***Interesting* Facts? Events, Inadvertent Cause and Unaccusativity in English present participles**
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This talk draws attention to interpretive effects involving English pre-nominal present participles, distinguishing those derived from certain unaccusative predicates from those derived from unergatives. The contrast is also shown to partition the set of Experiencer predicates, where, unexpectedly from a theoretical viewpoint, a subset of Object Experiencer predicates pattern with unergatives, rather than unaccusatives: see Belletti (1988), Belletti & Rizzi (1988), *cf.* Pesetsky (1995). Part of the analysis of this contrast is in terms of a syntactic distinction, due to Travis (2000), between two types of structurally represented CAUSE elements, distinguishing intentional from 'inadvertent' cause. The analysis also appeals to a structurally represented Event anaphor, determining the temporal anchoring of both types of predicate under a particular realization; *cf.* Klein (1998). Confirmation of both constructs is provided by relevant data from Vietnamese.
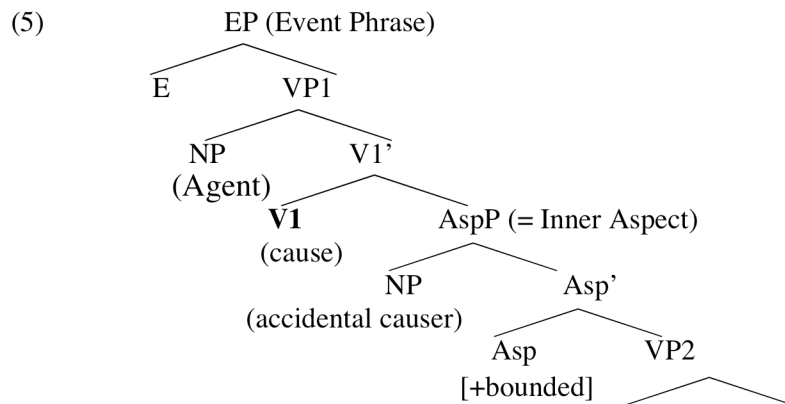
Part 1. Asymmetries in English present participles. While much attention has been paid to asymmetries in prenominal *perfective* participles—e.g., a broken spoke *vs.* *a coughed patient, see Ackerman & Goldberg (1996) and refs. therein—*present* participles have been largely neglected. The main descriptive claim here is that unergatives and unaccusatives differ with respect to their possible interpretations: whereas unergative participles [1a] permit either a (verbal) TEMPORALLY-BOUND reading or an (adjectival) DISPOSITIONAL reading, unaccusatives [1b] allow only the former: i.e., a crying baby may be one that is crying at the moment of their having it, or one that characteristically cries, but a burning candle can only be one that is actually burning at the time of purchase.

This *unaccusative-unergative* asymmetry is reflected in several other ways. For example, whereas crying-type participles typically bear the same thematic relationship to their head noun as the corresponding verb does to its sole argument, this is not so for burning-type participles, whose head nouns are either interpreted as instrumentals or co-erced into (unintentional) causer readings: *cf.* [2a] *vs.* [2b], [3c]. Second, unergative A-N collocations may become semantically opaque, and can be disambiguated from their verbal counterparts by compound stress [3a]; unaccusatives—where available at all—remain semantically compositional, and cannot be so disambiguated [3b].

Experiencer predicates exhibit a similar split: whereas ObjExp present participles freely allow dispositional readings, the present participles of SUBJEXP verbs allow neither reading in prenominal position: [4a] *vs.* [4b]. Note that as with unaccusatives, the restriction is not due to pragmatics: in every case in [4b], the desired reading is conveyed perfectly by a non-participial adjective (fearful, envious, knowledgeable, *etc*.). As important as this asymmetry is the restriction *within* the class of ObjExp predicates: in their dispositional readings, OBJEXPS only permit an 'achievement/inadvertent cause' reading, as opposed to the pure activity reading that is also available in the temporally-bound reading: e.g., an entertaining person is one who typically causes others to feel entertained, not necessarily one who acts in an entertaining fashion; *cf.* entertainer.

