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Reflexive and Reciprocal Constructions in Modern Greek*

Evangelia Asproudi
Trinity College Dublin

Abstract

This paper examines the various constructions that convey reflexivity and reciprocity in Modern Greek. Modern Greek reflexive and reciprocal constructions are characterized by a considerable degree of overlap between them, in the sense that they are structurally parallel to each other. More concretely, both reflexives and reciprocals in the language can be lexicalized through the addition of the non-active suffix -mai to a transitive verb; moreover, reflexivity and reciprocity can be syntactically realized by means of an active transitive verb followed by a pronominal that is referentially bound to an antecedent. Lastly, pronoun incorporation to a -mai verb constitutes another way of expressing reflexivity and reciprocity in the language, while in certain cases reflexivity/ reciprocity is inherently encoded in the semantics of individual verb predicates. The analysis is implemented within Role-and-Reference Grammar; the richness of the data, however, dictates the need for the enrichment of the framework. Specifically, the traditional Role-and-Reference Grammar organization structure is extended through the postulation of additional steps to the semantics-to-syntax derivational process and through the introduction of a feature-based analysis at the semantic level of representation. What is aimed in this way is a more thorough and effective analysis of the constructions under examination.

1. MG Reflexives and Reciprocals: Description

Reflexive and reciprocal constructions are closely correlated in Modern Greek (henceforth MG). At a semantic level, the surface subject of both reflexives and reciprocals in MG encodes not only agentivity, but also affectedness by itself (in the case of reflexives) or by a partner (in the case of reciprocals), which is, in essence, a crosslinguistic property of reflexive and reciprocal subjects (Shibatani 1985, pp.840-841).

Apart from the semantic correlation between reflexives and reciprocals in MG, it should be noted that there is also a considerable degree of syntactic overlap between them. Taking into account that a variety of structures can give rise to a reflexive or a reciprocal reading in MG, it will be illustrated that reflexive structures parallel reciprocal structures in their formation; besides, it is worth noting that reflexivity and reciprocity can be expressed under certain circumstances through the use of the same structure, thus giving rise to a potentially ambiguous interpretation. The discussion will firstly turn to an examination of MG reflexives.

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1.1 MG Reflexives

As Papangeli (2004, p.44) remarks, “at least three constructions in Greek give rise to reflexive reading...”. In the majority of cases, MG reflexives are, following VanValin & LaPolla’s (1997, p.393) terminology, lexical in nature; they are namely morphologically marked by the addition of the non-active¹ suffix *-mai*² to a transitive verb, thus leading to its detransitivization (1a, 1b, 1c, 1d, 1e). An alternative way of expressing reflexivity involves the prefixation of the reflexive pronoun *afto-* (‘self’) to a verb that already carries the suffix *-mai* (Mackridge 1987, p.88) (1f, 1g). Furthermore, a reflexive reading can also arise in MG when an active³ transitive verb is followed by the full anaphoric pronoun *o eaftos mu* (‘myself’) in accusative case⁴ that stands in a coreference relation with its antecedent (Tzartanos 1946, p.239). Sentences *Ih* and *Li* exemplify this structure, which is referred to as a ‘coreference reflexive’ or a ‘plain reflexive’ construction by VanValin & LaPolla (1997, p.396):

¹ Following Embick (2004), Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (2004) and Tsimpli (in press-b), the term ‘non-active’ morphology will be used in the present paper to refer to *-mai*, since it is more compatible with the various structures in which this suffix occurs in MG. *-mai* occurs namely in passives, anticausatives, middles, reflexives and reciprocals in the language.

² *-mai* is a 1st person singular present-tense suffix; the full paradigm of the MG non-active present-tense verbal suffix is provided below:

PERSON		
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1 ST	<i>-mai</i>	<i>-maste</i>
2 ND	<i>-sai</i>	<i>-ste</i>
3 RD	<i>-tai</i>	<i>-ndai</i>

³ MG active present-tense verbal suffixes are shown in the following table:

PERSON		
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1 ST	<i>-o</i>	<i>-me</i>
2 ND	<i>-eis/ -as</i>	<i>-te</i>
3 RD	<i>-ei</i>	<i>-ne</i>

⁴ The full paradigm of the anaphoric pronoun in accusative case is as follows:

