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Joel Hust

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A SECOND LOOK AT UNPASSIVES

Joe1 Hust

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## A SECOND LOOK AT UNPASSIVES

Joel Hust

In her paper, "Nonsources of Unpassives," Dorothy Siegel (1973) presents a number of problems relating to sentences such as (1).

- (1) a. The president's blunder was unreported (in the press).  
 b. The brass knuckles were unpaid for.  
 c. Antarctica is uninhabited (by man).  
 d. The Garbage went uncollected.

Siegel refers to such sentences as "unpassives." Unpassives are characterized by the presence of an auxiliary (either *be* or *go*) and a past-participle prefixed with *un-*,<sup>2</sup> which Siegel refers to as the "unparticiple." However, the most striking feature of unpassives, Siegel maintains, is that there exist no well-formed active sentences from which they could plausibly be derived. Note the impossibility of the sentences in (2), which one would be apt to posit as the underlying actives corresponding to the grammatical sentences in (1).

- (2) a. \*The press unreported the President's blunder.  
 b. \*Someone unpaid for the brass knuckles.  
 c. \*Man uninhabits Antarctica.  
 d. \*Someone (went) uncollected the garbage.

Siegel convincingly argues that even though the present theory would allow the derivation of (1) from underlying structures similar to (2), in spite of the fact that the sentences in (2) are ungrammatical, such as analysis is to be rejected on a number of grounds. Hence, one is faced with the task of determining an alternative source for unpassives, and more specifically, as I see the problem, determining the source of the unparticiples.

Siegel considers three possible sources for unpassives and presents arguments which lead her to reject each of them. First, she considers the possibility that the prefix *un-* is a surface realization of the same NEG that underlies *not*. Then unpassives could be derived from active sentences by a series of transformations, including the passive, as well as a transformation which re-labels the participle resulting from the passive as an adjective,<sup>3</sup> and a transformation which attaches NEG to the adjectival participle. This analysis is rejected due to the vast differences in the syntactic patterning and behavior of *un-* and other realizations of NEG, such as *not*. Siegel then considers the possibility that unpassives are not derived at all, but rather that the unparticiples are deep adjectives and unpassives are generated directly by phrase structure rules. I will return to Siegel's argument against this possibility below. Finally, Siegel considers the claim attributed to Ross, that unparticiples are the surface realization of *without-being* + PARTICIPLE phrases: that is, the team went unbeaten derives from the team went without being beaten. This claim is refuted by the lack of parallelism in the distribution of unparticiples and *without-being* + PARTICIPLE phrases. Siegel's well considered presentation makes it abundantly clear

that we are dealing with a range of data which is not only highly interesting and complex, but also extremely resistant to satisfactory analysis. Siegel goes on to outline the essential features which she believes the correct analysis of unpassives must incorporate. Her proposals will be taken up later during the course of this paper.

At this point it would be well to take a closer look at the surface properties of unpassives and unparticiples. Recent work in generative grammar has shown that in most cases surface structures are very similar to their corresponding deep structures.<sup>4</sup> Thus, a close look at the surface properties of unparticiples should give us some clues as to their deep structure source. First and most importantly, it is to be noted that unparticiples are surface adjectives, not verbs. Siegel notes this fact and presents a substantiating argument, which I will briefly summarize.

The argument rests on the fact that negative *un-* appears only as a prefix to adjectives or words which are derived from adjectives. Thus, we have adjectives like *unkind*, *untrue*, nouns like *untruth*, *unkindness*, and adverbs like *ungracefully*, *unendingly* as well as participles like *uncollected* and *uninhabited*. On the other hand we find no cases where *un-* is attached to underived nouns, e.g. \**unhonor*, \**unlove*, to nouns derived from verbs, e.g. \**unintegration*, \**unarrival*, \**unresistance*, or to underived adverbs or prepositions, e.g. \**unnow*, \**unthrough*. And of course there are no cases where *un-* is attached to verbs,<sup>2</sup> e.g. \**to unlove*, \**to unknow*, etc. Thus, in the simplest analysis, Siegel concludes, *un-* is attached only to adjectives. The labeled bracketing of *untruth* must therefore be ((*un(true)adj.adj.-th*)n. Likewise the labeled bracketing of *uninhabited* must be (*un-((inhabit)v -ed)adj.adj.* rather than ((*un-(inhabit)v -ed)adj.* Otherwise unpassives constitute the single exception to the labeled bracketing of words prefixed with *un-*. While Siegel's basic observation, that *un-* occurs only as a part of adjectives and their derivatives is correct, there remains some question regarding the labeled bracketing of unparticiples since there are instances of unparticiples, the positive counterparts of which are not adjectives. Consider the following pairs:

- (3) a. The thief was seen.  
 b. \*A seen thief stole the cookies.  
 (4) a. The thief was unseen.  
 b. An unseen thief stole the cookies.

