

EVENT-RELATED MODIFIERS IN GERMAN ADJECTIVAL PASSIVES

Barbara Schlücker
Humboldt University Berlin
barbara.schluecker@rz.hu-berlin.de

Abstract

The claim that the German *Zustandspassiv* is not a voice-category but should be analyzed as a copular construction raises the question of how to explain the occurrence of event-related modifiers within these constructions. It is argued that event-related modifiers should not be analyzed as a uniform group, and that their admissibility (or inadmissibility) can be explained on the basis of their different syntactic positions as well as by the way pragmatics interprets these modifiers.

1 Introduction

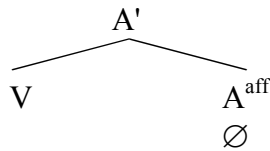
In the last years, the adjectival passive in German ('*Zustandspassiv*') has been subject to many papers (cf. Lenz (1994, 1996), Kratzer (1994, 1998, 2000), Rapp (1997, 1998)). Rapp (1997, 1998) discusses at length that neither an analysis according to which the adjectival passive is an ellipsis from verbal passive ('*Ellipsentheorie*') nor the *Genus verbi*-analysis – which considers the *Zustandspassiv* as a voice-category on its own – can explain all data.

Instead, Kratzer (1994) and Rapp (1997, 1998) argue that the German *Zustandspassiv* is a copular construction and that accordingly the participle is always adjectival. This accounts for the fact that the participle often is prefixed by *un-*. As *un-* cannot be a verbal prefix, these forms are unambiguously adjectival, see (1a). However, sometimes there are event-related elements which seem to indicate a verbal character of the construction, like *von*-phrases ('*by*-phrases'), instrumental phrases or adverbs like *sorgfältig* ('*carefully*'), see (1b-e).

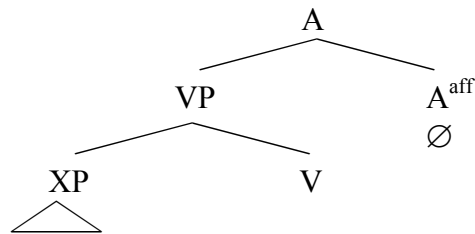
- (1) a. Die Suppe ist ungewürzt.
'The soup is unspiced.'
- b. Die Suppe ist von Maja gewürzt.
'The soup is spiced by Maja.'
- c. Der Brief ist mit Wachs versiegelt.
'The letter is sealed with wax.'
- d. Die Birnen sind in Rotwein gedünstet.
'The pears are steamed in red wine.'
- e. Der Brief ist sorgfältig geschrieben.
'The letter is written carefully.'

Therefore, Kratzer (1994) and Rapp (1997, 1998) propose that not only lexical but also phrasal structures can be input to adjectivization:

(2) Lexical adjectival participles



Phrasal adjectival participles



If it is possible to adjectivize the whole VP, the occurrence of event-related elements can be explained. Additionally, this approach explains why *un*-prefixation does not occur in the presence of event-related modifiers but only with lexical participles:

- (3) a. *Der Brief ist mit roter Tinte ungeschrieben.
 ‘The letter is unwritten with red ink.’
 b. *Die Suppe ist von Maja ungewürzt.
 ‘The soup is unspiced by Maja.’

However, the distinction between lexical and phrasal adjectival participles bears some problems: first, there are data where event-related elements and *un*-prefixed participles do co-occur within one construction which is not expected under this approach, see (4). The problem becomes more apparent if the copular verb *sein* (‘be’) is replaced by *bleiben* (‘remain’): here, the co-occurrence of both *un*-prefixed participles and event-related phrases is not restricted at all, see (5b). Even stronger, this also holds for *sein*-constructions if *noch* (‘still’) is added, (5c). In fact, *bleiben*- and *noch sein*-constructions are generally inadmissible if there is a *von*-phrase but no *un*-prefixation of the participle, (5d,e). However, assuming different underlying structures for copular constructions with *sein* and *bleiben* resp. or if *noch* is added seems very unattractive. This asks for an account that admits the co-occurrence of event-related modifiers on a regular basis.

- (4) a. Bevölkerung und Parlament sind von offizieller Seite völlig uninformiert.
 ‘The people and the parliament are totally uninformed by the officials.’
 b. Dieses Ergebnis war von vielen unerwartet.
 ‘This result was unexpected by many.’

- (5) a. *Weitere Chancen waren von den Grün-Weißen ungenutzt.
 ‘Further chances were unused by the green-whites.’
 b. Weitere Chancen blieben von den Grün-Weißen ungenutzt.
 ‘Further chances remained unused by the green-whites.’

