

ABOVE THE PARTICIPLE: TWO CASE STUDIES FROM GREEK AND ENGLISH

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1 PREAMBLE: CONTEXT AND STAKES

| **STATIVE PARTICIPLES:** Externally adjectival and internally verbal; canonically denote states resulting from an event. (for Greek, Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 2008; Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou & Schäfer 2015; Alexiadou, Gehrke & Schäfer 2014; Anagnostopoulou 2003; Lascaratou 1991; Lascaratou & Philippaki-Warburton 1983; Markantonatou et al. 1996; Paparounas 2023b; for English, Biggs & Embick 2025b; Bresnan 1982; Bruening 2014; Dryer 1985; Embick 2004; 2023; Levin & Rappaport 1986; Andrew McIntyre 2013; Wasow 1977; E. Williams 1981)

(1) *Verbalizer + participial morphology + adjectival inflection*

I zoni ine {iði / pleon } asfal- iz- men- i.
 the.NOM belt.NOM be.3SG already as.of.now secure VBZ PTCP F.NOM
 ‘The seat belt is already/now fastened.’

| **BUILDING BLOCKS:** Participles result when ‘verbs’ are recategorized as adjectives (see esp. Bešlin 2021; 2022). Here:

EXONENT	asfal- pressure-	iz- ize-	men- ed	i
(2) CATEGORY	ROOT	<i>v</i>	Stat	<i>a</i>
INTERPRETATION		$\lambda e....$	$... \lambda s. \exists e....$	
GLOSSING	$\sqrt{\text{SECURE}}$	VBZ	PTCP	F.NOM.SG

| **THEMATIC RESTRICTIONS** characterize participles – in Greek and English, they obey (3):

(3) *Stative Participle Theme Restriction (SPTR)*

When a stative participle is predicated of a DP, the DP is interpreted as the Theme of the event entailed by the participle.

Some data motivating (3):

(4) *No Agent readings: Unergative-forming Roots*

a. #I Maria ine {treɣ- / jelaz- / kolimbi- } men- i.
 the.NOM Mary.NOM be.3SG run laugh swim PTCP F.NOM.SG
 ‘Mary is run/laughed/swum.’

(5) *No Agent readings: Transitive-forming Roots*

a. O Janis epsise (to kotopulo).
 the.NOM John.NOM roast.PST.3SG the.ACC chicken.ACC
 ‘John roasted (the chicken).’

- b. To kotopulo ine pleon psimeno.
the.NOM chicken.NOM be.3SG as.of.now roast.PTCP.N.NOM.SG
'The chicken is now roasted.'
- c. #O Janis ine pleon psimenos.
the.NOM John.NOM be.3SG as.of.now roast.PTCP.M.NOM.SG
'John is now roasted.'
- (6) *No Goal readings: Ditransitive-forming Roots*
- a. Pulisa tu pelati mia tileorasi.
sell.PST.1SG the.GEN customer.GEN one.ACC television.ACC
'I sold the customer a television.'
- b. I tileorasi ine pleon pulimeni (*tu pelati).
the.NOM television.NOM be.3SG as.of.now sell.PTCP.F.NOM.SG the.GEN customer.GEN
'The television is now sold (the customer).'
- c. #O pelatis ine pleon pulimenos (*tin tileorasi).
the.NOM customer.NOM be.3SG as.of.now sell.PTCP.M.NOM.SG the.ACC television.ACC
'The customer is now sold (the television).'
- (7) *No Root determination: Alternating transitive/psych verbs under clitic doubling* (see Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 2019; Anagnostopoulou 1999)
- a. Ta peđja jelasan (*ton Jani).
the.NOM.PL child.NOM.PL laugh.PST.3PL the.ACC John.ACC
'The children laughed (John).'
- b. Ta peđja *(ton) jelasan ton Jani.
the child.NOM.PL 3SG.M.ACC laugh.PST.3PL the John.ACC
'The children deceived John.'
- c. O Janis apođixθike jelazmenos.
the.NOM John.NOM prove.NACT.PST.3SG laugh.PTCP.M.NOM
✓'John proved to be deceived.' ✗'John proved to be laughed.'

What delivers (7) varies between different approaches to the syntax of argument introduction in participles – see below.

| THE PLOT TODAY: Two case studies on what happens when arguments are introduced *above* a participle:

- The first case study, from Greek, illustrates how participles combine with main verb HAVE, yielding a structure masquerading as the Perfect
- The second, from English, involves an apparent violation of the SPTR that turns out to be illusory, in part because it involves a denominal structure masquerading as a participle.
- In both cases, arguments that do not obey the SPTR turn out not to be arguments of a participle at all: apparent exceptions to the SPTR turn out to confirm it.