But leaving the question of the labeled bracketing of unparticiples aside there seems to be no doubt that unparticiples function as surface adjectives. In fact the case exemplified by (3) and (4) above lends further support to this conclusion. Typically adjectives can occur in the environment Art        N, whereas verbs cannot. Above *unseen* is grammatical in this environment, whereas *seen* is not. To further illustrate this point consider the sentence in (5).

- (5) a. The red book was on the table.  
 b. The unread book was on the table.  
 c. \*The read book was on the table.<sup>6</sup>

There is on the other hand an environment in which only verbs can occur and adjectives cannot, as

illustrated by (6).

- (6) a. The book remains to be read.  
 b. \*The book remains to be red.  
 c. \*The book remains to be unread.

Notice that in both (5) and (6) the distribution of the unparticiple parallels that of the adjective, not that of the verb. A further case which demonstrates that unparticiples behave more like adjectives than like verbs is illustrated in (7) and (8).

- (7) a. The package was open.  
 b. The package was opened.  
 c. The package was unopened.  
 (8) a. \*The package was being open.  
 b. The package was being opened.  
 c. \*The package was being unopened.

As Siegel notes, unpassives can't take progressive aspect. Note that in the above examples the unparticiple and the lexical adjective behave the same way with respect to the progressive, both being ungrammatical. The related verbal participle, however, is grammatical with the progressive.

The morphological, distributional and selectional properties of unparticiples thus lead us to the conclusion that they are adjectives and not verbs, at least in surface structure. In view of this it would seem natural to assume that unparticiples might be lexically, rather than transformationally derived and inserted directly at the level of deep structure. In fact, if one accepts the assumptions of the Extended Lexical Hypothesis as presented in Jackendoff (1972), an extension of the Lexical Hypothesis developed in Chomsky (1970), then this is the only possibility, since within this framework processes of derivational morphology are strictly restricted to the lexicon.

Before attempting to ascertain whether such a standpoint can be maintained, however, let's consider some of the problems any solution which involves deriving unpassives from active sentences will have to face. This is the standpoint adopted by Siegel. She suggests that unpassives derive from underlying active sentences containing verbs which aren't prefixed with un- and that un-, which is present in deep structure as an independent lexical item, is attached to the verb at some point in the derivation by a transformational rule. Siegel states that this attachment transformation would have to follow the passive and also a transformation relabeling the participle which results from the passive as an adjective. Her analysis thus does away with the need to posit unoccurring abstract verbs bearing the prefix un-, such as those in (2), and also avoids positing NEG as the underlying source for un-.

The primary problem with such an analysis is the fact that unpassivization doesn't apply freely in sentences which otherwise freely passivize. The range of complements is severely limited in unpassives. Most striking is perhaps the fact that many unpassives are unacceptable when they contain by + agent phrases. Consider the sentences in (9).

- (9) a. Tom painted the door.  
 b. The door was painted by Tom.  
 c. The door wasn't painted by Tom.  
 d. \*The door was unpainted by Tom.

If unpassives are derived from actives by a process which includes the passive transformation one would expect by-phrases, the presence of which is a crucial part of the structural description of the transformation,<sup>8</sup> to be perfectly normal and in fact to be expected, rather than questionable or unacceptable.

Siegel points out three types of verbs which can passivize but cannot unpassivize. One type is ruled out by a morphological constraint which prohibits the stacking up of negative prefixes. The other two types are relevant to the discussion at this point, as they demonstrate further environments in which verbal participles can occur but unparticiples cannot. The first type consists of verbs which take two prepositional complements, e.g. make away with, put up with, etc.

- (10) a. The old law was done away with.  
 b. \*The old law was undone away with.

The second type consists of verbs subcategorized for NP PP. This includes idioms like take care of X, take advantage of X as well as verbs which take indirect objects, give Y to X, and after dative movement, give XY.

- (11) a. Susie will be taken care of.  
 b. \*Susie will be untaken care of.  
 c. \*Care will be untaken of Susie.  
 (12) a. The gift was given to the school.  
 b. \*The gift was ungiven to the school.<sup>9</sup>  
 c. The gift was given the school.  
 d. \*The gift was ungiven the school.  
 e. The school was given the gift.  
 f. \*The school was ungiven the gift.

