

Past Participles in reduced relatives

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This paper discusses the syntax and semantics of Active Past Participles in restrictive reduced relatives (RRs). First, the distribution of Active Past Participles is compared with respect to verb classes in Bulgarian, English, Italian, Slovenian and Spanish. We see that presumably the same surface participial structure has different distributional properties in these languages: in Bulgarian, Past Participles of all classes of verbs appear in RRs, while in other languages only those of unaccusative verbs do so. Second, the differences in the distribution are accounted for by referring to the syntactic structure of the participle and semantic features on participial heads.

1. The data

Let us first compare English and Bulgarian Past Participles in RRs (1-2).^{1,2}

(1) English

- | | |
|--|--|
| a. The book bought by John is red. | <u>Passive Past Participle</u> |
| b. The leaf fallen from the tree is red. | <u>Active Past Participle-unaccusative</u> |
| c. *The man bought the book is John. | <u>Active Past Participle-transitive</u> |

In English, RRs with the Past Participle are available only with participles of passive or unaccusative verbs (1a,b), but not transitive active verbs (1c). Bulgarian, on the other hand, shows no such restriction – Past Participles of all

¹ English, Spanish and Italian have only one Past Participle form, used in the Passive Voice (*The house was bought by John*) as well as in the Perfect Tense (*John has bought the house*). Slovenian and Bulgarian, on the other hand, have two morphologically distinct counterpart forms: the Past Participle (ending in *-l*), which is always active and used in the Perfect, and the Passive Participle (ending in *-en/t*), which is used to form the Passive Voice. This paper focuses on the distribution of Bulgarian/Slovenian Past Participle in RRs and the active variant of English Past Participle in RRs. I refer to these forms with the term 'Active Past Participle'.

² The question which participles appear in reduced relatives has been discussed by many authors, among them Williams (1975), Pesetsky (1995), Embick (1997), Iatridou, Anagnostopoulou & Izvorski (2000).

classes of active verbs (unaccusative, transitive) as well as the Passive Participle are available in RRs, as in (2).

(2) **Bulgarian**, Iatridou, Anagnostopoulou & Izvorski (2000), (IAI henceforth)

- a. vratata otvorena ot vjatura... Passive Participle
 door-the opened by wind-the
 'The door opened by the wind...'
- b. Ženata došla navreme... Past Ptc.-unaccusative
 woman-the arrived on-time
 'The woman who has arrived on time...'
- c. Zaposnah se sas žena-ta napisala knjigata. Past Participle-transitive
 met-REFL with woman-the written-PF book-the
 'I met the woman who has written the book.'

If we look at Past Participles in RRs in some other languages, for example, Slovenian and Italian, we notice that they pattern with English rather than Bulgarian. In Italian, the Past Participle appears in RRs with passive and unaccusative, but not transitive verbs, as seen in (3).

(3) **Italian**, IAI (2000)

- a. un panino mangiato da Gianni... Passive Past Participle
 a sandwich eaten by John
 'A sandwich eaten by John...'
- b. il treno arrivato entro le 3... Active Past Ptc.-unaccusative
 the train arrived by 3
 'The train which had arrived by 3 ...'
- c. *una donna mangiata/o un panino... Active Past Ptc.-transitive
 a woman eaten a sandwich
 'The woman that ate the sandwich...'

Slovenian and Bulgarian, both Slavic languages, have the same surface forms for Past (-l) and Passive (-en/i) Participles. However, Slovenian patterns with English and Italian in allowing only the Passive Participle and the Past Participle of perfective unaccusative verbs in RRs, as seen in (4).

(4) **Slovenian**

- a. Juha, skuhana včeraj, je v hladilniku. Passive Participle
 soup cook-PASS.PRT. yesterday is in fridge
 'The soup made yesterday is in the fridge.'
- b. Videl sem žensko, prispelo danes zjutraj. Past Part-unaccusative
 seen am woman-ACC arrived today morning
 'I saw a woman who arrived this morning.'
- c. *Videl sem žensko, napisalo knjigo. Past Participle-transitive
 seen am woman-ACC written book
 'I saw the woman that wrote the book.'

