Greek stative passives as small non-passives

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Stative passives formed with the stativizer *–men–* in Greek are mixed projections, combining adjectival with verbal properties syntactically, and stative with eventive components interpretively. This paper brings to light novel generalizations on how these distinct sets of properties are syntactically configured. A close comparison of the stative passive with its eventive counterpart, the closest comparandum exhiting a *bona fide* verbal phrasal syntax, affords new insights into the event and argument structure of the stative passive: the event entailed by the stative passive cannot be directly targeted for syntactic modification; and the core argument of the stative passive is structurally and interpretively severed from the verbal structure, associated instead only with the higher stative projection. This state of affairs is argued to follow from a complex head analysis of Greek stative passives: the stative passive is built from a verbal projection that lacks phrasal properties. This solution is argued to be superior to both phrasal syntactic and lexicalist alternatives.

Keywords: stative passive; adjectival passive; event structure; argument structure; adjectives; Modern Greek

1 Introduction

This paper is concerned with stative passives[1] in Modern Greek, and what they can teach us about the syntax of arguments and eventualities. My focus is on the Greek participle in *–men–* (1).[2]

(1) I zoni ine asfal- iz- men- i.
the.NOM belt.NOM be.3SG secure VBZ PTCP F.NOM
'The seat belt is fastened.'

Stative passives raise questions in two broad areas of interest (see e.g. Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 2008; Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou, & Schäfer 2015; Anagnostopoulou 2003; Bešlin 2021; Biggs & Embick 2025b; Bresnan 1982; Bruening 2014; Embick 2004a, 2023; Gehrke 2015; Kratzer 2001; Levin & Rappaport 1986; McIntyre 2013; Meltzer-Asscher 2011; Rapp 1996; Wasow 1977; E. Williams 1981):

(Q1) *Argument structure*

How are the arguments of stative passives introduced syntactically and interpreted thematically?

(Q2) *Event structure*

What is the nature of the eventualities making up the stative passive?

[1] Some works use the term *adjectival passive*, following especially Wasow (1977); I avoid this terminology as it focalises a categorial divide whose theoretical centrality is uncertain (Bešlin 2022; Dubinsky & Simango 1996: see). Unfortunately, the term *stative passive* is itself not free of problems: if section 3 is on the right track, Greek *–men–* participles are not passives in any clear sense (cf. Legate 2021 on the descriptive label 'passive' crosslinguistically), and they are not always interpretively stative either, see section 6.3. I use the terms '*–men–* stative passive', '*–men–* participle'and '*–men–* stative' interchangeably in this paper.

[2] All judgments on Modern Greek are the native speaker author's and have been confirmed with three more native speakers; additional judgments from Greek-speaking linguists were gathered at multiple linguistics conferences. Points of inter-speaker variation are noted whenever such variation has been observed.

Though these questions are formulated here in a manner circumscribed to stative passives, answers to these questions are potentially far-reaching. Stative passives have long been brought to bear on our understanding of the placement of word formation in the grammar, and of the role of category in modulating argument introduction; as in the parallel literature on deverbal nominalizations (e.g. Alexiadou 2001; Borer 2003; Chomsky 1970; Grimshaw 1990; Marantz 1995, 1997; Wood 2023), focussed attention on the specific phenomenon at hand have been interwoven with broader theoretical considerations.

This paper develops a novel diagnostic toolkit to address Q1 and Q2 as applied to Greek (1). With respect to Q1, I argue based on novel observations that Greek *–men–* participles have the structure of external adjectival predications: the core argument (*the seat belt* in (1)) is structurally external to the stative passive's verbal substructure, and its direct thematic integration is with the stative eventuality of fastedness, not the entailed fastening event. Regarding Q2, I show that only the stative eventuality admits phrasal modification: phrasal modifiers cannot directly target the event in (1).

I argue that these findings are best understood under a *complex head* approach whereby the *–men–* stative passive is syntactically constructed yet lacks unambiguously phrasal verbal substructure; the paper thus provides new empirical arguments in favor of the possibility of 'small' structures for some deverbal categories, proposed in Embick (2023) for English stative passives and in Wood (2023) for Icelandic nominalizations. By attributing a 'small syntax' to the stative passive's verbal core, the approach derives the non-modifiability of the event in Greek *–men–* participles; it is also fully compatible with their syntax as external predications.

Like any emerging approach, the complex head analysis faces a high evidentiary burden relative to more well-established approaches. I argue that it passes the requisite high bar relative to the two salient alternatives from the literature. A first, syntactic alternative would assign to the verbal structure of the stative passive the status of a full-fledged phrasal verbal projection, resulting in what Wood (2023) has dubbed *Phrasal Layering* (see esp. Alexiadou et al. 2015; Anagnostopoulou 2003; Bruening 2014; Embick 2004a). I argue here that the Greek stative passive is not amenable to such an account: since the verbal substructure of the *–men–* participle hosts neither arguments nor phrasal modifiers, it is not a vP like any other. A second alternative would take the stative passive to be constructed by presyntactic lexical rules, and to lack internal structure in the syntax (Gehrke 2015; Horvath & Siloni 2008; Koring, Reuland, Sangers, & Wexler 2024; Levin & Rappaport 1986; McIntyre 2013; Meltzer-Asscher 2011; Wasow 1977). Though the complex head and lexical approaches overlap predictively with respect to the paper's core generalizations, I argue that the lexical account is unable to do justice to a further set of facts, concerning the behavior of stative passives in attributive position. A syntactic approach to the structure of stative passives is thus found to be superior, but only under a refined understanding of what it means for an object to be syntactically constructed that raises new questions of its own.

Throughout, I follow a time-honored approach to the study of stative passives going back at least to Wasow (1977), comparing them to their arguably better-understood eventive counterparts (see esp. Bešlin 2022; Biggs & Embick 2025b; Bresnan 1982; Bruening 2014; Dubinsky & Simango 1996; Levin & Rappaport 1986; Marantz 2001; Ramchand 2018). In the study of languages like English, where stative and eventive passives share a participial core, the question of how the two differ arises immediately (for two recent discussions to the distribution of English participles, see e.g. Biggs and Embick 2025b, Ramchand 2018: ch.3). In Greek, the participle is restricted to the stative passive, which is thus transparently distinguished from both eventive passives and from perfects, both active and passive. This restricted distribution of the participle makes Greek an ideal language for the study of the structural underpinnings of stativity; but it also means that the question of how eventive and stative passives differ has arisen more obliquely. Early literature building on Wasow (1977) notes divergences between Greek stative and eventive passives (Lascaratou 1984, 1991; Lascaratou & Philippaki-Warburton 1983); later literature building on Kratzer (2001) adopts the position that at least some Greek stative passives are effectively stativized eventive passives (Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 2005, 2008; Alexiadou et al. 2015; Anagnostopoulou 2003, 2016). Approaching the issue from the perspective of novel diagnostics, I side with the earlier literature on Greek in finding reasons to depart from an approach

assimilating stative passives to their eventive counterparts; however, the results of section 6 reinforce the conclusion of more recent literature that a syntactic approach to the formation of *–men–* participles is called for.

The paper is structured as follows. Section 2 provides essential background points on Greek stative passives. Sections 3 to 4 constitute the empirical core of the paper, developing new observations on the argument and event structure of the *–men–* stative passive, respectively. Section 5 raises questions for an approach taking *–men–* participles to be ambiguous in a way that structurally instantiates the target/resultant state distinction of Kratzer (2001), *pace* Alexiadou et al. (2015: ch. 5) and much prior work. Section 6 argues for the complex head approach over alternatives positing that the *–men–* stative involves either phrasal verbal syntax or no internal syntax at all. Section 7 summarizes and concludes the paper.

2 Background points

2.1 *–men– statives: Basic properties*

I begin by outlining certain basic properties of the Greek *–men–* stative, synthesizing well-established conclusions from previous work on the language (Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 2008; Alexiadou et al. 2015; Alexiadou, Gehrke, & Schäfer 2014; Anagnostopoulou 2003; Lascaratou 1991; Lascaratou & Philippaki-Warburton 1983; Markantonatou, Caliakostas, Boubourekа, Kordoni, & Stavrakaki 1996).

–men– statives entail two eventualities: a resultant state, and a state-yielding event. Thus, a seat belt that is fastened in (1) is a seat belt that is in a state resulting from a fastening event. Both entailments can be directly diagnosed. Like other states, *–men–* participles admit modification by adverbials like *for an hour* (2). As for the event entailment, explicitly denying the existence of an event that brought about the state results in infelicity (3); other event-diagnosing tests converge on this point (see e.g. Anagnostopoulou 2003: 12, ex. (42) and Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 2008: 34, ex. (13) for the creation verb test following Embick 2004a: 357).[3]

(2) I zoni itan asfalizmeni ja mia ora.
the.NOM belt.NOM be.3SG secure.PTCP.F.NOM for one hour
'The seat belt was fastened for an hour.'

(3) Afti i zoni ine asfalizmeni, #ala ðen eçi asfalisθi.
this.NOM the.NOM seat.belt.NOM be.3SG secure.PTCP.F.NOM but NEG have.3SG secure.PFV.NACT.3SG
'This seat belt is fastened, #but it hasn't been fastened.'
(cf. Anagnostopoulou 2003: 11, ex. (39), Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 2008: 34, ex. (10))

–men– statives are adjectival in their external distribution and outer morphology. They modify noun phrases both predicatively and attributively (see section 6.3), bearing adjectival inflection in concord with the head noun; they also form comparatives and superlatives and appear as complements of verbs like *seem* and *appear* (see Lascaratou & Philippaki-Warburton 1983: 101-103). The participles also host adjectival, not verbal, negation. Whereas verbal negation is hosted on the negator *ðen* in (4a), participles are negated with *a(n)-* (4b), a *bona fide* adjectival negator (4c)-(4d) (cf. the cognate *un-* in English).[4]

[3] The eventive entailment in *–men–* statives thus has the status of what Ramchand (2018: ch.3) refers to an *event actuality implication*: the *–men–* participle always denotes a predicate of states that result from an actual, instantiated event named by the verb. In this, *–men–* is crucially different from *prima facie* similar participles elsewhere, which sometimes realize states that typically follow from events of a particular type, without necessarily entailing an instantiated event (see e.g. Embick 2004a; Ramchand 2018 for English). In Greek, such states are expressed either by means of simplex adjectives (9) or by a distinct participle in *–t–*, on which see main text below.

[4] Note that adjectival negation causes the stativizer to be realized as *–t–*; this effect is well-known and remains unexplained. *–t–*

(4) a. Poli anθropi ðen ine asfaliz- meni.
many.PL.NOM human.PL.NOM NEG be.3PL √SECURE PTCP.M.NOM.PL
'Many people are not insured.'

b. Poli anθropi ine an- asfalis- ti.
many.PL.NOM human.PL.NOM be.3PL NEG √SECURE PTCP.M.NOM.PL
'Many people are uninsured.'

c. an- iθikos, a- ðikos, a- veveos
NEG moral NEG just NEG certain
'immoral, unjust, uncertain'

d. *an- asfal- iz- o
NEG √SECURE VBZ 1SG
Intended: 'to make insecure/uninsured'

–*men*– participles also show verbal properties. They are verbal in their inner morphology, witness the presence of overt verbalizers seen in many examples above. As the following examples show, the form taken by a verbalizer in the participle is fully predictable by the form of the verbalizer in the corresponding verb: whatever allomorph of the verbalizing morpheme is found when a given Root forms a verb is also found in the participle built from the same Root (see Spyropoulos, Revithiadou, and Panagiotidis 2015 for Greek verbalizers).

(5) a. asfal- is
√SECURE M.NOM.SG
'secure'

b. asfal- *(iz)- o
√SECURE VBZ 1SG
'I secure/fasten'

c. asfal- *(iz)- men- os
√SECURE VBZ PTCP M.NOM.SG
'secured/fastened'

(6) a. aðj- os
√EMPTY M.NOM.SG
'empty'

b. aðj- *(az)- o
√EMPTY VBZ 1SG
'I empty'

c. aðj- *(az)- men- os
√EMPTY VBZ PTCP M.NOM.SG
'emptied'

(7) a. strat- os
√ARMY M.NOM.SG
'army'

b. strat- *(ev)- ome
√ARMY VBZ 1SG.NACT
'I become conscripted'

c. strat- *(ev)- men- os
√ARMY VBZ PTCP M.NOM.SG
'conscripted'

Any adequate theory of the facts will thus have to state that verbs form the input to the formation of the stative passive. There is, moreover, every reason to associate the stative entailment with the category realized as –*men*–, distinct from the verbal subsctructure that participles share with purely verbal forms.

is also the shape of a distinct stativizer with very different properties than –*men*– (see e.g. Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 2008; Anagnostopoulou 2003; Markantonatou et al. 1996; Samioti 2009): notably, –*t*– carries no event implications. Nonetheless, it can be shown that negated –*t*– participles are canonically the negated counterpart of non-negated –*men*–, not –*t*–, participles (Alexiadou et al. 2015: 169-170, Paparounas 2023: 175-176). It remains unclear why negation interacts with the realization of the stativizer: –*t*– is plausibly the elsewhere allomorph, but it is unclear what aspect of the structure of negated statives forces it to be selected over more specific –*men*–.

–*men*– participles can combine with material that otherwise only ever modifies verbs: for instance, the so-called incorporated adverbs of Greek (see Rivero 1992) appear compounded with verbal formations (8a), but can also appear in stative passives (8b) even though they do not ever modify simplex adjectives (8c). Modification by adverbial phrases is also sometimes licensed with stative passives but not with simplex adjectives (9). See section 4 for constraints on adverbial modification in the stative passive, and see section 6.3 for the behavior of attributive statives like (9a) more specifically.

(8) a. Prepi na kaθaro- ɣraf- is tis simiosis su.
must.3SG COMP √CLEAN √WRITE 2SG the.ACC.PL note.ACC.PL 2SG.GEN
'You should write your notes clearly.'

b. Aftes i simiosis ine kaθaro- ɣra- menes.
this.PL.NOM the.PL.NOM note.PL.NOM be.3PL √CLEAN √WRITE PTCP.F.NOM
'These notes are clearly written.'

c. *To xarti ine kaθaro- aspro.
the.NOM paper.NOM be.3SG √CLEAN white

(9) a. (ɣriɣora) aðj- az- men- i dulapa.
quickly √EMPTY VBZ PTCP F.NOM closet
'(quickly) emptied closet'

b. (#ɣriɣora) aðj- a dulapa
quickly √EMPTY F.NOM closet
'(quickly) empty closet'

A final crucial property of –*men*– stative passives concerns the distribution of the stativizer –*men*–. This participial exponent only ever appears in stative passives in the language; stative passives in Greek are thus always surface-distinct from *eventive* passives, from perfects, and from simplex adjectives. This uniqueness of the stativizer makes Greek useful from a typological perspective, as the language makes it easy to distinguish what is unique to stative passives from those properties shared by other state-entailing structures (e.g. perfects), by passives, or by adjectives.

Eventive passives in the languages are not built using the participle. Synthetic forms of the eventive passive use affixal morphology (10a); compound tenses like the perfect (10b) employ an auxiliary combined not with the –*men*– participle, but with a separate perfective form sometimes labelled the nonfinite (see e.g. Holton, Mackridge, & Philippaki-Warburton 2012: 142).

(10) a. I zoni asfal- is- θ- ik- e.
the.NOM belt.NOM secure VBZ PFV.NACT PST 3SG
'The seat belt was fastened.'

b. I zoni eçi asfal- is- θ- i.
the.NOM belt.NOM have.3SG secure VBZ PFV.NACT 3SG
'The seat belt has been fastened.'

The –*men*– stative is also distinct from simplex adjectives, which never bear –*men*– (11) unless first verbalized (12); see also *empty* versus *emptied* in (9).

(11) I porta ine prasin- (*men-) i.
the.NOM door.NOM be.3SG green PTCP F.NOM
'The door is green.'

(12) a. I prasini bluza ksevapse ke prasin- **is**- e ola ta
the.NOM green.NOM shirt.NOM fade.PST.3SG and green VBZ 3SG all.ACC.PL the.ACC.PL

ruxa sto plindirio.
clothes.ACC.PL in.the washing.machine
'The green shirt underwent color bleeding and made all the clothes in the washing machine green.'

b. I porta prasin- **is**- e.
the.NOM door.NOM green VBZ 3SG
'The door turned green.' (e.g. by fading due to the sun, or by having moss grow on it)

c. I porta ine prasin- **iz**- men- i.
the.NOM door.NOM be.3SG green VBZ PTCP F.NOM
'The door is in a state of having turned green.'

There is thus every reason to treat the category realized by *–men–* as a stuctural ingredient unique to the stative passive. I will use the label Stat(ivizer) to refer to this category.

Putting these observations together, I follow much recent literature on stative passives in taking the stative passive to be a combination of the basic ingredients in (13) (see e.g. Alexiadou et al. 2015; Anagnostopoulou 2003; Embick 2004a). I assume basic tenets of Distributed Morphology (Halle & Marantz 1993), justifying a syntactic approach to the internal structure of the stative passive over lexicalist alternatives in section 6.

(13)

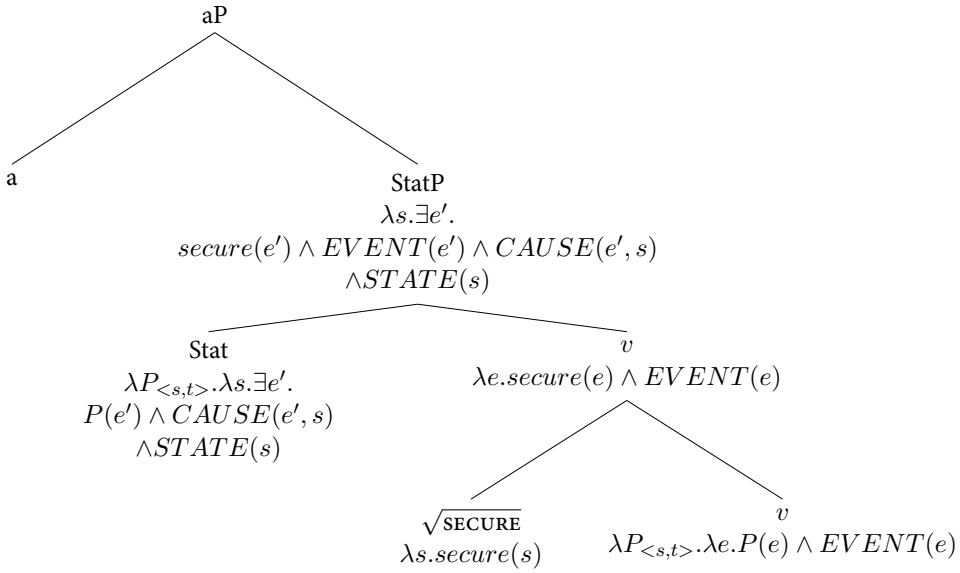
EXPONENT (IN (1))	asfal-	iz-	men-	i
CATEGORY	ROOT	v	Stat	a
GLOSSING	$\sqrt{\text{SECURE}}$	VBZ	PTCP	F.NOM.SG

These basic pieces are interpreted as in (14). I assume a typed lambda calculus fed by the syntax, following the general model in Heim and Kratzer (1998), with Function Application as the main mode of composition. I use s for the type of eventualities (both events and states), with variable e generally reserved for eventive eventualities and s for stative ones; other notation is standard.