Siegel attempts to account for these two types of verbs by her generalization (24), a constraint on surface structures. I quote: "(24) In surface structure, there may not be a more highly stressed word in the VP than the word to which un- is attached." (p. 311) However, this generalization is false. Many of the example sentences Siegel gives as instances of grammatical unpassives, in fact, constitute counterexamples to (24). I will list a small sampling.

- (13) The tests were un<sup>3</sup>complicated by mishaps.  
 (Siegel's 18a.)  
 (14) Sam was un<sup>3</sup>stayed by minor obstacles.  
 (Siegel's 20a.)  
 (15) The tragedy was unre<sup>3</sup>ported in the press.  
 (Siegel's 23a.)

The stress patterns indicated above are both predicted by the NSR (Chomsky and Halle, 1968) and confirmed by every native speaker to whom I've presented this data. In all cases the most highly stressed word in the VP is not the word to which un- is attached, but rather the object of a PP complement at the end of the VP. Hence generalization (24) cannot be maintained, and the cases illustrated by (10)-(12) remain unexplained. However, if one assumes that unparticiples are lexically derived adjectives the facts illustrated by (10)-(12) follow as an automatic consequence since verbs, but not adjectives, are subcategorized for NP PP, NP, PP and NP.

Furthermore, unpassives don't take participial complements, even when the associated verb does.

- (16) a. Mary was heard softly singing.  
b. \*Mary was unheard softly singing.

Unpassives don't take infinitival complements, even though the associated verb does.

- (17) John was seen to be a crook.  
(18) \*John was unseen to be a crook.

Examples (16)-(18) indicate that there is a further range of sentences which passivize but don't unpassivize.

Further problems for a derivation like that outlined by Siegel are illustrated by the data presented in (3) and (4), above, which indicated that there are verbs from which unparticipial adjectives are derived, but from which participial adjectives are not. I will repeat the examples below.

- (19) a. The thief was seen.  
b. \*A seen thief stole the cookies.  
(20) a. The thief was unseen.  
b. An unseen thief stole the cookies.

Other verbs of this type are, e.g. liked, noticed, cared for, read, heeded, etc.

A further problem for a transformational approach to the derivation of unpassives is that they cannot take progressive aspect. Siegel attributes this to the stativity of unparticiples. All unparticiples are stative, even if the verbs from which they are derived are nonstative. At the moment I see no way to prevent sentences like (21) if the underlying verb is nonstative (short of global statement to the effect that a verb can't take progressive aspect if at some later time in the derivation it will become stative [due to the affixation of un-]).

- (21) \*The West was being unexplored by trappers.

If, on the other hand, unparticiples are inserted directly they will already be specified as stative and no global statement would be necessary.

A related problem has to do with the fact that get may co-occur with regular participles but not with unparticiples:

- (22) a. Sam got acquitted by the jury.  
b. \*Sam got unacquitted (by the jury).  
(Siegel's examples)

It seems that get can co-occur only with nonstative verbs and adjectives and a certain subset of stative adjectives. I don't know exactly how to characterize this subset of stative adjectives at present, but they seem to denote the result of a just completed process. Compare the examples in (23) with (24).

- (23) a. Sam got red (because he was embarrassed).  
b. Bill got sick.  
c. Mary got smart in a hurry.  
(24) a. \*Sam got dead.  
b. The door got open.  
c. \*The babies got alive.

The adjectives in (24) seem to denote simply an

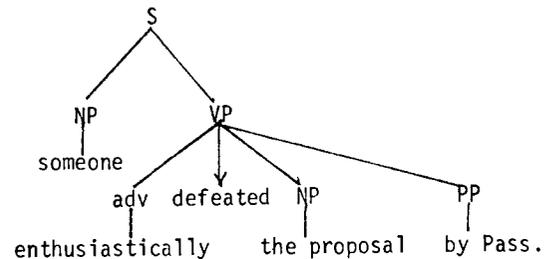
existing state and not one that has just resulted from some change or action. However these adjectives are to be specified (perhaps [-perfective] or [-effective]), the unparticiples, if they are underlying adjectives, would carry the same feature and the parallel in the selectional restrictions of this subset of stative adjectives and the unparticiples would be automatically accounted for. That is, the unparticiples would belong to this subset. Otherwise the unparticiples would have to be assigned this feature later in the derivation when un- is attached to the underlying nonstative verb.<sup>10</sup>

Two more properties of unparticiples, which seem related to one another, may follow as an automatic consequence from the fact that they are inserted directly as stative adjectives. The first is the fact that subject oriented adverbs don't co-occur with unparticiples, as Siegel illustrates with the following examples.

