Spanish adjectival passives with a progressive reading

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Abstract

This paper addresses Spanish adjectival passives with *estar* showing a progressive reading. In the previous literature, it has been acknowledged that the participles of verbs encoding non-dynamic events, such as *vigilar* 'guard', give rise to a progressive reading when embedded in adjectival passives. Yet, we have identified another group of verbs, those of the type of *perseguir* 'chase', which denote dynamic atelic events (i.e., activities) and whose participles are also attested in *estar*-passives with a progressive denotation. This is a very significant finding, since it is commonly assumed that only participles of verbs including a stative component in their event structure (i.e., telic or stative verbs) can be part of adjectival passives. After comparing the behaviour of these two types of verbs, we propose that they share a relational layer that in the case of *vigilar*-verbs defines an event as non-dynamic and in the case of *perseguir*-verbs defines a motion event as

continuously maintained. This relational layer, which constitutes the stative component needed for the adjectival passive construction to be possible, accounts for the necessary atelicity of these two verbal classes (which cannot be telicized under any circumstances) and for the progressive reading obtained in their adjectival passives.

Keywords: adjectival passives, stativity, eventivity, dynamicity, Spanish.

1. Introduction

For a long time, it has been assumed that only participles of telic verbs, such as *reparar* 'repair' or *traducir* 'translate', could combine with *estar* (the stage-level copula) in Spanish (Gili Gaya 1943; Alcina & Blecua 1975) in the so-called adjectival passive.[1] In these constructions, a resultative or perfect meaning is obtained, since the state codified by the participle is understood to start after the culmination of a prior event:

(1)   a. El   coche (ya)   está reparado.
          the car   already is   repaired
          'The car is (already) repaired.'
       b. El informe está traducido al   francés.
          the report   is   translated to.the French
          'The report is translated to French.'

From this perspective, as noted by Di Tullio (2008), the requirement for a participle to be allowed in adjectival passives with *estar* is that it must have the [perfect] feature –i.e., it must denote a result, like participles of telic verbs. The lack of such a [perfect] feature would explain why participles of activity verbs, such as *acariciar* 'caress, pet', are not compatible with *estar*:

(2)   *El perro está acariciado.
        the dog is   petted

More recently, it has been shown that certain participles of atelic verbs are also allowed in passives with *estar* (Mendikoetxea 1999). This is the case of, at least, three groups of stative verbs (Bosque 2014; García-Pardo 2020a; Marín & Fábregas 2021): extent verbs (3a), object experiencer psych verbs (3b), and a particular group of non-dynamic eventualities, those of the type of *vigilar* 'guard' (3c).

(3)   a. La casa está rodeada   de árboles.
          the house is   surrounded by   trees
       b. Juan está preocupado.
          Juan is   worried

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[1]   For the classical difference between verbal and adjectival passives, see Wasow (1977) and Levin & Rappaport (1986). For a recent overview, see Borik & Gehrke (2019). For the application of this distinction to Spanish, see Gehrke & Marco (2014, 2015), Gibert-Sotelo (2022), and references therein. For the individual-/stage-level contrast (Carlson 1977) applied to Spanish *ser* vs. *estar*, see, among others, Leonetti (1994).

c. El   edificio está vigilado.
   the building is   guarded

The data exemplified in (3), together with those in (1), are quite easily explained by means of the generalization postulated by Rapp (1996), according to which only participles of verbs denoting states or including a stative component can be part of adjectival passives. This is in fact the case of the participles of telic verbs, which denote a (resultant) state, coming from a prior event (1). The participles in (3) also fulfil this requirement, since they codify a state which is derived, at least partially, from the stative component of the verbal base. Yet, the three classes of predicates exemplified in (3) do not show the same denotation: while extent verbs (3a) and object experiencer psych verbs (3b) describe a typical (stage-level, bounded) stative predicate in the adjectival passive, comparable to *estar* + adjective constructions (*La casa está llena de flores* 'The house is full of flowers'; *Juan está enfermo* 'Juan is ill'), the verb *vigilar* 'guard' denotes a state comparable with the progressive when involved in this construction (3c). Let us delve into this third type of verb next.

As has been recently observed (Fábregas & Marín 2012, 2017; Bosque 2014; García-Pardo 2017; Gibert-Sotelo 2022), verbs of the *vigilar* type (4) show an unexpected behaviour: in *estar* + participle constructions (3c), they give rise to a progressive reading that can be paraphrased by the passive progressive periphrasis *estar* + *siendo* + participle [lit. 'be + being + participle']. Thus, (5) is roughly equivalent to *El edificio está siendo vigilado* 'The building is being guarded'. As pointed out by Bosque (2014), in the absence of *estar*, the same progressive meaning is observed: *un edificio vigilado* 'a guarded building' is not about a building which has been guarded, but about a building which is being guarded.

(4)   *vigilar* 'guard', *gobernar* 'rule', *controlar* 'control', *coordinar* 'coordinate', *dirigir* 'manage', *presidir* 'preside over', *proteger* 'protect', *supervisar* 'supervise', *asesorar* 'advise'

(5)   El edificio está vigilado (por la policía).
         the building is   guarded by the police
         'The building is (being) guarded (by the police).'

According to Fábregas & Marín (2012) and Bosque (2014), *vigilar*-verbs (4) denote Davidsonian states (Maienborn 2005). Fábregas & Marín (2017) also consider that *vigilar*-verbs denote situations halfway between states and events, but analyse them as non-dynamic events. García-Pardo (2020a), in turn, argues that *vigilar*-verbs are stative causatives. In any case, it could be easily maintained that it is their stative component which enables these verbs to be part of adjectival passives, so that Rapp's generalization is respected.

However, we have identified another group of verbs (6) which, like *vigilar*-verbs, also have a progressive reading in adjectival passive constructions (7), yet their denotation is properly dynamic and atelic.

(6)   *perseguir* 'chase, pursue', *buscar* 'look for, search', *acosar* 'harass, pursue relentlessly', *acompañar* 'accompany', *escoltar* 'escort', *hostigar* 'harass'

(7)   Juan Carlos está perseguido/ buscado (por la   justicia).
         Juan Carlos is   persecuted/ wanted   by the justice
         'Juan Carlos is (being) persecuted/ wanted (by the law).'

Perseguir-verbs, then, pose a serious problem to Rapp's generalization, according to which activities are explicitly out in adjectival passives (2). Nevertheless, as we will see, *perseguir*-verbs have a particular denotation that provides them with the stative layer needed in adjectival passives; consequently, we can conclude that Rapp's generalization is still tenable.

2. P*erseguir*-verbs vs. *vigilar*-verbs

In this section, we provide an aspectual characterization of both *perseguir*- and *vigilar*-verbs. In section 2.1, we show that *perseguir*-verbs are dynamic and pattern with activities, while *vigilar*-verbs show a mixed behaviour between states and activities. In section 2.2, we show that both *perseguir*- and *vigilar*-verbs, although not necessarily for the same reasons, are atelic. Finally, in section 2.3, we provide an analysis of these two types of verbs within the First Phase Syntax framework developed by Ramchand (2008, 2018).

2.1. Differences in dynamicity
In recent years, since the seminal discussion about Davidsonian-states by Maienborn (2005), various authors have begun to distinguish between eventivity (i.e., the presence of an event) and dynamicity (i.e., the presence of change) (Fábregas & Marín 2012, 2017; Jaque 2014; Silvagni 2017; among others). Here we adhere to this view, and we also separate tests on eventivity from tests on dynamicity. As we show, both *perseguir*- and *vigilar*-verbs denote events, but only *perseguir*-verbs, not *vigilar*-verbs, are dynamic predicates.

In this respect, observe in (8)-(10) that both *perseguir*-verbs (examples a) and *vigilar*-verbs (examples b) pattern with activities (examples c) with respect to a number of diagnostics on eventivity (Maienborn 2005; Fábregas & Marín 2012). Observe that these three classes of predicates, unlike states (examples d), are compatible with the progressive (8), are available as infinitival complements of perception verbs (9), and accept modification by manner and place adverbials (10).