2 CASE STUDY 1: GREEK PSEUDOPERFECTS

| TWO PERFECTS? (8) is what is normally described as the Greek perfect, built with a perfective form sometimes called the *nonfinite*:

(8) *Perfect*

Exo ftiak- s- i ti valitsa.
have.1SG $\sqrt{\text{MAKE}}$ PFV 3SG? the.ACC suitcase.ACC
'I have packed the suitcase.'

There is also the underinvestigated construction in (9), with a *-men-* participle instead of the nonfinite:

(9) *Pseudoperfect*

Exo ftiay- men- i ti valitsa.
have.1SG $\sqrt{\text{MAKE}}$ PTCP F.3SG the.ACC suitcase.F.ACC
'I have the suitcase packed.'

Both (8) and (9) can be uttered when the surface subject is the agent of some prior suitcase-packing – leading some descriptive literature to classify both as perfects (Holton, Mackridge & Philippaki-Warbuton 2012: pp. 305–306).

| WHERE WE'RE GOING:

- (8) is a true perfect: auxiliary HAVE + a 'transitive' VoiceP
- (9) is the combination of main verb HAVE with a small clause containing the participle and its state-holder, as originally suggested in Iatridou (1995)
- The surface subject is an Agent in (8), but an Experiencer in (9)

2.1 First differences

| WORD ORDER: The order of the nonfinite and the ACC argument is rigid in the perfect (8)-(10); in the pseudoperfect, there is flexibility, (9)-(11). (Iatridou 1995)

(10) *Exo ti valitsa ftiaksi. (11) Exo ti valitsa ftiaymeni.
have.1SG the.ACC suitcase.ACC make.PFV have.1SG the.ACC suitcase.ACC make.PTCP
'I have packed the suitcase.' 'I have the suitcase packed.'

| AGREEMENT: In the perfect, the nonfinite is invariant, *-i* plausibly a default 3SG form; the ACC is not agreed with. In the pseudoperfect, the participle shows nominal concord with the ACC (Iatridou 1995):

(12) Exis ftiaks- {i/*is} to sako.
have.2SG make.PFV 3SG?/2SG the bag.M.ACC
'You have packed the bag.'

(13) Exis ftaiymen- o to sako.
 have.2SG make.PTCP M.ACC the bag.M.ACC
 ‘You have packed the bag.’

| VOICE ALTERNATIONS are possible with the perfect (14); the pseudoperfect doesn’t alternate.

(14) I valitsa eçi ftiax- θ- i.
 the.NOM suitcase.NOM have.3SG make PFV.NACT 3SG?
 ‘The suitcase has been packed.’

| APPLIED ARGUMENTS are possible in the perfect (15) but not in the pseudoperfect (16), cf. (6).

<p>(15) Exo xarisi tis Marias ena have.1SG gift.PFV the Mary.GEN one vivlio. book.ACC ‘I’ve gifted Mary a book.’</p>	<p>(16) *Exo xarismeno tis Marias ena have.1SG gift.PTCP the Mary.GEN one vivlio. book ‘I have a book gifted Mary.’</p>
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| EVENT MODIFICATION is unrestricted in the perfect (17) but severely restricted in the pseudoperfect (18).

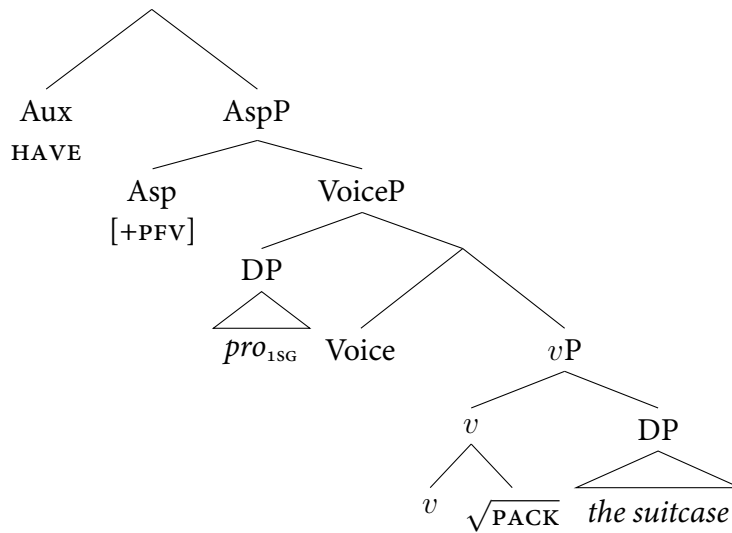
(17) a. Exo vapsi ton tixo (poles fores).
 have.1SG paint.PFV the wall.ACC many times
 ‘I’ve painted the wall (many times).’
 b. Exo xtipisi tin kambana (ðinata).
 have.1SG hit.PFV the bell.ACC loudly
 ‘I’ve rung the bell (loudly).’

