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P~assive~P and the Distinction between Eventive, Resultative and Stative Passives

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ABSTRACT

This paper focuses the distinction between verbal and adjectival passive sentences. For that differentiation to be accounted for, a previous proposal considering a specific functional node for eventive passives - passiveP (LIMA JÚNIOR; AUGUSTO, 2015) is retrieved. It is arguably assumed that the approach based on passiveP, besides maintaining a uniform analysis to active and passive sentences (as VoiceP in Collins (2005)), deals well with intervention issues, and is prosperous in addressing parametric variation and language acquisition facts. As far as the tripartite distinction among the different types of passives is concerned (EMBICK, 2004; DUARTE; OLIVEIRA, 2010), it is proposed that a main bipartite distinction between eventive and adjectival passives may be retained, which is here attributed to the presence of passiveP. Concerning stative and resultative passives, an agreement operation between the auxiliary verbs and the participle (LUNGUINHO, 2011) is assumed to allow for different readings to be obtained. A fourth group of passive-like sentences, involving participles, which have lost their connection with their original verbs, is also syntactically distinguished and treated as actual copular constructions.

KEYWORDS: participles; stative passives; resultative passives; eventive passives

RESUMO

Este artigo enfoca a distinção entre passivas verbais e passivas adjetivais. Para tornar essa diferenciação possível, recupera-se uma proposta prévia que assume um nó funcional específico para passivas eventivas - passiveP (LIMA JÚNIOR; AUGUSTO, 2015). Argumenta-se que a abordagem baseada em passiveP, além de manter uma análise uniforme entre ativas e passivas (como VoiceP em Collins (2005)), lida satisfatoriamente com questões de intervenção, além de responder bem a fatos relativos à variação paramétrica e à aquisição de linguagem. Em relação à divisão ternária proposta para os diferentes tipos de passiva (EMBICK, 2004; DUARTE; OLIVEIRA, 2010), propõe-se que a divisão binária entre passivas verbais/eventivas e passivas adjetivais pode ser mantida, diferença essa que é atribuída aqui à presença de passiveP. No concernente à subdivisão entre passivas estativas e resultativas, uma operação de concordância (*agree*) entre verbos auxiliares e particípio (LUNGUINHO, 2011) permite que cada leitura seja adequadamente obtida. Um quarto grupo de construções aparentemente passivas, envolvendo

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particípios que tenham perdido a conexão com seus verbos originais, é também sintaticamente distinguido e tratado como envolvendo construções copulares.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: particípios; passivas estativas; passivas resultativas; passivas eventivas

Introduction

This paper focuses on the syntactic structure of verbal (1) and adjectival (2) passive sentences. Couched in the assumptions of the Minimalist Program (CHOMSKY, 1995; subsequent work), the present paper elaborates on a previous proposal on the topic (see LIMA JÚNIOR; AUGUSTO, 2015)[10], in which the incorporation of recent formal mechanisms to the analyses of verbal passive sentences has been scrutinized (see BOECKX, 1998; COLLINS, 2005; GEHRKE; GRILLO, 2009). An alternative formal solution, which adopts a specific functional category – PassiveP – for verbal passives, is assumed. This possibility is taken into account for the extension of the analysis for adjectival passives, which is carried out in this paper.

(1)   *Verbal Passive*

O gato   foi   machucado pelo cachorro.

The cat_Masc. BE_Past_Eventive hurt_Masc. by the dog

(2)   *Adjectival Pas*sive *1: Resultative*

O gato   ficou   machucado.

The cat_Masc. BECOME_Past hurt_Masc..

(3)   *Adjectival Pas*sive *2: Stative*

O gato   está   machucado.

The cat_Masc. BE_Present_Stative hurt_Masc..

PassiveP functions as an alternative to the vP category of the transitive actives. As such, it constitutes a syntactic phase (see LEGATE, 2003). Although it is not capable of assigning case (its distinctive feature in relation to vP), passiveP is endowed with an

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[10] It is important to anticipate that much of the conclusions reached here benefit, to a great extent, from the past discussions conducted in Lima Júnior; Augusto (2015). Nevertheless, this work has been organized in a way to keep its independence in relation to the past work, retrieving the most important discussions whenever it is necessary although some relevant details are omitted.

edge feature, projecting an extra specifier. Such an extra spec allows the internal argument (logical object) to be moved to the subject position cyclically. It is hypothesized here that not only does passiveP play a central role in the derivation of verbal passives, but also in the distinction between eventive passives and passives with an adjectival reading.

The main purpose of this paper is then to verify to which extent the proposed node PassiveP is relevant for an analysis of passives which distinguishes eventive (1), resultative (2) and stative (3) passives (EMBICK, 2004; see also DUARTE; OLIVEIRA, 2010 - for Portuguese). In order to do so, we firstly review the main advantages for assuming the passiveP-approach: the possibility (a) of giving a uniform analysis for passive and active sentences; (b) of dealing well with intervention issues; and (c) of adequately addressing facts concerning parametric variation and language acquisition. As far as adjectival passives are concerned, the analysis presented departs from Embick (2004) and Duarte; Oliveira (2010), and resorts to Lunguinho's analysis to distinguish stative and resultative passives by means of an agreement operation between the participial node and the auxiliary verb.

The paper is organized as follows: In the next section, the analysis of verbal passives is recaptured in the light of the passiveP-approach; the reasons for dispensing with the smuggling approach (COLLINS, 2005) are also briefly reviewed. In section 3, the main differences between eventive, resultative, and stative passives are discussed, taking into consideration the analyses proposed by Embick (2004) for English, and by Duarte; Oliveira (2010) for Portuguese. In section 4, a reformulated and uniform analysis of eventive, resultative, and stative passives, assuming PassiveP, is presented. Section 5 is dedicated to final remarks.

1.   Verbal passives

Recent analyses for Portuguese passive structures (LUNGUINHO, 2011; DIAS; NAVES, 2014) have adopted the smuggling approach proposed by Collins (2005) for English. Basically, the smuggling movement, which is at the center of the smuggling approach, functions as a last resort operation for reasons of Case-assignment of the internal argument in verbal passives. A number of criticisms has been, nevertheless, evoked against this approach (GEHRKE; GRILLO, 2009; LIMA JÚNIOR; AUGUSTO,

2015). One major argument contrary to the smuggling movement is its lack of a clear teleological motivation.

Roughly, the smuggling approach appears as a solution to a 'problem' the active-like derivation of verbal passives (see BOECKX, 1998; COLLINS, 2005) has: the intervention caused by the external argument[11]. In other words, the external argument intervenes between the probe (T) and the goal DP (internal argument). In this sense, the internal argument DP cannot move past the external argument because, concerning syntactic distance, the latter is closer to the probe than the former. As an active-like derivation of passive sentences seems to be desirable (see BOECKX, 1998; COLLINS, 2005; LIMA JÚNIOR; AUGUSTO, 2012; 2014; 2015), the movement of the internal argument DP to [spec, TP] becomes a formal complication, inasmuch as it should be blocked by the external argument DP, contrary to facts.