Abstracting away from the Passive Participle, a summary of the data is given in Table 1.

Table 1: Active Past Participles

	transitive ν	unaccusative ν
English	no	yes
Bulgarian	yes	yes
Italian	no	yes
Slovenian	no	yes

1.2. The questions

The questions that this paper addresses with respect to the distribution of Active Past Participles in RRs are the following:

1. What is the role of unaccusativity in the distribution of the Active Past Participle in RRs in these languages?
2. Do English, Italian and Slovenian form a homogenous group with respect to Active Past Participles in RRs?

This paper will argue for the following answers.

1. Unaccusativity is only superficially the determining factor – the distribution of Active Past Participles in RRs has to do with their syntactic structure and semantics.
2. English, Italian, Slovenian do not form a homogenous group with respect to Active Past Participles in RRs, their participles crucially differing in syntactic structure and semantics. They fall in two groups: Slovenian and Italian versus English.

2. Previous accounts: Iatridou, Anagnostopoulou & Izvorski (2000)

Iatridou, Anagnostopoulou & Izvorski (2000) propose the generalization in (5) as following from the fact that the ability to form a RR containing a Perfect (and therefore the Past Participle) correlates with the type of auxiliary. That, according to them, holds throughout Indo-European languages.

- (5) a. A Reduced Relative can contain a Perfect if the missing auxiliary is *be*.
 b. A Reduced Relative cannot contain a Perfect if the missing auxiliary is *have*.

Let us assume that the generalization in (5) can be applied to the data in (1-4). Then we notice the following. Bulgarian is well behaved with respect to (5); with BE as its only auxiliary, the Past Participle of all classes of verbs are acceptable in RRs, Cf. (2). Italian, an auxiliary-selection language, is also well

behaved. RRs containing Perfect Participles are possible in the BE-Perfect (unaccusatives), but not in the HAVE-Perfect (transitives, unergatives). The generalization doesn't say anything about Slovenian, a BE-only language, i.e. it is not clear why BE can be omitted only with unaccusative verbs and why Slovenian should differ from Bulgarian. Spanish and English are exceptions to the generalization in (5). As HAVE-only languages, they are not expected to allow RRs with the participle appearing in the Perfect. However, as noted by IAI (2000), Spanish allows for RRs with some unaccusative verbs when these are premodified by adverbs, such as *recently*, *lately*, *just*, etc. The same is true of English.³

- (6) Las chicas recién llegadas a la estación son mis hermanas.
 the girls recently arrived at the station are my sisters. IAI (2000)
- (7) The leaf fallen from the tree is red.

2.1. Why is the generalization in (5) insufficient?

There are several reasons why the generalization in (5) cannot be the end of the story about Past Participles in RRs. First, if correct, the generalization in (5) does not account for the existence of languages such as Slovenian, which like Bulgarian, use BE as the only auxiliary in the Perfect, but have RRs only with unaccusative (and passive) verbs, thus patterning with English/Spanish, and with auxiliary selecting languages, but not with Bulgarian.

Second, the above analysis crucially relies on the assumption that the Past Participles in question express the Present Perfect Tense. What I will try to show is that this assumption is wrong and that the data in (1-4) can be viewed as resulting from the syntactic structure and the semantics of the participial heads. Therefore they may, but need not be linked to the auxiliary selection in the formation of the Perfect.

3. The outline of the proposal

3.1. Step 1: Bulgarian versus English/Italian/Slovenian/Spanish

In Step 1, I will show that Bulgarian crucially differs from the other four languages in the fact that the Past Participle in its RRs is a true Perfect Participle, while this is not the case in English, Italian, Slovenian and Spanish, where these participles are aspectual phrases, as in Embick (2000a); Table 2.

³ Building on Kayne (1993), IAI offer an account for this problem. Since in the proposal I will make in this paper the facts in (6-7) are not a problem, I will not present the details of their analysis.

