Stative Passives, Voice Layering, and Thematic Interpretation*

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1 INTRODUCTION

Playing field: the syntax (and interpretation, and morphology) of stative passives:

(1) a. The door is open- ed.
    b. I   porta   ine   aniɣ- men- i.
       the.NOM door.NOM be.3SG $\sqrt{\text{OPEN}}$ PTCP F.NOM
       'The door is opened.'

These often taken to embed a phrasal verbal structure, one that can be as big as (2):

(e.g. Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 2008; Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou, & Schäfer 2015; Anagnostopoulou 2003; Anagnostopoulou & Samioti 2014; Bruening 2014)

(2) *Stative passive à la Phrasal Layering*
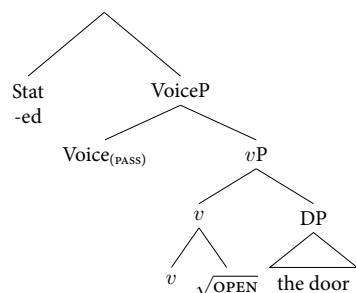
The broad claim of (2): stative passive = stativized eventive passive, *modulo* independent properties of stativity.

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Greek has been the poster child for this type of analysis since Anagnostopoulou (2003), owing to examples like (3):
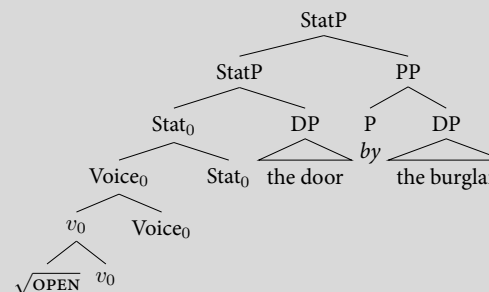
(3) I porta ine aniɣ- meni viea   / me losto   / apo ton ðiarikti.
   the door is $\sqrt{\text{OPEN}}$ PTCP violently with crowbar from the burglar
   'The door is opened violently/with a crowbar/by the burglar.'

> **Today:** Examine modification beyond agent-oriented modifiers.
>
> - Wide-ranging *mismatches* between eventive and stative passives in Greek seem to speak against (2)...
>
> - ...and in favor of a *complex head analysis* of the type in (4).
>   (cf. Embick 2021, and Wood 2021 for nominalizations)
>
> (4)
>
>
>
> This structure necessitates *delayed saturation*, which presupposes a dissociation between semantic and syntactic argument introduction.
>   (e.g. Myler 2016; Wood 2014).

2 PRELIMINARIES

Greek uses special participial morphology on stative passives:

(5)   psi-   **men**- o kreas
      √ROAST PTCP N meat
      'roasted meat'   (meat that has undergone a roasting event)

Importantly, participial morphology is never employed in eventive passives:

<div align="right">(see Paparounas to appear for details on Greek verbal morphology)</div>

(6)   a.   To   kreas   psi-   θ-   ik- e.
           the.NOM meat.NOM √ROAST PFV.NACT PST 3SG
           'The meat was roasted.'   *'aorist'*
      b.   To   kreas   eçi   psi-   θi.
           the.NOM meat.NOM have.3SG √ROAST PFV.NACT.PFV
           'The meat has been roasted.'   *'perfect'*

There is also a participle in −*t*−, lacking event implications; this talk will focus on −*men*−.

(7)   psi-   **t**- o kreas
      √ROAST PTCP N meat
      'roast meat'   (a type of meat)

The basic analysis in previous work, abstracting away from certain finer distinctions for now:

(8)

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            Stat        VoiceP
           −men−
                    Voice(PASS)   vP
                              v   √ROOT
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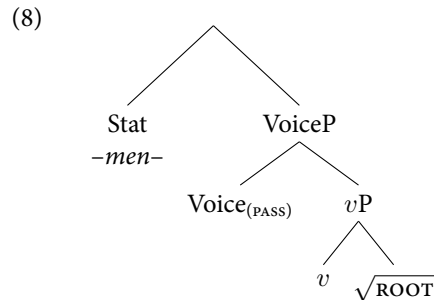
<div style="font-size:small">(see Anagnostopoulou 2003; 2016; Anagnostopoulou and Samioti 2013; 2014; Alexiadou et al. 2015: ch. 5)</div>

Henceforth: focus on −*men*− statives, contrasting them with eventive passives.

