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**The Dominant Participle Construction as a
Syntax-Semantics Interface Phenomenon:
The Case Study of Latin**

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List of Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used in the text:

AP	Adjectival Phrase
A-structure	Argument-structure
AspP	Aspectual Phrase
C-structure	Constituent-structure
DM	Distributed Morphology
EA	External Argument
FG	Functional Grammar
F-structure	Functional-structure
IA	Internal Argument
LDP	Latin Dominant Participle
LF	Logical Form
LFG	Lexical-Functional Grammar
N&H	Nikitina and Haug
NP	Noun Phrase
nP	Nominal Phrase
NumP	Number Phrase
PF	Phonetic Form
PredP	Predicational Phrase
S	Sentence
SC	Small Clause
SOs	Syntactic objects
Spec	Specifier
VP	Verb Phrase
vP	Verbal Phrase

The following abbreviations are used in the example glosses:

1,2,3	First/second/third person
ABL	Ablative
ACC	Accusative
ACT	Active
ADV	Adverb
DAT	Dative

F	Feminine
GEN	Genitive
GNDV	Gerundive
IMPERF	Imperfect
IND	Indicative
M	Masculine
N	Neuter
NOM	Nominative
PASS	Passive
PERF	Perfect
PL	Plural
PLUP	Pluperfect
POSS	Possessive
PRES	Present
PTCP	Participle
REL	Relative
SG	Singular
SUBJ	Subjunctive

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1 Introduction

The syntactic representation of participles has remained a disputed issue at the centre of linguistic research for some time. Much of the confusion surrounding participles is the result of their categorial indeterminacy, which ranges between the category of verbs and adjectives. The blended categorial properties of participles are mirrored in their flexible syntactic distribution. For example, participles are flexible enough to fulfil prototypical adjectival functions in attributive and copular structures, e.g. ‘the sewed button’ and ‘the button is sewed’, while they may also exhibit a verbal distribution in periphrastic occurrences, e.g. ‘Duna has sewed the button’. In such a way, the categorial flexibility of participles allows for a wide spectrum of different uses.

Of relevance for the present work is that the distribution and categorial flexibility of participles described above turns into a particularly pressing issue in the analysis of Latin sentences like (1) and (2)¹.

- (1) Ab *urbe* **condita**.
from city:ABL.SG.F found:PTCP.PERF.PASS.ABL.SG.F
‘From the founding of the city/Since the city was founded.’
- (2) *Sicilia* **amissa**.
Sicily:NOM.SG.F lose:PTCP.PERF.PASS.NOM.SG.F
‘The lost of Sicily.’

These are the so-called Latin Dominant Participle constructions (henceforth, LDP) (Man, 1965), also termed as the *ab urbe condita* construction on behalf of Hahn (1928) (lit. ‘from the city founded’) and the *Sicilia amissa* construction after Storme (2010) (lit. ‘Sicily lost’). The examples above are illustrative of prepositional and non-prepositional uses of LDP. They consist of a nominal phrase and a participial form, both

¹Participles are bold-faced and the noun that they relate to in italics. The glossing in the examples follows the Leipzig standard but may omit unimportant feature specifications.

agreeing in features of case, number, and gender². However, unlike regular attributive participles, LDP has the meaning of a clause. Note their possible translations, paraphraseable as a nominalisation with propositional content. The description of LDP on these terms, therefore, raises difficulty in the syntactic and semantic analysis due to the exhibiting syntax-semantics mismatch.

As Nikitina and Haug (2016, p.29) plainly state, the problem is that the construction manifests “a syntax-semantics mismatch [in that] something that looks like a noun phrase does not have the normal denotation of noun phrases”. As defined, there is a mismatch between the (morpho)syntactic composition and the semantic interpretation. The participle is the semantic and syntactic head, i.e. the “dominant element”, in that it sets an event interpretation and subcategorises for the noun that it relates to. However, the construction has a nominal external syntax, where the participle surfaces with the characteristics of an attributive modifier.

Given that we have restricted participles to the categories of verbs and adjectives, the fact that participles in LDP have been associated with the functionality of nouns adds value to the research interest in their categorial flexibility and syntactic representation. In which way can the underlying clausal internal syntax and the nominal external syntax be reconciled with the pictured spectrum of the regular uses of participles?

1.1 Aim, contribution, and outline

The general aim of the present work is to answer from a theoretical perspective the question posed by the issue of LDP. The contribution to this enterprise is to bring together the available literature on the topic and grant valuable insights into their formal representation.

With this in mind, we will argue that the syntax-semantics mismatch

²As a general note, participial forms in Latin inflect in case, number, and gender features. A standard classification based on their voice and tense properties gives us a range of four types of participle: present active, e.g. *amans* (lit. ‘loving’); perfect passive, e.g. ‘*amatus*’ (lit. ‘having been loved’); future active, e.g. ‘*amaturus*’ (lit. ‘going to love’); future passive/gerundive, e.g. ‘*amandus*’ (lit. ‘to be loved’).

raised in LDP can be overcome with the proper theoretical machinery. This work shows that the traditional description of these constructions as noun phrases is biased because it treats participles from a theoretical framework that confounds the analysis with an apparent mismatch between the morphosyntactic mapping and semantic interpretation. Instead, the syntactic relationship between the participle and the noun phrase that it relates to follows naturally from an anti-lexicalist position where words are derived syntactically. In this line, the second point of inquiry targets the nominal characterisations of LDP offered by anti-lexicalist studies. The remaining lines contribute by discussing LDP within the regular uses of participles, closing with an analysis proposal.

The discussion will proceed in the following manner. Section §2 examines the treatment of LDP in the literature, focusing on the central hypothesis in §2.1 and raising some challenging problems in §2.1. The main assumptions are summarised in §2.2. Section §3 takes an anti-lexicalist approach to LDP, starting by justifying the theoretical framework for the discussion at hand in §3.1. In section §3.2, we analyse the functional structure associated with participles and entail a critique of the templates employed to derive LDP syntactically, first examining those accounts that retain the nominal functionality, §3.2.1, and secondly those that integrate LDP with the functionality of adjectives, §3.2.2. Section §4.1 lays the groundwork for an alternative analysis bearing in mind all the issues raised as well as points out the possible new lines of inquiry for further research §4.2. Section §5 closes up with the conclusions.

But before starting with the discussion, let us briefly define the main properties of LDP.

1.2 The Latin Dominant Participle construction

The majority of knowledge we have about LDP comes from sources of traditional instruction for Latin³. Yet, it is worth pointing out that not all linguistic textbooks of Latin have acknowledged the dominant uses of the participle.

³For traditional accounts of LDP, see [Valentí Fiol \(1945, §XXV\)](#); [Woodcock \(1959, §VII.95\)](#); [Pinkster \(1995, §7.4.7\)](#); [Touratier \(2008, p.119\)](#); [Panhuis \(2006, §363\)](#).

For instance, Oniga's (2014) linguistic introduction to Latin does not mention LDP in the section dedicated to the syntax of participles (cf. *ibid.* §27). Were we to fill this gap, we could situate LDP in the middle range between appositive participles or *participium coniunctum* (cf. *ibid.* §27.4) and ablative absolutes (cf. *ibid.* §27.5).

To begin with, appositive participles, (3), and the same could be said about LDP, are represented as the verbal head of a complex structure, whose complements are selected by the thematic grid of the verb. However, LDP differs from appositive participles in that they are syntactically integrated into the superordinate clause (*ibid.*, §27.4)⁴.

- (3) Is, (cohortatus
he:NOM encourage:PTCP.PERF.PASS.NOM.SG.M
milites), aciem pro castris
soldiers:ACC.PL.M line:ACC in-front-of:PREP encampment:ABL
instruit.
insert:PERF.ACT.3SG
'After encouraging his soldiers, he drew up his line in front of
the encampment.' [Tac.Ann.III.20.2, from Oniga, 2014, p.305]

The main observation is that the morphosyntactic features determining the distribution of the LDP mirror a context-specific syntactic function with respect to a superordinate predicate, as occurs in regular nominal expressions⁵. Indeed, the uses of LDP as arguments of complex sentences cover a variety of typically nominal grammatical functions, viz. subject, (4), direct object, (5), object of a preposition, (6), adnominal genitive (7), as well as instrumental ablative, (8)⁶.

- (4) Cum **occisus** *dictator*
when kill:PTCP.PERF.PASS.NOM.SG.M dictator:NOM.SG.N

⁴An intonation break restricted to parentheses tends to mark the syntactic disattachment of appositive participles from the main clause.

⁵As already noted elsewhere, morphosyntactically non-finite predications in Latin, including the contexts of LDP, are compatible with all existing case forms except for the vocative marking (Mateu, 2017).

⁶For extensive collections of examples, see [Heick \(1936, §II-VI\)](#); [Pinkster \(2021, §14.14, §15.138\)](#).

Caesar aliis pessimum aliis
 C:NOM.SG.M others:DAT worst:NOM.SG.M others:DAT
 pulcherrimum facinus
 most.beautiful:NOM.SG.N deed:NOM.SG.N
 videretur.
 seem:IMPERF.SUBJ.PASS.3SG
 ‘When the killing of the dictator Caesar seemed to some the
 worst, and to others, the most beautiful deed.’ [Tac.Ann.1.8,
 from Nikitina and Haug, 2016, (4a)]

- (5) **Raptam** *Eurydicen* atque
 kidnap:PTCP.PERF.PASS.ACC.SG.F E:ACC.SG.F and
 inrita Ditis dona
 useless:ACC Dis:GEN gifts:ACC
 querens.
 complain:PTCP.PRES.ACT.NOM.SG
 ‘Complaining of the kidnapping of Eurydice and the useless gifts
 of Dis.’ [Verg.G.4.519-20, from Heick, 1936, p.25]

- (6) Ab **ineunte** *aetate*.
 from:PREP enter:PTCP.PRES.ACT.ABL.F lifetime:ABL.SG.F
 ‘From his entrance into life.’ [Plin.Ep.5.16.8, from Heick, 1936,
 p.42]

- (7) Iniuria **retentorum**
 injury:NOM detain:PTCP.PERF.PASS.GEN.PL.M
equitum Romanorum.
 horse-soldier:GEN.PL.M Roman:GEN.PL.M
 ‘The injury of detaining Roman horse-soldiers.’ [Caes.
 Gal.3.10.1-2, from Heick, 1936, p.16]

- (8) Non enim ille *meretriculis* **moenerandis**
 non for he:NOM prostitute:ABL.PL.F reward:GNDV.ABL.PL.F
 rem coegit.
 wealth:ACC collect:PERF.ACT.3SG

Although present and future actives, as well as the gerundive¹², partake in LDP, [Pinkster \(2021, p.220\)](#) non-trivially observes that only the past participle is found in all argument positions, being the most productive. On the basis of this observation, the discussion at hand will focus mainly on instances of LDP with past participles.

Lastly, a salient peculiarity is that there are numerous kinds of dominant constructions. LDP can be filled in with an heterogeneous class of lexical items, which take over the role of the predicate (cf. [Mateu, 2021, p.38](#); [Pinkster, 2021, p.29](#)). That is to say, not only participles but also adjectives and nouns can serve as predicates in dominant constructions, as (13)¹³ and (14) attest, respectively.

- (13) Augebat metum **gnarus**
 increase:IMPERF.ACT.3SG fear:ACC cognisant:NOM.SG.M
 Romanae seditionis et
 Roman:GEN.SG sedition:GEN.SG and
 invasurus *hostis*.
 invade:PTCP.FUT.ACT.NOM.M enemy:NOM.SG.M
 ‘The alarm was heightened by the fact that the enemy was aware of the Roman sedition, and (that the enemy) would certainly attack.’ [Tac.Ann.1.36.2, adapted from [Pinkster, 2021, p.30](#)]

- (14) Post *te* **consulem**.
 after you:ACC.SG consul:ACC.SG
 ‘After you (served as) consul.’ [Cic.Fam.9.14, from [Mateu,](#)

¹²As opposed to the gerund, the gerundive is most often included in the analysis of LDP. Example (i) has been employed systematically in the literature to show that the LDP and the gerundive counterpart have a common structure and were felt alike by Latin speakers.

- (i) Ante conditam condendam-ve urbem.
 before find:PTCP.PERF.PASS.ACC.SG.F find-or:GNDV.ACC.SG.F city:ACC.SG.F
 ‘Before the city was founded or was about to be founded.’ [Liv.6, from [Haspel-math \(1987, p.30\)](#)]

¹³Note that the participle ‘invasurus hostis’ is also a participial clause, as the translation wants to reflect.