(18) a. Exo vamenon ton tixo (*poles fores).
 have.1SG paint.PTCP the wall many times
 ‘I have the wall painted (many times).’
 b. Exo xtipimeni tin kambana (*ðinata).
 have.1SG hit.PTCP the bell.ACC loudly
 ‘I have the bell rung (loudly).’

(17)-(18) is typical of *-men-* participles, which resist state-irrelevant event modification elsewhere (Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou & Schäfer 2015; Paparounas 2023b; cp. Alexiadou, Gehrke & Schäfer 2014) - like participles elsewhere (Embick 2023; Gehrke 2015; Maienborn, Gese & Stolterfoht 2016; Andrew McIntyre 2013; Meltzer-Asscher 2011; Rapp 1996).

| IN THE CASE OF THE PERFECT, these asymmetries are not surprising:

(19) *Perfect: Structure*



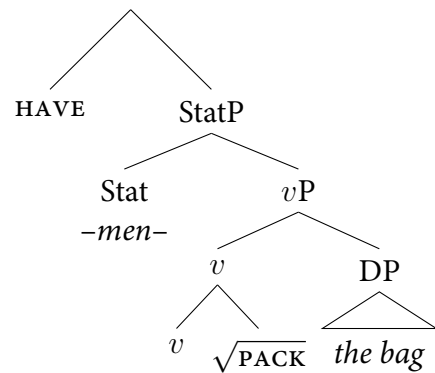
- Obligatory verb-raising as far as Asp (Alexiadou 1997: 97, 148ff, Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1998: pp. 497–498) ensures rigid nonfinite-ACC order
- Nothing to prevent voice alternations, event modification or applied argument introduction

What, then, of the pseudoperfect?

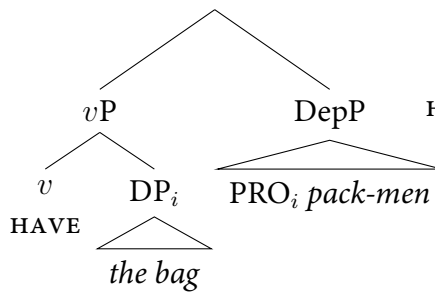
2.2 The pseudoperfect below have: Small clause

| THREE POSSIBILITIES, abstracting away from the external argument for now:

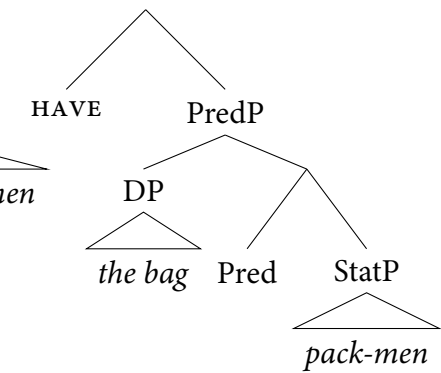
(20) ‘Transitive’ *vP*



(21) *Secondary predication*



(22) *Small clause*



| ARGUMENTS AGAINST (20)-(21): Iatridou (1995) argues for (22) by elimination.

- (20) is ruled out by the contrasts with the Perfect; note also that *-men-* participles don’t have low arguments elsewhere (Paparounas 2023b).
- (21) is ruled out by (23), which suggests there’s no thematic relation between HAVE and the ACC DP.

- (23) a. #Exo to pođi mu.
 have.1SG the.ACC leg.ACC 1SG.GEN
 ‘I have my leg.’
 b. Exo spazmeno to pođi mu.
 have.1SG break.PTCP the leg.ACC 1SG.GEN
 ‘I have my leg (broken).’

Note that there’s indeed no strict possession relation entailed:

- (24) CONTEXT: *Car mechanic on the phone.*
 Exo ftaiymeno to aftokinito su.
 have.1SG fix.PTCP the car.ACC 2SG.GEN
 ‘I have your car fixed.’

| ARGUMENTS FOR (22): It is possible to show more directly that the ACC is a state-holder, thematically linked to the participle and not to HAVE.

