Restitutive re- and the first phase syntax/semantics of the VP

Alec Marantz, marantz@nyu.edu

0. Restitutive *re-*

(1)   *re-* prefixation creates the restitutive of the verb, not the repetitive.

   a. The walls in the house were green long before they purchased it; they plan to re-paint them (white) as soon as they can.
   b. The door of the cabinet was built open, and John closed it for the first time when he brought it home. Mary then re-opened the door.

(2)   As has been observed by many, re-Verb doesn't refer to the repetition of the activity described by the whole VP but rather describes the re-occurrence of the state within the VP. That's why *re-*, unlike "again," is incompatible with simple activity predicates:

   a.   *John re-smiled
   b.   John smiled again.

   Wrong view, Lieber (2004, 147), "what we mean when we say that re- means 'to do again' is that re- induces an iteration of the action denoted by the verb."

   c.   This door was built open and hasn't been touched since.
   d.   I just closed the door and re-opened it.
   e.   I.e., I opened it for the first time, but restored it to the open state it was built in.

   Lieber: "[re-] also does not attach to verbs which imply a result which cannot be reversed. For example, it is impossible to *reeat the apple…"
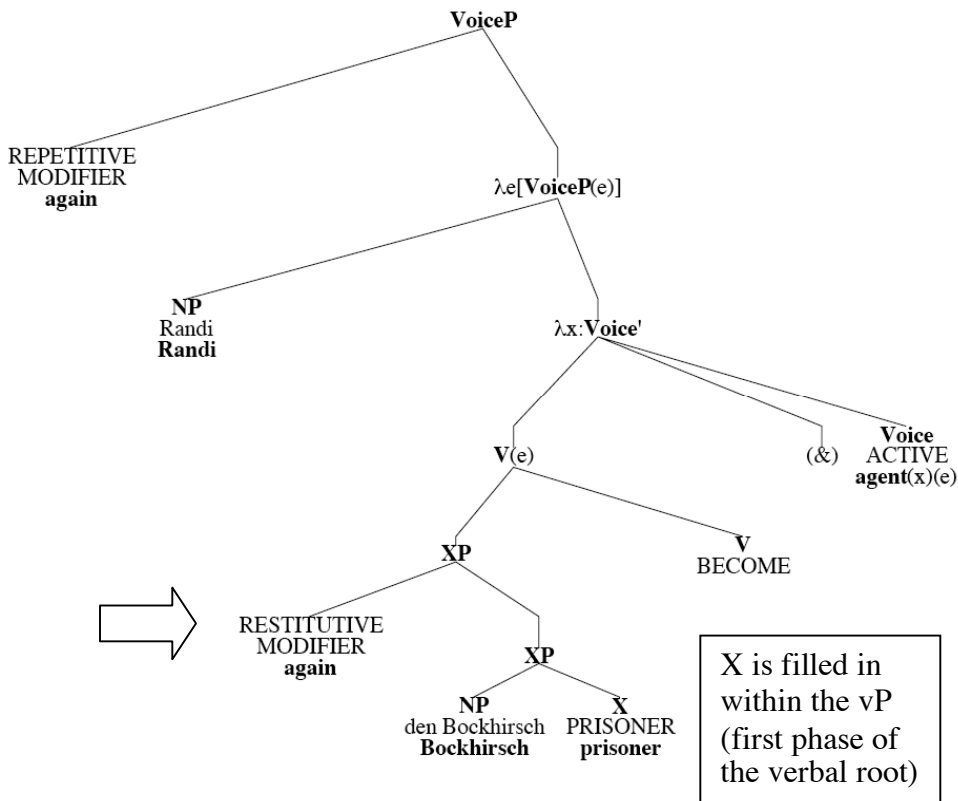
   f.   "The other day i had an incredible stomach disorder which made me vomit and then in order to get over the problem, my doctor told me to re-eat the vomit while being beaten over the head with a frozen fish by a german bodybuider named Helga."
            Note: "the vomit" hadn't been eaten in the first place – eating restores it to its previous state.

   Lieber's analysis fails because she treats *re-* prefixation as a lexical process that must affect the meaning "denoted by the verb," rather than a construction at the vP level where the prefix targets a constituent below the verb.

(3)   a.   "I used the carrot cake recipe which includes instant vanilla pudding. I have just realized that I used "Cook and Serve" vanilla pudding by mistake. This cake is for a groom's cake this weekend. Do I need to rebake the cake or will it really make any difference?" (Although here the agent of the activity is the same in both the baking and the re-baking ("I"), the meaning of re-bake is compatible with different agents – the crucial sentence could be, "Do I need to ask someone to rebake the cake [i.e., cause "the cake" – another token of the same type – to come into existence via baking]…?")

    b.   "I want to suggest, though, that one lens through which we can reasonably view Al Quie's approach to education these past eighty years is that of a person trying to apply the doctrine of subsidiarity to that multi-tiered marble cake. Putting it differently, Al has patiently and assiduously tried to re-bake the cake with neater layers and less marbling." (wants to cause the cake to come into existence again, only better)

    d.   re-build the 18th century cathedral

    e.   re-create the current situation

(4)   Restriction: As (partially) predicted from the restitutive reading, *re-* prefixation favors unaccusative and accomplishment verbs over unergative and patient-taking transitives (Horn (1980))

    a.   The stain reemerged/reappeared, The door re-opened, The ice-cream remelted
    b.   I reopened the door, repainted the house, rearranged the furniture…
    c.   ??I resmoked, relaughed, resang.
    d.   ??I rekicked the wall, rereached the top,..