3 MISMATCHES: STATIVE ≠ EVENTIVE PASSIVE

3.1 REFLEXIVIZATION

Greek verbs can be reflexivized by means of *afto-*, which goes hand-in-hand with Nonactive morphology.

<div style="font-size:small">(Alexiadou 2014a; Embick 1998; 2004; Paparounas in press-a; in press-b; Rivero 1992; Spathas, Alexiadou, & Schäfer 2015; Tsimpli 1989; Zombolou 2004)</div>

(9)   a.   Simfona   me ti miθolojia, afti   i   θeotita
           according.to with the mythology this.NOM the.NOM deity.NOM
           ðimiurɣi- **s**-   e   ton   eafto tis apo to miðen.
           √CREATE PFV.**ACT** 3SG the.ACC self.ACC her from the zero
           'According to mythology, this deity created itself out of nothing.'
      b.   Simfona   me ti miθolojia, afti   i   θeotita **afto-**
           according.to with the mythology this.NOM the.NOM deity.NOM REFL
           ðimiurɣi- **θ**- ik-   e   apo to miðen.
           √CREATE PFV.**NACT** PST.NACT 3SG from the zero
           'According to mythology, this deity self-created out of nothing.'

Similarly with reciprocals and *alilo-*:

(10) a.   I   Maria   ke o   Janis   ipostiriz- **un**
           the.NOM Mary.NOM and the.NOM John.NOM support   3PL.**ACT**
           o   enas   ton   alo.
           the.NOM one.NOM the.ACC other.ACC
           'Mary and John support each other.'
      b.   I   Maria   ke o   Janis   **alilo-** ipostiriz-
           the.NOM Mary.NOM and the.NOM John.NOM RECIP √SUPPORT-
           onde.
           3PL.**NACT**
           'Mary and John support each other.'

Assumption: *afto-/alilo-* attach to passive VoiceP.

(11)

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            VoiceP
      afto-       VoiceP
              VoicePASS   vP
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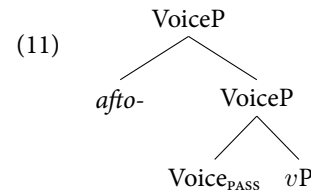
<div align="right" style="font-size:small">(see Spathas et al. 2015, and cf. Paparounas forthcoming for refinements)</div>

- Evidenced widely, including by the following fact:

(12) *Alexiadou's (2014) generalization*
The verbs that can be 'affixally' reflexivized in Greek are all and only the verbs that can be passivized.

Crucially, –*men*– stative passives don't tolerate *afto*- reflexivization:[1]

(13) a. O   Janis   afto- katastraf- ik-   e me to poli
the.NOM John.NOM REFL √DESTROY PST.NACT 3SG with the much
poto.
drink
'John destroyed himself from too much drinking.'   *eventive*

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

(14) a. Exondas metanʲosi ja tis praksis tu,   o
having   regret.PFV for the action.PL 3SG.M.POSS the.NOM
ðrastis   afto- kataðikas- θ-   ik-   e sto
perpetrator.NOM REFL √CONDEMN PFV.NACT PST.NACT 3SG in.the
ðikastirio.
court
'Having regretted his actions, the perpetrator self-condemned in court.'
eventive

    b. Exondas omolojisi, o   ðrastis   ine   pleon   (*afto-)
having   confess.3SG the.NOM inmate.NOM be.3SG as.of.now   REFL
kataðikas- men- os   se isovia kaθirksi.
√CONDEMN PTCP NOM to lifelong imprisonment
'Having confessed, the perpetrator is now (self-)condemned to life in prison.'
stative

(15) a. O   Janis   afto- ðiafimiz- ete   evreos sto
the.NOM John.NOM REFL √ADVERTISE 3SG.NACT widely on.the
Instagram.
Instagram
'John self-advertises widely on Instagram.'   *eventive*

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

Similarly with reciprocal *alilo*-:

(16) a. Otan rotiθikan pços   itan   arxiγos tis
when ask.NACT.3PL who.NOM be.PST.3SG leader.NOM the.GEN
tromokraticis orγanosis,   i   ipopti   alilo-
terrorist.GEN organization.GEN the.NOM.PL suspect.NOM.PL RECIP
katiγori- θ-   ik- an.
√ACCUSE PFV.NACT PST 3PL
'When asked who was the leader of the terrorist group, the suspects accused each other.'   *eventive*

    b. Finally, the expert interrogator managed to turn the suspects' testimonies against each other.