Table 2: Active Past Participles in RRs

Bulgarian	English, Italian, Slovenian, Spanish
<pre> graph TD PerfP --> Perf PerfP --> vP Perf --> features vP --> v vP --> VP </pre>	<pre> graph TD AspP --> Asp AspP --> vP Asp --> features vP --> v vP --> VP </pre>

3.2. Step 2: English/Spanish versus Italian/Slovenian

Differences in the height of attachment of the aspectual morpheme, Kratzer (1993), Marantz (2000), Embick (2000a), result into two different structures that Past Participles in RRs can have. In English and Spanish the Asp head is attached to the root, while in Slovenian and Italian it is attached above vP.

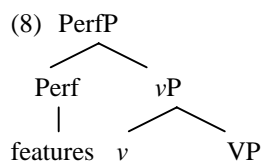
Table 3: Active Past Participles in RRs

Structure 1: English/Spanish	Structure 2: Italian/Slovenian
<pre> graph TD AspP --> Asp AspP --> VP Asp --> features </pre>	<pre> graph TD AspP --> Asp AspP --> vP Asp --> features vP --> v vP --> VP </pre>

4. Step 1: Bulgarian versus the rest

4.1. Bulgarian Past Participles in reduced relatives

In this section I will argue that Bulgarian crucially differs from other languages discussed in that its Past Participle in RRs is a true Perfect Participle, conveying a Present Perfect meaning. I propose that Past Participles in Bulgarian RRs have the structure in (8).⁴



The Perf head is the head realized by past participial morphology that has the features relating the eventuality as a whole to the temporal domain of the Perfect Tense.⁵ Without committing to any of the specific proposals about the

⁴ In this paper I do not consider the aspectual phrases realized by perfective prefixes, perfective suffixes and imperfective suffixes (Secondary Imperfectivization).

⁵ See Giorgi & Pianesi (1997), Ippolito (1997), IAI (2000) for a possible content of the Perf.

content of the Perf at this point, I will claim that whatever features there are on the PerfP participle in a full Present Perfect clause, the same features are found in the reduced relative PerfP participle in Bulgarian. Another property of the Perf head is that it does not select for any particular type of *v*, neither in a full clause nor in a reduced relative clause. The consequence is that if the PerfP participle appears in RRs, it will be possible with all classes of verbs, as is indeed the case in Bulgarian.

Let me now present the relevant data that supports the above proposal. In Bulgarian, all aspects of the Perfect meaning that are available in full clauses are also available in RRs, as shown in IAI (2000). Consider (9) and (10). In (9a) and (10a), the Past Participle is found in full sentences, which have the Existential Present Perfect (ExPP) meaning and the Universal Present Perfect (UPP) meaning, respectively. In (9b) and (10b), the Past Participles appear in RRs, retaining the meaning of the respective full clauses.

- (9) a. *Ženata e pročela knjigata.* ExPP – full clause
 woman-the is read-PTC.PF book-the
 ‘The woman has read the book.’
- b. *Ženata pročela knjigata...* ExPP in a RR
 woman-the read-PTC.PF book-the
 ‘The woman who has read the book...’ IAI (2000)
- (10) a. *Ženata e celuvala Ivan ot sutrinta nasam.* UPP–full clause
 woman-the is kiss-PTC.IMP Ivan from
 morning-the till-now
 ‘The woman has been kissing Ivan since this morning.’
- b. *Ženata celuvala Ivan ot sutrinta nasam...* UPP in a RR
 woman-the kiss-PTC.IMP Ivan from
 morning-the till-now
 ‘The woman who has been kissing Ivan since this morning...’
 IAI (2000)

Also, as shown in IAI (2000), in Bulgarian RRs the same restrictions apply to the Universal Perfect as in full clauses - it can only be found with verbs of imperfective aspect, as seen in (11).

- (11) a. *Ženata čela knjigata ot sutrinta nasam...*
 woman-the read-PTC.IMP book-the from morning till-now
 ‘The woman who has been reading the book since this morning ...’
- b. **Ženata pročela knjigata ot sutrinta nasam...*
 woman-the read-PTC.PF book-the from morning till-now
 ‘The woman who has read the book since this morning ...’ IAI (2000)

Based on the data above and IAI's (2000) analysis, I conclude that the Past Participle in Bulgarian is a Perf phrase in full clauses as well as in RRs.

