

Grammatical (non-)identity in Greek participles

The diachrony of Greek *-menos*

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Theoretical approaches to grammatical (non-)identity in synchrony and diachrony, DGfS 2020, March 4–6, 2020

Introduction: synchronic and diachronic (non-)identity

- (1) Synchronic (non-?)identity: perfect/passive participle “syncretism” in German, English, Romance ...
- a. Die Livia hat die Schildkröte **gewaschen** perfect
 - b. Die Schildkröte wurde **gewaschen** eventive/verbal passive
 - c. Die Schildkröte ist **gewaschen** adjectival/stative passive

Introduction: synchronic and diachronic (non-)identity

- (1) Synchronic (non-?)identity: perfect/passive participle “syncretism” in German, English, Romance ...
- | | | |
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| a. | Die Livia hat die Schildkröte gewaschen | perfect |
| b. | Die Schildkröte wurde gewaschen | eventive/verbal passive |
| c. | Die Schildkröte ist gewaschen | adjectival/stative passive |
- ▶ \approx same affix in different contexts
 - ▶ Synchronically “identical” in terms of their synsem-features, selection of functional structure, “attachment site”....?
 - ▶ Kratzer 1996, 2001, Embick 2003, 2004b, Sleeman 2011, Alexiadou et al. 2014, Wegner 2019a,b, Hallman 2019, etc.

Introduction: synchronic and diachronic (non-)identity

Today's puzzle:

- (2)
 - a. Diachronic (non-)identity? Ancient Greek (AG) “middle participle” *-menos* vs. Modern Greek (MG) “passive participle” *-menos*.
 - b. Synchronic (non-)identity? Two types of passive readings of MG *-menos*.
- ▶ How did AG *-menos* become MG *-menos*? What changed? Selectional properties, features of the suffix?
- ▶ Can these changes shed light on (non-)identity in participles more generally?

Outline

- ▶ Background on participles and voice morphology
- ▶ Syntax of MG “passive” *-menos*
- ▶ Syntax of AG *-menos*: “middle” properties of the suffix
- ▶ Analysis
 - ▶ Crucial difference is whether or not PTCP selects **Voice** (Anagnostopoulou 2003, Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 2008, Grestenberger 2018, To appear).
 - ▶ Changes in selectional properties result from reanalysis under “structural ambiguity”—for participles (usually) from stative→eventive (but also vice versa).
 - ▶ Synchronic identity ensues when an additional reading (= more structure) is gained through diachronic reanalysis.
 - ▶ Diachronic non-identity is the result of loss of functional structure.

Background: Participles & Voice

Participles

- ▶ Participles: deverbal nominalizations that are integrated in a verbal paradigm; nonfinite verbal forms or “adjectival verb forms” (Lowe 2015).
 - ▶ In a non-lexicalist approach (here: DM), “integrated into a paradigm” is not relevant—what’s important is the notion that participles share “some verbal properties” with finite verb forms.

Participles

- ▶ Participles: deverbal nominalizations that are integrated in a verbal paradigm; nonfinite verbal forms or “adjectival verb forms” (Lowe 2015).
 - ▶ In a non-lexicalist approach (here: DM), “integrated into a paradigm” is not relevant—what’s important is the notion that participles share “some verbal properties” with finite verb forms.
- ▶ Differences in participial syntax result from different attachment sites of the participial suffix.
 - ▶ E.g., Embick 1997, 2000, 2004b, Anagnostopoulou 2003, 2014, Alexiadou et al. 2007, Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 2008, Alexiadou et al. 2015, Baker & Vinokurova 2009, Baker 2011, Harley 2009 ...