    *I   ipopti   ine   alilo- katiγori- men- i.
the.NOM.PL suspect.NOM.PL be.3PL RECIP √ACCUSE PTCP NOM.PL

The suspects are mutually accused.'   *stative*

(17) a. I   ðio iperðinamis   alilo- eksondo-   θ-
the.NOM.PL two superpower.NOM.PL RECIP √EXTINGUISH PFV.NACT
ik-   an stin teleftea singrusi.
PST.NACT 3PL in.the latest   conflict
'The two superpowers extinguished each other in the latest conflict.'
eventive

    b. *I   ðio iperðinamis   ine   pleon   alilo-
the.NOM.PL two superpower.NOM.PL be.3PL from.now.on RECIP
eksondo-   men- es.
√EXTINGUISH PTCP NOM.PL
'The two superpowers are now mutually extinguished.'   *stative*

(18) a. Se afto to katastima i   pelates   alilo- eksipiret-
in this the store   the.NOM.PL customer.NOM.PL RECIP √SERVICE
unde.
3PL.NACT
'In this store, customers assist each other.'   *eventive*

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[1] *afto*- ostensibly combines with the –*t*– stative in only a handful of formations: *afto-ðiðaktos* 'self-taught', *afto-ðimiurjitos* 'self-made', *afto-eksoristos* 'self-exiled'. These plausibly involve an *anti-assistive* rather than reflexive use of –*t*– ('made without help', rather than 'made self'), paralleling the behavior of *afto*- in (root) nominals; see Paparounas (forthcoming) for more, and cf. Spathas et al. (2015) .

b. I pelates ðe mas xriazonde -- ine
the.NOM.PL customer.NOM.PL NEG 1PL.ACC need.NACT.3PL – be.3PL

iði (*allilo-) eksipireti- men- i.
already RECIP√SERVICE PTCP PL

'The customers don't need us - they are already mutually assisted.' *stative*

> - If the stative and eventive passive both contain VoiceP...
> - ...then why no reflexivization in the stative?

3.2 *Almost*

Well-known ambiguity between *counterfactual* and *scalar* readings: (McCawley 1971)

(19) I xʲonati 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*

Accomplishment verbs continue to license the ambiguity in the **eventive** passive:[2]

(20) To milo sçeðon 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
thankfully the.NOM Grouchy.NOM 3SG.F.ACC stop.PST.3SG before
kataferi na to dagosi.
manage.3SG COMP 3SG.N.ACC bite.3SG
'Thankfully, Grouchy stopped her before she managed to take a bite.'
   counterfactual-facilitating

NB also in (plu)perfects:

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[2]Some speakers appear not to accept *sçeðon* in the eventive passive (Elena Anagnostopoulou, p.c.); such examples are grammatical for me and my consultants.

(21) To milo sçeðon içe faɣoθi apo tin xʲonati...
the.NOM apple.NOM almost have.PST.3SG eat.PFV from the Snow.White
'The apple had almost been eaten by Snow White...'
a. ... otan i vasilisa ti fonakse ke
when the.NOM queen.NOM 3SG.F.ACC call.PST.3SG and
afise to telefteo komati.
leave.PST.3SG the.ACC last.ACC piece.ACC
'when the queen called her and she left the last piece.'
b. ... otan o griniaris ti stamatise prin
thankfully the.NOM Grouchy.NOM 3SG.F.ACC stop.PST.3SG before
kan to dagosi.
even 3SG.N.ACC bite.PFV.3SG
'when Grouchy stopped her before she even took a bite.'