Having provided a quick overview of the defining properties, the following section examines the treatment granted to LDP in the literature.

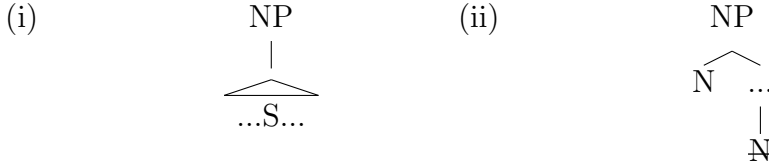
2 The Latin Dominant Participle construction in the literature

In the face of a large amount of literature on the syntax of participles, the dominant uses of the participle have not been investigated in a principled fashion. As pointed out, much of the difficulty in analysing LDP is due to the exhibiting syntax-semantics mismatch in that the external nominal (morpho)syntactic composition clashes with the clausal semantic interpretation between the participle and the noun that it relates to. Nonetheless, there have been various attempts at explaining the mismatch. As advanced, the standard position in the literature has been to associate LDP with the functionality of nouns. We will comprise these linguistic accounts under the label of the *nominal hypothesis*. As transpires from it, the *nominal hypothesis* defends that LDP bears the structure of a noun phrase (NP).

As a means to find out whether there is substantial evidence for or against the *nominal hypothesis*, what are the central tenets for granting a nominal syntactic status to LDP?

2.1 The nominal hypothesis

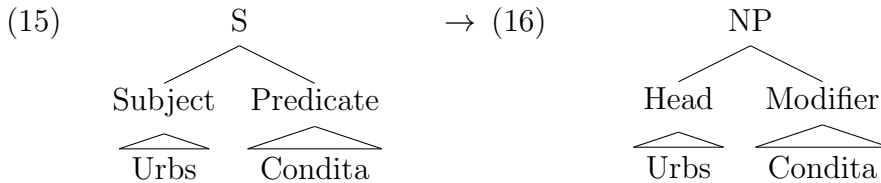
The *nominal hypothesis* has been defended from two different perspectives: (i) LDP results from an embedded sentence (S) that at some point becomes syntactically nominalised, surfacing with a topmost nominal category; (ii) LDP results from deriving a nominal functional head, hosting the noun that relates to the participle, which consequently re-categorises the participial clause into a complex nominal expression.



Let us concentrate on (i) and leave the discussion on (ii) for the following section.

In the context of LDP, the idea of obtaining a nominalisation at the syntactic level, i.e. construction-based nominalisation¹⁴, goes back to Bolkestein (1980, 1981), whose analysis is framed within the precepts of Functional Grammar (FG; Dik, 1978). In the functionalist approach to Latin, distribution determines the function of constituents within their context (Pinkster, 2005). On this basis, Bolkestein relates the nominal distribution of LDP to the attributive uses of the participle.

However, the attributive makeup results from the transformation of an originally presupposed embedded sentence, an operation that recognises that, despite displaying a “nouny” distribution, LDP seems to possess more structure in that it entails the semantics of a clause. The outcome of the transformational rule is illustrated in (15) and (16)¹⁵. The rule in order is participialisation, which transforms the predicate of a sentence into a participle. Consequently, the formed participle, e.g. ‘condita’, surfaces as the modifier and the subject, e.g. ‘urbs’, heads the construction. This explains why the phase has a nominal distribution while still denoting the meaning of a complex event.



Participialisation emerged as an operation able to capture the defining

¹⁴For a classification of Latin nominalisations bearing in mind that some of them might be construction-based, see Rosén (1983).

¹⁵This is a schematic representation based on Bolkestein (1980, p.88-89).

properties of LDP and, as a result, the analysis couched well in subsequent authors, including [Haspelmath \(1987\)](#)¹⁶, [van der Auwera \(1990\)](#)¹⁷, and [Horrocks \(2011\)](#)¹⁸. However, more recent accounts have proposed a different formalisation to address the presence of a topmost nominal category through a construction-based rule (cf. (i)). We are referring to the account of [Nikitina and Haug \(2016\)](#) and [Haug and Nikitina \(2012, 2016\)](#) (hereafter, N&H), which represents the latest updating on the view of LDP on these terms. N&H offer an alternative account to the attributive final makeup brought about by the participialisation rule. Instead, they vouch for a non-transformational rule that nominalises an embedded sentence but without keeping the participle as subconstituent of the noun that it relates to.

The point of departure for not keeping the participle as surfacing as the modifier comes from the empirical observation that the noun, but not the participle, can be left out in certain contexts. By way of example, N&H report cases of LDP with an impersonal verb, e.g. ‘lapidare’, which

¹⁶The head-modifier formation in [Haspelmath](#) is less clear since he relies on cognitive notions from [Langacker \(1984\)](#). Briefly put, he notes that LDP and the gerundive counterpart profile patient participants, e.g. ‘bellorum’, whereas the action denoted by the participle attaches to it attributively, as a periphrastic specification of the active zone, e.g. ‘gerendorum’. This results in (i), and hence being grammatically omissible, as in (ii).

- (i) Cupidi *bellorum* **gerendorum.**
 desirous war:GEN.PL.N wage:GNDV.GEN.PL.N
 ‘Desirous of waging war.’ [Cic.Off.1.74, from [Haspelmath, 1987](#), (63)]
- (ii) Cupidi *bellorum.*
 ‘Desirous of war.’

Nonetheless, we must acknowledge the particularities of ‘bellum gero’ as a collocation verb (cf. [Baños, 2013](#)), and ‘bellum’ as a metonym of it (cf. [Petit, 2019](#)) to the degree that it may confine the examples to atypical situations.

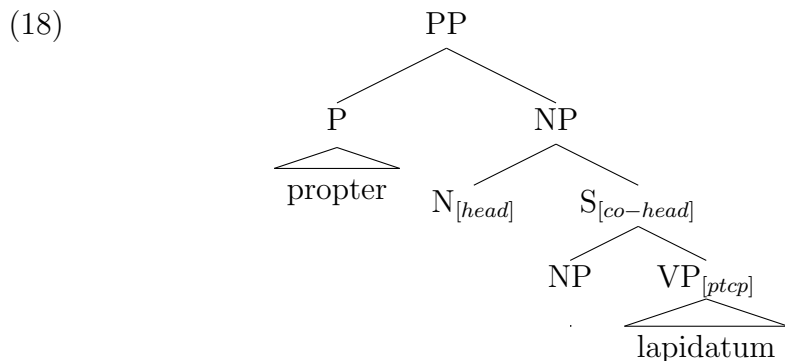
¹⁷In his discussion on headedness, [van der Auwera](#) resorts to the participialisation rule proposed for LDP and shows that the head of a term can be internal to a participial clause also in the English gerund, e.g. ‘John dislikes Viki leaving for Scotland’ (for a discussion framed in LFG against treating the accompanying noun, e.g. ‘Viki’, as the head of the participial clause, see [Mackenzie, 1990](#)).

¹⁸[Horrocks](#) also submits to an attributive head-modifier structure, since he assigns to dominant participles the interpretation of an adverbial modifier.

selects no subject, (17).

- (17) In libris Sibyllinis propter crebrius
in books:ABL Sibylline:ABL on.account.of more.frequently
eo anno de caelo **lapidatum**
that:ABL year:ABL from sky:ABL stone:PTCP.PERF.PASS.ACC
inspectis.
examine:PTCP.PERF.PASS.ABL
‘In the Sibylline books, which were consulted on account of the
fact that it rained stones more frequently from the sky that year.’
[Liv.29.10, from Nikitina and Haug, 2016, (7)]

Because even a participle devoid of the accompanying noun still preserves the nominal distribution, e.g. ‘lapidatum’ in (17) is the complement of the preposition ‘propter’, N&H commit to an analysis that allows the nominalisation of the clause to take place without the imperative presence of a noun. With this aim, a clausal node S, which hosts the participle and the noun that it relates to, if present, undergoes a syntactic nominalisation and extends to an empty NP, (18).



The head-sharing structure {NP, S} permits the syntax to display properties of more than one lexical category at the same time. This captures well the behaviour of LDP. On the one hand, the extended NP allows LDP to exhibit nominal properties in the interaction with its syntactic context. On the other hand, in making the S underlain by the pro-

jection headed by the participle, the construction preserves the clausal interpretation¹⁹.

An analysis in terms of a head-sharing structure is an operation rooted in the theoretical tools provided by the Lexical-Functional Grammar (LFG; [Bresnan et al., 2016](#)), which is the grammatical framework that the authors adopt. In the LFG theory of grammar, sentences are represented at multiple but parallel levels of structure, each of which models a different dimension of grammatical substance ([Bresnan et al., 2016](#), p.15). In this line, mixed projections are unproblematic as long as they respect the direct mapping between the three core levels of analysis in LFG, which are c(onstituent)-structure, f(unctional)-structure, and a(rgument)-structure.

As reproduced in figure 1, a parallel representation of (18) involves systematicity at each level of analysis, which justifies the postulation of an extended NP. Surface constituency relations and the categorial information introduced by the topmost NP show a corresponding grammatical functional role along the lines of the lexical properties of the preposition. Differently put, in the case of (18), thanks to the extended NP, the whole embedded clausal structure of the dominant participle can be mapped into the function of the complement of the preposition ‘propter’ specifies.

The fact that case features are dictated by a superordinate predicate, not by the participle, in spite of it being the syntactic and semantic head, comes down to the nominalisation rule as well, which ensues the functional asymmetry between case and other nominal inflectional features, such as gender and number. With the resultant head-sharing makeup, the participle arbitrates the flow, on the one hand, between number and gender features controlled by the embedded subject and, on the other

¹⁹This line of reasoning is not new in LFG. Mixed categorial analyses have been defended extensively for the English gerund of the type exemplified in (i), which is formally represented in a structure similar to the one granted to LDP ([Bresnan et al., 2016](#), §13).

(i) They don’t talk about [_{NP} *N* [_S *him*_{NP} **hanging around**_{VP} all the time.]]
[Adapted from [Bresnan et al., 2016](#), p.318]

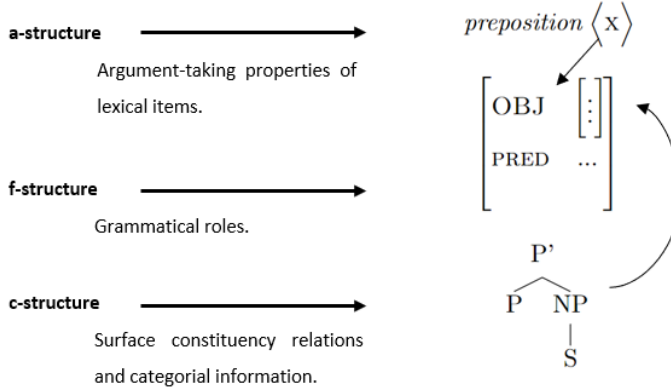


Figure 1: Based on Bresnan et al. (2016, p.15), this figure illustrates the parallel representation of (18) across the different levels of analysis. C-structure is represented using the familiar tree diagram, f-structure in a separate attribute-value matrix, while a-structure by means of lexical-syntactic factorization.

hand, the case features mediated by the extended NP targeting from an upper predicate, be it a preposition, a verb, or another noun^{20 21}.

Eventually, the nominalisation rule and the unusual mapping of features that motivate the syntax-semantics mismatch are reconciled due to the language-specific historical development of the construction. A two-stepped-headedness reversal is held responsible for the nominalisation rule. In the first step, N&H follow Ruppel (2013) and her diachronic analysis of absolute constructions in Latin. As represented in (19), the temporal attributive expressions would be the antecedent of (ablative)

²⁰The agreement mechanism at hand is referred to as feature sharing. As defined, it is a symmetric non-directional process of feature agreement that allows the imprinted features on a syntactic object to be further available in subsequent operations (Haug and Nikitina, 2016).

²¹The insight proposed is already present in Horrocks (2011). In his analysis, an empty NP gets duplicated, i.e. {NP, NP}, precisely for mediating case features. Nonetheless, given that he takes the participle as a mere modifier, case features are valued directly on the noun that the participle relates to, and then the participle agrees with it, as expected in Latin. To this end, the fact that N&H take instead the participle as the target of case features, I take it as the natural consequence of assuming the participle as the head of the construction.

