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**THE STRUCTURE OF "VP"  
AND THE MEDIOPASSIVE MORPHOLOGY  
THE PASSIVES AND ANTICAUSATIVES  
IN MODERN GREEK<sup>1</sup>**

**1. Introduction**

The subject of this paper is a formal analysis of two interrelated MG constructions, passives and anticausatives<sup>2</sup>, as

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<sup>1</sup> This article is dedicated to Panayotis Kontos, founding member of "Parousia" journal for his contribution to our academic community. Preliminary versions were presented at the 21<sup>st</sup> Annual Meeting of the Department of Linguistics (Faculty of Philosophy, Aristotelian University of Thessaloniki, 14-16 May 2000) and in The Workshop on *Greek Syntax and the Minimalist Seduction* (Reading, 20-22 September 2002). I wish to thank the audience of the Conferences for their comments. Special thanks are due to Elena Anagnostopoulou and Anna Roussou for their comments and bibliographical references on earlier versions of this paper and Despoina Chila-Markopoulou and Amalia Moser for discussions and constructive comments on this version. Any remaining errors, misunderstandings and omissions are mine.

<sup>2</sup> Under the term anticausative I refer to the intransitive verbs occurring in structural and semantic relation to the corresponding active transitives (causative pairs):

- (i) η μητέρα έβρασε το γάλα  
      'the mother boiled the milk'
- (ii) το γάλα έβρασε  
      'the milk boiled'

These verbs, classified under the unaccusative class, are inchoative verbs, denoting change-of-state. For the above verbs see among others Levin & Rappaport Hovav 1995, Θεοφανοπούλου-Κοντού και άλλ. 1998: 31-42, Γαλαζούλα 1997, Ζόμπολου 1999, 2001, Kakouriotis 1993. I would like to point out that I do not follow the distinction between ergatives such as ανοίγω 'open', βράζω 'boil' (basically transitives) and

far as their derivation and their mutual relation is concerned. I am referring to the following cases:

- (1) τα σπίτια καταστράφηκαν/\*κατέστρεψαν  
από τους εχθρούς/ τον σεισμό  
'the houses were destroyed/ \*destroyed by  
the ennemy/ the earthquake'
- (2) ο εχθρός/ ο σεισμός κατέστρεψε τα σπίτια  
'the enemy/ the earthquake destroyed the houses'
- (3) η πόρτα άνοιξε από τον  
αέρα/\*τη Μαρία  
'the door/ was opened by  
the wind/ \*Mary'
- (4) ο αέρας/ η Μαρία άνοιξε την πόρτα  
'the wind/ Mary opened the door'
- (5) τα λουλούδια μαράθηκαν/ \*μάραναν από την  
πολλή ζέστη/ \*τον Γιάννη  
'the flowers wilted by the great heat/\*John'
- (6) η πολλή ζέστη/ \*ο Γιάννης μάρανε τα λουλούδια  
'the great heat/ \*John wilted the flowers'
- (7) τα κάγκελα σκούριασαν/\*σκουριάστηκαν από την  
υγρασία/\*τα παιδιά  
'the iron bars rusted by the humidity/\*the children'
- (8) η υγρασία/ \*τα παιδιά σκούριασαν τα κάγκελα  
'the humidity/ \*the children rusted the iron bars'

The Modern Greek voice system with the related problems (partial overlapping among diatheses, multifunctionality of the mediopassive morpheme, relation between middle and passive, classification of the intransitives - unaccusatives, unergatives - etc.) has been a matter of discussion in the literature from different aspects and theoretical perspectives (formal syntax,

functional grammar, prototype semantics, psycholinguistics): Lascaratou 1984, Vassilaki 1986, Βασιλάκη 1988, 1999, Ζόμπολου 1996, 1997, 1999, 2001, Theophanopoulou-Kontou 1983-84, Σετάτος 1997, Manney 1999)<sup>3</sup>.

Despite the fact that the above problems are interrelated, I shall not deal here with the MG voice system as a whole. Specifically I shall restrict my analysis to two related constructions, passives and anticausatives, which in spite of their surface similarities (patient oriented constructions, agentless, common morphology in the non-active anticausatives; cf cases (1) and (5), (7)) differ in the following points:

(i) the presence vs. absence of an agent adjunct. More precisely passives but not anticausatives can contain an agent adjunct (*από* + NP). On the contrary, a cause/instrument adjunct can occur in both constructions (cf (1) vs. (3), (5), (7)).

(ii) their morphological distinction: active/non-active (anticausatives) vs. \*active/non-active (passives). More precisely, while the mediopassive morphology marks obligatorily the passives, anticausatives occur in the active form (-ω) *παχαίνω* 'fatten', *αρρωσταίνω* 'get ill', *σκουριάζω* 'rust' etc, in the non active form (-μαι): *μαραίνομαι* 'fade', *απογειώνομαι* 'take off', *ελαττώνομαι* 'decrease' etc. or with active/ non active alternation: *μπλέκω/ μπλέκομαι* 'to be involved', *κουνάω/ κουνιέμαι* 'move'<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Similar problems have been dealt with crosslinguistically from different perspectives. Among the abundant literature on voice distinctions (passives, middles, reflexives, anticausatives etc.) and the problems concerning their derivation, interrrelations and voice distinctions) see selectively; For English Jaeggli 1986, Antonopoulou 1991, where older references, Levin & Rappaport Hovav 1995 and Kakouriotis 1993, especially for anticausatives; For Romance Burzio 1986, Cinque 1988, Dobrovie-Sorin 1986, 1998, Zribi-Herz 1982. For Estonian Vihman (2002). Of special interest are Shibatani's typological investigations 1985, Levin & Rappaport Hovav 1995 on unaccusativity, and Reinhart & Reuland 1993 on Reflexivity. The whole issue on voice distinction is beyond the scope of this paper.

<sup>4</sup> It has been pointed out by Chila-Markopoulou (p.c.) that in some cases the alternating morphology (active vs. mediopassive) occurs only in the third person related, probably, to the feature of animacy: *λέρωσε/ λερώθηκε η μπλούζα μου* 'my blouse got dirty' but \**λέρωσα/ λερώθηκα* 'I

The above problems and, generally, the syntactic analysis of passives and anticausatives as far as their derivation and their mutual relation is concerned will be investigated here within the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1995) and, more precisely, within the framework of v-light theory. This model which applies crosslinguistically for a great variety of structures and their relation has already been applied for the analysis of the above constructions (Embick 1998, Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1999, 2003 in press, Zevgoli 2000, Vassiliadou 2000) with divergent results in relation to their basic form, their morphology and the level of their derivation.