An acategorial Root denoting a set of generic eventualities first head-adjoins to a category v; for simplicity, I take v to be responsible both for verbalization of the Root and for the introduction of eventivity. The combination of the Root and v denotes a predicate of events that are, in this case, events of fastening. Composition with Stat yield a predicate of states caused by an event of securing. An adjectivizer a finally guarantees an adjectival external distribution.[5]

[5]In place of CAUSE, one could link the stative and eventive eventuality via a predicate END. Effectively, instead of the event causing the state, the event would culminate in the state; see Biggs and Embick (2025b), Pietroski (2006), A. Williams (2015).

(14) *Basic skeleton of the stative passive*



(14) is a blueprint. It specifies neither *a)* where arguments originate in the stative passive, and how they are interpreted; nor *b)* what the properties of the two eventualities are, particularly with respect to different kinds of modification. These questions are taken up in turn in the rest of the paper.

2.2 Restrictions on stative passives

–men– statives are formed extremely freely from verbs in Modern Greek. They are nonetheless subject to two restrictions on the input to stativization, both familiar from the literature on stative passives.

A first restriction is aspectual: stative passives are easily formed on the basis of structures that felicitously denote an end state. When the input to stativization eventuality is context, this restriction manifests itself as a constraint on Aktionsart: for example, out-of-the-blue stative passives are easily formed from Roots that typically form accomplishments (15), which have a stative subcomponent, but not from Roots that typically form activities (16) and typically lack natural end-states (see e.g. Anagnostopoulou 2003; Biggs & Embick 2025a; Embick 2004a; Gehrke 2015; Kratzer 2001; Ramchand 2018; Rapp 1996).

(15) To vazo ine spazmeno.
the.NOM vase.NOM be.3SG break.PTCP.NOM.N
'The vase is broken.'

(16) #I bala ine klotsimeni.
the.NOM ball.NOM be.3SG kick.PTCP.NOM.F
'The ball is kicked.'

But it is well-known that the aspectual restriction is not, in fact, a blanket restriction on the appearance of particular (classes of) Roots in the stative passive. When the Root itself does not provide an end-state, the end-state can be either supplied externally to the Root or else contextually coerced; and when this is done, stative passives are acceptable. Externally-supplied end states are typically illustrated with resultative secondary predicates in languages like English, (17). Greek lacks resultatives of the English type (Giannakidou & Merchant 1999), but what appears to be the same amelioration effect sometimes arises under prefixation (18). Contextual coercion can also rescue statives formed from Roots that do not supply end states. Thus, the infelicitous (16) becomes acceptable if uttered in what is sometimes called a job-is-done context (see Biggs

and Embick 2025a; Gehrke 2015; Kratzer 2001; Maienborn 2009; Ramchand 2018): (19) uses a context from Embick (2004a: 361) that effectively fixes a degree of kickedness for something to count as being in a kicked target state.

(17) This box is kicked #(flat). (Biggs & Embick 2025a: 10)

(18) I bala ine kata- klotsimeni.
the.NOM ball.NOM be.3SG INTENS kick.PTCP.NOM
'The ball is kicked to shreds.'

(19) *[Our job in the football factory is to test the durability of newly produced footballs by kicking each of them at least once.]*

I bales ine klotsi- menes, pame na fiɣume.
the.NOM.PL ball.NOM.PL be.3PL $\sqrt{\text{KICK}}$ PTCP go.1PL COMP leave.1PL
'The balls are kicked, let's go home.'

Aspectual restrictions will remain a key variable to consider when constructing examples throughout this paper. I do not dwell further on the question of how these restrictions should be implemented. Clearly, some aspect of the system must be sensitive to the fact that the 'high state' contributed by Stat requires the presence of a downstairs stative component; whether this restriction is to be implemented in purely interpretive terms, or else syntacticized (see Ramchand 2018: ch.3 for one approach), is a question that the analysis below remains neutral on.

A second restriction regulates the interpretation of the DPs appearing in stative passives. All acceptable examples examined thus far involve stative passives predicated of DPs interpreted as Themes; other interpretations are typically not possible. Thus, a DP appearing in a stative passive formed from a ditransitive like (20a) can be felicitously read as the Theme (20b) but not the Goal (20c) of the stativized event; similarly, agentive interpretations of the DP are normally disallowed in the stative passive (21).

(20) 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.
the.NOM television.NOM be.3SG as.of.now sell.PTCP.F.NOM.SG
'The television is now sold.'

c. #O pelatis ine pleon pulimenos.
the.NOM customer.NOM be.3SG as.of.now sell.PTCP.M.NOM.SG
'The customer is now sold.'

(21) 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.'

This restriction has been understood by constraining the formation of stative passives to target either particular thematic roles (like Theme) or particular syntactic positions. Section section 3.2 offers references and

refinements to this basic picture on the basis of a new diagnostic; I thus postpone further discussion of patterns like (20)-(21) to that section. For now, it suffices to establish once again that the relevant restriction cannot be stated at the level of the Root.

Consider to this end two prototypical unergative-forming Roots in Greek, $\sqrt{\text{LAUGH}}$ and $\sqrt{\text{RUN}}$. As in English, $\sqrt{\text{LAUGH}}$ is canonically obligatorily intransitive: adding an internal argument is normally impossible (22a). Interestingly, transitive (really, object experiencer) *laugh* becomes possible under clitic doubling (22b), in which case a special interpretation of the Root is triggered: (22b) describes John being conned or deceived, and in this interpretation only, the verb may appear with the prefix *kse-*; for the role of clitic doubling in similar experiencer constructions, see e.g. Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (2019), Anagnostopoulou (1999). Crucially, stative passives formed from $\sqrt{\text{LAUGH}}$ are perfectly possible, but only under the transitive construal: (22c) can describe states held by John resulting from a deceiving event he sustained, but not from a laughing event. (23) illustrates the same state of affairs for $\sqrt{\text{RUN}}$ (for some speakers the interpretation 'to put someone through the wringer' is only available under prefixation with the intensifier *kata-*, in which case the verb has a stronger connotation of hounding or harassing).

(22) a. Ta peðja jelasan (*ton Jani).
the.NOM.PL child.NOM.PL laugh.PST.3PL the.ACC John.ACC
'The children laughed (John).'

b. Ta peðja *(ton) (kse-) jelasan ton Jani.
the child.NOM.PL 3SG.M.ACC PRFX laugh.PST.3PL the John.ACC
'The children deceived John.'

c. O Janis apoðixθike (kse-) jelazmenos.
the.NOM John.NOM prove.NACT.PST.3SG PRFX laugh.PTCP.M.NOM
✓'John proved to be deceived.' ✗'John proved to be laughed.'

(23) a. To afendiko treçi (*ton Jani).
the.NOM boss.NOM run.3SG the.ACC John.ACC
'The boss runs (John).'

b. To afendiko *(ton) %(kata-) treçi ton Jani.
the.NOM boss.NOM 3SG.M.ACC INTENS run.3SG the.ACC John.ACC
'The boss puts John through the wringer/hounds John.'

c. O Janis mu fenete %(kata-) treɣmenos.
the.NOM John.NOM 3SG.M.GEN appear.3SG INTENS run.PTCP.M.NOM
✓'John seems to me to be hounded.' ✗'John seems to me to be run.'

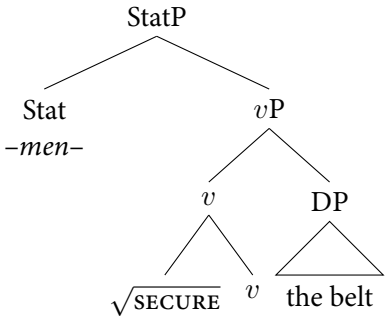
3 Argument structure: Placing and interpreting the argument

The first empirical question of interest here concerns how the arguments that appear in stative passives are introduced. The question can be posed from two perspectives, positional and thematic.

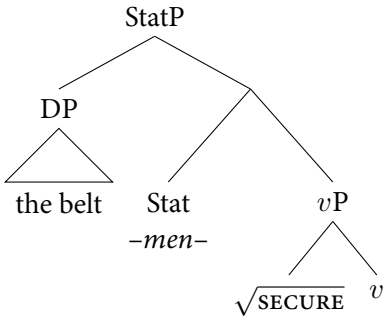
The positional flavor of the question asks where arguments are introduced in the structure of the stative passive. Two possibilities arise. The *Low Origin* view in (24) says that arguments of stative passives originate inside the verbal substructure, in the same position as the direct objects of transitive verbs and the surface subjects of unaccusatives/eventive passives. Low Origin is assumed in much syntactically-oriented work on Greek since Anagnostopoulou (2003) (cf. e.g. Embick 2004a on English). A conceivable alternative holds that the argument originates externally to the verbal projection: this is the *External Predication* view in (25), where I show the argument as being introduced by the stative projection for concreteness. External predication has been recently advocated for different English statives (Biggs 2021; Biggs and Embick 2025b; Embick 2023; Fruehwald and Myler 2015; McIntyre 2013 and, to some extent, Bruening 2014); it is also the default option

in lexicalist work, where there is by hypothesis no syntactic structure internal to the stative passive for an argument to originate in (e.g. Horvath & Siloni 2008; Levin & Rappaport 1986; Meltzer-Asscher 2011, 2012).

(24) *Low Origin*



(25) *External predication*



Below, I first develop a positional diagnostic that speaks clearly in favor of the External Predication analysis for *–men–* statives.

The question on the origin of the argument can also be posed in thematic parlance: which of the two eventualities making up the stative passive (entailed event and resultant state) is the argument thematically integrated with? Here, the structures in (24)-(25) furnish different starting expectations. A *Low Origin* view places the argument internal to the projection of v, the head normally associated with introducing the event variable; it thus straightforwardly predicts association with the event. (25), by contrast, leads us to expect the argument will be integrated with the stative eventuality, introduced by Stat. This starting expectation is approximately correct, but two complications arise.

Firstly, the default expectation furnished by each structural analysis can be mechanically overridden. For instance, some External Predication analyses manage to primarily integrate the argument with the *event* by making use of abstraction of the event variable (either lexically, as in Meltzer-Asscher 2011, or syntactically as in the operator-movement analysis of Bruening 2014).

Secondly, it is arguably a key desideratum of any account to ultimately link the same participant with *both* the event and the state. (3) already clarified that any analysis must associate the argument with the event ; (26) shows that it is equally unavoidable that the argument be ultimately also read as the holder of the state.

(26) I Maria ine sokarizmeni, #ala ðen ine se katastasi sok.
the.NOM Mary.NOM be.3SG shock.PTCP.F.NOM but NEG be.3SG in state shock.GEN
'Mary is shocked, but she isn't in a state of shock.'

As such, any account must deploy a secondary inference to supplement the argument's primary thematic status: the argument is either principally an argument of the event, and derivatively one of the state, or vice versa. The question is thus not whether the argument bears some thematic relation to either the event or the state, but rather, which eventuality the argument is *primarily* integrated with. This refined version of the question will inevitably be more difficult to answer, though headway can be made here as well: for Greek, a thematic diagnostic below suggests that the argument is interpreted with respect to the state primarily, and that its integration with the event is derivative.

I arrive below at an External Predication analysis of Greek statives on the basis of considerations novel for this language. Unlike many other languages for which the External Prediction view has been defended,[6] Greek makes available precious few reliable diagnostics for the positioning of arguments low in the clause (see e.g. Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1999); as a result, though *–men–* statives have received much attention otherwise, argument placement has not been directly probed, leading previous work to largely assume the

Low Origin view. The diagnostics that follow are all applied to the language for the first time; some have precedents in previous literature, and some are developed here from scratch.

3.1 Idioms

A first positional diagnostic comes from passivizable idioms.[7] Consider firstly the baseline example in (27). Alongside its quite bizarre compositional meaning, the example supports an idiomatic reading ('to be scared to death'). (28) clarifies that the fixed part of the idiom is made up of the verb 'cut' and the nominal 'the livers', with the dative (morphologically genitive) maleficiary and the nominative DP not forming part of the idiom.

(27) I θorivi mu exun kopsi ta ipata.
the noises 1SG.GEN have.3PL cut.PFV the.ACC.PL livers.ACC.PL
Literal: 'The noises have cut the livers to my detriment.'
Idiomatic: 'The noises have scared me to death.'

(28) I teleftea skini tis tenias mas ekopse ta ipata.
the.NOM last.NOM scene.NOM the.GEN movie.GEN 1PL.GEN cut.PST.3SG the.ACC.PL livers.ACC.PL
'The last scene of the movie scared us to death.'

(27)-(28) are strongly idiomatic: the compositional meaning of such examples is not only bizzare but, for many speakers, unavailable to begin with. The archaic noun *ipata* 'livers' does not form part of many speakers' vocabularies outside of this (common) idiom, the everyday word for 'liver' in Modern Greek being distinct; even for speakers who are aware of the meaning of *ipata* outside the idiom, the word is plausibly part of a learned stratum of the vocabulary (typically found, for example, in medical textbooks). This fact has a positive upshot for the diagnostic utility of this particular idiom: whenever the idiom is unavailable in some particular configuration, the associated infelicity is particularly pronounced, since the non-idiomatic reading is not just bizzare, but generally unavailable for many speakers.

The idiom survives in the eventive passive, as shown in (29). But things change in the stative passive: insofar as (30) is interpretable, it can bear only the bizarre literal interpretation which, as just mentioned, is in fact not readily available for many speakers.

(29) Mu exun kopi ta ipata apo tus θorivus.
1SG.GEN have.3PL cut.PASS.PFV the livers from the noises
'I have been scared to death by the noises.'

(30) #Mu ine ko- mena ta ipata (apo tus θorivus).
1SG.GEN be.3PL $\sqrt{\text{CUT}}$ PTCP the livers from the noises
Intended: 'I am scared to death (by the noises).'

The language's second reliable passivizable VO idiom behaves similarly. (31) can describe the act of tor-

[6] For instance, the Russian genitive of negation surfaces with arguments of negated eventive passives but not those of negated stative passives, suggesting the latter originate above negation (Pesetsky 1982: 63); Italian *ne*-cliticization can proceed out of the arguments of eventive but not stative passives (Burzio 1981: 30-31); and Hebrew possessor datives can appear with eventive but not stative passives, while reflexive datives show the opposite pattern (Borer 2005: 62, Horvath and Siloni 2008: 109).

[7] Passivizable verb-object idioms are used diagnostically for English sttaive passives in Emonds (2006: 24-26) following Wasow 1977: 346 (the same data is found in Emonds 2022: 224-225). Some literature explores idioms in a different light, asking whether there are idioms that target the stative passive specifically, to the exclusion of the active transitive or eventive passive (see Ruwet 1991 for English and French, Dubinsky and Simango 1996 for Chichewa, Horvath and Siloni 2008 for Hebrew; cp. Bruening 2014: 403-408 for English). Another distinct question is whether there are special meanings of particular Roots that can be triggered only in the stative (see Anagnostopoulou and Samioti 2013, 2014 for Greek; see also Marantz 1997, 2013).

menting someone, and this idiomatic reading is as accessible in the active as it is in the eventive passive.[8] It disappears, however, in the stative (32).[9]

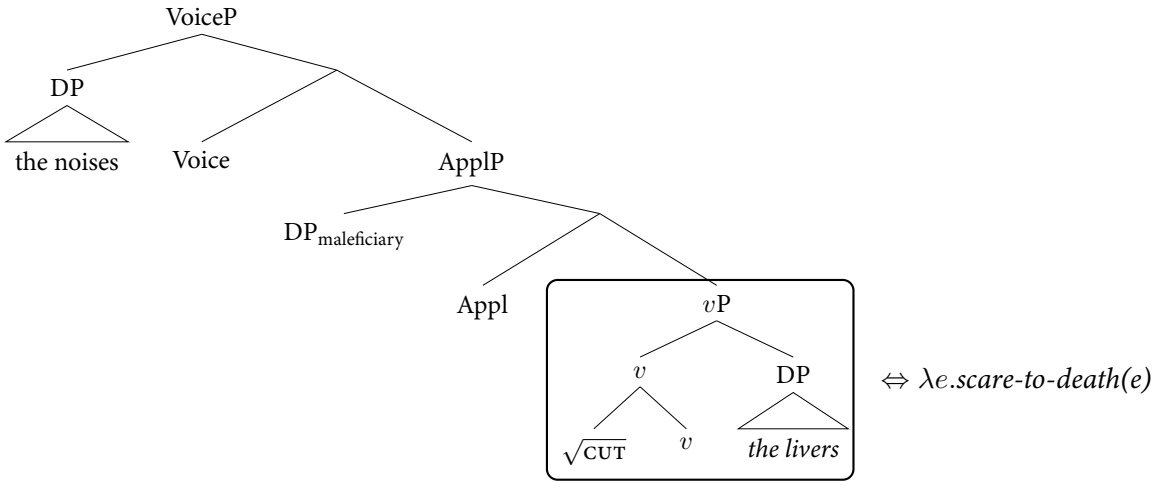
(31) a. Mu epsise to psari sta xili.
1SG.GEN roast.PST.3SG the fish on.the lips
✓*Literal:*'S/he roasted the fish on my lips.'
✓ *Idiomatic:* 'S/he tormented me.'

b. Mu exi psiθi to psari sta xili.
1SG.GEN have.3SG roast.PASS.PFV the fish on.the lips
✓*Literal:* 'The fish has been roasted on my lips.'
✓*Idiomatic:* 'I have been tormented.'

(32) Mu ine psi- meno to psari sta xili.
1SG be.3SG $\sqrt{\text{ROAST}}$ PTCP the fish on.the lips
✓*Literal:* 'The fish is roasted on my lips.'
✗*Idiomatic:* 'I am tormented.'