PERSON		
	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1 ST	ton eafto mu	ton eafto mas
2 ND	ton eafto su	ton eafto sas
3 RD	ton eafto <i>tu/ tis/ tu*</i>	ton eafto tus

* *masculine/ feminine/ neuter*

- (1)⁵ a. Kitaxtike ston kathrefti.
 look-3sg.past.non-act to the-acc.masc.sg. mirror
 ‘S/he looked at herself/himself in the mirror.’ (Mackridge 1987, p.88)
- b. O athlitis proneitai.
 the-nom.masc.sg. athlete train-3sg.pres.non-act.
 ‘The athlete trains himself.’ (Tsopanakis 1994, p.356)
- c. I nifi dithike
 the-nom.fem.sg. bride dress-3sg.past.non-act.
 ‘The bride got dressed.’ (Tsimpli in press-a, p.12)
- d. Xtenizomai sto kommotirio tis
 comb-1sg.pres.non-act. at the-acc.neut.sg. hairdresser’s the-gen.fem.sg.
 geitonias.
 neighbourhood
 ‘I have my hair done at the hairdresser’s in the neighbourhood.’
 (Tsimpli in press-a, p.13)

⁵ From a semantic perspective, MG reflexives can be either direct or indirect. Direct reflexives (see *Ia, Ib, Ic, If, Ig, Ih, Ii*) are characterized by the volitionality as well as the direct affectedness of the chief participant (Kemmer 1993, p.205), while indirect reflexives denote an action where the agent and the beneficiary are coreferential but distinct entities (Kemmer 1993, p.74). With specific reference to MG indirect reflexives, they express, according to traditional grammarians (cf. Tzartanos 1946, Tsopanakis 1994), situations where the subject is thought to do something for himself/ herself, or to something that s/he owns, through the mediation of a third participant (Tzartanos 1946, p.240). Indirect reflexivity is syntactically expressed in the majority of cases through the use of *-mai* verbs (see *Id, Ie*). It should be noted, however, that in certain contexts, even morphologically active verbs can have an indirect reflexive interpretation, as illustrated in the following examples:

- a. Pigha sto kureio ki ekopsa ta
 go-1sg.past.act. to the-acc.neut.sg. barber and cut-1sg.past.act. the-acc.neut.pl.
 mallia mu.
 hair my
 ‘I had my hair cut at the barber.’ (Tzartanos 1946, p.245)
- b. Ravo ena kostumi.
 saw-1sg.pres.act. a-acc.neut. custome
 ‘I have a costume made.’ (Tsopanakis 1994, p.356)

- e. Egrafomai sto panepistimio.
 enroll-1sg.pres.non-act. in the-acc.neut.sg. university
 ‘I am enrolled in the university.’ (Tzartanos 1946, p.240)
- f. Aftokatastrefomai.
 self destroy-1sg.pres.non-act
 ‘I destroy myself.’ (Theophanopoulou-Kontou, 1997, p.117)
- g. Aftodhiafimizomai.
 self advertise-1sg.pres.non-act
 ‘I advertise myself.’ (Theophanopoulou-Kontou, 1997, p.117)
- h. Dino ton eafto mu.
 dress-1sg.pres.act. the-acc.masc.sg self my
 ‘I get dressed.’ (Tzartanos 1946, p.239)
- i. Gimnazeis ton eafto su.
 train-2sg.pres.act. the-acc.masc.sg. self your
 ‘You train yourself.’ (Tzartanos 1946, p.239)

It is worth noting that the coreference reflexive of some verbs is used only for emphatic purposes (Tzartanos 1946, p.244, Papangeli 2004, p.45) (2a, 2b), while the same construction constitutes the unique means of expressing reflexivity with deponent verbs⁶ (2c). An emphatic reflexive interpretation can also be attained through the use of a non-active verb followed by the adjunct adjectival phrase *monos/ monaxos mu* (‘by myself’) predicating the subject (Tzartanos 1946, p.244) (2d, 2e, 2f). Lastly, it should be mentioned that certain morphologically active verbs, like *girizo* (‘to turn around’), *allazo* (‘to change’) and *gerno* (‘to lean’), can acquire a reflexive meaning without being followed by an anaphoric pronoun (Tzartanos 1946, p.245):

⁶ Deponent verbs are verbs that are retrieved from the lexicon with the suffix *-mai*. The presence of *-mai*, however, is not associated with an affected surface subject; on the contrary, the surface subject of deponents is fully agentive in nature.