- c. Weitere Chancen waren von den Grün-Weißen noch ungenutzt.
'Further chances were still unused by the green-whites.'
- d. *Weitere Chancen blieben von den Grün-Weißen genutzt.
'Further chances remained used by the green-whites.'
- e. *Weitere Chancen waren von den Grün-Weißen noch genutzt.
'Further chances were still used by the green-whites.'

The second problem concerns the event-related modifiers. On a closer look, we find that they do not behave uniformly: among other things, *von*-phrases, as we just saw, often allow *un*-prefixed participles, whereas instrumentals never do:

- (6) a. *Das Holz ist mit einem Beil ungespalten.
'The wood is unsplit with an axe.'
- b. *Der Kuchenteig ist in der Schüssel ungerührt.
'The cake mixture is unstirred in the bowl.'

These differences cannot be explained by analyzing event-related modifiers uniformly as part of the adjectivized VP. So, despite of a complex syntactic structure with two types of adjectival participles, the data in (4), (5) and (6) cannot be explained. Therefore, I reject the idea of phrasal adjectivization. Instead, I assume that the *Zustandspassiv* is exclusively based on lexical adjectivization, therein adopting the analysis of Maienborn (2004). Maienborn takes a strict separation between grammar and pragmatics as the basis of her analysis. She assumes that event-related modifiers are V-adjuncts and that these modifiers along with the participle form a prosodical and semantical unit. This unit can be grasped by the notion of 'integration' as proposed by Jacobs (1993, 1999). Thus, event-related modifiers are allowed by grammar. It is pragmatics which decides on the admissibility of this unit, given the linguistic and non-linguistic context.

One of the aims of this paper is to test Maienborn's (2004) analysis for the problems presented above. This mainly concerns the categorization of the event-related modifiers. We already learned that they do not behave uniformly concerning *un*-prefixation. Apart from this, there will be more evidence for the claim that they do not form a uniform group and that accordingly they have to be assigned to different underlying positions. Besides, I will make a proposal on how the process of pragmatics licenses the unit of modifier and participle with regard to the different types of modifiers.

The structure of this paper is as follows: First, I want to introduce the concept of 'integration' as proposed by Jacobs (1993, 1999). Next, we will test whether the data we are concerned about come under this category. In part 3 more evidence will be presented to corroborate the view that there are different groups of event-related modifiers for which we will have to assume different underlying positions. Part 4 is about the pragmatical process of licensing the modifier-participle-unit. We will see that different types of modifiers make a different contribution to this unit. Finally, the results reached so far are discussed and integrated into the analysis as given in Maienborn (2004).

2 The Notion of *Integration* (Jacobs 1993, 1999)

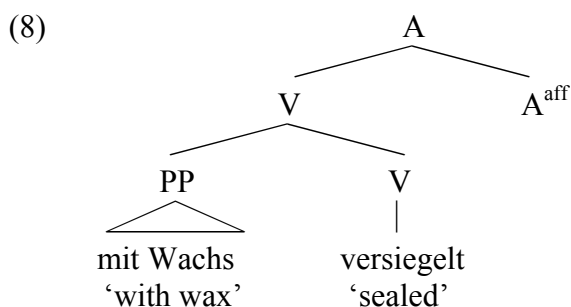
The basic feature of the concept of ‘integration’ (or ‘informational autonomy’) is that it constitutes a relation between a head and its sister constituent. Thereby, the sister constituent is integrated into the head if it is informationally nonautonomous in relation to the head. The distinction between informational autonomy and informational nonautonomy is captured by the idea that the two constituents can either be processed separately or at once. If they are processed at once, the sister constituent is informationally nonautonomous and therefore integrated into the head. As there is one constituent which integrates the other (namely, the head) and one, which is integrated into the head, this relation is an asymmetric one. The following examples for integration resp. non-integration are by Jacobs (1993):

- (7) a. [[auf₂ [dem Auto]₁]
on the car
b. [[der Bundeskanzler]₁ und [der Außenminister]₂]
the Federal Chancellor and the Foreign Minister

In (7a), the constituent marked “₁” is integrated into the constituent marked “₂” because there is no independent semantic processing of this constituent (although the meaning of (7a) is composed of the meanings of both sister constituents). In (7b) in contrast, both constituents are processed separately from each other, and only afterwards combined with *und*. But neither of the constituents subordinates to the other, as it is the case in (7a).