These passivizable idioms can be leveraged as a constituency diagnostic. I adopt the standard assumption that the non-compositional meanings that characterize idioms arise in local configurations. For idioms that target verb-object combinations and are retained under eventive passivization, such as those discussed here, the process of non-compositional interpretation must target vPs: it is at the point where verbalized $\sqrt{\text{CUT}}$ 'meets' a noun phrase headed by $\sqrt{\text{LIVER}}$ that the non-compositional meaning arises. As such, the idiom is available whenever this structural condition is met, yielding both idiomatic transitives (33) and eventive passives (34). I represent the emergence of idiomatic meanings as a non-compositional chunk being optionally 'inserted' at the relevant point in the structure at LF purely in the interest of exposition; what is crucial is that these idioms target vPs, a state of affairs guaranteed both on the simple view that idiom formation targets constituents and on more refined views based on locality-under-selection (e.g. Bruening 2010).

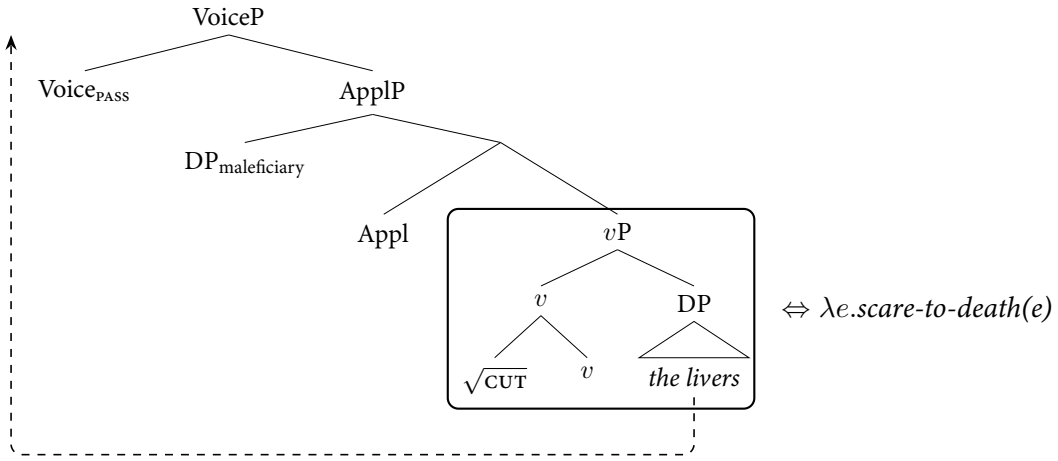
(33) *Active transitive: Idiom locality met*



[8] One of my consultants accepts (31b) only marginally, but nonetheless finds it considerably more acceptable than (32).
[9] Inalienably possessed datives, such as those in the idioms discussed here, do otherwise appear in the stative passive:

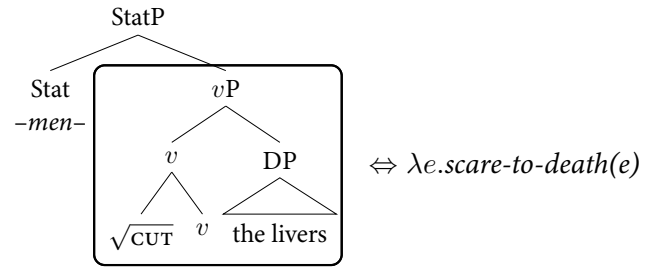
(i) Mu ine pes- meno to iθiko.
1SG.GEN be.3SG fall PTCP the.NOM morale.NOM
'My morale is low.'

(34) *Eventive passive: Idiom locality met*

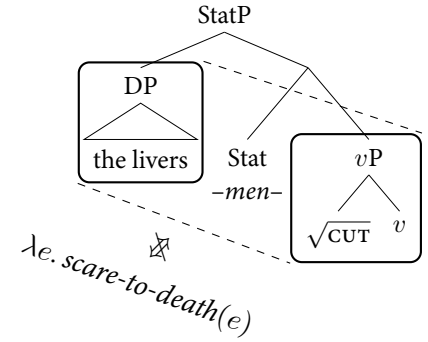


The Low Origin and External Predication views of the Greek stative passive make different predictions as to the availability of idiomatic stative passives. The Low Origin analysis posits a transitive vP like any other inside the stative passive, and thus mispredicts the availability of vP idioms, (35). By contrast, there is no reason to expect the idiomatic reading to be available on the External Predication view in (36): here, there is simply no local relationship between the idiom's fixed parts, since the DP containing $\sqrt{\text{LIVERS}}$ is introduced in the stative projection. Note that the problem for the Low Origin view here is independent of the particular view of idiomatic locality assumed: any theory of the locality conditions on the formation of passivizable vP idioms must independently take configurations like (35) to be sufficiently local, and configurations like (36) to not be local enough.

(35) *Stative passive à la Low Origin: Idiom locality met (wrong prediction)*



(36) *Stative passive à la External Predication: Idiom locality not met (correct prediction)*



3.2 *Ingestives*

Further evidence in favor of a Low Origin analysis of Greek stative passives comes from the behavior of ingestive verbs under stativization. Observations drawn from this domain are probative not only as to the position in which the sole argument of stative passives originates, but also for the way in which this argument is thematically interpreted: ingestives allow us to see that the interpretation of the sole argument of the stative passive is thematically more flexible than that of the theme of the eventive passive, in a way that militates against positioning this element in the verbal substructure.

3.2.1 The pattern

Ordinarily, the sole argument of stative passives seems to share its thematic properties with the direct object of transitives, and the surface subject of eventive passives, in being read as the theme of the entailed event. This fact has been true of every stative passive we have encountered thus far; non-theme interpretations are normally not available for DPs appearing in stative passives, as noted in section 2.2.

There is widespread agreement that these restrictions must be accounted for in a principled way; they can be stated either thematically or configurationally. In thematically oriented approaches, the operation forming stative passives makes reference to the role Theme (Anderson 1977; Bresnan 1982; Wasow 1981; E. Williams 1981). Configurationally oriented approaches, by contrast, make reference either to grammatical functions (direct object in Wasow 1977) or to the notion *direct complement* of the verb (Levin & Rappaport 1986) or Root (Embick 2004a).[10] Both classes of approaches exclude the appearance in stative passives of DPs that are either prominent thematically or associated with comparatively high syntactic positions.

The class of verbs of *ingestion* seemingly instantiates a case of exactly the kind that is meant to be excluded: the DP appearing in stative passives of ingestives can be interpreted as the *agent* of the entailed event, at least *prima facie*. Such cases, which I dub *thematic reversals*, have been noted before (see esp. Anagnostopoulou 2001; Arad 1998, Haspelmath 1994: 161, Naess 2011: 418ff, Amberber 2009: 60). What has not been noted before, to my knowledge, is the fact that thematic reversals arise only in the stative passives of ingestives, and never in their eventive passives. I will argue that this observation makes possible a novel argument in favor of the Low Origin approach to the argument structure of the Greek –*men*– stative.

The basic pattern is exemplified in (37)-(38). (37) involves a stative passive formed from $\sqrt{\text{EAT}}$, licensing the interpretation seen for stative passives elsewhere: *Mary* in (37) is understood as the theme of the eating. But (38) shows that stativized $\sqrt{\text{EAT}}$ makes available a second, exceptional possibility: in (38b), the stative passive can be used to signify that Mary has eaten, and it is thus discourse equivalent to the *active* perfect in (38c).

(37) *[The vicious human-eating plant consumes Mary.]*
I Maria ine pleon faɣo- men- i.
the.NOM Mary.NOM be.3SG as.of.now eat PTCP F.NOM
'Mary is now eaten.'

(38) a. Q: I'm setting the table – is Mary joining us?
b. A1: Oçi, i Maria ine faɣo- men- i.
no the.NOM Mary.NOM be.3SG eat PTCP F.NOM
'No – Mary has eaten.' *(stative passive)*

[10] Arguments against the thematic approach involve examples where the role Theme ostensibly does not characterize the interpretation of a DP appearing in a stative passive (Levin and Rappaport 1986: 629ff, Dryer 1985); as Dryer (1985: 323) notes, the arguments sometimes hinge on intuitive interpretations of thematic role labels (compare e.g. the discussion of *feed* in Levin and Rappaport (1986) with the observations on the syntax of *feed* in Greek in Anagnostopoulou (2001)). For recent discussion, see Biggs and Embick (2025c), Paparounas (2025).

c. A2: Oçi, i Maria eçi fai.
no the.NOM Mary.NOM have.3SG eat.PFV
'No – Mary has eaten.' *(active perfect)*

The full set of Roots licensing this exceptional possibility in Greek is shown in (39) (Anagnostopoulou 2001; see also Anagnostopoulou and Sevdali 2020: 1026ff). This state of affairs is representative of the broader crosslinguistic picture: the exact set of Roots licensing thematic reversals varies from language to language, but the relevant Roots are always ingestive, literally or metaphorically (see references cited above).

(39) I Maria ine { faɣo- , pço- , ðiavaz- , maθi- } men- i.
the Mary.NOM be.3SG $\sqrt{\text{EAT}}$ $\sqrt{\text{DRINK}}$ $\sqrt{\text{STUDY}}$ $\sqrt{\text{LEARN}}$ PTCP F.NOM

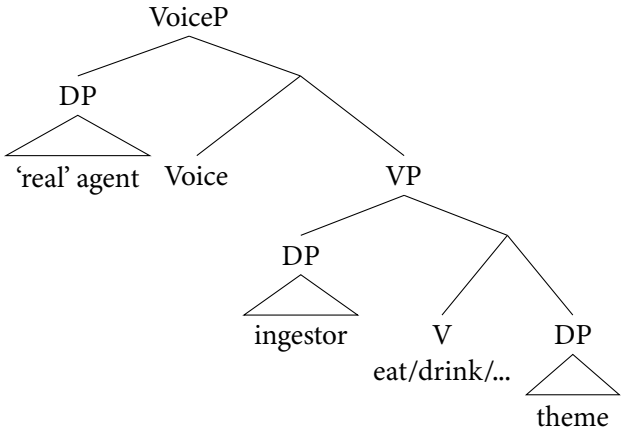
It bears emphasizing that the thematic reversal is not enabled by context alone. (40) illustrates that a non-ingestive Root like $\sqrt{\text{PAY}}$ cannot license the special interpretation even in a context where this would be highly plausible – any other non-ingestive Root would serve to make the same point.

(40) *[Splitting the check, our group discovers that Mary has already paid for her bit.]*
a. Q: Does Mary need to put her card down?
b. A1: #Oçi, i Maria ine pliro- men- i.
no the.NOM Mary.NOM be.3SG pay PTCP F.NOM
Intended: 'No – Mary has paid.'
c. A2: Oçi, i Maria eçi plirosi.
no the.NOM Mary.NOM have.3SG pay.PFV
'No – Mary has paid.'

At first glance, thematic reversals in stativized ingestives are a fact about the argument structure of ingestive verbs, but not about the structure of the stative passive. The external argument of ingestive verbs – call it the ingestor – is sometimes described as an *affected agent* (e.g. Haspelmath 1994: 161ff; Saksena 1980; Naess 2011; Newman 2009). The intuition in the typological literature on ingestives is is that ingestion alters the (physical or mental) composition of the ingestor, in such a way as to make their external arguments notionally more 'patient-like' than those of other predicates. Perhaps, then, all that (38b) reflects is a quirk of ingestive verbs: they allow ingestors to be just theme-like enough to participate in stative passive formation.

The approach in Anagnostopoulou 2001, the most thorough theoretical discussion of ingestives to date, can be seen as embodying this broad intuition in structural terms. In Anagnostopoulou (2001), ingestors occupy a VP-internal argument intermediate between canonical agents and themes, and this aergument can be interpreted as an agent whenever the 'real' agent DP is missing (a 'dependent role' approach). Though the details of how this structure enters stative passives is not the primary focus of Anagnostopoulou (2001), a plausible account based on (41) would state that the ingestor is theme-like enough thematically, and/or low enough structurally, to be targeted for inclusion in the stative passive; and that, since agents are excluded from the stative passive, this argument comes to be interpreted as an agent per the dependent role mechanism.

(41)



The intuition that ingestors are notionally theme-like, and the specific structural implementation beginning from (41), both constitute crucial insights. But a novel observation reveals that neither is sufficient to account for the full range of facts: thematic reversals arise only in the stative passive, and never in the eventive passive.

(42) illustrates for three Greek ingestives: their eventive passives only license readings where Mary is the theme of events of ingestion; compare (39). (42b) is a felicitous counterpart of (42b) with DPs that make for better candidates for Theme-hood than *Mary* in (42a); for completeness, (42c) illustrates that thematic reversals never arise with active transitives, where *Mary* is again only ever read as a Theme. The other Greek ingestive Roots behave identically insofar as thematic reversals only arise in the stative passive; the same is true in languages where the External Predication view is independently evidenced (see footnote 6) such as Hebrew (Noa Nikolsky, p.c.) and Italian (Andrea Beltrama, p.c.).

(42) a. #I Maria eçi { faɣoθi / ðjavasti / maθefti }.
the.NOM Mary.NOM have.3SG eat.PFV.3SG read.PFV.3SG learn.PFV.3SG
Only reading: 'Mary was eaten/read/learned.'

b. To psomi eçi faɣoθi / to vivlio eçi ðjavasti / to mistiko eçi maθefti.
the.NOM bread.NOM have.3SG eat.PFV.3SG the.NOM book.NOM have.3SG read.PFV.3SG
the.NOM secret.NOM have.3SG learn.PFV.3SG
'The bread has been eaten / the book has been read / the secret has been found out.'

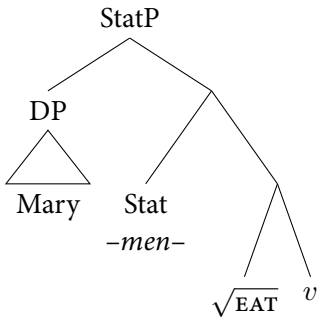
c. Exo fai ti Maria.
have.1SG eat.PFV the.ACC Mary.ACC
'I've eaten Mary.' (NOT e.g. 'I've made Mary full/fed Mary')

The distribution of thematic reversals is thus asymmetrical: they target the stative passive, but not the eventive passive. Thematic reversals cannot be merely about the properties of ingestive verbs after all: if (39) reflected merely a special way of understanding what the role Theme means in the context of an ingestive Root, then this effect should arise in the eventive passive (42a) unproblematically. Similarly, if the thematic reversal were driven solely by the fact that ingestors are merged lower than canonical external arguments, it would be unclear why these specially introduced arguments behave differently in stative and eventive passives.[11]

[11] Note that it will not help to assume that thematic reversals involve *Mary* being generated as the direct object of $\sqrt{\text{EAT}}$ in an unaccusative structure, thus being read as the Theme of the eating. This view would automatically account for the impossibility of eventive passivization (42a), which would reduce to Perlmutter's Generalization (Perlmutter 1978). But if the stative passive also involved a *v*P with *Mary* as the direct object, it would remain unclear why stative passivization succeeds while eventive passivization fails under a thematically reversed reading. In other words, to capture the asymmetry between eventives and statives, we still need to posit that stative passives instantiate External Predication structures, exactly as argued in the main text. See Lascaratou and

Since thematic reversals arise specifically in stative passives, we have to 'know' that the structure is stative before introducing the exceptionally interpreted argument. Only if stative passives are instances of external predication (43) can we begin to make the right cut between stative and eventive passives: (43), where *Mary* is structurally unrelated to v, provides the starting point to understand why thematic reversals are circumscribed to the stative.

(43)



I propose that the structural difference between eventives (which instantiate the Low Origin structure) and statives (which are external predications) correlates with an interpretive difference. In (44), the eventuality to which *Mary* is directly linked is the state, to which it is linked by means of a holder role (cf. Kratzer 1996); this argument is not linked to the event, at least not directly (see Biggs 2021; Biggs and Embick 2025b; Fruehwald and Myler 2015; McIntyre 2013 for different English statives).

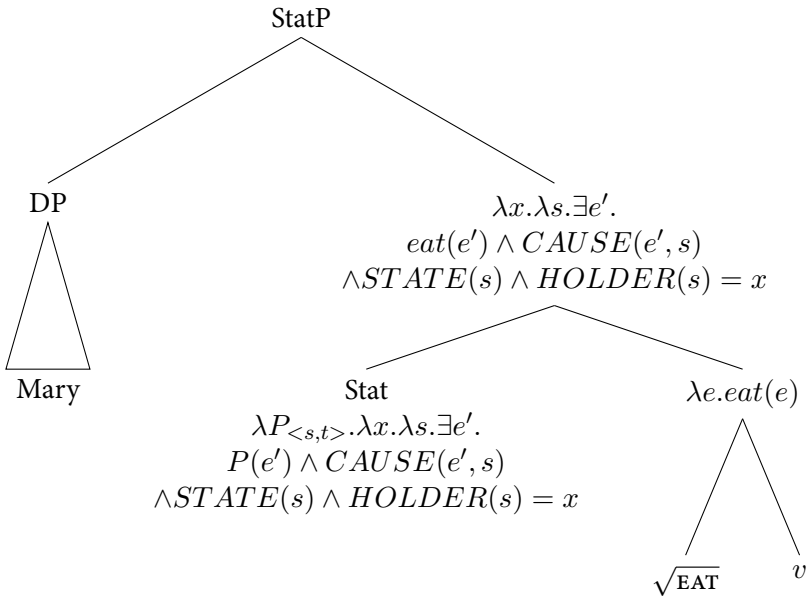
Philippaki-Warburton (1983) for the converging broader observation that verbs lacking eventive passives – including unaccusatives – often form stative passives unproblematically in Modern Greek. Such data is problematic for any account where stative passives contain their eventive counterparts.

Elena Anagnostopoulou (p.c.) raises a different possibility, conjecturing that the impossibility of (42a) arises, on a view like (41), from a treatment of the ingestor as a non-canonical external argument on a par with those of Greek deponent and subject experiencer verbs (see e.g. Grestenberger 2018; Zombolou and Alexiadou 2014), which similarly resist eventive passivization. This account would need to specify, given (41), what guarantees that the 'wrong' argument (i.e. the ingestor) can be externalized in the stative passive. Note also that, importantly, thematic reversals do not obtain with deponents (i) and subject experiencer verbs (ii).

(i) I Maria ine katara- men- i.
the.NOM Mary.NOM be.3SG curse PTCP F.NOM
'Mary is cursed'; NOT 'Mary has cursed (someone)'

(ii) a. To sçeðio ine skarfiz- men- o.
the.NOM plan.NOM be.3SG think.up PTCP N.NOM
'The plan is devised.'
b. #O efevretis ine skarfiz- men- os.
the.NOM inventor.NOM be.3SG think.up PTCP M.NOM
Intended: 'The inventor has come up (with something).'