- (20) (19b) \rightarrow (20a) [NP [S [NP, V]]]
- a. **Cognita** Caesar *causa*
 learn:PTCP.PERF.PAS.ABL.SG.F C:NOM case:ABL.SG.F
 reperit. [...].
 find-out:PRES.ACT.3SG
 ‘Once Caesar had learnt about the case, he finds out [...].’
 [Caes.Gal.6.9.8, from [Haug, 2017](#), (80)]

Taking stock, this section has been devoted to reviewing the available literature on the *nominal hypothesis*. The focus has been on the analyses that grant a nominal syntactic category to LDP. More particularly, we concentrated on those accounts that achieve it through construction-based nominalisation rules. Although initial approaches relied on transformational operations, the syntactic nominalisation as N&H propose accomplishes a better understanding of the peculiarities of LDP.

Nonetheless, it is fair to say that the situation is not completely resolved. The following section highlights a number of critical points in which the analysis of N&H, and as such the *nominal hypothesis* in (i), fails.

2.2 Some problems with the standard approach

From a theoretical perspective, the analysis offered by N&H violate deep assumptions of syntactic compositionality. To begin with, the nominal syntactic category, eponymous for the topmost NP, as proposed in (18), is taken to be present based on the nominal external distribution of the construction. More precisely, the topmost NP serves to map the constituency made of a participle and a noun into the grammatical functions common to nominal expressions (cf. fig. 1). However, in doing so, the representation motivates an empty head that does not host any element contained by the expression and, as a consequence, it does not contribute to the compositional interpretation of LDP, being a semantically and phonologically vacuous projection.

The fact that the head-sharing structure is shared neither by the values of the participle nor the noun that it relates to raises a nonendocentric configuration. Bearing (18) in mind, the mixed categorial heading as-

sumes two instances on these terms: there is an exocentric category *S* that takes, in turn, an exocentrically motivated nominal head. Although it is true that within LFG exocentric constructions are not ruled out, these constructions are less prominent and cross-linguistically marked (cf. [Bresnan et al., 2016](#), §6.3). Accordingly, they should only be admitted if there is no alternative left²⁵. But, how strong is the nominal syntactic status to grant to LDP a nonendocentric configuration?

N&H find support for the exocentric topmost NP not only in that LDP can coordinate with regular NPs, (cf. (5)), but also in that LDP covers typically nominal grammatical functions, (cf. (4)-(8)). Nonetheless, note that N&H rely on distribution alone, which is a weak criterion upon which to base the alleged syntactic presence of a nominal head²⁶.

For example, focusing on the coordination test, LDP can coordinate with non-finite infinitival clauses, (21a)²⁷, and finite relative clauses, (21b)²⁸. In the logic of N&H, assuming that constituents that can coordinate with each other also share the same syntactic structure, we would have to interpret that LDP changes its syntactic makeup in each of the following cases considering that the examples in (21) are non-nominal expressions. This ultimately encourages a disconcerting analysis²⁹

²⁵The motivation for the exocentric S node is not relevant for the present discussion and can be done away with easily. In fact, in later work, the formalisation of S is dispensed with in favour of the Asp(ectual) functional projection of the participle, yielding {N, Asp} (cf. [Haug and Nikitina, 2016](#), p.887).

²⁶For an extensive critique against using distribution as the primary source for categorial identity in the context of mixed projections in LFG, see [Lowe \(2020\)](#).

²⁷The infinitival clause comprises ‘infesto Germanorum agmine Gallias peti’.

²⁸The relative clause comprises ‘quod principium favoris’.

²⁹Interestingly, authors such as [Spevak \(2018\)](#) report examples like (i), where an instance of LDP, e.g. ‘persona suscep̄ta’, coordinates with pure deverbal noun, e.g. ‘reconciliatio’, and concludes that their coordination signals an “équivalence syntaxique” (ibid. p.65). Note though that this is a vague analysis, as she concedes a different makeup to LDP and deverbal nouns.

- (i) Irredebatur haec illius reconciliatio et
laugh:IMPERF.IND.PASS.3SG this:ADJ.NOM his:GEN conciliation:NOM and
persona uiri boni
character:NOM.SG.F man:GEN.SG.M good:GEN.SG.M

- (21) a. Peruaserat interim
spread:PLUP.IND.ACT.3SG meanwhile
circumuenti *exercitus*
surround:PTCP.PERF.PASS.GEN.SG.M army:GEN.SG.M
fama et infesto Germanorum agmine
rumour:NOM and heinous:ABL Germanic:GEN troop:ABL
Gallias peti.
Gallia:ACC menace:INF.PRES.PASS
‘Meanwhile, it had spread the rumor that the army had been
surrounded and that the Gallia was menaced by the heinous
Germanic troops.’ [Tac.Ann.1.59.1, from [Rouveret, 2018](#),
(k)]
- b. Quod principium favoris et
that:REL.NOM.SG.N outbreak:NOM.SG.N goodwill:GEN and
mater Agrippina spem male
mother:NOM A:NOM spem:ACC barely
tegens perniciem
conceal:PTCP.PRES.ACT.NOM.SG.F destruction:ACC
adceleravere.
hasten:PERF.IND.3PL
‘That the outbreak of popular goodwill, along with mother
Agrippina’s barely concealing her ambition, hastened their
destruction.’ [Tac.Ann.4.12.1, from [Heick, 1936](#), p.45]

Another piece of evidence that shows the weak points of the nominal syntactic status of LDP comes from modification. If these constructions had an underlying head-sharing configuration, nominal at the top, their modification by adjectives should fall naturally. Nonetheless, as N&H note, LDP may be modified by adverbs but never adjectives. Take (22) as an example, where the participle, e.g. ‘acta’, is modified by an adverb, e.g. ‘feliciter’. Although N&H interpret this example as proof of

suscepta.

assume:PTCP.PERF.PASS.NOM.SG.F

‘This conciliation of good-will was laughed at, and so was the assumption of the character of a good man.’ [Cic.Clū.101, from [Spevak, 2018](#), (18)]

the presence of an internal clausal S node, it also puts on record that distribution is the only justification for extending an S projection into a topmost NP, and not any aspect inherent to the participle.

- (22) *Ea* feliciter **acta**.
these:ACC.PL.N happily accomplish:PTCP.PERF.PASS.ACC.PL.N
‘For these [deeds] being successfully accomplished.’ [Sall.Bell.
Iug.55, from [Nikitina and Haug, 2016](#), (17a)]

All things considered, the central tenet for posing a nominal functional head in LDP relies on distribution alone, which constitutes a weak criterion for motivating a topmost NP. This is confirmed by the confounding nature of coordination, for example, which is taken by N&H as a source for category identity. Plus, several observations on modification challenge the alleged syntactic presence of a nominal head, which eventually calls into question the special exocentric syntactic category granted by the nominalisation rule.

From an empirical perspective, it is also important to note that the historical development that backs up the rare mapping of LDP, which ultimately favours the language/construction-specific syntactic nominalisation rule, can also be objected to. An alternative diachronic perspective concerning ablative absolutes and LDP is offered in the newly released study by [Jaszczynski \(2021\)](#). The author establishes the reverse expansion between ablative absolute and LDP, namely, that the former originated from the latter.

The prepositional and non-prepositional uses of the dominant participle are described as archaic features, attested in most branches of Indo-European languages. Instead, absolute constructions in a single case form are considered as being grammaticalisations of specific usages of LDP in a given language, such as in ablative for Latin, genitive for Greek, or dative for Gothic³⁰. Hence, the development of absolute constructions

³⁰For the present purposes, another finding from [Jaszczynski](#) proves of interest. Ablative absolutes are hypothesized to have had another pressuring source, other than (non)prepositional uses of the dominant participle in ablative. Namely, the author digs into participial comitative expressions in ablative with an obligatory

from LDP acknowledges that the construction dates from Proto-Indo-European times, though the case form used is an idiosyncratic trait of a particular languages³¹.

As a final note, although N&H aim to cover the main properties of LDP, the account fails to address the last two defining properties highlighted in the introduction (vid. §1.2). The syntactic nominalisation rule misses to contemplate the high productivity of past participles in these structures as well as the heterogeneous class of lexical items that can occur as predicates within dominant constructions.

In conclusion, the association of a syntactically explicit exocentric nominal projection in the representation of LDP (= a topmost NP) is not without controversy. We have shown it by casting doubt on the theoretical and empirical bases of the proposal offered by N&H.

2.3 Summary and assumptions

Any proposal of analysis of LDP faces the exhibiting syntax-semantics mismatch between the external nominal (morpho)syntactic composition and the internal clausal semantic interpretation between the participle and the noun that relates to it. The standard view in the literature has explained these constructions by emphasising the nominal syntactic status through a topmost NP category, a tendency that we have labelled

secondary predication, of the type illustrated in (i).

- (i)

Invocat	deos	immortales	manibus
invoke:PRES.ACT.3SG	god:ACC.PL	immortal:ACC.PL	hands:ABL.PL
puris,	<i>capite</i>	operto.	
clean:ABL.PL	head:ABL.SG	cover:PTCP.PERF.PASS.ABL.SG	

‘She invoked the immortal gods with clean hands and covered head.’
[Pl.Am.1093-94, from [Jaszczynski, 2021](#), p.179]

The structural relationship between (i) and ablative absolutes has already been laid out ([Mateu, 2017](#)).

³¹Although in a lesser way, the first reanalysis step can be questioned as well. Note that [Ruppel’s \(2013\)](#) examples for an initial attributive construction carry instead the predicative inflection (cf. ‘florente’ in (19a)), in light with the observation that attributive and predicative participles show an inflectional distinction in the ablative, the former taking the ending *-i* whereas the latter employs *-e* ([Haug, 2017](#), p.116).

the nominal hypothesis.

In this light, this section has been set up to answer whether the *the nominal hypothesis* about LDP is on the right track, with an eye on those accounts that particularly vouch for a construction-based nominalisation rule to explain the exhibition of nominal properties. We made the account of N&H our target for it represents the latest updating on this view. A critical review has highlighted that the central tenet for granting a nominal treatment to LDP is distribution alone, which has, nonetheless, a number of theoretical shortcomings. Also, the postulation for a language-specific construction-based nominalisation rule overlooks the relatively archaic empirical reality of LDP. Eventually, the critique demonstrates that the account offered by N&H, in particular, and the *nominal hypothesis* in (i), in general, fall short.

To the extent that LDP as a syntactic nominalisation rule is neither empirically strong nor particularly insightful, it seems that there is no case for the syntax-semantics mismatch that motivated, in the first place, the account for a nominalisation. It can be argued that the description of LDP in a hybrid sense of the term, where there is an external syntax resembling that of an NP and a clausal internal interpretation resembling that of a VP, is biased in that it departs from the LFG theory of grammar, which takes a distribution-oriented and lexicalist perspective. On the one hand, a tight mapping between grammatical functions and surface constituency relations has confounded distribution as a reliable test for spotting the alleged categorial identity of LDP as noun phrases. On the other hand, on the basis that participles are treated as rigid designated verbal categories, the analysis of LDP is also confounded with special (language/construction-specific) mechanisms to capture the non-verbal distribution, as discussed concerning the historical development of LDP and its use for motivating the nominalisation rule.

Summarising, the description of LDP as a mismatch poses a theoretical void between external syntax and internal semantics that seems driven by the preconditions of a distribution-oriented and lexicalist theory of grammar. We have exposed the shortcomings of explaining the alleged mismatch through the presence of a nominal head resulting from a syn-

tactic nominalisation. The following section presents the main points for an alternative grammar architecture to explain LDP.

3 Anti-lexicalist approaches to the Latin Dominant Participle construction

3.1 Theoretical framework

Although the data at hand might be analysed through the lenses of alternative frameworks, we will frame the discussion within the minimalist framework, inside generative grammar (Chomsky, 1995). One of the reasons for adopting linguistic minimalism for the case study of LDP is that it prevents any plausible account from resorting to language-specific or construction-specific mechanisms, as discussed for the syntactic nominalisation rule (vid. §2.2). Linguistic minimalism defends that any syntactico-semantic structure must be a structure that the language faculty can put at our disposal. Therefore, such a premise entails a commitment to methodological as well as ontological minimalist considerations³².

As an introductory note to the framework, the grammar of natural languages is a computational system based on the structure-building operation of Merge³³, either assembling syntactic objects (SOs) independent of each other, i.e. External Merge (EM), or SOs where one is part of the other, i.e. Internal Merge (IM)³⁴. These SOs bearing informa-

³²The language faculty is a computational system ontologically minimal in that it contains what is minimally necessary for the active mapping of mental representations to the performance systems that it interfaces with, which, in turn, motivates the elimination of redundancies in theory-formation.

³³The operation Merge maps n SOs, $\Sigma_1, \dots, \Sigma_n$, to an unordered set (Narita, 2014, p.234).