The relevance of integration lies, among other things, in the fact that it explains phrasal stress patterns. The basic prosodical rule roughly says that if there is a relation of integration, then the nonautonomous, integrated constituent will be stressed, if not, the stress will be on the head.

Let us have a look at the data. Maienborn (2004) analyzes event-related modifiers as V-adjuncts. This yields a structure like in (8), and it can be easily seen that the structural requirements of integration are met:



Jacobs assumes that integration takes place whenever the structural requirements are present. So in (8), we would expect the V-adjunct to be integrated. Therefore, given by the prosodical rule above, the modifier should be stressed. This is exactly what we find: If the modifier is stressed (cf. (9a), (10a)), this yields a neutral interpretation, whereas stress on the participle as in (9b), (10b) leads to contrastive interpretation.

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- (9) a. weil die Birnen in ROTwein gedünstet sind
b. weil die Birnen in Rotwein geDÜNStet sind
‘because the pears are steamed in red wine’
- (10) a. weil der Brief mit WACHS versiegelt ist
b. weil der Brief mit Wachs verSIEgelt ist
‘because the letter is sealed with wax’

We now compare *von*-phrases. We already saw that *von*-phrases differ from instrumentals in that they do allow *un*-prefixed participles. The data in (11) and (12) provide further evidence for the view that *von*-phrases differ from instrumentals:

- (11) a. weil Peter von dem GeJAmmer genervt ist
b. weil Peter von dem Gejammer geNERVT ist
‘because Peter is irritated by the lamentation’
- (12) a. weil der Saal von der Heinrich-BÖLL-Stiftung gemietet ist
b. weil der Saal von der Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung geMIETet ist
‘because the hall is rented by the Heinrich-Böll-foundation’

Here, stress on the modifier in the (a)-sentences yields a contrastive interpretation; the neutral interpretation comes with stress on the participle. More precisely, these data provide evidence for the claim that *von*-phrases differ from instrumentals. They are not V-adjuncts, because if they were, they should be integrated. However, there are other data with *von*-phrases which seem to contradict this conclusion:

- (13) a. weil die Wände von FEUer geschwärzt sind
b. weil die Wände von Feuer geSCHWÄRZT sind
‘because the walls are blackened by fire’
- (14) a. weil seine Töchter von der SANGesmuse geküßt sind
b. weil seine Töchter von der Sangesmuse geKÜßT sind
‘because his daughters are kissed by the muse of singing’

In (13) and (14), the neutral interpretation comes with the stress on the modifier, whereas the contrastive interpretation is the result of stress on the participle. We can conclude that there are obviously different types of *von*-phrases, one type which behaves like instrumentals, so they are V-adjuncts, and one type which does not. The next section will provide more evidence for the existence of such a distinction.

3 Categorization of Event-Related Modifiers

In this section, more data will be presented which show that event-related modifiers do not behave uniformly: on the one hand, *von*-phrases differ from instrumentals in that they allow *un*-prefixation of the participle whereas instrumentals do not. On the other hand, there is evidence that instrumentals and some *von*-phrases are integrated into the

participle and thus are V-adjuncts, whereas other *von*-phrases are not. This shows that event-related modifiers should not be analyzed uniformly, neither as part of an adjectivized VP, as in the Kratzer/Rapp-approach, nor as V-adjuncts, as in Maienborn (2004). However, these findings raise a problem for the categorization of the modifiers, because they seem to contradict each other: assuming that morphology cannot operate on complex syntactic structures suggests that *von*-phrases should not be analyzed as V-adjuncts, forming a complex V with the participle, as they do allow *un*-prefixation. On the other hand, some *von*-phrases seem to be integrated just like instrumentals and accordingly, they have to be analyzed as V-adjuncts, too.

Subsections 3.1 and 3.2 will present more evidence which support these contradictory findings. It will be shown that there are two types of *von*-phrases. One type of *von*-phrases will be analyzed as a V-adjunct, thereby refraining from standard morphological theory¹, but the other type will not.

3.1 Number and Internal Order

Von-phrases in adjectival passives correspond to the external argument of the active verbal base, thus they are licensed by the argument structure. This is not true for the instrumentals in our data. Accordingly, *von*-phrases differ structurally from instrumentals because there is never more than one *von*-phrase within a construction, see (15b). This restriction is not true for instrumentals, see (15a).

- (15) a. weil der Brief sorgfältig mit Wachs versiegelt ist
 ‘because the letter is carefully sealed with wax’
 b. *weil der Brief (sicher) von Paul vom Absender versiegelt ist
 ‘because the letter is sealed by Paul by the sender’

The restriction, of course, does not exclude that a *von*-phrase may co-occur with an instrumental in the same construction. Though, the internal order of these modifiers is restricted (at least with wide, “normal” scope). This seems to indicate that *von*-phrases have a higher base position than instrumentals.