(44)



In (44), the structure of the stative passive strictly determines the argument's thematic integration with respect to the state, but not the event: as it stands, (44) says nothing about how *Mary* relates to the event. This situation is crucially different from eventive passives, where the argument's position as the complement of the verb invariably leads to it being interpreted as the event's Theme. The determination of *Mary*'s role in the event is strict in the eventive, but flexible in the stative.

This flexibility, I propose, is the source of the thematic reversal. In particular, I take it that the holder of a state that resulted from an event must be linked to said event by inference, and I formalize the necessary inferences via meaning postulates. (45) represents the default case: entities compositionally determined to be holders of event-entailing states are interpreted secondarily as themes of the event. There is clear precedent for this analysis in studies of resultative constructions more generally: it is effectively the rule that A. Williams (2015: 320) dubs the End Theme Postulate, following Parsons (1990: 119) and Pietroski (2006: 181); see e.g. Meltzer-Asscher (2011: 844), Biggs and Embick (2025b) for applications to stative passives.

(45) *General meaning postulate for stative passives*
$[event(e) \wedge CAUSE(e, s) \wedge STATE(s) \wedge HOLDER(s) = x] \models [THEME(e) = x]$
'Interpret the holder of an event-entailing state as the theme of the entailed event.'

The exceptional case, instantiated by ingestives, arises via (46).

(46) *Specific meaning postulate for ingestives*
$[event(e) \wedge CAUSE(e, s) \wedge STATE(s) \wedge HOLDER(s) = x] \models [AGENT(e) = x]$ *in the context of* $\{ \sqrt{\text{EAT}}, \sqrt{\text{LEARN}}, \ldots \}$
'In the context of $\{ \sqrt{\text{EAT}}, \sqrt{\text{LEARN}}, \ldots \}$, interpret the holder of an event-entailing state as an Agent.'

The idea is that the meaning postulates compete, and that (46) is optional; as such, (45) with apply with the vast majority of Roots, and (46) may, but need not, apply with ingestive Roots. (46) applies to state-holders; as such, the instructions in (46) are simply not at stake in the eventive passive, where the deep object is unambiguously associated with the theme role.

Four objections are possible at this point.

The first is that the introduction of meaning postulates in the analysis of stative passives is superfluous: in particular, perhaps the decision to link the same argument both to the event and the state has added unnecessary complexity to the analysis.

This does not seem to be the case; recall from section 2 that, independently of thematic reversals, any adequate account of the stative passive will need to link the same entity to both the event and the state. This conclusion is bolstered by an important property of thematic reversals: thematically reversed statives necessarily entail the full completion of the state-yielding event. We thus find the contrast in (47): the state entailed by the active perfect (47a) is fully compatible with a denial of the eating event's having run to completion, in some contextually salient sense; but this is not so for the stative passive, which yields a clear contradiction (47b). In other words, thematically reversed *eaten* means 'full', not merely 'having consumed food'; this effect obtains with thematically reversed statives elsewhere, see Arad 1998.

(47) a. I Maria eçi fai, ala ðen eçi xortasi.
the.NOM Mary.NOM have.3SG eat.PFV but NEG have.3SG become.full.PFV
'Mary has eaten, but she's not full.'

b. I Maria ine fayo- meni, #ala ðen eçi xortasi.
the.NOM Mary.NOM be.1SG $\sqrt{\text{EAT}}$ PTCP.F.NOM but NEG have.3SG become.full.PFV
'Mary is eaten, but she's not full.'

A converging observation comes from the intensifying prefix *para-*. This intensifier denoting excess can appear in the perfect of *eat* unproblematically (48a); but it is infelicitous when modifying a thematically reversed *eat* stative (48b). (48b) is expected if thematically reversed *eaten* already denotes a maximum standard of fullness not amenable to further degree modification/intensification.

(48) a. Exo para- fai.
have.1SG INTENS eat.PFV
'I have eaten excessively.'

b. #Ime para- fayomenos.
be.1SG INTENS eat.PTCP.NOM
Intended: 'I'm excessively full.'

Now, the account advanced immediately above straightforwardly derives (47b)/(48b): since Mary is directly identified as the holder of a state in which an event has culminated, she must have taken part in the event to completion. How would (48b) be derived on an account attributing to the argument of a stative passive a primary role with respect to the *event*? Clearly, by associating the argument derivatively with the state. Thus, the account here does not clearly introduce machinery that can be dispensed with on alternatives: any adequate account must ultimately link the same argument both to the event and the state.

A second objection would acnowledge that linking the same argument to both eventualities is indeed unavoidable, but dispute the decision to implement this state of affairs via interpretive inferences. Indeed, it is worth considering syntactic ways of linking the position associated with the Holder role to that associated with Theme (supplanting (45)), or Agent (supplanting (46)). A-movement, control (see e.g. Biggs 2021) or binding of a moving null operator (Bruening 2014) are all options, but all prove unsuited to the task. A-movement (from e.g. the Theme to the Holder position) is not a possibility since it can be shown independently that there is no low position for the argument to originate in section 3.1, nor is there a position for Agents inside the stative passive (see section 6.1.2). The same considerations rule out a control analysis. As for operator movement, there is no evidence for an A′ dependency inside the stative passive in Greek (cf. McIntyre 2013: 27 on the analysis of English in Bruening 2014): for example, parasitic gaps (49a) are not licensed in stative passives (49c) any more than they are in eventive passives (49b) (see section 6.1.2 for the

status of the *by*-phrase in (49c))

(49) a. Pçon pinaka zoɣrafise o Picasso xoris na pulisi aryotera?
which.ACC painting.ACC paint.ACC the.NOM Picasso without COMP sell.PFV.3SG later
'Which painting did Picasso sell without selling later?'

b. *O pinakas zoɣrafistike apo ton Picasso xoris na pulisi aryotera.
the.NOM painting.NOM paint.NACT.3SG from the Picasso without COMP sell.PFV.3SG later
'The painting was painted by Picasso without selling later.'

c. *O pinakas ine zoɣrafismenos apo ton Picasso xoris na pulisi aryotera.
the.NOM painting.NOM be.3SG paint.PTCP.M.NOM from the Picasso without COMP sell.PFV.3SG later
'The painting is painted by Picasso without selling later.'

A third possible objection would dispute the move to understand the thematic reversal as the association of the argument of a stative passive with the role Agent. Indeed, we have so far simply assumed that examples like (39) involve an agentive interpretation; but it turns out that this can be shown more directly. Entitites that do not make for good Agents of eating events appear without issue as the themes of transitive *feed* (50a); they also appear as the state-holders of stative-passivized *feed*, but not of thematically reversed stativized *eat* (50b).

(50) a. Taisa to moro / (?)fito / eɣo mu.
feed.PST.1SG the.ACC baby.ACC plant.ACC ego.ACC 1SG.GEN
'I fed the baby/the plant/my ego.'

b. To moro / (?)fito / eɣo mu ine pleon { taismeno / #faɣomeno }.
the.NOM baby.NOM plant.NOM ego.NOM 1SG.GEN be.3SG as.of.now feed.PTCP.N.NOM eat.PTCP.N.NOM
'The baby/the plant/my ego is now fed/full.'

The fourth and final objection is the most serious one. (46) treats the thematic reversal as a contextual effect triggered by a List, one that happens to be entirely made up of Roots with ingestive encyclopedic properties. At best, then, this meaning postulate has nothing interesting to say about why it is ingestive Roots in particular that license thematic reversals; at worst, it seriously risks missing a cross-linguistic generalization, since this behavior of ingestive Roots recurs cross-linguistically.

Indeed, a more refined solution to thematic reversals as a puzzle in their own right would have something more lexicosemantically sophisticated to say. In particular, the external arguments of ingestive verbs are sometimes understood as being 'affected agents', as mentioned above. Ultimately, this notion may[12] need to be connected both to thematic reversals in stative passives, and to the interesting behavior of ingestive verbs in causatives (see e.g. Amberber 2009; Bhatt and Pancheva 2017; Saksena 1980, Baker 1988: 461, Jerro 2019, Alsina 1992; for Greek, which lacks periphrastic causatives, see the discussion of *feed*-type verbs in Anagnostopoulou 2001 and Anagnostopoulou and Sevdali 2020). Since the syntax of ingestives is only of diagnostic utility in this paper, instead of its primary focus, I leave these links for future work, noting again that the lack of thematic reversals in eventive passives represents a crucial data point that a more nuanced analysis must capture.

[12]As discussed above, thematic reversals cannot result solely from the special properties of the argument structure of ingestive verbs; as an additional observation to this end, consider the following. Naess (2011) notes that it is cross-linguistically common for $\sqrt{\text{EAT}}$ to be recruited in so-called adversative constructions. Greek evidences these usages as well: in (ia), the subject of 'eat' is not read as agentive, instead merely sustaining various unfortunate actions, cp. (ib).

In summary, I take the exceptional behavior of ingestive Roots to be one corner of the grammar allowing us to glimpse an important divergence between eventive and stative passives in Greek: their core arguments, ostensibly both identifiable as themes, in fact have distinct structural and thematic properties, in a way that speaks in favor of an External Predication analysis of the stative, converging with the data from idioms in section 3.1.

4 Event structure

The properties of the eventualities making up the stative passive deserve their own investigation. Here, I begin by outlining certain crucial nuances involved in investigating event modification in stative passives. Then, I argue that, once these nuances are taken into account, a range of novel observations for Greek point to the conclusion that only the stative eventuality can be syntactically modified in Greek.

4.1 Background: on modification in the stative passive

Two sorts of diagnostic dangers arise when examining the modification possibilities of the stative passive vis-à-vis the eventive. The first danger is to be too hasty in drawing conclusions from the infelicity of a given modifier in the stative passive. The second danger is to be too hasty in drawing conclusions from the felicity of a given modifier.

Consider firstly the domain of temporal modification, where Greek eventives and statives come apart: whereas eventives freely tolerate temporal adverbial modification (51), the event of the stative passive strongly resists being situated temporally in the same way (52a); cf. (52b), which shows that temporally situating the *state* is perfectly licit.

(51) I porta vaftike (xθes).
the.NOM door.NOM paint.NACT.PST.3SG yesterday
'The door was painted (yesterday).'

(52) a. I porta ine va- men- i (#xθes).
the.NOM door.NOM be.3SG √PAINT PTCP F.NOM yesterday
'The door is painted (yesterday).'

b. I porta itan va- men- i (xθes).
the.NOM door.NOM be.PST.3SG √PAINT PTCP F.NOM yesterday
'The door was in a painted state (yesterday).'

(i) a. Efaje { ksilo / klotsça / jiuxaisma / vrisimo / ... }.
eat.PST.3SG beating.ACC kick.ACC heckling.ACC cursing.ACC
'S/he was beaten up / kicked / heckled / cursed at.'

b. #Efaje { çirokrotima / epeno / siŋxaritiria }.
eat.PST.3SG applause.ACC praise.ACC congratulations.ACC
Intended: 'S/he received an applause/praise/congratulations.'

But the presence of 'affectedness' again does not guarantee that a stative passive can be formed on the basis of (ia); see (iia) and compare (iib).

(ii) a. *Ine faɣomenos (klotsça / jiuxaisma ...)
be.3SG eat.PTCP.M.NOM kick heckling
Intended: 'S/he is in the state of having received a kick/ a heckling.'

b. Ine taismenos karota.
be.3SG feed.PTCP.M.NOM carrot.PL
'He is fed carrots.'

It is tempting to take the contrast between (51) and (52a) as suggesting some deep-seated difference between eventives and statives, all things being equal. But to do so would be a mistake, because all things are not equal: the impossibility of temporal modification is not particular to stative passives, appearing instead as a general property of state-denoting structures, witness the perfect in (53).

(53) I porta eçi anixti (#xθes).
the.NOM door.NOM have.3SG open.PFV yesterday)
'The door has been opened (yesterday).'

Preliminary facts like these illustrate an important broader point: some divergences between eventive and stative passives, like the impossibility of temporal modification in the latter, are attributable to independent properties of stativity, and thus not necessarily probative as to the structure of the stative *per se*.

Consider now the second danger, that of being too hasty in drawing conclusions from the seeming felicity of a given modifier in the stative. (54) involves a manner adverb modifying a stative passive; and it is possible to conclude, from the mere fact that the adverb is licensed here, that (54) must instantiate *bona fide* event modification, with the example asserting that the poster in a state resulting from a hanging event that unfolded in an awkward or sloppy manner.

(54) I afisa ine kremas- men- i atsala.
the.NOM poster.NOM be.3SG hang PTCP F.NOM sloppily
'The poster is sloppily/awkwardly hung.'

But (54) is also compatible with a reading on which the adverb has little to do with the underlying event: it is possible to utter (54), for instance, in a situation where we know the poster to have been hung up perfectly, but where the adhesive later failed, resulting in an awkward way of hanging at present. There is, in other words, a purely state-modifying construal of the adverb in (54). That such construals must be quite generally available can be seen in examples like (55): here, the only plausible construal is a state-related one, as there is no reasonable sense in which the *event* could have been upside-down.

(55) I afisa ine kremas- men- i anapoða.
the.NOM poster.NOM be.3SG hang PTCP F.NOM upside.down
'The poster is hung upside down.'

(54) and (55) thus form the basis for a second cautionary note. Since stative passives involve an event and a state, either eventuality could, in principle, be targeted for modification; and while it easy to tell which one is actually targeted in examples like (55), this is not as clear in (54). This diagnostic complexity is emphasized by studies focussed on eventuality modification in stative passives (see especially Alexiadou et al. 2015: 163-173,182ff for Greek, and Alexiadou et al. 2014; Gehrke 2011, 2015; McIntyre 2013, 2015; Meltzer-Asscher 2011; Rapp 1996 for other languages). A cluster of observations in this literature suggests that, at least in some languages, stative passives only admit modification targeting the stative eventuality; this range of observations is sometimes dubbed the *State Relevance Hypothesis*, after McIntyre 2015: 941.

Taking such nuances into account and using a non-state-compatible manner modifier in Greek reveals a simple but important first observation prefacing what is to come: the stativized event in Greek is not readily manner-modifiable.

(56) a. I porta anixθike (ɣriɣora).
the.NOM door.NOM open.NACT.PST.3SG quickly
'The door was opened (quickly).'
b. I porta eçi anixti (ɣriɣora).
the.NOM door.NOM have.3SG open.PFV quickly

'The door has been opened (quickly).'

(57) I porta ine aniɣmeni (#ɣriɣora).
the.NOM door.NOM be.3SG open.PTCP.F.NOM quickly
'The door is opened (quickly).'

The contrast between perfect eventive (56b) and stative (57) is crucial: it suggests a difference between eventive and stative passives with respect to manner modification not attributable solely to the presence of a stative entailment. But such contrasts can be hard to establish, since many adverbs countenance modification of the stative eventuality, as just discussed with reference to (54), blurring the empirical picture. In the next section, I propose a cleaner diagnostic.

4.2 A new eventuality diagnostic: Approximatives

Examples such as (54) above, using manner modifiers, are not instantly probative because the two conceivable readings of the modifier are intimately related: sloppy events and sloppy states are both sloppy in the same way. An obvious way to sidestep this complication would be to identify a modifier that instead yields easily distinguishable, to a large extent unrelated, readings. I argue here that approximatives, in particular the Greek counterpart of *almost* and a related counterfactual adverb, instantiate one case of exactly this kind, providing easily disentanglable readings and yielding satisfyingly sharp judgments. The discussion here is inspired by Nissenbaum 2018, where some first observations on approximatives in stative passives in English are made.

4.2.1 Background: Approximatives in Greek

It is well-known that the English approximative adverb *almost* yields distinct interpretive possibilities. The number, nature, and source of these readings is the topic of a literature too large to do justice to here (see e.g. Horn 2011; McCawley 1971; Morgan 1969; Morzycki 2001; Rapp & von Stechow 1999; Sadock 1981). Here I focus on the basic distinction between *counterfactual* and *scalar* readings found when the adverb modifies accomplishments; (58) illustrates the ambiguity for English.

(58) Snow White almost ate the apple.
a. *Counterfactual:* Snow White very nearly came to eat the apple, but did not intitiate the eating.
b. *Scalar:* Snow White undertook the eating event nearly to completion.

Greek has two approximative adverbs. *sçeðon*, which I gloss and translate as *almost*, is primarily scalar: all Greek speakers I have encountered readily report scalar readings when *sçeðon* modifies accomplishments, as in (59), matching the description in Oikonomou, Rizou, Bondarenko, Özsoy, and Alexiadou (2022). Some speakers additionally report a counterfactual reading for *sçeðon*; this is the case for all my core consultants, though I have encountered multiple speakers for whom *sçeðon* cannot be counterfactual, which is the pattern reported for this adverb in Oikonomou et al. (2022). The '%' symbol in (59) signifies this apparently idiolectal difference.

(59) I çonati sçeðon efaje to milo.
the.NOM Snow.White almost eat.PST.3SG the.ACC apple.ACC
'Snow White almost ate the apple.'
✓ 'Snow White almost finished eating the apple.' *scalar*
%'It almost happened that Snow White ate the apple.' *counterfactual*

A second adverb, *paraliɣo* 'very nearly', is purely counterfactual for all speakers (Oikonomou et al. 2022).[13]

[13] Oikonomou et al. (2022) reports that *paraliɣo* requires the subjunctive. Dor my consultants, it is certainly true that the sub-

(60) I çonati paraliɣo efaje to milo.
the.NOM Snow.White very.nearly eat.PST.3SG the.ACC apple.ACC
'Snow White very nearly ate the apple.'
✗ 'Snow White almost finished eating the apple.' *scalar*
✓ 'It almost happened that Snow White ate the apple.' *counterfactual*

I follow here structurally-oriented approaches to the readings of approximatives (Rapp & von Stechow 1999) in taking the scalar interpretation to be state-modifying – asserting that the resultant state associated with some event almost obtained – and the counterfactual reading to be event-oriented, asserting that the event did not take place (though there can be nuance on the exact nature of this reading, orthogonal here; see e.g. Horn 2011; Sadock 1981, and cf. especially Oikonomou et al. 2022 for Greek).[14] If the scalar/counterfactual distinction indeed arises from modification of the state and the event, respectively, then we expect the availability of the two readings to be modulated by Aktionsart: scalar interpretations should be possible whenever the verb targeted for modification supplies an end state, and counterfactual readings only with event-denoting verbs. This is exactly the pattern we find in Greek.

Accomplishment verbs involve an event and an end state. Since an event is implicated, counterfactual readings freely arise with *paraliɣo* (60) and, for some speakers, with *sçeðon* (59). Since a state is additionally available, modification by *sçeðon* also yields scalar readings, (59).