(8)   a. Están   buscando   al   jefe.   (*Perseguir*-verbs)
         they.are looking.for DOM.the boss
         'They are looking for the boss.'
      b. Están   protegiendo a   la directora.   (*Vigilar*-verbs)
         they.are protecting   DOM the director
         'They are protecting the director.'
      c. Están   discutiendo.   (Activities)
         they.are discussing
         'They are discussing.'
      d. *Están prefiriendo las   acelgas.   (States)
         they.are preferring   the.PL chard.PL

(9)   a. Vi   a   Eva perseguir al   jefe.   (*Perseguir*-verbs)
            I.saw DOM   Eva chase.INF DOM.the boss
            'I saw Eva chasing the boss.'
        b. Vi   a   Pedro vigilar   el edificio.   (*Vigilar*-verbs)
            I.saw DOM   Pedro guard.INF the building
            'I saw Pedro guarding the building.'
        c. Vi   a   Pedro discutir   con Eva.   (Activities)
            I.saw DOM   Pedro discuss.INF with Eva
            'I saw Pedro discussing with Eva.'
        d. *Vi   a   Pedro pertenecer a un partido populista.   (States)
            I.saw DOM   Pedro belong.INF to a   party   populist

(10)   a. Eva busca   al   jefe concienzudamente/
            Eva looks.for DOM.the boss conscientiously/
            en el sótano.   (*Perseguir*-verbs)
            in the basement
            'Eva looks for the boss conscientiously/ in the basement.'
        b. Pedro vigila   a   la   directora concienzudamente/
            Pedro watches DOM the   director   conscientiously/
            en el sótano.   (*Vigilar*-verbs)
            in the basement
            'Pedro watches the director conscientiously/ in the basement.'
        c. Pedro y   Eva discuten concienzudamente/
            Pedro and Eva discuss   conscientiously/
            en el sótano.   (Activities)
            in the basement
            'Pedro and Eva discuss conscientiously/ in the basement.'
        d. *Pedro prefiere las   acelgas   concienzudamente/
            Pedro   prefers the.PL chard.PL conscientiously/
            en el sótano.   (States)
            in the basement

        However, as regards other tests on dynamicity (Kenny 1963; Dowty 1979; De
Miguel 1999; Fábregas & Marín 2012), observe in (11)-(13) that *perseguir*-verbs
(examples a) pattern with activities (examples c), while *vigilar*-verbs (examples b)
pattern with states (examples d). Like activities, *perseguir*-verbs are compatible with
parar 'stop' (11) and with velocity adverbs (12), and receive a habitual reading in the
present tense (13).

(11)   a. Eva ha parado de acosar   a   los jefes.   (*Perseguir*-verbs)
            Eva has stopped of harass.INF DOM the bosses
            'Eva has stopped harassing the bosses.'
        b. *Pedro ha parado de proteger   a   la directora.   (*Vigilar*-verbs)
            Pedro   has stopped of protect.INF DOM the director
        c. Pedro ha   parado de andar.   (Activities)
            Pedro has stopped of walk.INF
            'Pedro has stopped walking.'

d. *Pedro ha   parado de preferir   las   acelgas.   (States)
   Pedro   has stopped of prefer.INF the.PL chard.PL

(12) a. Eva persigue al   jefe despacio/ rápidamente.   (*Perseguir*-verbs)
        Eva chases   DOM.the boss slowly/   quickly
        'Eva chases the boss slowly/ quickly.'
      b. *Eva protege al   jefe despacio/ rápidamente.   (*Vigilar*-verbs)
        Eva   protects DOM.the boss slowly/   quickly
      c. Eva anda   despacio/ rápidamente.   (Activities)
        Eva walks slowly/   quickly
        'Eva walks slowly/ quickly.'
      d. *Pedro pertenece a un partido populista despacio/
        Pedro belongs   to a party   populist slowly/
        rápidamente.   (States)
        quickly

(13) a. Eva persigue a   los jefes.   (*Perseguir*-verbs)
        Eva chases   DOM   the bosses
        'Eva chases the bosses.' (= Habitually)
      b. Eva dirige la   empresa.   (*Vigilar*-verbs)
        Eva runs   the company
        'Eva runs the company.' (≠ Habitually)
      c. Pedro trabaja con Eva.   (Activities)
        Pedro works with Eva
        'Pedro works with Eva.' (= Habitually)
      d. Pedro prefiere las   acelgas.   (States)
        Pedro prefers   the.PL chard.PL
        'Pedro prefers the chard.' (≠ Habitually)

An additional piece of evidence of the aspectual differences between *perseguir*-verbs and *vigilar*-verbs comes from their related nominalizations. According to García-Pardo (2020b), the nouns derived from *vigilar*-verbs, such as those in (14), are stative.

(14)   *conservación* 'preservation', *coordinación* 'coordination', *dirección* 'direction, management', *gobierno* 'government', *mantenimiento* 'maintenance', *presidencia* 'presidency', *protección* 'protection', *vigilancia* 'surveillance'

Observe that they do not pluralize (15a), they cannot be subjects of *tener lugar* 'take place' (15b), and they cannot be complements of *durante* 'during' (15c), respectively (examples from García-Pardo 2020b).

(15) a. *Las sucesivas protecciones de los testigos   fueron en vano.
         the successive protections of the witnesses were   in vain
      b. *La administración de la finca   tuvo lugar esta mañana.
          the administration of the building took place this morning
      c. *Durante la   vigilancia   de los sospechosos yo estaba en casa.
          during the surveillance of the suspects   I was   in home

By contrast, the nouns derived from *perseguir*-verbs (16) show the opposite behaviour: they pluralize (17a), they can be subjects of *tener lugar* 'take place' (17b), and they can be complements of *durante* 'during' (17c).

(16)   *persecución* 'chase', *acoso* 'harassment', *acompañamiento* 'accompaniment', *búsqueda* 'search', *hostigamiento* 'harassment'

(17)   a. Las sucesivas persecuciones (a los atracadores) fueron en vano.
             the successive chases   to the robbers   were   in vain
             'The successive chases (to the robbers) were in vain.'
         b. La búsqueda del   cadáver tuvo lugar esta mañana.
             the search   of.the corpse took place this morning
             'The search of the corpse took place this morning.'
         c. Durante la   persecución de los sospechosos yo estaba en casa.
             during   the chase   of the suspects   I   was   in home
             'During the chase of the suspects I was home.'

These data clearly show that *perseguir*-nominalizations, unlike *vigilar*- ones, are eventive, which further supports the non-identical nature of *vigilar*- and *perseguir*-verbs. Table 1 summarizes the differences between these two types of verbs with respect to the aspectual diagnostics just presented.

Table 1. Aspectual contrasts between *vigilar*-verbs and *perseguir*-verbs

	States	***Vigilar*-verbs**	***Perseguir*-verbs**	**Activities**
Progressive	✗	✓	✓	✓
Perception verbs	✗	✓	✓	✓
Manner adverbs	✗	✓	✓	✓
Place adverbs	✗	✓	✓	✓
***Parar* 'stop'**	✗	✗	✓	✓
Velocity adverbs	✗	✗	✓	✓
Habitual reading in present	✗	✗	✓	✓
Eventive nominalizations	✗	✗	✓	✓

As can be seen, *vigilar*-verbs are halfway between states and activities, while *perseguir*-verbs pattern with activities. In line with Fábregas & Marín (2017), we state that *vigilar*-verbs denote non-dynamic events, a particular type of Davidsonian states (Maienborn 2005), while *perseguir*-verbs denote activities, i.e., dynamic events.

2.2. (A)telicity
It is not difficult to demonstrate that neither *perseguir*-verbs nor *vigilar*-verbs are telic. Note, firstly, that both *perseguir*-verbs (examples a) and *vigilar*-verbs (examples b) are compatible with *for x time* modifiers, but not with *in x time* (18) or *to take x time* ones (19), the opposite behaviour of telic predicates (examples c).

(18)   a. Eva ha   perseguido al   jefe {*en/ durante} una hora.
            Eva has chased   DOM.the boss in/ for   an hour
            'Eva has chased the boss {*in/ for} an hour.'
        b. Mariana ha vigilado el edificio {*en/ durante}   una hora.
            Mariana has guarded the building   in/ for   an   hour
            'Mariana has guarded the building {*in/ for} an hour.'
        c. Pedro ha   pintado un cuadro {en/ #durante} una hora.
            Pedro has painted a picture in/ for   an hour
            'Pedro has painted a picture {in/ #for} an hour.'