In order to handle 'the intervention problem' in verbal passives, Collins (2005) argues for the movement of a maximal projection XP containing the internal argument DP instead of the movement of the internal argument DP itself. As the whole 'XP containing the internal argument DP' and 'the external argument DP' have different bundles of features, the movement of the XP cannot be blocked by the external argument DP. It is not known for sure, though, what triggers such a movement and what would prevent this movement from being driven under different circumstances.

The XP-movement in Collins's analysis, furthermore, presupposes the existence of a specific functional projection, called VoiceP. VoiceP is a functional category composed by uninterpretable features only, headed by the preposition *by*. In simple words, the presence of VoiceP in the numeration licenses partP forcing its movement, as a maximal projection, to [spec, VoiceP]. It is what constitutes the basic notion behind the smuggling movement: the internal argument DP is smuggled during the movement of partP; that is, the internal argument DP is supposed to be taken along with partP to [spec, VoiceP]. At this position ([Spec, VoiceP]), no intervention is expected anymore. Thus, the internal argument DP is free to move to [spec, TP].

Although Collins' analysis is doubtless insightful to handle the intervention problem, it causes additional difficulties (GEHRKE; GRILLO, 2009; LIMA JÚNIOR; AUGUSTO, 2015): the need for look-ahead, the problematic constituency of the by-

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[11] The problem of intervention stems from the Relativized Minimality principle (see RIZZI, 1990; 2004), which states that a phrase XP endowed with a feature [+F] cannot move past another phrase YP with the same feature [+F].

phrase; the fact that by-phrases are not exclusive of verbal passives; the fuzzy nature of the head of VoiceP in languages that admit both a passive morpheme and the by-phrase, as Kiswahili and Japanese[12].

VoiceP seems, then, to bring about too many problems to be taken as a desirable solution in order to maintain an active-like derivation for passives while circumventing the intervention issues.

Nevertheless, it has been hypothesized that the postulation of a specific functional category for verbal passives is at the locus of the solution to the problems the smuggling analysis failed to solve. This functional projection is passiveP, an alternative node to vP, which will be presented in details in the next section.

2.   PassiveP: functional node for verbal passives

First of all, it is important to state that there seems to be a consensus that any alternative account for verbal passives must assume an active-like derivation (see BOECKX, 1998; COLLINS, 2005). This also implies that a solution to evade the intervention problem must be offered. Additionally, one should ask whether it is reasonable to propose a specific functional category for passives, be it VoiceP or, as proposed here, passiveP.

An advantage of having a specific node for passives is to account for what is observed in typological studies (SIEWIERSKA, 1984; *apud* JAEGGLI, 1986): many languages in the world do not exhibit passive sentences (see KEENAN; DRYER, 2007). Collins argues that VoiceP is the expression of a parameter 'voice'. Thus, in languages that do exhibit passives, a positive value for the parameter 'voice' must be set. In this respect, Collins' (2005) work seems to be in line with what is observed in terms of parametric variation (p. 117), and paves the way for relevant discussions concerning the acquisition of passives (see HYAMS; SNYDER, 2006; SNYDER; HYAMS, 2008; 2015; GEHRKE; GRILLO, 2009; LIMA JÚNIOR; AUGUSTO, 2012; 2014; LIMA JÚNIOR, 2016; CORRÊA, LIMA JÚNIOR, AUGUSTO, 2016).

Once a positive value for the parameter 'voice' must be set, it is possible to conclude that VoiceP must be acquired. The node proposed by Collins (2005), however, is of an exclusive syntactic character, apparently with no counterpart in other domains. The preposition "by", head of Voice, is dummy. 'By', thereby, functions as a Case marker, only pronounced if the external argument is overt. Thus, Voice brings about a

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[12] For a detailed presentation of these problems, we refer the reader to Lima Júnior; Augusto (2015).

legibility issue, which is problematic for acquisition models of passive sentences (see LIMA JÚNIOR, 2016). In other words, to be acquired, the information pertaining to VoiceP should be legible at the interface levels. The fact that VoiceP is formed by uninterpretable features only is thus undesirable for the premises of a language acquisition theory couched in Minimalist assumptions (see CORRÊA, 2009, 2014; CORRÊA; LIMA JÚNIOR; AUGUSTO, 2016).

In languages like Portuguese and English, the child may then find samples of by-phrases at PF, so, at a first sight, VoiceP being headed by the preposition 'by' does not turn out to be a problem for acquisition models of passives. In some languages (Latvian, for instance), though, long passives are grammatically forbidden; that is, by-phrases are by no means generated; its presence would make the passive sentence ungrammatical[13] (see KEENAN; DRYER, 2007). In this sense, according to the smuggling approach, it is really hard to predict how children may set a positive value for the parameter voice in Latvian.

Thus the characterization of VoiceP does not seem to be adequate to language acquisition theories and models of acquisition of passives. Moreover, it is argued that passiveP would not suffer from the drawbacks highlighted in Collins' analysis.

One natural association to be established is between the functional node passiveP and a particular morphology identifying passives, as many languages show (BOECKX, 1998). It has been postulated then by Lima Júnior; Augusto (2015) that this morphology has to be inserted into the head of passiveP[14]. In these languages, passiveP may be easily identified in the input children receive (Sesotho, for instance) (see DEMUTH, 1989; 1990). Nevertheless, what is to be said in relation to languages that exhibit participial passives, in which no particular morpheme is specifically dedicated to the generation of passives?

Concerning PF, the main characteristic of passives, in languages that display participial passives, like English and Portuguese, is the non-adjacent dependency between auxiliary + participle. In Portuguese, this complex has been characterized as

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[13] It is important to notice that Latvian passives are very similar to English passives, and even more similar to Portuguese passives; that is, Latvian passives do not have a specific passive morpheme; they are formed by an auxiliary verb and the past participle. The past participle agrees in gender and in number with the subject, as in Portuguese.

[14] The idea that the preposition 'by' may be the head of the functional category of passives is, thus, automatically eliminated, insofar as the preposition 'by' is not specific of verbal passives (see BRUENING, 2014; MCINTYRE, 2012).

the morphophonological identity of passives (see LIMA JÚNIOR, 2012; 2016; LIMA JÚNIOR; CORRÊA, 2015; LIMA JÚNIOR; AUGUSTO, 2015).

Concerning LF, it is possible to notice some kind of semantic constraint, which may be attributed to the presence of the functional category, passiveP (see LIMA JÚNIOR; AUGUSTO, 2015). Without entering into details here, notice that taking the work of Cançado (2002; 2005) into account, Lima Júnior; Augusto (2015) claimed that the functional category passiveP is endowed with a semantic feature 'trigger' to be obligatorily associated to the external argument. Compare the examples (4) and (5).

(4)   John married Mary.
(5)   Mary was married by John.