That scalar readings crucially depend on the availability of a state can be seen with activity verbs, which lack end states. Verbs formed from activity Roots like $\sqrt{\text{KICK}}$ never yield scalar readings with *sçeðon*, compare (59) with (61); for completeness, (62) shows that *paraliɣo*, which never licenses scalar readings, continues to not license them with an activity Root.

(61) I çionati sçeðon klotsise ti bala.
the.NOM Snow.White almost kick.PST.3SG the.ACC ball.ACC
'Snow White almost kicked the ball.' ✗scalar %counterfactual

(62) I çionati paraliɣo klotsise ti bala.
the.NOM Snow.White very.nearly kick.PST.3SG the.ACC ball.ACC
'Snow White very nearly kicked the ball.' ✗scalar ✓counterfactual

It is also possible to show that counterfactual readings crucially depend on the availability of an event; it is stative verbs that show us this. When modified by *sçeðon*, verbs formed from stative Roots like $\sqrt{\text{KNOW}}$ are unambiguous; in this case, (63) denotes Snow White all but occupying a state of knowing the answer, but there is no discernible counterfactual reading even for speakers who allow *sçeðon* to otherwise be counterfactual. Accordingly, *paraliɣo*-modified stative verbs are simply infelicitous across the board, (64).

(63) I çionati sçeðon iksere tin apandisi.
the.NOM Snow.White almost know.PST.3SG the.ACC answer.ACC
'Snow White almost knew the answer.' ✓scalar ✗counterfactual

(64) #I çionati paraliɣo iksere tin apandisi.
the.NOM Snow.White almost know.PST.3SG the.ACC answer.ACC
'Snow White very nearly knew the answer.' ✗scalar ✗counterfactual

There are apparent counterexamples to the impossibility of counterfactual readings with stative verbs; exam-

junctive is possible with *paraliɣo* and impossible with *sçeðon*, but examples where *paraliɣo* modifies an indicative verb as in the main text are deemed perfectly acceptable if more colloquial. In the interest of keeping pairs of examples as minimal as possible, I use the indicative throughout.

[14] The discussion in McCawley (1971) in fact distinguishes a third reading very closely related to what I here take to be the scalar one; see Rapp and von Stechow (1999) for discussion of whether these are actually distinct readings.

ples like (65)-(66) show that some stative verbs, in this case formed from $\sqrt{\text{LOVE}}$, apparently host counterfactual readings.

(65) I çionati sçeðon aɣapise ton Grinʲari.
the.NOM Snow.White almost love.PST.3SG the.ACC Grouchy.ACC
'Snow White almost loved Grouchy.' ✓scalar %counterfactual

(66) I çionati paraliɣo aɣapise ton Grinʲari.
the.NOM Snow.White very.nearly love.PST.3SG the.ACC Grouchy.ACC
'Snow White very nearly came to love Grouchy.' ✗scalar ✓counterfactual

But the availability of counterfactual readings with $\sqrt{\text{LOVE}}$ marches in lockstep with an independent difference between this Root and $\sqrt{\text{KNOW}}$: $\sqrt{\text{LOVE}}$ is one of the stative Roots that independently permits coercion to eventive interpretations, yielding so-called ingressive readings (Comrie 1976: 19-20). The availability of ingressive readings diagnoses a more general split within the class of stative verbs in the language: for instance, consistently stative Roots like $\sqrt{\text{KNOW}}$ never combine with perfective aspect to yield forms such as the perfect (67a) or the (punctual) imperative (67b) (see also Michelioudakis 2022). By contrast, flexible Roots like $\sqrt{\text{LOVE}}$ do appear in perfective forms, but when they do, the meaning is clearly ingressive: (68a) is about having transitioned from a state of non-loving to a state of loving, not about having occupied some state; (68b) is a command to come to love, not a command to be in a particular state.

(67) a. *Exo kseri tin apandisi.
have.1SG know.PFV the.ACC answer.ACC
Intended: 'I have known'

b. *Ksere tin apandisi!
know.IMP the.ACC answer.ACC
Intended: 'Know the answer!'

(68) a. Exo aɣapisi ton Grinʲari.
have.1SG love.PFV the.ACC Grouchy.ACC
'I have come to love Grouchy.'

b. Aɣapise ton Grinʲari!
lov3.IMP the.ACC Grouchy.ACC
'(Come to) love Grouchy!'

As such, there is every reason to think that the counterfactual/scalar distinction represented internally to *sçeðon* (for some speakers) and across *sçeðon* and the purely counterfactual *paraliɣo* (for all speakers) is a phenomenon sensitive to the event/state distinction.

4.2.2 Approximatives in stative passives

The previous section examined the behavior of approximatives across Aktionsarten, but in active transitives only. Consider now the behavior of approximatives in passive contexts.

In eventive passives, approximatives behave just as they do in active transitives. (69) provides a *sçeðon*-modified eventive passive of an accomplishment verb, followed by two continuations. (69a) is a scalar-facilitating continuation which is felicitous for all speakers, suggesting that the scalar interpretation of *sçeðon* is possible for the eventive passive in the starting example. (69b) is a counterfactual-facilitating continuation accepted by those speakers who otherwise find counterfactual readings of *sçeðon* to be possible. In other words, the facts from the eventive passive mirror the active transitive exactly.

(69) To milo sçedon faɣoθike apo tin xʲonati...
the.NOM apple.NOM almost eat.NACT.PST.3SG from the Snow.White
'The apple was almost eaten by Snow White...'

a. ... Afise mono ena komataki.
leave.PST.3SG only one.ACC piece.DIM.ACC

'She left only a little piece.' *scalar-facilitating*

b. ... %Eftixos, o griniaris ti stamatise prin kataferi na
thankfully the.NOM Grouchy.NOM 3SG.F.ACC stop.PST.3SG before manage.3SG COMP
to dagosi.
3SG.N.ACC bite.3SG
'Thankfully, Grouchy stopped her before she managed to take a bite.'
counterfactual-facilitating

All other observations made in the previous section for active transitives also extend to eventive passives. For instance, *paraliɣo*-modified eventive passives are infelicitous when followed by a scalar-reading continuation (70); and eventive passives of activities only ever yield counterfactual readings (71).

(70) To milo paraliɣo faɣoθike apo tin xʲonati...
the.NOM apple.NOM almost eat.NACT.PST.3SG from the Snow.White
'The apple was almost eaten by Snow White...'

a. ... #Afise mono ena komataki.
leave.PST.3SG only one.ACC piece.DIM.ACC
'She left only a little piece.' *scalar-facilitating*

b. ... Eftixos, o griniaris ti stamatise prin kataferi na
thankfully the.NOM Grouchy.NOM 3SG.F.ACC stop.PST.3SG before manage.3SG COMP
to dagosi.
3SG.N.ACC bite.3SG
'Thankfully, Grouchy stopped her before she managed to take a bite.'
counterfactual-facilitating

(71) a. I bala sçeðon klotsiθike apo ti çonati.
the.NOM ball.NOM almost kick.NACT.3SG from the Snow.White
'The ball was almost kicked by Snow White.' %counterfactual ✗scalar

b. I bala paraliɣo klotsiθike apo ti çonati.
the.NOM ball.NOM very.nearly kick.NACT.3SG from the Snow.White
'The ball was very nearly kicked by Snow White.' ✓counterfactual ✗scalar

Strikingly, when we turn to stative passives, we find them to behave entirely unlike eventive passives with respect to modification by approximatives.

(72) shows that a *sçeðon*-modified stative passive nly ever licenses the counterfactual reading; crucially, this is the case even for speakers who otherwise accept the counterfactual reading of this modifier.

(72) a. To milo ine sçeðon faɣo- men- o.
the.NOM apple.NOM be.3SG almost √EAT PTCP N
'The apple is almost eaten.' ✗counterfactual ✓scalar

b. To milo itan sçeðon faɣo- men- o.
the.NOM apple.NOM be.PST.3SG almost √EAT PTCP 3SG
'The apple was almost eaten.' ✗counterfactual ✓scalar

(73) makes the same point: if we modify a stative passive with *paraliɣo*, the modifier that only ever yields counterfactual readings, the result is simply infelicitous; there is no speaker who accepts (73).

(73) #To milo ine / itan paraliɣo faɣo- men- o.
the.NOM apple.NOM be.3SG be.PST.3SG very.nearly √EAT PTCP N
'The apple is very nearly eaten.'

Stative passives of activity Roots point in the same direction. We have just seen that the counterfactual reading is the one that stative passives seem to not license across the board. Since this is the only reading available with activities in active transitives (62) and eventive passives (71a), the preceding discussion leads us to expect that an approximative-modified stative passive of an activity should be entirely infelicitous, for all speakers. This prediction is borne out: (74) is judged as highly deviant, unlike its eventive counterpart (71a).

(74) #I bala ine / itan sçeðon klotsi- men- i.
the.NOM ball.NOM be.3SG be.PST.3SG almost √KICK PTCP F.NOM

Note that the impossibility of (74) cannot be reduced solely to the more general difficulty associated with interpreting stative passives of activities. Activity stative passives, odd when uttered out of the blue, improve considerably when embedded in a so-called 'job is done' context such as (75) (see section 2.2 for discussion):

(75) *[Our job in the football factory is to test the durability of newly produced footballs by kicking them.]*
I bales ine klotsi- menes, pame na fiɣume.
the.NOM.PL ball.NOM.PL be.3PL √KICK PTCP go.1PL COMP leave.1PL
'The balls are kicked, let's go home.'

The 'job is done' context, however, does not serve to repair (74) for any speaker, as shown in (76). The deviance of (74) is thus not reducible solely to the difficulty of forming a good activity stative passive; rather, the culprit must (also) be the unavailability of a counterfactual reading.

(76) *[The speaker recounts their early departure from the football factory today:]*
#I teleftees bales itan sçeðon klotsi- menes, ala vareθikame
the.NOM.PL last.NOM.PL ball.NOM.PL be.PST.3PL almost √KICK PTCP but become.bored.PST.1PL
ke fiɣame.
and leave.PST.1PL
'The last balls were almost kicked, but we got bored and left.'

The common denominator between all the examples in this section is clear: counterfactual readings are impossible in stative passives in Greek.

One may wonder whether the difference between eventive and stative passives can be attributable to some hidden third factor independent of the structure of passives *per se*, such as the mere presence of stativity. To the best of my knowledge, this does not seem to be the case. (Plu)perfect eventive passives modified by *paraliɣo* yield counterfactual elds both counterfactual and scalar readings (77), even though (plu)perfects are state-signifying. Additionally, for speakers for whom *sçeðon* is ambiguous, (plu)perfect eventive passives continue to be ambiguous when modified by *sçeðon* (78)

(77) To milo içe paraliɣo faɣoθi apo ti xʲonati otan o griniaris ti
the.NOM apple.NOM have.PST.3SG very.nearly eat.PFV from the Snow.White
stamatise prin kan to dagosi.
when the.NOM Grouchy.NOM 3SG.F.ACC stop.PST.3SG before even 3SG.N.ACC bite.PFV.3SG
'The apple had very nearly been eaten by Snow White when Grouchy stopped her before she even took a bite.'

(78) To milo içe sçedon faɣoθi apo tin xʲonati...
the.NOM apple.NOM have.PST.3SG almost eat.PFV from the Snow.White
'The apple had almost been eaten by Snow White...'

a. ... otan i vasilisa ti fonakse ke ecini afise to
when the.NOM queen.NOM 3SG.F.ACC call.PST.3SG and DEM.F.NOM leave.PST.3SG the.ACC
telefteo komati.
last.ACC piece.ACC
'when the queen called her and she left the last piece.'

b. ... %otan o griniaris ti stamatise prin kan to dagosi.
when the.NOM Grouchy.NOM 3SG.F.ACC stop.PST.3SG before even 3SG.N.ACC bite.PFV.3SG
'when Grouchy stopped her before she even took a bite.'

4.3 Interim summary

The previous section has established that counterfactual readings are a type of event modification in Greek; and that it is precisely these readings that are systematically unavailable in stative passives, and only in stative passives (but not in actives or eventive passives). Putting the two observations together, we can conclude that the event in Greek stative passives is not eligible for modification. It bears emphasizing that the unavailability of event modification in the stative passive is not due to the altogether absence of an event: as discussed in section 2, and as established by virtually all previous literature on the topic, *–men–* statives do entail an event. Rather, though the event entailment is present, some property of the representation of the event renders it inacessible to modification.

We thus need an account that delivers both the introduction of arguments externally to the vP, and the non-modifiability of the event. In section section 6, I argue in this light for a complex head analysis of the verbal substructure of the *–men–* participles, distinguishing it from both phrasal syntactic and lexical alternatives.

5 Excursus: Two structures?

We have so far taken *–men–* participles to instantiate a unitary category. But it has previously been argued that there exist two different structures for *–men–* statives in Greek (see especially Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 2008; Alexiadou et al. 2015; Anagnostopoulou 2003). Here, I discuss and ultimately argue against this proposal.

The approach in Anagnostopoulou (2003) begins by inheriting from Kratzer (2001) (and Parsons 1990: 235ff) the interpretive distinction between *target* and *resultant* states. The distinction is one between transitory states and states that hold forever after the event: to use Parsons' example, an event of throwing the ball onto the roof can be thought of as yielding a target state of the ball's being on the roof, and a resultant state of the ball's having been thrown onto the roof. Kratzer's discussion is focussed on showing how the two types of states, understood under particular ancillary assumptions not central here, can be disentangled in German; one crucial diagnostic deployed to this end comes from the adverbial *immer noch* 'still' (cf. Nedjalkov and Jaxontov 1988), which is sensitive to the transitoriness of states.

In the influential discussion in Anagnostopoulou (2003) and subsequent work, this basic proposal from Kratzer is extended to Greek as follows. Firstly, the adverbial *akoma* 'still' is observed to be differentially available between examples (see (79), where judgments are from the original). Following Kratzer (2001), participles that tolerate modification by *akoma* are classed as target states, and those that do not felicitously take *akoma* as resultant states.

(79) a. Ta lastixa ine (akoma) fusko- mena.
the.NOM.PL tire.NOM.PL be.3PL still $\sqrt{\text{INFLATE}}$ PTCP
'The tires are (still) inflated.'

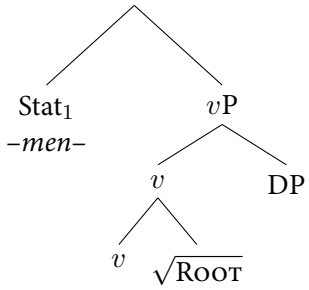
b. Ta ruxa ine (#akoma) steɣno- mena.
the.NOM.PL clothes.NOM.PL be.3PL still $\sqrt{\text{DRY}}$ PTCP
'The clothes are (still) dried.' (Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 2008: 36)

Then, Greek is argued to evidence a structural basis for the purported ambiguity between target and resultant states. The crucial examples here are of the type in (80): they seem to suggest that the presence of an agent-oriented modifier makes *akoma* deviant, and that this effect obtains both with Roots that otherwise yield good target states (like *inflated*) and with ones that do not (like *dried*).

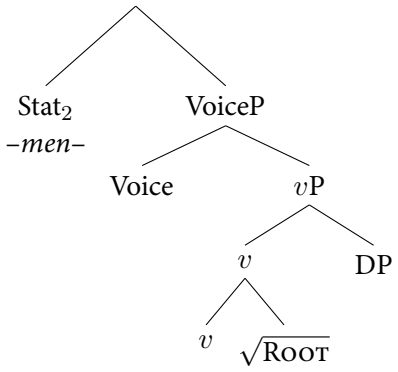
(80) a. Ta lastixa ine (#akoma) fusko- mena apo ti Maria.
the.NOM.PL tire.NOM.PL be.3PL still $\sqrt{\text{INFLATE}}$ PTCP from the Mary
'The tires are (still) inflated by Mary.' (Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 2008: (24a))
b. Ta ruxa ine (#akoma) steɣno- mena me to sesuar.
the.NOM.PL clothes.NOM.PL be.3PL still $\sqrt{\text{DRY}}$ PTCP with the blowdryer
'The clothes are (still) dried with the blowdryer.'

These facts are thus taken to link two *prima facie* unrelated dimensions, namely the target/resultant state distinction and the presence/absence of the locus of agent-oriented modifiers, Voice:

(81) a. *Target state –men–*



b. *Resultant state –men–*



To recapitulate, the reasoning leading to the structural ambiguity account illustrated in (81) is as follows:

(82) a. There exists a rigid interpretive distinction between target and resultant states.
b. This distinction is diagnosable by the behavior of modifiers sensitive to transitoriness, like *still*.
c. In Greek, examples where a stative passive is modified both by *akoma* 'still' and an agent-oriented modifier are ungrammatical.
d. *Ergo*, the presence/absence of Voice maps onto the target/resultant state distinction.

Let us begin with (82a), the assumption that the target/resultant state distinction corresponds to a genuine interpretive ambiguity, to be treated by means of distinct denotations (Kratzer 2001). Interpretively oriented literature following Kratzer (2001) has recognized two issues on this front: firstly, the less-than-intuitive rigidity of the distinct-denotations approach in Kratzer (2001); and secondly, the homophony problem, whereby the account requires two distinct stativizing morphemes that no language, it seems, realizes by distinct means (Baglini 2012; Baglini and Kennedy 2019; Gehrke 2015; Maienborn 2009; see also Rapp 1996). I cannot do justice to this literature here, and individual proposals differ from each other. If it is not necessary to understand the target/resultant state distinction by means of a sharp boundary between two distinct denotations, the interpretive basis for the structural ambiguity posited in previous work on Greek may be called into question.

(82b), the assumption that adverbs like *still* reliably partition the data space into two classes that coincide more or less perfectly with the target/resultant state distinction, also raises questions. Kratzer (2001) cautions that the impossibility of *still*-modification is not a foolproof diagnostic of resultant-state-hood; it is not difficult to see why. An event that involves a ball being thrown on the roof produces the target state resulting from this event, held by the ball. The transitoriness of this state – in particular, whether the ball can be taken off the roof – is arguably what *still* is sensitive to. But the (in)felicity of *still* seems orthogonal to the resultant state, which by definition begins holding the moment the throwing event concludes and continues to hold thereafter. At a minimum, conclusions predicated on the impossibility of *still* must be treated with caution.

Recent work on the interpretation of *still* has treated the transitoriness requirement as presuppositional content contributed by this modifier, with a proposition P and its *still*-modified counterpart *still* P otherwise sharing the same basic at-issue content (see Baglini and Kennedy 2019; Ippolito 2004). The resulting view obviates the need for a target/resultant state distinction in the (lexical) semantics, as mentioned above; but it also has implications for what is to be concluded when *still* cannot be added to a sentence. Consider, for instance, the Greek paradigm in (83), based partly on a pair from English discussed in Baglini (2012: 38).