Crucially, stative passives only ever yield the scalar reading: (cf. Nissenbaum 2018)

(22) 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

Thus, in counterfactual-reading-favoring contexts, negating the event produces a contradiction with the stative, but not the eventive, passive:

(23) *[In a Hunger Games-esque competitive deathmatch, a cunning player leaves out a poisoned apple for their hungry competitors.]*
a. To ðilitirias- men- o milo sçeðon faɣoθike
the.NOM √POISON PTCP N.NOM apple.NOM almost eat.NACT.PST.3SG
apo polus pextes, ala eftixos kanis tus ðen
from many player.PL but thankfully no-one.NOM 3PL.POSS NEG
to efaje telika.
3SG.N.ACC eat.PST.3SG ultimately
'The poisoned apple was almost eaten by many players, but thankfully none of them ate it in the end.'
b. To ðilitirias- men- o milo sçeðon içe
the.NOM √POISON PTCP N.NOM apple.NOM almost have.PST.3SG
faɣoθi apo polus pextes, ala eftixos kanis tus
eat.PFV from many player.PL but thankfully no-one.NOM 3PL.POSS
ðen to efaje telika.
NEG 3SG.N.ACC eat.PST.3SG ultimately

'The poisoned apple was almost eaten by many players, but thankfully none of them ate it in the end.'

c. To   ðilitirias- men- o   milo   itan   sçeðon faɣo-
the.NOM √POISON PTCP N.NOM apple.NOM be.PST.3SG almost √EAT
men- o   apo polus pextes, #ala eftixos kanis   ðen
PTCP N.NOM from many player.PL but thankfully no-one.NOM NEG
to   içe   fai.
3SG.N.ACC have.PST.3SG eat.PST.3SG
'The poisoned apple was almost eaten, but thankfully no-one had eaten it.'

- If the *almost* ambiguity is structural, derived from whether *almost* attaches above vs below Voice... (Rapp & von Stechow 1999)

(24) a. *Counterfactual*   b. *Scalar*

almost
    PP*by-phrase*
        Voice*PASS*
            v   VP
                STATE

PP*by-phrase*
    Voice*PASS*
        v
            almost   VP
                STATE

≈ 'it was almost the case that PP brought it about that VP'

≈ 'PP brought it about that almost VP'

- ...then the layering analysis mispredicts the existence of a high attachment site for *almost* in the stative.

- On the complex head analysis, the first phrasal projection that *almost* can attach to is the state.

(25)

StatP
    StatP   PP
        $Stat_0$ DP   P   DP
            $Voice_0$ $Stat_0$ the door *by* the burglar
                v_0 $Voice_0$
                    √OPEN v_0

Further evidence: **Activity verbs** license only the counterfactual reading in eventive passives:

(26) a. O   Janis   sçeðon klotsise   ti   bala.
the.NOM John.NOM almost kick.PST.3SG the.ACC ball.ACC
'John almost kicked the ball.'   ✓counterfactual ✗scalar
b. I   bala   sçeðon klotsiθike   apo to Jani.
the.NOM ball.NOM almost kick.NACT.3SG from the John
'The ball was almost kicked by John.'   ✓counterfactual ✗scalar

Since stative passives lack this reading by default, *almost*-modified stative passives of activity verbs are just odd:

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

The deviance of (27) is not just due to √KICK lacking a good target state, witness two facts.

1. Parallel to activity verbs are accomplishments modified by a near-synonymous modifier, para-liɣo (lit. 'but-little') , which only ever gives the counterfactual reading:

(28) a. O   Janis   paraliɣo efaje   to   milo.
the.NOM John.NOM nearly   eat.PST.3SG the.ACC apple.ACC
'John nearly ate the apple.'   ✓counterfactual ✗scalar
b. To   milo   paraliɣo faɣoθike   apo to Jani.
the.NOM apple.NOM almost   eat.NACT.PST.3SG from the John
'The apple was nearly eaten by John.'   ✓counterfactual ✗scalar

Again, paraliɣo -modified statives are odd, even with accomplishments (which otherwise give perfect target states):

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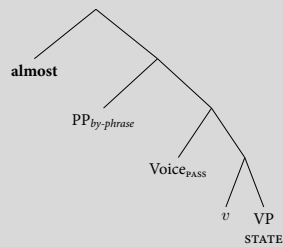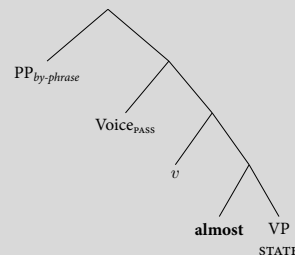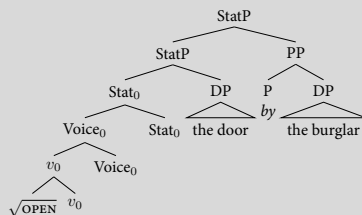'The apple is all but eaten.'