According to this approach formulated first by Larson (1988)<sup>5</sup> and adopted further by Kratzer (1994) and Chomsky (1995) VP in the case of transitive constructions is merged with a functional head (v-light) introducing the external argument (mainly agent, or cause) in [spec, vP] position. Such a functional head identified as tr(ansitive) by Collins (1997) and Chomsky (1995), as vo(ice) in Kratzer (1994) or as a bundle of syntactic and semantic features (Harley & Noyer)<sup>6</sup> does not occur in cases of anticausatives (unaccusative verbs), according to the more traditional view expressed by Larson (1988) and Chomsky (1995: 352). The structure of "VP" in the two cases is represented as follows (Chomsky 1995: 352):

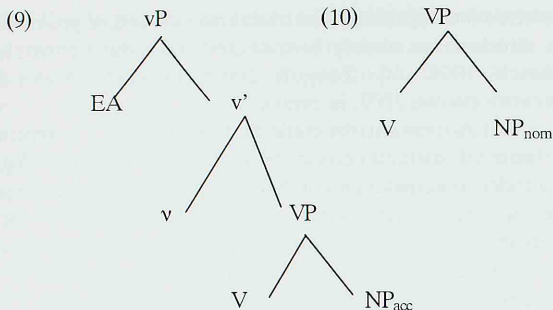
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got dirty'. Cf. also non alternating forms in idiomatic, metaphorical expressions *έσφιξαν/ \*σφίχτηκαν οι ξέστες* 'It has got too hot'.

<sup>5</sup> Larson in the above paper was the first to propose a layered VP structure in his attempt to determine the structure of verbs with double objects. As he points out, the proposed analysis was based upon some older remarks made by Chomsky (1955/ 75).

<sup>6</sup> Following Marantz who distinguishes between a v-light projecting an agent and another one which does not, Harley & Noyer (1998) have proposed more types of light vs with combinatorial properties such as HAPPEN/ BECOME, CAUSE, BE, APPL (Alexiadou 1999: 9-10). This approach, not adopted here, has already been applied in the literature: Alexiadou 1999, Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 2003 (in press), Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou & Stavrou 2000, Anagnostopoulou 2000, Dobrovie-Sorin 2000 among others.



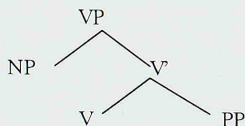


The v-light construction in (9) characterizes the transitive verb constructions (agentive constructions) with the external argument (EA) denoting the subject (agent) in [spec, vP]. The complement of the transitive lexical verb (V) is the NP<sub>acc</sub> which denotes the patient/ theme. On the contrary, anticausative constructions lack a vP-shell since they are unaccusatives with a single internal argument expressing the theme/ patient (the external argument is missing). They are, thus, considered as VP constructions (10).<sup>7</sup>

Starting from the above representations the following assumptions could be made as far as passives and anticausatives are concerned:

(i) Passives can be considered as vP-structures on the basis of the well-established derivational relation with their

<sup>7</sup> The representation refers to verbs with only one argument (*η μπουκάλια άδειασε* 'the bottle emptied', *ο Κώστας αρρώστησε* 'Kostas got ill' etc.). For cases with a locative complement, especially with motion verbs (*η μπάλα κύλησε κάτω από το τραπέζι* 'the ball rolled under the table', *το πλοίο βούλιαξε στα ανοιχτά* 'the ship sank in the open sea' etc.) the scheme takes the following form (Radford 1997: 369-370):



with the subject under the NP node and the locative constituent under the PP (Prepositional Phrase/ Adverb) node.

transitive counterparts (cf. the traditional analysis of passivization). This structure has already been suggested for these constructions (Embick 1998: 60, Zevgoli 2000: 142-145, Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 2003, in press).

(ii) Anticausatives could be thought of as VP-structures on the basis of their semantic features: absence/ low degree of transitivity (Θεοφανοπούλου-Κοντού 1999β) and, consequently, lack of the corresponding v-light functional category if, according to our assumption, v-light is related to transitivity.

These assumptions in relation to the formal distinction between passives and anticausatives lead to the following working hypothesis:

"The distinction between passives and anticausatives as far as the presence vs. absence of an agent adjunct is concerned is related to the presence vs. absence of an agentive functional head (v-light, cf (9) vs. (10)) and, consequently, to the presence vs. absence of an external  $\Theta$ -role (agent) introduced by the v-light".

The above hypothesis requires, among others, further investigation in relation to the following points:

(i) The correlation between passives and active transitives like (9) does not seem to be self evident within the framework of the v-light model.

(ii) The proposed VP-structure for the anticausatives must be further investigated, especially in relation to cases with non-active morphology alternating with active which have led to different interpretations. It is worth pointing out that such alternating forms are not common crosslinguistically.

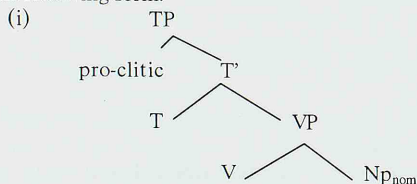
(iii) Finally, the suggested formal distinction between passives and anticausatives must be checked against the other non active forms within the MG voice system: reflexives (*καταστρέφομαι*/(*αυτο*)*καταστρέφομαι* 'I destroy myself', *ντύνομαι* 'I dress myself', *πλένομαι* 'I wash myself'), middles (*αυτό το βιβλίο διαβάζεται εύκολα* 'this book reads easily', *η σαλάτα τρώγεται ευχάριστα* 'the salad "eats" with pleasure'), pseudoreflexives (Ζόμπολου 1999: 115, *χάθηκα στο δρόμο* 'I was lost on the way') or middle reflexives (Vassilaki 1986), in cases like *η κουρτίνα σκίστηκε* 'the curtain was torn', *το δαχτυλίδι χάθηκε* 'the ring was lost') and deponents (*αντιλαμβάνομαι* 'I

understand', *μεταχειρίζομαι* 'I use', *εκμεταλλεύομαι* 'I abuse').

I would like to add that problems concerning the subject (its position/ positions, its nature-pro/ lexical- and its feature's checking) will not be a matter of discussion here. The literature on the subject, especially for MG, is very rich<sup>8</sup> and the proposed analyses (position of the subject, functional projections and their order) quite divergent. Following Chomsky (1995: 352) and Philippaki-Warbuton & Spyropoulos's 2001 analysis, I assume overt raising of the VP or of the complex [*v* V] to the Tense (T) head. The checking of the phi-features and case of the NP<sub>nom</sub> (theme/ patient) could be realized by coindexing with the pro-clitic in [spec, TP] position<sup>9</sup> according to the analysis presented by Φιλίππáκη-Warbuton & Σπυρόπουλος (1999: 308) and Philippaki-Warbuton & Spyropoulos (2001:165).

<sup>8</sup> Within the Minimalist Program see Alexiadou 1997: 51-68, Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1998, Φιλίππáκη-Warbuton & Σπυρόπουλος 1999, Philippaki-Warbuton & Spyropoulos 2001. Cf. also Θεοφανοπούλου-Κοντού 2002α: 245-251.

<sup>9</sup> The schematic representation of the sentence (in case of anticausatives) takes the following form:



In case of *v*-light constructions *v*P is merged with Tense (T).