By no means can sentence (4) be interpreted in the same way as sentence (5). In other words, *John* and *Mary* are in a legal and/or spiritual commitment with each other in the active sentence (4). As sentence (5) is a passive, the external argument associated to the by-phrase (*by John*), must not be understood as Mary's husband, but someone in authority to celebrate a ceremony which ends up making Mary a married woman. If the semantics of a verb disallows the feature 'trigger' to be read in the external argument, the derivation, in spite of its syntactic convergence, tends to crash at LF.

Take the example (7), which intends to be the passive sentence of (6).

(6)   John has a car.
(7)   */? A car is had by John.

The verb *have* does not allow the external argument (John) to be associated to the [trigger] feature. As *John* does not trigger the 'event' of *having a car*, regardless of the fact that there exists no syntactic problem in deriving (7), semantically, such a sentence is not allowed. This semantic constraint is extremely important for PassiveP to be semantically distinguished from *v*P and acquired in languages such as Portuguese and English (see LIMA JÚNIOR, 2016; CORRÊA; LIMA JÚNIOR; AUGUSTO, 2016).

In conclusion, differently from VoiceP, PassiveP is well-motivated at the interface levels. Apart from that, the intuition that a specific functional category is the expression

of a parameter may be flawlessly incorporated by the PassiveP-approach[15]. On the other hand, the fact that PassiveP is an alternative to vP (instead of a functional category above it, as assumed for VoiceP), makes the issue of intervention to be expected to reappear. In the next subsection, the syntactic nature of the PassiveP-approach is, thus, discussed and it is shown that the intervention issues are trivially circumvented.

3.   The passiveP-approach

The argument structure of a verbal passive is very similar to the argument structure of the transitive actives. Compare (8) to (9) below:

(8)   [PRO$_{ext.arg}$ passiveP. [passive-V-part [PartP [~~V-part~~ [VP [~~V~~ DP $_{int.arg.}$

(9)   [DP$_{ext.arg}$ vP [v-V-part [PartP [~~V-part~~ [VP [~~V~~ DP$_{int.arg.}$

The only relevant differences up to the point of the argument structure sketched above are that passiveP in (8) 'replaces' vP in (9); besides that, the arbitrary PRO compulsorily occupies the spec of passiveP in (8), while in (9) a DP occupies the spec of vP.

For an active sentence (10), V and the internal argument DP are merged projecting VP, as illustrated in (11). The theta-role is immediately discharged through merge.

(10)   The farmer has harvested the flowers.

(11)   [VP [harvest the flowers$_{\{\mu Case\}}$ ~~(θ-role theme)~~

Subsequently, VP is merged with PartP. V, then, moves to the head of partP. Notice, in (12), that the internal argument DP has its Case still unmarked. Only *v* may assign accusative Case, as in Chomsky (1995).

(12)   [PartP [harvested [~~harvest~~ the flowers$_{[\mu Case]}$

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[15] As 'by' is rejected as specific information of verbal passives, no problem arises for languages in which there is a specific morpheme for verbal passives apart from the by-phrase, such as Kiswahili and Japanese.

As soon as *v* is merged inserting (and theta-marking) the external argument DP into the derivation, the complex V-part raises to the head of vP, and the Case of 'the flowers' is immediately assigned by the head *v*.

(13)   [The farmer$_{\{\mu Case\}\{\theta\text{-}role\}}$ vP [harvested-v [PartP [~~harvested~~ [VP [~~harvest~~ the flowers $_{\{\mu Case\}}$

Likewise, in a passive sentence (14), V and the internal argument DP are merged projecting VP, as illustrated in (15). The theta-role is also immediately discharged through merge.

(14)   The flowers were harvested.

(15)   [VP [harvest the flowers$_{\{\mu Case\}\{\theta\text{-}role\ theme\}}$

Subsequently, VP is merged with PartP. V, then, moves to the head of PartP. Again, notice, in (16), that the internal argument DP also has its Case unmarked.

(16)   [PartP [harvested [~~harvest~~ the flowers$_{[\mu Case]}$

When passiveP is merged with the derivation in course (see 17), two main differences may be set in comparison with the derivation of actives: (i) PassiveP, differently from vP, cannot assign Case to the internal argument; (ii) passiveP compulsorily selects an arbitrary PRO (see COLLINS, 2005; LIMA JÚNIOR; AUGUSTO, 2015) as its external argument, associating 'trigger' to it. Moreover, as illustrated in (18), passiveP is taken as constituting a phase, and thus is endowed with an edge feature. So an extra Spec may be generated and the internal argument DP, an active element without case, moves to this outer extra Spec.

(17)   [PRO$_{\{\theta\text{-}role\}}$ passive' [harvested-passive [partP [~~harvested~~ [VP [~~harvest~~ the flowers $_{\{\mu Case\}\{\theta\text{-}role\}}$

(18)   [the flowers $_{\{\mu Case\}\{\theta\text{-}role\}}$ passiveP$_{extra\ spec}$ [PRO$_{\{\theta\text{-}role\}}$ passive' [harvested-passive [partP [~~harvested~~ [VP [~~harvest the flowers~~ $_{\{\mu Case\}\{\theta\text{-}role\}}$

In Lima Júnior; Augusto (2015), several empirical arguments were retrieved from the literature in regard to the fact that both passive and active argument structures constitute phases. For instance, both passiveP and vP exhibit PF isolability and full argument structure at LF, which meets the propositionality criterion for phasehood (see RICHARDS, 2004, EPSTEIN, 2006); both categories also provide reconstruction sites, which are typical of an intermediate phase edge (see FOX, 2002; LEGATE, 2003); they allow for the same freedom of reordering of verb and object as well as other transphasal movements (see RICHARDS, 2004; 2006). Therefore, being passiveP a phasal node, it may project an extra specifier that can momentarily accommodate the internal argument DP.

Having set apart passiveP and vP, it is possible to continue with the derivation of passive sentences. Firstly, the auxiliary is merged with the derivation in course. As proposed by Lunguinho (2011), the auxiliary verb does not project an external argument. The complex V-part-passive adjoins to the head of the auxiliary, as illustrated in (19).
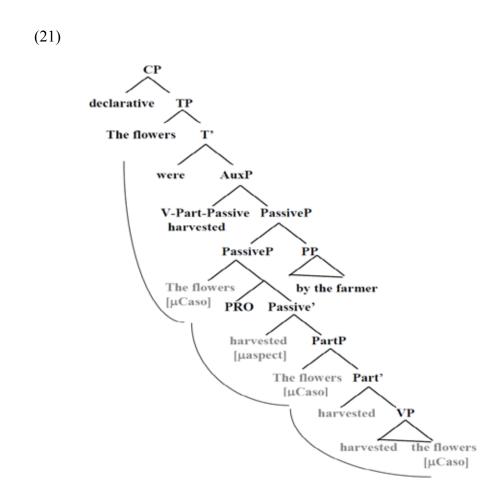
(19)   [VP [be harvested-passive [the flowers $_{\{\mu Case\} \{\theta\text{-role}\}}$ passiveP$_{\text{extra spec}}$ [PRO$_{\{\theta\text{-role}\}}$ passive' [harvested-passive [partP [harvested [VP [harvest the flowers

Due to the extended projection principle, as soon as T is merged, the search for a goal to occupy [spec, TP] starts. In the derivation sketched so far (see 19), the empty category, arbitrary PRO, is at [spec, passiveP]. The internal argument, which ultimately is going to be raised to [spec, TP], has found, however, an escape hatch, the extra specifier projected by passiveP. At this position, the internal argument DP is as distant of the probe (T) as PRO. This DP, thereby, may cyclically move to [spec, TP]. Once the internal argument DP, and the arbitrary PRO are equidistant from the probe, intervention is no longer obtained, as it is illustrated in (20).