(19)   a. *Eva ha   tardado una hora en perseguir al   jefe.
            Eva has taken   one hour in chase.INF DOM.the boss
        b. *Mariana ha   tardado una hora en vigilar   el   edificio.
            Mariana has taken   one hour in guard.INF the building
        c. Pedro ha tardado una hora en pintar   un   cuadro.
            Pedro has taken   one hour in paint.INF one picture
            'It took Pedro an hour to paint a picture.'

Secondly, both *perseguir*-verbs (20a) and *vigilar*-verbs (20b) are disallowed as complements of *acabar* (or *terminar*) 'finish', unlike telic predicates (20c).

(20)   a. *Eva ha acabado/ terminado de perseguir al   jefe.
            Eva has ended/   finished   of chase.INF DOM.the boss
        b. *Mariana ha   acabado/ terminado de vigilar   el   edificio.
            Mariana has ended/   finished   of guard.INF the building
        c. Pedro ha   acabado/ terminado de pintar   el   cuadro.
            Pedro has ended/   finished   of paint.INF the picture
            'Pedro has finished painting the picture.'

Thirdly, the progressive of *perseguir*-verbs and *vigilar*-verbs implies the perfect, whereas the progressive of telic predicates does not (Dowty 1979):

(21)   a. Eva está persiguiendo al jefe.   → Eva ha   perseguido al jefe.
            Eva is   chasing   the boss   Eva has chased   the boss
        b. Mariana está vigilando el edificio. → Mariana ha vigilado el edificio.
            Mariana is   guarding the building   Mariana has guarded the building
        c. Pedro está pintando un cuadro   ↛ Pedro ha   pintado un cuadro.
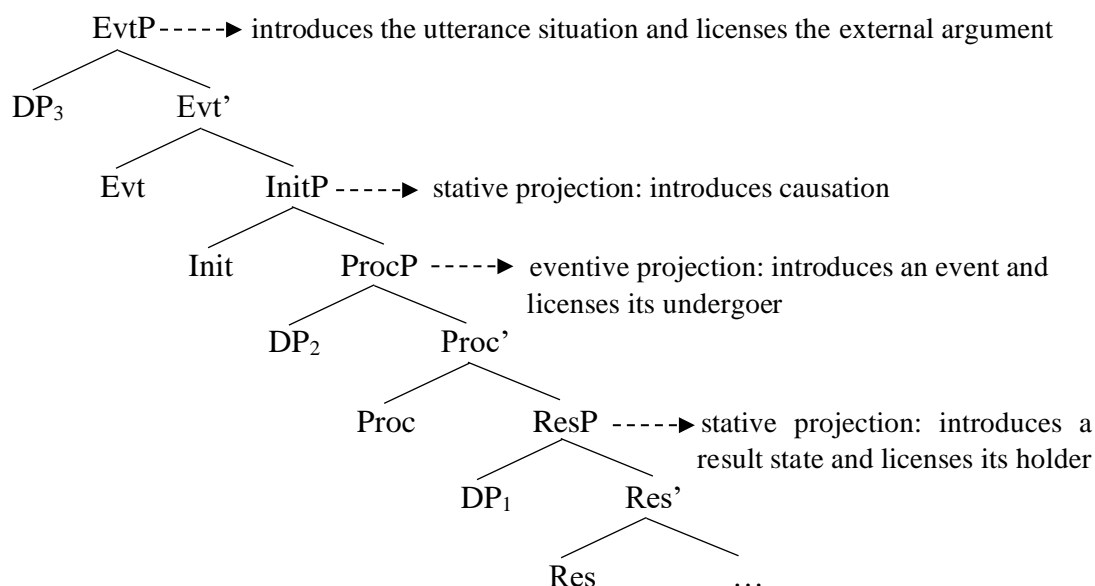   Pedro is   painting a picture   Pedro has painted a picture

As illustrated in (21), if we interrupt Eva while she is chasing the boss, it is entailed that she has chased the boss (21a); similarly, if we interrupt Mariana while she is guarding the building, it is entailed that she has guarded the building (21b); but, if we interrupt Pedro while he is painting a picture, it is not entailed that he has painted a picture (21c).

We can conclude, therefore, that both *perseguir*- and *vigilar*-verbs are clearly atelic. Besides, as we will see in the following sections, they cannot be telicized under any circumstances, unlike most activity predicates.

2.3. Analysis: Vigilar- and perseguir-verbs

Following a neoconstructionist approach to the syntax-lexicon interface, we assume that the particular behaviour of *vigilar-* and *perseguir-*verbs can be structurally derived. In particular, we adopt the First Phase Syntax model proposed in Ramchand (2008) and further developed in Ramchand (2018), according to which the domain of argument and event structure (i.e., the first phase) can be syntactically decomposed into a series of subeventive heads: Init(iation), a stative subeventive head that involves causation; Proc(ess), the subevent introducing eventivity and licensing the Undergoer argument; and Res(ult), a stative projection which, being in the complement of Proc, is configurationally interpreted as a result state, and which licenses the argument acting as the holder of such a result state (the Resultee) in its specifier position. At the edge of the first phase, a head is merged which introduces the utterance situation and licenses the external argument as its specifier: Ev(en)t. This is represented below:

(22)   Decomposition of the first phase (adapted from Ramchand 2018: 80)

EvtP ------▶ introduces the utterance situation and licenses the external argument

DP$_3$ Evt'

Evt   InitP -----▶ stative projection: introduces causation

Init   ProcP -----▶ eventive projection: introduces an event and
                                    licenses its undergoer

DP$_2$ Proc'

Proc   ResP -----▶ stative projection: introduces a
                                    result state and licenses its holder

DP$_1$ Res'

Res   …

Crucially, the domain of the first phase not only contains subevents, but it may also embed Rhemes, i.e., material in the complement of a subeventive projection that describes it by structural homomorphism (Ramchand 2008). Hence, for example, if a Proc subevent combines with a Rheme corresponding to a PathP, such a process will be understood as a dynamic event of change (cf. Fábregas & Marín 2012) which, depending on the (un)boundedness of the Path, will receive a telic (bounded Path; cf. (23a)) or an atelic (unbounded Path; cf. (23b)) interpretation (examples from Ramchand 2008: 48).

(23)   a. Karena walked to the pool in ten minutes/*for ten minutes.
           b. Karena walked towards the pool *in ten minutes/for ten minutes.

Our approach differs from Ramchand's (2008, 2018) in three respects. First, we assume that Proc does not involve dynamicity, but just eventivity, following Fábregas & Marín (2012), Jaque (2014), Berro (2015), and Gibert-Sotelo (2017). Second, we do not assume Ramchand's (2008: 47) restriction on the type of Rheme a

Proc subevent can combine with: if Proc is just the locus of eventivity (and not the locus of dynamic change), then it may combine not only with a path-denoting Rheme (which, as mentioned, will yield a dynamic event of change), but also with a Rheme involving no path structure (which will yield a homogeneous process involving no change, as proposed by Fábregas & Marín 2012; see below). Finally, we assume that roots bear no category and occupy a position in the syntactic derivation, along the lines of works within Distributed Morphology.

In what follows, we will concentrate on the syntactic analysis of the verbs found in adjectival passives with a progressive reading, to wit, *vigilar*-verbs and *perseguir*-verbs.