- (25) a. Nixon's gaffe wasn't enthusiastically publicized.  
b. \*Nixon's gaffe was enthusiastically unpublicized.  
(26) a. The proposal was enthusiastically defeated.  
b. \*The proposal was enthusiastically undefeated.

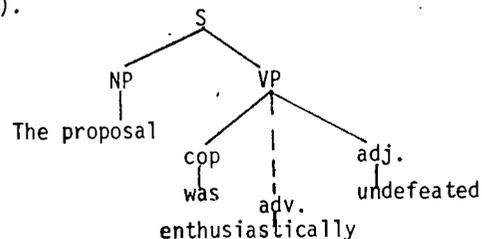
Notice that an adverb like enthusiastically presupposes a deep structure human (or + agent perhaps) subject<sup>11</sup> and a nonstative predicate. If we take the structure underlying the passive (26a.) to be roughly (27) (with many details omitted), a more or less traditional formulation, the reason that a subject oriented adverb is possible is apparent.

(27)



The verb, defeated, is of course nonstative and the subject, someone, is [+human] and hence can take an adverb like enthusiastically. (If X or delta or "nothing" is posited as underlying subject a [+human] interpretation assigned by semantic rule is at least possible, it seems to me.) The underlying structure of (26b.), on the other hand, would have to be something like (28).

(28)



Since the subject in (28) is -human and the predicate adjective is +stative an adverb like enthusiastically is not possible and the sentence is hence not well-formed. The case for a direct generation of unpassives is further strengthened by the fact that subject oriented adverbs are impossible even when there appears a by+agent phrase in the sentence, e.g. (29), indicating that the NP in the by-phrase never was the deep subject.

- (29) \*The painting was enthusiastically  
unaccepted by the jury.

If sentences like (29) derive from underlying actives with the jury as underlying subject and accepted as the underlying verb, the impossibility of a subject oriented adverb remains unexplained. If, on the other hand, (29) is generated more or less directly, then there never was a human subject nor a nonstative verb and thus one would predict that a subject oriented adverb like enthusiastically could not occur. This prediction is borne out by the ungrammaticality of (29).

The second property of unpassives which I believe can be similarly explained is the fact that when unparticiples co-occur with modals, like can, the only reading for the modal is the epistemic one. This is illustrated by Siegel with the following examples.

- (30) a. The garbage can be uncollected.  
(1 reading)  
b. The garbage can't be collected.  
(2 readings)

Since the root sense of the modals is subject oriented, as opposed to the epistemic sense, which is speaker oriented, modals in the root sense must have a human subject as well as a nonstative predicate. Since (30b.) has a nonstative verb and can have a human subject at an underlying level, deriving from a structure analogous to (27), the root sense of the modal is possible. If the unparticiple in (30a), however, is inserted directly at the level of deep structure, roughly analogous to (28), then (30a.) has no +human subject and no nonstative predicate at any point in the derivation and hence the subject oriented (root) sense of the modal is impossible.

Before turning to Siegel's arguments against direct insertion of unparticiples a comment on one more problem with the approach suggested by her seems appropriate. Siegel's class of unpassives seems to me to be somewhat artificially limited. Siegel states:

If unpassives were not directly related to verbs through the unpassive transformation, then we would expect to find X was unY'd (by Z) where Y is a verb which cannot passivize. If there were a root in an unpassive such that the root could not passivize, then this would be strong evidence against deriving unpassives from actives.<sup>6</sup>

Apparent counterexamples such as unparalleled (by), unaccustomed to,

unexemplified by, and unabashed by are not real unpassives, for they do not occur in all environments in which true unpassive participles can occur. For example, all unpassives can co-occur with go. Thus, we get the garbage went uncollected but not \*the discovery went unparalleled.  
(P. 310)

First of all, I disagree with Siegel's grammaticality judgement with regard to her sentence containing unparalleled. The sentence, this discovery went unparalleled in the history of science, not only sounds normal to my ear, but in fact sounds SO normal as to be a cliché. However, Siegel is right in observing that there is no active counterpart with the same meaning. Furthermore, it seems to me that a generalization would be missed if examples like those given in Siegel's footnote 6 are not explained in the same manner as "true unpassives," at least as regards the source and attachment of un-. The similarities far outweigh the differences and hence I feel that such examples do in fact represent the "very strong evidence against deriving unpassives from actives" which Siegel speaks of above.