→ “faint identity” approaches (Wegner 2019a)

Passive participles

Passives: “verbal” vs. “adjectival” passives:

- (3) a. The letter was written by Mary (verbal)
 b. The letter is well-written (adjectival)

More fine-grained distinction (Kratzer 2001, Anagnostopoulou 2003, Embick 2004b, etc.):

- (4) a. The door was opened (eventive)
 b. The door was opened (resultative; state resulting from an event)
 c. The door was open (state; no prior event)

(Embick 2004b; eventive \approx resultant state in Anagnostopoulou 2003; resultative \approx target state)

Passive participles

- ▶ Cross-linguistic variation in lexification of these options (*open—open-ed*); eventive passives often synthetic; syncretism between some or all of these contexts.

Passive participles

- ▶ Cross-linguistic variation in lexification of these options (*open—open-ed*); eventive passives often synthetic; syncretism between some or all of these contexts.
- ▶ **Modern Greek:** Two types of “passive” participles: *-menos* (*-men-o-s*) vs. *-tos* (*-t-o-s*).
 - ▶ Holton et al. 1997, 234ff., Embick 1997, 134ff., Anagnostopoulou 2003, Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 2008, Alexiadou et al. 2015.

(5) *-menos* vs. *-tos* participles

Verb	<i>-menos</i>	<i>-tos</i>	
<i>vrazo</i>	<i>vras-menos</i>	<i>vras-tos</i>	‘boiled’
<i>psino</i>	<i>psi-menos</i>	<i>psi-tos</i>	‘grilled’
<i>anigo</i>	<i>anig-menos</i>	<i>anih-tos</i>	‘opened; open’
<i>klino</i>	<i>klis-menos</i>	<i>klis-tos</i>	‘closed’

MG passive participles

Differences between *-menos* and *-tos* (Anagnostopoulou 2003, Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 2008, Alexiadou et al. 2015):

- ▶ *-menos* has event implications, *-tos* does not.
- ▶ Only *-menos* is used in periphrastic verbal constructions.
- ▶ *-menos* licenses manner adverbs, *-tos* does not, (6).

- (6) *To thisavrofilakio itan **prosektika** anig-meno / *anig-to.*
 the safe was cautiously open-PTCP / open-PTCP
 “The safe was cautiously opened” (Alexiadou et al. 2015, 156, ex. (26a))

MG passive participles

- ▶ *-menos* can license agent *by*-phrases, *-tos* never does.

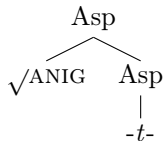
(7) *To psari itan tiganis-meno* / **tigan-ito* apo tin Maria.
 the fish was fry-PTCP / fry-PTCP by the Maria
 “The fish was fried by Maria” (Alexiadou et al. 2015, 156, ex. (23a))

MG passive participles

Anagnostopoulou 2003, Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 2008, Alexiadou et al. 2015:

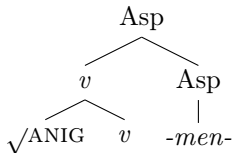
- ▶ *-tos* attaches directly to the root, (8).
- ▶ *-menos* either selects *v* (“target state participles”), (9a) or *v*+Voice (“resultant state participles”), (9b).

(8) MG *tos*-participles: *anig-t(os)* ‘open’

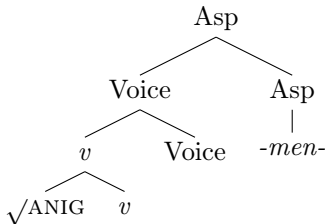


(9) MG *menos*-participles: *anig-men(os)* ‘opened’

a.



b.



Passive participles: MG *-menos*

Target vs. resultant state (Kratzer 2001)

- ▶ **Target state participles** express reversible states and can be modified by the adverb *akoma* ‘still’, (10a).
- ▶ **Resultant state participles** express an irreversible state and are incompatible with *akoma*, (10b) (ex. from Alexiadou et al. 2015, 157).

- (10) a. *Ta pedhia ine akoma kri-mena*
 the children are still hide-PTCP
 “The children are still hidden.”
- b. *Ta ruxa ine (* akoma) stegno-mena.*
 the clothes are (still) dry-PTCP
 “The clothes are (still) dried.”