- (2) a. Dhe gnorizeis ton eafto su.
 not know-3sg.pres.act. the-acc.masc.sg. self your
 ‘You don’t know yourself.’ (Tzartanos 1946, p.244)
- b. Edho o kosmos xanetai ki
 here the-nom.masc.sg. world fall apart-3sg.pres.non-act. and
 o Giannis plenei ton eafto tu.
 the-nom.masc.sg. John wash-3sg.pres.act. the-acc.masc.sg. self his
 ‘The world is falling apart and John is washing himself.’
 (Papangeli 2004, p.46)
- c. Lipamai ton eafto mu.
 pity-1sg.pres.non-act. the-acc.masc.sg. self my
 ‘I pity myself.’ (Tzartanos 1946, p.244)
- d. Dhilitiriastike monos tu.
 poison-3sg.past.non-act. own his
 ‘He poisoned himself.’ (Tzartanos 1946, p.244)
- e. Ligho eleipse na prodhotho monaxi mu.
 little miss-3sg.past.act. to give away-1sg.subj.non-act. own my
 ‘I have nearly given myself away.’ (Tzartanos 1946, p.244)
- f. Skotothike moni tis.
 kill-3sg.past.non-act. own her
 ‘She killed herself.’ (Mackridge 1987, p.88)

A final point that should be made concerns situations where a *-mai* verb is used instead of its active counterpart, although the latter could equally well convey a reflexive meaning. Following Theophanopoulou-Kontou (1999, p.152), the preference of *-mai* over the active morphology *-o* reflects a higher degree of subject affectedness, which triggers the characterization of such *-mai* forms as ‘pseudoreflexives’. The verb *skorpizo/ skorpizomai* (‘to spread’) constitutes an example of this *-o/ -mai* alternation, where the latter verb form encodes greater subject affectedness than the former.

On the whole, it has become evident through the discussion in this section that the notion of ‘reflexives’ in MG includes a variety of structures associated with special semantics.

1.2 MG Reciprocals

MG reciprocals are structurally similar to reflexives; specifically, reciprocity is generally expressed by plural *-mai* verbs ((3))⁷. In addition, it should be noted that MG also has two overt markers of reciprocal semantics (Tzartanos 1946, p.246), which correspond to what Kemmer (1993, p.103) refers to as ‘light’ and ‘heavy’ reciprocal markers. That is, the ancient reciprocal pronoun *allilo-* (‘each other’) can be incorporated to a non-active plural verb ((4)), or, alternatively, a singular or plural transitive verb is used in combination with the ‘heavy’ reciprocal marker *o enas ton allo*⁸ (lit. ‘the one the other’) ((5)). For emphatic purposes, a structure consisting of a *-mai* verb followed by the adjunct prepositional phrase *metaksi mas/ sas/ tus* (‘between (among) us/ you/ them’) is used ((6)). Lastly, it is worth noting that some morphologically active verbs have an inherently reciprocal meaning (Tzartanos 1946, p.246), as illustrated in examples 7a, 7b and 7c below:

(3) a. Agaliazondai.

hug-3pl.pres.non-act.

‘They hug each other.’

(Tzartanos 1946, p.241)

b. Tilefoniundai.

call-3pl.pres.non-act.

‘They call each other.’

(Papangeli 2004, p. 100)

c. Antamonomaste.

meet up-1pl.pres.non-act

‘We meet up.’

(Tzartanos 1946, p.241)

d. Koitaxtikame sta matia.

look-1pl.past.non-act. into the-acc.neut.pl. eyes

‘We looked into each other’s eyes.’

(Mackridge 1987, p.88)

⁷ Singular non-active verbs may also convey reciprocal meaning when they take a collective noun as subject:

(ii) To zevghari filithike.
 the-nom.neut.sg. couple kiss-3sg.past.non-act.
 ‘The couple kissed.’

