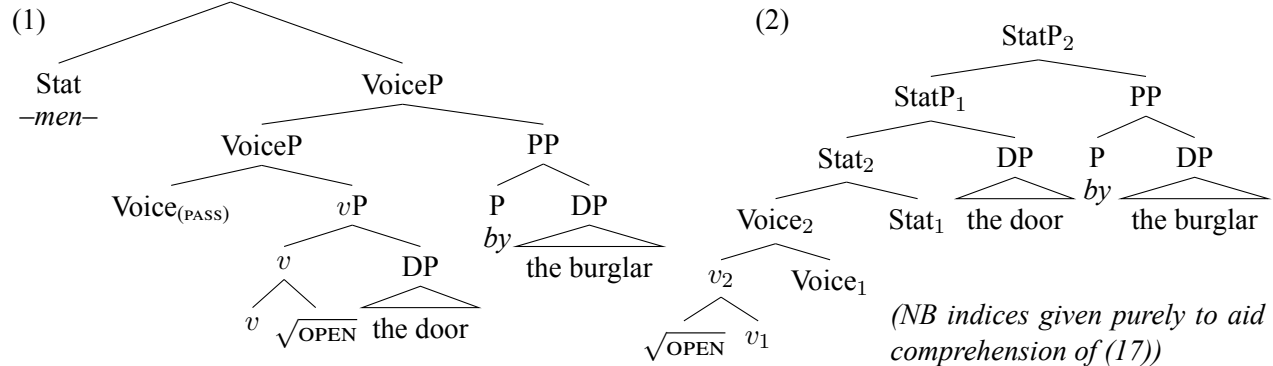


STATIVE PASSIVES, VOICE LAYERING, AND THEMATIC INTERPRETATION

INTRODUCTION Many syntactic approaches to stative passives (e.g. *This door is recently opened*) employ *phrasal layering* (e.g. Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 2008; Alexiadou et al. 2015; Bruening 2014): under these analyses, e.g. (1), stative passives effectively have the verbal substructure of eventive passives (e.g. *the door was opened at 3pm*), from which they are differentiated only by a stativizing layer. Since Anagnostopoulou (2003a), Greek has been taken to support such analyses, owing to the observation that agent-oriented modifiers, taken to diagnose a VoiceP layer (e.g. Bruening 2013), occur freely in stative passives formed with the stativizer *-men-* (3). We show that, in fact, wide-ranging differences between stative and eventive passives in Greek provide evidence *against* phrasal layering, supporting instead a complex head approach to stative passives (2), without any phrasal structure below the stativizer (Embick 2021, and for nominalizations Wood 2021).



- (3) I porta ine aniy- meni vicia / me losto / apo ton ðiarikti.
 the door is √_{OPEN} PTCP violently with crowbar from the burglar
 ‘The door is opened violently/with a crowbar/by the burglar.’

ALMOST In actives and eventive passives of accomplishment verbs (4)-(6), *şçedon* ‘almost’ produces a well-known ambiguity between *count(erfactual)* (J almost started eating the apple) and *scal(ar)* (J almost finished eating the apple) readings (McCawley 1971). But in the stative passive (5), only the scalar reading is found. Assuming that the *almost* ambiguity is structural, derived by whether *almost* adjoins below Voice or above it (Rapp and von Stechow 1999), the divergence between (6) and (5) is unexpected under (1), where the stative passive effectively embeds an eventive passive. By contrast, if the stative passive lacks a phrasal VoiceP (2), we correctly predict only one attachment site for *almost*: there is no phrasal structure below the stativizer, thus *almost* cannot adjoin low, and the counterfactual reading cannot be derived.