— **Thematic reversals**

Arguments of the participles of ingestive verbs (*eat, drink, smoke, learn, ...*) admit apparent agent construals, e.g. *eaten* ≈ ‘full’. (Anagnostopoulou 2001; Arad 1998; Paparounas 2025; cf. e.g. Haspelmath 1994: p. 161, Naess 2011: 418ff)

- (25) CONTEXT: [*The vicious human-eating plant consumes Mary.*]
 I Maria ine pleon fayomeni.
 the.NOM Mary.NOM be.3SG as.of.now eat.PTCP.F.NOM
 ‘Mary is now eaten.’

- (26) a. Q: I’m setting the table – is Mary joining us?
 b. A1: Oçi, i Maria ine fayomeni.
 no the.NOM Mary.NOM be.3SG eat.PTCP.F.NOM
 ‘No – Mary is full.’ (stative participle)
 c. A2: Oçi, i Maria eçi fai.
 no the.NOM Mary.NOM have.3SG eat.PFV
 ‘No – Mary has eaten.’ (active perfect)

Paparounas (2025) points out that such apparent *thematic reversals* only ever arise for state-holders of ingestive participles, and never for themes of ingestive verbs elsewhere.

These effects can then be leveraged as a diagnostic for whether a given argument is an argument of the participle or not.

As expected, themes of perfects never license thematic reversals (27); but the theme of the pseudoperfect can (28).

- (27) a. #Exo fai tus θamones.
 have.1SG eat.PFV the.ACC patrons.ACC
 ‘I’ve eaten the patrons.’

b. #I θamones eçun fayothi.
 the.NOM patrons.NOM have.3PL eat.NACT.PFV
 ‘The patrons have been eaten.’

(28) Exo tus θamones fayomenus.
 have.1SG the.ACC patrons.ACC eat.PTCP.F.NOM
 ‘I have the patrons full.’

— **Aspectual restrictions**

Verbs without good end-states (e.g. activities) have trouble forming stative participles (29) (Biggs & Embick 2025a; Kratzer 2001); perfects are not subject to such restrictions (30):

(29) O tixos ine vamenos / #klotsimenos.
 the.NOM wall.NOM be.3SG paint.PTCP kick.PTCP
 ‘The wall is painted/kicked.’

(30) Exo vapsi / klotsisi ton tixo.
 have.1SG paint.PFV kick.PFV the.ACC wall.ACC
 ‘I’ve painted/kicked the wall.’

The ACC DP of the pseudoperfect again patterns like other state-holders of participles:

(31) Exo ton tixo vamenos / #klotsimeno.
 have.1SG the.ACC wall.ACC paint.PTCP kick.PTCP
 ‘I have the wall painted/kicked.’

It is possible to override the aspectual restrictions by coercing an end-state, yielding so-called *job-is-done* readings (32); such repairs apply to the pseudoperfect, too:

(32) *CONTEXT: All newly erected walls in the construction site must be kicked at least once to test their stability.*
 a. I tixi ine klotsimeni, pame na fiyume.
 the.NOM walls.NOM be.3SG kick.PTCP go.1PL COMP leave.1PL
 ‘The walls are kicked, let’s go.’
 b. Exo tus tixus klotsimenus, pame na fiyume.
 have.1SG the.NOM walls.NOM kick.PTCP go.1PL COMP leave.1PL
 ‘The walls are kicked, let’s go.’

| THE ACC DP is then an argument of the participle underlyingly—but it patterns as a surface object of HAVE:

- **Case:** Accusative must come from *have*; Greek participles are never Case-assigners.
- **Clitic doubling** is unproblematic with the ACC of the pseudoperfect, like with other DP objects:

- (41) a. *Pseudoperfect: Defeasible agent inferences*
 Exo ftiaymeni ti valitsa – ala ðen tin eftiaksa eyo.
 have.1SG make.PTCP the suitcase.ACC but NEG 3SG.F.ACC make.PST.1SG 1SG.NOM
 ‘I have the suitcase packed – but I didn’t pack it myself.’
- b. *Perfect: Strict agent entailments*
 Exo ftiaksi ti valitsa – #ala ðen tin eftiaksa eyo.
 have.1SG make.PFV the suitcase.ACC but NEG 3SG.F.ACC make.PST.1SG 1SG.NOM
 ‘I have packed the suitcase – but I didn’t pack it myself.’