Vigilar-verbs have been recently analysed by García-Pardo (2020a) as stative causatives. According to this author, who takes Ramchand's (2008) system as a framework, these predicates (which he calls *govern*-type verbs) involve a subeventive configuration that combines two states by means of a causal relation: a causing state (Init) and a result state (Res), the former taking the latter as complement (García-Pardo 2020a: 60):

(24)   a. Berta gobierna el   país.
           Berta governs the country
        b. [$_{initP}$ Berta [$_{init'}$ gobierna [$_{resP}$ el país [$_{res'}$ gobierna]]]]
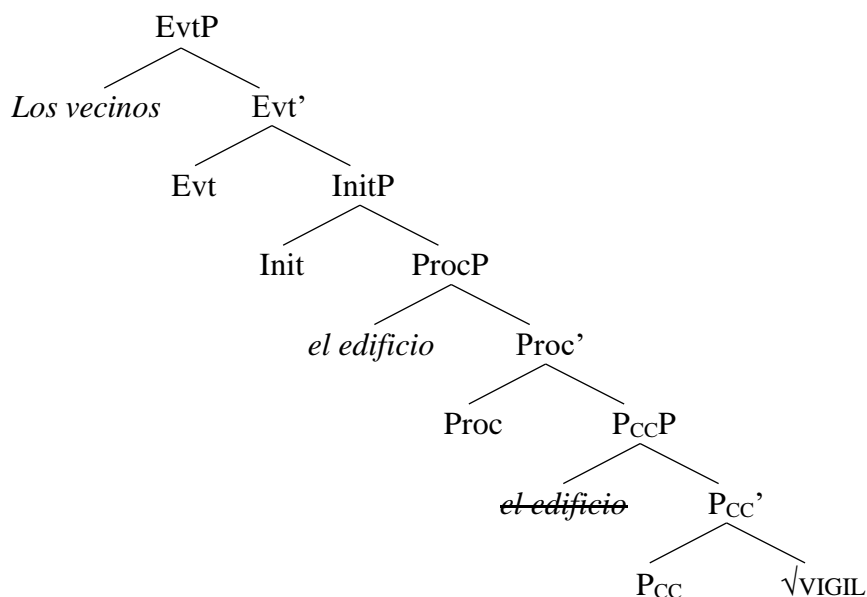
Even though García-Pardo's analysis explains the non-dynamic character of *vigilar*-verbs, it fails to capture their eventivity, tested in section 2.1, since the projection needed for an event to be involved (i.e., Proc) is missing on his proposal.[2] For this reason, we think that the proposal by Fábregas & Marín (2012, 2017), who argue that verbs of the type of *vigilar* 'guard' and *gobernar* 'govern, rule' involve eventivity but not dynamicity, is to be preferred. In particular, we assume that *vigilar*-verbs are a subtype of Davidsonian states that enter transitive structures and involve agentivity (as opposed to the type of Davidsonian states first identified by Maienborn 2005, 2007, which mainly correspond to intransitive predicates for which an agentive controller is not a requirement; cf. *sit, stand, lie, wait, gleam*, and *sleep*).

Fábregas & Marín derive the non-dynamicity of these eventive predicates from the presence of a central coincidence P (P$_{CC}$) (Hale 1986) in the complement of the event-introducing head (*Proc* in Fábregas & Marín 2012 and *v* in Fábregas & Marín 2017). A P$_{CC}$ establishes a(n abstract) locative relation between a Figure (the located object) and a Ground (the reference object) (Talmy 1975) that is constant and involves no change, since it requires the centre of the Figure and the centre of the Ground to

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[2]   García-Pardo (2020a: §3.2.2.1) offers a critical review of the tests commonly used to diagnose eventivity. Despite it being true that many of the tests are not without problems, it is also true that *vigilar*-verbs typically pass all of them, in contrast to other stative (non-eventive) predicates, which points towards the eventive nature of the former. Besides, and as we discuss in this paper, the progressive reading involved in the adjectival passives of *vigilar*-verbs is not available in other stative predicates that lack eventive features (e.g., object experiencer psych verbs and extent verbs; cf. section 1), since no event can be understood to be in progress if no event is involved. We take this fact as a further piece of evidence of the eventive character of *vigilar*-verbs.

coincide (Hale 1986).[3] If a P$_{CC}$ sits in the complement of the eventive head, by structural homomorphism (or event identification) the event will be defined as non-changing, which explains the non-dynamic character of this particular type of verbs. We will basically adopt Fábregas & Marín's proposal, but adapted to Ramchand's (2018) formalization, as illustrated in (25) with the analysis of the sentence *Los vecinos vigilan el edificio* 'The neighbours guard the building'.

(25)   Analysis of *vigilar*-verbs

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                EvtP
               /    \
        Los vecinos   Evt'
                     /    \
                   Evt    InitP
                         /    \
                       Init   ProcP
                             /      \
                      el edificio   Proc'
                                   /    \
                                 Proc   P_CCP
                                       /     \
                                el edificio   P_CC'
                                             /     \
                                          P_CC    √VIGIL
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As shown, we assume that the root of the verb (√VIGIL) is merged in the complement of a P$_{CC}$ that establishes a stative relation of central coincidence between it, interpreted as a Ground, and the internal argument (*el edificio* 'the building'), merged in the specifier of the P$_{CC}$ and therefore interpreted as a Figure. Accordingly, *el edificio* 'the building' is understood to be under *vigilancia* 'surveillance'. This P$_{CC}$, in turn, is selected by a Proc head that introduces an event but which, having a P$_{CC}$ in its complement position, is not understood as a dynamic change, but as the homogeneous maintenance of a stative relation.[4] This Proc head is immediately dominated by an Init subevent that defines it as a caused event. Finally, the Evt head merged on top converts the subeventive configuration into a Davidsonian event and licenses the external argument *los vecinos* 'the neighbours', which corresponds to the Initiator of the eventuality.

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[3]   The central coincidence relation between the Figure and the Ground must not necessarily correspond to a literal location. Notice that Hale (1986: 242) asserts that the central/non-central coincidence opposition is not only found in the spatial domain, but that it "enters into other domains of grammar in which relations between entities are expressed". In fact, the distinction between central and non-central coincidence has been applied, e.g., by Demirdache & Uribe-Etxebarria (2000), to temporal and aspectual relations (see also Hale 1986).

[4]   On the idea that verbs of this type involve a relation of maintenance between an event and a stative component, see Neeleman & van de Koot (2012), who also classify them as Davidsonian states.

The second type of verbs dealt with in this study are those of the type of *perseguir* 'chase', which constitute a new class of activity verbs first identified in Gibert-Sotelo & Marín (in press). Like canonical activities, *perseguir*-verbs involve dynamicity (cf. the diagnostics in section 2.1). However, they differ from other activity verbs in the fact that they can never be telicized or coerced into a telic reading. In fact, activities can be interpreted as telic accomplishments when a limit to the event is contextually determined (Rothstein 2008: 194), as in (26), where the quantized object (26a) and the *hasta*-headed PP (26b) delimit the extent of the event. *Perseguir*-verbs, by contrast, cannot be telicized by adding a PP expressing an endpoint, as illustrated in (27).

(26)   a. Luisa ha   corrido tres   quilómetros (en diez minutos).
           Luisa has run   three kilometres   in ten minutes
           'Luisa has run three kilometres (in ten minutes).'
        b. Ha empujado el   carro hasta la   esquina (en cinco minutos).
           has pushed   the cart   to   the corner   in five   minutes
           '(S)he has pushed the cart to the corner (in five minutes).'

(27)   a. La policía ha   perseguido al   ladrón hasta la   frontera
           the police have.3SG chased   DOM.the thief to   the border
           (*en dos horas).
             in   two hours
           'The police have chased the thief to the border (*in two hours).'
        b. Juan escoltó al   presidente hasta su residencia   (*en dos horas).
           Juan escorted DOM.the president   to   his residence   in two hours
           'Juan escorted the president to his residence (*in two hours).'

Perseguir-verbs encode a dynamic motion event that lacks a natural culmination and is hence maintained. They involve the idea of going after someone or something steadily. Therefore, despite being dynamic, these predicates also encompass a stative component that accounts for the idea of steady maintenance that they entail.