(i) **Merge**($\Sigma_1, \dots, \Sigma_n$) = $\{\Sigma_1, \dots, \Sigma_n\}$

³⁴Merge(α, β) counts as IM if one of α, β is a term of the other, (i). If not, Merge(α, β) counts as EM, (ii) (Narita, 2014, p.235).

(i) **Internal Merge**: $[\beta \dots \alpha \dots] \mapsto \{\alpha [\beta \dots \alpha \dots]\}$

tion of sound and meaning are handed to the performative systems, which consist of the Sensorimotor system or Phonetic Form (PF) and the Conceptual-Intentional system or Logical Form (LF), respectively in charge of spelling out and interpreting these elements. For SOs to be interpretable at the interfaces, they need to be convergent, i.e. free from uninterpretable and unvalued features. The operation Agree carries out feature-checking/valuation³⁵. As effected by the operation Agree, in a set formed by Merge, one of the SOs wins and imposes phrasal category through head-detection, for it determines the “type” of each constituent³⁶. When a term of a SO is convergent, it is Transferred to the interfaces, and the interior of the term is eliminated from the syntactic workspace. In broad terms, these are the basic tools that facilitate syntactic derivation.

Crucial to the present discussion is that, next to the syntactic module, the generative Lexicon constitutes the second component of the language system. It is the cognitive system that stores information about words, i.e. sound-meaning pairs. Unlike morphemes or phrases, words are stored with phonological information and a designated feature specification, which are the atomic elements for Merge, Agree, and head detection. A syntactic derivation based on these conditions is described as *lexicalist*, since it promotes a strong division of labour between word formation and phrasal syntax, where the former serves as input for the latter.

However, not every model within the generative tradition accepts the existence of a Lexicon. Oppositely, an *anti-lexicalist* perspective to the grammar architecture denies the existence of the grammatical basis for words, emphasising, therefore, the similarities between the structure of words and phrases. SOs are dependent on the context into which are inserted in a way that there cannot be a designated component of mor-

(ii) **External Merge:** $\alpha, \beta \mapsto \{\alpha, \beta\}$

³⁵Agree is based on a search function where an SO with an unvalued feature F [uF] probes into its sister for the closest matching valued feature [vF] of a goal SO. The value of [vF] is copied then onto [uF] (Narita, 2014, p.234).

³⁶Minimal Head Detection establishes that for each SO Σ , the most prominent lexical item within Σ gets defined as the head of Σ (Narita, 2014, p.234).

phological computation. Although precluding the existence of a generative lexicon is an idea defended from various perspectives³⁷, the most common anti-lexicalist framework is Distributed Morphology (DM; Halle and Marantz, 1993; Marantz, 1997; Embick and Noyer, 2007, i.a.).

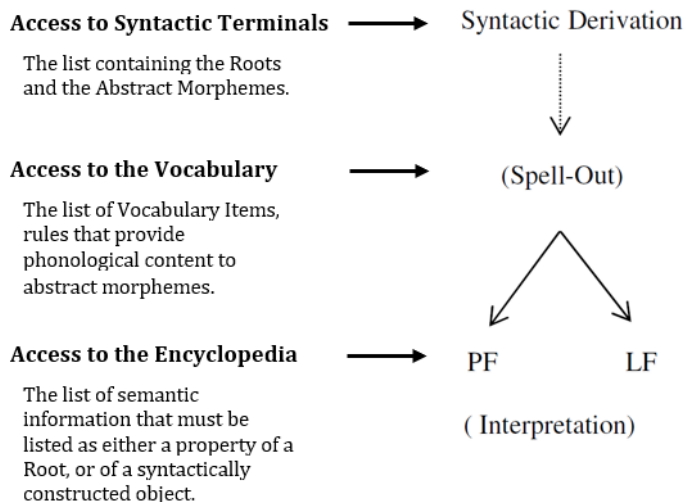


Figure 2: Adapted from Embick and Noyer (2007, p.301). It represents the information accessed at each component of the computational system in accordance with the premise that there is no non-syntactic system for building complex objects out of primitives.

DM diverges from assuming that a Lexicon does not exist. Rather, the functions of the Lexicon are distributed through the other components of the grammar, as the distinct accesses to lists represent in figure 2. A relevant aspect of the model is that during the syntactic derivation there is access only to a list of Roots and abstract morphemes. Roots are language-specific complexes of sound-meaning pairs that do not contain grammatical features³⁸. In contrast, abstract morphemes, which equal functional categories, have grammatical features but lack phonological ones. Accordingly, the syntactic derivation in DM is reduced to

³⁷For exoskeletal approaches, see e.g. Borer (2005); Ramchand (2008).

³⁸Although Roots are taken to be highly underspecified in terms of grammatical properties, the observations laid out in the present work show that verbal classes need to be associated with individual roots. We leave it for future research how to reconcile these claims with the broader picture of anti-lexicalism.

a Root that gains its properties in compliance with a combination of abstract morphemes positions in a potentially clausal configuration. After spell-out, on the one side, the PF mediates the combination of abstract features and phonological exponents in Vocabulary Items, mapping the spell-out of functional heads. On the other side, access to the Encyclopedia provides the idiosyncratic, i.e. non-compositional, meanings to SOs. This can apply either to postsyntactic objects that are simple, i.e. Roots, or complex, i.e. idioms.

All things being equal, in linguistic minimalism, a grammar architecture with only one generative component, i.e. syntax, is preferred over one with two, i.e. syntax and Lexicon. Therefore, we have justified the minimalist framework that observes the basic ideas of anti-lexicalism as the appropriate alternative theory of grammar to frame the discussion at hand because it can handle the issues raised against the *nominal hypothesis* in the previous section (vid. §2.2).

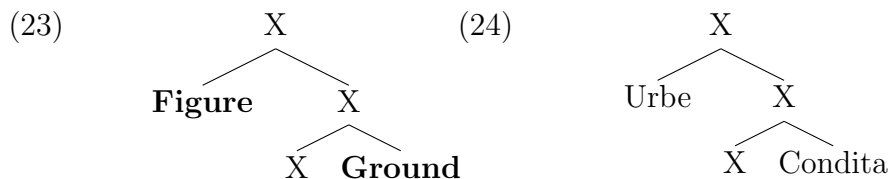
The main issue within the view of LDP as a syntactic nominalisation à la N&H has been the exhibiting syntax-semantics mismatch. Within an anti-lexicalist framework, the mismatch simply cannot occur. The anti-lexicalist DM-based perspective assures that the properties of mixed derivations are exclusively syntactic. A syntax-driven take to word formation assumes that this special nominal status of participles dissolves into a derivational relation of functional heads attached to different structural positions, which, in turn, fosters a structure-preserving mapping between syntax and the semantic interpretation of the arguments in the structure. Unless it is an idiosyncrasy, which is not the case, there cannot be a functional head not reflected in the structural meaning of a phrase. Recall that this is what occurs with the topmost NP in (18) since it is an empty projection posited to capture distribution alone. Therefore, although we have already cast doubt on the nominal syntactic status of LDP, if it were to be associated with nominal functionality, in which the participle exhibits mixed category properties, these ought to follow from a strict composition between a Root and nominal functional heads.

Another advantage of an anti-lexicalist view in the context of LDP is

that it allows for a more fine-grained picture of categorial distinctions, as any Root can yield a wide range of “categories” when combined with the proper functional environment. We distinguish lexical categories, which correspond to the immediate base-generation context of a root with categorisers, from syntactic categories, which are the distinct functional environments where these lexical categories show up. The dichotomy between both lexical as well as syntactic categories must bring about the benefit of explaining the compatibility of dominant constructions with a heterogeneous class of lexical items, which has been a defining property so far neglected, most probably due to LFG departing from rigid designated lexical categories. The numerous kinds of dominant constructions, be it with participles, adjectives, and nouns, are predicted to fit in as long as they appear embedded in the same functional environment.

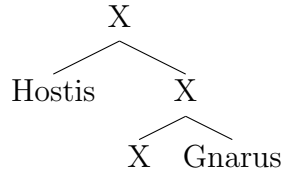
In this line, an important observation is in order. Uniformly, the possible three kinds of dominant constructions establish an interpretative relation with a nominal expression along the lines of a Figure/Theme-Ground interpretation, following Talmy’s (2000) terminology. As illustrated in (23), phrases that instantiate transitional relations take a specifier-complement configuration³⁹.

Trees in (24)-(26) show that there is an empirical motivation for treating all these kinds of dominant constructions under the same functional environment. Furthermore, these representations entail that the broad label of LDP as a “construction” is an epiphenomenon derived from the basic properties of lexical items and their interaction with a functional environment.

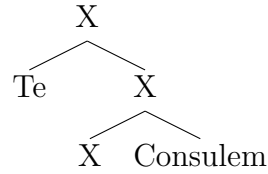


³⁹The schematic representation is based on Mateu (2001, p.13). Thanks to the syntax-semantics structure-preserving composition, i.e. homomorphism, the interpretation of arguments can be associated with a particular structural position.

(25)



(26)



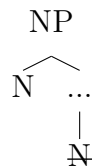
Up to now, we have presented and justified a minimalist framework that observes the basic ideas of anti-lexicalism as an alternative frame of reference to approach LDP. On this basis, the question arises as to which combination of functional heads guarantees that the syntactic structure comes into yielding its defining properties.

3.2 Functional structure in Latin Dominant Participles

3.2.1 Nominal functionality

With this new understanding in mind, let us retrieve the second view of the *nominal hypothesis*. It proposes that LDP results from deriving a nominal functional head, hosting the noun that relates to the participle, which consequently recategorises the participial clause into a complex nominal expression. (cf. (ii)):

(ii)



This constitutes the broad idea behind Rouveret's (2018) proposal of analysis, which approaches LDP from an anti-lexicalist DM-based perspective. In tune with the essence of this type of approach, the author concentrates on the heads attaching to the different structural positions that surround the participial Asp(ectual) head, involved in participial morphology, distribution, and semantic properties.

Rouveret builds an analysis based on the characterisation of participles offered in Embick (2004). The analysis draws a syntactic distinction be-

tween two types of deverbal participles, stative resultative and eventive passive (past) participles⁴⁰. The Latin counterparts of these participles in the context of LDP are exemplified in (27) and (28), respectively.

- (27) *Angebant uirum Sicilia*
 distress:IMPERF.ACT.3PL manACC S:NOM.PL.F
Sardinia-que amissae.
 S-and:NOM.PL.F lose:PTCP.PERF.PASS.NOM.PL.F
 ‘The fact that Sicily and Sardinia were (in the resultative state of having been) dispossessed /the dispossession of Sicily and Sardinia distressed the man.’ [Liv.21.1.5, adapted from Rouveret, 2018, (22)]
- (28) *Quid aliud habet in*
 what:NOM.SG.N other:NOM.SG.N have:PRES.IND.3SG in
se nisi Carbonem
 he:ABL.SG.M except C:ACC.SG.M
spoliatum a quaestore suo.
 rob:PTCP.PERF.PASS.ACC.SG.M by quaestor:ABL.SG.M his
 ‘What else happen to him other that the fact that Cnaeus Carbo was robbed by his quaestor?’ [Cic.Verr.1.11, adapted from Rouveret, 2018, (51)]

In syntactic terms, resultative and eventive participles entail the presence of a verbal (v) head. However, on the one hand, a participle with a resultative aspectual property, i.e. Asp[R], has a verbal structure with a [FIENT]-property to the v-head, which constraints it into denoting the result state of the underlying eventuality, with an event structure along the lines of Dowty’s (1979) atomic predicate BECOME, (29).

⁴⁰Although not discussed in the templates of Rouveret, another observation within Embick (2004) proves of relevance. The author also distinguishes eventive and stative resultative participles from simply stative adjectives, which do not have, in contrast, a deverbal base and directly merge the Asp-head onto the Root, (i). Some authors, nonetheless, represent them without the Asp-head and directly merge the Root into an A(djectival) phrase (cf. e.g. Wegner, 2021, (43)).

(i) {_{AspP} Asp {_{RootP} Root }}

$$(29) \quad \{_{AspP} Asp[R] \{_{vP} v[Fient] \{_{RootP} Root \} \} \}$$

On the other hand, eventive participles possess a richer verbal base. They may combine with event modifiers and agentive BY-phrases, which introduce the referent that is semantically associated with the suppressed external argument (EA) of the transitive predicate (cf. e.g. ‘a quaestore suo’ in (28)). Therefore, the verbal structure of eventive participles introduces a full event layout with [AG(entive)] properties, (30).

$$(30) \quad \{_{AspP} Asp \{_{vP} v[AG] \{_{RootP} Root \} \} \}$$

Nonetheless, [Rouveret](#) breaks away from these analyses in a crucial way. Participles, and so LDP, are conceived as mixed categories, composed of verbal and nominal properties alike. For example, evidence for participles to carry a nominal head comes from the exhibition of nominal phi-features⁴¹. Participles cannot be reduced to a verbal form alone. Consequently, two categorial-switching nominal projections, Number (Num) and nominal (n), are added in Embickian deverbal participles, yielding (31) and (32), respectively.