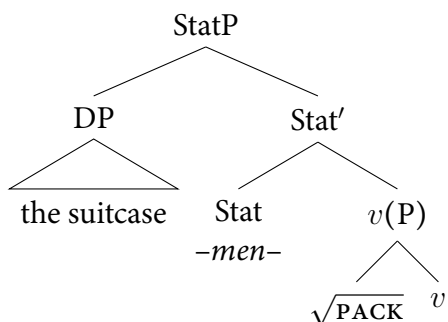
2.4 Analysis

| ARGUMENT INTRODUCTION IN THE PARTICIPLE:

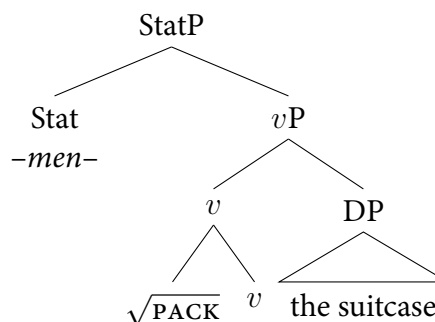
Greek *-men-* participles have an external predication syntax, (42) – i.e. not (43).¹

(Lascaratou 1991; Lascaratou & Philippaki-Warburton 1983; Paparounas 2023a; b; submitted; *pace* Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 2005; 2008; Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou & Schäfer 2015; Anagnostopoulou 2003; 2016)

(42) *External predication*



(43) *Low Origin*



A sketch of how (42) is interpreted:

- (44) a. $\llbracket v(P) \rrbracket = \lambda e_1. \text{pack}(e_1)$
 b. $\llbracket \text{Stat} \rrbracket = \lambda f_{\langle v,t \rangle}. \lambda x. \lambda s. \exists e. f(e) \wedge \text{End}(e, s) \wedge \text{Holder}(s, x)$
 c. $\llbracket \text{Stat}' \rrbracket = \lambda x. \lambda s. \exists e. \text{pack}(e) \wedge \text{End}(e, s) \wedge \text{Holder}(s, x)$
 d. $\llbracket \text{StatP} \rrbracket = \lambda s. \exists e. \text{pack}(e) \wedge \text{End}(e, s) \wedge \text{Holder}(s, \text{the suitcase})$

The STATIVE PARTICIPLE THEME RESTRICTION is then enforced by (45):

(45) *End Theme Postulate*

$$\text{End}(e, s) \rightarrow \text{Holder}(s, x) \equiv \text{Theme}(e, x)$$

(Parsons 1990: p. 119; Pietroski 2006: p. 181; A. Williams 2015: 319ff; A. Williams 2026; for applications to participles see e.g. Biggs & Embick 2025b, Meltzer-Asscher 2011: p. 844, Paparounas 2025)

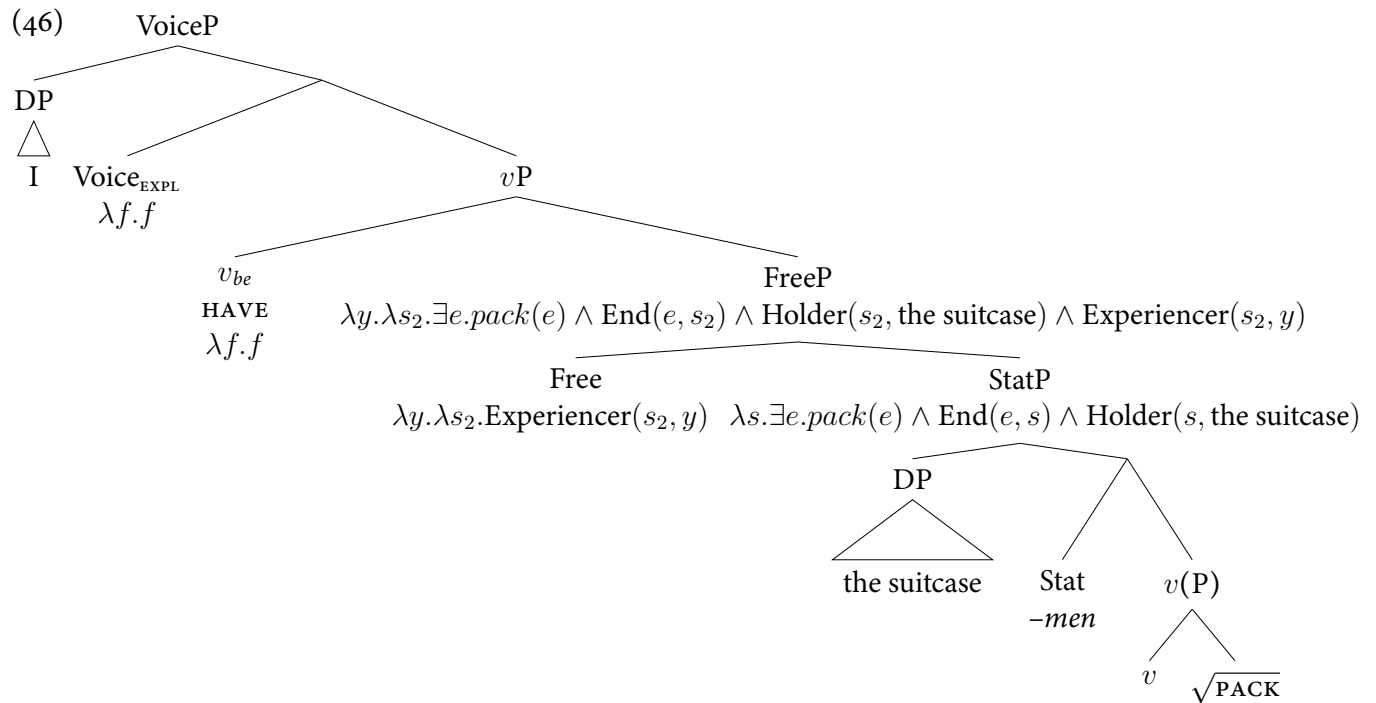
Because the argument is primarily a Holder and derivatively a Theme, the Theme reading can be overridden under restricted circumstances – recall ingestives above.

