

GREEK STATIVE PASSIVES ARE NOT PASSIVES

EVIDENCE FROM THEMATIC REVERSALS*

Lefteris Paparounas
Université du Québec à Montréal
 paparounas.lefteris@uqam.ca www.paparounas.net

NELS 55 | October 17, 2024

1 THE ISSUES AND THE PLOT

Call the deverbal forms in (1) *stative passives*.

- (1) a. The seat belt is already fasten- ed.
 b. I zoni ine iði asfal- iz- men- i.
 the.NOM belt.NOM be.3SG already $\sqrt{\text{SECURE}}$ VBZ PTCP NOM.F
 ‘The seat belt is already fastened.’

Interest in the properties of such structures cross-linguistically often centers on two areas:

(cf. nominalizations in e.g. Alexiadou 2001; Borer 2003; Chomsky 1970; Grimshaw 1990; Marantz 1995; 1997; Wood 2023)

(Q1) *Argument structure*

What is the structural provenance of the core argument, and how is it thematically integrated?

(Q2) *Event structure*

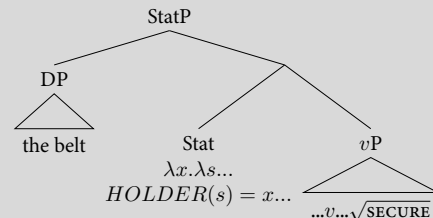
What is the nature of the eventualities making up the stative passive, and how are they composed?

(see e.g. Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 2008; Anagnostopoulou 2003; Bešlin 2021; Borer 1984; Bresnan 1982; Bruening 2014; Embick 2004; 2023; Kratzer 2001; Levin and Rappaport 1986; Meltzer-Asscher 2011; Wasow 1977; E. Williams 1981)

TODAY

— **Primary focus:** Novel generalizations on (Q1) as applied to (1b). The core argument is...

- **Structurally:** external to the *vP*.
- **Thematically:** primarily a state holder.



- **Broader point:** Putting these conclusions together with recent investigations of (Q2) for Greek
 - The stative passive is deverbal but lacks *phrasal* verbal structure.

*This talk builds on Paparounas (2023: ch. 4); see there for acknowledgments and information on judgments. All errors remain mine.

2 BACKGROUND

The stative passive in *—men—* is:

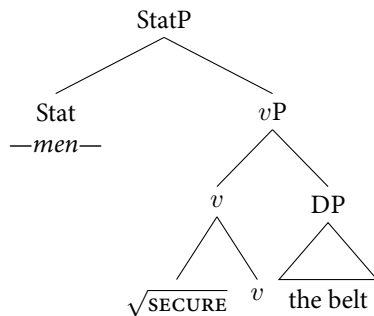
- Deverbal morphologically
- (2) I zoni ine asfal- iz- men- i.
 the.NOM belt.NOM be.3SG $\sqrt{\text{SECURE}}$ VBZ PTCP F.NOM.SG
 ‘The seat belt is already fastened.’
- Event-entailing (see esp. Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 2008; Alexiadou et al. 2015; Anagnostopoulou 2003; Markantonatou et al. 1996)
- (3) I zoni ine asfalizmeni, #ala ðen asfalistike.
 the.belt.NOM be.3SG secure.PTCP.NOM, but NEG secure.NACT.PST.3SG
 ‘The seat belt is fastened, #but it wasn’t fastened.’
- Distinct from the *eventive* passive (on which see e.g. Alexiadou et al. 2015; Angelopoulos et al. 2020; Paparounas 2023)
- (4) 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.’