## 2. The data the proposed analysis

### 2.1. Passives and v-light structure

Passive constructions have been a matter of investigation from the early phases of transformational theory, their close structural and semantic correspondence with their transitive counterparts having been strongly supported. The above claim is confirmed by the following criteria:

(i) The high degree of transitivity, characterizing the class of verbs which are passivizable. The main components they involve are among others (punctuality, telicity of the verb, the referentiality and degree of affectedness of the patient, Hopper & Thompson 1980) the implicit/ explicit presence of an agent whose conscious activity affects the patient. The "agentive" character of the passivizable verbs seems to correspond to the v-light structure suggested for the transitives, the v-light bearing the agentive feature (Embick 1998: 60, Zevgoli 2000: 142-145, Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 2003, in press).

(ii) The presence of an agent adjunct in passives (από+NP), although such a construction has been proved not to be very common for MG.

I am referring to cases like the following:

- (11) ο καθηγητής δολοφονήθηκε από τον μανιακό  
δολοφόνο  
'The professor was assassinated by the maniacal  
murderer'
- (12) η μουσική του Ξενάκη επαινέθηκε από Έλληνες  
και ξένους κριτικούς  
'Xenaki' s music was praised by Greek and foreign  
critics'

Cf. also examples like the following which presuppose an implicit agent:

- (13) όσοι είχαν συλληφθεί αθωώθηκαν (από τους  
δικαστές)  
'those who have been arrested were acquitted' (by  
the judges),



- (14) τα αποτελέσματα θα ανακοινωθούν σε δέκα μέρες (από τη Γραμματεία)  
'the results will be announced in ten days (by the Secretariat)'

It has been shown, moreover, that the above constructions are sensitive to the diagnostic test for a suppressed agent (Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1999). On the contrary such tests fail to apply to the other patient oriented constructions (anticausatives). For instance, the use of an adverb like *επίτηδες* 'deliberately' is excluded from anticausatives (Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1999: 31):

- (15) το γάλα έβρασε (\* από τη μητέρα/ \*επίτηδες)  
'the milk boiled (\* by the mother/ \*deliberately)'  
(16) η πόρτα άνοιξε (\* από τον κλειδαρά/ \*επίτηδες)  
'the door opened (\*by the locksmith/ \*deliberately)'

Despite the above criteria, which seem to support a common basic form for both constructions (transitives-passives), some further problems/ questions arise if passives are considered to stem from a representation like (9). I am referring to the following basic differences between transitive and passive constructions:

(i) The absence in passives of an external argument expressing the agent, despite the "agentive" character of the functional head supported for both contractions.

(ii) The lack of an NP<sub>acc</sub> object functioning as an internal argument (patient)<sup>10</sup>.

The structural relation between passive constructions and their transitive counterparts has been extensively dealt with within the GB model (Jaeggli 1986, Baker 1988, Baker, Johnson & Roberts 1989, just to mention some of the pioneers of the field) where special attention has been paid to the properties

<sup>10</sup> Both facts are interrelated by Burzio's Generalization according to which:

(i) A verb which lacks an external argument fails to assign accusative case (Burzio 1986: 178-179).

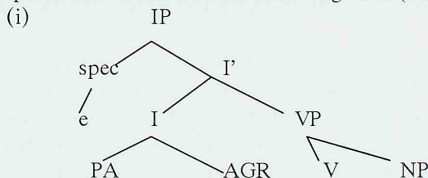
(ii) A verb which fails to assign accusative case fails to theta-mark an external argument (Burzio 1986: 184).

of the mediopassive suffix and the position of its base-generation.

According to the proposed analyses passive constructions have been thought of as the result of a syntactic process. More precisely, the non-active suffix base-generated under Inflection receives the external  $\Theta$ -role, absorbing at the same time the accusative case from the verb subsequent to the V-movement to I (Inflection)<sup>11</sup>, the following movement (NP object in subject position) being related to theories such as case theory and Extended Projection Principle (EPP).

Leaving aside some details of the derivation and potential problems for MG (the NP movement to subject position)<sup>12</sup> and adjusting the GB model of passivization to the proposed v-light approach the schematic representation of the passive construction could take the following form<sup>13</sup>:

<sup>11</sup> The representation can take the following form (Tsimpli 1989: 238):



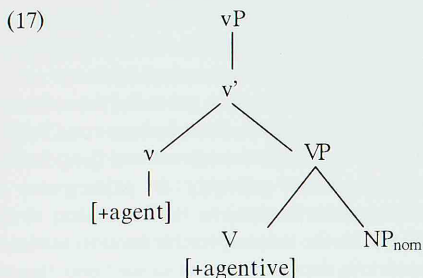
Where I represents the Inflection (IP its maximal projection), PA the passive suffix and AGR the Agreement functional category. In this position PA receives the accusative case from the verb after the verb has been moved to I, being, thus, able to express the agent  $\Theta$ -role (Visibility Hypothesis).

<sup>12</sup> The [spec, IP] position has been proved to be a non subject position for MG (Alexiadou 1997, Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1998, Φιλιππάκη-Warburton & Σπυρόπουλος 1999, For a detailed analysis of the main literature on the subject see also Θεοφανοπούλου-Κοντού 2002a: 192-195, 245-251.

<sup>13</sup> The representation proposed by Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 2003 (in press) has the following form:



In the above analysis voice is characterized as [+manner, +agent], the



According to this representation passive constructions are vP-structures, with the functional head (v-light) bearing the semantic feature of agentivity and, probably, the nominal feature of case (accusative). Moreover, they are characterized as [-EA, -overt accusative] contrary to their corresponding transitive counterparts [+EA, +overt accusative].

Starting from the above assumptions we are led to the following claims in respect to the derivation of passives.

The agentive functional head (v-light) selects a mediopassive V ([+agentive], in accordance with v's features), which raise overtly to the light verb v forming the complex Vb (Chomsky 1995: 352). V is characterized as [+agentive] on the basis of the lexical features of its active counterpart (high transitivity). The reasons for the obligatory presence of the mediopassive morphology can be further related to the following facts:

(i) The mediopassive suffix in these constructions has already been characterized as bearing the accusative feature, representing the objective-complement feature of the base-verb (transitive active), somehow absorbed by the mediopassive morphology (Rivero 1992, Tsimpli 1989)<sup>14</sup>.

(ii) The mediopassive morphology of the lexical verb in

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[+manner] voice specification together with the absence of an external argument unifying passives with mediopassive anticausatives under the non active morphology.

<sup>14</sup> According to Rivero (1992: 318) "...Non-Active morphology is a detransitivizer, or absorber of the Accusative Case the transitive verb assigns..".

its raised position, sensitive to the agentive specification of the functional head, signals the absorbed  $\Theta$ -feature (agent), the missing external  $\Theta$ -role being, thus, marked by it.