¹This is a clear point of parametric variation. (42) is found in e.g. Russian (Pesetsky 1982: p. 63), Italian (Burzio 1981: pp. 30–31), Hebrew (Borer 2005: p. 62, Horvath & Siloni 2008: p. 109), and (arguably) English (Embick 2023; Levin & Rappaport 1986; Andrew McIntyre 2013). (43) is correct for e.g. BCS (Bešlin 2022) and Turkish (Akkuş & Paparounas resubmitted). Some languages evidence both structures, e.g. Kanien'kéha (Mohawk) (Gatchalian, Coon & Paparounas 2026).

| INTRODUCING A HIGHER ARGUMENT: In the pseudoperfect, higher structure separate from the participle adds an experiencer.

One concrete implementation inspired by Myler (2016: ch. 4):

- Lexical HAVE is a (transitive) light verb copula v , contributing an identity function (for Greek see Kampanarou 2024)
- A head Free introduces an Experiencer role but no DP, composing with StatP via Event Identification (Kratzer 1996)
- The surface subject originates in the specifier of expletive Voice in the sense of Schäfer (2008), and comes to saturate the Experiencer role (delayed saturation à la Myler 2016; Wood 2015)



2.5 Interim summary

- The ACC DP is the participle's sole argument, and it obeys the SPTR;
- The surface subject is an experiencer introduced by structure *above* the participle — it was never going to obey the SPTR, because it was never the participle's argument to begin with.

- c. ...John has been dancing her around the room for 3 hours
- (58) a. CONTEXT: *We've been running scams at the old folks' home for hours, but I decide to call it a day.*
I'm all scammed out.
- b. CONTEXT: *We've been running scams at the old folks' home for weeks now, but they've finally caught on to us, stating they've had enough of our shenanigans.*
Those geezers are all scammed out.

The only hard constraint seems to be for the surface subject to be (consciously) holding some experiential state related to the X in *X-ed out*:

- (59) CONTEXT: *We've been scamming the residents at the old folks' home for weeks now. They haven't caught on to our scheme, but there's no money left in any of them. When you ask if I want to try and hit up the home again, I say no.*
#Those geezers are all scammed out.

This kind of flexibility is of course exactly what is not found with participles elsewhere.

- | THE MAIN POINT: When thematic flexibility arises, we are *not* dealing with a participle at all:
- Underlying SPTR-violating parses of (57) is a *denominal* structure – built from the noun ‘a dance’.
 - With this much in place, two questions will arise:
 1. What about the participial(-looking) morphology?
 2. What is *out* doing?

3.2 A nominal base: Evidence

| STRESS PAIRS: English has noun/verb distinctions marked by stress with certain Roots, e.g.:

- (60) a. súspect_N : suspéct_V
 b. récord_N : recórd_V
 c. prógress_N : progréss_V
 d. ...

Stress preservation suggests that deverbal *X-ed out* complies with the SPTR (61); it is a manifestly denominal formation that behaves differently (62):

- (61) CONTEXT: *[The detective's been tracking his suspicions on a case the whole day]*
 ??I'm all suspected out.
- (62) CONTEXT: *[The detective's been sifting through pictures of suspects the whole day]*
 I'm all súspécted out.