More-or-less standard basic treatment, in a syntactic theory of word formation:

- (5) asfal- iz- men- i
 $\sqrt{\text{SECURE}}$ VBZ PTCP F.NOM.SG
 ROOT *v* Stat *a*

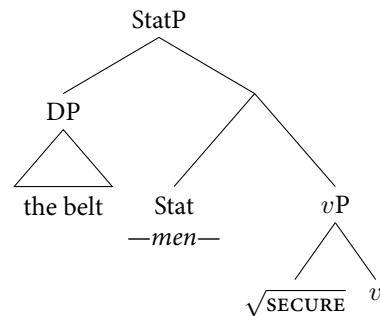
THE QUESTION HERE: POSITIONING THE ARGUMENT

(6) *Low Origin*



(assumed but not always defended in much syntactically-oriented work on Greek, esp. Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 2008; Anagnostopoulou 2003 and subsequent work. Cf. e.g. English in Embick 2004)

(7) *External predication*



(see esp. Biggs and Embick 2023; Embick 2021; 2023 for English *-ed* statives, and Biggs 2021; Fruehwald and Myler 2015 for *done*; also the only option in much lexicalist work, e.g. Levin and Rappaport 1986; McIntyre 2013; Meltzer-Asscher 2011; 2012. Cf. the operator analysis in Bruening 2014)

3 IDIOMS

- Passivizable VO idioms are hard to find in Greek.
- But for the ones that do exist, eventives and statives behave differently. (cp. Dubinsky and Simango 1996; Horvath and Siloni 2008; Ruwet 1991)

First, livers and noises:

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

In the **eventive** passive, the idiomatic reading survives:

- (9) Mu exun kopi ta ipata apo tus θorivus.
 1SG.GEN have.3PL cut.NACT.PFV the.NOM.PL livers.NOM.PL from the noise.PL
 ✓Literal: ‘The livers were cut to my detriment by the noises.’
 ✓Idiomatic: ‘I have been scared to death by the noises.’

But in the **stative**, things are different:¹

- (10) #Mu ine ko- mena ta ipata (apo tus θorivus).
 1SG.GEN be.3PL $\sqrt{\text{CUT}}$ PTCP the.NOM.PL livers.NOM.PL from the noise.PL
 ✓Literal: ‘The livers are cut to my detriment by the noises.’
 ✗Idiomatic: ‘I am scared to death (by the noises).’

Similarly with fish and lips:²

- (11) a. Mu epsise to psari sta xili.
 1SG.GEN roast.PST.3SG the.ACC fish.ACC on.the lip.PL
 ‘S/he tormented me’ (lit. ‘S/he roasted the fish on my lips.’)
 b. Mu exi psiθi to psari sta xili.
 1SG.GEN have.3SG roast.NACT.PFV the.ACC fish.ACC on.the lip.PL
 ‘I have been tormented.’
- (12) #Mu ine psi- meno to psari sta xili.
 1SG be.3SG $\sqrt{\text{ROAST}}$ PTCP the.NOM fish.NOM on.the lip.PL
 Intended: ‘I am in a tormented state.’

THE ARGUMENT

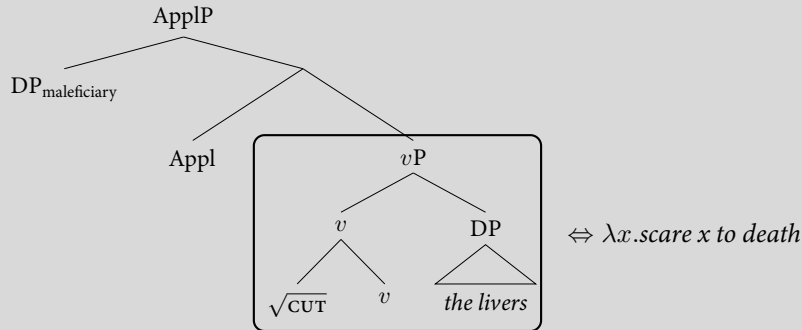
- If these verb-object idioms target DP-ful VPs...

¹Inalienably possessed datives, such as those in the idioms discussed here, do otherwise appear in the stative passive (i); indirect objects do not.

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

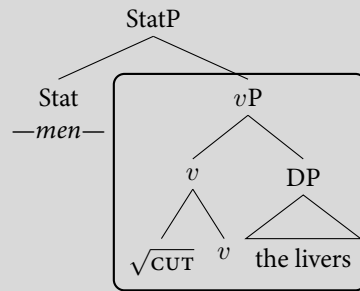
²For one of my consultants, (11b) is not clearly well-formed; but the same consultant nonetheless notes that (12) is worse than (11b).