- (16) a. weil der Brief von Paul mit Wachs versiegelt ist
 b. ??weil der Brief mit Wachs von Paul versiegelt war
 ‘because the letter is sealed by Paul with wax’
- (17) a. weil die Birnen vom Koch in Rotwein gedünstet waren
 b. ??weil die Birnen in Rotwein vom Koch gedünstet waren
 ‘because the pears are steamed by the cook in red wine’

These tests support the claim that *von*-phrases differ from instrumentals. The next tests will show that *von*-phrases themselves do not behave uniformly, as claimed in part 2.

¹ There are other linguistic phenomena, for which it is argued that complex syntactic structures are input for morphology, like nominalized infinitives and particle verbs in German, see Höhle (1982), Lüdeling (2001). Of course, Kratzer (1994) and Rapp (1997) assume phrasal structures as input for phrasal adjectival participles, too.

3.2 Sentence Negation, Sentence Adverbials and Floating Quantifiers

Bierwisch (1988) and Steinitz (1989) argue for the existence of a position called V^u close to the verb. From this position constituents hardly can be moved. V-adjuncts forming a complex V therefore should belong to V^u . Sentence negation, sentence adverbials and floating quantifiers can be used to prove whether a constituent belongs to V^u . Sentence negation indicates the left boundary of V^u :

- (18) a. Die Birnen sind nicht in Rotwein gedünstet. (sentence negation)
 b. *Die Birnen sind in Rotwein nicht gedünstet.
 ‘The pears are not steamed in red wine.’
 c. Peter ist von dem Gejammer nicht genervt. (sentence negation)
 d. Peter ist nicht von dem Gejammer genervt. (constituent negation)
 ‘Peter is not irritated by the lamentation.’

Sentence adverbials, unstressed particles like *doch* as well as floating quantifiers are not admissible in V^u :

- (19) a. Die Birnen sind wahrscheinlich in Rotwein gedünstet.
 b. *Die Birnen sind in Rotwein wahrscheinlich gedünstet.
 ‘The pears are probably steamed in red wine.’
 c. Peter ist wahrscheinlich von dem Gejammer genervt.
 d. Peter ist von dem Gejammer wahrscheinlich genervt.
 ‘Peter is probably irritated by the lamentation.’
- (20) a. Die Birnen sind doch in Rotwein gedünstet.
 b. *Die Birnen sind in Rotwein doch gedünstet.
 ‘The pears are (*particle*) steamed in red wine.’
 c. Die Mannschaft ist doch vom Gegner geschlagen.
 d. Die Mannschaft ist vom Gegner doch geschlagen.
 ‘The team is (*particle*) beaten by the opposing team.’
- (21) a. Die Birnen sind alle in Rotwein gedünstet.
 b. *Die Birnen sind in Rotwein alle gedünstet.
 ‘The pears are all steamed in red wine.’
 c. Die Hasen sind alle von dem Jäger getroffen.
 d. Die Hasen sind von dem Jäger alle getroffen.
 ‘The rabbits are all hit by the hunter.’

The data in (18) – (21) provide evidence for the claim that instrumentals belong to V^u and therefore should be analyzed as V-adjuncts, whereas *von*-phrases do not. However, these results are not true for all *von*-phrases, as the data in (22) – (25) show:

- (22) a. Die Wände sind nicht von Feuer geschwärzt. (sentence negation)
 b. *Die Wände sind von Feuer nicht geschwärzt.
 ‘The walls are not blackened by fire.’

- (23) a. Seine Töchter waren wahrscheinlich von der Sangesmuse geküßt.
 b. *Seine Töchter waren von der Sangesmuse wahrscheinlich geküßt.
 ‘His daughters are probably kissed by the muse of singing.’
- (24) a. weil ich doch von Krebs geheilt bin
 b. ??weil ich von Krebs doch geheilt bin
 ‘because I am cured (*particle*) from cancer’
- (25) a. Die Faltblätter waren alle von Fachleuten gestaltet.
 b. *Die Faltblätter waren von Fachleuten alle gestaltet.
 ‘The leaflets were all designed by specialists.’

The *von*-phrases in (22) – (25) behave exactly like the instrumentals in (18) – (21) which suggests that these *von*-phrases should be analyzed as V-adjuncts, too. Moreover, these are exactly the same *von*-phrases which exhibited the prosodical pattern of integrated modifiers – and only modifiers which are V-adjuncts can be integrated.