4.2. Bulgarian versus Slovenian/Italian

In this section I will provide the data that show that Slovenian/Italian Active Past Participles in RRs are not Perfect Participles. But first, some words on the semantics of the Present Perfect in full clauses. The Present Perfect in Slovenian/Italian full clauses is vague in its meaning; it can either express the temporal meaning of the Present Perfect (modification with adverbs such as *now*, *finally*) or the temporal meaning of the Past Tense (modification with adverbs such as *yesterday*). This property of the Present Perfect is shown in examples (12, 13).

- (12) a. Zdaj/Končno sem pojedel dovolj. Present Perfect reading
 Now/Finally am eaten-PF enough
 'Now/Finally I have eaten enough.'
- b. Včeraj sem pojedel dovolj. Past Tense reading
 yesterday am eaten-PF enough
 'Yesterday I ate enough.'
- (13) a. Adesso/Finalmente ho mangiato abbastanza. Present Perfect reading
 'Now/Finally I have eaten enough.'
- b. Ieri ho mangiato abbastanza. Past Tense reading
 'Yesterday I ate enough.' Giorgi & Pianesi (1997)

In RRs, where the same surface form of the participle is used, however, only the Past Tense reading of the Past Participle is possible. The examples in (14a, 15a) with Present Perfect adverbials, such as *finally* or *now*, are ungrammatical; RRs with Past Tense adverbials, such as *yesterday*, are grammatical, (14b, 15b).

(14) Slovenian

- a. *Vlak, zdaj prispel na postajo, je Mimara. Pres. Perf. reading
 train now arrived-PF at station, is Mimara
 'The train that has now arrived at the station is (called) Mimara.'
- b. Vlak, prispel na postajo včeraj Past Tense reading
 train arrived-PF at station yesterday
 ob petih, je Mimara.
 at five, is Mimara
 'The train that arrived at the station yesterday at five is Mimara.'

(15) Italian

- a. *Il treno finalmente arrivato a Milano... Present Perfect reading
 'The train finally arrived at Milano....'

- b. Il treno arrivato alle cinque. Past Tense reading
'The train arrived at five....'

From these data I conclude that the Active Past Participles in Slovenian and Italian reduced relatives do not express the meaning of the Present Perfect and are therefore not Perfect Participles.

4.3. Bulgarian versus English/Spanish

In this section I present the data showing that English and Spanish Active Past Participles are not Perfect Participles. The main argument is the fact that these participles do not express events in the first place. First, if they were eventive, then the event could be potentially modified by adverbs. However, English and Spanish Active Past Participles in RRs cannot be modified by an adverbial referring either to the manner or the time of the event, as shown in (16, 17).

(16) English

- a. *The leaf fallen from the tree at five o'clock/since last Sunday is red.
b. *The leaf slowly fallen from the tree is red.

(17) Spanish

*Las chicas llegadas a las cuatro/rápido
the girls arrived at four/quickly

Another argument for saying that post-nominal participles do not imply an event is found in (18), Embick (1997).

- (18) a. The leaf [fallen from the tree] when we arrived.
b. The man [arrested by the police] when we arrived.

The RR in (18a) cannot be interpreted in the way where the event in the temporal clause *arriving* follows the event in the participle *falling* as the passive RR in (18b) can. The participle in (18a) can only express the state in which the leaves were at the time of our arrival.

5. Step 2: English/Spanish versus Slovenian/Italian

In Section 4 (Step 1) we saw that Bulgarian crucially differs from English, Italian, Slovenian and Spanish in the fact that its Past Participles in RRs have a true Present Perfect reading. A natural question arises: If Active Past Participles in RRs in English/Italian/Slovenian/Spanish are not Perfect Participles, what are they? In the section that follows I will provide an answer to this question. First, I will present the background assumptions that I make and second, I will propose the structures for Active Past Participles in RRs in

English/Italian/Slovenian/Spanish, showing that English patterns with Spanish, while Italian patterns with Slovenian.