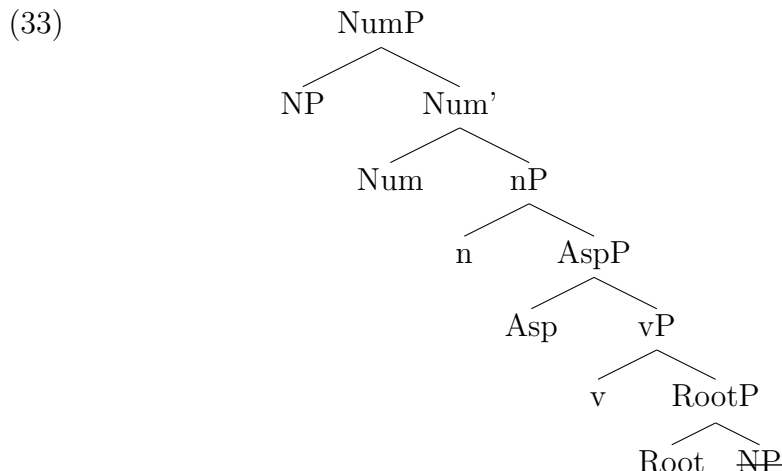
$$(31) \quad \{_{NumP} Num \{_{nP} n \{_{AspP} Asp[R] \{_{vP} v[Fient] \{_{RootP} Root \} \} \} \} \}$$

$$(32) \quad \{_{NumP} Num \{_{nP} n \{_{AspP} Asp \{_{vP} v[AG] \{_{RootP} Root \} \} \} \}$$

With these syntactic templates in mind, the second important addition concerns the licensing of the “subject”, i.e. the nominal expression that the participle relates to. Concerning past participles, the targeted NP starts its derivational life as the complement of the Root. As an internal argument (IA), this NP is thematically marked and is then externalized, thus becoming the subject of the participle, (33). The externalisation is motivated by the defective properties of the verbal base which cannot casemark the nominal. Consequently, the targeted NP requires movement to the left edge of the structure, more precisely, to the Spec(ifier)

⁴¹The fact that in Romance languages participles can display nominal phi-features such as gender, plural, and case marking, is taken as enough evidence to conclude that participles cannot receive an exclusively verbal characterisation ([Rouveret, 2018](#), p.13).

position of NumP, to receive case from a superordinate predicate, an operation that reconciles well with the functional asymmetry between case and other nominal inflectional features (vid. N&H in §2.1).



In other words, the recategorisation of the structure with {Num, n} as nominal functional heads brings about the functionality of noun phrases in the interaction of participles with its syntactic context. Furthermore, these projections provide the participle with extra syntactic space for the IA to land on it and saturate case features. With this account, we learnt that there exists a more fine-grained picture of participles in LDP, distinguishing the resultative/eventive environments for past participles.

Nonetheless, the account suffers from several shortcomings. Particularly, it does not explain most of the aspects we predicted that an anti-lexicalist approach to LDP should cover. Firstly, a formalisation like (33) does not respect a structure-preserving mapping between syntax and the semantic interpretation of the arguments in the structure. The nominalising heads are semantically vacuous and primarily aimed to explain the nominal features and distribution, which has already been called into question as a strong source from where the nominal functionality of LDP should be motivated (vid. §2.2). Secondly, the analysis is mainly based on resultative and eventive participles and fails to integrate the possibility of other lexical categories to participate in dominant constructions, without defining a uniform functional environment (cf. (23)).

Furthermore, concerning the licensing of the subject of the participle, to take it as an instance of IM (cf. fn. 34), dragging it from the complement-of-the-root position, flouts the theta-criterion, which is a well-established principle that postulates each argument to be assigned a theta-role and each theta-role to be assigned an argument (Chomsky, 1981, (4)). Note that this NP is thematically marked twice, first as the complement of the Root and secondly as the visible item for superordinate predicates. Although it could be argued that movement is made to a non-theta-position, since the NP already has a thematic role, then one would have to explain why such an instance of IM does not lead to any interpretative effect⁴².

As a final relevant critique, we can observe a similar side effect due to associating LDP with the functionality of nouns. Like N&H, the nominal characterisation of dominant constructions forces Rouveret to postulate a very different functional template for ablative absolutes, to which he grants a defective INFL(ectio(nal))-complex analysis. Not only does this disregard the structural parallelism, but it also overlooks the tight historical development between these two constructions. Ultimately, LDP is portrayed as a phenomenon exclusive to Latin⁴³, a claim we have already raised evidence against (vid. §2.2).

Much of the wrongdoings spotted on Rouveret (2018) extend to the recent proposal of analysis of Jakielaszek (2021). Similarly, the internal subject of the past participle undergoes IM to the left edge of the

⁴²Given that the analysis is framed within Chomskian syntax, it is expected to follow the tenets of basic syntactic rules, among which instances of EM and IM must be exploited differently at the interfaces (Chomsky, 2008, p.140). Broadly speaking, EM yields generalized argument structure, while IM yields discourse-related properties and scopal effects. Accordingly, Rouveret’s instance of IM should have had an interpretative motivation.

⁴³Rouveret claims that the presence of determiners, for instance, in Latin-based Romance languages, explains why LDP is difficult to license in sentences like (i) in present-day French.

(i) ?*La révolte réprimée n’a pas mis fin aux troubles.

The projection of the determiner is argued to block the assignment of case features to Spec,Num, which is where the subject of the participle lands. We will come back to these issues at the end of §4.

structure to avoid case marking problems, which also ensue due to the defective syntactic makeup of the participial structure⁴⁴. Of relevance, the displaced noun can project at the landing site, which recategorises the whole structure into an NP, (34)⁴⁵. In parallel to (33), the upper NP aims at capturing the typically nominal distribution of the construction and the observed asymmetry of case features compared to other nominal features.

$$(34) \quad \{ \mathbf{NP} \{ \mathbf{C} \{ \mathbf{T} \{ \mathbf{Mod} \{ \mathbf{Asp} \{ \mathbf{v}^* \mathbf{R} \mathbf{NP} \} \} \} \} \} \}$$

Although Jakielaszek’s account is attractive in that it integrates LDP within a family of linguistic phenomena analysed as involving recategorisation, such as free relatives⁴⁶, it also commits to the empirical problem of basing the syntactically explicit nominal head (= a topmost NP) on the imperative presence of the IA. Recall that N&H provide examples in which the “subject” can be left out (cf. (17)).

In conclusion, the accounts that defend the *nominal hypothesis* from the perspective of a grammar expected to overcome the issues faced in the previous section fall short too. To this end, it is safe to conclude that there is no case for the *nominal hypothesis*. LDP is not to be associated with the functionality of nouns. To argue that it bears the structure of an NP motivates the stipulation of nominal projections in the syntax of participles, against which we have shown empirical and theoretical

⁴⁴The analysis is not couched within the DM perspective but the minimalist syntax. It departs from a different cartographic possibility, with a defective set of a C(omplementizer) and T(ense), as well as a Mood (Mod) head above AspP, (i).

(i) $\{ \mathbf{C} \{ \mathbf{T} \{ \mathbf{Mod} \{ \mathbf{Asp} \{ \mathbf{v} \mathbf{Root} \mathbf{NP} \} \} \} \} \}$

⁴⁵The marking in grey indicates Transferred material to the interfaces, leaving the NP as the visible element for superordinate predicates.

⁴⁶Free relative clause or fused relative takes itself the place of an argument in the clause, e.g. ‘*What Horace wrote for young men* were the *Ars Poetica*’. Jakielaszek finds in Ott’s (2011) account of free relatives a good point of reference for the analysis of LDP. In both cases, a fronted NP re-projects and determines the properties of the whole structure once its convergent interior is Transferred. This gives rise to a complex interpretation at the syntax-semantics level of representation, which explains the interpretative conflict between a “nouny” and clausal meaning.

arguments.

Having observed that the *nominal hypothesis* in (ii) does not provide a more successful explanation either, any analysis of LDP needs not to entertain the functional head of nouns within their structural template. Nominal functionality cannot take part in the categorial flexibility of participles. Instead, the LDP must reconcile with the pictured spectrum of the regular uses, which range between verbs and adjectives.

3.2.2 Adjectival functionality

Now that the presence of nominal functional heads as guaranteeing that the syntactic structure comes into yielding the defining properties of LDP is ruled out, we must depart from the assumption that participles are inherently verbal and that they associate with the functionality of adjectives. Thus, participles that occur in the context of LDP are of the adjectival type. Adjectival participles are most clearly observable in stative passives, (35)⁴⁷, and stative perfects, (36)⁴⁸.

- (35) Porta clausa
door:NOM.SG.F close:PTCP.PERF.PASS.NOM.SG.F
est.
be:PRES.IND.3SG
The door is (in the state of having been) closed. [From [Mateu, 2021](#), p.5]

- (36) Habemus oppidum
have:PRES.IND.1PL town:ACC.SG.N
obsessum.
besiege:PTCP.PERF.PASS.ACC.SG.N
We have this town (in the state of having been) besieged. [From [Wegner, 2019](#), p.62]

⁴⁷As a note of caution, a syntactic structure like (35) is ambiguous in that it can take the eventive passive interpretation (cf. ‘The door is closed (by somebody).’) as well as the simply stative one (cf. ‘The door is close.’).

⁴⁸As a note of caution, a syntactic structure like (36) should be better analysed as a precursor in the development of grammaticalising perfect periphrases, maybe not already as a full-fledged form to be labelled “stative perfect”.

However, dominant participles fit instead into the auxiliaryless uses. They establish an unmediated interpretative relation to an external and overt nominal referent that they modify, which is taken to be their subject. Having established that participles are auxiliaryless adjectival participles in the context of LDP, let us review a general notion of adjectival functionality.

A central question in the study of adjectival (A) functionality has concerned the subjects of adjectives and whether these are semantically related to the properties expressed by the adjectives themselves (Arche et al., 2014, p.96). The well-established answer is that adjectives cannot introduce their subject. In this respect, authors such as Baker (2003) have stated that adjectives are not predicative categories and, instead, need an external functional projection to introduce their subjects, particularly, a predication phrase (PredP). The Pred-head has been acknowledged as playing an important role in the externalisation or λ -abstraction involved in the formation of adjectives. The process allows for the direct attribution of a property to a referent. Given that the argument structure of the adjectival participles is not syntactically realised, adjectives deal with the internal semantic role by lexically marking it for λ -abstraction, which is inserted independently in the Spec, Pred, (37) (Meltzer-Asscher, 2012).



According to these basic notions, merging the A-head onto a participial Asp projection not only brings about the syntactic categorisation of participles into adjectives but also triggers the λ -abstraction of the internal role or IA of the base verb. In opposition to lexical accounts as proposed in Meltzer-Asscher (2012), authors such as Bruening (2014) assume that this process in the formation of adjectival participles can be explained

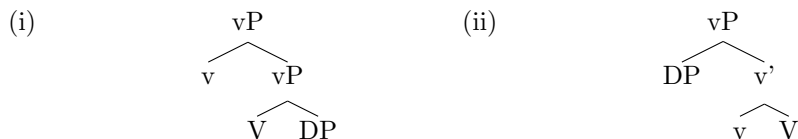
from an anti-lexicalist position. The adjectival head requires the movement of the IA, which is a null operator, to its Spec position, (38). After movement, the λ -abstraction allows for the participle to predicate of an external nominal referent.



With this in mind, the syntactic formation of adjectival participles can be said to be shaped by the presence or absence of an argument in the underlying predicate available for λ -abstraction. For example, in passive (past) participles, where the agent has been suppressed, if the IA is the only argument licit for attaining a property in adjectivisation, predicates lacking an IA are excluded from the adjectival formation. The prediction is syntactically explained on the basis that unaccusative roots take a nominal complement, hence can form adjectival past participles⁴⁹. This is borne out by examples like (39) which prove the presence of unaccusative verbal predicates in the context of LDP, e.g. ‘natum’ from ‘nascor’ (‘to be born’). We gain, therefore, the solid evidence that participles in the context of LDP associate with the adjectival functionality.