Another set of examples:

- (63) CONTEXT: *[The sound engineer has been recording bands in the studio all day]*
 ??I'm all recórded out.

(64) CONTEXT: [We've been alphabetizing my massive record collection all day]
I'm all recorded out.

| STEM ALLOMORPHY

Roots like $\sqrt{\text{SING}}$ are useful: they show stem allomorphy for participles (*sing-sung*) and for the Root noun (*song*).

The unambiguously deverbal participle obeys the SPTR (65). Crucially, clearly denominal *songed* becomes possible in the presence of *out* (66): SPTR-violating readings are only possible with *songed* (66a), while deverbal *sung out* only supports TR-obeying readings (66b).

(65) a. The choir is now ***sung** / ***songed**. (66) a. The choir is all **songed** / ??**sung** out.
b. The aria is now **sung** / ***songed**. b. The aria is all ?**sung** / ***songed** out.

Similar data from $\sqrt{\text{SWIM}}$ (whose root nominal *a swim* isn't morphologically distinct):

(67) a. The Channel is now **swum** / ***swimmed**.
b. The water polo team is now ***swum** / ***swimmed**.
(68) The water polo team is all ?**swimmed** / ??**swum** out.

| OVERTLY NOMINALIZED NOUNS make the same point: consider *book_v* versus *book-ing_N*:

(69) The hotel is full – it's all **booked** / ***bookinged** (out).
(70) The travel agent has been making reservations all day - she's all ?**bookinged** / ***booked** *(out).

| A FIRST TAKEAWAY: When *X-ed out* seems to violate the SPTR, a nominal base is involved.
Two options for how to proceed:

1. These **are** participles – of denominal verbs:

(71) [[-ed_{Stat} [v [n $\sqrt{\text{ROOT}}$]]] out]

(cf. e.g. Adamson 2018; Arad 2003; Clark & Clark 1979; Hale & Keyser 1997; Harley 2005; Kiparsky 1982; Andrew McIntyre 2015)

2. These **are not** participles – the noun remains a noun, and the participial-looking morphology is something else:

(72) [[-ed_? [n $\sqrt{\text{ROOT}}$]] out]

I'll explore the second option here, but the first one is not out of the race yet; ask me!

3.3 A predicativizing morpheme

| A FREQUENT PATTERN: Elsewhere (in Indo-European), exponents that resemble participial morphology are recruited beyond participles proper:

- (73) a. Engl. *bearded, moneyed, mustachioed, top-hatted, monocled, bespectacled, white-haired, brown-eyed, three-legged, well-intentioned, well-mannered...* (Nevins & Myler 2014; see also (Bruening 2014: p. 409))
 b. Grk. *bratso-menos* ‘muscled’, *matso-menos* ‘moneyed’, *kamburjaz-menos* ‘with a hump’, *psomo-menos* ‘plump (lit. breaded)’ (Anagnostopoulou 2016: p. 456)
 c. Germ. *ge-stiefel-t* ‘booted’; Dutch *be-haar-d* ‘hairy’ (Myler 2016: p. 373)

At least some of these – possibly all barring (73c) and Engl. *be-spectacled*, on which see Myler 2016: p. 373 – are plausibly not event-entailing: being *bearded* does not entail having been bearded:

(74) #His genes/his hair follicles/Mother Nature bearded John.

| UPSHOT: English has a *predicativizing* morpheme realized as *-ed*; partly following Myler (2016), let’s assign it a locational semantics:

(75) $\llbracket a_{ed} \rrbracket = \lambda f_{\langle e,t \rangle} \lambda x. \lambda s. \exists y. f(y) \wedge \text{On}(s, y) \wedge \text{Holder}(s, x)$

(76) $\llbracket a_{ed} \rrbracket(\llbracket \text{beard} \rrbracket) = \lambda x. \lambda s. \exists y. \text{beard}(y) \wedge \text{On}(s, y) \wedge \text{Holder}(s, x)$

(76) correctly predicts that the predicativizer will be odd with e.g. kinship terms (77) and its felicity with currently-worn clothing (78) (cp. Nevins & Myler 2014).

(77) *sistered, *three-sistered

(78) A top-hatted man walked in.

3.4 Final piece: out

| BASIC IDEA: Exhaustive *out* is a resultative particle (Andrew McIntyre 2003; Svenonius 2003; 2007) introducing state-holders of some threshold, a Limit (79).