5.1. The background

5.1.1. Theoretical assumptions about the little *v*

The verbal functional head *v* (Kratzer (1993), Chomsky (1995) and related work) has the following properties:

- a. features relevant to licensing and semantic interpretation of the external arguments (Kratzer 1993), abbreviated as AG, *ext*
- b. case features for the object, abbreviated as *acc*
- c. verbalizes roots
- d. introduces eventive semantics

5.1.2. Height of attachment

This section of the paper presents the idea that the two readings in (19) can be derived by positing a different attachment site of the passive affix, Kratzer (1994), Marantz (2000), Embick (2000a).⁶

- (19) The door was closed.
- a. Eventive reading: Someone closed the door.
 - b. Stative (adjectival): The door was closed.

If the passive morphology is attached to the verb root, we get the stative reading, with no prior event implied, as in (19b). If the affix is attached above the little *v*, the reading we get is eventive, as in (19a).

While Marantz refers to passive morphology with the term stative/eventive affix, Embick (2000a) proposes that the passive morphology realizes the functional head ASP. Also, he shows that the height of attachment is not enough to capture all the desired readings and that selection between the ASP head and the *v* head is required as well.^{7,8} Applying the height idea he distinguishes the two different structures as in Table 4, which will be adopted in this paper.

⁶ This work is based on the original intuition that height of attachment of functional head determines syntactico-semantic properties by Abney (1987).

⁷ Embick (2000) and Kratzer (1993) distinguish the third reading, the Stative Eventive. In this reading, the ASP selects for a non-agentive little *v*.

(i) The door was closed.

Stative Eventive: the door was in the state of being closed after a closing event.

⁸ Arguments for selectional relationship between Asp and *v* in English and Latin are found in Embick (2000a) and (Embick 2000b).

Table 4: Stative and Eventive Passive Participle, Embick (2000a)

Structure 1: Asp directly to the root	Structure 2: Asp above little v
<pre> graph TD ASP1[ASP] --- ASP2[ASP] ASP1 --- V1[V] ASP2 --- ASP3[ASP] ASP2 --- V2[V] ASP3 --- Stative[Stative] ASP3 --- V3[V] </pre>	<pre> graph TD ASP1[ASP] --- ASP2[ASP] ASP1 --- v1[v] ASP2 --- Perf[Perf(ective)] ASP2 --- v2[v] v2 --- v3[v] v2 --- V1[V] v3 --- AG[AG] v3 --- V2[V] </pre> <p>Selection: Asp [perf] requires v[AG]</p>
Features on Aspect	Features on v
[Stat]: Simple state: no implication of prior event	Stative: No v is present, hence no event
[Perf]: Completive aspect: perfective	Eventive Passive: v (-ext, -acc) is present with AG

5.2. Active Past Participles in RRs: English/Spanish, Italian/ Slovenian

The framework presented above will be used in this section to examine the properties of Active Past Participles in English, Italian, Slovenian and Spanish and account for the differences in their distribution (cf. Section 1.).

5.2.1. English/Spanish Active Past Participles in RRs

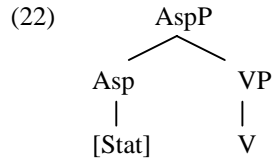
Following Marantz (2000) and Embick (2000a), I will argue that unaccusative Past Participles in English and Spanish RRs, repeated in (20) and (21), are instances of AspP participles where the Asp head with the feature [Stative] is attached directly to the verb root. Their structure is as in (22).

(20) English

The leaves fallen from the tree are all red.

(21) Spanish

Las chicas [recién llegadas a la estación] son mis hermanas.
 the girls [recently arrived at the station] are my sisters. IAI (2000)



We already saw in Section (4.3.) that these participles do not express an event; since they cannot be modified by adverbs referring to the manner or time of the event, see examples (16-18). Moreover, these participles express states as part of their meaning. In (20), *the leaf fallen from the tree* does not have the same meaning as *the leaf that has fallen off the tree*. Rather, it means that the leaf is in the state of ‘being fallen’, i.e. is lying on the ground. Of course, we know from our extra-linguistic knowledge that a falling event must have occurred prior to the leaf reaching its target state, but that event is not expressed linguistically.