To summarize briefly, we have seen that a lexical derivation and direct insertion of unparticiples as stative adjectives is to be preferred to a syntactic derivation for the following reasons:

1. The occurrence of un- is peculiar to adjectives.
2. The distribution of unparticiples parallels the distribution of adjectives more closely than that of verbs.
3. The full range of passivizable actives don't unpassivize.
4. The subcategorization of unparticiples is not identical to that of the corresponding verbs. Specifically:
  - a. By-phrases are often unacceptable.
  - b. Unparticiples can't occur in the environments: \_\_\_\_\_ PP PP, \_\_\_\_\_ NP PP and \_\_\_\_\_ NP, even though their corresponding verbs can. Furthermore this fact is unexplained by Siegel's generalization (24), but follows automatically if unparticiples are adjectives.
  - c. Unparticiples are impossible with participial and infinitival complements, which indicates further subcategorizational differences.
5. There exist unparticiples for which there is not corresponding positive participial adjective.
6. Selectional properties of unparticiples don't correspond to those of the corresponding verbs, e.g. stativity.
7. Subject oriented adverbs and subject

oriented modal readings are impossible with unpassives, but not with the corresponding passives.

8. There exist unparticiples which derive from verbs which don't passivize, or have no positive active counterpart, e.g. unparalleled.

If unparticiples are directly inserted as adjectives points 1-8 cease to be problematic.

Now let us turn to Siegel's arguments against the direct insertion of unparticiples. Above we have seen that there are extensive differences between unparticiples and the verbs to which they are related. There are, to be sure, many similarities, however. Most of Siegel's arguments against a direct generation of unpassives are based on the fact that such similarities exist, which could not be accounted for if unparticiples were not transformationally derived from their corresponding verbs. However, Chomsky (1970) suggests that similarities and regularities among derivatives of a common root should be accounted for by redundancy rules in the lexicon. Such a rule (modeled on Chomsky's informal statement on p. 213) could state (very roughly) that if a  $V_i$  is specified with the feature + NP<sub>1</sub>, then a lexical item (un-(( $V_i$ )-ed)adj. is automatically specified with the feature +NP<sub>1</sub> be \_\_\_\_\_. It seems to me that such rules could in principle easily account for the dissimilarities between unparticiples and their related verbs. In fact, Jackendoff (1972) claims that such rules not only allow us to capture the notion of "separate but related lexical items" (p. 23) but in fact make somewhat different and more satisfactory predictions than transformations in a number of cases.

For purposes of this paper let us assume the existence of the lexical redundancy rule roughly and informally described above. Given such a rule, can Siegel's arguments against the direct insertion of unparticiples be overcome? In order to attempt to answer this question let's take a look at some of the specific arguments Siegel presents. Her first argument involves verbs which make prepositional complements. With many of these verbs, like tamper with, hint at, accede to and pay for, passivization can take place giving sentences like (31). (Siegel's examples.)

- (31) a. Our wiretaps have been tampered with.  
b. The convention was paid for by big corporations.

In such cases we also find grammatical unpassives.

- (32) a. Our wiretaps were untampered with.  
b. The convention was unpaid for.

However, in other cases passivization is impossible.

- (33) a. These duties devolve on the Vice President.  
b. \*The Vice President is devolved on by these duties.  
c. This result follows from your hypothesis.  
d. \*Your hypothesis is followed from by this result.

In just those cases where it is impossible for the prepositional objects to prepose, unpassivization is also impossible.

- (34) a. \*The Vice President is undeveloped on (by these duties).  
b. \*Your hypothesis is unfollowed from (by this result).

Siegel maintains that if unparticiples are directly inserted a generalization is lost. If unparticiples are transformationally derived then the grammaticality of (32) follows from the grammaticality of (31), since in both cases the object can be preposed. Likewise the grammaticality of (34) follows from the ungrammaticality of the starred examples in (33), since the passives can't apply in these cases and the objects can't be preposed. On the other hand, Siegel maintains, if unpassives aren't derived from underlying activities then the examples in (34) must be ungrammatical for some reason unrelated to the ungrammaticality of (33b. & d.). The ungrammaticality of (34) can be related to the ungrammaticality of (33b. & d.) within a lexicalist framework, however.

In order to see this let's consider the passive transformation. Chomsky (1973) formulates the passive with the S. D. (35) with the condition that VY must form a semantic unit.