3.3 Two Types of *Von*-Phrases

I conclude that there are two types of *von*-phrases, V-adjuncts and VP-adjuncts. Additionally to the prosodical and syntactical evidence presented so far, they also differ from each other with respect to their semantics and the noun categories they belong to: *von*-phrases which are VP-adjuncts typically realize the agent of the underlying event. They denote the direct causer which is an animate and / or volitional entity. In contrast, *von*-phrases being V-adjuncts realize the theme of the underlying event or denote an indirect causer. These *von*-phrases sometimes can be replaced by a *durch*-phrase (‘*through-*’, ‘*by-*’-phrase), which indicates the instrumental character. They often would provide information about the manner or reason of the event.

Let us have a look at the noun categories the *von*-phrases belong to: *von*-phrases of type 1 (VP-adjuncts) which denote animate entities are realized either as proper names or as a member of a group denoted by a collective noun (*von dem Polizisten* – ‘*by the policeman*’). If they denote inanimate entities, they are realized either by the definite use of a mass noun (*vom Feuer* – ‘*by the fire*’) or an appellative which is used definitely (*von der Bombe* – ‘*by the bomb*’). *Von*-phrases of type 2 (V-adjuncts) which denote animate entities are realized as collective nouns (*von der Polizei* – ‘*by the police*’). If they denote inanimate entities, it will be either a generic use of mass nouns (*von Feuer* – ‘*by fire*’) or an indefinite use of appellatives (*von einer Bombe, von Bomben* – ‘*by a bomb, by bombs*’).

These observations make it possible to identify both types of *von*-phrases independently from the occurrence in a particular utterance. They are essentially based on the semantics of the *von*-phrases. This leads to the basic question of what function do modifiers have when the modifier-participle-unit gets interpreted. Furthermore, we need to know how the interpretation and licensing of this unit can be spelled out.

4 Licensing the Modifier-Participle-Unit

According to the basic assumptions in Maienborn (2004), the modifier attaches to the participle as V-adjunct in order to form a complex V. She assumes that the semantics of the adjectival passive can be characterized as “ascribing the property of being in the resultant state of the event denoted by the verb to the subject referent”. Thus if the verb is complex, it is the resultant state denoted by the complex verb which holds for the referent. How then would pragmatics license (or not license) this unit?

One way to look at this is to make use of frames. Frames are dynamic conceptual structures whose form is flexible and context dependent (Barsalou (1992)). They can be used to represent objects in the world as well as states and events. Attributes (or ‘slots’) represent various aspects of this entity. If, for example, a frame represents an event, attributes would represent (among other things) the participants, location, and manner information. Note that the attributes are not restricted to the information which is usually encoded linguistically (e.g. by manner adverbs).

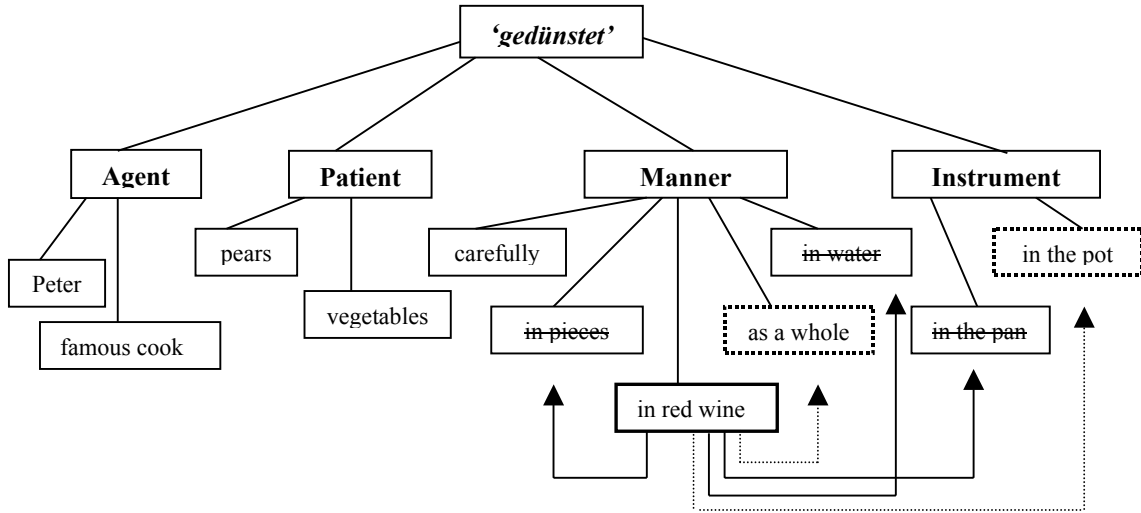
Barsalou (1983, 1991, 1992) argues for the existence of so-called ‘goal-derived categories’ and explains their derivation on the basis of frames. Goal-derived categories are categories like ‘*things to take from one’s home during a fire*’, ‘*things to sell at a garage sale*’ or ‘*things to eat on a diet*’. These concepts are derived spontaneously and they are explicitly made for the use in a particular situation, namely in order to achieve a certain goal. There are several differences between goal-derived categories and ‘ordinary’ taxonomic categories (like ‘*animals*’). One important difference is the way they are learned and established in memory. To put it very simple, taxonomic concepts are learned via the knowledge of an exemplar of the category. In contrast, goal-derived categories are derived by manipulating existing knowledge in memory. In this form of category learning, little experience with exemplars is necessary.