Passive participles: MG *-menos*

Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou & Schäfer 2015, 159: “the target state construal of participles is blocked in the presence of Voice in Greek, which forces a resultant state interpretation.”

- ▶ *-menos*-participles that are modified by *akoma* ‘still’ are incompatible with agent *by*-phrases, while resultant state participles are fine with them:

- (11) *Ta lastiha itan (* akoma) fusko-mena apo tin Maria*
 the tires were (still) inflate-PTCP by the Maria
 “The tires were still inflated by Maria” (Anagnostopoulou 2003, 22)

Additional assumptions

- ▶ “PTCP” (participial/nominalizing morphology) spells out Asp if there is no verb movement to T (or Agreement with T is blocked).
 - ▶ Embick 2000, 2003, 2004b, Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 2008, Bjorkman 2011, Alexiadou et al. 2015.

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- ▶ “PTCP” (participial/nominalizing morphology) spells out Asp if there is no verb movement to T (or Agreement with T is blocked).
 - ▶ Embick 2000, 2003, 2004b, Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 2008, Bjorkman 2011, Alexiadou et al. 2015.
- ▶ “PTCP” = a contextual allomorph of Asp.
 - ▶ Can realize different features of Asp (e.g., perfective vs. imperfective).
 - ▶ Can realize Asp in different environments, e.g. adjacent to Voice[±ext.arg.]—difference between AG active and nonactive/middle participles, Grestenberger 2018, To appear.

Voice morphology in AG & MG

Morphological alternation between **active** and **nonactive** on the inflectional endings in specific **canonical contexts**:

(12) Voice alternations in Modern Greek

Function	Nonactive	Active
Anticausative	<i>sikon-ome</i> 'rise'	<i>sikon-o</i> 'raise'
Reflexive	<i>plen-ome</i> 'wash myself'	<i>plen-o</i> 'wash'
Selfbenefactive	<i>promithev-ome</i> 'supply myself'	<i>promithev-o</i> 'supply'
(Medio)passive	<i>skoton-ome</i> 'am killed'	<i>skoton-o</i> 'kill'

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(13) Voice alternations in Ancient Greek:

Function	Nonactive	Active
Anticausative	<i>daío-mai</i> 'burn, blaze' (itr.)	<i>daí-ō</i> 'burn sth.'
Reflexive	<i>louío-mai</i> 'wash myself'	<i>louí-ō</i> 'wash sth.'
Selfbenefactive	<i>phéro-mai</i> 'carry (away) for myself'	<i>phér-ō</i> 'carry, bear'
(Medio)passive	<i>theíno-mai</i> 'am struck, killed'	<i>theín-ō</i> 'kill, strike'

Voice morphology in AG & MG

- ▶ **Voice syncretism** (Embick 1998, 2004a): the same morphological exponent (here: nonactive/NACT) surfaces in different syntactic environments.
 - ▶ MG: Embick 1998, 2004a, Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 2004, Alexiadou 2012, 2013, Alexiadou & Doron 2012, Alexiadou et al. 2015, etc. (Modern Albanian: Rivero 1990, Kallulli 2007, 2013).

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Nonalternating verbs: Verbs that either take only active endings (*activa tantum*) or only nonactive/“middle” endings (*media tantum*).

- (14)
- a. Some AG *activa tantum*: *eimí* ‘am’, *eīmi* ‘go’, *rhéō* ‘float’, *mímnō* ‘stay’, etc.
 - b. Some AG *media tantum*: *érkhomai* ‘walk’, *keĩmai* ‘lie’, *dúnamai* ‘am able to’, *házomai* ‘am in awe of’, *pétomai* ‘fly’, etc.

- ▶ *Media tantum*: mostly verbs of movement, psych/experiencer verbs, states.