- (4) O Janis şçedon efaje to milo. (5) To milo ine / itan şçedon fayomeno.
 the John almost ate the apple the apple is was almost √_{EAT} PTCP
 ‘John almost ate the apple.’ ✓*count*. ✓*scal*. ‘The a. is/was almost in an eaten state.’ ✗*count*. ✓*scal*.
 (6) To milo şçedon fayothike / içe şçedon fayothi.
 the apple almost eat.PASS.PST.3SG had almost eat.PASS.PFV
 ‘The apple was almost eaten/had almost been eaten.’ ✓*count*. ✓*scal*.

REFLEXIVIZATION Passive structures can be reflexivized by means of *afto-* (7), a reflexivizing morpheme that phrasally adjoins to passive VoiceP (see Alexiadou 2014; Spathas et al. 2015); the reciprocal prefix *alilo-* patterns identically (9). (1) predicts that *afto/alilo* should be able to attach just as easily in the stative passive; this prediction is systematically not borne out (8)/(10). This inability of stative passives to be reflexivized/reciprocalized is explained if, *contra* (1), stative passives lack VoiceP; under (2), *afto-/alilo-* have nowhere to attach, since these morphemes can only attach to a phrasal projection of Voice.

- (7) Me toso pototo, o J (afto-) katastrafike. (8) Me toso pototo, o J ine (*afto-) katestramenos.
 with so.much drink the J REFL destroy.PASS with so.much drink the J is REFL destroy.PTCP
 ‘From all the drinking, J was (self-)destroyed.’ ‘From all the drinking, J is (self-)destroyed.’
 (9) I ðio strati (alilo-) eksondoðikan. (10) I ðio strati ine pleon (*alilo-) eksondomeni.
 the two armies RECIP extinguish.PASS the two armies are as.of.now RECIP extinguish.PTCP
 ‘The 2 armies were (mutually) extinguished.’ ‘The 2 armies are now (mutually) extinguished.’

IDIOMS The tests so far argue against a phrasal VoiceP; data from passivizable verb-object idioms show that there is no phrasal *v*P either. (1) predicts that idioms licensed in the eventive passive should be licensed in the corresponding stative passive. This prediction is not borne out; instead we find idioms licensed in the eventive but not the stative. In the active (11), ‘to cut the livers to someone’s detriment’ can mean ‘to scare someone to death’; the idiomatic meaning is preserved in the eventive passive (12), but not the stative passive (13). The same pattern is observed for the idiom in (14)–(16). On the assumption that idioms target a phrasal projection (Kratzer 2001 a.m.o.), it is unexpected that the passivizable idiom is not preserved in the stative passive if, as (1) maintains, the eventive and the stative share the same phrasal structure. Conversely, the pattern is predicted by (2): the stative passive lacks a *v*P capable of hosting *v*P idioms.

- (11) I θorivi mu exun kopsi ta ipata. (12) Mu exun kopi ta ipata apo tus
the noises 1SG.GEN have cut.PFV the livers 1SG.GEN have cut.PASS.PFV the livers from the
‘The noises have scared me to death.’ θorivus. ‘I was scared to death by the noises.’
(13) #Mu ine komena ta ipata (apo tus θorivus). (14) Mu epsise to psari sta xili.
1SG.GEN are cut.PTCP the livers from the noises 1SG.GEN roast.PST.3SG the fish on.the lips
Intended: ‘I am scared to death (by the noises).’ ‘Sh/e tormented me’
(15) Mu exi psiθi to psari sta xili. (16) #Mu ine psi- meno to psari sta xili.
1SG.GEN has roast.PASS.PFV the fish on.the lips 1SG be.3SG $\sqrt{\text{ROAST}}$ PTCP the fish on.the lips
‘I have been tormented.’ Intended: ‘I am in a tormented state.’