Also some restrictions referring to the state can be observed: the state expressed by the Past Participle in RR has to hold at the topic time in the sense of Klein (1994). The sentence in (23), where the topic time is the time of the utterance, is a contradiction because at the utterance time, the apples are no longer in the state described by the participle in the RR.⁹

(23) a. *The apples fallen from the table are back on the table.

Like English, Spanish also has a restriction on the meaning of the participle in (21). One can only utter a sentence such as (21) if the people or things that the participle refers to are in the state that the participle describes. So, one can talk about *people recently arrived* only if these people show some characteristics of being in the state of having just arrived, for example, if they look very tired or lost. Again, like in English, the state expressed by the Past Participle in Spanish RRs has to hold at the topic time. Consider (24).

(24) a. *Las chicas recién llegadas al hotel se mudaron a una hostería
 the girls recently arrived at hotel se moved to an inn.
 b. Las chicas recién llegadas al hotel bajaron a cenar
 the girls recently arrived to hotel went down to have dinner

The sentence in (24a) is not acceptable, because the main clause predicate (*moved to an inn*) changes the state, i.e. the property of the girls, expressed by the participle in the RR (*arrived at the hotel*). We can, however say (24b),

⁹ Compare (23) to the grammatical (ia), where the Past Participle is a PerfP participle in the Perfect Tense (thus eventive by definition), and (ib), where the Past Participle is an eventive Passive Participle.

(i) a. The apples that have fallen from the table twice are back on the table.
 b. The apples placed on the table this morning are no longer on the table.

because the main clause predicate (*went down to have dinner*) does not change the state/property expressed by the participle in the RR – the girls are still recently arrived to the hotel if they go for dinner, but not if they move to an inn.

5.2.2. Unaccusativity in English and Spanish Past Participles

I proposed that in English and Spanish, Active Past Participles in RRs are instances of a low Asp head with the feature [Stative] attaching to the root. Now, one might say that this Asp has to care about unaccusativity, since eventually all the participles that appear in RRs are presumably unaccusative (*fallen, arrived, risen*, etc.). However, if we look at other instances of the Asp head attaching to the root, we see that the Asp head does not care about whether a verb is unaccusative, which is only expected, since these participles do not have a little *v* at all. Consider the Stative reading of the presumably Passive Past Participle in (19b), repeated here as (25), found also in RRs, as in (26).

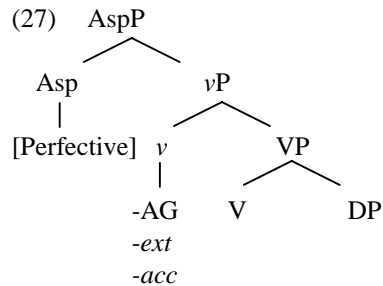
(25) The door was closed.

(26) The door closed because of the cold when we got there...

If we have to define the verb class of *close* in this sentence, we would say it is transitive in the same way as we say that *fallen* in *the apples fallen from the tree* is unaccusative. The point that I am trying to make: The verb class is not important here, since we are attaching the Asp head directly to the verb root and the fact that we think of the participles *fallen* and *closed* on their stative reading as unaccusative and transitive, respectively, is only an illusion.

5.2.3. Slovenian/Italian Active Past Participles in RRs

In this section I will examine Active Past Participles of unaccusative verbs that appear in RRs in Slovenian and Italian. I will claim that this participle is not a Perfect Participle, but an aspectual phrase, where the Asp head attaches above the little *v*, therefore expressing an event, and the feature on the Asp head is [Perfective]. The structure that I propose is essentially the one proposed for English eventive Passive Participle by Embick (2000a) in Table 4 with one difference: The Asp in Slovenian/Italian Active Past Participle selects for a non-agentive little *v*.



What are the arguments for positing the structure in (27)? First, the presence of the little *v* is justified, since unlike in English and Spanish, the Active Past Participles in Slovenian and Italian express an event that can be modified by time or manner adverbial, as shown in (28) and (29).

(28) **Slovenian**

Vlak, prispel ob petih popoldne/s svetlobno hitrostjo...
 train arrived-PF at five afternoon/with light speed
 'The train that arrived at five in the afternoon/very fast...'