We assume that the dynamicity of this type of activities lies in the presence of a PathP in the complement of Proc. Evidence for the presence of this Path component is provided by the ability of these verbs to co-occur with adjuncts specifying the route followed in the course of the event (28a), its direction (28b), or its extent (28c).
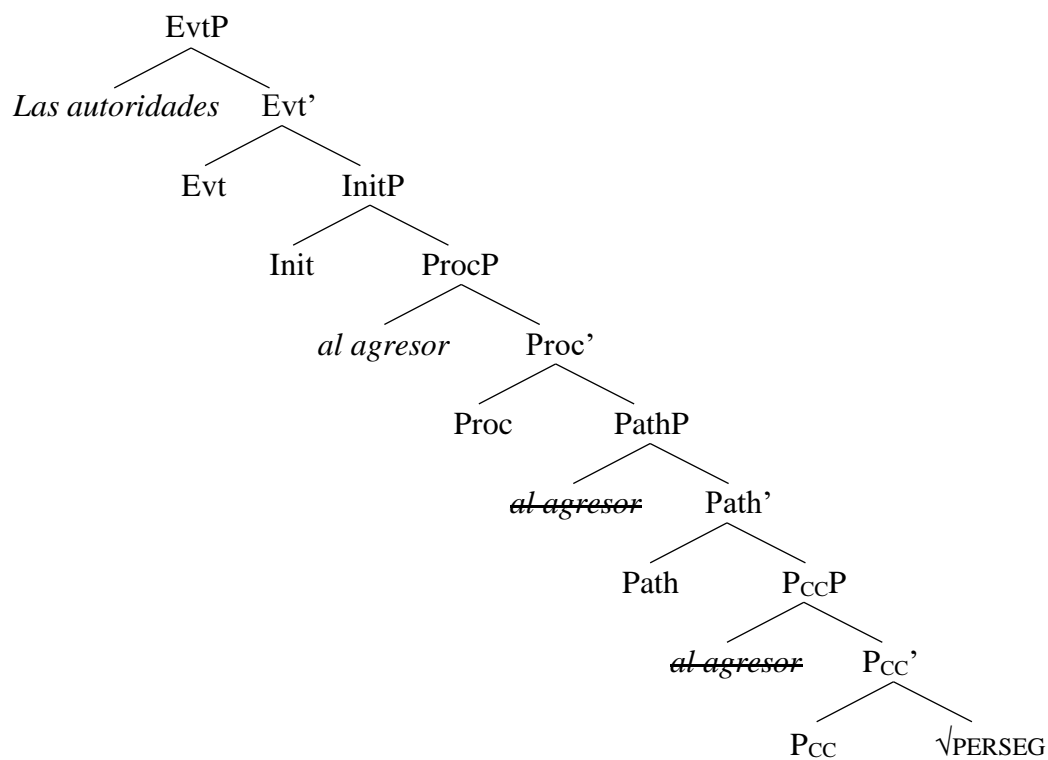
(28)   a. Las autoridades buscan   al   agresor   *por   todos los rincones*
           the authorities look.for DOM.the   aggressor through all   the corners
           de la ciudad.   (Google)
           of the city
           'The authorities look for the aggressor through all the corners of the city.'
        b. La   acompañé *hacia donde la   esperaba su*
           3SG.ACC.FEM accompanied towards where 3SG.ACC.FEM waited   her
           hermana mayor.   (CREA)
           sister   older
           'I accompanied her towards where her older sister was waiting for her.'

    c. Paco Lobatón lo　　　　　　hubiera　　perseguido
       Paco Lobatón 3SG.ACC.MASC would.have persecuted
       hasta Bolonia.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(CREA)
       to　　Bologna
       'Paco Lobatón would have persecuted him to Bologna.'

The necessary atelicity of these verbs, which encode a motion event that has no possible endpoint (cf. (27)), emerges if the Path in the complement of Proc is non-bounded and, in addition, cannot be delimited by adding material in its complement. We claim that this effect is obtained by merging a P_{CC} in the complement of Path, since this P_{CC} will define the Path as involving the continuous coincidence of the Figure and the Ground and, in addition, will prevent a phrase defining a limit to be added directly in the complement of the Path head (since this position will be already occupied by the P_{CC}).[5]

Accordingly, we propose that *perseguir*-verbs involve a structure like the one represented in (29) for the sentence *Las autoridades persiguen al agresor* 'The authorities chase the aggressor'.

(29)　　Analysis of *perseguir*-verbs

EvtP
　　／＼
Las autoridades　Evt'
　　　　／＼
　　　Evt　InitP
　　　　　／＼
　　　　Init　ProcP
　　　　　　／＼
　　　al agresor　Proc'
　　　　　　　／＼
　　　　　Proc　PathP
　　　　　　　　／＼
　　　　~~al agresor~~　Path'
　　　　　　　　　／＼
　　　　　　　Path　P_{CC}P
　　　　　　　　　　／＼
　　　　　　~~al agresor~~　P_{CC}'
　　　　　　　　　　　／＼
　　　　　　　　　P_{CC}　√PERSEG

---

[5]　　Even though the notion of central coincidence has sometimes been identified with that of Place, they are to be distinguished. Place defines a location (the location of the Figure with respect to the Ground), and so when a Path projection takes a Place head as its complement, such a Place is by default understood as a final location (Jackendoff 1983; Svenonius 2010) that provides a boundary to the Path, thus defining a terminal coincidence relation instead of a central coincidence one. Furthermore, and as pointed out by Real Puigdollers (2013: 31), the notion of central coincidence also covers cases in which the Figure moves along a Path but never leaves the limits of the Ground, which corresponds to an unbounded Path.

In a nutshell: verbs of the type of *perseguir* 'chase' encode the initiation (Init) of a dynamic motion event (Proc + Path) that is steadily maintained in a central coincidence relation (P_{CC}) that involves constant coincidence between a moving Figure and a Ground. As mentioned, the Path head in the complement of Proc defines the event as dynamic, and the presence of a central coincidence preposition (P_{CC}) in the complement of Path yields a non-bounded Path, which accounts for the necessary atelicity of these verbs and for the idea of maintenance that they all involve. This maintained dynamic event is initiated by the external argument (*las autoridades* 'the authorities') which, merged in the specifier of an Evt head selecting an InitP as its complement, is understood as a volitional Initiator that controls the event and ensures its continuation. The internal argument (*el agresor* 'the aggressor'), in turn, corresponds to the DP in the specifier of Proc, which is configurationally identified with the Undergoer of the process but which, being first merged in the specifier of P_{CC} and in the specifier of Path, is also understood as a Figure moving through a non-delimited Path.

Perseguir-verbs, hence, constitute a type of eventuality halfway between canonical activities and non-dynamic events: like other activities, they entail eventivity and dynamicity; like non-dynamic events, the event they encode is understood to be maintained in a central coincidence relation, which, as explored in the next section, allows them to enter adjectival passives and explains the progressive reading that they take in these constructions.

3. Accounting for adjectival passives with a progressive reading

In this section we explore the Spanish adjectival passives that involve a progressive reading, which correspond to those obtained from *vigilar-* and *perseguir-* verbs. We first compare the similarities and differences observed between them (section 3.1) and, after that, we offer a syntactic analysis that naturally derives the properties they show (section 3.2).

3.1. Adjectival passives with a progressive reading: Properties
As pointed out before, adjectival passives including participles from *vigilar-* or *perseguir*-verbs give rise to a progressive reading, not to a resultative one, as illustrated in (30).

(30)   a. El edificio está vigilado.
            the building is   guarded
                Intended: ✗ 'The building has been guarded.' (Perfect resultative)
                            ✓ 'The building is being guarded.' (Progressive)
        b. El ladrón está perseguido.
            the thief is   chased
                Intended: ✗ 'The thief has been chased.' (Perfect resultative)
                            ✓ 'The thief is being chased.' (Progressive)

Interestingly, such a progressive meaning is evidence of the fact that these adjectival passives keep (part of) the eventivity of the underlying verb, since one of

the properties of eventive predicates is that they can appear in the progressive periphrasis ((31a), (32a)). Further evidence of this underlying eventivity is given by the ability of both *vigilar-* and *perseguir-*adjectival passives to be modified by manner adverbials ((31b), (32b)).

(31)   a. El edificio   está siendo vigilado.
            the building is   being guarded
        b. El país   está gobernado con firmeza.
            the country is   ruled   firmly

(32)   a. Pedro está siendo acosado.
            Pedro is   being harassed
        b. [Sanders] está perseguido con encono.   (Google)
            Sanders   is   persecuted with spite

        Likewise, the adjectival passives obtained from these verbs allow the expression of the underlying Initiator, which emerges as an optional adjunct *by*-phrase:

(33)   a. Pedro está vigilado (por la   policía).
            Pedro is   guarded by the police
            'Pedro is guarded by the police.'
        b. La empresa está dirigida   (por una familia muy influyente).
            the company is   managed by a   family very influential
            'The company is managed (by a very influential family).'

(34)   a. El ladrón está perseguido (por la   policía).
            the thief is   chased   by the police
        b. Luisa está acompañada (por su marido).
            Luisa is   accompanied by her husband

        In the preceding sections it has been shown that the basic difference between *vigilar-* and *perseguir-*verbs is the full dynamicity of the latter, which involve a Path component and encode a particular type of motion event (one which entails continuous motion with no possible endpoint). In the adjectival passive this component is still traceable, as evidenced by the possibility of attesting examples like the ones in (35), where the adjectival passives obtained from *perseguir-*verbs admit modifiers which focus on the direction of the motion event (35a) or on its extent (35b).