(Mackridge 1987, pp.88-89)

⁸ *O enas ton allo* is used with masculine subjects. Feminine and neuter subjects require the reciprocal pronouns *i mia tin alli* and *to ena to allo* respectively.

- (4) a. **Alliloipostirizondai.**
each other support-3pl.pres.non-act.
 ‘They support each other.’ (Tzartanos 1946, p.246)
- b. **Allilopeirazomaste.**
each other tease-3pl.pres.non-act.
 ‘We tease each other.’ (Mackridge 1987, p.89)
- (5) a. Koitakse o enas ton allo kai
 look-3sg.past.act. the-nom.masc.sg. one the-acc.masc.sg. other and
 xamoghelasan.
 smile-3pl.past.act.
 ‘They looked at each other and smiled.’ (Tzartanos 1946, p.246)
- b. Plisiazun o enas ton allo.
 approach-3pl.pres.act. the-nom.masc.sg. one the-acc.masc.sg. other
 ‘They are approaching one another.’ (Mackridge 1987, p.89)
- c. Dhe milane o enas **me ton allo**⁹.
 not talk-3pl.pres.act. the-nom.masc.sg. one with the-acc.masc.sg. other
 ‘They don’t talk to each other.’ (Mackridge 1987, p.89)
- (6) Ta adherfakia aghapiondane metaksi tus.
 the-nom.neut.pl. siblings love-3pl.past.non-act among them
 ‘The siblings loved one another.’ (Tzartanos 1946, p.246)
- (7) a. Ine kairos pu xorisan.
 be-3sg.pres. time that break up-3pl.past.act.
 ‘They broke up with each other a long time ago.’
 (Tzartanos 1946, p.246)
- b. Antamosame.
 meet up-1pl.past.act.
 ‘We met up.’ (Mirambel 1988, p.132)
- c. Dhosame xeria.
 give-1pl.past.act. hands
 ‘We shook hands.’ (Tzartanos 1946, p.247)

⁹ Some verbs require that the reciprocal marker contain a prepositional phrase headed by an argument-marking preposition compatible with each individual verb.

To sum up, reciprocity can be expressed in MG in various ways, each of which is used to encode different semantic underpinnings.

On the basis of the data presented in 1.1 and 1.2, it can be concluded that reflexives and reciprocals are closely related in MG. That is, reflexivity and reciprocity are manifested syntactically in parallel ways. Besides, their correlation is best reflected in the fact that both notions can be expressed through the use of the same non-active verbal morphology. Taking into account that reciprocals are by default plural, it follows that "...Greek displays ambiguities when reflexive verbs are used with plural subjects" (Papangeli 2004, p.164). Examples of sentences that can have either a reflexive or a reciprocal reading are provided in (8) below:

(8) a. Oi kopeles xtenizondai.
the-nom.fem.pl. girls comb-3pl.pres.non-act.
‘The girls are combing *their/ each other’s* hair.’
(Tsimpli in press-a, p.13)

b. Ta pedhia vrexondan me ta lastixa.
the-nom.neut.pl. children throw water-3pl.past.non-act. with the-acc.neut.pl. hoses
‘The children were throwing water *to themselves/ to each other* with the hoses.’
(Papangeli 2004, p.73)

Hence, as illustrated in the above sentences, the verbal *-mai* suffix can be ambiguous between a reflexive and a reciprocal interpretation¹⁰. The discussion will now turn to a Role-and-Reference Grammar account of MG reflexive and reciprocal constructions.

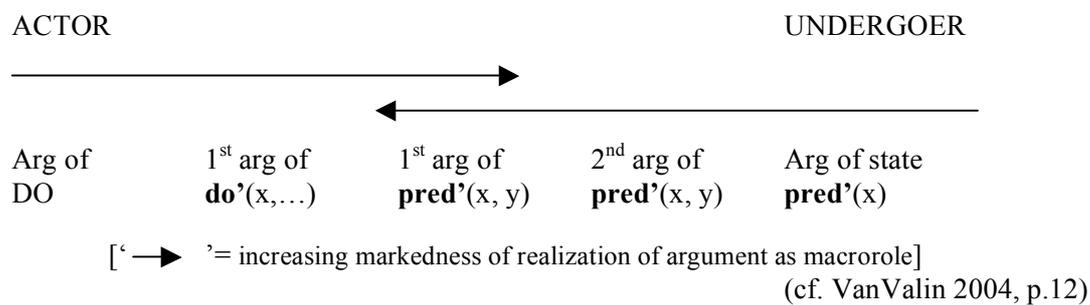
2. MG Reflexives and Reciprocals: Analysis

On the basis of the description of MG reflexives and reciprocals in the previous section as syntactically and semantically overlapping constructions, it is expected that their derivation within Role-and-Reference Grammar (henceforth RRG) will be accounted for in similar terms. The prediction is namely made that parallel MG reflexive and reciprocal structures are also derivationally similar.