If our track of reasoning is correct, then it could be claimed that the mediopassive morphology or, better, the mediopassive suffix in passive constructions ([+agentives]) has a syntactic function. More precisely it participates in the syntactic derivation (passivization) in the sense that in its [v V] complex position it checks the uninterpretable feature (accusative) of the functional head (v), denoting at the same time the external  $\Theta$ -role (agent) absorbed by it. On the contrary, the active morphology of the lexical verb would fail to signal the unexpressed external  $\Theta$ -role, leading, thus, to ungrammaticality<sup>15</sup>.

Finally, on the basis of the presented analysis passive constructions are realized through raising and adjunction of the lexical head (lexical item) first to the functional head (v-light), where the complex [v V] is formed and then to the T head (overt raising for MG). As has already been pointed out, the above processes and the further checking of the phi-features and case of the subject (NP<sub>nom</sub>) will not be a matter of examination here.

## 2.2. Anticausative constructions

Anticausative constructions have been characterized according to our working hypothesis as VP-structures, which means that they lack an external  $\Theta$ -role and, consequently, a

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<sup>15</sup> On the basis of Lieber's and Wunderlich-Fabri's distinction of the suffixes into derivational and lexical the mediopassive suffix in passives (PA) has been specified by Zevgoli (Zevgoli 2000: 140-142) as derivational; more precisely, as an autonomous item, with its own entry in the Lexicon. Such a specification is in agreement with the fact that the above suffix like the derivational ones has been proved to affect the thematic grid of the verb it attaches to (in our case, it decreases its argument structure). This characterization corresponds, moreover, to the empirical data of MG passive constructions, the correspondence between them and their transitive counterparts being systematic. Nevertheless such a specification of the mediopassive suffix in passive constructions, though promising, especially from theoretical point of view, needs further justification within the field of the MG voice system.



functional v-light head on the basis of the adopted model of description (Larson 1988, Chomsky 1995).

The above claim as far as the MG data is concerned is supported by the following criteria:

(i) The meaning of the constructions, at least the most prototypical ones (*κοκκινίζω* 'reddden', *πεθαίνω* 'die', *αρρωσταίνω* 'get ill', *σκουριάζω* 'rust', *βράζω* 'boil' etc), denotes a physical/biological process. The change-of-state expressed by these constructions is understood as the result of an internal cause involvement (but not of an agent in its prototypical use) which, however, does not affect the patient, the structure being understood as an autonomous event. On the contrary, the change-of-state expressed by the passive constructions means that the subject (patient) is somehow affected by an external cause (prototypically an agent) acting upon it.

(ii) The impossibility of a *by*-phrase expressing the agent (cf. cases (3), (5), (7)) or of an adverb meaning deliberately (such as *επίτηδες*) in opposition to the passives which are positive towards "agentivity".

The occurring morphological variations of MG anticausatives, especially the non-active ones and their relation to passives and reflexives, together with the application of different theoretical models within the frame of formal syntax have led recently to a variety of formal analyses of the above structures with divergent results. The tendencies are twofold:

(i) The morphological variety of anticausatives has not been taken into account, the analysis having been restricted to the non-active anticausatives (Embick 1998) or to the active ones (Vassiliadou 2000).

(ii) The morphological variety of anticausatives has been related to their structural distinction (Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1999, 2003, in press).

Embick's analysis of anticausatives constitutes a part of an overall formal examination of the MG voice system. According to his approach (1998) non-active [NonAct] is a morphological feature which is assigned in a specific syntactic configuration. More precisely, this feature which characterizes

passives, reflexives and anticausatives is assigned post-syntactically<sup>16</sup> to the verb when it is not in a local relationship with an external argument, the derivation being formalized as follows:

- (18)  $V \rightarrow V \text{ VOC [NonAct]} / \_ \text{No external DP argument}$

This means that passives, reflexives and anticausatives present postsyntactically the same configuration<sup>17</sup>. On the other hand deponent verbs are specified for this feature inherently.

Embick's analysis constitutes a very positive contribution to the MG voice system, worthy of discussion from different aspects: theoretical frame, analysis of the empirical data. As far as the anticausative analysis is concerned one could make the following remark. The proposed formula (18) has a restrictive descriptive adequacy since it has taken into account the restricted number of mediopassive anticausatives (*καίομαι*, *τσακίζομαι*, cf. the corresponding transitives *καίω* 'burn', *τσακίζω* 'break'), having left out the numerous cases of anticausatives with active morphology: *παχαίνω* 'fatten', *αρρωσταίνω* 'get ill', *κοκκινίζω* 'redden', *πεθαίνω* 'die', *σκουριάζω* 'rust' etc. which also lack an external argument.

On the contrary Vassiliadou (2000) in her analysis of passives and anticausatives has taken into consideration only the active anticausatives, leaving out the mediopassive cases (*μαραίνομαι* 'wilt', *περιστρέφομαι* 'turn around' etc.) or alternating forms active/mediopassive: *μπλέκω/μπλέκομαι* 'get mixed up, involved', *λερώνω/λερώνομαι* 'get dirty' etc.

The aim of Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou's analysis of anticausatives is the relation of the morphology of anticausatives (active/non-active) to a corresponding structural distinction.

<sup>16</sup> "The [Non Act] feature in Greek voice alternations is assigned in specific syntactic configurations and reflects properties of the syntactic environment rather than itself effecting an alternation" (1998:42).

<sup>17</sup> On the contrary, the semantic distinctions between passives and reflexives on the one hand (agentive constructions) and anticausatives on the other (non agentives) is determined on the basis of the content of *v* depending upon the environment (ib. 60). Such a distinction is not possible in our model of description where the content of *v* is unanimous.

According to their approach (1999) the distribution between active and non-active morphology in MG anticausatives (inchoatives, according to their terminology) is related to the existence of two basic forms: transitive and intransitive. When non active morphology is present, then the transitive form is the basic one, non active morphology being connected with the process of detransitivization (the same process occurs, according to them, in passives and reflexives). On the other hand, when non-active morphology is missing, then the intransitive form is the basic one, the transitive counterpart being the result of transitivization.

Despite the well founded argumentation of this distinction from the theoretical point of view, there are counterexamples in the proposed classes, rendering the basic distinction problematic:

(i) There are mediopassive verbs with marginal /idiosyncratic active counterpart (the subject denotes the agent) like *ξελαρυνγιάζομαι* 'cry one's lungs out', *ξελαιμιάζομαι* 'craine one's neck' etc.<sup>18</sup> but also cases like *συστέλλομαι* 'I shrink', *διαστέλλομαι* 'I dilate', *περιστρέφομαι* 'I turn around' (with a non animate subject) which occur mainly as anticausatives.

(ii) Special emphasis has been given to the features of animacy and volition in verbs which could be classified as psych verbs. The above verbs take obligatorily, according to their analysis, the mediopassive morphology: *στενοχωριέμαι* 'get upset', *προβληματίζομαι* 'get puzzled' etc.<sup>19</sup> Nevertheless, there is no clear-cut distinction since there are similar cases with active morphology: *νευριάζω* 'get nervous', *ανησυχώ* 'worry', *ηρεμώ* 'get calm', *τρομάζω* 'get scared', *μελαγχολώ* 'get sad', *θυμώνω* 'get angry' etc.