- (39) Ante *Epaminondam* **natum**.
 before E:ACC.SG.M be.born:PTCP.PERF.PASS.ACC.SG.M

⁴⁹Although there is substantial literature on the differences between intransitive unaccusatives and intransitive unergatives, it is widely assumed that both comprise representations like (i) and (ii), respectively. Only the unaccusative typology of verbs generates the argument in its complement position (Adger, 2003, p.140).



‘Before the birth of Epaminondas/before Epaminondas was born.’
[Caes.15(Epam.)10.4, from [Heick, 1936](#), p.16]

Closely related to the λ -abstraction process, the adjectival functionality on participles has also been held responsible for the loss of eventive properties, more precisely, for the grammatical absence of the EA of the base verb. For that matter, there has been a tendency to associate the event structure of adjectival participles with that of anticausatives, i.e. without an agentive CAUSE-phase subevent in terms of [Dowty \(1979\)](#), structurally resembling unaccusatives in that they denote a simple change-of-state semantics. The impoverished verbal base for adjectival participles resonates with the verbal structure that characterises aspectually resultative participles as defined earlier in [Embick’s \(2004\)](#) template (cf. (29)). Recall that the resultative is not agentive, so that the *v* that appears in the complement of Asp[R] cannot be *v*[AG], but instead takes the type of verbalizer carrying a [FIENT]-property.

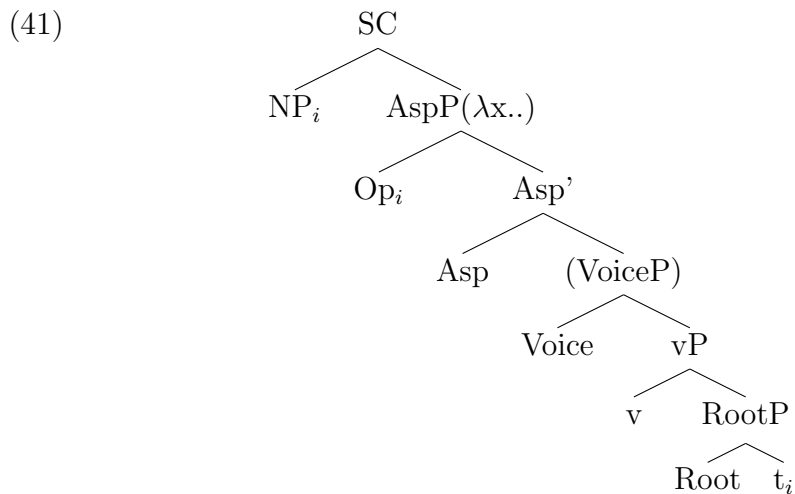
So far, we could conclude that the past participle occurrences of LDP belong to auxiliaryless uses of adjectival (past) participles, which bear a resultative state makeup. However, this picture would be incomplete. Namely, the requested absence of EA and an impoverished verbal base leaves the question of how it is possible for dominant/adjectival participles to have the agentive interpretation, as observed previously in [Rouveret \(2018\)](#), in (28) repeated here as (40). Example (40) denotes a full event token in that the agentive BY-phrase prevents the denotation of a resultative state reading. The adjectival functional structure must be associated with the properties of eventive participles. The overt EA surfacing as an adjunct BY-phrase, e.g. ‘a quaestore suo’, simply points to a specific and different voice setting in the verbal structure as opposed to the resultative counterpart.

- (40) Quid aliud habet in se nisi *Carbonem* **spoliatum** a quaestore suo.

Quite crucially, as [Arche et al. \(2014, p.108\)](#) point out, there is no A-head depicted in the templates of [Embick \(2004\)](#), for the adjectival functionality is treated as an epiphenomenon of resultative/stative

predicates (cf. (27)). Nonetheless, this seems not enough for dominant participles. Eventive adjectival participles in the context of LDP permit observing that the properties of stativity and adjectival functionality appear disjointed in that agentivity is not out in adjectival passive (past) participles. Taking stock, evidence for a more fine-grained picture of adjectival (= dominant) passive (past) participles is in place, with a distinction between the eventive and resultative types requiring an A-head.

Eventive and resultative adjectival participles in Latin have been endorsed by [Mateu \(2021\)](#). In his syntactic templates, the differences between these two types of participles rely on the presence or absence of a Voice projection eliciting agentivity, which is only licensed in the eventive adjectival but not in the resultative counterpart. As for the functional environment above the Asp-head, although [Mateu](#) acknowledges the presence of adjectival functionality, as well as the need for externalising the IA to predicate of an external nominal expression, this operation is directly carried out by the Asp-head, without the mediation of an adjectival projection. Then, on top of the Asp-head, a Small Clause (SC) is merged to introduce the nominal referent bound with the abstracted null operator, (41).



Other than capturing the more fine-grained picture of dominant past participles, the template proposed above has the principal benefit of

reconciling a functional environment independent of lexical categories, in tune with the essence of an anti-lexicalist DM-based perspective. The heterogeneity of predicates partaking in dominant constructions beyond participles receives an explanation, since the SC makeup is unrestricted about which elements it can host, being compatible with stative adjectives as well as nominal expressions. Furthermore, the analysis permits establishing a correlation with ablative absolutes to which authors like [Oniga \(2014, p.307\)](#) have conceded the SC formation as well. Deriving an analysis of LDP on the same terms as ablative absolutes acknowledges the tight historical development between these two constructions (cf. [Jaszczynski, 2021](#)), a practice neglected by the accounts anchored in the *nominal hypothesis*.

Eventually, an analysis subject to these conditions facilitates finding structural parallelism with present-day languages and overcomes the burden of treating LDP as a language-specific phenomenon. In this light, [Mateu](#) brings in examples like (42) in Spanish as akin to LDP.

- (42) a. Pensaba en *su tesis* **terminada**.
 thought of her thesis finished
 ‘She thought of her thesis as done.’ [From [Bosque and Gutiérrez-Rexach, 2009](#), (231)]
- b. Pensaba en {_{SC} {*su tesis*} **terminada**}.

Without overlooking the fact that the account reviewed has a large explanatory coverage, a general critique concerning anti-lexicalist approaches needs to be considered, which will help us address the defining property that has been left unaddressed so far, namely the high productivity and compatibility of past participles in the context of LDP, in line with an observation made by [Pinkster \(2021, p.233\)](#) (vid. §1.2). For this matter, [Wegner \(2019, p.19\)](#) poses a theoretically-interesting question about the representational nature of the distinguishable functional embeddings assumed for participles: ‘[do] the observable distinctions really follow from properties crucially related to the participial morphology or rather stem from independent properties of the structural context [?]’. This constitutes a fair critique of the templates considered above since

they obscure the fact that past participles are passive and perfect in Latin.

To put in context the critique, let us focus on Embick (2004). In his templates, the resultative aspect, i.e. the Asp[R], always takes a complement headed by a v-[FIENT] property (Embick, 2004, (31)). But why does the stativising function that evokes a result state need to be brought about by distinct participial heads and cannot come into effect with other independent functional complements? This is a weak point in Embickian syntactic templates for the analysis of passive (past) participles. In opposition, Mateu (2021) implies that what brings about, for example, the eventive reading is the presence of an argument/event structure with an eventive head and a complex voice setting, once scoped by an Asp-head. In a sense, the Asp-head is taken in an aspectually-uninvolved fashion. It executes the λ -abstraction in the adjectival uses of the participle. Although this proposal does without the stipulation of distinct grammatical contributions in terms of aspect, it raises the implicit assumption that there are different varieties of the Asp-head: AspP for adjectival participles with the λ -abstraction functionality available, i.e. Asp[(+) λ -trigger], and a simple Asp-head for verbal participles, i.e. Asp[(-) λ -trigger], for example, in verbal periphrastic occurrences. However, the postulation of different subtypes of the same head does not go hand in hand with the presence of distinct morphologically paired exponents. To this end, following Wegner (2019), we should instead motivate a syntactic template with a single (flexible) Asp projection. With a derivation in these terms, we predict to cover the remaining defining property, namely, why past participles stand the most productive in the context of LDP.

3.3 Summary and assumptions

In line with the conclusions reached in section §2, a minimalist framework that observes the basic ideas of anti-lexicalism has been presented as an appropriate alternative theory of grammar. The tenets allow for overcoming several of the problems raised for an analysis à la N&H, such as the syntax-semantics mismatch in favour of dissolving the special status of LDP into a derivational relation between a Root and a functional

context.

Armed with these ideas, we proceed to examine whether the *nominal hypothesis* within an anti-lexicalist position could succeed. We have targeted Rouveret’s (2018) account for it approaches LDP from an anti-lexicalist DM-based perspective. However, a critical review has highlighted several shortcomings that demonstrate that not only the *nominal hypothesis* in (ii) but also the *nominal hypothesis* in general fail to explain the defining properties of LDP. The general conclusion drawn is that there is no case for associating the functionality of noun phrases with the dominant uses of participles.

The second contribution consisted in integrating LDP with the already established functional spectrum of participles, associating them with the adjectival functionality. Focusing on past participles, the A-head merged onto a participial Asp projection not only brings about the syntactic categorisation of participles into adjectives but also triggers several structural effects on the argument structure of the verbal base as well as on the event structure, assuming that lexical decomposition of events is syntactically mirrored by event structure. However, the observation that some adjectival participles include more layers of event structure has motivated the difference between eventive adjectival and resultative adjectival types. Next in line, we have reviewed Mateu (2021), which offers a reconciliation of the properties of LDP by distinguishing the more fine-grained picture of adjectival past participles, and introduces a uniform functional context shaped by an SC.

In order to make a further contribution to this enterprise, a general critique of the anti-lexicalist way of representing participles has been brought about. We follow Wegner (2019) and his claim that it is preferable to not take participial heads as the source for the grammatical distinctions for aspectual distinctions nor as the ones in charge of effecting the adjectival functionality. Without these preconditions, we expect to cover the tight presence of past participles in the contexts of LDP. The following section suggests an analysis proposal bearing in mind all the issues raised.

4 An analysis proposal

This section lays the groundwork for an analysis that reconciles the defining properties of LDP, as laid out in the introduction (vid. §1.2), as well as the conclusions reached so far (vid. §2.3 and 3.3). Most of the ideas we put forward are contained in [Wegner \(2019, 2021\)](#) and his work on the identity of passive and perfect(ive) participles Germanic and Romance languages. As will be defended, the analysis proposal argues for the following: (a) participles in dominant constructions belong to auxiliaryless uses of adjectival participles; (b) dominant constructions are not a uniform functional environment but rather what has been exemplified in the literature may either be taken as predicational stative structures or eventive adnominal occurrences; (c) predicational stative structures combine with an unrestricted class of lexical categories, including adjectives, nominal expressions, or adjectival past participles.

4.1 An analysis proposal

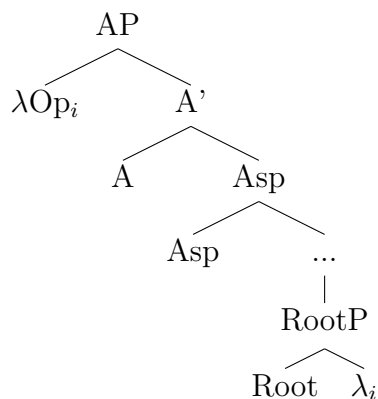
The analysis focuses on past participles and it endorses the claim that there is no substantial distinction between passive and perfect(ive) participles. Rather, differences are derived from the properties of a single element, the past participle, which amalgamates diathetic and aspectual information ([Wegner, 2021](#), p.202). On the one hand, the past participial morphology brings with it the suppression of an EA, if present, in that only a variable (pro) may be introduced syntactically for existential binding, an operation that renders the EA syntactically inoperative unless it is bound by an independent adjunct BY-phrase. On the other hand, the past participial morphology contains perfectivity contingent on the event structure. The past participle denotes completion, i.e., perfectivity, with a specific event structure, particularly, if it expresses a simple change of state.

To start with and in line with (a), the templates defended assume the presence of the A projection on top of the past participle configuration, (43)⁵⁰. As already concluded earlier in the discussion, the properties of

⁵⁰This is a schematic representation based on [Wegner \(2021, \(28\)\)](#).

stativity and adjectival functionality can appear disjointed, taking eventive adjectivals as a piece of empirical evidence. Therefore, the A-head cannot dictate the amount of eventivity retained in the configuration, for both eventive and resultative participles can combine with an A-head. Therefore, the A-head merely grants the externalisation/ λ -abstraction of the internal semantic argument or IA of the underlying verb. This argument is a λ -abstractor introduced in the empty A-head and requires movement to Spec, A. Once it is λ -abstracted, the resulting function applies to the nominal referent the participle associates with, i.e. the “subject” of the participle. This is in tune with Bruening (2014).