2. Target states of activities are facilitated in 'job-is-done' contexts. Using a context suggested by Dave Embick (p.c.):

(30) *[Our job in the football factory is to test the durability of all newly produced footballs by kicking them.]*
a. The footballs are kicked, let's go home.

b. I bales ine klotsi- menes, pame na
the.NOM.PL ball.NOM.PL be.3PL √KICK PTCP go.1PL COMP
fiɣume.
leave.1PL
'The balls are kicked, let's go home.'

But even in these contexts, the counterfactual reading isn't natural:

(31) a. #The last few balls were almost kicked, but we got fed up and went
home.   *NB intended as stative!*
b. #I teleftees bales itan sçeðon klotsi-
the.NOM.PL last.NOM.PL ball.NOM.PL be.PST.3PL almost √KICK
menes, ala vareθikame ke fiɣame.
PTCP but become.bored.PST.1PL and leave.PST.1PL
'The last balls were almost kicked, but we got bored and left.'

3.3 IDIOMS

- *Caveat:* good passivizable idioms are hard to find in Greek.

- But for the ones that do exist, eventives and statives behave differently.

First, livers and noises:

(32) I θorivi mu exun kopsi ta ipata.
the noises 1SG.GEN have.3PL cut.PFV the livers
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:

(33) 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.'

But in the statives, things are different:

(34) #Mu ine ko- mena ta ipata (apo tus θorivus).
1SG.GEN be.3PL √CUT PTCP the livers from the noises
Intended: 'I am scared to death (by the noises).'

NB not just about statives not tolerating GEN maleficiaries:

(35) Mu ine pez- meno to iθiko.
1SG.GEN be.3SG √FALL PTCP the morale
'My morale is low.'

Similarly with fish and lips:[3]

(36) a. Mu epsise to psari sta xili.
1SG.GEN roast.PST.3SG the fish on.the lips
'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.PASS.PFV the fish on.the lips
'I have been tormented.'
c. #Mu ine psi- meno to psari sta xili.
1SG be.3SG √ROAST PTCP the fish on.the lips
Intended: 'I am in a tormented state.'

The argument:

- If these verb-object idioms target full VPs...

(37)

$\Leftarrow \lambda x.scare\ x\ to\ death$
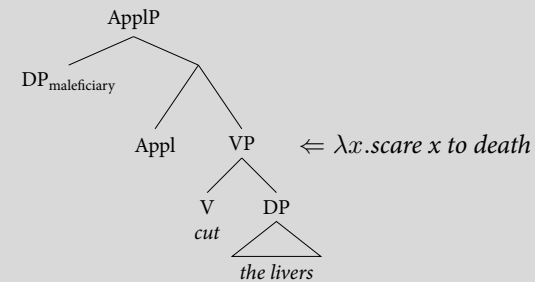
- ...then stative passives seem to lack full VPs.

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[3]For one of my consultants, (36b) is not clearly well-formed; but the same consultant nonetheless notes that (36c) is worse than (36b).

4 Analysis

Three corners of the grammar of Greek where stative and eventive passives diverge:

- 'Affixal' reflexivization

- The *almost* ambiguity

- Verb-object idioms

None of these are expected if the stative contains the eventive; a complex head analysis, though, accommodates them easily.

And yet:

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

Basic proposal: Voice *is* present, and contributes agentive semantics, but no argument to saturate it.