(iii) Finally, if both constructions, passives and mediopassive

<sup>18</sup> It has to be noted that many of the above verbs occur with an animate subject, being semantically in close relation to the inherent reflexives. Nevertheless, unlike the reflexives they occur in causative pairs. On the other hand, similar cases present active morphology, something impossible for the reflexives: *βραχνιάζω* 'get hoarse', *ξεμονδιάζω* 'become benumbed'.

<sup>19</sup> "The Non-active morphology is obligatory only when the single argument is animate, which means that in this case Non-active morphology is sensitive to the presence of the feature [+animate/+volitional] (Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1999: 37).

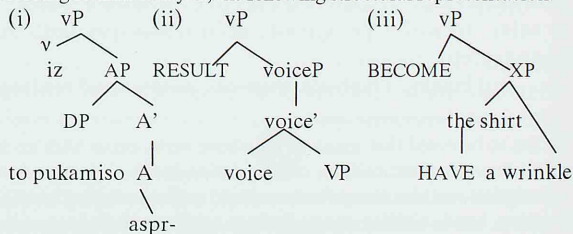
anticausatives, stem from a common vP-structure, according to their analysis, the lack of an agent *by*-phrase for the anticausatives is still to be explained.

The above structures and especially their morphological diversity and the inadequacy of the proposed analyses (Embick's [-external argument criterion]), have been recently reexamined by Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 2003 (in press). According to their recent analysis MG anticausatives have a non unified structure. More precisely the above structures are formed on the basis of an intransitive v-light (BECOME/RESULT) which selects a predicate with the following distribution: (i) BECOME+deadjectival predicate (active verbs like *κοκκινίζω* 'redden', *αδειάζω* 'empty', *ασπρίζω* 'whiten'), (ii) RESULT+VoiceP (non-active wrinkle/crumple verbs, like *τσαλακώνομαι* 'wrinkle', *λερώνομαι* 'get dirty' meaning "totally affected") and (iii) BECOME+Possessive construction (active wrinkle/crumple verbs, like *τσαλακώνω* 'wrinkle', *λερώνω* 'dirty' denoting partial change)<sup>20</sup>.

<sup>20</sup> The above structures, corresponding to cases like:

- (i) το πουνκάμισο άσπρισε  
'the shirt whitened'
- (ii) το πουνκάμισο τσαλακώθηκε  
'the shirt wrinkled'
- (iii) το πουνκάμισο τσαλάκωσε  
'the shirt had a wrinkle'

have, according to their analysis, the following structural representation:





The above approach, especially the proposed structural distinction of MG anticausatives, though very challenging and well-founded theoretically, raises some problems especially in relation to the distribution of the data:

(i) The split of the voice category into [+agent, +manner] (the case of active/passive constructions) and [-agent, +manner] (the case of anticausatives, exclusively with non-active morphology) needs further support with reference to the MG voice system as a whole. Moreover the case RESULT+VoiceP (anticausatives) is based upon a restricted and non-homogeneous range of data.

(ii) The BECOME/RESULT configurations refer to alternating (non-active vs. active) forms of the wrinkle/crumple class, the non-active morphology expressing the notion of "totally affected". Such a formal distinction seems problematic, at least to me, for the following reasons:

(a) The opposition "totally affected" (non-active) vs. "partial change" (active) is not generally accepted within the linguistic community. On the other hand its non systematic character (non clear-cut class, diversity of meaning among the verbs included in it, cf. cases like *σκορπίζω/ σκορπίζομαι* 'scatter', *ξεσταίνω/ ξεσταίνομαι* 'heat') raises some doubts about the possibility of its being structurally realized.

(b) There are more cases of alternating forms not included in this class (*ξεκαθαρίζω/ ξεκαθαρίζομαι* 'clear', *μπλέκω/ μπλέκομαι* 'get mixed up', *κουνάω/ κουνιέμαι* 'move') for which such a semantic distinction would be at least problematic.

(iii) There are, finally, some other cases of anticausatives which do not fit the proposed structural configuration of the deadjectival verb class, i.e. cases like *κοκκινίζω* 'redden', from *κόκκινος* 'red'. I am referring to non-deadjectival constructions like *σπάω* 'break', *βράζω* 'boil', *μυχλιάζω* 'become mouldy', *σκουριάζω* 'rust' etc. The possibility for some of them to be considered as denoting a possessive construction (*έχω μούχλα*

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Case (i) represents constructions like *το πουνκάμισο άσπρισε* where *ν* (BECOME) corresponds to an affix like *iz-* attached to an adjectival stem (A). Case (ii) represents non active unaccusative verbs like *τσαλακώνομαι* "totally affected" and (iii) the corresponding active forms meaning "partial change".

'have mould', *έχω σκουριά* 'have rust') does not correspond to the proposed alternating model.

Passives and anticausatives together with reflexives, reciprocals, middles and anticausatives have been recently examined by Παπαγγελή (Papangeli 2002) within the "Reflexivization approach". Within the above framework it has been shown that Greek together with Romance belongs to the syntactic languages<sup>21</sup> as far as the formation of the reflexives is concerned, reflexives in Greek being marked by the mediopassive suffix contrary to Romance in which an element is used under I. Under this perspective a formal derivational distinction between mediopassive anticausatives and the other mediopassive predicates does not seem to be supported.

In the same spirit Anna Roussou has pointed out (pc.)<sup>22</sup> that anticausative constructions can be thought of as syntactically related to the reflexive/passive ones in the sense that the subject-patient of the anticausatives identifies with the missing agent, both  $\Theta$ -roles being expressed by the same NP. Such a conception is probably reinforced by latest syntactic analyses according to which one NP can be related to two  $\Theta$ -roles.

As far as the twofold morphological marking of the anticausatives (active and mediopassive) is concerned she claims that the agent identification in the above cases can be realized either through syntax (one NP expresses two  $\Theta$ -roles) or through mediopassive morphology.

This model of description, based upon an extensive range of data from a variety of languages typologically divergent, constitutes, from a theoretical point of view, a very promising approach to the "mediopassive" constructions and their realization crosslinguistically, shedding new light to the problem under

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<sup>21</sup> A distinction is made between *syntactic languages* such as Greek and Romance and *Lexicon languages* like Hebrew and English.

<sup>22</sup> Her detailed and constructive comments reflect, to a certain extent, the theoretical approach according to which the mediopassive suffix in Greek in its different uses (passives, reflexives, middles, anticausatives) correlates in a certain way to the clitic *se/si* in Romance which occurs in different structures and with divergent functions (passive, middle, reflexive, anticausative, generic).

investigation, probably from a less formal aspect. Such an approach is worth examining through a systematic investigation of the MG voice system as a whole. This task, however, is beyond the scope of this paper and will not be pursued here<sup>23</sup>.