(5)   Horn's generalization:
    re- requires object (transitive object or underlying object of unaccusative)

(6)   As explained by von Stechow in a number of publications, the meaning of restitution depends on identifying the end state of a change of state:

    a.   For apparent de-adjectival verbs and others which participate in inchoative alternations the end state is named by the verb root:
        i.   The door re-opened, I opened the door. (end state: open)
        ii.   The ice-cream re-melted. (end state: melted)

    b.   For verbs of creation, the end state is named by the direct object:
        i.   I re-built the house. (end state: a house)
        ii.   I re-constructed the argument. (end state: an argument)

    c.   For other accomplishment verbs, the end state is named by the adjectival passive:
        i.   I re-arranged the furniture. (end state: arranged)
        ii.   I re-painted the wall. (end state: painted)

(3-13)

VoiceP

REPETITIVE
MODIFIER
again

$\lambda e[\textbf{VoiceP}(e)]$

NP
Randi
Randi

$\lambda x:\textbf{Voice}'$

V(e)

(&)   **Voice**
ACTIVE
agent(x)(e)

XP

V
BECOME

⟹ RESTITUTIVE
MODIFIER
again

XP

NP
den Bockhirsch
Bockhirsch

X
PRISONER
prisoner

X is filled in
within the vP
(first phase of
the verbal root)

(7)   Meaning again:

If we adopt the proposal that inchoatives are causatives for which the causing event is not
specified for agentivity or an agent, the general structure of vPs that allow *re-* is one in
which one event causes a change of state event with an endpoint, and the *re-* modifies
and scopes over the lower event, specifying that the undergoer of the change of state was
in the end state before.

event-1 causes [NP changes to state $s_{event-2}$], and re- s(NP)
state s is filled in   by NP, in the case of verbs of creation,
                             by the verbal root as modifier of event-1, in the case
                                   of verbs like *paint*
                             by the verbal root as modifier of event-2, in the case
                                   of verbs like *open*

(8)   Although von Stechow describes a restitutive reading for *again* and achievement verbs
such as "catch" (where the end state is "prisoner"), *re-* resists attachment to achievements
in which the direct object is unaffected, preferring verbs for which the underlying object
is the measure of the caused event:

a.   ??John re-reached the top of the mountain.
b.   ??John re-left (the room).

(9)   Two distributional issues:

a.   Too many environments. Why should *re-* attach in cases where the verb root names the restored state (*reopen*) and in cases where the direct object names the restored state (*rebuild* (e.g., *the house*)) and in cases where the causing activity names the restored state (*repaint* (e.g., *painted*))?

b.   Too few environments. Although restitutive *again* is fine with obligatory double complement constructions (double object constructions (Beck and Johnson), resultatives with non-thematic objects, *put* verbs), *re-* obeys the "Sole Complement Generalization" and won't attach in these constructions.

   i.   John entered the room for the very first time and saw a folder hanging dangerously over the edge of a table. The folder fell, and John put the folder on the table again/*re-put the folder on the table.
   ii.   The first discussion group emptied the tea kettle but re-filled it before they left the room. The new discussants entered and drank the teapot dry again/*redrank the teapot dry.
   iii.   John threw out his U of Stuttgart t-shirt, but Mary, seeing it in the trash and not knowing that it had belonged to John, washed it and handed John the t-shirt again/*re-handed John the t-shirt for his birthday.

(10)   Related question: Why does the distribution of *re-* parallel that of adjectival passives?

a.   They repainted the walls.
b.   The walls remained painted throughout the centuries.
c.   *They re-put the book on the table.
d.   *The book seemed put on the table.
e.   *They re-gave John the award.
f.   *John seemed given the award.

(11)   Approach: Simplest Syntax = Minimalist Program + Distributed Morphology

a.   Semantic interpretation interprets the syntax, phase by phase
b.   Phonological/morphological interpretation interprets the syntax, phase by phase
c.   Consistent semantic interpretation of structures in terms of causation or change of state does not by itself motivate a syntactic head for *cause* or *become*.

We're in a linguistic universe (now often identified with "Distributed Morphology" – see Arad (2005)) in which words of the "lexical categories" N, V, and A are created in the syntax via the combination of a "little n/v/a" category head and a root or stem. Little v introduces an event semantically (an eventuality – either an event or a state). A voice head above the vP relates an external argument to an event (Kratzer (1996), developing the proposal in Marantz (1984)).
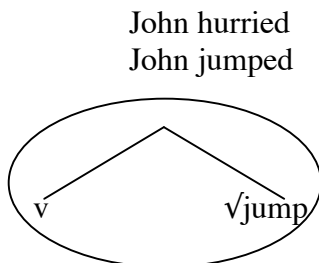
4

(12)   Constraints on a solution to the distributional issues in (9):

       a.   Since the restitutive reading of *again* is arguably related to a low scope of *again* within the vP, attaching to the constituent including the end state but excluding the causing event
       b.   and restitutive *again* may appear with vPs that disallow *re-*
       c.   the solution to (7) cannot be a simple semantic/syntactic scope issue with respect to the constituent to which *again/re-* attaches; i.e., *re-* should in principle parallel restitutive *again* from a purely semantic perspective.