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(39)   *Complex head with delayed saturation*
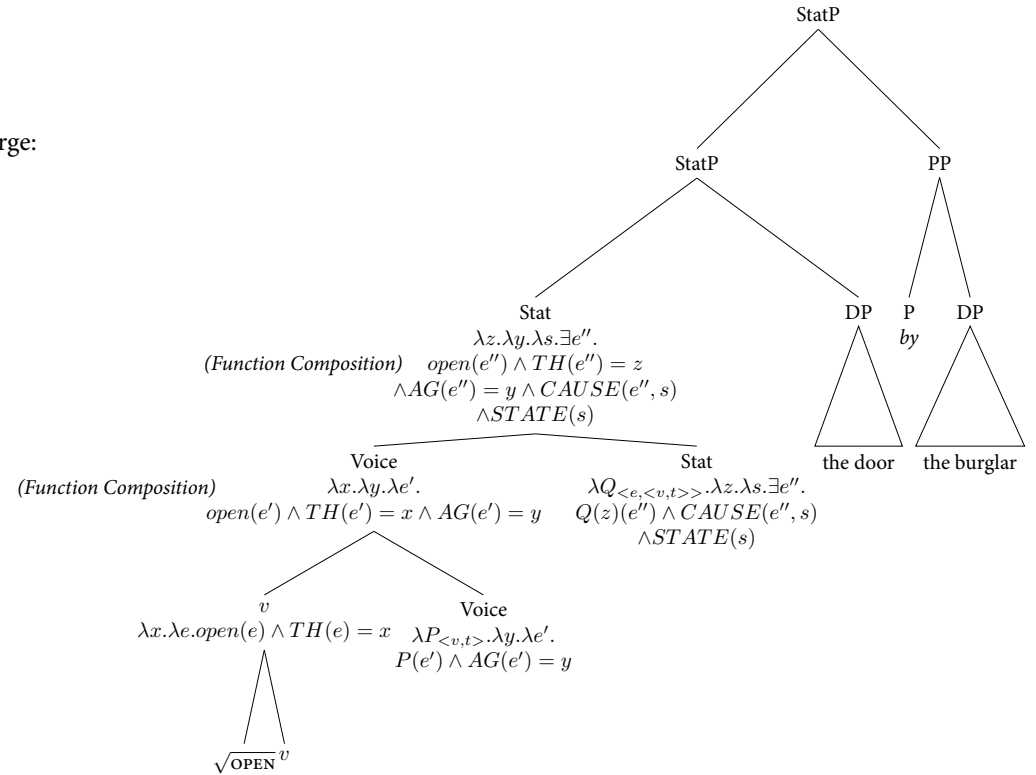
Central intuition: The roles introduced by v and Voice are saturated higher up in the structure.   (Kastner 2017; Myler 2016; Wood 2014; 2015; Wood & Marantz 2017)

The good:

- We can have our cake, and eat it too.

The not-so-good:

- We owe an account of what goes wrong when we fail to adjoin the DPs (particularly the theme) higher up.

- Stat does some work passing up an argument.

A theory with 'syntactically assigned' θ-roles would face issues in this type of structure: no locality of assignment.

- A θ-roles-as-LF-functions view fares better...

- ...and confers the additional advantage of allowing Voice to sometimes be semantically vacuous (see appendix).

5   Conclusion

If the generalizations here are correct, then Greek stative passives exemplify a situation where agents and themes are arguments of a complex stativized head, not part of a verb phrase.

This follows if:

- Thematic roles are functions introduced by functional heads at LF; which

- need not be saturated by a nominal introduced by the same head.

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Appendix A: Target and resultant states

A distinction put to the side thus far, from Kratzer (2001), implementing an idea from Parsons (1990):

(40) a. $\llbracket \text{Stat}_1 \rrbracket = \lambda P.\lambda s.\exists e.P(s)(e)$ *target state*
  b. $\llbracket \text{Stat}_2 \rrbracket = \lambda P.\lambda t.\exists e.P(e) \wedge \tau(e) \leq t$ *resultant state*

The idea:

- (40a) is effectively a kind of resultative; a state resulting from an event

- (40b) is true iff the holder underwent the relevant event at some point in the past.

- (Ultimately we must wonder if these are distinct enough to be given as separate denotations – they will entail each other much of the time, and what seems to be at stake is whether the state holds *at utterance time*...)

'If I throw a ball onto the roof, the target state of this event is the ball's being on the roof, a state that may or may not last for a long time. What I am calling the Resultant-state is different; it is the state of my having thrown the ball onto the roof, and it is a state that cannot cease holding at some later time.'   (Parsons 1990: p. 235)

Kratzer takes it that *immer noch* 'still' teases apart the two types of states, effectively by getting at their (non-)reversibility:

(41) a. Die   Reifen   sind   (immer noch) aufgepumpt.
  the.NOM.PL tire.NOM.PL be.3PL   still   pump.up.PTCP
  'The tires are (still) pumped up.'

  b. Die   Wäsche   ist   (#immer noch) getrocknet.
  the.NOM laundry.NOM be.3SG   still   dry.PTCP
  'The laundry is (still) dried.'   (Kratzer 2001: pp. 1–2)

Much work since Anagnostopoulou (2003):

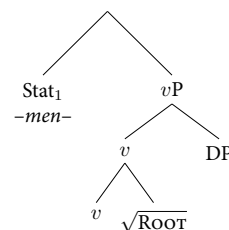- Greek *–men–* forms ambiguous between (40a) and (40b); and...