The presented formal analyses, with the exception of Papangeli's approach have shown that the proposed syntactic criteria (in the analyses by Embick, Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou and Vassiliadou) have failed, to a certain extent, to explain formally the distinction between mediopassive vs. active morphology within the class of anticausative constructions. On the contrary mediopassive morphology in these constructions has been proved to be related to the meaning of the predicate and, consequently, to the features or properties of the selected argument (Vassilaki 1986, Βασιλάκη 1988, 1999, Manney 1999, Θεοφανοπούλου-Κοντού 1999β). More precisely, the following semantic properties of the predicate have been advocated:

(i) The notion of "affected"<sup>24</sup>. Starting from the following semantic representation of the predicate:

(19) [(X CAUSE [Y BECOME STATE])]

we could claim that the mediopassive suffix in these cases denotes

<sup>23</sup> Nevertheless I would like to point out, as a first approximation to the analysis of anticausatives, that the proposed syntactic coincidence between passives, reflexives and anticausatives (η πόλη καταστράφηκε 'the town was destroyed', τα λουλούδια μαράθηκαν 'the flowers wilted') would be problematic, given the strong non-agentive character of the anticausatives (meaning of the predicate, lack of the *apo*-agent adjunct), leading to the hypothesis that the external role is missing. On the contrary, the claim that the mediopassive/ active alternation must be investigated in the Lexicon, especially in relation to the meaning of the predicate, seems less problematic.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Θεοφανοπούλου-Κοντού 1999β: 155, note 8. The difference between this characterization and Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou's (2003, in press) notion of "totally affected" is that the mediopassive cases constitute according to our analysis semantically marked constructions. This notion seems to correspond better to the idiosyncratic character of our data, a formal distinction between these forms and the corresponding actives being thus excluded.

possibly that the subject-patient (Y) is somehow "affected" by the unexpressed internal  $\Theta$ -causer (X), being thus lexically signaled, just as the missing external  $\Theta$ -role in passives is signaled syntactically. I am referring to cases like:

- (20) το τραπεζομάντηλο λερώθηκε  
'the table cloth got soiled'
- (21) μπλέχτηκε το πόδι μου στο χαλί  
'my foot was caught in the carpet'
- (22) σφίχτηκε το στομάχι μου  
'I got a cramp in my stomach'

(ii) The involvement of the subject in the process of the change-of-state, especially in cases with an animate subject, a notion characterizing other cases with passive morphology (true reflexives like *ντύνομαι* 'I dress myself', *πλένομαι* 'I wash myself', *αυτοανακηρύσσομαι* 'I proclaim myself', *παρουσιάζομαι* 'I present myself' etc.) or pseudoreflexives such as *το δαχτυλίδι χάθηκε* 'the ring was lost', *το βάζο κομματιάστηκε* 'the vase broke into pieces'. I am also referring to cases of psych verbs like *στενοχωριέμαι* 'worry', *συγκινούμαι* 'be moved', *λυπάμαι* 'be sorry' etc.

Despite the fact that the above distribution corresponds, to a great extent, to our data, it is in reality far from clear. More precisely the notion of "affected" is not always in accordance with the native speaker's intuition. Cf. alternating active/ mediopassive cases with no clear difference according to many speakers:

- (23) έμπλεξα σε αυτή την υπόθεση/ μπλέχτηκα σε  
αυτή την υπόθεση  
'I got entangled in this affair'
- (24) λερώθηκε, βρωμίστηκε η μπλούζα μου/ λέρωσε,  
βρώμισε η μπλούζα μου  
'my blouse got dirty/ was soiled'

On the other hand mediopassive morphology seems to be, in some cases, no more than an intensive element, strengthening the meaning expressed by the verb (Λαβίδας 2002), or a



morpheme deprived of any special meaning, the semantic distinction between actives and mediopassives being thus unclear (cf. *μαραίνομαι* 'wilt', but *μουχλιάζω* 'get mouldy', *βράχηκα* but *μούσκεψα* 'I got wet', *νυχτώνομαι* 'get caught in the night', but *ξεχειμωνιάζω* 'spend the winter', *βραχνιάζω* 'get hoarse' but *ξελαρυγγιάζομαι* 'cry one's lungs out'). Needless to say that beside the mediopassive psych verbs (*στενοχωριέμαι* 'get upset', *προβληματίζομαι* 'get puzzled' etc.) there are numerous cases with active morphology, as has already been pointed out (*νευριάζω* 'get nervous', *ηρεμώ* 'get calm', *μελαγχολώ* 'get sad', *θυμώνω* 'get angry' etc.).

If the above reasoning is right, one could claim that mediopassive morphology in passives and anticausatives seems to differ with respect to both its function and its distribution. Specifically:

(i) In passives but not in anticausatives the mediopassive suffix marks the missing external  $\Theta$ -role, an agent adjunct being possible in passives but totally excluded from anticausative constructions.

(ii) There is a systematic opposition between intransitive non-actives (passive constructions) vs. transitive actives (active constructions), the same verb occurring in both forms. On the contrary, the active/ non-active morphology alternates in anticausatives without a clear distribution.

If this line of thinking is on the right track, then one could claim that in case of anticausatives the selected suffix, active or mediopassive, does not affect syntax, its presence being mostly related to the meaning of the predicate. Moreover, the absence of an agent adjunct supports their VP-structure, the cause and instrument adjunct being considered as part of the VP-structure (in adjunct position), something excluded for the agent, which always holds the external argument position.

Finally, there are ambiguous mediopassive constructions (passives and anticausatives). In these cases the meaning of the construction is determined by the context (especially +/-animate subject). These cases lead probably to more than one 'homonyms' lexical items differing in their basic structure:

- (25) δώρα για τα άρρωστα παιδιά συγκεντρώθηκαν  
από τους μαθητές της Γ' Λυκείου (passive)  
'gifts for the sick children were assembled by the  
third-year students of the Lyceum'
- (26) οι μαθητές συγκεντρώθηκαν στο προαύλιο \*από  
τον Διευθυντή (-passive)  
'the students were assembled in the forecourt \*by  
the director'
- (27) δεν μπορείς να συγκεντρωθείς στον εαυτό σου  
(reflexive)  
'you cannot concentrate on yourself'  
το πουλόβερ ξηλώθηκε από τη γιαγιά και  
ξαναπλέχτηκε (passive)  
'the jumper was undone by the grandmother and  
was reknit'
- (28) ξηλώθηκε το στρίφωμα της φούστας μου  
(-passive)  
'my skirt's hem was undone'  
"my skirt's hem came undone"
- (29) όλα τα ενοχοποιητικά στοιχεία μαζεύτηκαν  
προσεκτικά από τους άντρες της αντιτρομο-  
κρατικής υπηρεσίας (passive)  
'all the incriminating evidence was collected  
carefully by the men of the anti-terrorist squad'
- (30) \*οι απόφοιτοι του '60 μαζευόμαστε κάθε χρόνο  
από την Αλίχη (-passive)  
'the '60 graduates are collected every year by  
Alice'

With verbs such as *ανοίγω* 'open', *αδειάζω* 'empty', *καθαρίζω* 'clean' etc. mediopassive morphology has a clear passive function, a new distinction being thus established: anticausative (active) vs. passive (non active).