Before turning to a closer examination of each of the constructions in question, a brief presentation of the traditional RRG machinery will be provided. RRG posits a single level of syntactic representation to which the semantic representation of a sentence is directly mapped

(VanValin & LaPolla 1997, p.21) by means of certain linking principles. Default linking, however, can be overridden in voice constructions, as dictated by the Privileged Syntactic Argument (henceforth PSA) modulation and the argument modulation features. Specifically, the PSA modulation voice allows a non-actor¹¹ argument to function as the syntactic pivot of the sentence; given the Actor-Undergoer hierarchy¹² presented in *Figure 1* below, it is usually the undergoer argument that is the primary topical participant in voice constructions, thus functioning as the syntactic pivot. The actor argument, on the other hand, appears in the clausal periphery or is entirely omitted, as postulated by the argument modulation voice (VanValin & LaPolla 1997, p.295).

Figure 1: The Actor- Undergoer Hierarchy



With more specific reference to reflexives and reciprocals, RRG bases its analysis of such constructions on the notion of o(bliqueness)-command, according to which an argument *x* o-commands another argument *y* in the argument structure list if *x* precedes *y*. More concretely, RRG posits the Obliqueness Condition within the Binding Domain which states that “an anaphor must be coindexed with a less oblique member of the same logical structure in the minimal S containing the verb” (cf. Nolan 2000, p.23). In addition, adopting Jackendoff’s (1972) proposal that the antecedent must be higher than the reflexive/ reciprocal on the thematic relations hierarchy, the Role Hierarchy Condition on Reflexivization (and reciprocalization) is posited that is stated as follows:

Role Hierarchy Condition on Reflexivization:

The reflexive pronoun must not be higher on the following hierarchy than its antecedent:

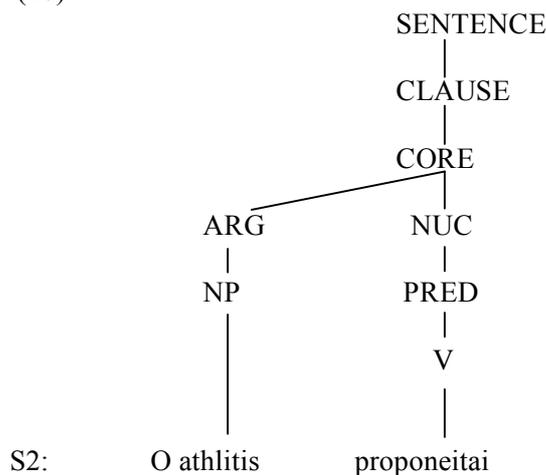
Actor > Undergoer > Other

(VanValin 2001-b, p.7)

The analysis of MG reflexives and reciprocals presented below proceeds in accordance with the Obliqueness and the Role Hierarchy conditions; however, it should be

¹⁰ The disambiguation of sentences like *8a* and *8b* can be forced by the choice of adjuncts and contextual factors (Papangeli 2004, pp. 52, 97).

¹¹ Note that in ergative languages the undergoer constitutes the default syntactic pivot; thus, in voice constructions it is the actor that is promoted to the PSA position. Yet, MG being an accusative language, reference will be made throughout only to the alterations involved in languages of this type.