(79) $\llbracket \text{out} \rrbracket = \lambda z. \lambda s_2. \text{Limit}(s_2) \wedge \text{Holder}(s_2, z)$

Inanimate state-holders are read as being out of capacity (80); animate ones as having attained an internal limit for some contextually relevant stimulus, i.e. as experiencers (81).

(80) a. The store’s out of bagels.

(81) That’s it, I’m out.

b. The hotel is booked out.

Note also situations where *out* seems to introduce experiencers with psych verbs:

(82) I grossed/freaked/psyched/stressed/tripped/mellowed/bummed/put him *(out).

| PROSPECT: In (83), *Mary* is at capacity with respect to dances – with context filling in the rest.

(83) Mary has been watching the kids’ dance recital all day – she’s all danced out.

3.5 Putting the pieces together: Towards an analysis

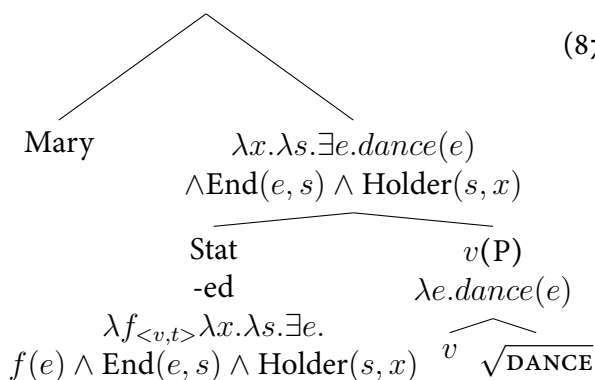
| BASIC CASES: English is like Greek:

- With true stative participles, the SPTR applies (via the End Theme Postulate), forcing Theme readings of the surface subject;
- (84) is thus infelicitous insofar as dancing events lack Themes; (85) only has a Theme reading; etc.

(84) #Mary is danced.

(85) Mary is smoked.

(86) *Deverbal structure*



(87) $\text{End}(e, s) \rightarrow \text{Holder}(s, x) \equiv \text{Theme}(e, x)$

- With verbal *X-ed out*, the deverbal participle combines with *out* in a way parallel to secondary resultative predication (88), and the SPTR still applies (89):

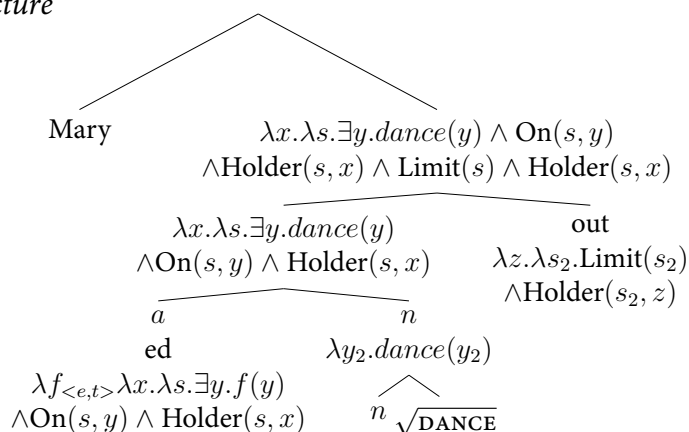
(88) The metal is hammered flat.

(89) The aria is all ?sung / *songed out.

| DENOMINAL STRUCTURE: The pieces are different.

- Nominal *dance* combines with predicativizing *-ed*;
- The result, combined with *out*, denotes a predicate of states whereby *dance* is on the state-holder and the state-holder has attained an internal limit;
- The Limit predicate helps understand locational *At* as a predicate of experience (for experiencers as mental locations, see e.g. Landau 2010);
- Thus: the holder has had enough of dances.

(90) *Denominal structure*



Importantly, and abstracting away from the individual moving parts:

- There is neither verbal structure nor a state-yielding event here. The End Theme Postulate does not apply; *Mary* is nothing but a state-holder; and thematic flexibility follows.
- We expect thematic flexibility to be impossible without the denominal structure, and this seems to be correct:

(91)??I swam Mary out.

4 CONCLUSION

The two case studies differ substantially in details, but they converge on a central theme:

- True arguments of deverbal participles are *thematically rigid*: they obey the SPTR.
- Deviations from this pattern – *thematic flexibility* – never involve arguments of participles; the SPTR-violating argument is not an argument of the participle at all.
 - It's structure embedding the participle that introduces the argument (Greek);
 - There is no participle to begin with (English)

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