(83) a. #To ktirio ine akoma xtis- men- o.
the.NOM building.NOM be.3SG still build PTCP N.NOM
'The building is still built.'

b. To ktirio ine akoma miso- xtis- men- o.
the.NOM building.NOM be.3SG still half build PTCP N.NOM
'The building is still half- built.'

c. To ktirio ine akoma a- xtis- t- o.
the.NOM building.NOM be.3SG still NEG buildt PTCP N.NOM
'The building is still unbuilt.'

(83a), uttered when pointing to a building, is odd in a way that its unmodified counterpart is not (a version of (83a) without *still*, like any unmodified activity stative, becomes fine in a job-is-done context; see section 2.2). Crucially, the addition of the degree modifier *half* in (83b) yields a flawless example. Why the sharp contrast between the two examples? Plausibly, (83a) is odd because *still* presupposes that the building's buildedness is at issue at utterance time. But it is difficult to conceive, out of the blue, of contexts where this would be the case; *still* being built is normally a trivial matter when we find ourselves at a time postdating the completion of a building event. In (83b), however, the addition of *half* makes it so that it is not trivial to assert that the relevant state, one of half-buildedness, holds at utterance time, precisely because this state is liable to change in the future. The same is true of the state of being unbuilt in (83c). Note furthermore with respect to (83a) that, once we *do* provide a context where it is buildedness that is at issue, the example improves considerably.

(84) A: I can't believe we borrowed so much money to have that building built! We're about to go bankrupt!
B: Ne, ala to ktirio ine akoma xtismeno.
yes but the.NOM building.NOM be.3SG still built.PTCP.N.NOM
'Yes, but the building is still built.'

Clearly, pragmatic constraints play their part in governing the (in)felicity of modifiers like *still*;[15] it may well not be necessary, then, to hard-code into the lexical semantics of verbal forms the factors governing the differential availability of such modifiers in examples like (83a) and (84). Below, I provide arguments against the more specific move to hard-code these factors in the *syntactic* structure of different stative passives, at least for Greek.

[15]The following example from Biggs and Embick (2023) clarifies even further that the felicity of *still* is determined by pragmatic factors, in this case relating clearly to world knowledge: we happen to know that vases are hard to put back together once shattered,

What, then, of (82c), the observation that *akoma* 'still' cannot appear if the stative is modified by agent-oriented modifiers? Consider in more detail the relevant examples from (80), one of which is repeated here as (85); the example involves a *by*-phrase, but the points below also hold for instruments. There are questions that could be asked here concerning the licensing of agent-oriented modifiers proper; these are postponed to section 6.1.2. Instead, consider the conditions under which examples like (85a) could be uttered. Recall that an *akoma*-modified participle is infelicitous whenever it is not plausible that the state's holding at utterance time is at issue. Examples like (85a) set the bar somewhat higher, by requiring that it be the case additionally that Mary's bringing about the eventuality be part of the at-issue content.

(85) Ta lastixa ine (#akoma) fusko- mena apo ti Maria.
the.NOM.PL tire.NOM.PL be.3PL still $\sqrt{\text{INFLATE}}$ PTCP from the Mary
'The tires are (still) inflated by Mary.'

The felicity conditions for (85) are then quite narrowly circumscribed. (85) is felicitous in those situations where what is at issue is Mary's bringing about the inflatedness that holds at utterance time, and where it is also crucially relevant that the individual in question was Mary specifically; if only inflatedness were at issue, the *by*-phrase in the scope of *still* would have little to contribute.

In the absence of contextual support, then, it is not surprising for sentences like (85) to be judged as odd. Providing an appropriate context, contrived as the result might be, helps quite a bit; see also Alexiadou et al. 2015: 181 for a similar conclusion discussed further in section 6.1.2.

(86) *[It has been thought for decades that Wiles provided the definitive proof of Fermat's Last Theorem. Now, an elderly mathematician alleges that the solution provided by Wiles is, in fact, his, and was plagiarized by Wiles all those years ago. After much press coverage and investigation, the allegation is proven to be false.]*

To θeorima tu Ferma { ine akoma / parameni / eksakoluθi na
the.NOM theorem.NOM the.GEN Fermat.GEN be.3SG still remain.3SG continue.3SG COMP
ine } apoðeðiɣmeno apo ton Wiles.
be.3SG prove.PTCP.NOM from the Wiles

'Fermat's theorem is still/remains/continues to be proven by Wiles.'

Such facts militate against the move to cast examples like (85) as crucially probative on the structure of participles.

We thus arrive at (86d), the proposal that Greek evidences two types of *–men–* participles, distinguished by the presence/absence of Voice, related in turn to the target/resultant state distinction. At this point in the discussion, we are left with little reason to posit this structural distinction. There is no clear motivation from the perspective of interpretation to treat the boundary between the relevant readings as being between two distinct denotations; examples taken to support the structural ambiguity account for Greek can be insightfully reanalyzed. Note that the structural ambiguity account would lead to conclusions not clealy supported independently; for constrasts like (83), for example, it would have to be the case that *built* derives from a structure that includes Voice, while *half-built* necessarily corresponds to a Voice-less structure.

In giving up the structural ambiguity account in (81), we relinquish little by way of explaining the target/resultant state distinction. The reason is that it is not clear that the role of Voice is in any sense causal,

but alliances less so. Similar examples can be constructed for Greek; see also Meltzer-Asscher (2011: fn. 27) for the same conclusion in Hebrew.

(i) a. The vase is (#still) shattered.
b. The alliance is (still) shattered.

even on an account like (81): there is no principled reason inherent to the semantics of target or resultant states why the former should be incompatible with agentivity, and why the latter should necessitate it. Instead, it seems that the reasons for making Voice differentially available in the relevant structures were purely correlational, based on the apparent incompatibility of agent-oriented modifiers with *akoma* (85). But, since this apparent incompatibility arguably is neither systematic nor structurally grounded, an account eschewing (81) suffers no loss of insight in this domain.

6 Towards a 'small' analysis

This paper has established novel generalizations militating in favor of two conclusions on Greek *–men–* stative passives. Firstly, DPs appearing in stative passives originate externally to the verbal projection; *–men–* statives are external predications. Secondly, the event entailed by the stative passive, though present at least as an entailment, is not directly modifiable. I discuss here three conceivable analyses of Greek stative passives, comparing them as to their ability to capture these two conclusions.

I first consider a *Phrasal Layering* approach, whereby the *–men–* participle is syntactically constructed and embeds phrasal verbal syntax. *–men–* statives have been taken to instantiate this type of structure in much of the literature, ever since the pioneering work in Anagnostopoulou (2003). I argue that the findings of section 4 counterexemplify one set of predictions of the layering account: in particular, if the *–men–* stative involved a run-of-the-mill vP, this vP (and thus the event) should be freely accessible to modification. I reconsider the empirical basis of the original argument in favor of a phrasal layering approach to (some) Greek statives, namely, the putative free availability of phrasal VoiceP modifiers, arguing that the presence of Voice is in fact counterevidenced in *–men–* statives.

Once we eschew the Layering approach, two kinds of analyses from other parts of the literature on stative passives remain. A traditional lexicalist approach would derive both the externality of the arguments of stative passives and the restrictions on event modification by positing that stative passive formation is a lexical operation whose output is atomic from the perspective of the syntax (e.g. Horvath & Siloni 2008; Levin & Rappaport 1986; Meltzer-Asscher 2011; Wasow 1977). An alternative originating in recent literature on stative passives would countenance a role for the syntax in the construction of the stative passive, but posit that the stative passive is built 'small', such that the construction of unambiguously phrasal structure is barred within the stative passive (see Embick 2023; cf. Wood 2023).

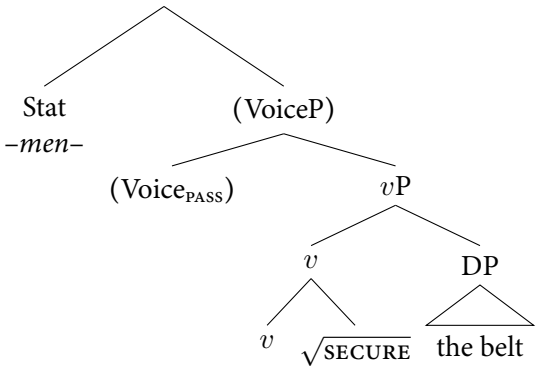
The lexicalist and 'small' analyses are shown to converge predictively up to a point, but I argue that the syntactic analysis emerges as superior on the basis of the behavior of stative passives in a range of environments not considered thus far, involving the properties of attributive stative passives.

6.1 Option 1: Phrasal derivation

6.1.1 Preliminaries

The *–men–* participles of Greek have formed an important playing field for the development of *phrasal layering* analyses of stative passives. Phrasal layering amounts to the claim that the presence of verbal properties in deverbal categories arises from presence of phrasal verbal structure in the inner syntax of these categories. For Greek *–men–* participles, much syntactically oriented work since Anagnostopoulou (2003) has adopted structures like (87).

(87) *Greek –men– participle with Phrasal Layering*



(87) faces difficulties of two sorts when the generalizations arrived at above are taken into account.

Firstly, we have seen evidence against a low origin of the argument. This much conflicts with the specific analysis in (87), but not with Phrasal Layering in general, since it is perfectly coherent to propose Phrasal Layering analyses that also introduce the argument externally to the vP. At a minimum, then, *–men–* statives passives must not amount to stativized eventive passives: the wide-ranging divergences between statives and eventives noted throughout this paper – which are not attributable solely to the presence of a stative entailment – must be derived in part by a difference in argument introduction.

More concerning is the second prediction: if the verbal projection inside the stative passive is a vP like any other, it remains unclear how to derive the fact that non-state-relevant event modification is impossible. This difficulty seems very much real.[16]

But it would be a mistake to consider problems for analyses like (87) without also examining the reasons that led to their adoption in the first place. Greek *–men–* participles have been argued to instantiate a property that speaks crucially in favor of analyses like (87): they ostensibly host agent-oriented modifiers. If this is indeed the case, and if such modifiers are introduced as phrasal adjuncts of VoiceP (see e.g. Bruening 2013), then the *–men–* participle instantiates exactly the kind of case that Phrasal Layering analyses were designed to handle: a deverbal category with the internal syntax of *bona fide* verb phrases (in this case, passive ones). It is thus imperative to examine the status of Voice in *–men–* participles in more detail.

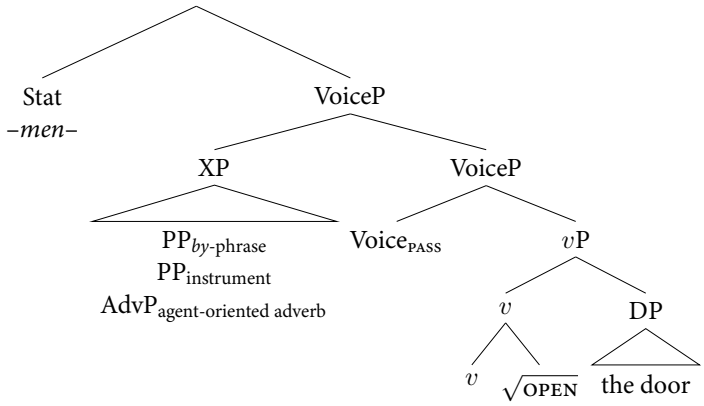
6.1.2 The status of Voice

The observation in previous literature has been that agent-oriented modifiers are admissible in Greek, in a seemingly much more liberal fashion than in languages like English or German (see especially Alexiadou et al. 2015: ch. 5 for recent comparative overview). See (88) for one example (not taken directly from previous literature), whose informativeness will be revised below. This observation has often been understood in terms of the presence of a Voice projection that is necessarily phrasal, by virtue of hosting said agent-oriented modifiers, as in (89).

(88) I porta ine aniɣ- meni viea / me losto / apo ton ðiarikti.
the.NOM door.NOM be.3SG $\sqrt{\text{OPEN}}$ PTCP violently with crowbar.ACC from the.ACC burglar.ACC
'The door is opened violently/with a crowbar/by the burglar.'

[16] Alexiadou et al. (2014) proposes to derive the restricted nature of event modification in German and English stative passives by appealing to the ontology of eventualities, namely, by taking it that stative passives embed not instantiated events, but event kinds in the sense of Gehrke (2015) and related work. Alexiadou et al. (2014) take stative passives in Greek (but not in English or German) to embed a silent Perfect operator that instantiates the event, thereby making event modification widely possible, in tension with the observations made here.

(89)



The discussion below shows that the generalizations concerning agent-oriented modifiers in *–men–* statives are considerably more complex than appearances suggest. The most conservative generalization that emerges is that agent-oriented modifiers are not as freely available in the language's stative passive as they are in the eventive. I take these discrepancies to suggest that Voice is, in fact, not present in the stative passive; and that apparent cases of agent-oriented modification in the stative passive involves such modifiers entering the structure at the level of the state. This conclusion, in fact not without precedent in recent work on Greek, also helps makes sense of an entirely novel generalization, concerning the interaction of stativization with verbal reflexivization.

As a point of departure, recall that, as emphasized already in section 4.1, it is not always trivial to ascertain whether a given modifier in the stative passive modifies the lower event or the higher state. Consider in this connection the pair in (90), suggesting that the adverb *fast* is differentially available in stative passives formed from $\sqrt{\text{OPEN}}$ and $\sqrt{\text{WRITE}}$. In (90a), the adverb does not seem to be able to modify *opened*; if event-related modification were freely available in the stative passive, this restriction should not arise. Consider now (90b), where, interestingly, the very same adverb seems to be licit.

(90) a. I porta ine anigmeni (#ɣriɣora).
the.NOM door.NOM be.3SG open.PTCP.F.NOM quickly
'The door is opened quickly.'

b. To grama ine ɣrameno (ɣriɣora).
the.NOM letter.NOM be.3SG write.PTCP.N.NOM quickly
'The letter is written quickly.'

What seems to be playing a crucial role is the possibility of extrapolating from the state that the event unfolded quickly. With a Root like $\sqrt{\text{WRITE}}$, this type of reverse-engineering is easy: (90b) is uttered most felicitously in situations where, for instance, one notices that the handwriting is sloppy. What a quick door-opening event would look like that leaves detectable marks of quickness on the opened state seems, all things being equal, more difficult to imagine. It is such contrasts that have led authors to propose for different languages that eventuality-oriented modifiers are only licit in stative passives insofar as they are construable as relevant to the state; this is the State Relevance Hypothesis introduced in section 4.1.

It is important to note that judgments like those in (56b) are somewhat fickle when examples are presented in isolation, since it is easy to posit contexts that force a state-relevant construal of the modifier. In the case at hand, (56b) *can* be felicitously uttered in situations where we conclude from inspection of the scene that the opening event was one where the door accumulated enough speed to collide with the wall hard enough to leave a visible mark. Diacritics like # are thus not intended to suggest that the examples are categorically infelicitous, but rather that they require heavy contextual support of the kind just described.

What is instructive, then, is not the status of examples like (90a) in isolation, but contrasts between them and examples like (90b).

Even more probative is the contrast between stative and eventive passives with respect to modification. The eventive passive is simply never subject to state relevance effects, and this asymmetry between eventives and statives deserves a principled explanation. Compare thus the contrast in (90) with the non-contrast in (91).

(91) a. I porta içe anixti ɣriɣora (ja na perasi i
the.NOM door.NOM have.PST.3SG open.NACT.PFV quickly to COMP pass.3SG the.NOM
vasilisa).
queen.NOM
'The door had been opened quickly (so that the queen would pass through).'

b. To ɣrama içe ɣrafti ɣriɣora (jati ekline to
the.NOM letter.NOM have.PST.3SG write.NACT.PFV quickly because close.PST.3SG the.NOM
taçiðromio).
post.office.NOM
'The letter had been written quickly (because the post office was closing.'

That state relevance seems to modulate the availability of modifiers in the domain of event modification raises the question whether a similar situation could obtain in the domain of agent-oriented modification. This seems to be the case.

There is precedent in the literature for this conclusion. Alexiadou et al. (2015: 181) posit this type of analysis to accommodate the presence in some examples of agent-oriented modifiers alongside *akoma* 'still'. Recall from section 5 that this work takes target and resultant state passives to be structurally distinct, with only resultant state passives including Voice. It is further assumed that *akoma* 'still' distinguishes between these two structural possibilities, with the adverbial being claimed to be *i)* only compatible with target states, and *ii)* incompatible with agent-oriented modifiers. State relevance is then invoked to explain data like the following, where, in tension with what is taken in Alexiadou et al. (2015) to be the general pattern, *akoma* 'still' surfaces unproblematically next to an agent-oriented modifier:

(92) a. To staðio ine akomi periciklomeno apo tin astinomia.
the.NOM stadium.NOM be.3SG still surround.PTCP.N.NOM from the police
'The stadium is still surrounded by the police.'

b. O skilos ine akomi ðemenos me skini.
the.NOM dog.NOM be.3SG still tie.up.PTCP.N.NOM with rope
'The dog is still tied up with a rope.' (Alexiadou et al. 2015: 181)

The conclusion drawn from such examples in Alexiadou et al. (2015) is that target state participles must admit apparently agent-oriented modifiers to in fact enter the structure at the state level, since, on the proposal therein, target states lack Voice; on the resulting overall account, resultant state participles admit 'real' agent-oriented modifiers, while target state participles admit only state-relevant adjuncts. Recall now from section 5 that there in fact seems little reason to structurally reify the target/resultant state distinction; and that, in any case, there is no easily identifiable sense in which the presence of Voice should be causal in deriving resultant state readings. As such, it is reasonable to try and generalize the conclusion already drawn for part of the data in Alexiadou et al. (2015), to the effect that Greek *–men–* participles only ever admit state-oriented modifiers.

That contrasts such as (92) can be found is a first indication in favor of a view where agent-oriented modifiers attach to the state in stative passives; but to buttress this view, we need further support along two dimensions. Firstly, we owe an explanation of why, in much of the literature on Greek since Anagnostopoulou (2003), agent-oriented modificiation in *–men–* statives has been taken to be free. And secondly, the Voice-

less view of *–men–* statives should, ideally, yield correct predictions in a domain independent from the data concerning agent-oriented modifiers proper. I take up these two issues in turn.

Concerning the conclusions of previous literature, it is impossible to examine every single example raised in previous work; but I identify here several key generalizations, focussed on the most extensive recent discussion of Greek *–men–* statives, in Alexiadou et al. (2015: ch. 5).