Voice morphology in AG & MG

- ▶ active vs. nonactive morphology in AG & MG = determined by features of **Voice**.
 - ▶ Kratzer 1996, Embick 1998, 2004a, Kallulli 2007, Kallulli 2013, Harley 2013, Alexiadou et al. 2015, Schäfer 2017, etc.

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- (15) Voice \rightarrow Voice[NonAct]/_ No DP specifier
(Alexiadou et al. 2015, 102, after Embick 2004a, 150)

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(Alexiadou et al. 2015, 102, after Embick 2004a, 150)
- ▶ ACT = elsewhere.

Voice morphology in AG & MG

(16) Distribution of active vs. nonactive morphology (Kallulli 2013):

	+ext.arg.	-ext.arg.
Voice	ACT	NONACT
—	n/a	ACT

→ “[-ext.arg.]” = cover term for different contexts without an agent argument, or different “flavors” of Voice (Alexiadou et al. 2015, Schäfer 2017, Kastner 2019, etc.):

- ▶ Semantic: does Voice introduce an agent θ -role?
- ▶ Syntactic: is Voice $[\pm D]$?

Voice morphology in AG & MG

- (17) Alexiadou et al. 2015, Schäfer 2017: Typology of Voice (modified):
- a. Active Voice: $\{\lambda x \lambda e [\text{agent}(e, x)], +D\}$ (active)
 - b. **Medio-passive Voice:** $\{\lambda e \exists x [\text{agent}(e, x)], -D\}$
 - ▶ “unsaturated Voice”: introduces an agent ϑ -role, but no external argument DP \rightarrow agent = existentially bound
 - c. **Medio-marked expletive Voice:** $\{\emptyset, -D\}$
 - ▶ Morphologically nonactive anticausatives, various *mediantantum*, etc.
 - d. **Passive input Voice:** $\{\lambda x \lambda e [\text{agent}(e, x)], -D\}$
 - ▶ “unsaturated Voice”: introduces an agent ϑ -role, but no external argument DP
 - ▶ \rightarrow input for “high passive” Voice head with an adjoined agent *by*-phrase which saturates the ϑ -role (Bruening 2013, Schäfer 2017)

Ancient Greek *-menos*

Distribution

AG *-menos* can be formed to any verb that inflects as nonactive in the finite forms, independent of its argument structure/valency → “**middle**” participle.

(18) AG *-menos* and finite verbs

	active	nonactive	<i>-menos</i>
alternating	<i>phér-ō</i> ‘carry’	<i>phéro-mai</i> ‘carry for myself’	<i>pheró-menos</i> ‘carrying for myself’
	<i>aíth-ō</i> ‘kindle’ (tr.)	<i>aítho-mai</i> ‘burn, blaze’ (itr.)	<i>aithó-menos</i> ‘burning, blazing’ (itr.)
<i>media tantum</i>	—	<i>keĩ-mai</i> ‘lie’	<i>keĩ-menos</i> ‘lying’
	—	<i>érkho-mai</i> ‘walk’	<i>erkhó-menos</i> ‘walking’
<i>activa tantum</i>	<i>ei-mí</i> ‘am’	—	—

AG *-menos*

- ▶ “middle” participle: AG *-menos* has the same range of functions as the corresponding finite forms (reflexive, selfbenefactive, anticausative), including the various *media tantum* uses.

(19) Intransitive/motion verb (Hom., *Il.* 4.514–16)

autàr Akhaioùs *ōrse* (...) *kudíst-ē*

but Achaeans.ACC urged most.glorious-NOM.F

Tritogéneia *erkho-mén-ē* *kath' hómilon*

Tritogeneia.NOM.F walk.PRES-PTCP.NACT-NOM.F among crowd

“But (as for) the Achaeans; ... the most glorious Tritogeneia urged (them) on, **walking among the crowd ...**”

AG *-menos* and stem-forming morphology

- ▶ AG *-menos* can combine with all tense/aspect stems: present, aorist, perfect, future.