       d.   However, *re-* could impose selectional restrictions that *again* does not
       e.   Or, since *re-* is an affix on verbs, it may be prohibited from appearing in a position not sufficiently local or otherwise accessible to the v head

       f.   If either d. or e. is the correct solution, then *re-* could provide evidence for the correct syntactic/semantic analysis of double complement constructions
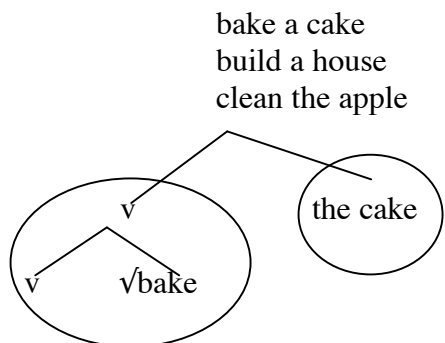
1.   vP structure in Simplest Syntax

(13)   vP structure: subevents are circled for emphasis

a.   Activity verbs, mono-eventive – eventive little v merged with root

       John hurried
       John jumped

b.   Verbs with direct objects interpreted as change of state (incremental theme verbs, verbs of creation, most accomplishments) – built from (13a) by merging a subevent
Claim: causative interpretation of relation between the subevents comes from the structure without a mediating head
Claim: inchoative interpretation of the embedded subevent comes from the structure without a mediating head

       bake a cake
       build a house
       clean the apple

←*DP coerced into a change of state event involving the cake as "measure" of the event*

5

NOTE: activity verbs in (13a) can become incremental theme verbs as in (13b) via addition of a cognate object:
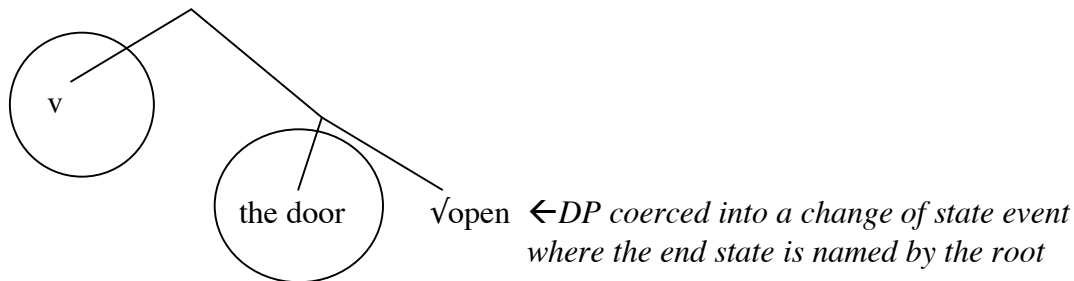
John danced (a dance/a waltz)
John sang (a song/an aria)

The meaning of "John baked a cake" and "John danced a waltz" are thus parallel, and the following additional parallelisms are not surprising:

John baked me a nice cake/ John danced me a nice dance
"Someone who will sing me to sleep.
Dance me a waltz when i wake up.
Longwalks at 5pm, hotchoco at 5am."
"Tell Me a Story, Dance Me a Dance"
John re-baked the cake/ re-danced the dance
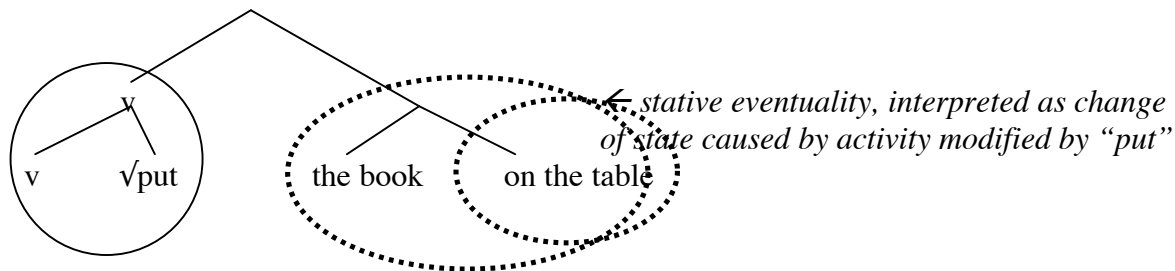the carefully baked cake/ nicely danced dance

c.   Verbs where the root names the end state of a change of state on the direct object – these easily allow transitive/anticausative alternations depending on whether or not the causing event is an agentive activity
So, assume also a voice head that relates an agent to the activity little v, when there's an agent

open the door
spin the wheel (eventive root)
flatten the pancake (-en realizes little v as event head)
freeze the ice cream

v

the door   √open ←*DP coerced into a change of state event*
                          where the end state is named by the root

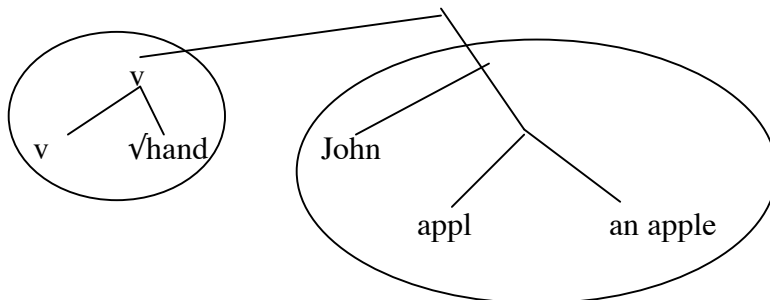d.   Small clause structures with a complex inner event (built from (13a) by merging a small clause event as complement to v)

send [the book to John]
put [the book on the table]
drink [the teapot dry]
shake [the machine to pieces]
paint [the wall red]

← stative eventuality, interpreted as change of state caused by activity modified by "put"