Establishing a modifier and a participle as a unit resembles the derivation of goal-derived categories since this unit is derived spontaneously and made for use in a particular utterance, too. Therefore, the mechanism Barsalou (1991, 1992) uses in order to explain the derivation of goal-derived categories seems to be a plausible explanation of how to interpret the modifier-participle-unit in pragmatics.

The mechanism is called framemodification. It is based on the assumption that attributes constrain each other within a frame. If an attribute is instantiated already, this prior instantiation cannot be ignored during instantiating further attributes, as the result should be coherent. An important point about this is that the constraints are made individually on the basis of beliefs and preferences of the speaker. Whether these constraints are logically or empirically true is irrelevant. If the attributes and the constraints that bear on them are combined, the original frame is modified and a new description of the conceptual entity is derived: through so-called framemodification.

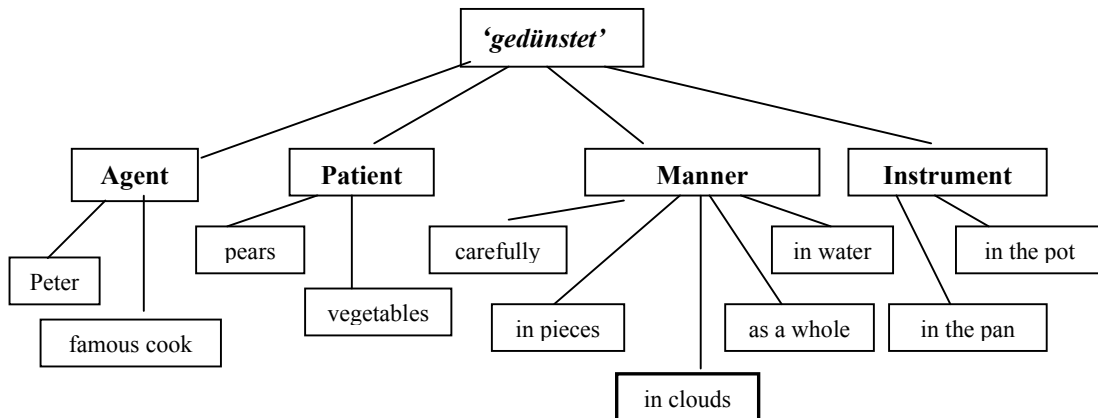
In figure 1 this mechanism is applied to the data. It represents a partial frame for *gedünstet* (‘*steamed*’). It is partial, because only a selection of possible attributes is named. The attributes and the values (that sometimes are attributes themselves) form clusters. If in a frame for the property *gedünstet* the first instantiation is *in red wine* as value for the attribute ‘manner’ it can easily be seen how this constrains the instantiation of further attributes: according to our experiences, pears which are steamed in red wine are steamed as a whole and not in pieces, and if they are steamed in red

wine then they are not steamed in water, this happens in a pot rather than in a pan. By this mechanism of constraining the instantiation on the basis of the personal knowledge and beliefs of the speaker, the scope of the concept *gedünstet* is narrowed down and the result is a specific, modified concept, namely *in Rotwein gedünstet*.



[figure 1]

We now can compare a frame for *gedünstet* where *in Wolken* ('in clouds') is instantiated as first attribute. As long as the speaker is not equipped with additional knowledge no constraints on the other attributes are possible. The frame for *gedünstet* thus remains unmodified. The fact that the construction *in Wolken gedünstet* ('steamed in clouds') is marked indicates that integrated modifiers have to modify the frame where there are instantiated.