(29) **Italian**

Il treno arrivato alle cinque...
 the train arrived at five
 'The train that arrived at five...'

Unlike in English, Active Past Participles in RRs in Slovenian and Italian do not express states. Consider (30) and (31). The Past Participle 'fallen' in (30, 31) does not express a state but rather an event which can be either simultaneous with or immediately follows the event in the *when*-clause.

(30) **Slovenian**

Sneg padel, ko smo prispeli...
 snow fallen-PF when be-1/PL arrived
 'The snow that fell when we arrived...'

(31) **Italian**

Il bambino caduto quando ha suonato il telefono.
 the child fallen when has rang the phone
 'The child that fell when the phone rang...'

Adopting the structure in (27) for Past Participles in RRs in Slovenian with the feature [Perfective] on Asp naturally accounts for another restriction - In Slovenian, the Past Participle that occurs in RRs has to be a participle of a perfective verb, as shown in (32). If the Asp head has the feature [Perfective]

then such behavior is expected: the Asp head will be incompatible with the imperfective aspect.¹⁰

- (32) a. Amanda je videla sneg, padel na polje.
 Amanda is seen snow fallen-PF on field
 ‘Amanda saw the snow that fell on the field.’
 b. *Amanda je videla sneg, padal na polje.
 Amanda is seen snow fallen-IMP on field
 ‘Amanda saw the snow that was falling on the field.’

In Italian, the Active Past Participle is perfective by default; the imperfective form of the Past Participle does not exist.

5.2.4. Unaccusativity in Italian and Slovenian Past Participles

In Italian and Slovenian, where the Asp in the Past Participles in RRs is attached above the *v*P, unaccusativity can be derived from the properties of the Asp head. Namely, the attaching Asp selects for a particular type of *v*, in the formation of the Active Past Participle in RRs as well as in the formation of the Passive Past Participle. Considering both, the active and the passive form, we obtain the following: If Asp with the feature [Perfective] is attached to form an eventive Passive Participle, it will select a passive little *v*, (-acc, -ext, AG), Embick (2000a). If Asp with the feature [Perfective] is attached to form a RR Active Past Participle, it will select an unaccusative little *v* (-acc, -ext, -AG). This relation is expressed in terms of Selection.

(33) Selection in Slovenian/Italian:

Eventive Passive Participle, Eventive Active Past Participle: Asp [Perfective] requires *v* [-ext].

6. Conclusion

In this paper I discussed the distribution of Active Past Participles in restrictive reduced relatives in Bulgarian, English, Italian, Slovenian and Spanish. The paper started with the common observation in the literature that in Bulgarian, Active Past Participles of all classes of verbs appear in RRs, while in English, Italian, Slovenian and Spanish only Active Past Participles of unaccusative verbs are possible in RRs. First, I argued that Past Participles in RRs are not Perfect Participles in all the languages discussed and therefore their availability in RRs is not necessarily linked to auxiliary selection. I proposed that the data

¹⁰ The participles of imperfective verbs exist and are used in the main clauses, as in (i).

- (i) Sneg je padal na polje.
 snow is fallen-IMP on field
 ‘The snow was falling on the field.’

in (1-4) follow from the structure and the semantics of the participles in RRs and not from the type of the auxiliary that the same surface Active Past Participle would take in the Perfect. Second, I argued that if it seemed that unaccusativity had to do with the distribution of Active Past Participles in these languages, then that was either an illusion (English, Spanish) or derivative of the properties of participial heads realized by the participial morphology (Bulgarian, Italian, Slovenian). The structures proposed for Active Past Participles in RRs are summarized in the table below.

Stative: En/Sp	Eventive: Sl/It	Perfect: Bulg
<pre> AspP / \ Asp VP [Stat] no v </pre>	<pre> AspP / \ Asp vP / \ [Perf] v -AG VP / \ -ext VP / \ -acc v VP Asp selects -AG v </pre>	<pre> PerfP / \ Perf vP / \ v VP </pre> <p>any kind of v</p>

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