(10)¹⁴

S1: [CLAUSE [CORE [PSA o athlitis], [NUC propono]]]

LS2: BECOME **proponimenos'**(o athlitis)

LS1: **do'**(o athlitis_i, [**propono'**([o athlitis]_i, o eaftos tu_i))

LS0: **do'**(x_i [AGR [1]], [**propono'**, (x_i , y_i [AGR [1]])])

This LS0 has two arguments in it, the leftmost one being the actor and the rightmost one the undergoer. At LS1 macrorole specification occurs, with *o athlitis* being mapped to actor and *o eaftos tu* to undergoer. Reflexivity arises in the sense that "...the second participant, the undergoer and object of the sentence, is pointing back reflexively to the first participant, the actor and its antecedent" (Nolan 2000, p.34). Besides, the reflexive reading is enforced by virtue of the fact that both arguments carry the same agreement features. Incidentally, it is worth noting that this reflexivity is well-formed, since both arguments are within the scope of predication of *propono*, and both the Obliqueness and the Role Hierarchy conditions are satisfied. However, M-transitivity¹⁵ is reduced at LS2 from two macroroles to one by means of undergoer suppression. Thus, *o athlitis* surfaces at S1 in its default core-initial argument

¹⁴ Following VanValin & LaPolla (1997, p.393), I will assume that reflexive elements "...appear in logical structure in the form that they will appear in the actually realized sentence, case marking aside". That is, the appropriate person, number and gender features will be present at LS1, while, similarly to other referring expressions, case marking specification will take place at S2.

Note, however, that nominative is chosen as the default case in which nominals derive from the lexicon. On this ground, all nominals in this and the following diagrams will by convention appear at LS in nominative case.

Moreover, the predicate following BECOME at LS2 is the passive perfect participle of the LS1 verb predicate. Hence, *proponimenos* in the above diagram, for example, is the passive perfect participle of the LS1 verb predicate *propono*. Participial predicates will appear throughout in the default nominative masculine singular form.

¹⁵ "[T]ransitivity in RRG is defined in terms of the number of macroroles that a verb takes..." (VanValin 2004, p.12); RRG employs this term in order to distinguish between its semantically-based

position, while the reflexive interpretation remains intact through the addition at S2 of the non-active suffix to the verb, which "...has no function other than signalling that the actor and undergoer are the same participant" (VanValin & LaPolla 1997, p.395 for Lakhota)¹⁶.

As for the derivation of *afto-* incorporation reflexives, it is represented in the following diagram:

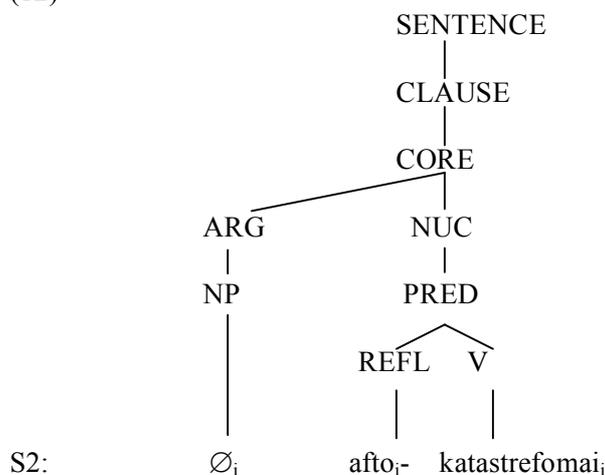
(11) Aftokatastrefomai.

self destroy-1sg.pres.non-act

'I destroy myself.'

(Theophanopoulou-Kontou, 1997, p.117)

(12)



S1: [CLAUSE [CORE [PSA Ø_i], [NUC afto_i-, katastrefo]]]

LS2: BECOME afto_i- **katestrammenos'**(Ø_i)

LS1: **do'**(Ø_i, [**katastrefo'**(Ø_i, afto_i-)])

LS0: **do'**(x_i [AGR [1]], [**katastrefo'**, (x_i, y_i [AGR [1]])])

Katastrefo is transitive in nature and, hence, LS0 has two arguments in it. The actor argument is specified at LS1 as Ø¹⁷, while the reflexive clitic *afto-* takes the undergoer macrorole. Both macroroles are within the binding domain of the verb predicate and are thus linked together

definition of transitivity and other theories' syntactic characterization of transitivity in terms of the number of syntactic arguments (S-transitivity) (cf. VanValin & LaPolla 1997, p.150).