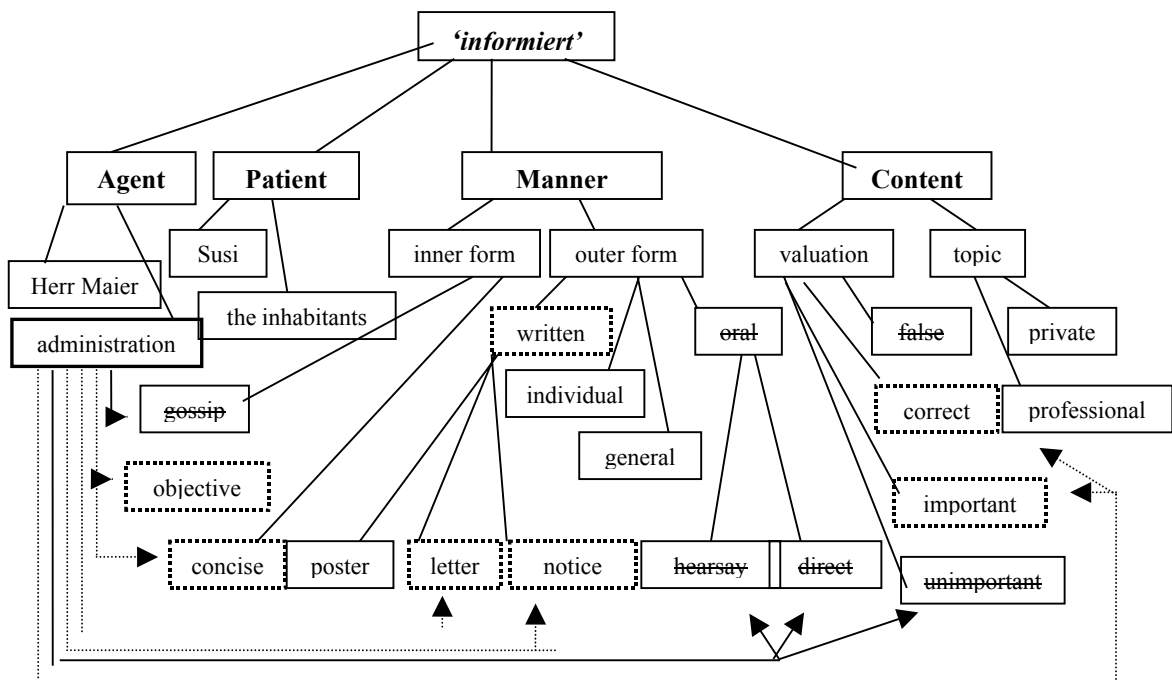


[figure 2]

Comparing *von*-phrases gives us figures 3 and figure 4. They show frames for the property of being *informiert* ('informed') as in (26a,b). The prosodical pattern as well as the semantic properties given in section 3.3 indicate that *von der Verwaltung* should be analyzed as V-adjunct and *von Herrn Maier* as VP-adjunct.

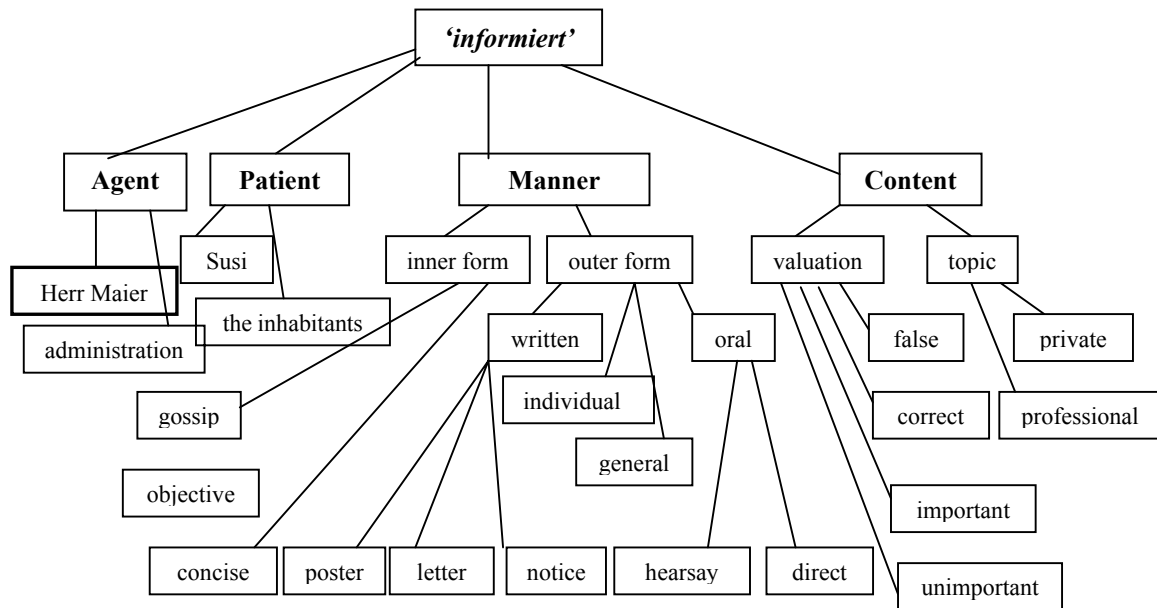
- (26) a. weil die Bewohner von der VerWALtung informiert sind
 ‘because the inhabitants are informed by the administration’
 b. weil die Bewohner von Herrn Maier informIERT sind
 ‘because the inhabitants are informed by mister Maier’