Tree: v → [v, √put], the book, on the table

NOTE: It is an open question whether the embedded event for these small clause causative constructions should include the direct object (=the small clause subject).
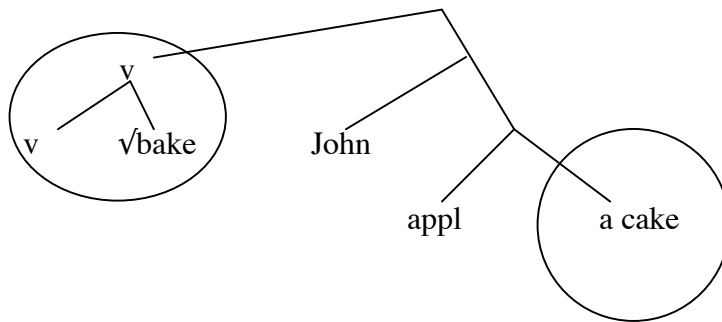
Bigger issues:

i.   is there an additional mediating head creating the small clause, marking the relation between the subject and predicate of the small clause, as in e.g. den Dikken (2006)

ii.   is the direct object the "measure" of the event, or does the change of state unfold over the "path" transversed by the direct object

e.   "Low applicative" double object constructions (type of small clause), with transfer of possession meaning (see Pylkkänen (2000), here consistent with a line of work from Kayne through Harley), created from (13a) by merging possessive small clause built with an applicative head.
give [John a book]
hand [John an apple]

f.   "High applicative" (Pylkkänen (2000), here following a line of work from Marantz (1993)) double object constructions with benefactive readings (built from (13b) with an applicative head that relates an event to an individual)

bake John a cake
open John a beer
make John a sandwich

(14)   For the discussion of *re-*, keep in mind:

a. the treatment in (13b) of objects as change of state events

b. the uniform treatment of "thematic" (paint the wall red) and "non-thematic" (drink the teapot dry) resultative constructions as involving small clauses (following Kratzer and a host of linguists before her)

c. the contrast between transfer of possession low applicative constructions (13e), which pattern here with resultative small clauses, and benefactive high applicative constructions (13f), which pattern with verbs of creation (i.e., with the constructions from which they are derived via the applicative head)

(15)   Here we try to derive generalizations about the distribution of *re-* from selectional and (semantic) compositional properties of the functional head involved. The approach is set in contrast with:

a.   Thematic approaches, where explanations are based on generalizations over theta grids or similar lexical argument structures (see Levin & Rapport)

b.   Templatic approaches, where generalizations are based on complementary distributions predicted by phrase-structure type restrictions (includes Hale & Keyser, Keyser & Roeper, Ramchand and a long tradition)

2.   "Adjectival" passives and the Sole Complement Generalization

(16)   Starting with the adjectival (stative) passive, we take off from Levin & Rappaport (1986), which in turn relies on the theta-based theory of argument structure developed in Marantz (1984).

(17)   Diagnostics of stative ("adjectival") passives (note: diagnostics based on an initial classification that has "given a book" as exclusively a verbal, eventive passive)

    a.   complement to *seem* and *remain*
            John seems/remained angry/blessed/pissed off
            *John remained given a book.
            *The teapot remained drunk dry.

    b.   input to un- prefixation
            unexamined, unprepared, unloved
            *an ungiven person, *an undrunk dry teapot

(18)   Restrictions on stative passives, the first obviously paralleling restrictions on *re-*

    a.   must take thematic object
            i. It seemed *(to have been) uttered that John should leave.
            ii. Tabs seemed *(to have been) kept on Jane Fonda.
            iii. The teapot seemed *(to have been) drunk dry.

    b.   Sole Complement Generalization:
            only arguments that can stand alone with the verb in the active VP can be the subject of a stative passive

            i. rules out first object of double object constructions
            ii. rules out some verbs of spray/load type
            iii. rules out some verbs of change of location

(19)   Sole Complement Generalization (judgments from Levin and Rappaport)

    a.   hand John a book/slip the spy message
    b.   hand a book to John/slip a message to the spy
    c.   *hand John, *hand a message/*slip the spy, *slip a message
    d.   *the unhanded person/book/ *the unslipped spy/message
    e.   *The book seemed/remained handed to John.
    f.   *The message seemed/remained slipped to the spy.

    g.   cram food into the freezer, cram the freezer with food
    h.   *They crammed food yesterday/ They crammed the freezer
    i.   ??The food remained crammed in the freezer/ The freezer remained crammed with food.
    j.   pile the books on the shelf/ pile the shelf with books
    k.   They piled books yesterday/ *They piled the shelf
    l.   The books remained piled on the shelves/ *The shelves remained piled with books.
    m.   place books on the table/ put books on the table
    n.   ??They placed the books yesterday/ *They put the books yesterday

o.   *the book seemed/remained placed/put on the table

(20)   Levin & Rappaport:

Description: -*en* (the passive affix) creates an adjective from a verb and externalizes the designated internal argument (the one that will be either the object of a transitive or the subject of the passive or unaccusative)

Analysis (claim): Restrictions on the stative passive follow from stating just the category-changing property of the suffix: it takes the perfect/passive participle and creates an adjective; "externalization" of the internal argument, the thematic restriction, and the sole complement generalization follow from nature of adjectives (they require an external argument and don't allow certain types of complements) and from the projection principle (obligatory arguments must be expressed).