(20)   [The flowers$_{\{nominative\}}$ TP [T were [be harvested-passive [the flowers passiveP [PRO passiveP [harvested-passive [partP [harvested [VP [harvest the flowers

It is important to highlight that the structure presented in (20) is the prototypical passive. In other words, if a grammar generates passives, it will generate short passives (see KYPARSKY, 2013). However, languages like Portuguese and English also generate long passives, which are passives that have by-phrases or, in other words, an apparent overt external argument. In this respect it is important to discuss where the by-phrase is to be positioned and which status it owns.

As stated by Lima Júnior; Augusto (2015), the status of the by-phrase is the following: while semantically it is an argument, syntactically it is an adjunct. In other words, by-phrases are adjuncts semantically oriented to the external argument; that is, as by-phrases are oriented to external arguments, they tend to be read at LF as if they were the argument of the verb itself. This claim is not controversial, provided that the adjunct occupies [spec, passiveP], as illustrated in (21) below:

(21)

Up to this point, the derivation of passives appears to be complete. No intervention or any complication of the sort is expected once passiveP provides the

necessary escape hatch for the internal argument DP (the flowers) to move to [spec, TP]. Yet, an aspect of this analysis is quite fuzzy. One should question what motivates the movement of the internal argument DP to the intermediate position [spec, passiveP], and then to [spec, TP]. Recall that one of the most serious criticisms that the smuggling approach has received was the lack of interpretive motivation for the XP-movement. In the next section, the interpretive motivation of the movement of the internal argument DP in verbal passives is discussed in details.

4.   Motivating the movement of the internal argument DP in the derivation of verbal passives

It seems that different types of EPP are at work for allowing the internal argument DP to eventually reach [Spec, TP] in a passive sentence. There has been a long traditional view associating EPP to the sentence subject position, and more recently to the idea of an edge feature EPP, which is responsible for cyclic movement. In any case, the moved element must be active to the system, that is, it must portray an unchecked/unvalued feature. Particularly, the movement involving the definition of the subject of a sentence is standardly assumed to be motivated by Case requirements, which suggests the relevance of the interface with morphology. Many works on the issue, nonetheless, have been showing that Nominative-marking does not necessarily involve movement to [spec, TP] (see ZAENEN; MALING; THRÁINSSON, 1985; RICHARDS, 2004; CARDINALLETTI, 2004; RIZZI, 2006).   Case may be assigned by the operation *agree*, which may be driven at long distance (see CHOMSKY, 1995). Given this fact, Case-marking is not, to say the least, the whole picture concerning the movement of the internal argument DP to the subject position.

In this paper, benefiting from the subject criterion proposal put forward by Rizzi (2006), we hypothesized that besides an unvalued Case feature, the internal argument DP bears another unvalued formal feature, which is read off at the subject position. Thus, concerning the intermediate movement of the argument DP to the edge of the phase (in the case of verbal passives), it occurs due to the fact that an extra Spec may always be generated to host any DP which bears some unvalued feature, and otherwise would be kept trapped in the lower phase. The unvalued features – Case and a formal D feature - allow this movement, although the position may not be able to check/value any

of them. This movement is very similar to cyclically wh-movement in complex sentences.

As far as the next movement to the subject position is concerned, it is worth following Rizzi´s proposal, which aims at considering which kind of interface requirements the EPP_subject movement would be satisfying.

Elaborating on Chomsky's (2002) ideas, Rizzi (2006) states that the subject position is endowed with special discourse properties (quasi-topicality, and the like). Another external system requirement, again according to Rizzi (2006), has been stated by Rothstein (1983): events must be expressed in a subject-predicate format. These arguments are in consonance with various results of psycholinguistic studies concerning the informational relevance of the linguistic position at stake (see BOCK, 1986; KELLY; BOCK; KEIL, 1986; BOCK; WARREN, 1985; BATES; MCWHYNNEY, 1982). In general, experimental results show that the subject position tends to be occupied by the element that is the most active in the working memory; and also the most prototypical and animate element in a proposition. In sum, TP has an undeniable semantic/pragmatic relevance. As stated by Foley and Van Valin (1985), it seems that elements syntactically defined as subjects have informational privileges, which are assumed here to correspond to the high structural position they occupy in the syntactic tree.

In order to talk about the nature of subjects, Rizzi (2006) resorts to the fact that subjects and topics have something in common concerning the relation between them and their predicates. Rizzi uses the terminology "aboutness" to name this relation. According to Rizzi, subjects and topics share "aboutness", but the two notions differ in that D(iscourse)-linking is a necessary component of topics, but not of subjects.

Thus, DPs occupying [Spec, TP] (or a Topic position) would be interpreted as "about which" some sentence or predicate is generated. The difference between an active and a passive sentence has to do, then, with to which argument the [aboutness] feature is associated.

Getting back to the case that brought up this issue, in the analysis being proposed for passive sentences, both arbitrary PRO and the internal argument DP are equidistant from the probe T while at [spec, passiveP] (see example 21). If no feature of DP is particularly associated with TP, the system may opt for arbitrary PRO instead of the

internal argument DP. Yet, as it has been proposed here, the aboutness feature may be a distinctive feature between both verb arguments.

In summary, the derivation of verbal passives proceeds with a successive-cyclic movement of the internal argument DP, which has been properly motivated. PassiveP plays a fundamental role since, as a phase, it provides the intermediate site for the movement of the internal argument, before it reaches [spec, TP].

In the next sections, the relevance of passiveP to the distinction between verbal passives and passives with an adjectival reading is examined.

5.   Towards a minimal and uniform analysis of verbal passives and passives with an adjectival reading

Our purpose in this paper is to verify to what extent the proposal of passiveP is relevant for achieving a uniform and minimalist analysis to both eventive and adjectival passives. With that in mind, we recap Hornstein, Martins and Nunes's analysis (2008) for eventive passives, which is a very insightful and elegant solution for the intervention problem raised by the external argument in active-like derivations of verbal passives. In their proposal, the passive morpheme –*en* occupies [spec, *prt*P] (prtP being a light verb representative category for passives), as illustrated in (22) (see also LIMA; RUBIN, 2008).

