

Contents

Acknowledgements — VII

Abbreviations — XI

1	Introduction — 1
1.1	Preliminary remarks — 3
1.2	The framework — 14
2	Empirical data — 34
2.1	Participial morphology — 34
2.1.1	Germanic languages — 38
2.1.2	Romance languages — 45
2.1.3	Slavic languages and beyond — 51
2.2	The distributional and categorial flexibility of past participles — 55
2.2.1	Periphrastic occurrences — 56
2.2.2	Adnominal use — 63
2.2.3	Additional modes of occurrence — 69
2.2.4	Questions of category — 73
2.3	Auxiliary selection and the verbal semantics of past participles — 79
2.4	Past participle polymorphy — 87
2.4.1	Morphological distinctions and substantial non-identity — 89
2.4.2	Agreement morphology in periphrastic instances — 95
2.4.3	Subtle differences — 99
2.5	Divergent realisations of past participles — 101
2.5.1	The Perfect(ive) Participle Paradox — 102
2.5.2	Infinitivus pro Participio — 106
2.5.3	Participium pro Infinitivo — 114
2.5.4	Deponent verbs — 119
2.6	Implications from the historical development of past participles — 121
3	Past participle (non-)identity in the literature — 134
3.1	The ambiguity of past participles — 135
3.2	Identity in form equals identity in meaning — 141
3.2.1	The tense/aspect hypothesis — 144

3.2.2	The argument structure hypothesis — 151
3.2.3	The amalgamation hypothesis — 158
3.2.4	The semantic vacuity hypothesis — 162
3.3	Challenges and opportunities of (non-)identity — 166
4	A compositional approach to the identity of past participles — 171
4.1	The basic meaning of past participles and what the auxiliaries contribute — 173
4.1.1	The argument structural effect — 173
4.1.2	The aspectual contribution — 181
4.1.3	The contribution of the auxiliaries — 184
4.2	The syntax and semantics of past participles — 195
4.2.1	The basics: the formation of past participial periphrases — 198
4.2.2	The periphrastic passive — 219
4.2.3	The analytic perfect — 242
4.2.4	Grasping divergent realisations and polymorphy — 274
4.3	Bare instances and the category of past participles — 295
4.3.1	Bare past participles in resultative and eventive configurations — 295
4.3.2	Categorial considerations — 317
5	Conclusion — 321
References	329
Index	353