(21)   This might works for double object constructions: adjectives don't allow the expression of bare DP complements:

a.   *John seemed given yesterday. (bad via the projection principle; obligatory argument not expressed)
b.   *John seemed given a book yesterday. (bad because adjectives can't "project" the obligatory second object)
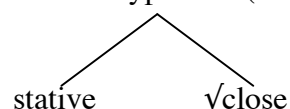
(22)   However, this account doesn't cover the data in (19e, f, j, l, o), all falling under the Sole Complement Generalization.
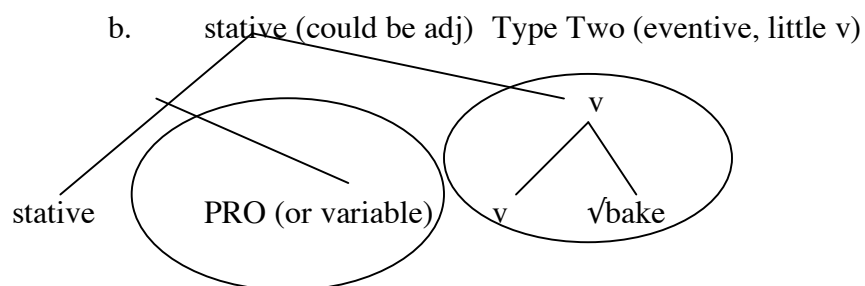
(23)   Syntactic theory of stative passive construction (Embick (2004) and Kratzer (2004), although there are important differences between their approaches that will not be relevant here)

a.   Type One, root attaching: the stative functional head attaches to a stative head (for Embick, a root) (what Kratzer calls "target state" passives)

b.   Type Two: the stative head attaches higher and the structure includes a causing event (so describes a completed change of state, rather than simply a state (an end state)) (=**a subset of** what Kratzer calls "resultant state")

(24)   Today: Type two merges with a DP interpreted as a change of state, i.e., lower subevent in (13b) above, then joins the verb.

(25)   a.   Type One (no little v)

stative   √close

b.   stative (could be adj) Type Two (eventive, little v)

                                v

stative   PRO (or variable)   v   √bake

The reading of the sub-event expressed by a DP, here PRO or a variable, is that the DP undergoes a change of state compatible with the causing event (here, the activity of "baking") and with the nature of the DP itself. The stative head picks out the end state of the change of state. The entire participle phrase in (25b), then, is a predicate describing an end-state computed in the change of state sub-event and caused by the activity of "baking."

I've switched the linear order of the subevents here to indicate that the end state is the main subevent – and heads the construction – while the causing activity is the subordinated event. This structure would probably rule out the presence of a voice head, given other observations about how voice heads close out domains (see Pylkkänen 2007).

(26)   Embick on Type One:

        Root-attaching affixes can have stem-dependent allomorphs
        a.   The door seems closed/open/*close/??opened
        b.   hung jury, fallen tree, rotten fruit (apple was rotted/ *rotten by the sun)
                  Crucially, Type One statives pattern with simple adjectives (the stative is the first category-determining head to attach to the root).

Table I: predictions about the distribution of stative passives

vP structure	stative passive?	why bad/notes
a. activity	no	no change of state sub-event to combine with
b. incremental themes	yes	Type Two
c. verb root as lower event	yes	Type One(/Type Two)
d. small clause	no	selection??: stative takes a head that names a state or a DP coerced into change of state but not a complex change of state event
e. low applicative	no	selection: lower DP isn't an event and whole applicative phrase is a small-clause
f. high applicative	no	selection: if attached below the applicative head, it would bleed the applicative; if above, the applicative would bleed it (create a phrase of the wrong semantic type)

(27)   How does this analysis derive the Sole Complement Generalization?
To put it differently, why should the optionality of the second complement in the examples in (19) matter for the formation of the stative passives?

       h.   *They crammed food yesterday/ They crammed the freezer
       i.   ??The food remained crammed in the freezer/ The freezer remained crammed with food.

(28)   In a vP like, "cram the freezer with food," "with food" could be part of a small clause (13d, e) structure, or it could be an adverbial phrase, modifying an event in the VP. How can we tell the difference?

(29)   As detailed in the next section, *re-* prefixation targets the inner event of a vP and won't co-occur with small clauses. Thus re- prefixation brings out the adverbial interpretation of an apparent second complement when such an interpretation is available.
       a.   re-spray the wall with water (the water could be used only for the second spraying, meaning that there's a sub-event in the VP that excludes the water and that "with water" can be adverbial, modifying the subevent of change of state caused by spraying)
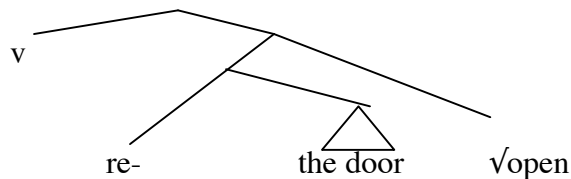   cf. re-cram the freezer with meat (could have been crammed with ice-cream before)

b.   repaint the wall red (the wall could have been painted blue the first time, so "red" can stand outside the event of changing state via painting and can be an adverbial modifier)

(30)   If the second complement is optional, then, structures with both complements are potentially ambiguous between a structure in which the second complement is the head of a small clause and a structure in which the second complement functions as an adverbial modifier of a subevent:

a.   paint the wall
b.   paint [the wall blue]
c.   paint [[the wall] blue]