- (31) τα κιβώτια αδειάστηκαν με μεγάλη ταχύτητα  
από το συνεργείο μεταφορών  
'the boxes were emptied at great speed by the  
movers'
- (32) η πόρτα ανοίχτηκε τελικά από τον κλειδαρά

'the door was finally opened by the locksmith'

### 3. Concluding remarks: the polyfunctionality of MG non-active morphology.

Summarizing the results of the above analysis we come to the following conclusions:

(i) The structural similarity between passives and anticausatives (patient oriented constructions, agentless, common morphology in the case of non-active or mediopassive anticausatives) has proved to be superficial, the two constructions being distinct as far as their origin is concerned. More precisely:

(a) Passives are vP-constructions, like their corresponding transitive counterparts, the mediopassive suffix of the lexical verb characterized as [+agentive] marking the missing external  $\Theta$ -role. In these cases mediopassive morphology has been related to the syntactic process of passivization, being thus considered as functioning at the syntactic level.

(b) Anticausatives are VP-constructions [-agentive], the alternation active/ non-active morphology determined by mere lexical factors, semantic or purely idiosyncratic, not always clear. Such an approach is in accordance with the suggested view in the prototype and generative model (Guerssel et al. 1985:55, Antonopoulou 1991: 161-164, Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 2003, in press among others) according to which in a causative pattern the intransitive (anticausative) counterpart is the basic structure.

The presence of a causative counterpart in these cases, where it occurs, can be considered as the result of transitivity (causativization) with further projection of an external agent or cause/ instrument to the external argument position under certain circumstances. It must be noticed that such a process is a very productive one in Modern Greek, in ergative and unergative constructions<sup>25</sup>.

The above results are in accordance with our working hypothesis according to which the occurring distinctions between the two constructions stem from their structural distinction which

<sup>25</sup> Θεοφανοπούλου-Κοντού 2001: 55- 56, 2002β.

finally determines their syntactic behavior.

(ii) It has been shown moreover that the two constructions differ as far as the character and function of the mediopassive suffix is concerned: more productive in passives, it participates in the passivization process, signaling the missing external  $\Theta$ -role. On the contrary it is purely "lexical" in anticausatives, unrelated to the syntactic processes, its presence/absence depending on semantic/lexical factors.

If the above approach is correct, then active transitives (*καταστρέφω* 'destroy', *σκοτώνω* 'kill', *γράφω* 'write' etc.) and causatives (*σπάω* 'break', *αρρωσταίνω* 'get ill', *παχαίνω* 'get fat' etc.) represent two different constructions, originating from two distinct prototype structures: vP (transitives) vs. VP (causatives). This explains their basic differences (absence of detransitivization in active transitives vs. absence of passivization in anticausatives). I would like to add that this analysis supports the view expressed by Antonopoulou (1987: 322) that

"Causativity and agentivity ...could better be approached if the two notions were kept distinct, to some extent, and the analysis of the former concentrated on the qualities of the caused event, while the investigation of the latter focused on the type of the causing event".

The final question to be addressed here is related to the polyfunctionality of the mediopassive suffix. More specifically it remains to check whether the proposed structural distinctions (vP vs. VP-structure) between passives and anticausatives and the subsequent twofold specification of the function of the mediopassive suffix could cover the other mediopassive cases and, if the answer is positive, to what extent.

From a preliminary examination the following results are obtained:

(i) Transitive structure, more precisely vP-structure, can be considered as basic in cases where non-active morphology signals the missing  $\Theta$ -roles. Specifically, the external  $\Theta$ -role in syntactic reflexives ((*αυτο*)*καταστρέφομαι*, 'I destroy myself',



(*αυτο*)*ανακηρύσσομαι* 'I proclaim myself etc')<sup>26</sup> and the internal  $\Theta$ -role in inherent reflexives (*πλένομαι* 'I wash myself', *ντύνομαι* 'I dress myself' etc.)<sup>27</sup>. In the latter case (inherent reflexives) the traditional view has been adopted here, according to which these verbs (unlike anticausatives) are agent oriented constructions, like unergatives (Θεοφανοπούλου-Κοντού 1980, Theophanopoulou - Kontou 1983- 84, Tsimpli 1989: 250- 254<sup>28</sup>), the internal  $\Theta$ -role "having been suppressed" ( Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1999: 38). The whole subject, however, needs further investigation.

(ii) The intransitive structure, more precisely VP-structure, is basic in cases where external  $\Theta$ -role is excluded, the morphology of the verb (active/ non active) being related to semantic/ idiosyncratic reasons. In these cases the mediopassive suffix is "lexical", its presence/ absence being unrelated to the syntactic derivation of the constructions.

(iii) For ambiguous mediopassive constructions with an active counterpart occurring with animate or non animate subject such as *τινάζομαι*, *συγκεντρώνομαι*, *σκορπίζομαι*,

<sup>26</sup> These verbs have been characterised similar to passives in terms of derivation: Θεοφανοπούλου-Κοντού 1980, Tsimpli 1989. Among the proposed criteria I can mention the following: the possibility of an agent adjunct (*ο Γιάννης τιμωρήθηκε τελικά από τον εαυτό του* 'John was finally punished by himself'), the possibility of the *αυτο*-affix in the function of an agent (cf. also Joseph & Philippaki-Warbuton 1987: 77 according to whom the addition of the prefix *afto*- "indicates not where the action ends...but rather where the action begins, i.e. *afto* marks the agent as being identical with the recipient patient"). As far as their syntactic configuration is concerned one could claim that the v-light category is further specified as [+Reflexive], the *αυτο*-affix checking the reflexivity feature.

<sup>27</sup> About the distinction of reflexives into syntactic and inherent or lexical and the relevant criteria see Θεοφανοπούλου-Κοντού 1980, Tsimpli 1989, Zevgoli 2000: 145-156, among others.

<sup>28</sup> According to Tsimpli (ib.251) the fact that the subjects of inherent reflexives can control "the subject of a purposive clause:

(25) *Ι Maria xtenis-tik-e ja na vji ekso*

...implies that it is not derived, given that derived subjects cannot control".

χάνομαι, απλώνομαι<sup>29</sup>, the two structures, vP and VP, are equally possible (two or three "homonymous" lexical items). More precisely the vP-structure is possible in passive constructions or in the case of reflexives (the external Θ-role is not excluded). On the contrary, VP-structure is basic when an external Θ-role is totally excluded (mostly in cases with non animate subjects)<sup>30</sup>.

(iv) Finally, in the case of deponent verbs (αντιλαμβάνομαι 'understand', μεταχειρίζομαι 'use', κοιμάμαι 'sleep', κάθομαι 'sit' etc.) the mediopassive suffix is a mere lexical element, empty of any specific semantic content (cf. γράφω 'write', καταλαβαίνω 'understand', χρησιμοποιώ 'use', στέκω 'stay')<sup>31</sup>.