(35)   a. Estarás   acompañado *hacia   tus   objetivos   terapéuticos*
            you.will.be accompanied towards your.PL goals   therapeutic.PL
            por un profesional.   (Google)
            by   a professional
            'You will be accompanied towards your therapeutic goals by a professional.'
        b. En la canción,   el granjero   está perseguido *hasta la frontera*
            in the song   the farmer   is   chased   to   the border
            por un perro.   (Google)
            by   a dog
            'In the song, the farmer is chased to the border by a dog.'

This Path component, though, gets blurred in the adjectival passive, and accordingly the modifiers that focus on this element are not always licensed (compare (36) and (37)).

(36)   a. La policía busca   al   ladrón *por   toda la ciudad*.
        the police look.for.3SG DOM.the thief   through all   the city
        'The police look for the thief through all the city.'
        b. Cristina acompañó   a   Marta *hacia   la salida*.
        Cristina accompanied DOM Marta towards the exit
        'Cristina accompanied Marta towards the exit.'
        c. Lo   persiguieron *hasta la   frontera francesa*.
        3SG.ACC.MASC chased.3PL   up.to the border   French
        'They chased him to the French border.'

(37)   a. El ladrón   está buscado (por la policía) ?*por   toda la ciudad*.
        the thief   is looked.for by the police   through all   the city
        ('The thief is looked for by the police ?through all the city.')
        b. Marta está acompañada (por Cristina) **hacia   la salida*.
        Marta is   accompanied by Cristina   towards the exit
        ('Marta is accompanied by Cristina *towards the exit.')
        c. Estuvo   perseguido **hasta la   frontera francesa*.
        was.3SG   chased   up.to the border French
        ('He was chased *to the French border.')

Note that the modifiers oriented to the path are fully accepted in the corresponding verbal passives:

(38)   a. El ladrón fue buscado (por la policía) *por   toda   la ciudad*.
        the thief   was looked.for by the police through all   the city
        'The thief was looked for by the police through all the city.'
        b. Marta fue acompañada (por Cristina) *hacia   la salida*.
        Marta was accompanied by Cristina towards the exit
        'Marta was accompanied by Cristina towards the exit.'
        c. Fue   perseguido *hasta la   frontera francesa*.
        was.3SG chased   up.to the border   French
        'He was chased to the French border.'

In fact, the dynamicity kept in the *perseguir*-adjectival passives is less salient than that observed in their verbal uses. Hence, whereas *perseguir*-verbs receive a habitual reading in the present tense both in the active (39a) and in the passive voice (39b), this is not the case in the adjectival passive with *estar* (39c).

(39)   a. El   jefe persigue a   los empleados.
        the boss chases   DOM the employees
        'The boss chases the employees.' (= Habitually)

      b. Los empleados son perseguidos.
         the employees are chased
         'The employees are chased.' (= Habitually)
      c. Los empleados están perseguidos.
         the employees are   chased
         'The employees are chased.' (≠ Habitually)

Finally, in contrast with canonical atelic activities, which are only allowed in adjectival passives if coerced into a 'job done' reading (40) (Kratzer 2000; Anagnostopoulou 2003; García-Pardo 2020a), the adjectival passives of *vigilar-* (41) and *perseguir-*verbs (42) cannot be coerced into such a reading (a fact that is clearly related to the unbreakable atelicity of the underlying verbs; cf. (27)).

(40)   a. El carro (ya)   está empujado.
         the cart already is   pushed
         'The cart is already pushed.'
      b. El perro (ya)   está acariciado.
         the dog   already is   petted
         'The dog is already petted.'

(41)   a. El edificio (#ya)   está vigilado.
         the building already is   guarded
         'The building is (#already) guarded.'
         (Only allowed if it is intended that 'The building is already *being* guarded')
      b. La empresa (#ya)   está dirigida.
         the company already   is   managed
         'The company is (#already) managed.'

(42)   a. El ladrón (#ya)   está perseguido.
         the thief   already is   chased
         'The thief is (#already) chased.'
      b. La secretaria (#ya)   está acosada.
         the secretary already is   harassed
         'The secretary is (#already) harassed.'

It seems, then, that the main difference observed between *perseguir* and *vigilar-*verbs (namely, the dynamicity of the former vs. the non-dynamicity of the latter) is somehow downgraded in the corresponding adjectival passives, whereas the stative component they share is promoted. This is in fact what allows these atelic verbs to enter the adjectival passive construction, since for this construction to be allowed, a stative layer must be available. This stative layer, which we have argued corresponds to a central coincidence projection (cf. section 2.3), is also responsible for the idea of maintenance that they involve as well as for the progressive reading of their adjectival passives.

3.2. Adjectival passives with a progressive reading: Analysis
The analysis we propose for the adjectival passives obtained from *vigilar-* and *perseguir-*verbs allows deriving all the properties mentioned in the previous section.

For the former, we propose a structure like the one represented in (43), which corresponds to the analysis of the sentence *El edificio está vigilado por los vecinos* 'The building is (being) guarded by the neighbours'.

(43)   Analysis of *vigilar*-adjectival passives
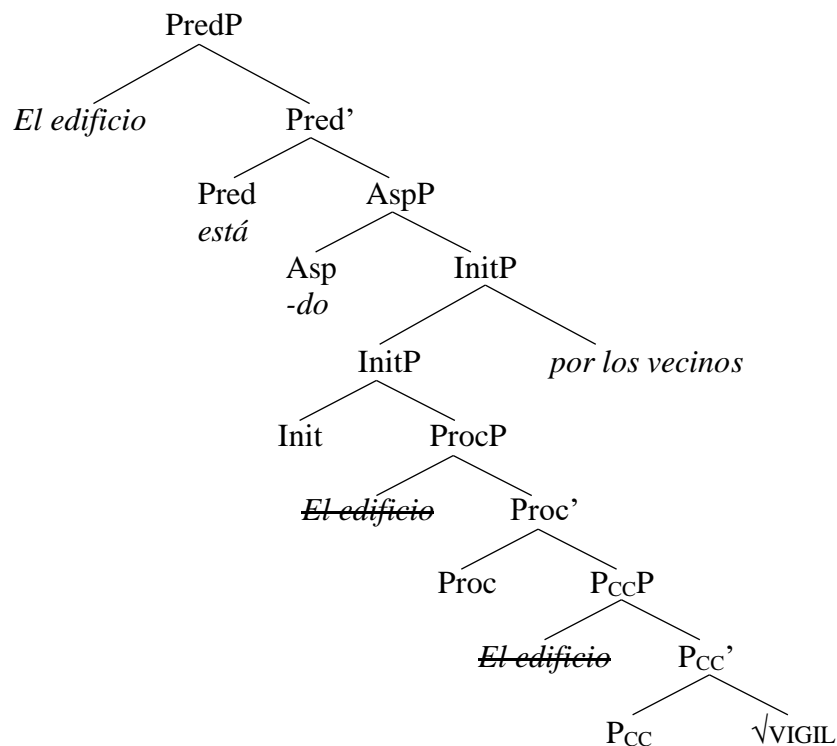
        As illustrated, the adjectival passives obtained from *vigilar*-verbs keep the subeventive configuration of the underlying verb but for the EvtP licensing the DP external argument: they preserve the Proc subevent introducing eventivity (and accordingly they can be modified by manner adverbials; cf. (31b)), the P$_{CC}$ in its complement (which accounts for the idea of maintenance that they involve and accordingly explains their progressive meaning as well as the impossibility of coercing them into a 'job done' reading; cf. (41)), and the InitP introducing the causing subevent (which allows the implicit Initiator to be expressed; cf. (33)). The lack of the Evt head explains why the implicit Initiator cannot emerge as a DP subject, emerging instead as an adjunct *by*-phrase at InitP (cf. Ramchand 2018). The AspP dominating the subeventive configuration converts it into a state and provides the participial morphology (Embick 2003, 2004). To the extent that the state encoded by the participle is derived from an eventive configuration, we do not obtain a 'pure' individual-level state, but a stage-level one, which explains the compatibility of these participles with *estar*. Finally, the PredP merged on top defines a (non-verbal) predicate (Bowers 1993; Baker 2003) and introduces the copula (cf. Den Dikken 2006), licensing the underlying Undergoer object in its specifier position, where it is interpreted as the subject of the predication.