(31)   The structures are disambiguated by re- prefixation, since re- won't occur with small clauses. When re- occurs with verbs with optional second complements and the second complement is present, re- has narrow scope over the event named by the first complement:
a.   re-paint the wall red, re- scopes over the change of state of the wall, not the becoming red
b.   re-stuff the refrigerator with beer, re- scopes over the change of state of the refrigerator, not the becoming "with beer," so refrigerator may have been stuffed with food prior to being re-stuffed with beer

(32)   So the Sole Complement generalization follows if
a.   stative won't attach to a small clause
b.   an obligatory second complement necessarily implies a small clause structure
c.   an optional second complement implies possible adverbial interpretation for the second complement
d.   presence of stative passive with second complement (painted blue) disambiguates the second complement to the adverbial reading, just as *re-* prefixation does

3.   "re-" and the Abstract clitic hypothesis

(33)   Keyser and Roeper:
although *re-* requires a direct object, it will not co-occur with certain additional complements, nor will it attach to transitive verbs that exhibit certain argument structure alternations.

(34)   Restrictions follow from the "Abstract Clitic Hypothesis" if *re-* either occupies or implicates a clitic position also required by other constructions. Then *re-* prefixation and these other constructions will be in complementary distribution (templatic, phrase-structural approach to restrictions and co-occurrences)

(35)   Some of Keyser and Roeper's generalizations and some of their data are wrong. We'll extract the insights from their paper and only explicitly point out errors when they're important for present purposes.

(36)   *Re-* prefixation generally obeys the Sole Complement Generalization:
    a.   *John re-handed (Bill) (a book).
    b.   *John re-crammed the food.
    c.   *John re-piled the shelves.
    d,   *John re-put (the books) (on the table).

(37)   If the Abstract Clitic Hypothesis accounts for the Sole Complement Generalization, then we should extend the Hypothesis to the stative passives and propose that the stative passive morpheme also occupies or implicates the abstract clitic position. But in that case we would incorrectly expect that *re-* and the stative passive would be in complementary distribution.
    a.   Why are there so many unrepainted Scanias?
    b.   That's the real thing.. unedited, unrecreated.
    c.   VIA also purchased 7 more mid-train domes built for US roads, all stored unrebuilt.

(38)   Moreover, and more crucially, Keyser and Roeper predict that *re-*, like stative passives, should not co-occur with double object constructions, even benefactive double object constructions. But this prediction is false:
    a.   Oh, and it's "not mission-critical" so they will rebuild me a computer "in a day or two."
    b.   I went to get a mocha, iced, and they gave me a moca frappuccino... so they remade me a mocha and let me keep the frappuccino.
    c.   He agreed that the scoop did have some flaws and remade me a new insert within a matter of days.
    d.   When I think about the human disaster in the wake of Hurricane Katrina, there are two moments that stand out in my mind. The first is George W. Bush's press conference in Mississippi on September 2, during which he bounced uneasily from foot to foot like he couldn't wait to get out of there, looking sullen and furrowed, observing with tense jocularity that Trent Lott's house had been lost, too, and that "we" were going to rebuild him "a fantastic house" and that he, our President, was looking forward to rocking on the porch when that day came to pass.

(39)   Proposal: *re-* targets the inner event of a bi-eventive structure; restitutive interpretation restores the end state of the change of state of the incremental theme

    a.   Type One: the root names the end state

the door re-opened
all our freezing rain and sleet melted and refroze solid

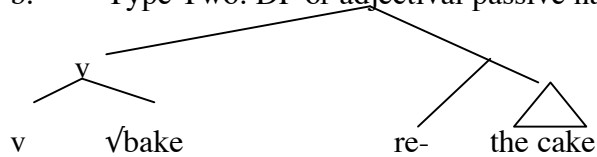b.   Type Two: DP or adjectival passive name the end state

```
            v
          /   \
        v   √bake        re-   the cake
```

Table II: predictions about the distribution of *re-* prefixation

vP structure	re- prefixation?	why bad/notes
a. activity	no	no change of state sub-event to combine with
b. incremental themes	yes	Type Two
c. verb root as lower event	yes	Type One [unaccusatives]
d. small clause	no	selection???: re-takes a DP coerced into change of state but not a small clause
e. low applicative	no	selection: lower DP isn't an event and whole applicative phrase is a small-clause
f. high applicative	yes	!re-cursive!

(40)   Keyser & Roeper: verb classes that do not allow *re-* are characterized by their potential to occur in the double object construction (rather than the obligatoriness of a second complement, as in the Sole Complement Generalization)
     a.   John bought me a car.
     b.   *John purchased me a car.
     c.   *John rebought the car.
     d.   John repurchased the car.
     [False data:
     e.   I rebought the first two albums and they still sound really good.]

(41)   Really, really false generalization. Consider "rent"
     a.   The landlord rented the tenant an apartment.
     b.   *The tenant rented the landlord an apartment (meaning from the landlord)
     c.   The landlord re-rented the apartment.
     d.   My tenant signed a one-year lease in February and was transferred to California in July. Does she forfeit her security deposit? I re-rented the apartment for Aug. 1.
     e.   The landlord re-rented the apartment on April 2, 1996.
     f.   Bob discovered that he had re-rented me the broken truck.
     (couldn't find any examples on Google of re-rent where the tenant was the subject)