(13)

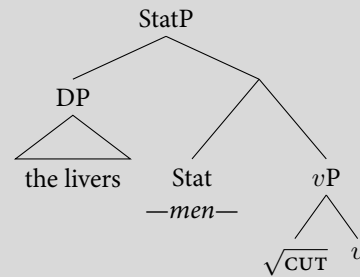


— ...then stative passives must lack such VPs.

(14) *Low origin*



(15) *External predication*



4 THEMATIC REVERSAL: THE PATTERN

4.1 Basic facts

Normally, the sole argument of the stative passive shares its thematic properties with the DO of transitives, and the surface subject of the eventive passive: Bresnan 1982; E. Williams 1981; cp. esp. Levin and Rappaport 1986

- (16) a. Asfalisa tin zoni.
 secre.PST.1SG the.ACC belt.ACC
 ‘I fastened the seat belt.’ transitive
- b. I zoni eçi asfalisti.
 the.NOM belt.NOM have.3SG secure.NACT.PFV
 ‘The seat belt has been fastened.’ eventive passive
- c. I zoni ine asfalismeni.
 the.NOM belt.NOM be.3SG secure.PTCP.F.NOM
 ‘The seat belt is fastened.’ stative passive

But a handful of Roots provides an illuminating exception to this pattern. Consider $\sqrt{\text{EAT}}$:

- (17) [The vicious human-eating plant consumes Mary.]
I Maria ine faço- men- i.
the.NOM Mary.NOM be.3SG eat PTCP F.NOM
‘Mary is eaten.’

- (18) Q: I'm setting the table – is Mary joining us?
 A1: Oçi, i Maria ine fayō- men- i.
 no the.NOM Mary.NOM be.3SG eat PTCP F.NOM
 'No – Mary has eaten.' stative passive
 A2: Oçi, i Maria eçi fai.
 no the.NOM Mary.NOM have.3SG eat.PFV
 'No – Mary has eaten.' active perfect

— In A1, *Mary* seems to be interpreted as an Agent (!)

- (19) a. I Maria ine fayōmeni, ala ðen eçi fayōθi.
 the.NOM Mary.NOM be.3SG eat.PTCP.NOM.F but NEG have.3SG eat.PFV
 'Mary has eaten, but she hasn't been eaten.'
 b. To psomi ine fayōmeno, #ala ðen eçi fayōθi.
 the.NOM bread.NOM be.3SG eat.PTCP.NOM.N but NEG have.3SG eat.PFV
 'The bread is eaten, but it hasn't been eaten.'

— Call this effect a *thematic reversal*. (and see Appendix A for important details)

— Found with stative passives from other Roots that are (literally or metaphorically) *ingestive*:

- (20) I Maria ine { fayō- , pçō- , ðiavaz- , maθi- } men- i.
 the.NOM Mary.NOM be.3SG $\sqrt{\text{EAT}}$ $\sqrt{\text{DRINK}}$ $\sqrt{\text{STUDY}}$ $\sqrt{\text{LEARN}}$ PTCP NOM.F
(Anagnostopoulou 2001)

— Extremely prevalent with ingestives cross-linguistically; see esp. Arad 1998 and Haspelmath 1994: p. 161.

Compare the English paradigm in (21) (and cf. especially Biggs 2021):

- (21) a. I'm (all) partied / danced #(out).
 b. I swim lap after lap...That only takes about 45 minutes, and then I'm all swum out.
<https://tinyurl.com/mtd4vae8>

4.2 An asymmetrical pattern

Prima facie, the thematic reversal tells us something about the argument structure of ingestives, but little about the stative passive.

— Perhaps (20) simply reflects a special way of understanding what 'Theme' is supposed to mean, in the context of ingestion events. (Anagnostopoulou 2001)

New observation: The thematic reversal never takes place in the eventive passive.