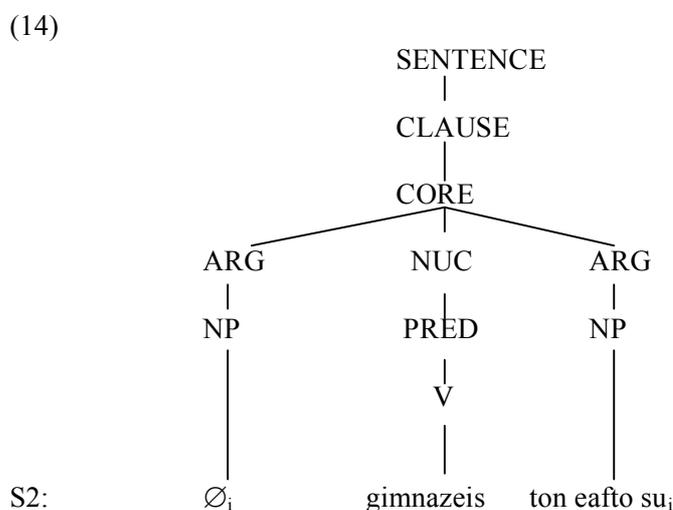
¹⁶ Emphatic reflexives (see 2d, 2e, 2f in 1.1) will be assumed to involve the same linking procedures as those just described with respect to the derivation of (9 & 10) above. The only difference between the derivation of non-emphatic and emphatic *-mai* reflexives is that in the latter, as opposed to the former, an adjunct phrase headed by *monos* is inserted at LS2 which is coindexed with the subject of the sentence.

¹⁷ Ø is used to symbolize a covertly realized (i.e. phonetically null) actor. Note that MG is a null subject language, where a phonetically null constituent is licensed in subject position by strong agreement features (cf. Chomsky 1995, p.77).

through a relation of reflexivity. Besides, the Obliqueness and the Role Hierarchy conditions are also satisfied, since the overtly null antecedent is less oblique and higher on the thematic hierarchy than the reflexive *afto-*. Furthermore, it is worth noting that actor and undergoer are identical in terms of phi-feature specification, which follows naturally from the reflexivity relation that holds between them. *Afto-* remains overtly present also at LS2; yet, as can be observed in (12), it does not occupy an argument position anymore, thus leaving the null actor as the single argument in the logical structure. As a result, a template with only one argument slot is selected, to which the null actor is mapped at S1. *Afto-*, on the other hand, is prefixed to the verb predicate; the latter gets at S2 the non-active suffix *-mai* attached to it, which encodes the reflexive interpretation at the syntactic level “...by interpreting the privileged syntactic argument as both actor and undergoer simultaneously...” (VanValin & LaPolla 1997, p.411). Of course, the presence of *afto-* enhances the reflexive reading of the sentence.

Turning to MG plain reflexives, the linking operations underlying their derivation are schematically represented in the following figure:

- (13) Gimnazeis ton eafto su.
train-2sg.pres.act. the-acc.masc.sg. self your
‘You train yourself.’ (Tzartanos 1946, p.239)



S1: [CLAUSE [CORE [PSA Ø_i], [NUC gimnazo], [POST-NUC o eaftos su_i]]]

LS2: **do'**(Ø_i, [**gimnazo'**(Ø_i, o eaftos su_i)])

LS1: **do'**(Ø_i, [**gimnazo'**(Ø_i, o eaftos su_i)])

LS0: **do'**(x_i [AGR [1]], [**gimnazo'**, (x_i, y_i [AGR [1]])])

At LS0 both an actor and an undergoer exist for the verb predicate *gimnazo*, which are specified at LS1 as \emptyset and *o eafos su* respectively. The reflexive marker *o eafos su* encodes, in turn, that both arguments share the same reference, thus giving rise to a relation of reflexivity between them. Moving to LS2, the undergoer is still overtly recorded; consequently, \emptyset and *o eafos su* are linked to their default positions at S1, the former becoming the PSA and the latter surfacing in the immediately post-nuclear core argument slot. Finally, at S2 accusative case is assigned to the reflexive marker and active morphology is attached to the verb, thus resulting in (13) above.

Lastly, as mentioned in 1.1, reflexivity is occasionally expressed by active intransitive verbs. In such cases, reflexivity is not the result of any syntactic operations; on the contrary, it constitutes an inherent feature of the lexical semantics of individual predicates. Therefore, no special linking algorithm is at work in this case¹⁸.