Firstly, unless care is taken to devise examples where a state-level construal is disfavored (see (91)-(92)), modifiers will often be coercable into state-relevant territory. For instance, in the cases in (93), Mary could be construed as having a signature cooking style, while the question of whether a pen was deployed is not difficult to resolve from inspecting a piece of writing.

(93) a. Ta kefteðakia ine tiɣanis- men- a (apo ti Maria).
the.PL meatball.PL.NOM be.3PL √FRY PTCP N.PL.NOM from the Mary
'The meatballs are fried by Mary.' (Alexiadou et al. 2015: p. 154)

b. Ta kefteðakia ine kala / prosektika tiɣanis- men- a.
the.PL meatball.PL.NOM be.3PL well carefully √FRY PTCP N.PL.NOM
'The meatballs are fried well/carefully.'(Alexiadou et al. 2015: p. 154)

c. To kimeno ine ɣrameno me stilo.
the.NOM text.NOM be.3SG write.PTCP.N.NOM with pen
'The text is written with a pen.' (Alexiadou et al. 2015: p. 154)

Secondly, examples free of the state relevance confound often deploy additional elements that seem to facilitate the inclusion of agent-oriented modifiers. One illustration comes from the insightful discussion of Greek negated participles in Alexiadou et al. (2015: 167ff). This work argues that *bona fide* agent-oriented modifiers can be present in negated statives in Greek (cp. Anagnostopoulou 2003).[17] In the ensuing discussion of *by*-phrases, many examples look like (94a); (94b) is an attested example.

(94) a. I simberifora tu ðen emine a- sxolias- t- i apo tus
the.NOM behavior.NOM 3SG.POSS.M NEG stay.PST.3SG NEG √COMMENT PTCP F.NOM from the
ðimosioɣrafus.
journalist.PL
'His behavior did not remain uncommented on by the journalists.' (Alexiadou et al. 2015: p. 167)

b. I perioçi ... parameni se meɣalo vaθmo an- ekserevni- t- i apo
the.NOM area.NOM remain.3SG in large degree NEG √EXPLORE PTCP F.NOM from
episkeptes.
visitors
'The area remains mostly unexplored by visitors.' https://tinyurl.com/3kddazmz

Strikingly, however, the above examples use *remain*; changing this verb to the copula reduces the acceptability of the examples significantly; once again, such restrictions do not obtain with eventive passives.

(95) a. I simberifora tu (ðen) ine a- sxolias- t- i (??apo tus
the.NOM behavior.NOM 3SG.POSS.M NEG be.3SG NEG √COMMENT PTCP F.NOM from the
ðimosioɣrafus).
journalist.PL
'His behavior is (not) uncommented on (by the journalists).'

[17] For evidence that negated statives share core aspects of their syntax with *–men–* statives, see esp. Alexiadou et al. (2015: 176ff) and Paparounas (2023: 175ff).

b. I perioçi ine se meɣalo vaθmo an- ekserevni- t- i (??apo episkeptes).
the.NOM area.NOM be.3SG in large degree NEG √EXPLORE PTCP F.NOM from visitors
'The area is mostly unexplored by visitors.'

Once again, it seems crucial that the *by*-phrase be state-relevant, in this case being the entity determining whether the state is to be maintained or not. Contrasts such as those between (94) and (95) are not readily understandable if negated participles include Voice.[18]

Related considerations arise for instruments. Many examples here are of the type in (96).

(96) To DNA ine a- ora- t- o akoma ke me to pço ðinato mikroskopio.
the.NOM be.3SG NEG √SEE PTCP N even and with the most powerful microscope
'DNA is invisible even with the strongest microscope.' (Alexiadou et al. 2015: 170)

Note here two factors; firstly, the fact that these are seem to be negated modal states (thus 'invisible', not 'unseen'); secondly, the inclusion of the focal element *akoma ke* 'even' that seems to enable the putative instrument to be licensed, compare (97a). The question arises whether the objects in question are, in fact, interpreted as real instruments: in conjunction with the modal nature of the negated participle, examples like (97b) seem to mean 'the safe is unbreachable, even with a drill *at our disposal*'.

(97) a. To DNA ine a- ora- t- o (??me to pço ðinato mikroskopio).
the.NOM be.3SG NEG √SEE PTCP N with the most powerful microscope
'DNA is invisible even with the strongest microscope.' (Alexiadou et al. 2015: 170)

b. Me tetrapli ependisi titaniu, to xrimatocivotio ine a- paravias- t-
with four-ply coating titanium.GEN the.NOM safe.NOM be.3SG NEG √BREACH PTCP
o ??(akoma ke) me tripani.
N.NOM even and with drill
'With a four-ply titanium coating, the safe is unbreachanble, even with a drill.'

Finally, the Voice-less view of *–men–* statives makes a crucial correct prediction concerning a domain independent of the data discussed thus far, involving the interaction of stativization with verbal reflexivization.

Greek builds verbal reflexives by means of the prefix *afto-*, such that (98b) is, descriptively, the verbal counterpart of (98a). A fully parallel situation obtains in the domain of reciprocals (99).

(98) a. Afti i θeotita ðimiurɣi-**s**-e **ton eafto tis** apo to miðen.
this.NOM the.NOM deity.NOM √CREATE-PFV.**ACT**-3SG the.ACC self.ACC her from the zero
'This deity created itself out of nothing.'

b. Afti i θeotita **afto**-ðimiurɣi-**θ**-ik-e apo to miðen.
this.NOM the.NOM deity.NOM REFL-√CREATE-PFV.**NACT**-PST-3SG from the zero
'This deity self-created out of nothing.'

(99) a. I Maria ke o Janis ipostiriz-**un** o enas ton
the.NOM Mary.NOM and the.NOM John.NOM support-3PL.**ACT** the.NOM one.NOM the.ACC
alo.
other.ACC
'Mary and John support each other.'

b. I Maria ke o Janis **alilo**-ipostiriz-**onde**.
the.NOM Mary.NOM and the.NOM John.NOM RECIP-√SUPPORT-3PL.**NACT**

[18] In any case, conclusions on agent introduction are difficult to draw on the basis negated statives alone; see in this connection the careful discussion in Alexiadou et al. (2015: ch. 5) of Bruening's (2014) argument in favor of the presence of Voice in English statives.

'Mary and John support each other.'

afto- and (to a lesser extent) *alilo-* have received much attention (see esp. Alexiadou 2014b; Embick 2004b; Paparounas 2023; Rivero 1992; Spathas, Alexiadou, & Schäfer 2015; Tsimpli 1989). They have the syntax of passives: they involve a single, internal argument, with the element *afto-*/*alilo-* being responsible for deriving reflexivity/reciprocity, respectively. Much recent work has argued that this state of affairs follows from taking *afto-*/*alilo-* to be Voice-level elements, such that reflexivity/reciprocity is a type of Voice on a par with (or built on top off) passive (see esp. Paparounas 2023; Spathas et al. 2015; cf. e.g. Baker 2022; Labelle 2008; McGinnis 2022 for similar analyses of other languages). This conclusion has potential diagnostic utility: if verbal reflexives/reciprocals are Voice constructions, they could be used to test for the presence of Voice. The outcome of the test is in line with the Voice-less account thereof: *afto-*/*alilo-* do not combine with *–men–* statives. As far as I know, this is a novel generalization.

Consider firstly the following set of minimal pairs, with (eventive) verbal reflexives given in the *a.* and stative passives in the *b.* examples. In each case, the stative passives are well-formed unless the reflexivizer *afto-* is added; they thus differ crucially from the *a.* examples, where *afto-* is perfectly acceptable forming a verbal reflexive (which has passive-like properties; see references above).

(100) a. O Janis eçi afto-katastraf-Ø-i me to poli poto.
the.NOM John.NOM have.3SG REFL-√DESTROY-PFV.NACT-3SG with the much drink
'John has destroyed himself from too much drinking.' *eventive*

b. Toso pu pini, o Yanis ine (*afto-)katestra-men-os.
that.much COMP drink.2SG the.NOM John.NOM be.3SG REFL-√DESTROY-PTCP-NOM
'From drinking so much, John is (self-)destroyed.' *stative*

(101) a. O Janis eçi afto-ðiafimis-θ-i evreos sto Instagram.
the John.NOM have.3SG REFL-√ADVERTISE-PFV.NACT-3SG widely on.the Instagram
'John has self-advertised widely on Instagram.' *eventive*

b. Meta apo makroxroni kambanʲa, o Janis ine pleon evreos
after from long.time campaign the.NOM John.NOM be.3SG as.of.now widely
(*afto-)ðiafimiz-men-os sto Instagram.
REFL-√ADVERTISE-PTCP-NOM on.the Instagram
'After a years-long campaign, John is now widely (self-)advertised on Instagram.' *stative*

Similar facts obtain in the domain of reciprocals, as shown in the next set of examples.

(102) *[The expert interrogator has managed to turn the suspects' testimonies against each other.]*

a. Teliosame. I ipopti exun pleon
finish.PST.1PL the.NOM.PL suspect.NOM.PL have.3PL as.of.now
alilo-katiɣori-θ-i.
RECIP-√ACCUSE-PFV.NACT-3SG
'We're done – the suspects have now accused each other.' *eventive*

b. Teliosame. *I ipopti ine pleon alilo-katiɣori-men-i.
finish.PST.1PL the.NOM.PL suspect.NOM.PL be.3PL as.of.now RECIP-√ACCUSE-PTCP-NOM.PL
'We're done. The suspects are now mutually accused.' *stative*

(103) a. I pelates ðe mas xriazonde. Exun iði
the.NOM.PL customer.NOM.PL NEG 1PL.ACC need.3PL have.3PL already
(alilo-)eksipireti-θ-i.
RECIP-service-PFV-NACT-3SG
'The customers don't need us – they've already assisted each other.' *eventive*

b. I pelates ðe mas xriazonde – ine iði
the.NOM.PL customer.NOM.PL NEG 1PL.ACC need.3PL – be.3PL already
(*allilo-)eksipireti-men-i.
RECIP-√SERVICE-PTCP-PL
'The customers don't need us - they are already mutually assisted.' *stative*

The examples here utilize a variety of Roots to clarify that it is a fully systematic fact of the language that predicative stative passives in *–men–* can never undergo reflexivization/reciprocalization. Importantly, this contrast does not seem straightforwardly reducible to some sort of interpretive deviance associated with the *b.* examples: it is not clear that any deviance should follow exclusively from what it means to hold a state resulting from a self-oriented (or reciprocally oriented) event.

Note that the impossibility of *afto-* and *alilo-* is not easily attributable to factors involving state relevance. Even in contexts where self-action or reciprocal action is evidenced from the state, *afto-*/*alilo-* modified statives are judged as deviant:

(104) a. *[We see customers leaving the self-checkout line.]*
Afti i pelates ine (*afto-)eksipiretimeni.
DEM.NOM.PL the.NOM.PL customer.NOM.PL be.3PL REFL-√SERVICE.PTCPPL
'These customers are self-serviced.'

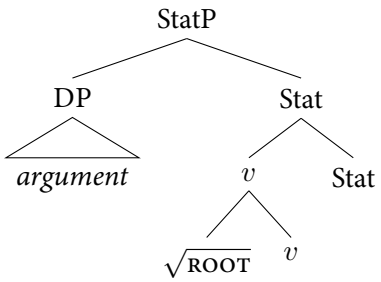
b. *[The two foes are incapacitated, each holding the sword that pierced the other's armor.]*
I ðio exθri ine (*alilo-)eksondomeni.
the.NOM.PL two enemy.NOM.PL be.3PL RECIP-√EXTINGUISH.PTCP.PL
'The two enemies are mutually extinguished.'

If these generalizations are correct, the inclusion of Voice in Greek stative passives is counterevidenced in a domain independent of agent-oriented modification. Overall, in light of difficulties with event modification, and absent motivation from the domain of agent-oriented modification, I forego a Phrasal Layering analysis of *–men–* participles in what follows.

6.2 Option 2: 'Small' syntactic derivation

A syntactic alternative to Phrasal Layering holds that at least some part of the structure of the stative passive is built 'small', i.e. without the creation of unambiguously phrasal structure. In (105), the structure to be defended here for Greek, the Root and v have combined directly to create a complex head $[_v \sqrt{\text{ROOT}}\ v]$, and this complex head in turn has been merged with Stat to form a larger complex head; the phrasal argument enters the structure only at this point, and the first unambiguously phrasal projection in the structure is thus a projection of Stat, not of any verbal material below.

(105)



Such structures form the basis of an emerging literature. They were first proposed for English stative passives in Embick 2023, with antecedents in Embick (2004a: 371-372), and for Icelandic nominalizations in Wood 2023; other 'small' analyses of nominalizations are Benz (2023), Lee (2024). The claim here is that the small structure delivers the correct results for Greek, emerging as superior to both phrasal and lexical alternatives; the diagnostic toolkit developed to this end here for Greek has been fruitfully extended to stative passives in other languages, yielding further arguments for structures like (105) for other stative passives (see Hamo 2024 for Ardalani Kurdish, Lopes and Biggs 2024 for Brazilian Portuguese, and Biggs and Embick 2025b for English).

Fundamental to analyses like (105) is the idea that complex heads can be created by external Merge in the sense of Chomsky (2001). In (105), head-adjunction by External Merge has created the kind of structure traditionally associated with the output of syntactic head movement (see among many others Baker 1985, 1988; Hale and Keyser 1993), its postsytnactic counterpart Lowering (Embick and Noyer 2001) or, in more recent approaches, distinct operations across the syntax/postsyntax divide (see e.g. Arregi and Pietraszko 2021; Harizanov and Gribanova 2019; Harley 2013; Svenonius 2012). There are several precedents for this idea in the broader literature on word formation. That an object like (105) must be countenanced as a licit output of external Merge is arguably the null hypothesis given a system of phrase structure with the properties of that in Chomsky (1994, 1995): simply put, absent a rigid phrase-structural schema, objects like that in (105) cannot be kept out without stipulation (Chomsky 1995: 337). Recent work (Epstein, Kitahara, & Seely 2016; Piggott & Travis 2013) emphasizes that the operation involved must be *pair-Merge*, the operation responsible for adjunction (Chomsky 1995: 248, Chomsky 2004). External (pair-) Merge has been invoked deployed in analyses of different phenomena, often quite independently of the domain of argument structure (Bruening 2019; Epstein et al. 2016; Harley 2005; Mateu 2002; Moro & Roberts 2024; Nóbrega & Panagiotidis 2020; Oda 2022; Piggott & Travis 2013; Tomioka 2006).

External-Merge-derived complex heads must thus be countenanced; but this is only one side of things. Remaining is the puzzle of how to circumscribe the cases where the system *must* create such a structure. The terms 'phrasal' and 'not phrasal' have effectively been used as convenient shorthands for the idea that, whereas the highest projection of v in the eventive passive is unambiguously phrasal, insofar as it takes a phrasal complement DP and potentially at least one adjunct, the same projection in the stative passive cannot become unambiguously phrasal in this way: the core argument DP does not originate in a verbal projection in the stative passive, and adjunction to the verbal projection is not possible. What must be derived, then, is the following statement:

(106) *Explanandum*
In Greek, unambiguously phrasal structure cannot be created below the stativizing head Stat.

(106) is familiar from the literature on resultative secondary predicates, which have been noted to obey a similar restriction (see A. Williams 2015: 317ff). There are different options on how to mechanically implement (106): for instance, in a system where selection is sensitive to the the saturatedness of the selectee (e.g. Bruening 2013), (106) can be implemented by stipulating that Stat selects for a projection of v whose selectional [D] feature has not been saturated. At present, it seems to me that such an analysis, and conceivable alternatives, derives (106) without offering further insight: what an analysis deriving (106) ultimately owes is a unification of (106) with other cases where 'small' structures seem to be called for. Since the properties of such structures are very much an active area of inquiry, I must put the matter to the side here. If the suspicion proves to be correct that (106) forms part of a wider pattern in the syntax of mixed projections, then an explanation considerably deeper than a selection-based approach will have to be sought.

Importantly, the complex head structure straightforwardly derives the properties of Greek stative passives noted in the first half of this paper. If the first point at which arguments may be introduced is the stative projection, then the DPs appearing in stative passives will pattern unlike *bona fide* deep objects for both

positional diagnostics such as verb-object idiom formation (section 3.1); since they originate above the locus of existential closure of the event argument, these DPs will also be directly integrated only with the stative eventuality, deriving the behavior of ingestive statives (section 3.2). The meaning postulates introduced in section 3.2 will normally guarantee the Theme interpretation of the state-holder; and the lack of phrasal structure below Stat guarantees that no second argument can be introduced, e.g. by an Applicative head. The lack of adjunction below Stat will prohibit phrasal event modification, deriving the asymmetric behavior of eventives and statives with respect to event modification, including the divergent patterns observed with approximatives section 4.2 and other adverbials. Crucially, we expect state-relevant modification to be licit, if such modification involves attachment at the StatP level (as in Alexiadou et al. 2015: 181).

Clearly, the properties of structures like (105) raise questions of their own; in particular, the restriction in (106) must be derived, and, absent such a derivation, the account here inevitably faces a high bar. The claim is that, compared to alternatives, the account passes this bar. We have already seen arguments against a Phrasal Layering analysis of the Greek patterns; the next section reaches a similar conclusion for a lexicalist alternative, which turns out to be predictively distinguished from (105) in a way that favors the complex head account.

6.3 Lexical derivation

Theories admitting the possibility of presyntactic word formation often take stative passives to be formed by lexical rules (Horvath & Siloni 2008; Levin & Rappaport 1986; Meltzer-Asscher 2011; Wasow 1977); individual accounts naturally differ in details. Here, I outline a lexical account of Greek *–men–* statives representative of the basic ingredients shared by different lexical accounts, and examine its predictions.

The lexical account in (107) localizes the totality of effects associated with the formation of a stative passive to an affixation operation in the lexicon. The operation affixes the exponent *–men–* (107a) to elements of category V (107b) to produce adjectives (107c) and assign to them a resultant state semantics (107d). The output of this operation is an input to the syntax (108).

(107) *Lexical stative passive formation*

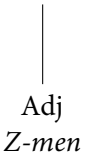
a. *Structural description:* $\text{Z} \rightarrow [\ \text{Z-men}\ ]_{\alpha}$

b. *Structural condition:* Z is of category V

c. *Structural change – category:* α is of category Adj

d. *Structural change – denotation:* $[\![\alpha]\!] = \lambda x.\lambda s.\exists e.Z(e) \wedge event(e) \wedge state(s) \wedge Cause(e, s) \wedge Holder(s) = x$

(108) *Syntax of the stative passive*



(107) is evidently well-placed to account for some of the observations made above. If the verb's event argument is existentially closed pre-syntactically, per (107d), then the unavailability of non-state-relevant event modification follows for free. And since the stative passive is a terminal node, any arguments will be introduced externally to it: in (108), there is no internal syntactic structure for any argument to originate in. Up to this point, the lexical and 'small' accounts converge predictively.