- (22) a. #I Maria eçi { fayōθi / ðjavasti / maθefti }.
 the.NOM Mary.NOM have.3SG eat.NACT.PFV.3SG read.NACT.PFV.3SG learn.NACT.PFV.3SG
 Only reading: 'Mary has been eaten/read/learned.'
 b. To psomi eçi fayōθi / to vivlio eçi
 the.NOM bread.NOM have.3SG eat.NACT.PFV.3SG the.NOM book.NOM have.3SG
 ðjavasti / to mistiko eçi maθefti.
 read.NACT.PFV.3SG the.NOM secret.NOM have.3SG learn.NACT.PFV.3SG
 'The bread has been eaten / the book was read / the secret was found out.'

— If the effect arises solely from how we interpret *Mary* in the context of $\sqrt{\text{EAT}}$...

— ...then we should be able to do so regardless of whether we merge Stat or not.

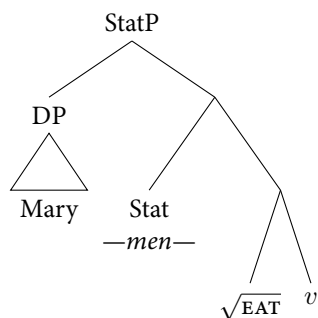
— Instead, we also have to 'know' that the structure is stative before introducing the exceptionally interpreted argument.

5 THE BASIC ANALYSIS

Hypothesis: The thematic reversal arises only in the stative because, in the stative, the DP in question is severed...

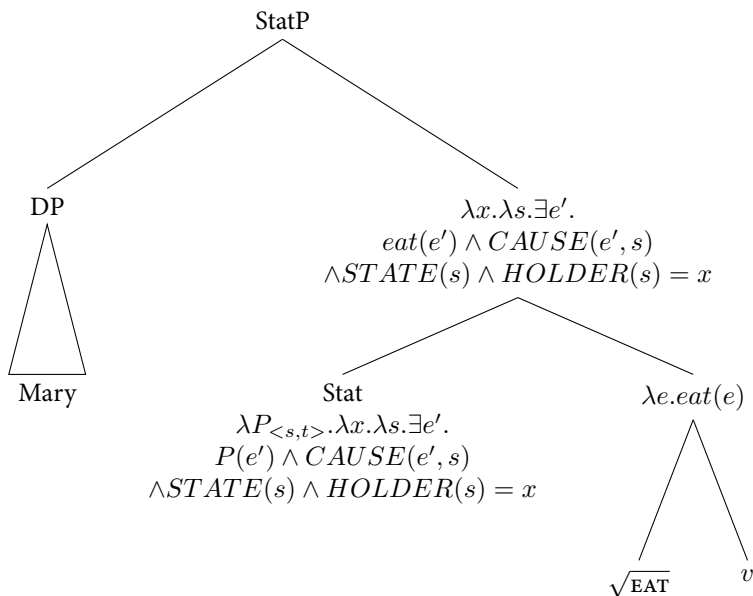
- structurally: from the *v*P

(23) *Stative passive with external predication*



- thematically: from the event

(24)



pace accounts with external predication that link the argument to the event via abstraction, either lexical (e.g. Meltzer-Asscher 2011) or syntactic (Bruening 2014)

- The structural difference between eventives and statives correlates with an interpretive difference: in (24), the DP is integrated with the stative eventuality.
- Because the structure does not fully determine the relation between the DP and the event, some amount of flexibility arises; this is the source of the thematic reversal.
- In particular, the integration of the DP to the event arises by inference; and different inferences are possible.

(25) *Meaning postulates*

- a. $[event(e) \wedge CAUSE(e, s) \wedge STATE(s) \wedge HOLDER(s) = x] \models [THEME(e) = x]$
'Interpret the holder of an event-entailing state as the theme of the entailed event.'
- b. **OR** $[event(e) \wedge CAUSE(e, s) \wedge STATE(s) \wedge HOLDER(s) = x] \models [AGENT(e) = x]$
in the context of $\{ \sqrt{EAT}, \sqrt{LEARN}, \dots \}$
'In the context of $\{ \sqrt{EAT}, \sqrt{LEARN}, \dots \}$, optionally interpret said entity as an agent.'