A PARADOX Unlike previous work, which focusses solely on agent-oriented modification, we have brought to bear on Greek stative passives data from sublexical modification, reflexivization, and idiom formation. These phenomena support the absence of a phrasal Voice projection. But Greek stative passives do admit agent-oriented modifiers (3), suggesting that Voice must be present after all. We propose to resolve this paradox by combining (2) with *delayed saturation* (Myler 2016; Wood 2014): agentive semantics is introduced on the head Voice (17b), but since Voice does not introduce a DP itself, this semantics is saturated higher in the structure. Specifically, in (17e), Voice and *v* compose by Function Composition (Kobele 2010); Stat (17c) composes with the result and existentially closes the event, yielding a function of type $\langle e, \langle e, \langle s, t \rangle \rangle \rangle$. The two open arguments are successively saturated by the theme and *by*-phrase, yielding the set of states resulting from a door-opening event whose agent is the burglar (17h).

- (17) a. $\llbracket v_2 \rrbracket = \lambda x.\lambda e.open(e) \wedge TH(e) = x$
b. $\llbracket Voice_1 \rrbracket = \lambda P_{\langle s, t \rangle}.\lambda y.\lambda e'.P(e') \wedge AG(e) = y$
c. $\llbracket Stat_1 \rrbracket = \lambda Q_{\langle e, \langle e, \langle s, t \rangle \rangle \rangle}.\lambda z.\lambda z'.\lambda s.\exists e''.P(z)(z')(e'') \wedge CAUSE(e'', s) \wedge STATE(s)$
d. $\llbracket PP \rrbracket = \llbracket P \rrbracket(\llbracket DP \rrbracket) = \lambda f.f(\text{theburglar}) = \text{theburglar}$
e. $\llbracket Voice_2 \rrbracket = \lambda x.\lambda y.\lambda e'.open(e') \wedge TH(e') = x \wedge AG(e') = y$ (by Function Composition)
f. $\llbracket Stat_2 \rrbracket = \llbracket Stat_1 \rrbracket(\llbracket Voice_2 \rrbracket) = \lambda z.\lambda z'.\lambda s.\exists e''.open(e'') \wedge TH(e'') = z \wedge AG(e'') = z' \wedge CAUSE(e'', s) \wedge STATE(s)$
g. $\llbracket StatP_1 \rrbracket = \llbracket Stat_2 \rrbracket(\llbracket DP \rrbracket) = \lambda z''.\lambda s.\exists e''.open(e'') \wedge TH(e'') = \text{thedoor} \wedge AG(e'') = z' \wedge CAUSE(e'', s) \wedge STATE(s)$
h. $\llbracket StatP_2 \rrbracket = \llbracket StatP_1 \rrbracket(\llbracket PP \rrbracket) = \lambda s.\exists e''.open(e'') \wedge TH(e'') = \text{thedoor} \wedge AG(e'') = \text{theburglar} \wedge CAUSE(e'', s) \wedge STATE(s)$

EXTENSION: TARGET VS RESULTANT STATES Greek statives in *-men-* have been argued to be ambiguous between *target* and *resultant state* readings (Parsons 1990; Kratzer 2001). Target state *-men-* participles do not combine with agent-oriented modifiers (e.g. Anagnostopoulou 2003b; Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 2008); this has been taken to suggest that, alongside (1), there exists a Voice-less layering structure with the stativizer also realized as *-men-*. We argue that a solution of this type suffers from a homophony problem: no language that we know of realizes these two readings with different exponents, casting doubt on the availability of two distinct structures (cf. Wood 2021 for result vs event nominals). We propose that the target/resultant state ambiguity instead arises from *allosemy*: in (2), Voice may take a null alloseme (effectively the identity function), thus introducing no agentive semantics and bleeding the introduction of agentive modifiers.

CROSS-LINGUISTIC OUTLOOK Incorporating structures like (2) enriches our understanding of the typology of Voice in stative passives. Instead of a binary Voice/no Voice parameter, we must countenance languages with stative passives lacking Voice altogether (e.g. English, German; Alexiadou et al. 2015); languages with phrasal Voice (e.g. Serbo-Croatian; Bešlin 2022); and languages where Voice introduces agentive semantics, but not the nominal that saturates it (Greek).