(22)   a.   The flowers were watered.

b.   [CP [C [TP the flowers [T were [VP ~~be~~ [prtP water**ed** [prt [VP [~~water~~ ~~the flowers~~

The passive morpheme –*en* at [spec, prtP] does not bear the feature [person]. Therefore, it does not pose problems concerning intervention effects (or minimality issues) (CHOMSKY, 1995; 2002; RIZZI, 1990), nor does it force any violation of the maximization principle (see CHOMSKY, 2000), differently from what is observed in Boeckx (1998), for example (see LIMA; RUBIN, 2008; LIMA JÚNIOR; AUGUSTO, 2015 for a discussion of Boeckx's analysis).

Being so, Hornstein et al.'s analysis seems to be simpler and more elegant than the one being proposed here and thus should be favored. It is worth highlighting,

though, that their analysis seems to presuppose that the passive participle morpheme is a kind of external argument, and thus would imply that a totally different proposal would have to be pursued to account for adjectival passives, for example. Actually, Hornstein, Martins and Nunes's analysis (2008) requires three specific participial categories to account for the different sentences that are derived from participles. In this sense, there should be a partP for active participles, such as in (23a.), a passive partP for sentences like (23b.), and an adjectival partP for sentences such as (23c.).

(23)　a.　　John has broken the window.

　　　b.　　A window was broken by John.

　　　c.　　The window remains broken.

Notice that an agentive entity may be syntactically represented in eventive passives as in (24), but not in stative adjectival passives as in (25). If it is assumed otherwise that the passive morpheme is somehow the external argument of passive sentences, or that the interpretation of an external argument is directly derived from the presence of this morpheme, every passive sentence with, or without, an adjectival reading should imply the interpretation of an external argument, which does not seem to be the case.

(24)　a.　　A porta foi queimada.

　　　b.　　The door was burned. (an event of the burning of a door by someone)

(25)　a.　　A porta estava aberta.

　　　b.　　The door was open(ed). (the state of the door)

　　　　　[see LIMA JÚNIOR; AUGUSTO (2015), examples (1-2) in the original]

Moreover, if adjectival passives derived from unaccusative verbs are taken into account (26a. and a'.), neither a semantic nor a syntactic external argument is allowed, despite the fact that the participle is present (26b. and b'.).

(26)　a.　　The tree fell down.

　　　b.　　The tree remains fallen.

     a'.   A árvore caiu.

     b'.   A árvore está/permanece caída.

At this point, it seems that, as Lima Júnior; Augusto (2015) argue, an external argument has to be allotted at a syntactic layer necessarily distinct from the participle itself, even though the proposition of specific categories to account for particular structures should be avoided to the limit (see CHOMSKY, 1981).

Following Collins (2005), Lima Júnior; Augusto (2015) give a uniform account to participles. Roughly, it was argued that there is no reason for active and passive participles to be distinguished, regardless of the fact that passive participles exhibit gender and number agreement in languages such as Portuguese. Participles are then inserted into the derivation, contributing to the aspectuality of the sentence in conjunction with the auxiliary verb (see LUNGUINHO, 2011). It seems to us that any difference concerning verbal passives and passives with an adjectival reading shall not be centered in the participle. In the next subsection, we entertain the possibility of attributing such a difference to the functional node passiveP, but before going into the details of this distinctive analysis between verbal and adjectival passives, this classification will be presented.

6.   Verbal passives and passives with an adjectival reading: a tripartite division?

It was traditionally accepted that verbal and adjectival passives are derived in different modules. Verbal passives would be derived in the syntax, while adjectival passives in the lexicon (WASOW, 1977; among many others), possibly by some kind of verbal feature demotion operation.

According to a more recent view, this dual division was considered too simplistic (see EMBICK, 2004; DUARTE; OLIVEIRA, 2010). In his work, Embick (2004) argues for a ternary distinction between eventive passives and two types of adjectival participles: resultative and stative[16]. Embick offers syntactic, morphophonological, and interpretive reasons for that to be so. He is particularly interested, though, in the very syntactic nature of resultative participles in comparison with eventive participles and

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[16] This distinction seems fundamental from the point of view of an acquisition path (see ISRAEL; BROOKS; JOHNSON, 2000; CAPRIN; GUASTI, 2006; Lima Júnior, 2012), and it also reverberates in terms of computational cost predicted by processing models, which has already been attested experimentally (see LIMA JÚNIOR; CORRÊA, 2015).

stative participles. According to him, the different syntactic structures pertaining to the passive predicates give rise to the three distinct interpretable semantic relations at stake.

From a semantically interpretive position, passive predicates are formed by two features: [agentivity] and [eventivity]. In this sense, if a predicate is semantically marked for both features, an eventive predicate is obtained. When only eventivity is positively marked, then, a resultative predicate is obtained. In case of no semantic feature marking at all, a stative predicate is thus obtained, as illustrated in (27).

(27)   a.   [+agentivity; +eventivity] → eventive passive
       b.   [-agentivity; +eventivity] → resultative passive
       c.   [-agentivity; -eventivity] → stative passive

From a morphophonological position, although Embick seems very convincing at elaborating on the ternary division in English, the discussion here could solely resort to Portuguese, a language in which the three patterns above are clearly morphophonologically different from each other. As it can be seen in (28-30), three different AUX+PART (auxiliary + participle) complexes are involved in the derivation of passives in this language.

(28)   As flores **foram** molha**das**   (ser+do) → eventive passive
       The flowers were watered.   ($BE_{eventive}$+part)
(29)   As flores **ficaram** molha**das**   (ficar+do) → resultative passive
       The flowers become wet.   (BECOME+part)
(30)   As flores **estão** molha**das**   (estar+do) → stative passive
       The flowers are wet.   ($BE_{stative}$+part)

Although it seems clear from a morphophonological and from a semantic perspective that Portuguese exhibits the three passive predicates, Duarte; Oliveira (2010) offer the results of a series of diagnostic tests, which distinguishes the properties of the three passive predicates. Some of the tests they have run are: control of the purpose clause; acceptance of instrumental PPs; aspectual restrictions of the verb; formation of resultative constructions; negative prefixation –*in*; acceptance of by-

phrases; acceptance of adverbial phrases oriented to the agent. These tests were tentatively organized in the table 1 below in the same order they were mentioned here.

Type of test	a. Stative	b. Resultative	c. Eventive	Examples
Control of the purpose clause	X	X	√	a. *O teste está corrigido para irritar o João. b. *O teste ficou corrigido para irritar o João. c. O teste foi corrigido para irritar o João.
Instrumental PPs	X	X	√	a. *?O teste está corrigido com caneta. b. *O teste ficou corrigido com caneta. c. O teste foi corrigido com caneta.
Restrictions on the aspectuality of the verb	X	X	√	a. O teste está corrigido/*temido. b. O teste ficou corrigido/*temido. c. O teste foi corrigido/temido.
Resultative constructions	√	X	X	a. O professor construiu o teste correto. b. *O professor construiu o teste corrigido. c. *O teste foi construído corrigido.
Negative prefixation –in	√	X	X	a. O teste está incorreto. b. *O teste ficou incorrigido. c. *O teste foi incorrigido.
By-phrase/ Adverbial phrases oriented to the agent	X	X	√	a. *O copo está quebrado pelo menino/*de propósito. b. *O copo ficou quebrado pelo menino/*de propósito. c. O copo foi quebrado pelo menino/de propósito.