        Considering that the passives we are dealing with are adjectival passives, the question could be raised why no a(djectival) head is present in the structure.[6] We

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mainly follow Embick (2003: 157) in the use of an Asp head that introduces the participial morphology and "is associated with stativity", and which, according to this author, "could equally be labelled *a* for 'adjective'". In fact, some authors addressing adjectival passives use the label Adj(ective) instead of the label Asp, assuming that it is the locus of both stativity and adjectival category (Bruening 2014; García-Pardo 2017). Other authors propose structures where an a(djectival) layer embeds an Asp layer, the former categorizing the configuration and the latter (usually assumed to correspond to a perfect operator of the type proposed by Kratzer 2000) stativizing it (Alexiadou et al. 2015; Gibert-Sotelo 2022). In our approach, as in Embick's, the Asp head is responsible for the stative character of the construction and for the participial morphology. Besides, in the analysis we propose, the adjectival (i.e., non-verbal) nature of the structure is derived from the fact that no EvtP is projected, being projected instead a PredP that defines the configuration as a non-verbal predicate (cf. Gibert-Sotelo 2022).

As for the adjectival passives obtained from *perseguir*-verbs, such as *El agresor está perseguido por las autoridades* 'The aggressor is (being) chased by the authorities', we argue that they are the lexicalization of the configuration represented in (44).

(44)   Analysis of *perseguir*-adjectival passives
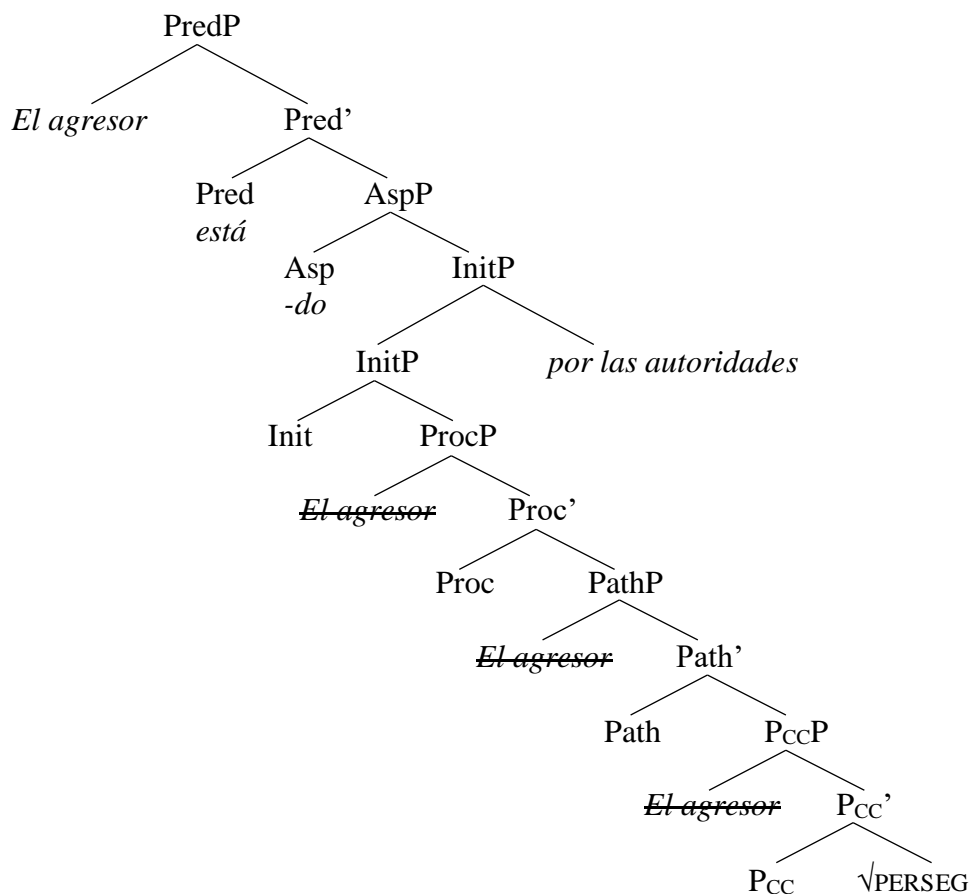
In *perseguir*-adjectival passives the subeventive configuration of the underlying verb is also preserved: the Init subevent allows the presence of the Initiator as an adjunct *by*-phrase (cf. (34)); the Proc subevent accounts for the eventive

properties kept by this construction (cf. (32)); the PathP in the complement of the event-introducing head accounts for the motion idea that they involve, which is still traceable in certain contexts (e.g., those exemplified in (35)), but which in fact gets blurred in comparison to the verbal uses of these predicates (cf. (36), (37), and (38); see below for a more detailed account of this "blurring" operation); and the P_{CC} layer in the complement of Path explains why these adjectival passives convey a progressive reading and cannot be coerced into a 'job done' one (cf. (42)). As in the case of *vigilar*-adjectival passives, the adjectival passives of *perseguir*-verbs involve the presence of an AspP that introduces the participial morphology and ensures the stative interpretation of the predicate, and a PredP on top that accounts for their predicative (adjectival) nature.

The restriction by Rapp (1996), according to which only verbs including a stative component can be part of adjectival passives, is formally captured in the proposed analysis: in the adjectival passives here addressed, the required stative layer corresponds to the central coincidence P that defines the event as non-dynamic (*vigilar*-adjectival passives) or the Path as unbounded (*perseguir*-adjectival passives). Asp –which is the projection that defines the adjectival passive as a (derived) state‒ picks up the central coincidence P in both cases, thus yielding a stativized reading of the underlying event (which can still be retrieved, but which is not properly instantiated).[7]

This operation is crucial in the case of *perseguir*-predicates, which are in principle unexpected in adjectival passives because they correspond to activities (Gibert-Sotelo & Marín, in press). As shown, when *perseguir*-verbs enter the adjectival passive, their stative P_{CC} layer gets focused and their Path component gets blurred, which accounts for contrasts like the ones illustrated in (39) between their verbal uses (fully dynamic) and their behaviour in the adjectival passive (more static). The presence of the stativizing Asp head explains why in the adjectival passive the dynamicity of the underlying verb is demoted: given that the configuration is defined as a state by Asp, the Path layer in the complement of Proc loses its ability to properly define the event introduced by this head as a dynamic (or changing) event. By contrast, the P_{CC} layer, being a stative component, gains prominence. As a consequence, the differences observed between *vigilar*- and *perseguir*-verbs are neutralized in the adjectival passive, which in both cases corresponds to a state and involves a progressive reading.

In sum, the progressive (or continuous) reading characteristic of the two types of adjectival passive constructions analysed here emerges from the Aktionsart of the underlying verb: *vigilar*-verbs encode (agentive) Davidsonian states and, as such, they involve a relation of maintenance between an event (Proc) and a stative layer (P_{CC}), rather than a proper causative relation (cf. Neeleman & van de Koot 2012); *perseguir*-verbs are dynamic activities (Proc + Path), but the dynamic event they encode does not have any possible telos, and hence it is understood to be maintained in a central coincidence relation (P_{CC}) that contributes the stative component needed in the adjectival passive. Given that in both cases the event of the underlying verb lacks a limit, the state codified by the *estar* adjectival passive cannot be interpreted as starting

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[7]   This is expected given the lack of EvtP in adjectival passives, since this is the projection that introduces the utterance situation and converts the event description into a Davidsonian event (Ramchand 2018: 16).

once the event has culminated (the resultative reading), but as being simultaneous to the event (the progressive reading).

4. Open questions for further research

We have seen that *perseguir*-verbs denote (a particular type of) activities, while *vigilar*-verbs denote (a particular type of) Davidsonian-states. In the formation of adjectival passives, other differences between these two groups of verbs emerge. As a general consideration, it seems that *perseguir*-verbs are affected by certain constraints that are not observed in the case of *vigilar*-verbs. Thus, together with grammatical *perseguir*-adjectival passives such as (45), we find others, like those in (46), which are not acceptable.