The lexical account faces difficulties when confronted with a set of observations involving the behavior of stative passives in attributive positions. The discussion here crucially builds on similar observations made for English in Biggs and Embick (2025b), following Embick (2023). The basic observations from English recur in

Greek, and I leverage them here as a new argument in favor of a syntactic approach to the formation of stative passives; Greek also provides a new, illuminating observation not available in English which completes the empirical picture, made possible by the language's polydefinite DP syntax.

A key prediction of the lexical account is the *persistence* of the properties of the stative passive throughout the syntactic derivation. Since the stative passive is derived pre-syntactically, any properties attributed to the stative passive when it is derived lexically should remain invariant throughout the syntactic derivation. The data below show that this prediction is false; the interpretation of the stative passive is determined in a fashion that is crucially informed by the syntactic context. Attempts to rectify this issue while maintaining a lexical account will lead both to a proliferation of lexical rules and to the incorporation of *bona fide* syntactic information into these rules. As a result, the lexical account seems ill-suited to handle the totality of the facts in Greek.[19]

Biggs and Embick (2025b) show that English stative passives display striking asymmetries between predicative and attributive uses. Focussing on event modification, pairs like (109) show that, while event modification is at least severely restricted in predicative statives, such constraints do not apply to the attributive position, where modification is considerably freer. In cases like (109b), the participle seems to be able to be interpreted eventively, i.e. in a way that permits access to the entailed event.

(109) a. The door is #recently / #quickly / #secretly opened.
b. The recently / quickly / secretly opened door.

Biggs and Embick (2025b) devote considerable attention to showing that the eventively interpreted participle in (109b) is an eventively-read stative passive, as opposed to an eventive passive. For English, this step is both crucial and intricate, because English builds both stative and eventive passives by means of the participle, and the possibility thus suggests itself that (109b) is simply an eventive passive, read – as expected – eventively. This complication is simply not at stake for Greek, where the participle is restricted to the stative passive. Since Greek eventive passives are never participial, constasts like (109b) – if they turn out to be found in Greek – must necessarily involve the stative passive.

Such effects do turn out to obtain in Greek, and they are crucial in evaluating the predictions of lexical accounts. Firstly, recency adverbs, manner adverbs and epistemic adverbs, all previously shown to be impossible in predicative position as repeated in (110a), become flawless in the attributive (110b).

(110) a. I porta ine aniɣmeni #prosfata / #ɣriɣora / #krifa.
the.NOM door.NOM be.3SG open.PTCP.F.NOM recently quickly secretly
'The door is recently/quickly/secretly opened.'
b. I prosfata / ɣriɣora / krifa aniɣmeni porta.
the.NOM recently quickly secretly open.PTCP.F.NOM door.NOM
'The recently/quickly/secretly opened door.'

Such facts become even more striking when approximative modification is brought into the picture. Recall from section 4.2 that approximative modifiers cannot target the event in predicative *–men–* statives; as such, counterfactual readings are systematically impossible in the predicative position. But these readings become perfectly possible if the stative is placed in attributive position: thus, the counterfactual adverb *paraliɣo* is perfectly licit in (111), matching the pattern found in section 4.2 for active transitives and eventive passives but, crucially, not predicative stative passives. Similarly, those speakers who allow the approximative *sçeðon* to take on counterfactual readings in active transitives and eventive passives also allow it to take on such readings in attributive stative passives (112b), even though the speakers never allow *sçeðon* to be counterfactual in predicative stative passives, as shown in section 4.2.

[19] See Embick (2023) for a distinct argument teasing apart the lexical and complex head accounts of English stative passives, involving the interaction of the scope of negation and resultative secondary predicates.

(111) a. To paraliɣo faɣo- men- o milo θaftike ston cipo apo tus nanus.
the.NOM nearly √EAT PTCP N apple.NOM bury.NACT.3SG in.the garden from the dwarf.PL
'The very nearly eaten apple was buried in the garden by the dwarves.'

b. To paraliɣo faɣo- meno milo ine sto trapezi – eftixos ðen to
the.NOM nearly √EAT PTCP apple.NOM be.3SG on.the table thankfully NEG 3SG.N.ACC
efaɣe kanis telika.
eat.PST.3SG nobody.NOM finally
'The very nearly eaten apple is on the table – thankfully nobody ate it after all.'

(112) I nani eθapsan to sçeðon faɣo- men- o milo ston cipo...
the.NOM.PL dwarf.NOM.PL bury.PST.3SG the.ACC almost √EAT PTCP N apple.ACC in.the garden
'The dwarves buried the almost eaten apple in the garden...'

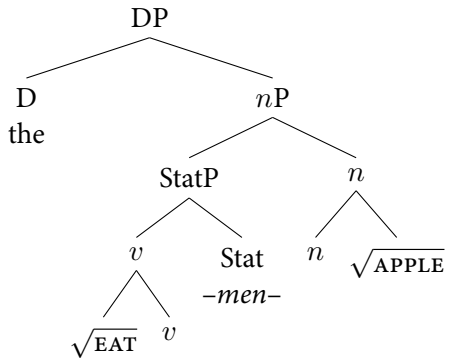
a. ...oste na min paθi kanis alos afto pu epaθe i çionati.
so.that COMP NEG suffer.3SG nobody.NOM else that.ACC which suffer.PST.3SG the Snow.White
'...so that what happened to Snow White wouldn't happen to anyone else.'

b. %...oste na paramini aðagoto.
so.that COMP remain.3SG unbitten
'...so that it remains unbitten.'

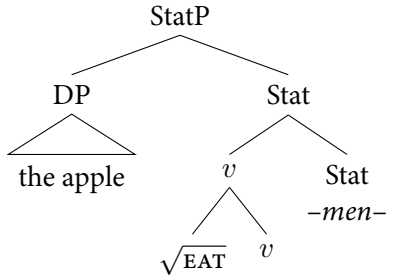
Importantly, there is no sense in which the participles in (110)-(112) instantiate eventive passives: these are clearly *–men–* stative passives, and what must be explained is why their event turns out to be accessible in attributive position.

Biggs and Embick (2025b) present an account of identical predicative/attributive asymmetries found in English participles making crucial use of the fact that the participle is constructed in the syntax. The gist of their account can be insightfully extended to Greek.[20] The crucial difference between attributive and stative passives concerns the locus of argument introduction. In predicative stative passives (113), the stativizing head Stat is responsible for the introduction of the argument syntactically, and for its interpretation at LF. In attributive stative passives, the relationship between the stative passive and the DP is different: attributive statives are modifiers of an independently introduced argument, as in (114). Biggs and Embick propose that, just in this configuration, the interpretation of Stat may be null: effectively, when Stat is not an argument introducer, it may take on an alloseme assigning to it the identity function, thus contributing no stative eventuality and effectively 'passing up' the open event variable (for allosemy elsewhere, see e.g. Marantz 2010; Myler 2016; Wood 2023; Wood and Marantz 2017). As such, any modifiers syntactically adjoined to StatP will modify the event variable, making event modification available exactly in the attributive position.

(113) *Attributive stative*



(114) *Predicative stative*



[20] The trees below use the notation used above this paper, replacing Biggs and Embick's (2025) $i*$ with Stat.

Syntactic context crucially modulates the availability of event modification in the stative passive. If the stative passive is syntactically constructed, this is by no means surprising: the syntax feeds the interpretive component, and situations where interpretations of particular heads are crucially determined by the syntax can easily arise. But things are different on the lexical account. Per (107d), affixtation of *–men–* existentially closes the event argument in the lexicon; the derived object should thus never admit event modification, regardless of syntactic context.

This stumbling block for the lexical account can be overcome only by incorporating devices that go against the spirit of lexical word formation more generally. For instance, it is possible in principle to posit, alongside (107), a distinct but very similar-looking operation as in (115). Exactly as in the operation in (107), (115) affixes to verbs the exponent *–men–* to produce adjectives with a resultant state denotation; (115) differs minimally in that this denotation involves an unsaturated event argument (115d), and in that the derived object must be restricted to attributive position.

(115) *Lexical stative passive formation – attributive position*

a. *Structural description:* $\text{Z} \rightarrow [\ \text{Z-men}\ ]_{\alpha}$

b. *Structural condition – base:* Z is of category V

c. *Structural change – category:* α is of category Adj

d. *Structural change – denotation:* $[\![\alpha]\!] = \lambda x.\lambda e.Z(e) \wedge event(e) \wedge state(s) \wedge Cause(e, s) \wedge Holder(s) = x$

e. *Structural restriction:* α may only appear in attributive position.

(115) raises two sorts of questions.

Firstly, we may wonder whether the exponent *–men–* that figures in (115a) is 'the same' *–men–* as the one that appears in (107). If yes, then, in postulating both (107) and (115) in order to account for the observed predicative/attributive asymmetries, the lexical account has created two accidentally homophonous participles, and it becomes crucial to ask whether languages ever realize predicative and attributive stative passives with distinct exponents. If not – that is, if the *–men–* in (115) is 'the same' exponent as that in (107), then the analysis as a whole has underspecified the pronunciation of the participle relative to its syntax and interpretation, assimilating the account to one with Late Insertion.

The second issue concerns the structural restriction in (115e). Clearly, some restriction of this sort is necessary on the lexical account, since it is crucial that the stative passive with an open event variable be restricted to attributive position. But it is not clear how this restriction is to be stated in the lexicon; (115e) is a prose description. Concretely, since the restriction in (115e) must make reference to a narrowly syntactic notion – the definition of what it means to be an attributive modifier – then (115e) risks incorporating into a lexical rule information that is strongly syntactic; exactly the situation that lexical accounts are intended to eschew.

Now, it is not the case that the lexicon incorporates *no* syntactic information. Perhaps, (115e) can be supplanted with a simple reference to category of the kind that lexical rules like (107) and (115) uncontroversially make use of: the attributive participle produced by (115) is restricted to nominal environments, and the 'predicative' participle appears elsewhere.

Greek provides evidence that stating the restriction in (115) in terms of a reference to category will not do: not all stative passives that appear DP-internally admit event modification.

The crucial observation here comes from stative passives appearing in Greek's polydefinite construction (see a.m.o. Alexiadou and Wilder 1998; Kolliakou 1995, 2004; Lekakou and Szendrői 2012; Tsiakmakis, Borràs-Comes, and Espinal 2021). Polydefinites arise under adjectival modification: the canonical position for adjectives is prenominal (116a), but postnominal adjectives become available when a second determiner is added (116b), and the second determiner can also occur with (ostensibly) prenominal adjectives (116c).

(116) a. To nostimo milo
the delicious apple

b. To nostimo to milo
the delicious the apple

c. To milo *(to) nostimo
the apple the delicious

Simple definites and polydefinites are known to license distinct interpretive possibilities reminiscent of pre/post-nominal modification asymmetries in Romance and Germanic (see e.g. Cinque 2010). Polydefinite DPs license exactly those interpretations of adjectives found in predicative position, distinct from (non-polydefinite) attributive adjectives. As one illustration of these patterns, consider the availability of non-intersectice readings of adjectives like *beautiful*. These arise in simple definite DPs with attributive adjectives; thus, (117a) can describe both an individual who is both a dancer and beautiful, and a dancer who dances beautifully. In predicative position (117b), only the intersective reading is possible. Interestingly, the polydefinite patterns with the predicative adjective, not the simple definite, in disallowing non-intersective readings (117c). Polydefinite adjectives pattern with predicative ones along related phenomena, including (non-)restrictive readings of adjecitves under quantification, and the availability of non-predicative adjectives like *former*.

(117) a. O oreos xoreftis
the.NOM beautiful.NOM dancer.NOM
'The beautiful dancer' ✓intersective ✓non-intersective

b. O xoreftis ine oreos.
the.NOM dancer.NOM be.3SG beautiful.NOM
The dancer is beautiful. ✓intersective ✗non-intersective

c. O xoreftis o oreos
the.NOM dancer.NOM the.NOM beautiful.NOM
✓intersective ✗non-intersective

Bringing *–men–* statives into this picture enables a striking novel generalization: the readings of event-oriented modifiers in Greek stative passives travel together in the predicative position and the polydefinite, to the exclusion of the attributive position.

Consider firstly (118), examining the behavior in polydefinites of the exlusively counterfactual modifier *paraliɣo*. This element was shown to be altogether infelicitous in predicative stative passives (see (73)), and we saw in (111) that it becomes felicitous in attributive stative passives. In (118), the context is intended to accomplish two things: firstly, to introduce a dimension of contrast (in this case, between two apples) so that the use of a polydefinite is pragmatically justified; and secondly, to facilitate a counterfactual reading by asserting that one of the apples was very nearly eaten. In this type of context, an attributive stative passive modified by *paraliɣo* is perfectly acceptable, as shown in (111). The example in (118) differs from (111) only in the inclusion of a second determiner, yielding a polydefinite DP. And, strikingly, the inclusion of this second determiner causes *paraliɣo* to revert to its behavior in the predicative position, being strongly infelicitous.

(118) *[Snow White was given two apples: a poisoned one from the Evil Queen, and a normal one as a gift from Grouchy. She nearly bit into the poisoned one but the dwarves managed to stop her. She later ate Grouchy's non-poisoned apple, and buried the Evil Queen's poisoned onem in the garden.]*
#To paraliɣo faɣomeno to milo θaftike ston kipo.
the.NOM very.nearly eat.PTCP the.NOM apple.NOM bury.PST.NACT in.the garden
'The very nearly eaten apple was buried in the garden.'

The facts from the potentially ambiguous approximative adverb *sçeðon* match those for *paraliɣo*. As expected

given everything we have seen so far, in the scalar-facilitating context in (119), the *sçeðon*-modified polydefinite stative is perfectly acceptable: the scalar reading of *sçeðon* is always available for all speakers, and there is no reason to suspect it would cease to be so in the polydefinite construction.

(119) *[Snow White was given two apples: a poisoned one from the Evil Queen, and a normal one as a gift from Grouchy. She ate most of the poisoned apple and fell into a deep sleep, leaving Grouchy's apple intact. The dwarves find Snow White lying next to the two apples.]*
To sçeðon faɣomeno to milo prepi na itan ðilitiriasmeno.
the.NOM almost eat.PTCP the.NOM apple.NOM must COMP be.PST.3SG poison.PTCP
'The almost eaten apple must have been poisoned.

Consider now a second, minimally different context, given in (120). This time, we assert that there are two apples at play, and that one of them very nearly underwent an eating event, thereby pointing towards the counterfactual reading. In this case, the polydefinite stative is degraded; crucially, this effect obtains for all speakers, including those who otherwise allow counterfactual *sçeðon*.

(120) *[Snow White was given two apples: a poisoned one from the Evil Queen, and a normal one as a gift from Grouchy. She nearly bit into the poisoned one but the dwarves managed to stop her. She later ate Grouchy's non-poisoned apple, and buried the Evil Queen's poisoned one.]*
#To sçeðon faɣomeno to milo ine θameno ston kipo.
the.NOM almost eat.PTCP the.NOM apple.NOM be.3SG bury.PTCP in.the garden
'The almost eaten apple is buried in the garden.'

The facts from approximatives in polydefinites perfectly mirror those in predicative position: stative passives disallow event-oriented (counterfactual) readings inside polydefinites, just as in predicative position.

Non-state-relevant manner and epistemic adverbs follow this pattern too: while liberally available in attributive statives, they are infelicitous when modifying polydefinite statives, just as they were with predicative statives.

(121) #I prosfata / ɣriɣora / krifa aniɣmeni i porta.
the.NOM recently quickly secretly opened.PTCP.NOM the.NOM door.NOM
'The recently/quickly/secretly opened door.'

These observations on polydefinite statives clarify that a simple reference to category will not suffice to correctly characterize the distribution of event modification in stative passives on a lexical account. It is not the case, at least not on the surface, that all DP-internal stative passives admit event modification. For a syntactic account, the reason why polydefinite statives pattern together with predicative ones will likely be found in the reduced relative analysis of Greek polydefinites, where polydefinites will effectively instantiate a basic predicative syntax (Alexiadou 2014a; Alexiadou & Wilder 1998; Tsiakmakis et al. 2021). But to imbue the lexical account with this amount of access to syntactic information would be to effectively cease proposing a lexical account.

As such, I consider the 'small' syntactic analysis not predictively equivalent to the lexical account after all, and ultimately better suited to capture the totality of observations from Greek.

7 Conclusion

This paper's empirical goal has been to elucidate the event and argument structure of Greek *–men–* statives. By deploying a range of novel diagnostics, we have found that the stative passive to differ from its eventive counterpart on both fronts: the event is not directly modifiable, and the core argument of the stative is fully

external to the verbal projection. On the way to these generalizations, generalizations have been made on various secondary fronts, including the presence of Voice in Greek statives, the issue of a structurally rooted target/resultant state ambiguity, and the effects subsumed under the label of state relevance. It is hoped that the new diagnostic tools developed here, along with various questions left open, will stimulate future work on stative passives cross-linguistically.

These generalizations have formed the basis for an argument in favor of a complex head analysis of *–men–* participles, which has been argued to be superior to syntactic analyses positing phrasal verbal syntax inside the stative passive, and to lexicalist analyses denying the presence of internal structure at the point of syntax. If the empirical arguments developed here hold water, then the paper forms an existence proof in favor of the possibility of externally Merged complex heads. These structures are the topic of a growing body of work; among the many open questions, two deserve mention here by way of conclusion.

A first question, already alluded to above, concerns the scope of this type of analysis. 'Small' structures have recently been argued to be involved in the formation of some stative passives and of nominalizations, as discussed repeatedly above. If these conclusions are on the right track, one might wonder how intimate the connection is between the 'small' syntax entailed by this type of analysis on the one hand, and the syntax of recategorization more broadly. Whether the connection here is deep or incidental remains to be seen.

A related question concerns cross-linguistic variation. The claim here has been that Greek *–men–* statives demand a complex head analysis; not that every instance of what has been called a stative passive must be made to fit this analysis. Assuming that 'bigger' syntaxes are, indeed, found for stative participles elsewhere, we may wonder what governs this dimension of variation. This question must connect to the broader question of why certain structures are 'small', already noted as a necessary point of elaboration for complex head analyses.

If the arguments here are on the right track, a two-way opposition between lexical rules and phrasal syntactic word formation does not exhaust the space of conceivable analyses; this dissociation between the notions 'syntactically constructed' and 'phrasal' merits further exploration.

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