(42) 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 & Anagnostopoulou 2008: p. 36)

- ...only resultant state *–men–* contains Voice.

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

  b. Ta   ruxa   ine   (#akoma) steɣno- mena me
  the.NOM.PL clothes.NOM.PL be.3PL   still $\sqrt{\text{DRY}}$ PTCP   with
  to   sesuar.
  the blowdryer
  'The clothes are (still) dried with the blowdryer.'

(44) *Target state menos*   (45) *Resultant state menos*
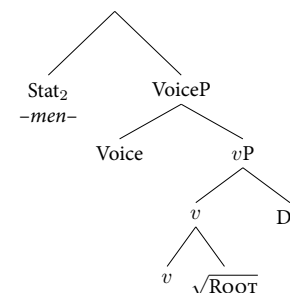
A homophony problem:

- If this is really ambiguity, that the two stativizers are realized with the same phonology raises questions.

- To my knowledge, no language realizes resultant and target states differently.

- cf. Wood (2021) for a similar argument on the different readings of nominalizations.

What a 'Late Interpretation' account allows for, after Wood (2021):

(46) *Allosemy*
    a. $[\![\text{Voice}]\!] \Leftrightarrow \lambda P_{<v,t>}.\lambda y.\lambda e'.$
    b. $\Leftrightarrow \lambda f.f$

- In (39), Voice can be semantically empty.
- Stat will combine with it by Functional Application, without agentive semantics being introduced.
- The putative ambiguity follows, but without homophony, since form and interpretation are determined independently of each other.
- But we still owe a full account of (43)...

But there is a deeper question: *why* does agent introduction correlate with reversibility?

- NB under Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (2008)*et seq.*, Stat$_2$ simply selects Voice.

Appendix B: Attributive vs predicative

- A dimension not explicitly controlled for in previous literature on Greek; it seems to play an important role.
- Generally, attributive position turns out to afford more modification possibilities than predicative...
- ....consistent with the idea that attrbutive ⇒ more structure.

A few first notes:

Target states of activities: (*With thanks to Dave Embick, p.c.*)

(47) a. #This ball is violently kicked.
       b. The violently kicked ball made it all the way to the audience stands.

(48) a. #Afti   i   bala   ine   viea   klotsi- meni.
          this.NOM the.NOM ball.NOM be.3SG violently $\sqrt{\text{KICK}}$ PTCP
          'This ball is violently kicked.'
      b. I   viea   klotsi- meni bala   eftase   mexri tis
          the.NOM violently $\sqrt{\text{KICK}}$ PTCP ball.NOM reach.PST.3SG until   the
          kerciðes.
          audience.stands
          'The violently kicked ball made it all the way to the audience stands.'

Licensing the counterfactual reading of *almost*:

(49) a. This apple is almost eaten. ✗counterfactual ✓scalar
       b. The almost eaten apple is still lying whole on the table.

cf. reduced relatives:

(50) a. #These roads are almost taken.
       b. The roads almost taken always haunt us.

(51) a. Afto   to   milo   ine   sçeðon faɣo- meno.
          this.NOM the.NOM apple.NOM be.3SG almost $\sqrt{\text{EATEN}}$ PTCP
          'This apple is almost eaten.' ✗counterfactual ✓scalar
      b. ?To   sçeðon faɣo- meno milo   ine   akoma olokliro.
          the.NOM almost $\sqrt{\text{EATEN}}$ PTCP apple.NOM be.3SG still   whole
          'The almost eaten apple is still whole.'

Recall also paraliɣo from the main text:

(52) #To   milo   ine   paraliɣo faɣo- men- o.
      the.NOM apple.NOM be.3SG nearly $\sqrt{\text{EAT}}$ PTCP 3SG
      'The apple is all but eaten.'

(53) To   paraliɣo faɣo- meno milo   ine   sto   trapezi --
      the.NOM nearly $\sqrt{\text{EAT}}$ PTCP apple.NOM be.3SG on.the table
      eftixos   ðen to   efaɣe   kanis   telika.
      thankfully NEG 3SG.N.ACC eat.PST.3SG nobody.NOM finally
      'The almost eaten apple is on the table – thankfully nobody ate it after all.'