Figure 3 resembles figure 1 because the instantiation of the modifier constrains the instantiation of further attributes. The frame for *informiert* is considerably more specific after the instantiation of the attribute denoted by the *von*-phrase. This is exactly what is expected of a *von*-phrase being a V-adjunct.



[figure 3]

Von-phrases like *von Herrn Meier* in figure 4 differ from the modifiers so far tested since they are not V-adjuncts but VP-adjuncts. Accordingly, they are not integrated, and there is no modifier-participle-unit which has to be licensed. Such a *von*-phrase can be instantiated, of course, but as figure 4 shows, this would not constrain the instantiation of further attributes.



[figure 4]

In figures 2 and 4, both modifiers (the instrumental and the *von*-phrase respectively) do not constrain further attributes, but with the *von*-phrase, this does not lead to uninterpretability. The question, why is this so, brings us back to the differences between the modifiers we established in section 3: *von*-phrases denote the agent of the event whose resultant state is denoted by the participle. Consequently, they normally would not modify the resultant state denoted by the participle but just provide information about the causer of the resultant state. This function matches the semantic characteristics of *von*-phrases which are VP-adjuncts as given in 3.3: they typically denote the direct causer which is an animate, volitional entity. This entity is referred to by proper names or definite descriptions. In contrast, *von*-phrases which are V-adjuncts primarily serve to narrow down the meaning denoted by the participle. In order to do this, manner information of the underlying event are useful. Therefore, these *von*-phrases do not refer to an individual direct causer. They rather denote an indirect causer that allows to infer manner information, for example by referring to an institution. This explains why *von*-phrases which are V-adjuncts are typically realized by collective nouns or by an indefinite use of appellatives, as stated in 3.3.

The second point to mention – which brings us back to Maienborn (2004) – is the relation between grammar as opposed to pragmatics. It should be clear that integration takes place at the level of syntax and semantics. From a grammatical point of view, a unit like *in Wolken gedünstet* ('steamed in clouds') is as well-formed as *in Rotwein gedünstet* ('steamed in red wine'). It is the task of pragmatics to license this unit, spelled out by the mechanism of framemodification. So in our example, it is pragmatics which would rule out *in Wolken gedünstet*. However, if there is no modifier-participle-unit at the level of syntax and semantics, and as a result no integration, then framemodification is not applied since nothing has to be licensed. Although it is obviously possible to derive a frame that is instantiating a *von*-phrase being a VP-adjunct, it is not the task of this *von*-phrase to modify the frame. That is the reason why they may occur without narrowing down the meaning denoted by the participle and the result is perfectly fine.

5 Summary

In this paper, I argued that the adjectival passive in German is a copular construction based on lexical adjectivization exclusively. Thereby, I reject the analysis of Kratzer (1994) and Rapp (1997) according to which phrasal structures can be input for adjectivization, too. Following Maienborn (2004), I assume that the occurrence of event-related modifiers can be explained by assuming that they are V-adjuncts. This means that they form a complex V along with the participle, which can be characterized by the notion of integration (Jacobs 1993, 1999). However, I argued that the event-related modifiers do not form a uniform group. *Von*-phrases differ from instrumentals in certain respects, and among the *von*-phrases we find different syntactical, prosodical and semantical properties, too. Several tests provide evidence for the claim that instrumentals as well as one type of *von*-phrases in fact do form a complex unit along with the participle whereas another type of *von*-phrases do not. The second part of the paper deals with the question of how these modifier-participle-units are interpreted on the conceptual level and it introduces framemodification (Barsalou 1991, 1992) as exemplification of this process.

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