THE GIST

- In **eventive** passives, the surface subject is structurally *vP*-internal, and interpreted however *vP*-internal DPs are.
- In **stative** passives, the DP is properly external to the verbal core structurally, and in principle neutral with respect to its thematic integration in the event
 - It is integrated with the event only derivatively, giving rise to the possibility of thematic reversals.

6 CONCLUSIONS AND EXTENSIONS

Recall our starting questions:

(Q1) *Argument structure*

What is the structural provenance of the core argument, and how is it thematically integrated?

(Q2) *Event structure*

What is the nature of the eventualities making up the stative passive, and how are they composed?

For (Q1), we've seen evidence for the external predication view.

These conclusions must be viewed alongside recent approaches to (Q2):

- The event in Greek stative passives is not directly modifiable, such that
- only state-level modification is licit (Paparounas 2023: ch. 4; cf. e.g. McIntyre 2013; Meltzer-Asscher 2011; Rapp 1996 for other languages; and cp. e.g. Alexiadou et al. 2015: ch.5)
- Diagnosable in different ways; here, for brevity

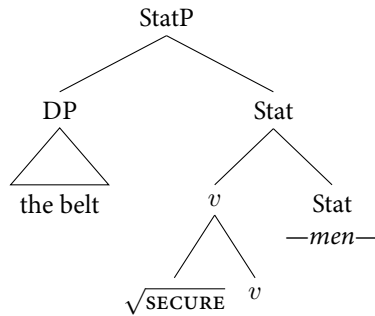
- (26) a. I zoni eçi asfalisθi (γριyora).
the.NOM belt.NOM have.3SG secure.NACT.PFV.NACT.3SG quickly
'The seat belt has been fastened (quickly).'
- b. I zoni ine asfalismeni (#γριyora).
the.NOM belt.NOM be.3SG secure.PTCP.F.NOM quickly
'The seat belt is fastened (quickly).'

Generalization: the verbal core of the Greek stative passive has two properties:

1. **No arguments**
2. **No phrasal modifiers**

Hypothesis: The verbal projection is not *phrasal*.

(27) Complex head



(For stative passives, with Biggs and Embick 2023; Embick 2023 for English, see also Biggs and Embick (later today) and Hamo and Meihami (10 minutes from now) on Ardalani. For nominalizations, see esp. Wood 2023 for Icelandic; see also Benz 2023; Lee 2024. Cf. parts of the syntactic literature on resultatives, A. Williams 2015: 315ff and references therein. For related ideas, see Bruening 2019; Epstein et al. 2016; Oda 2022.)

Explicandum: *Why is it that phrasal structure is disallowed below Stat in Greek?*

- The answer will depend on what we make of the properties of objects like (27);
- and on a better understanding of how such ‘small’ objects distribute, intra- and cross-linguistically.