Part 2. Analysis. The analysis of these contrasts exploits the configurational approach to Aspect and Event representation proposed in Travis (2000). Travis' analysis—based on Western Malayo-Polynesian data—involves two related constructs illustrated in [5]: (i) an Event-phrase—more specifically, a syntactically-represented [+eventive] anaphor, relating propositions to specific events or situations (Topic Times); (ii), a structurally-represented 'Inner Aspect', whose specifier hosts arguments that are interpreted as 'inadvertent causes', *just in case Asp is +[bounded]*. Taking [5] as the underlying 'verbal' projection of present participials in l-syntax (*cf.* Reuland (1983), the derivation of the adjectival form of these participles—which yields the dispositional reading—is restricted by the mapping constraint in [6], which allows only an 'external argument' in [Spec, Asp$_{+[Telic]}$] to be theta-identified with the head-noun in the adjectival form (Higginbotham (1985)). The interaction of this constraint with the inherent argument structures of different classes of predicate is shown to yield all of the observed restrictions—including the 'reverse' judgments for (passivized) perfective participles [1]. The analysis also generates a number of novel predictions about the relative acceptability of 'ObjExp backwards binding' in activity (*) *vs.* achievement (√) contexts, as in [7]: contrasts that are unexpected on Pesetsky (1995)'s simultaneous analysis follow directly from the structural ambiguity analysis proposed here.

(1) a. They didn't want to take care of a <u>crying</u> baby.
     b. She wants to buy a <u>burning</u> candle.
(2) a. I'd like to buy a <u>rocking</u> chair, but not a <u>squeaking</u> one/Hire <u>non-singing</u> (i.e., instrumental) bands for your event/Do you have any <u>chatting</u> room-mates in your house?
     b. I'd like to get a <u>melting</u> iron/knife/He drove her to <u>breaking</u> point/The conjuror performed the usual <u>vanishing</u> tricks./The <u>melting point</u> of this substance can be readily determined.
(3) a. 'Rocky the Flying **Squirrel**' wasn't in fact a **Flying** Squirrel./Those dancing **girls** aren't **dancing** girls: the **dancing** girls are sitting over there!/Don't confuse that running **back** with the **running** back: they're different players.
     b. The Falling Leaf is not a falling leaf; it's an aerobatic stunt/A blooming letter is not the same thing as a blooming ('bloomin') letter/On one side of the parapet was a disappearing gun; on the other, a Disappearing gun, which happened not to be disappearing that day.
     c. A **sinking** ship is not a submarine, but a battleship/destroyer.
(4) a. Frightening animals are best avoided/Troubling tenants are a nuisance/Astonishing discoveries have been made in every century/This is a surprising fact.
     b. *She is a fearing woman/*He was an envying man/*She is the most knowing person I have ever met./*Loathing people are to be avoided if possible/*She is an extremely noticing person.

(5)

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              EP (Event Phrase)
             /        \
            E          VP1
                      /    \
                    NP      V1'
                  (Agent)   /    \
                          V1      AspP (= Inner Aspect)
                        (cause)   /        \
                                NP          Asp'
                         (accidental causer)  /    \
                                            Asp      VP2
                                          [+bounded]
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(6)   [VP 1 [v1' [AspP X   [Asp' **+bounded**   [VP2 (y) [v' Ving]]]]
                          |
                          ↓
        [AP   X   [a'   [A   Ving]]]

(7) a. *Their own_i sheepdog was worrying John's flock_i all last summer.
     b. ?For that reason, his own_i dog began to t_i worry John_i himself.
     c. *Each other_i's flies were bothering the horses_i all day (fly = Agent).
     d. ?Typically, each other_i's flies didn't bother the horses (horse = Exp).

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