Table 1: Duarte; Oliveira's (2010) tests distinguishing passive predicates.

These tests function quite perfectly for both European and Brazilian Portuguese variants. They are assumed here as valid, except for the fact that some stative and resultative sentences, contrary to Duarte; Oliveira's (2010) judgment, seem to accept by-phrases and even instrumental PPs. In the example (31) below, for instance, a clearly

stative passive *está pintado* (is painted) is followed by a PP, instrumental phrase, *com pincel* (with a paintbrush). In (32), an evidently resultative passive *ficou fechada* (got/became closed) is followed by a PP, by-phrase, *pela polícia* (by the police). In (33), again a resultative passive *ficou penteado* (got/became combed) is followed by a PP, instrumental phrase, *com a bandana* (with a bandanna).

(31)   (…) com duas portas em que está pintado com pincel um carro de feno.[17]

      (...) with two doors in in which is painted with paintbrush a hay car

(32)   A avenida que dá acesso ao hospital ficou fechada pela polícia.[18]

      (...)The avenue that gives access to the hospital got closed by the police

(33)   (...) que meu cabelo ficou penteado com a bandana do show.[19]

      (...)   that my hair got combed with the bandanna from the concert

Plenty of examples as such are provided by Portuguese speakers, regardless of their level of education. In Lima Júnior; Augusto (2015), the status of the by-phrase is discussed in details,[20] and it seems well incorporated to the derivation of verbal passives of the present paper. However, the fact that the presence of by-phrases and instrumental PPs is disputable in relation to the (un)grammaticality of stative and resultative passives does not seem to be sufficient reason to invalidate the ternary division proposed by Embick (2004). As far, such a division seems to survive quite well to the discussions made with respect to the semantic, morphophonogical and syntactic behavior of passive predicates. What must be assessed now is the kind of analysis Embick (2004) and/or Duarte; Oliveira (2010) will offer for the three passive types

Before entering the field of the analyses, it is important to mention that both the work of Embick (2004), and of Duarte; Oliveira (2010) entertain the derivation of passives in terms of the Distributed Morphology paradigm (see HALLE; MARANTZ,

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[17] Example extracted from the master thesis by Isaac Vieira da Silva, *A obra de Jerônimo Bosch à luz de escritos dos séculos XV, XVI e XVII*, for the faculty of Philosophy in the University of São Paulo, 2014, page 120.

[18] Example extracted from the website of O globo, accesed on the 25th of December, 2015 in http://oglobo.globo.com/brasil/pm-da-guarda-do-governo-de-minas-gerais-atira-dentro-de-hospital 2840890#ixzz3vLp3Ojjl

[19] Extracted from the blog 'Esclerose Múltipla e Eu', accessed on the 25th of December, 2015 in http://esclerosemultiplaeeu.blogspot.com.br/2011/03/foi-show.html.

[20] It is possible to cogitate that by-phrases in adjectival passives own a default theta-role.

1993). Although some preoccupations are specific of a particular language, both analyses are offered in a very similar way.

In order to derive the three kinds of passives (stative, resultative and eventive), AspP, vP and VoiceP projections were assumed in Embick's (2004) analysis. AspP bearing a [Stative] feature would be responsible for the stative interpretation of the stative passive predicate. No *v* is present, thus no eventivity. AspP bearing a [Fient] feature along with *v* bring eventivity, in contrast with stative passives. VoiceP, which inserts the 'agent' into the derivation of passives, and AspP (also bearing a [Fient] feature]) are the categories by means of which eventive passives are derived.
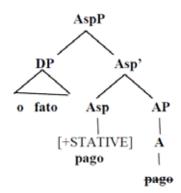
According to Embick, since the stative and the resultative participles exhibit structural differences other than the presence of Asp, it would not be necessary to assign all of the interpretive differences to the Asp. However, he refers to the aspectual head that appears in statives as Asp_S and the one that appears in resultatives as Asp_R. In sum, he argues that Asp_R defines a state out of an eventive subcomponent, while Asp_S defines a simple state. Duarte; Oliveira (2010) do not entertain that discussion, and simply call both aspectual phrases Asp, one introducing a stative feature [state] while the other introduces a fientive feature [Fient].

The stative participle is the simplest structure of the three being compared here. Take, for instance, the stative passive in (34). The derivation proposed for (34) starts as illustrated in (35) (from DUARTE; OLIVEIRA, 2010). Yet, in the resultatives, Asp introduces the feature [Fient], as it has been mentioned before. Fient is analogous to the BECOME-operator in the sense it denotes a *transition* event; that is, *that moves toward a state* (EMBICK, 2004, p. 366)[21]. The other difference is the presence of *v*. The derivation of a resultative passive (see 36) starts as illustrated in (37) (from DUARTE; OLIVEIRA, 2010).

(34)   O fato está pago.
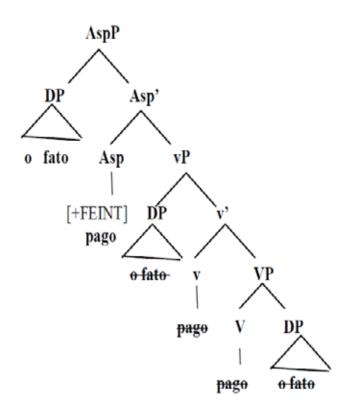
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[21] With using the nomenclature *Fient*, Embick wants avoid the misunderstanding raised by the fact that the operator BECOME is usually associated with 'achievements' and 'accomplishments' (see VENDLER, 1967; GEHRKE; GRILLO, 2009).

(35)

```
                    AspP
                   /    \
              DP          Asp'
             /\          /    \
            o  fato   Asp        AP
                       |          |
                   [+STATIVE]     A
                      pago        |
                                 p̶a̶g̶o̶
```

(36)   O fato ficou pago.