(42)   Contrast between stative passives and *re-*

     a.   *re-* requires change of state and thus bi-eventive structure, while passive is OK with state and thus no higher event
          i.   open = stative passive

        ii.   loved, bearded, envied, ?*re-love, *re-envy
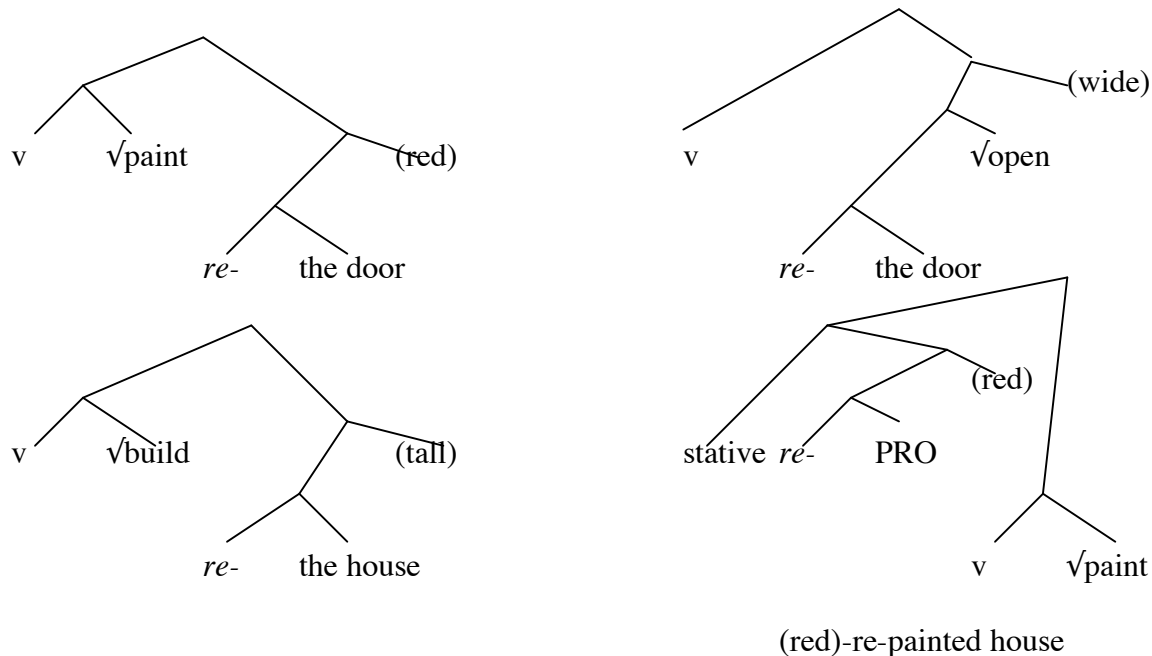
   b.   stative passive changes a change of state into a state, so it closes off possible recursive merging of e.g. the high applicative head or of *re-*. On the other hand, *re-* takes a change of state and returns changes of state, so it is compatible with (within) the high applicative and the stative passive

        i.   …re-rented me the broken truck/ *…seemed rented a truck
        ii.   unrepainted, with stative having scope over *re-*

(43)   *re-* reveals the parallelisms among the various change of state vPs shown below. In particular, restitutive *re-* targets a DP undergoing a change of state, where the target endpoint of the change may be named by the DP itself or by the verb root, or it may be filled in by the identity of the causing event.

       Note that the identity of the restored state must be established independently of the adverbial state modifiers in parentheses in these structures.

(red)-re-painted house

(44)   If *re-* selects for the kind of object that the change of state DP is, semantically, its distribution would follow, given the analysis of resultative vPs argued for here. However, since restitutive *again* with the meaning of *re-* is compatible with small clauses and other double complement constructions, the question arises of whether we can predict the distribution of *re-* without needing to stipulate these selectional properties. Would something go wrong for a *re-* in the position of restitutive *again* attaching to, e.g., a small clause complement?

4.   Theta and templatic theories

(45)   Against a theta approach:
There is no relevant difference in behavior with respect to the stative passive or *re-*prefixation between "put the book on the table" "give John the book," on the one hand, and "laugh John out the door" "drink the teapot dry," on the other.

(46)   Against a templatic approach:
Compositionality is determined by selection and semantic compatibility, not by syntactic or morphological slots. Where the semantic compositionality allows recursive combination, you get recursive combination, as in stative passive over *re-* or high applicative construction over *re-*.

5.   Issue:

(47)   If the transitivity requirement on stative passives follows from semantic selection, where does the transitivity requirement on verbal passives come from, since verbal passives seem to have a formal requirement for a DP, not a semantic requirement (so non-thematic DPs including idiom chunks, expletives, etc. are OK)?

6.   Williams (2006), "Telic too late"

(48)   Williams (2006), working within a Ramchand framework, notes the connection between the restored state of a *re-* prefixed verb and the part of the event structure that the verb root names. He proposes that *re-* attaches to the verb stem in the lexicon and thus that its scope is related to the position of the verb stem in the Ramchand first phase syntax of the VP.

17. *re-* attaches to whatever the verb gives content to:
all the verbs are Proc-Result verbs but differ in what the verb gives content to:
1. Proc *paint*
2. Res>CompRes *whiten, inflate*
4. Proc>Res>CompRes *exterminate* [3 is missing in original]

20. Attaching *re-* to the verb lexically explains:
why there is no ambiguity wrt Existential closure
why no Proc modifying adverb can be in the scope of *re-*
why incorporated Results must be in the scope of *re-*, but unincorporated Results not.
why in general *re-* has in its scope whatever part of Fseq that the verb gives content to.