(22) Nonactive finite forms & *menos*-participles of *títhēmai* ‘place/put for myself; am placed’ in AG

stem	finite verb	participle
present	<u>tít</u> hē-mai	<u>tít</u> hē-menos
aorist	(e) <u>thé</u> -mēn	<u>thé</u> -menos
perfect	<u>téthei</u> -mai	<u>téthei</u> -menos

AG *-menos* and adverbial modification

AG *-menos* (and its active counterpart) can be modified by manner- and event-oriented adverbs such as *eũ* ‘well’, *pálin* ‘again, re-’ and *biaióteron* ‘violently’:

(23) AG *-menos* + manner/event adverbs (Thuc., *Pelop. War*, 3.89.5)

... *tèn thálassan kaī eksapínēs pálin*

the.ACC sea.ACC and suddenly again

epispō-mén-ēn

biaióteron tèn epíkhusin

recoil.PRES-PTCP.NACT-ACC.SG.F violently the.ACC flood.ACC

poieĩn

do.PRES.INF

“... the sea, suddenly **recoiling again violently**, causes the flood.”

AG *-menos* and agent *by*-phrases

Passive uses of *-menos* are compatible with agent *by*-phrases.

- (24) Passive *-menos* + demoted agent (Hdt., *Hist.* 1.19.1; George 2005, 24)

tōi *dè* *duōdekátōi* *éteï* *lēiou*
 the.DAT PTCL twelfth.DAT year.DAT crop.GEN
empipra-mén-ou *hupò tēs* *stratiēs* ...
 burn.up.PRES-PTCP.NACT-GEN by the.GEN army.GEN

“In the twelfth year, when the crops **were being burned by the army, ...**”

Summary

- ▶ AG *-menos* forms “middle” (anticausative, reflexive, mediopassive, ...) participles.
- ▶ ... from any stem that is compatible with **nonactive** finite verbal morphology (voice morphology relevant, not valency).
- ▶ AG *-menos* can take direct objects, i.e., is compatible with active, transitive syntax.
- ▶ compatible with intransitive verbs (esp. itr. *media tantum*).
- ▶ combines with all tense-aspect stems.
- ▶ (limited use in periphrastic constructions, except for the perfect nonactive participle).

Recap: Modern Greek *-menos*

Recap: Modern Greek -menos

MG -menos

- ▶ only combines with the perfective stem \approx ‘perfect passive participle’.
 - ▶ formally continues AG perfect/aorist participles after the collapse of the distinction by Early Modern Greek (Holton & Manolesou 2010).
- ▶ forms exclusively *passive* participles.
- ▶ combines with morphologically active or nonactive verbs (valency relevant, not voice morphology):

(25) MG -menos and its base verbs (present stem)

	verb	meaning	participle	meaning
active	<i>agapo</i>	‘love’	<i>agapiménos</i>	‘loved’
	<i>deno</i>	‘tie’	<i>deménos</i>	‘tied’
	<i>kalo</i>	‘call’	<i>kalesménos</i>	‘called’
nonactive	<i>metahirizome</i>	‘use’	<i>metahirisménos</i>	‘used’
	<i>varieme</i>	‘am bored’	<i>variestiménos</i>	‘bored’
	<i>ekmetalevome</i>	‘exploit’	<i>ekmetalevménos</i>	‘exploited’

Recap: Modern Greek -menos

MG -menos

- ▶ never takes direct objects.
- ▶ does not combine with intransitive verbs
 - ▶ Exceptions: Holton et al. 1997, 237: (*ine*) *perpatimenos* ‘has walked’.
 - ▶ anticausative/unaccusative psych verbs (active) form stative -menos-participles, e.g., *thimono* ‘get angry’: *thimoménos* ‘angry’ (Alexiadou & Iordăchioaia 2014, 63, Alexiadou 2018, 18).
- ▶ is compatible with manner and event-oriented adverbs.
- ▶ is compatible with demoted agents (resultant state reading).
- ▶ is used in periphrastic (perfect) passive constructions:

- (26) To vivlio ine **gram-meno** apo tin Maria
 the book is written by the Maria
 “The book is written by Maria”

Summary

(27) Properties of *-menos* in AG vs. MG

transitive, ACC-object possible

AG



MG



Summary

(27) Properties of *-menos* in AG vs. MG

	AG	MG
transitive, ACC-object possible	✓	✗
periphrastic passives	(✓)	✓

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sensitive to valency	✗	✓

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sensitive to valency	✗	✓
passive reading	✓(possible)	✓(required)

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transitive, ACC-object possible	✓	✗
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deponents	active syntax	passive syntax
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sensitive to valency	✗	✓
passive reading	✓(possible)	✓(required)
<i>by</i> -agent possible	✓	✓

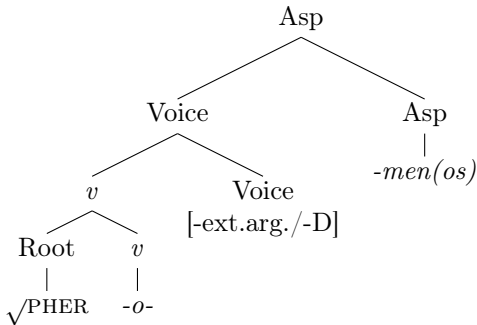
Analysis

Analysis: AG

Properties of AG *-menos* (direct obj., “voice syncretism”, adverbial modification, etc.) suggest selection of (at least) VoiceP + *v*P:

- (28) a. *pher-ó-men-o-s* ‘carrying (for one’s own benefit)’
 carry-V-PTCP.NACT-M-NOM.SG

b.



Analysis: AG

- ▶ Crucially, judging from the fact that AG *-menos* was compatible with *all* flavors of “Voice[-ext.arg./-D]” (not just mediopassive, but also anticausative, selfbenefactive, etc.), it was not restricted to selecting just “passive input Voice”.

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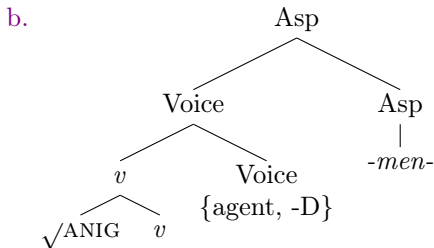
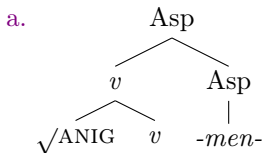
- ▶ Crucially, judging from the fact that AG -*menos* was compatible with *all* flavors of “Voice[-ext.arg./-D]” (not just mediopassive, but also anticausative, selfbenefactive, etc.), it was not restricted to selecting just “passive input Voice”.
- ▶ The distribution/realization of nonactive -*menos*- and active -*nt*-participles therefore mirrors that of the active/nonactive *finite* endings:

- (29) Realization of AG participles (Grestenberger 2018, cf. Embick 2000):
- Asp ↔ -*men(os)*/ Voice[-ext.arg] _
 - Asp ↔ -*nt*-: elsewhere

Analysis: MG -*menos*

- ▶ No Voice in target state participles (Anagnostopoulou 2003, etc.), (30a).

(30) MG *menos*-participles: *anig-men(os)* ‘opened’ (modified)



- ▶ Loss of VoiceP = loss of “middle” properties.
 - ▶ E.g., the ability to occur in transitive (selfbenefactive, etc.) contexts with an ACC object, etc.
- ▶ MG **resultant state**, (30b): selects Voice $\{\lambda x \lambda e[\text{agent}(e, x)], -D\}$ → demoted agent.