(43)



At the cost of digressing, it is worth recalling the benefits of associating LDP with adjectival functionality and not with the nominal one. The adjectival functionality forces the subject of the participle to constitute an instance of EM, existentially bound to the λ -abstractor operator. This accounts for the (semantic) obligatoriness of both elements, interpreted in a subject-predicate manner, regardless of their distribution and word order. More precisely, we can account for this while preserving the asymmetry between case features and other nominal features, quite crucially, without arguing for language/construction-specific mechanisms (cf. the *nominal hypothesis* in (i)). That is to say, the process of λ -abstraction semantically relates a nominal referent as the subject of an event denoted by the participle. The EMed nominal referent carries a set of interpretable phi-features and an uninterpretable case feature, i.e., uC , in need of being checked by a superordinate predicate. In line with the

observation that participles do bear nominal features of number, gender, and case, but that these come from elsewhere, they may have all of these features marked as uninterpretable. Therefore, we can argue that phi-features of the participle are checked by the EMed subject, while the case features are checked by the same source that casemarks the subject, too. The analysis on these terms does not commit to the non-finiteness properties of the participle, i.e. being caseless, as if we were to drag the subject-to-be from the internal makeup of the participle (cf. the *nominal hypothesis* in (ii)).

Back to the templates and in line with [Mateu \(2021\)](#), the differences between eventive and resultative adjectival participles are resolved by the presence of an extra verbal layer in the former, a VoiceP. It introduces a covert argument (pro) open for independent existential binding, namely, for combining with BY-phrases, which points to the presence of an implicit EA⁵¹, (44), and, thus, being unable to host an event structure expressing a simple change of state, as in resultative participles, (45).

⁵¹The use of adverbial modifiers or a BY-phrase does not always inform of the presence of full-fledged event structure. Following [Wegner \(2019, p.298\)](#), for example, BY-phrases, although highly restricted, may occur in stative/resultative structures as long as they contain a non-referential nominal expression. This makes the event remain in the kind domain as example (i) in English shows.

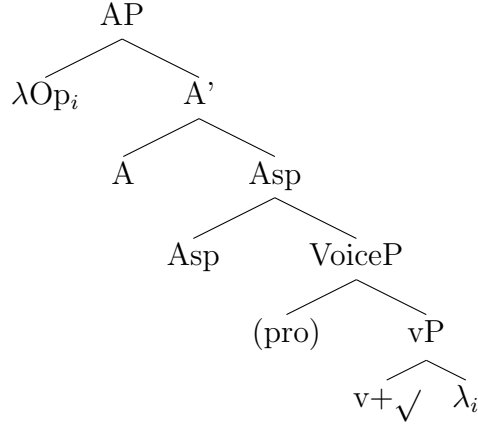
- (i) The article written by Chomsky.

The initiator of the result expressed by the adjectival past participle can be pseudo-incorporated or conceptually reconstructed but cannot entail that the BY-phrase is a product of passivisation. The fact that they do not allow for control into purpose clauses proves that it does not have eventive properties after all, (ii).

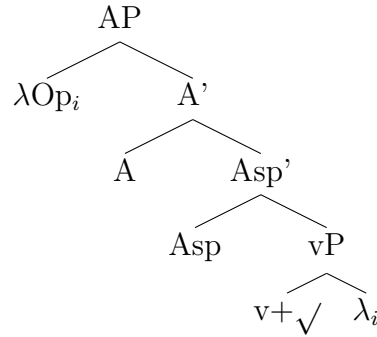
- (ii) *The article written by Chomsky to impress Kayne. [From [Wegner, 2019, p.298](#)]

These tests may not be easy to apply in the case of LDP since Latin is a corpus-based language. However, they allow for the conclusion that resultative participle comprises a simple vP (= BECOME-layer) but no VoiceP and its associated properties.

(44)



(45)



Having dealt with (a) by granting an A-head to eventive and resultative adjectival past participles, let us make our way to motivating the idea behind (b). Take example (46). Debunked from further context, it is ambiguous. It allows for both eventive, e.g. ‘You will dislike the consul (that was) elected’⁵², and resultative readings, e.g. ‘You will dislike the consul (in the state of having been) elected’.

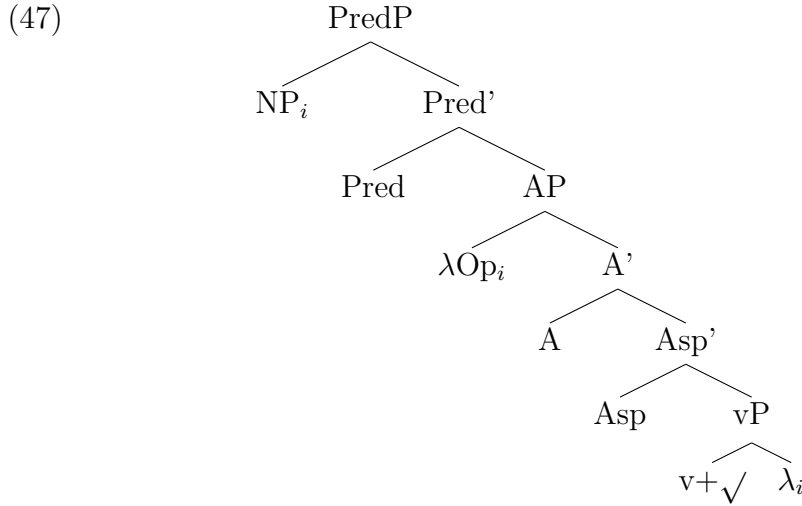
- (46) Male te habebit *ille*
 wrong::adv you:ACC have:FUT.ACT.3SG this:NOM.SG.M
consul **factus**.
 consul:NOM.SG.M elect:PTCP.PERF.PASS.NOM.SG.M
 ‘You will dislike the consul (that was) elected vs. You will dislike

⁵²For clarification purposes, the reading is eventive in that there was some entity electing the consul.

the consul (in the state of having been) elected.’ [Sen.Epist.
104.9, adapted from [Heick, 1936](#), p.31]

Not only does the availability of the two readings reassure the properties of eventive and resultative adjectival past participles in the context of LDP, but it also unveils that the former triggers an imperfective passive interpretation, and the latter denotes perfectivity and resultativity. This observation motivates the distinction of two different functional embedding for full-fledged eventive, (44), as opposed resultative adjectival past participles, (45).

Following [Wegner \(2021, §2.2, §3.1\)](#), and placing the focus on the latter reading, the requirement for a resultative state and an event to remain in the kind domain is accounted for by the presence of a stativising head in syntax. This is a predication head (Pred) merged onto AP, (47)⁵³.



The Pred-head introduces, in its Spec position, the referent to which the participial property is attributed. When participles are involved, the Pred-head contributes semantically too, by stativising the event variable of the adjectival past participle and applying such stative property to

⁵³This is a schematic representation based on [Wegner \(2021, \(28\)\)](#). Note that the PredP was earlier introduced as a basic notion of adjectival functionality (cf. [Baker, 2003](#)).

the argument introduced in its Spec position. Therefore, the PredP forces the stativisation of the participial configuration. In a predication stative configuration like (47), the prerequisite for denoting a resultative state and lacking a passive interpretation excludes the presence of VoiceP and includes an event structure with a simple change-of-state vP (cf. V[Fient] in Embick, 2004 or BECOME in Dowty’s (1979) terminology).

Seeing that the direct association of a participle with a noun does not evoke a stative interpretation, the Pred-head is held accountable for it, so that when the adjectival participle is embedded under PredP, the presence of a resultative state may be forced, giving rise to stative characteristics. Whenever there is a resultative state, i.e. a simple change of state with the absence of an external semantic role, this allows perfectivity to be induced. As indicated in their aspectual information, past participle morphology is contingent on denoting a perfective situation when the event structure expresses a transition to a (result) state. Thus, the fact that the Pred-head demands the presence of a resultative state may only ensue if the underlying situation has been rendered perfective by past participial morphology.

In the context of LDP, there is a semantic motivation for the incompatibility of CAUSE-layer in the event structure with a perfective participial contribution. We must depart from the assumption that a change-of-state event structure is naturally compatible with unaccusative/anticausative predicates, i.e. predicates whose external CAUSE-layer is absent⁵⁴. Examples (48) and (49) exemplify it. While atelic predicates, with subevents with CAUSE-layer and DO-layer, e.g. ‘raptam’ from ‘rapio’ (‘to rape’) in (48), allow for an imperfective and a perfective reading, their telic anticausative counterpart in (49) only permits the latter, e.g. ‘natum’ from ‘nascor’ (‘to be born’). Perfectivity, thus, is sensitive to which event structure the Asp-head has immediate scope over⁵⁵.

⁵⁴Other authors have proposed the presence of an expletive VoiceP (cf. Mateu, 2021, p.43). This is not incompatible with the general idea defended here, namely, that unaccusative/anticausative predicates lack the syntactic EA in the structure.

⁵⁵An event like ‘rapio’ can be considered telic if its object, e.g. ‘Eurydicen’, allows for delimitation, as it does. However, it allows for an atelic interpretation when featuring a causer that is semantically present. In these cases, the participle does not sufficiently instantiate the strong completion of the event, meaning that there was

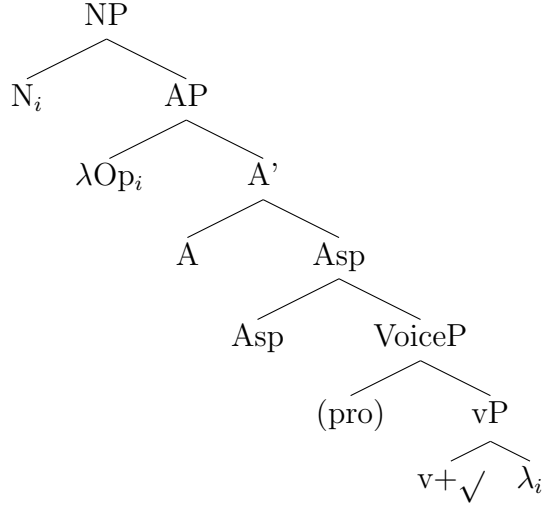
- (48) **Raptam** *Eurydicen*
 thief:PTCP.PERF.PASS.ACC.SG.F E:ACC.SG.F
 querens.
 complain:PTCP.PRES.ACT.NOM.SG
 ‘Complaining about the kidnapped Eurydice (Eurydice being in a state of having been kidnapped) vs. Complaining about Eurydice (that was) kidnapped.’ [Verg.G.4.519-20, adapted from [Heick, 1936](#), p.25]
- (49) Ante *Epaminondam* **natum**.
 before E:ACC.SG.M be.born:PTCP.PERF.PASS.ACC.SG.M
 ‘Before Epaminondas (was in the state of having been) born vs. #Before there was some entity borning Epaminondas.’ [Caes.15 (Epam.)10.4, from [Heick, 1936](#), p.16]

On the other hand, if eventive properties are set, we cannot assume the presence of a Pred-head, for there is no requirement for a resultative state. Eventive participles in adnominal contexts appear embedded in an adjectival functional environment and directly modify a nominal expression, (50)⁵⁶.

some entity kidnapping Eurydice and that there is nothing that could prevent further instances of the same event to be repeated, disallowing, after all, the resultative reading. Unlike being kidnapped, note that an event like ‘nascor’ elicits a perfective denotation due to the presence of a simple change of state, which excludes further instantiations of the situation of being born.

⁵⁶This is a schematic representation based on [Wegner \(2021, \(49\)\)](#). Whether eventive adnominal occurrences combine with further functional heads, such as an SC, will depend on the licensing requirements of the matrix clause, the SC not being, therefore, inherent to the formation of the eventive adjectival participles as a syntactic category.

(50)



This may account for why these occurrences of eventive participles are often analysed as free relatives (cf. [Jakielaszek, 2021](#)). The fact that no PredP is mediating the attribution of eventive properties to a nominal referent explains why the Asp-head, in these cases, immediately scopes over an event structure that is fully eventive and may feature event-modifiers or an EA in the form of an adjunction BY-phrase.