(49)   There are two main empirical problems with Williams' approach:

a.   In the case of verbs of creation, the verb gives content to Proc but the Result is named by the direct object, correctly yielding *re-* scope below the Proc in the present analysis but incorrectly with Proc in Williams':

John re-built the house (the house needn't have been "built" before; it just needs to have been a house)

John re-constructed the argument

A pile can go into scatter mode either by using the Scatter Pile item in the right-click/control-click menu… In scatter mode, all the files in a pile are scaled and placed around the screen so that they can all be seen at once… Clicking on any file will **reform the pile** on the desktop with that file on the top of the pile. (the pile of files wasn't "formed" before; it becomes a pile again via forming when you click)

"Walsh is pleased the state chose not to **rebuild the Old Man of the Mountain**" (a naturally occurring rock formation never built in the first place)

b. In the case of Williams' Proc attaching *re-*'s, there's no way to prevent small clause complements

References

Arad, M. 2005. *Roots and Patterns: Hebrew Morpho-syntax. NLLT* Monograph 63. Dordrecht: Springer.

Beck, S. and K. Johnson 2004. "Double Objects Again." *Linguistic Inquiry* **35**(1): 97-124.

Bobaljik, J. 2002. "A-Chains At The Pf-Interface: Copies And Covert Movement," *NLLT*, **20**.2: 197-267.

Borer, H. 2005. *Structuring Sense.* Oxford University Press.

Cuervo, C. 2003.*Datives at Large*. MIT PhD Dissertation.

Dikken, M. den. 2006. *Relators and Linkers: The Syntax of Predication, Predicate Inversion, and Copulas*, Cambridge, MIT Press.

Embick, D. and R. Noyer. 2001. "Movement operations after syntax." *Linguistic Inquiry* **32**: 555-595.

Embick, D. 2004. "On the Structure of resultative participles in English." *Linguistic Inquiry*, **35**.3:355-392.

Hale, K. and SJ Keyser. 1993. "On argument structure and the lexical expression of syntactic relations." In K. Hale and SJ Keyser, eds., *The View from Building 20*, Cambridge: The MIT Press, 53-109.

Hale, K. & S.J. Keyser. 2002. *Prolegomenon to a Theory of Argument Structure*. Cambridge, MIT Press.

Halle, Morris and Alec Marantz 1993. "Distributed Morphology and the Pieces of Inflection," in K. Hale and S.J. Keyser, eds*., The View From Building 20*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 111-176.

Harley, H. 2004. "Merge, conflation, and head movement: The First Sister Principle revisited," Proceedings of NELS 34, edited by Keir Moulton and Matthew Wolf, UMass Amherst, GLSA

Horn, L. 1980. "Affixation and the Unaccusative Hypothesis." *CLS 16*, 134-146.

Keyser, J. & T. Roeper 1992. "Re: The Abstract Clitic Hypothesis." *Linguistic Inquiry*, **23**(1), 89-125.

Kratzer, A. 1996. "Severing the external argument from its verb." In J. Rooryck and L. Zaring, eds., *Phrase structure and the lexicon*, Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 109-137.

Kratzer, A. 2004. "Building Resultatives." To appear in C. Maienborm & A. Wöllstein-Leisten, eds., *Event Arguments in Syntax, Semantics, and Discourse*, Tübingen, Niemeyer.

Kratzer, A. 2004. "Building Statives." *BLS.26*.

Levin, B. and M. Rappaport 1986. "The Formation of Adjectival Passives." *Linguistic Inquiry* **17**.4:623-661.

Levin, B. 1999. "Objecthood: An event structure perspective." *CLS 35*, volume 1.

Lieber, R. 2004. *Morphology and Lexical Semantics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lin, J. 2004. *Event Structure and the Encoding of Arguments: The Syntax of the Mandarin and English Verb Phrase*. MIT PhD dissertation, Department of Electrical Engineering and Computer Science.

Marantz, A. 1984. *On the Nature of Grammatical Relations*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Marantz, A. 1992. The *way* Construction and the Semantics of Direct Arguments in English. In E. Wehrli and T. Stowell (eds.), *Syntax and the Lexicon*, Syntax and Semantics, Vol 20., New York: Academic Press, 179-188.

Marantz, A. 1993. "Implications of Asymmetries in Double Object Constructions." In Sam A. Mchombo, ed., *Theoretical Aspects of Bantu Grammar 1*. CSLI Publications, Stanford, CA, 113-151.

Marantz, A. 1997. "No Escape from Syntax: Don't Try Morphological Analysis in the Privacy of Your Own Lexicon," in A. Dimitriadis, L. Siegel, et al., eds., *University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics*, Vol. 4.2, Proceedings of the 21st Annual Penn Linguistics Colloquium, pp. 201-225.

Pylkkänen, L. 1999. "Causation and External Arguments." In L. Pylkkänen, A. van Hout & H. Harley (eds.), *Papers from the Second Penn/MIT Roundtable on Argument Structure and the Lexicon*, *MITWPL 35*.

Pylkkänen, L. 2000. "What Applicative Heads Apply To." The 24th Penn Linguistics Colloquium, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

Pylkkänen, L. 2000. "Deriving Adversity." *WCCFL XIX*, UCLA, Los Angeles.

Pylkkänen, L., 2007. *Introducing Arguments*. Cambridge, MIT Press.

Ramchand, G. 2003. "First Phase Syntax." Oxford University ms.

Stechow, A. von 1996. "The Different Readings of Wieder'Again': A Structural Account." *Journal of Semantics* **13**(2): 87.

Williams, E. 2006. "Telic too Late." Harvard University talk handout, November, 2006.