(Re)analysis

- ▶ This suggests that the starting point for the loss of “middle” uses of *-menos* were (medio)passive contexts in which the participle could be interpreted as (target state) passive participle
 - ▶ ... presumably *-menos*-participles from AG *perfect stems* of transitive verbs → very often passive already in Homeric Greek (Schwyzer & Debrunner 1950, Napoli 2017).
 - ▶ perfect participles in *-menos* are the only *menos*-participles used in periphrastic constructions in AG, and predominantly in Early Post-Classical Greek (Bentein 2012).
- ▶ → VoiceP failed to be acquired during L1 acquisition in these contexts
- ▶ → *-menos* only compatible with a target state/passive reading.

(Re)analysis

- (31) Periphrastic perfect passive ptcp. (Hdt., *Hist.* 6.98.3)

kai en khrēsmōi ēn gegram-mén-on peri autēs
 and in oracle was write.PERF-PTCP.NACT-NOM.N about self.GEN
hōde: ...
 thus

“And in the oracle thus (**it**) **was written** about it(self) (the island Delos): ...”

Contrast with syntactically active, transitive present nonactive participle *graphómenos* & aorist nonactive participle *grapsámenos* in the same work:

- (32) *publía grapsá-men-os pollà*
 letters.ACC write.AOR-PTCP.NACT-NOM.M many.ACC
 “having written many letters” (Hdt., *Hist.* 3.128.2)

(Re)analysis

Postclassical/Early Byzantine examples:

(33) a. *A. Thom.* 122.11–12 (Bentein 2012, 232)

oukh hēmeīs tās thúras ēsphalisámetha kai pōs nūn
not we the doors.F fastened and how now

aneōig-mén-ai ***eisìn*** *kai hoi desmōtai éndon*
open.PERF-PTCP.NACT-NOM.PL.F are and the prisoners inside

“did not we fasten the doors? And how **are they** now **open**, and the prisoners within?”

b. *Sophr. H., Mir. Cyr. et Jo.* 46.14 (Bentein 2012, 264)

memuk-ōta gār éskhe tà ómmata, kai mēdamōs
shut.PERF-PTCP.ACT.PL.N for had the eyes.PL.N and not.at.all

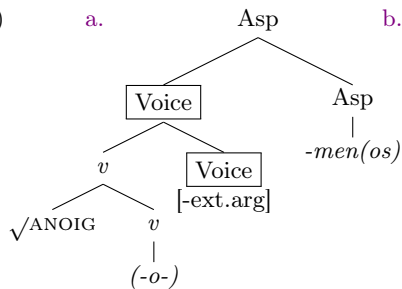
anoigó-men-a
open.PRES-PTCP.NACT-PL.N

“he had his eyes closed and not at all **opened**”

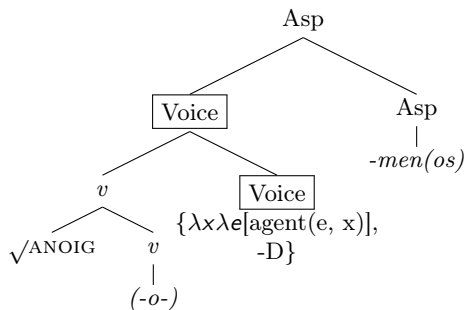
Loss of functional structure: AG *-menos* → MG *-menos*

(34)

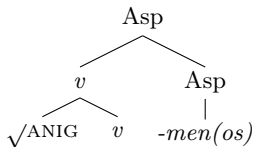
a.



b.



c.



a. AG “middle” *menos*-ptcp (selects Voice); **b.** AG/postclassical perfect passive ptcp/MG resultant state ptcp (selects Voice{agent,-D}); **c.** MG target state ptcp (selects *v*).