REFERENCES

-
- ALEXIADOU, Artemis (2001). *Functional Structure in Nominals: Nominalization and Ergativity*. Linguistik Aktuell/Linguistics Today. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- ALEXIADOU, Artemis and Elena ANAGNOSTOPOULOU (2008). “Structuring Participles”. In: *Proceedings of the 26th West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics*. Ed. by Charles B. CHANG and Hannah J. HAYNIE. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.
- ALEXIADOU, Artemis, Elena ANAGNOSTOPOULOU, and Florian SCHÄFER (2015). *External Arguments in Transitivity Alternations: A Layering Approach*. First edition. Oxford Studies in Theoretical Linguistics 55. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.
- ANAGNOSTOPOULOU, Elena (2001). “Two Classes of Double Object Verbs: The Role of Zero Morphology”. In: *Progress in Grammar. Articles at the 20th Anniversary of the Comparison of Grammatical Models Group in Tilburg*. Ed. by Elena ANAGNOSTOPOULOU and Marc van OOSTENDORP. Dutch Royal Academy Publications.
- ANAGNOSTOPOULOU, Elena (2003). “Participles and Voice”. In: *Perfect Explorations*. Ed. by Artemis ALEXIADOU, Monika RATHERT, and Arnim von STECHOW. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, pp. 1–36.
- ANGELOPOULOS, Nikos, Chris COLLINS, and Arhonto TERZI (2020). “Greek and English Passives, and the Role of by-Phrases”. In: *Glossa: a journal of general linguistics* 5.1, p. 90.
- ARAD, Maya (1998). “Are Unaccusatives Aspectually Characterized? (And Other Related Questions)”. In: *Papers from the UPenn/MIT Roundtable on Argument Structure and Aspect*. Ed. by Heidi HARLEY. MIT Working Papers in Linguistics 32, pp. 1–20.
- BENZ, Johanna (2023). “The Syntax of the Content Reading in German Nominalizations”. In: *Proceedings of NELS 53*. Amherst, MA: GLSA.
- BEŠLIN, Maša (2021). “No Such Thing as a ‘Verbal Participle’”. Conference presentation. FDSL 14.
- BIGGS, Alison (2021). “The Done-State Derived Stative: A Case Study in Building Complex Eventualities in Syntax”. In: *Syntax* 24.3, pp. 297–333.
- BIGGS, Alison and David EMBICK (2023). “On the Interpretation and Structure of English Stative Passives”. Conference presentation, LAGB 2023.
- BORER, Hagit (1984). *Parametric Syntax: Case Studies in Semitic and Romance Language*. Dordrecht: Foris.