(37)

```
                         AspP
                        /    \
                   DP          Asp'
                  /\          /    \
                 o  fato   Asp        vP
                            |        /  \
                        [+FEINT]  DP      v'
                          pago   /\      /  \
                               o̶ ̶f̶a̶t̶o̶  v     VP
                                       |     / \
                                     p̶a̶g̶o̶   V    DP
                                            |   /\
                                          p̶a̶g̶o̶ o̶ ̶f̶a̶t̶o̶
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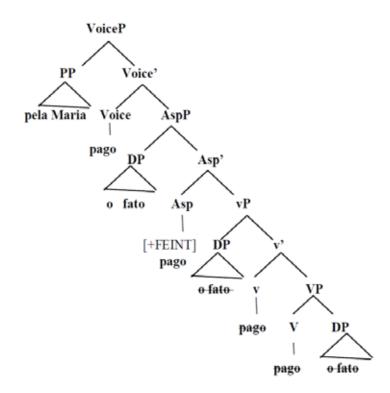
As it could not be different, the eventive passive is the most complex of the three. So as to account for the agentivity of eventive passives, Embick (2004) resorts to VoiceP. vP and AspP are also obligatorily involved. The derivation of an eventive passive (38) starts as illustrated in (39) (from DUARTE; OLIVEIRA, 2010).

(38)   O fato foi pago.

(39)

Concerning the tripartite division for Portuguese in Duarte; Oliveira (2010), it could be concluded that much of what Embick (2004) proposed for English can be incorporated into an analysis taking Portuguese into account. The present paper, however, is not completely in line with this conclusion.

According to the proposal just reviewed in this section, an aspectual projection bearing a [Fient/BECOME] feature is present in both *eventive* and *resultative* passives. In other words, if the participial form of a verb allows for a resultative reading to be obtained, it should be the case that this verb allows for an eventive passive to be generated as well, contrary to facts.

Observe the passive predicates formed with the verb *preocupar* (worry) in (40). A similar frame is obtained in English (41).

(40) a. O João está preocupado com o filho.

  b. O João ficou preocupado com o filho.

  c. *O João foi preocupado pelo filho.

(41)   a.   John is~state~ worried with his son.

        b.   John got worried with his son.

        c.   *John was worried by his son.

Looking at the examples above, it can be stated that the verb *preocupar* (worry) allows for stative/resultative interpretation (40a. and b./41a. and b.) to be obtained. It implies that both an Asp$_S$, and an Asp$_R$ may be projected, respectively resulting in a stative and in a resultative passive, as discussed before and as it was illustrated in (35) and (37). The verb *preocupar* cannot form eventive passives, though (see 40c. and 41c.) (see also BELLETTI; RIZZI, 1988; CANÇADO, 1995). In the terms stated in this section, VoiceP cannot select the projection of *preocupar* although it may project AspP [+Fient]. It is not inferable, from Duarte; Oliveira's (2010) (nor from Embick's (2004) work), what prevents the predicate *preocupar* from forming eventive passives provided that, semantically, it meets all the criteria established in Embick (2004) and/or Duarte; Oliveira's analyses; that is, it admits eventivity (*v*), and the Fient/Become-operator to be inserted into the derivation.

In the same line of reasoning, if every derivation of eventive passives must exhibit Asp bearing [Fient], it should be the case, then, that every eventive passive also forms resultative passives, once again, contrary to facts.

Take the perceptual verb *ver* (see) (*and other perceptual verbs*), for instance (42). It does not allow a stative/resultative reading (36a. and b.), but it does form eventive passives (39c.).

(42)   a.   *O João está/esteve/estava/permaneceu visto na festa.

        b.   *O João ficou visto na festa.

        c.   O João foi visto na festa.

What seems to hold for the problems observed here is that there is more than a progressive distinction represented in the functional nodes present for each type of passive. It is what the analyses proposed by Embick (2004), and followed by Duarte; Oliveira (2010) for Portuguese, assume.

Although the differences between stative and resultative passives (from both a morphophonological and a semantic standpoint) are undeniable, the fact that some stative passives allow for by-phrases and instrumental PPs show that the boundaries between what is a stative and what is a resultative passive are not yet firmly drawn, and may depend much more on the context than we would like to accept. Take the anecdotal example in (43).

(43)   Ih! Choveu, né? Mas, - que bom! Não preciso mais regar as plantinhas que, agora, tão molhadas pela chuva.

Gee! It rained, han? That's good! I don't need to water the plants that are now wet by the rain.

For a less controversial example, let´s examine (44).

(44)   a.   A cama estava cuidadosamente arrumada.
                 The bed was carefully made.
         b.   *A cama estava cuidadosamente bonita.
                 The bed was carefully pretty.

Again, the presence of *estar* (stative be) in (44a.) makes clear that it turns out to be a stative predicate. The presence of 'cuidadosamente' (carefully) should be banned provided that this adverb is traditionally associated to an agent. However, there is no problem in 44a. -thousands of examples as such are normally produced in Portuguese. When the participle *arrumada* (made) is changed for the attribute *bonita* (pretty), the sentence becomes ungrammatical, though. The contrast between (44a.) and (44b.) shows that the verbal nature of the participle has not been completely lost as Duarte; Oliveira's (2010) work seems to imply. Notice that Embick (2004) explicitly says that *the structure for the stative should not involve v and its concomitant eventivity* (p. 363). Based on that, it can be speculated that what Embick (2004) has been calling stative participles are not participles anymore, and have migrated to the category of pure adjectives. Duarte; Oliveira (2010) mention that this category does exist in Portuguese, as it can be seen in (45). Some of them are still present in the language under both forms, and, sometimes, with different meanings.

(45)   a.   cativado → cativo (captivated)

      b.   tingido → tinto (dyed)

      c.   corrigido → correto (corrected)

      d.   nascido → nato (born)

      e.   bendito → bento (blessed)

In sum, as far as Portuguese is concerned, it could be mentioned that there are two great groups of passive predicates, which refer us back to the traditional binary division: verbal passives and passives with an adjectival reading. This major division can be supported by the presence of a passiveP in eventive passives. The semantic restriction provided by that functional category prevents eventive passives of verbs as *preocupar* (worry) from being derived. The passiveP-approach also accounts for the fact that eventive passives of perceptual verbs as *ver* (see) may be derived even though it does not form stative, or resultative passives.

In the group of passives with an adjectival reading, in particular, it sounds quite evident that there are stative and resultative passives conforming two different groups - especially if the existence of the auxiliaries '*estar'* and '*ficar'* are taken into consideration. It seems that the difference between them, apart from this morphophonological difference, is solely aspectual.

A fourth group could still be identified. This fourth group holds for the participles that have completely become adjectives, and, hence, cannot be analyzed as participles anymore.
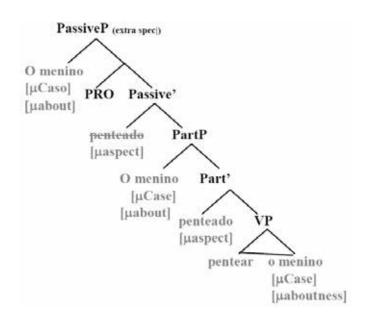
In the next section, a reformulated analysis couched in Minimalist assumptions is offered for eventive, resultative, and stative passives, as well as for the fourth group cited in the last paragraph.