- (35) X, NP, VY, NP, Z

Let us, however, try to make the stronger claim that the third term of (35) also forms a syntactic unit, that is, that it is a syntactic constituent. We will then analyze tamper with and pay for as main verbs (V) with the substructure verb + preposition (v p)<sub>12</sub> and the subcategorizational feature + NP, and we will analyze follow and devolve as main verbs (V) with the substructure (v) and the subcategorizational feature + PP. Our wiretaps and the convention are then analyzed as deep structure direct objects of verbs and not prepositional objects. On the other hand from your hypothesis and on the President are prepositional phrases. There is independent evidence that an analysis along these lines is correct. For example, Emonds (1972) points out that only NP's and PP's can occupy the focus position in cleft sentences. Note that the sentences in (35) are grammatical but those in (36) are not.

- (35) a. It's from your hypothesis, that this result follows.  
b. It's on the President, that these duties devolve.  
(36) a. \*It's with our wiretaps, that the enemy tampered.  
b. \*It's for the convention, that big corporations paid.

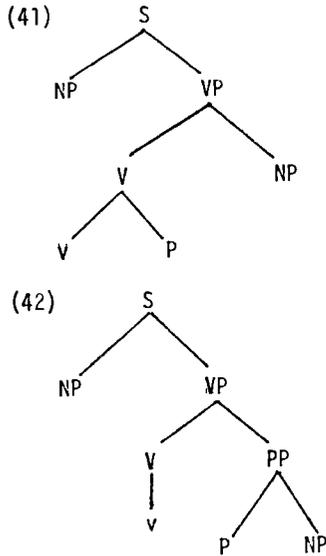
Such sentences indicate that the strings with our wiretaps and for the convention are not PP's but from your hypothesis and on the President are. We can now give the passive transformation the formulation (37).

- (37) NP Aux V NP X by Pass → 4 2 be + en 3 Ø  
5 6+1

Furthermore, we will assume (38)-(40) to be partial expansions of a portion of the phrase structure rules of the base.

- (38)  $VP \rightarrow V \left\{ \begin{array}{l} NP \\ PP \end{array} \right\} PP$   
 (39)  $V \rightarrow v (p)$   
 (40)  $PP \rightarrow p (NP)$

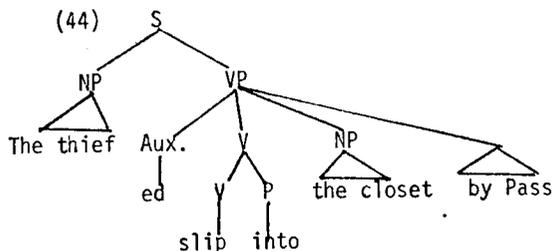
Such a formulation makes the claim then that the constituent structure of the string underlying pseudo-passives must be (41), not (42), otherwise the S.D. for passive is not met.



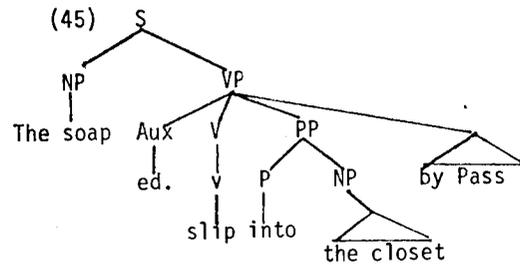
The ability of a string to pseudo-passivize is then simply a function of its constituent structure. If this claim is correct it makes accounting for pseudo-passives with an interpretive device like Jackendoff's Thematic Hierarchy Condition unnecessary. (Jackendoff, 1972) This point is perhaps worth a slight digression. Consider the sentences in (43).

- (43) a. The thief slipped into the closet.  
 b. The soap slipped into the closet.  
 c. The closet was slipped into by the thief.  
 d. \*The closet was slipped into by the soap.

The claim is that we are dealing with two distinct (but related) lexical items, slip and slip into, and furthermore slip into is selectionally restricted to a +human (or +animate or +agent) subject. (43c.) would have the underlying structure (44).



Whereas (43d.) would have the underlying structure (45).



Note that a grammatical reading of (43d.) can be forced if the soap is thought of as animate or human, as in a cartoon. Then the underlying structure could correspond to (44) through a relaxation of the selectional restriction on slip into or a feature change on soap. On the other hand, an anomalous reading of (43c.) can be forced, where the slipping is not willful or something of the sort, (the thief slips on a banana peel). Here the underlying structure would be analogous to (45). It seems that such an analysis, if it can be maintained, gives us a revealing syntactic (rather than semantic) account of pseudo-passivization. (Of course, semantic interpretation still plays a role, since the semantic feature [+human] or [+agentive] or whatever plays a hand in determining what a "reasonable underlying structure" is in the case of sentences like (43).)