Closing, it is worth mentioning some remaining problems.

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<sup>29</sup> Cf. cases like:

- (i) τα χαλιά τινάχτηκαν με προσοχή και φυλάχτηκαν στο πατάρι (passive)  
'the carpets were shaken out carefully and put away in the attic'
- (ii) τινάχτηκε από τη θέση του σαν να τον χτύπησε κεραυνός (-passive)  
'he jumped out of his seat as if hit by thunder'
- (iii) μη σκορπιέσαι σε χίλια δυο! συγκεντρώσου στη δουλειά σου (reflexive)  
'don't scatter yourself! Concentrate on your work'
- (iv) άνοιξες το παράθυρο και σκόρπισαν/σχορπίστηκαν τα χαρτιά μου  
'you opened the window and my papers are scattered all over' (-passive)
- (v) αν φύγεις, θα χαθώ (reflexive)  
'if you go, I'll be lost'
- (vi) μην απλώνεσαι τόσο σε αυτό το θέμα (reflexive)  
'don't expand too much on this subject'

<sup>30</sup> It has to be noticed, however, that the distinctions between the different meanings of a verb are not clear-cut, many constructions being, thus, semantically and, consequently, syntactically ambiguous (vP or VP).

<sup>31</sup> Mediopassive morphology in these cases, more precisely the distinction between active and mediopassive transitives, could be related to a semantic distinction among the transitives in Ancient Greek, the mediopassive morphology expressing a kind of "subjectivity". (cf. active vs. mediopassive futures: Chila-Markopoulou p.c.).

First ambiguous mediopassive constructions referring to two distinct structures (vP vs. VP) and representing, consequently, two or three distinct lexical items seem to be countereconomic. I am referring to cases like: *συγκεντρώνομαι*, *σκορπίζομαι*, *διαλύομαι* etc. Cf. also *ανοίγω/ ανοίγομαι*, *αδειάζω/ αδειάζομαι*, *καθαρίζω/καθαρίζομαι* etc. Moreover, the notion of "affected"<sup>32</sup>, a coverterm for a great variety of constructions (passives, reflexives, anticausatives), is still too vague from a formal point of view.

Finally, I would like to point out that the alternating morphology in anticausatives and other VP-constructions and, generally speaking, the polyfunctionality of the mediopassive suffix, not adequately explicable from a synchronic point of view, could be regarded as the result of diachronic changes (Λαβίδας 2002), with two main tendencies functioning in opposite ways: the tendency towards an increased productivity of the mediopassive suffix in cases with high transparency and the tendency towards its lexicalization, with the cases of deponent verbs, as end point where mediopassive morphology is empty of any semantic or syntactic content. Such an approach could give a new dimension to the whole problem. For the time being this approach remains a desideratum for me.

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<sup>32</sup> In the sense that the subject is affected by somebody else, by himself or by an unspecified internal/ external cause. Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou's formal representation of the non-active structures in anticausatives (2003, in press), very challenging as already noted, needs further justification with reference to the other non-active forms (reflexives, middles).

## Περίληψη

Δήμητρα Θεοφανοπούλου-Κοντού

Η δομή της ρηματικής φράσης ("ΡΦ") και η μεσοπαθητική μορφολογία: παθητικές και αντιμεταβιβαστικές δομές στη Νέα Ελληνική

Η μελέτη αυτή αναφέρεται στην εξέταση ορισμένων όψεων της δομής των παθητικών και αντιμεταβιβαστικών (anticausatives) προτάσεων της Νέας Ελληνικής στα πλαίσια της θεωρίας της κενής ρηματικής κεφαλής (v-light theory). Αφετηρία της εξέτασης αποτελούν προβλήματα όπως (i) η διαφοροποίηση μεταξύ παθητικών και αντιμεταβιβαστικών δομών ως προς την παρουσία/απουσία προσδιορισμού δηλωτικού του δράστη, όχι όμως και της αιτίας (η πόλη καταστράφηκε από τους εχθρούς/ τον σεισμό, αλλά η πόρτα άνοιξε από τον αέρα/ \*τη Μαρία) και (ii) η διαφοροποίηση των δύο δομών ως προς το είδος της κατάληξης: -ω/ -μαι (αντιμεταβιβαστικά: πρβλ. κοκκίνισαν/ μαράθηκαν τα φύλλα), -μαι/ -\*ω (παθητικά: πρβλ. η πόλη καταστράφηκε/ \*κατάστρεψε από τους εχθρούς).

Υποστηρίζεται ότι η διάκριση μεταξύ παθητικών και αντιμεταβιβαστικών δομών ως προς την παρουσία/ απουσία δράστη συνδέεται με τον χαρακτήρα (+/- δραστικό) της δομής και, κατ' επέκταση, με την παρουσία/ απουσία κενής ρηματικής κεφαλής με το αντίστοιχο χαρακτηριστικό στο πεδίο της οποίας εγκλείεται η ΡΦ. Συγκεκριμένα, οι παθητικές δομές, όπως και οι αντίστοιχες ενεργητικές, ανάγονται σε δομές με κενή ρηματική κεφαλή με χαρακτηριστικά δραστικότητας. Αντιθέτως οι αντιμεταβιβαστικές δομές ως μη δραστικές (δηλώνουν αυτόνομο συμβάν, προκαλούμενο από εσωτερική-βιολογική, φυσική-αιτία) χαρακτηρίζονται από την απουσία κενής ρηματικής κεφαλής. Στο πλαίσιο ανάλυσης των ανωτέρω δομών επιχειρείται, επί πλέον, ο προσδιορισμός της διττής λειτουργίας του μεσοπαθητικού μορφήματος: συντακτικής έναντι λεξικής. Συγκεκριμένα υποστηρίζεται ότι η μεσοπαθητική μορφολογία των παθητικών δομών συνδέεται με τη συντακτική διαδικασία της παθητικοποίησης, σηματοδοτώντας τον ελλείποντα δράστη (κριτήριο: η συστηματι-



κότητα και παραγωγικότητα των μεσοπαθητικών τύπων με αναγωγή στους αντίστοιχους ενεργητικούς με υψηλό δείκτη μεταβατικότητας). Αντιθέτως η μεσοπαθητική μορφολογία στα αντιμεταβιαστικά συνδέεται με λεξικούς/ σημασιολογικούς παράγοντες (κριτήρια: εναλλαγή -ω/ -μαι, με όχι σαφή πάντα κριτήρια) που δεν επηρεάζουν τις συντακτικές διαδικασίες. Επιχειρείται, τέλος, αξιολόγηση της προτεινόμενης διάκρισης με αναφορά σε άλλες μεσοπαθητικές δομές (εγγενείς και συντακτικά αυτοπαθείς, ψευδοαυτοπαθείς), με παράλληλη επισημάνση σχετικών προβλημάτων.

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