Loss of functional structure: AG *-menos* → MG *-menos*

Besides the change in the context for insertion, the aspectual features realized by *-menos* also changed—suggested by the fact that MG *-menos* is restricted to the *perfective* stem:

- (35) Postclassical *-men(os)*:
 Asp[pfv] ↔ *-men(os)* / Voice{agent,-D} _

On the way to MG, the Voice head was lost in contexts where acquirers had inadequate evidence for positing agentive semantics, resulting in a “split” of Asp[pfv] into a target state participle and a resultant state participle → “faint identity”:

- (36) MG *-men(os)*:
 a. Asp[pfv/targ] ↔ *-men(os)* / *v* _
 b. Asp[pfv/res] ↔ *-men(os)* / Voice{agent,-D} _

Loss of functional structure

- ▶ Loss of VoiceP = **Reanalysis** under local **acquisitional ambiguity** (\approx “structural ambiguity”, cf. “structural simplification”).
 - ▶ Roberts & Roussou 2003, Roberts 2007, Willis 2011.

Loss of functional structure

- ▶ Loss of VoiceP = **Reanalysis** under local **acquisitional ambiguity** (\approx “structural ambiguity”, cf. “structural simplification”).
 - ▶ Roberts & Roussou 2003, Roberts 2007, Willis 2011.
- ▶ Reanalysis leads to changes in an acquirer’s lexicon, crucially in the features of lexical items (realization of functional heads, contexts for insertion, etc.).
 - ▶ Hale 2007, Walkden 2014 ...
- ▶ Some evidence that English-acquiring children first acquire adjectival/stative passives before they acquire eventive ones (Israel et al. 2000) → suggests that they begin with the lower functional projections before adding the higher ones (cf. also Cournane 2017).

Conclusion

- ▶ Diachrony of Greek “passive” participle suffix *-menos* suggests that synchronic identity (\approx syncretism?) in derivational categories is the result of reanalysis under **acquisitional ambiguity**.
- ▶ But this ambiguity must be synchronically available in the input as well—e.g., the target vs. resultant state distinction in MG, or the difference between stative and eventive passives in AG.
- ▶ In Minimalism/DM-based approaches, syntactic change = change in the formal features of the lexicon.
- ▶ In the case of Greek *-menos*, the change resulted in a more restricted environment for the suffix ([*-ext.arg.*] to only passive)—but there are also cases in which the environments seemingly expands \rightarrow lexical entries becomes less restricted.
 - ▶ E.g., development of “active” **-nt-*, Grestenberger To appear.
- ▶ Diachrony of participial forms suggests that this is a regular path of development for adjectival suffixes/“stativizers” \rightarrow passive participles (Haspelmath 1994).

Thank you!

AG *-menos* and deponents

Deponents are **noncanonical nonactive** verbs with an agent subject and active (mostly transitive) syntax = **morposyntactic mismatch**.

- (37) Definition of deponency (Grestenberger 2018, 23, 2019):
“In an active–nonactive voice system, a deponent is a verb with an agent subject that appears in a syntactically active context and is morphologically nonactive.”

▶ = “narrow” definition of deponency, subclass of *media tantum*.

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- ▶ = “narrow” definition of deponency, subclass of *media tantum*.
- ▶ AG deponent verbs have *transitive menos*-participles:

- (38) AG deponent *dízēmai* ‘seek sth.’, ptcp. *dizēmenos* (Hom., *Od.* 1.261-2)

óikheto gàr kai keĩse thoês epì nēòs Odusseùs
 went PTCL and there swift.GEN on ship.GEN Ulysses.NOM
phármakon andro-phónon dizē-men-os
 poison.ACC man-slaying.ACC seek.PRES-PTCP.NACT-NOM.M

“And then Ulysses went into his swift ship, **seeking (some) man-slaying poison.**”

MG *-menos* and deponents

- MG *menos*-participles of **deponents** are always *passive* (unlike in AG).

(39) Non-deponent *grafo* ‘write’:

- a. To *gramma* *ine grammeno*
The letter.NOM is written
“The letter is written”
- b. To *grammeno* *gramma*
The written letter

(40) Deponent *metahirizome* ‘use’:

- a. To *lexiko* *ine metahirismeno*
The dictionary.NOM is used
“The dictionary is used”
- b. To *metahirismeno* *lexiko*
The used dictionary

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