7.   The tripartite division reformulated

The analysis to be offered here recovers the proposal of the passiveP node. When it comes to verbal passives, the ones that claim for an eventive reading, passiveP is the maximal projection of the argument structure of transitive verbs, alternatively to vP of the actives, as illustrated in (46). As it can be seen in (46), PassiveP selects a participial

phrase, whose aspectuality is not yet defined [μ aspect] at this point. Lunguinho (2011) is thus assumed in the sense that an auxiliary verb has to assign aspect to the participle by means of agreement. The auxiliary-*ser* does that in Portuguese by selecting the passive phrase.
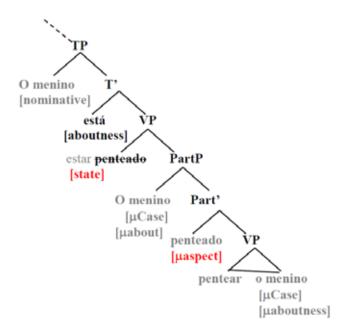
(46)

When it comes to passives with an adjectival reading; that is, resultative and stative passives, their derivations follow a very similar and unified step-by-step. It is argued that, in both, passiveP is not projected (neither is *v*P), which accounts for the major binary division between verbal passives and passives with an adjectival reading.
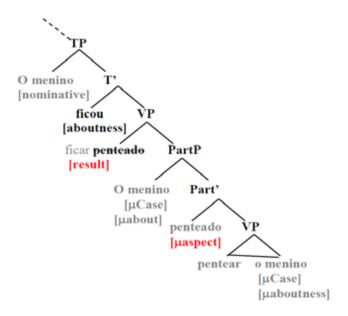
The locus of the difference between the two adjectival passives, which constitute the subgroup of resultative and stative passives, is aspectual. Particularly in Portuguese, this difference is morphologically evident. In English, it is not, unless an aspectual analysis of the sort is assumed for *get-passives*. This issue cannot be properly addressed in this paper, though, and will be left for further research (see also DIAS, 2012).

Therefore, *estar* and *ficar* are two auxiliary verbs in the sense that they must select verbal phrases. The verbal phrases selected contain PartP, which is [μ aspect]. The auxiliary verbs will, thereby, value aspect, as illustrated in (47-48), fostering either a stative or resultative interpretation of the predicate at LF.

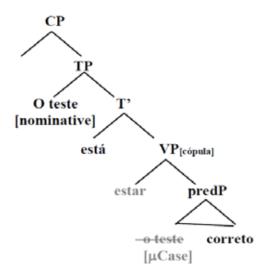(47)   Stative Passive: the boy is$_{state}$ combed.

TP
- O menino [nominative]
- T'
  - está [aboutness]
    - estar **penteado** [state]
  - VP
    - PartP
      - O menino [μCase] [μabout]
      - Part'
        - penteado [μaspect]
        - VP
          - pentear o menino [μCase] [μaboutness]

(48)   Resultative Passive: the boy became$_{result}$ combed

TP
- O menino [nominative]
- T'
  - ficou [aboutness]
    - ficar **penteado** [result]
  - VP
    - PartP
      - O menino [μCase] [μabout]
      - Part'
        - penteado [μaspect]
        - VP
          - pentear o menino [μCase] [μaboutness]

When it comes to the group of participles that have lost their connection with the original verbs, such as correto (corrected), tinto (dyed), bento (blessed), cativo (captivated), among others, the analysis should be the same as the one attributed to real adjectives, as illustrated in (49).

(49)　　Real Copular Construction: The test is$_{copula}$ correct.

CP
TP
O teste [nominative]
T'
está
VP$_{[cópula]}$
estar
predP
─o teste [μCase]
correto

In this last specific case, the auxiliaries *estar* or *ficar* (*o teste ficou correto*) should not be considered auxiliaries in the actual sense of the word, but copulas, inasmuch as they select a predP. No verbal phrase is involved.

In conclusion, both VoiceP and passiveP allow for the distinction between eventive passives and passives with an adjectival reading. Remember that voiceP holds for the preposition *by*. As it has been pointed out, though, adjectival passives may also present a by-phrase. The head of passiveP, for its turn, contrary to voice, is not assumed to be the locus of this preposition. Therefore, passiveP seems to be more appropriate for the distinction proposed here. Additionally, contrary to Embick's and Duarte; Oliveira's works, our proposal does not necessarily imply that both eventive and resultative readings be expected for the same verbs. The distinction between stative and resultative readings among the adjectival passives is derived from the types of auxiliaries selected. Eventive readings follow from the presence of the semantic feature "trigger" associated to passiveP (LIMA JÚNIOR; AUGUSTO, 2015; for additional discussion on the relevance of features in the interface semantic-syntax see also Cançado (2005), Naves (2005), and Dias (2012)).

8.   Final Remarks

The main objectives of this paper were basically twofold. Firstly, passiveP was carefully examined as the potential specific node for verbal passive sentences. Secondly, this very category was pointed out as the locus of the distinction between verbal passives and passives with an adjectival reading.

The legitimacy of passiveP has been attested from a theoretically internal point, but also in its teleological nature. The fact that passiveP is motivated at the interface levels with language faculty has positive consequences for typological studies and models of language acquisition.

PassiveP was shown to be a functional category alternative to vP, but, as the latter, passiveP is a phase node (also see LIMA JÚNIOR; AUGUSTO, 2015). Being a phase, passive projects an extra specifier that functions as an intermediate site for the cyclic movement of the internal argument. The ultimate movement to [Spec, TP], which was also discussed in the paper, is motivated by the presence of an aboutness feature in the sense of Rizzi (2006). This feature is present in the DP that is eventually moved to the highest A-position in the tree, [Spec, TP]. It is hypothesized here that such a claim may have important consequences for online models of linguistic computation (see CORRÊA; AUGUSTO, 2007; 2011; 2013; LIMA JÚNIOR; CORRÊA, 2015; LIMA JÚNIOR, 2016).

Concerning verbal and adjectival passives, the traditional division was advocated. PassiveP may be considered the locus of the distinction between these types of passives. The ternary division, however, was not exactly rejected, provided that it seems clear, especially if Portuguese is considered, that there is a difference between resultative, and stative passives. The paper, however, notices that this difference is fundamentally based on the aspectual nature of the two complexes, and it does not seem to amount to the syntactic structure, contrary to Embick (2004), at least with respect to passives. Moreover, a fourth group of apparent passives was identified in Portuguese, featuring participles that have lost their verbal connection with the original verb. These participles seem to have been lexicalized as actual adjectives and contrary to Duarte; Oliveira (2010), they have not been considered real stative passives, but copular constructions.

Finally, we would like to mention the compatibility of the analyses proposed for the acquisition path drawn by Israel, Johnson and Brooks (2000) (among others). The kind of analyses offered here seem to predict a gradual difficulty for copular

constructions, adjectival passives, and, finally, eventive passives. The acquisition of passives is assumed to rest largely on the distinction of the interpretation of participles in the language and the features associated with the AUX+PART complex (LIMA JÚNIOR, 2012; LIMA JÚNIOR; AUGUSTO, 2014; LIMA JÚNIOR; CORRÊA, 2015; CORRÊA, LIMA JÚNIOR; AUGUSTO, 2016). It is possible to speculate that children may start with the assumption that all participles are predP until more specific features are represented in the lexicon, allowing them to syntactically derive more complex passives (for more details, see LIMA JÚNIOR, 2016).

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