gillian. 2018. *Situations and Syntactic Structures: Rethinking Auxiliaries and Order in English*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Rapp, Irene. 1996. Zustand? Passiv? Überlegungen zum sogenannten "Zustandspassiv". *Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft* 15(2). 231-265.
- Real Puigdollers, Cristina. 2013. *Lexicalization by Phase: The Role of Prepositions in Argument Structure and its Cross-linguistic Variation*. Doctoral dissertation, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.
- Rothstein, Susan. 2008. Two puzzles for a theory of lexical aspect: Semelfactives and degree achievements. In Johannes Dölling, Tatjana Heyde-Zybatow & Martin Schäfer (eds), *Event Structures in Linguistic Form and Interpretation*, 175-198. Berlin: Mouton De Gruyter.
- Svenonius, Peter. 2010. Spatial P in English. In Guglielmo Cinque & Luigi Rizzi (eds.), *The Cartography of Syntactic Structures, vol. 6*, 127-160. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Talmy, Leonard. 1975. Semantics and syntax of motion. In John P. Kimbal (ed.), *Syntax and semantics*, vol. 4. 181-238. New York: Academic Press.

# Proceedings of the 39th West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics

edited by Robert Autry,  
Gabriela de la Cruz Sanchez,  
Luis A. Irizarry Figueroa,  
Kristina Mihajlovic, Tianyi Ni,  
Ryan Smith, and Heidi Harley

Cascadilla Proceedings Project Somerville, MA 2024

## Copyright information

Proceedings of the 39th West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics  
© 2024 Cascadilla Proceedings Project, Somerville, MA. All rights reserved

ISBN 978-1-57473-481-2 hardback

A copyright notice for each paper is located at the bottom of the first page of the paper.  
Reprints for course packs can be authorized by Cascadilla Proceedings Project.

## Ordering information

Orders for the printed edition are handled by Cascadilla Press.  
To place an order, go to [www.lingref.com](http://www.lingref.com) or contact:

Cascadilla Press, P.O. Box 440355, Somerville, MA 02144, USA  
phone: 1-617-776-2370, fax: 1-617-776-2271, [sales@cascadilla.com](mailto:sales@cascadilla.com)

## Web access and citation information

This entire proceedings can also be viewed on the web at [www.lingref.com](http://www.lingref.com). Each paper has a unique document # which can be added to citations to facilitate access. The document # should not replace the full citation.

This paper can be cited as:

Gibert-Sotelo, Elisabeth and Rafael Marín. 2024. Unexpected Adjectival Passives. In *Proceedings of the 39th West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics*, ed. Robert Autry et al., 534-541. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project. [www.lingref.com](http://www.lingref.com), document #3670.