- BORER, Hagit (2003). “Exo-Skeletal vs. Endo-Skeletal Explanations: Syntactic Projections and the Lexicon”. In: *The Nature of Explanation in Linguistic Theory*. Ed. by John MOORE and Maria POLINSKY. Stanford: CSLI Publications, pp. 31–67.
- BRESNAN, Joan (1982). “The Passive in Lexical Theory”. In: *The Mental Representation of Grammatical Relations*. Ed. by Joan BRESNAN. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, pp. 3–86.
- BRUENING, Benjamin (2014). “Word Formation Is Syntactic: Adjectival Passives in English”. In: *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 32.2, pp. 363–422.
- BRUENING, Benjamin (2019). “Verbal Morphology: Not Head Movement, Not Mirror Theory, Just External Merge”. Ms, University of Delaware.
- CHOMSKY, Noam (1970). “Remarks on Nominalization”. In: *Readings in English Transformational Grammar*. Ed. by R JACOBS and P ROSENBAUM. Waltham, Mass: Ginn.
- DUBINSKY, Stanley and Silvester Ron SIMANGO (1996). “Passive and Stative in Chichewa: Evidence for Modular Distinctions in Grammar”. In: *Language* 72.4, pp. 749–781.
- EMBICK, David (2004). “On the Structure of Resultative Participles in English”. In: *Linguistic Inquiry* 35.3, pp. 355–392.
- EMBICK, David (2021). “Smaller Structures for Stative Passives”. Presentation, ABRALIN AO VIVO.
- EMBICK, David (2023). “Smaller Syntax for English Stative Passives: A First Report”. Ms. University of Pennsylvania.
- EPSTEIN, Samuel D., Hisatsugu KITAHARA, and Daniel SEELY (2016). “Phase Cancellation by External Pair-Merge of Heads”. In: *The Linguistic Review* 33.1.
- FRUEHWALD, Josef and Neil MYLER (2015). “I’m Done My Homework—Case Assignment in a Stative Passive”. In: *Linguistic Variation* 15.2, pp. 141–168.
- GRESTENBERGER, Laura (2018). “Deponency in Finite and Nonfinite Contexts”. In: *Language* 94.3, pp. 487–526.
- GRIMSHAW, Jane (1990). *Argument Structure*. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press.
- HASPELMATH, Martin (1994). “Passive Participles across Languages”. In: *Typological Studies in Language*. Ed. by Barbara A. FOX and Paul J. HOPPER. Vol. 27. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, p. 151.
- HORVATH, Julia and Tali SILONI (2008). “Active Lexicon: Adjectival and Verbal Passives”. In: *Linguistik Aktuell/Linguistics Today*. Ed. by Sharon ARMON-LOTEM, Gabi DANON, and Susan D. ROTHSTEIN. Vol. 134. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, pp. 105–134.
- KRATZER, Angelika (2001). “Building Statives”. In: *Proceedings of the Berkeley Linguistics Society* 26.
- LEE, Soo-Hwan (2024). “No Escape from Syntax: Evidence from Gikūyū Subject Nominalizations”. Ms, NYU and University of Pennsylvania.
- LEVIN, Beth and Malka RAPPAPORT (1986). “The Formation of Adjectival Passives”. In: *Linguistic Inquiry* 17.4, pp. 623–661.
- MARANTZ, Alec (1995). “‘Cat’ as a Phrasal Idiom”. Ms. MIT.
- MARANTZ, Alec (1997). “No Escape from Syntax: Don’t Try Morphological Analysis in the Privacy of Your Own Lexicon”. In: *University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics*. Vol. 4.2, pp. 201–225.
- MARKANTONATOU, Stella et al. (1996). “Μία (Λεξική) Σημασιολογική Περιγραφή Των Ρηματικών Επιθέτων Σε -Τός [A (Lexical) Semantic Description of Verbal Adjectives in -Tos]”. In: *Proceedings of the 17th Annual Meeting of the Department of Linguistics of the School of Philosophy of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki*.
- MCINTYRE, Andrew (2013). “Adjectival Passives and Adjectival Participles in English”. In: *Linguistik Aktuell/Linguistics Today*. Ed. by Artemis ALEXIADOU and Florian SCHÄFER. Vol. 205. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, pp. 21–42.
- MELTZER-ASSCHER, Aya (2011). “Adjectival Passives in Hebrew: Evidence for Parallelism between the Adjectival and Verbal Systems”. In: *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 29.3, pp. 815–855.
- MELTZER-ASSCHER, Aya (2012). “The Subject of Adjectives: Syntactic Position and Semantic Interpretation”. In: *The Linguistic Review* 29.2.
- ODA, Hiromune (2022). “The NP/DP-language Distinction as a Scale and Parameters in Minimalism”. PhD thesis. University of Connecticut.
- PAPAROUNAS, Lefteris (2023). “Voice from Syntax to Syncretism”. PhD thesis. University of Pennsylvania.

- RAPP, Irene (1996). “Zustand? Passiv? — Überlegungen zum sogenannten „Zustandspassiv“”. In: *Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft* 15.2, pp. 231–265.
- RUWET, Nicolas (1991). “On the Use and Abuse of Idioms”. In: *Syntax and Human Experience*. Ed. by John GOLDSMITH. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 171–261.
- WASOW, Thomas (1977). “Transformations and the Lexicon”. In: *Formal Syntax*. Ed. by Peter CULICOVER, Thomas WASOW, and Adrian AKMAJIAN. New York: Academic Press, pp. 327–360.
- WILLIAMS, Alexander (2015). *Arguments in Syntax and Semantics*. Key Topics in Syntax. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- WILLIAMS, Edwin (1981). “Argument Structure and Morphology”. In: *The Linguistic Review* 1.1.
- WOOD, Jim (2023). *Icelandic Nominalizations and Alloosemy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- ZOMBOLOU, Katerina and Artemis ALEXIADOU (2014). “The Canonical Function of the Deponent Verbs in Modern Greek”. In: *Morphology and Meaning: Selected Papers from the 15th International Morphology Meeting, Vienna, February 2012*. Ed. by Franz RAINER et al. Current Issues in Linguistic Theory 327. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, pp. 331–344.