Returning now to examples (32) and (33) we see that there is a principled way to account for the ungrammatical sentences versus the grammatical ones. Expressions like tamper with and pay for are underlying idiomatic V's with the substructure  $v p$ , and the VP has the form V NP, the underlying structure of (32) being analogous to (41), meeting the S.D. for the passive. On the other hand, the structure of the VP in (33) is V PP and the S. D. for the passive is not met.

Now note that our redundancy rule relating unpassive and their corresponding verbs is specified in terms of the feature + NP. We have seen that the verbs in (32) have this feature, but those in (33) do not; they are subcategorized + PP. Thus the absence of corresponding unparticiples is accounted for. Such an account in fact seems superior to Siegel's because the verbs in (33) now don't have to be exceptionally specified as not undergoing the passive. They don't passivize, simply because they don't meet the S.D. for passive. And furthermore we have been able to show that the impossibility of passivization for these examples and the lack of related unpassives is due to the same fact, namely that the underlying verbs are not specified + NP.

Siegel's second argument is overcome in similar fashion. It concerns verbs like care for, which cannot take optional object deletion.

- (46) a. Sam cares for the animals.  
 b. \*Sam cares for.  
 c. The animals were uncared for.  
 d. \*The animals were uncared for the bananas.

Siegel argues that animals must be the deep object in (46c.) otherwise we can't account for the impossibility of (46d.). However, the subcategorization relations of (46a.) and (46d.) are accounted for by our redundancy rule and the fact that uncared for the bananas

is ungrammatical is due to the fact that adjectives (uncared for) are not specified for NP complements.

Siegel's third argument against the direct insertion of unparticiples has to do with agent phrases. Siegel notes that most unpassives sound best without agent phrases. This was cited as an argument against a derivational approach earlier in this paper. However, there are cases, as Siegel points out, where unpassive participles require the presence of agent phrases. Consider the sentences below.

- (47) a. The tests went uncomplicated by mishaps.  
b. \*The tests went uncomplicated.
- (48) a. Sam was unstayed by minor obstacles.  
b. \*Sam was unstayed.

Siegel concludes that since verbs, but not adjectives, are subcategorized for the manner adverb by NP, it follows that the verbal roots underlying the unparticiples in the a. examples must be responsible for the appearance of the agent phrases. Siegel further points out that it is sometimes the case that agent phrases in passives contain prepositions other than by.

- (49) a. The tragedy was reported in the press.  
b. The problem was discussed among his friends.

In just these cases where a passive can take an agent phrase introduced by a preposition other than by the unpassive can also.

- (50) a. The tragedy was unreported in the press.  
b. The problem was undiscussed among his friends.

Once again, however, these facts can be handled by redundancy rules in the lexicon, probably a reformulation of our approximation at a rule, formulated earlier. Such a rule would specify that if there exists a  $V_i$  with the feature +NP<sub>j</sub> Aux \_\_\_\_\_ NP<sub>k</sub>, a lexical item of the form (un-((V<sub>i</sub>)-ed) \_\_\_\_\_) is specified with the feature +NP<sub>k</sub> Aux be \_\_\_\_\_ adj by NP<sub>j</sub>. Now what is striking about such a redundancy rule is that it looks so similar to the passive transformation. And if the lexicon contains rules which just duplicate syntactic transformations this would seem at first glance to constitute a proliferation of rules and a loss of generality. Joe Emonds (personal communication) has pointed out to me that if a strictly lexicalist position is to be maintained the lexicon must contain rules which are very similar to syntactic transformations, and the fact that redundancy rules are so similar to syntactic transformations may actually represent a gain in generality, rather than a loss. For example, the similarity between lexical redundancy rules and syntactic transformations might be utilized to make maximally concise statements in the lexicon. That is, part of the entry of a transitive verb might have some very rough similarity to (51)

- (51)           V  
                  ⋮  
                  ⋮ (features)  
                  ⋮  
                  ⋮  
                  adj. un- + passive

Furthermore Jackendoff (1974) posits lexical redundancy rules which refer to the rules of the base. So there seems to be evidence emerging that there is an overlap in rules operating in the syntax and those operating in the lexicon. And upon reflection this doesn't seem unreasonable. One would expect, for example, that the constituent structure of complex lexical items, like idioms for example, would be similar or identical to structures generated by the base, and one would expect rules operating on those structures to be similar to those operating on the output of the base. Katz (1973) presents an extremely interesting discussion of idioms, their constituent structure and insertion into the base, which makes clear the necessity of parallelism of lexical and syntactic structures.