Although we have motivated the presence of two kinds of functional environments in LDP, we are not entailing that an example like (46) is structurally ambiguous or that the instances interpreted in a perfective manner have a change-of-state event structure. Most probably (46) is best analysed as an eventive adjectival instantiation that ranges between (im)perfectivity depending on its eventive properties. The fact that LDP combines with resultative and eventive properties makes it not easy to pick out an analysis. The idea behind (b) is that examples of LDP may vary between predicational stative structures (cf. (47)) and eventive adnominal occurrences (cf. (50)), depending on the amount of event structure (VoiceP-vP or vP) and the functional structure above the Asp-head (PredP and AP).

In line with the past participle holistic approach, as proposed by [Wegner](#), we have managed to derive LDP configurationally and embrace a single flexible Asp-head based on the event structure which immediately has

scope over as well as on the role of stativity. The general observation is that to enforce a stative reading a functional Pred-head needs to mediate the attribution of a property, which is contingent on the presence of a past participle that denotes a perfective situation and features a result. We may, therefore, speculate that diathetic and aspectual properties of past participles shine completely through the requirement of a stativing PredP structure, which heads one of the syntactic categories associated with LDP, entailing one of the factors that make past participles the most productive in the context of dominant constructions.

In opposition to reviewed accounts that assume designated lexical categories (cf. N&H), the success of the analysis proposal that provides a more fine-grained picture of categorial distinctions to be read directly off the configuration is granted by a minimalist linguistic theory that observes the main tenets of anti-lexicalism. As predicted in §3.1, anti-lexicalism permits distinguishing lexical categories from syntactic categories. While adjectival participles are inherently verbal and categorised with an Asp-head, they can occur within different functional embedding.

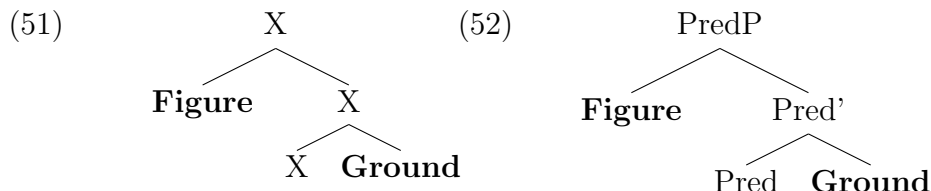
Moving to (c), and bearing in mind the two kinds of syntactic categories that LDP has been associated with, not only can we account for why dominant constructions can combine with a heterogeneous class of predicates but also we can explain the claim made earlier in (23), which observes that dominant constructions, involving either stative adjectives, (cf. 13), nouns⁵⁷, (cf. 14), or adjectival past participles, establish an interpretative relation with a nominal expression along the lines of a Figure/Theme-Ground interpretation. As detailed above, attributing a stative property to a subject-referent is inherent to the Pred-head⁵⁸,

⁵⁷Concerning LDP with nominal expressions, as exemplified in (14) repeated below for convenience, (i), it is important to mention the work of Petit (2019). The author does not treat these cases as if the participle were elided, but rather they are analysed as temporal metonyms, in which an animate nominal expression, e.g. ‘te’, becomes referred to as the time frame (cf. e.g. *Depuis Charlemagne* ‘{since Charlemagne’s times}’; lit. ‘since Charlemagne’; *Con Laporta de presidente* ‘{with Laporta as president}’; i.a.).

(i) Post *te* **consulem**.

⁵⁸Wegner (2021, p.217) uses the template in (47) to derive stative passives, as-

which is unrestrained in terms of which elements incorporate. Therefore, these integrate into the functional environment granted by a predication stative structure, (51)-(52)^{59 60}.



As a final point, the analysis is also desirably held in parallel with ablative absolutes in line with their structural parallelism. Participles in the context of ablative absolute do also belong to the auxiliaryless uses of adjectival (past) participles, and we argue that they fit into a template licensed by a predication stative Pred-head (cf. (47)). The claim finds support in the denotation of perfectivity and resultativity in the interpretation of an example like (11), repeated here as (53), and in the observation that absolute constructions are compatible with a variety of different predicates that are not participles, much like for LDP (cf. e.g. *Cicerone consule* ‘{when Cicero was consul}’; lit. ‘Cicero consul’; *Hannibale vivo* ‘{when Hannibal was alive}’; lit. ‘Hannibal alive’ i.a.).

suming the spell out the Pred-head with a finite copula. The parallel with stative passives is a desired one.

⁵⁹Pinkster (2021, p.26) states that in Early Latin, nouns and adjectives in dominant constructions were more frequent. Therefore, the division of the various participial occurrences into two functional environments, one of which is shaped by the requirements of a stative predication head, may be backed up by considering the diachronic development.

⁶⁰Although we have followed Wegner (2021) in attributing the semantic effect of stativity to PredP, one could ponder which are the differences between PredP over SC. The reason probably reflects a theory-internal motivation. Following Citko (2011) on the assumption that there are different types of small clauses, being the distinction between specificational/equative clauses, e.g. ‘Cicero Tullus est’ and predication, e.g. ‘Cicero consul est’, a fundamental one, we may want to distinguish between bare small clause from others which have a richer structure. That is to say, instances with a symmetric c-command relationship between the subject and the predicate, i.e. SC, are opposed to those with a functional element mediating the relationship, i.e. PredP. In this sense, we represent richer small clauses that instantiate a predication clause with PredP and not SC.

- (53) Caesar *legionibus* **transductis**
C:NOM troop:ABL.PL.F transfer:PTCP.PERF.PASS.ABL.PL.F
ad oppidum constitit.
outside town:ACC stop:PERF.ACT.3SG
Caesar, after his troops (were in a state of having been) transferred, stopped outside the town.’ [Caes.Civ.I.16.3, from [Oniga, 2014](#), p.306]

full-fledged verbal properties. Differently put, the assignment of structural accusative case to the direct object entails the presence of a verbal base with {VoiceP, vP}. Having assumed a rich verbal base, the externalisation of the EA but not the IA can receive a reasoned explanation. We speculate that the EA is the argument licit for attaining a property in adjectivisation as triggered by the A-head, which can naturally justify the intuition behind (54). According to [Burzio's \(1986\)](#) generalisation, a verbal domain may only assign accusative case if the EA is properly licensed as an overt argument. Therefore, if (54) is rendered intuitively inconceivable, it may be due to the violation of this generalisation.

Furthermore, granting the same templates to ablative absolutes is in tune with the historical development of this construction. As [Jakielaszek \(2021\)](#) puts forward, absolute constructions in a single case form are considered as being grammaticalisations of specific usages of LDP⁶² (vid. §2.2).

Taking stock, the groundwork for an analysis that reconciles the defining properties of LDP may build on the ideas expressed behind (a), (b), and (c). Despite pending detailed elaboration, the proposed analyses capture some of the behaviour of dominant constructions in Latin, with a focus on auxiliarilyless adjectival past participles in different contexts.

4.2 Open issues

In the present work, arguments have been built to the best explanation of the scope and methodology that any analysis sensitive to LDP ought to cover. However, we need to point to several limitations in the analysis proposal. Namely, the proposal is limited to one type of participle only and, in particular, one language only.

In principle, none of the functional heads presented above is incompatible with the remaining types of participles, that is, present active participles

⁶²Integrating LDP and ablative absolute under the same templates also conforms to participial comitative expressions in ablative being another pressuring source alleged for the grammaticalisation of ablative absolutes in Latin, e.g. ‘capite operto’, (cf. fn. 29). Note that these are stative contexts with an adjectival past participle expressing perfectivity and resultativity.

and future active and passive participles. In a preliminary way, for example, and focusing on the present participle in a context of LDP like (56), we may assume that the adjectival A projection is available since participles can semantically relate to the nominal referent that they modify too. While in the past participle, as we have seen, the subject of the participle is necessarily interpreted as an internal semantic role, in present participles, the external semantic role (if present, otherwise the internal) may serve for λ -abstraction, e.g. ‘Pompeius’.

- (56) *Pompeius* **fugiens**.
P:NOM.SG.M flee:PTCP.PRES.ACT.NOM.SG.M
‘The picture of Pompey on the run.’ [Cic.Att.7.11.4, from
[Jakielaszek, 2021](#), (2)]

The fact that the properties of the verbal base are not constrained in terms of diathetic information entails that present participles remain insensitive to the event structure of the verbal base. Unlike past participles when combine with unaccusatives predicates, the present participial morphology can still render the event imperfective, e.g. ‘exorientem’ from ‘exorior’ (‘to come out’), (57). If the present participle always scopes over an event structure denoting imperfectivity, can we assume that they will not appear embedded in stative surroundings requiring a result? Amongst other research questions, the precise combination of which functional heads build present active participles, and future active and passive participles as well, is a task left to future elaboration.

- (57) Ante *solem* **ex-orientem**.
Before sun:ACC.SG.M out-come:PTCP.PRES.ACT.ACC.SG.M
‘Before the sun is coming out.’ [Plut.Bacch.424, from [Heick, 1936](#), p.3]

The second limitation is that the analysis is restricted to the Latin language only. Following [Mateu \(2021\)](#), associating LDP with the adjectival functional opens new avenues for finding structural parallelisms in Latin-based languages, such as present-day Catalan. For example, instances like (58) constitute a predication stative structure, whereas (59) ex-

emplifies an eventive adnominal occurrence, both of them satisfying the subject argument of the superordinate predicate.

- (58) *Feina* **feta** no
 Work:NOM.SG.F accomplish:PTCP.PERF.PASS.NOM.SG.F not
 fa destorb.
 make nuisance
 ‘The work (in the state of having been) accomplished does not
 make a nuisance.’

- (59) *Les terres* **expropiades**
 The land:NOM.SG.F expropriate:PTCP.PERF.PASS.NOM.SG.F
 per l’Estat revertiran als antics propietaris.
 by the-State will-revert to old landowners
 ‘The land expropriated by the State will revert to old landown-
 ers.’

As indicated in the translation, while in the former the past participle renders the event in perfectivity and resultativity, in the latter, it triggers an imperfective passive interpretation in light of a rich verbal base. However, why are examples like (58) harder to license as arguments of complex sentences than (59)⁶³? Do these restrictions stem from differences in the morphophonological realisation of the Pred-head between Latin and Catalan? Amongst other research questions, the precise characterisation of adjectival past participles in these two functional environments in Latin-based languages is a task also left to future elaboration.

⁶³Retrieving fn. 43, [Rouveret \(2018\)](#) focuses on determiners for explaining the lack of instances of LDP in present-day languages. Although the claim is challenged by [Mateu](#)’s example in (42) in Spanish as well as the above examples in Catalan, it is worth observing that ‘?*La révolte réprimée n’a pas mis fin aux troubles’ is harder to license than ‘Une fois la révolte réprimée’, in line with the posed question.

5 Final conclusions

We open the present work with the challenge of explaining the syntax-semantics mismatch raised by Latin Dominant Participle constructions (LDP): in which way can the underlying clausal internal syntax and the nominal external syntax be reconciled with the pictured spectrum of the regular uses of participles? The general aim has been to answer the question raised.

The standard view in the literature explains these constructions by emphasising the nominal syntactic status through a topmost NP category, a tendency that we have labelled the *nominal hypothesis*, which adds value to the research interest in their syntactic representation. To this end, we looked closely into these proposals of analysis and critically highlighted major problems for this view. Not only does the description of LDP as exhibiting the syntax-semantics mismatch prove to be misled by theory-internal limitations, but the presence of nominal functional heads in LDP still does not do without controversy when framed in a contrastingly motivated grammar. We devoted the remaining lines to reconciling that the dominant uses of the participle belong to the participial adjectival uses. This accomplished a deeper understanding of the defining properties of LDP, distinguishing the more fine-grained picture of adjectival past participles, and introducing a uniform functional embedding for LDP as a syntactic category, at the cost of taking participial heads as the source for the grammatical distinctions, though. We follow [Wegner \(2019, 2021\)](#) in motivating an approach with a single but flexible participial Aspectual functional head.

The analysis proposal focused on past participles in the context of LDP, described as aspectually marked adjectival structures that relate to an accompanying noun in adjectival agreement. They are deverbal elements that associate with the adjectival head and its structural requirements. We argue for two different functional (adjectival) surroundings, predicational stative structures and eventive adnominal occurrences. Predicational stative structures are unrestricted about the class of lexical categories they combine with, including adjectives and nominal expressions, and thus associating to ablative absolutes, although their structural par-

allelism may be further complicated. Eventually, the shortcomings of the analysis proposal offer several new lines of inquiry for further research, directed toward extending the analysis to other types of participles and languages.

In conclusion, the present study has contributed to a better understanding of the distribution and categorial flexibility of participles in Latin. Our discussion allowed a certain level of abstraction, with the benefit of assimilating the linguistic phenomenon of LDP to the basic tenets of the syntax of adjectival participles.

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