APPENDIX A: THE COMPLETION EFFECT

NB the DP’s dual thematic life – as a state holder as well as an event participant – correctly accounts for an additional interpretive effect:

- **The completion effect:** Holders of thematically reversed statives have undertaken the entailed event to completion.

- E.g. ‘eaten’ means ‘full’, not just ‘having eaten’:

(28) Ime fayomenos, #ala ðen exo xortasi.
 be.1SG eat.PTCP but NEG have.1SG satiate.PFV
 ‘I’m eaten, but I’m not full.’

- Cp. the perfect:

(29) Exo fai, ala ðen exo xortasi.
 have.1SG eat.PFV but NEG have.1SG satiate.PFV
 ‘I’ve eaten, but I’m not full.’

- Facts like these make it necessary to ultimately associate the DP with the state; thus, postulates like (25) may well be needed on any account of the stative passive.

APPENDIX B: THEMATIC REVERSALS IN ENGLISH?

Thematic reversals may be hiding in plain sight, e.g. in English:

- (30) a. I’m (all) partied #(out).
 b. I’m (all) danced #(out).
 c. I swim lap after lap...until my arms won’t stroke and my feet won’t kick. That only takes about 45 minutes, and then I’m all swum out. <https://tinyurl.com/mtd4vae8>

- *out* seems to be creating good target states where the Root doesn’t provide it on its own (see e.g. KRATZER 2001 on activities); cf. esp. BIGGS (2021) on *done*

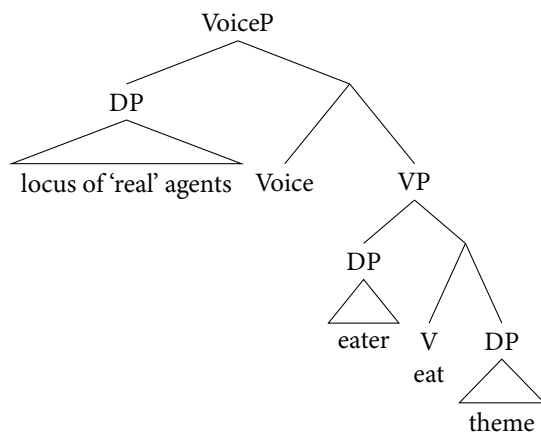
— Once again, no thematic reversal in the eventive:

- (31) a. I was (all) partied out. ✓*stative* ✗*eventive*
 b. I was (all) danced out. ✓*stative* ✗*eventive*

APPENDIX C: NON-CANONICAL EXTERNAL ARGUMENTS?

An alternative inspired by: ANAGNOSTOPOULOU (2001): perhaps ‘eaters’ are structurally lower than canonical agents...

(32)



...in a way that (somehow) makes them eligible for stative passivization, and ineligible for eventive passivization.

I.e. the thematic reversal corresponds to stative-passivizing on the ‘eater’ argument in (32).

Some issues:

— Greek does have predicates with this profile – experiencer/deponent verbs (see e.g. GRESTENBERGER 2018; PAPAROUNAS 2023; ZOMBOLOU and ALEXIADOU 2014)

— Reasons to think that these have a ‘low’ external argument:

– Systematic appearance w/ nonactive morphology

- (33) a. O Janis skarfize- te efevresis.
 the.NOM John.NOM $\sqrt{\text{DEVISE}}$ 3SG.NACT invention.ACC.PL
 ‘John thinks up inventions.’
 b. O Janis skarfiz- i efevresis.
 the.NOM John.NOM $\sqrt{\text{DECISE}}$ 3SG.ACT invention.ACC.PL

– No eventive passivization

- (34) *Efevresis skarfiz- onde apo ton Jani.
 invention.NOM.PL $\sqrt{\text{DEVISE}}$ 3PL.NACT from the John
 ‘Inventions are thought up by John.’

– No agent nominalization

(35) *skarfis- tis (efevreseon)
√DEVIUSE NMLZ invention.GEN.PL
'thinker-upper of inventions'

- These form stative passives just fine (interestingly!):
- ...but never give rise to thematic reversals.

- (36) a. To sçeđio 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).'