In summary, it seems that a good case can be made for the direct insertion of unparticiples. However, attempts at an analysis of structures such as the unpassive make it clear that much more work concerning the structure of the lexicon and its interaction with the rules of the syntactic component is necessary before analyses of such complex data can be evaluated with confidence.

#### NOTES

1 These examples and those in (2) below, including parentheses, are Siegel's. The agent phrases are in parentheses because many people find unpassives with agent phrases unacceptable.

2 Concerning the un- in question I quote Siegel's footnote 3:

The un- under scrutiny in this paper is negative un-, not the privative un- which shows up in words like undress, unbutton, and unsaddle. Privative un- implies a reversal of the action specified in the verb. Aside from its semantic distinctness from negative un-, Privative un- differs in another way from the negative un-. Only privative un- shows up on verbs: to unbutton, \*to uncollect. There are yet other differences. For example, privative un- can take progressive aspect, whereas negative un- cannot:

- (iii) a. The blouse was being unbuttoned.  
b. \*The garbage was being uncollected.

Also, privative un-, unlike negative un-, can co-occur with subject selected adverbs like enthusiastically:

- (iv) a. The blouse was unbuttoned enthusiastically.  
b. \*The garbage was uncollected enthusiastically.

The existence of two un-s predicts that there should be ambiguities in un- words in which the action implied by the verb can be both reversed and negated; and in fact, such ambiguities exist: unbuttoned, unzipped.

It is important to keep this distinction in mind throughout the text.

3 The necessity for this step within Siegel's framework will become apparent below.

4 E.g. Jackendoff (1970), Brame (Class Lectures 1974), Emonds (1970).

5 The "Uncola" is the exception which proves the rule.

6 Such cases as this and 5c are somewhat problematic, since when read or seen are modified in certain ways they can appear preominally.

- i. A well read book lay on the shelf.
- ii. That is a seldom seen occurrence.

Note, however, that the unparticiples are bad in such environments.

iii. \*That is a seldom (often) unseen occurrence.

I'm not sure what the principle involved here is. For a discussion of some cases which seem related see Bever and Langendoen (1973).

7 Siegel points out that for many people unpassives with by-phrases are unacceptable. For people who allow by-phrases acceptability varies according to the specific content of the by-phrases as well as the specific unparticiple involved.

8 Siegel assumes the following S.D. for the passive.

X NP Aux V (p) NP Y by+PASS

9 This example seems problematic because there are adjectives which take PP with to, e.g. he was good to me. The fact that (12b.) is ungrammatical probably has to do with the stativity of unpassives, which I will discuss later in the text. Note that the stative \*he was green to me or \*he was alive to me are unacceptable in the sense where the PP is a complement of the adj. and not the VP.

10 Siegel wishes to account for the facts exemplified by (21)-(24) (as well as others) by selectional restrictions on her lexical item un-. For example, Siegel states, "In addition, we note that un- must be able to select stative environments, even though the verb it eventually attached to may be [-stative]." (p. 316) It is not clear to me how this works. If the main verb of a VP is [-stative] I do not understand how this can be considered a "stative environment." Again a global restriction, this time on lexical insertion, is necessary, i.e. un- may be inserted if the V to which it will eventually be attached will become [+stative] at some point in the derivation. If I am correct that Siegel's formulation requires global statements such as the one above or the one in the text, this would constitute an argument against her position or at least make it less attractive than a position which does not have to take recourse to such powerful mechanisms. However, without an explicit formulation it is not clear exactly what Siegel has in mind.

11 For arguments that this assumption is not quite correct see Newmeyer (1970) and Jackendoff (1972).

12 For a discussion of sub-structures of complex lexical items and idioms see Katz (1973).

13 This claim has not yet been tested against a very wide range of data and hence the possibility exists that it cannot be maintained. For the types of examples I have considered in terms of this analysis the constituent structure proposed, taken in conjunction with Emonds (1972) analysis of particle shift, does not seem unreasonable. However, it is unclear whether it can be refined to accommodate examples like those given in Chomsky (1973). However, even if the claim cannot be maintained and the S.D. of the passive transformation must be (35), I believe that the correspondences Siegel points out can be accounted for along lines of argumentation similar to, but probably more sophisticated than, those presented below.

14 Note that there is a difference in the meaning of ((slip into)X) and (slip (into X)), which is just what we would expect if separate lexical items are involved.

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