(45)   Villarejo está perseguido/ buscado   por la   policía.
        Villarejo is   chased/   searched by the police

(46)   a. *Las llaves están buscadas (por tus   padres).
              the keys   are   searched by your parents
        b. *Ese objetivo   está perseguido (por Pedro).
              that objective is   pursued   by Pedro

        Note that the passive progressive (*estar siendo* 'be being' + participle) counterparts of (46) are fully acceptable:

(47)   a. Las llaves están siendo buscadas (por tus   padres).
              the keys   are   being searched by your parents
        b. Ese objetivo   está siendo perseguido por Pedro.
              that objective is   being pursued   by Pedro

        We may think that the examples in (46) are not acceptable because of the *by*-phrase, which refers to an individual; yet, the acceptability of these same examples does not improve with more generic –or collective– *by*-phrases:

(48)   a. *Las llaves están buscadas por la   policía.
              the keys   are   searched by the police
        b. *Ese objetivo   está perseguido por la   empresa.
              that objective is   pursued   by   the company

        It seems, then, that the unacceptability of (46) and (48) lies in the type of underlying object (realized as the subject of predication in the corresponding adjectival passive), that is, only *perseguir*-verbs with animate objects are able to form adjectival passives. Observe that *vigilar*-verbs behave differently in this respect, since they are not affected by this constraint on animacy in the adjectival passive:

(49)   Pedro/ el   edificio está vigilado (por la   policía).
        Pedro/ the building is   guarded by the police

In our opinion, although this is quite speculative at the current stage of our research, the reason why *perseguir*-adjectival passives are affected by this constraint on animacy is that the type of event described by *perseguir*-verbs involves going persistently after a moving entity (50a). These verbs, in turn, can be coerced into a metaphorical reading in which the escaping Figure is a non-moving entity, in a way so that only the persecuting entity (the Initiator) is involved in the event, while the persecuted one stands in a location as the Goal to be achieved (50b).

(50) a. El policía   persigue/ busca   al   ladrón.
         the policeman chases/   looks.for DOM.the thief
         'The policeman chases/ looks for the thief.'
      b. El policía   persigue/ busca   nuevas pistas.
         the policeman chases/   looks.for new   clues
         'The policeman chases/ looks for new clues.'

We hypothesize that when these verbs are built with a non-moving object, the external argument becomes the moving Figure, and the object is understood as a Goal Ground merged in a low adjunct position within the first phase. This is illustrated in (51) with the tentative analysis of (50b), where the subject *el policía* 'the policeman' is the Figure that moves, the Undergoer of the event and its Initiator (it is first merged in the specifier of P_{CC} and from there it moves up to the specifier of Path, to the specifier of Proc, and to the specifier of Evt), whereas the object *nuevas pistas* 'new clues' (which we conjecture is merged as an adjunct to $P_{CC}P$) does not participate in the event and corresponds to the Goal pursued by the subject argument.

(51)   Tentative analysis of (50b)
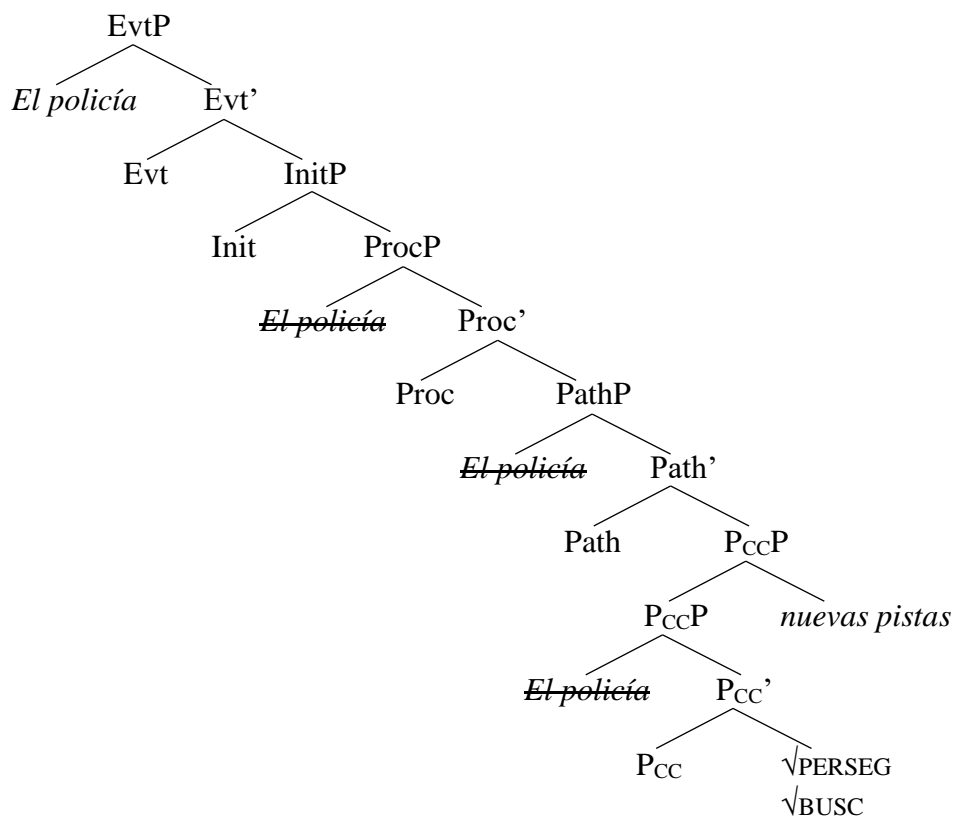
Given that in these uses the object is not a canonical Undergoer or Theme (it does not occupy the specifier position of the Proc subevent nor the specifier position of the lower adpositional projections), it cannot be externalized in the adjectival passive (cf. McIntyre 2013). This restriction, though, does not apply to the verbal passive, which does not constitute an adjectival (stative) predication. Notice that, in English, verbal passives are admitted even by verbs selecting PPs instead of canonical DP objects (52a), but adjectival passives are not (52b).

(52)   a. This topic is dealt with in the following section.
          b. *This topic is well dealt with in the following section.

It seems that for the adjectival passive of *perseguir*-verbs to be possible, the underlying verb must denote continuous motion after a moving Figure, thus ensuring that the underlying object has the prominence required to be externalized in this construction. The analysis just offered is a tentative speculation, and we leave for further research the detailed study of the exact nature of the object of *perseguir*-verbs in the different uses of these predicates.

5. Concluding remarks

In Spanish, some adjectival passives built with the copula *estar* convey a progressive reading. As shown in this paper, this reading is obtained when the underlying verb belongs to one of the following two classes: the *vigilar* 'guard' class, which is composed by verbs that behave as Davidsonian states or non-dynamic events (cf. Fábregas & Marín 2012, 2017; Bosque 2014), and the *perseguir* 'chase' class, a particular type of activity verbs that express continuous motion after a moving entity (Gibert-Sotelo & Marín, in press). According to the generalization postulated by Rapp (1996), only verbs including a stative component can be part of adjectival passives, which easily explains the availability of Davidsonian states, like *vigilar*-verbs, in these constructions, but discards activities, like *perseguir*-verbs.

To solve this puzzle, we have compared these two groups of verbs as well as their adjectival passives so as to find out the projections involved in their first phase syntax (Ramchand 2008, 2018). By doing so, we have demonstrated that *vigilar*- and *perseguir*-verbs incorporate a stative layer that accounts for their maintenance denotation, so that Rapp's constraint is respected in both cases.

For *vigilar*-verbs, we have assumed that this stative component corresponds to a central coincidence P that sits in the complement of the event-introducing head (i.e., Proc) and describes it as non-dynamic and atelic, following Fábregas & Marín (2012, 2017). For *perseguir*-verbs, we have proposed that a central coincidence P is also involved, but in this case it sits in the complement of the Path head that defines the event introduced by Proc as a motion event, thus yielding an unbounded Path and, hence, a motion event necessarily atelic and continuously maintained.

In the corresponding adjectival passives, we have argued that an Asp head is merged on top of the subeventive configuration to provide the participial morphology and convert the underlying event into a state (cf. Embick 2004). Given that the underlying event lacks a limit, the state codified by the participle cannot be interpreted

as starting once the event has culminated, but as being simultaneous to the event, which explains the progressive reading of these constructions.

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