2.2 The Syntax of MG Reciprocals

As will be illustrated in the following discussion, reciprocal constructions are analogous to reflexive ones in terms of logical structure and syntactic representation, and of the underlying linking operations.

Firstly, as regards reciprocal constructions that are built around *-mai* predicates, their derivation proceeds as follows:

(15) Agaliazondai.

hug-3pl.pres.non-act.

‘They hug each other.’

(Tzartanos 1946, p.241)

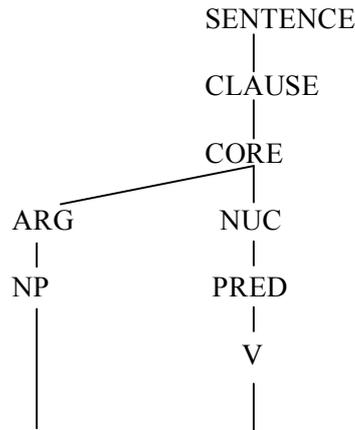
¹⁸ As regards indirect reflexives, their derivation will be treated as being the same as that of their direct counterparts.

With reference to *-mai* indirect reflexives (see *Id, Ie* in 1.1), on the one hand, their derivation involves identical linking operations to those involved in the derivation of direct reflexives. The only difference between them lies in LS0 specification; in the case namely of indirect reflexives, the actor argument will be assumed to carry a [-AGENCY] feature that is non-present at LS0 in (10). In other words, what is encoded in this way is that the direct reflexive actor carries a greater degree of agentivity than the indirect reflexive actor.

-o indirect reflexives (see *a, b* in footnote 5), on the other hand, constitute typical transitive constructions. In this respect, they resemble - in linking terms - the plain reflexive in (13 & 14); yet, the undergoer in indirect reflexives is not a reflexive marker and the actor argument bears the [-AGENCY] specification, which are the two properties that distinguish *-o* indirect from plain reflexives.

On the whole then, indirect reflexives are formally differentiated from direct ones by virtue of the LS0 [-AGENCY] feature that is present in the former but not in the latter.

(16)



S2: ∅ agaliazondai

S1: [CLAUSE [CORE [PSA ∅], [NUC agaliazo]]]

LS2: BECOME **agaliasmenos'**(∅)

LS1: **do'**(∅_i, [**agaliazo'**(∅_i, [o enas ton allo]_i)])

LS0: **do'**(x_i [[AGR 2] [[1] [PER a] [GEN b]]]], [**agaliazo'** [[AGR 1] [NUM pl]]] (x_i, y_i [[AGR 2]]]))

Agaliazo is a transitive verb that takes two arguments at LS0, the actor x and the undergoer y. At the next derivational step, x is filled by ∅ and y by the reciprocal marker *o enas ton allo*, both of which carry the same agreement specification. It is worth noting that the two macroroles are plural in number, thus agreeing with *agaliazo* that is necessarily marked as plural. In other words, plural agreement marking constitutes an obligatory requirement for the formation of reciprocal constructions. Reciprocity is well formed given that ∅ is less oblique and higher on the thematic hierarchy than *o enas ton allo*¹⁹. Moving to LS2, the reciprocal marker gets suppressed; hence, a template with the single PSA slot is selected from the syntactic inventory, to which ∅ is mapped at S1. The undergoer *o enas ton allo* is therefore covertly manifest in the syntax through the attachment at S2 of the non-active morphology to *agaliazo*, which serves to signal that “...any of the initiators of the action, the actors, can also be considered as the endpoint of the action, the undergoers” (Nolan 2000, p.36). Hence arises the reciprocity of (15) above²⁰.

¹⁹ Similarly to reflexives, the well-formedness of reciprocal constructions will be judged on the basis of the Obliqueness and the Role Hierarchy conditions.

²⁰ The same analysis can be applied to emphatic reciprocals (see (6) in 1.2). Their difference lies at LS2, where in emphatic reciprocals, as opposed to non-emphatic ones, an adjunct *metaksi* phrase is

With reference to *allilo-* incorporation reciprocals, their derivation is diagrammed in the following figure:

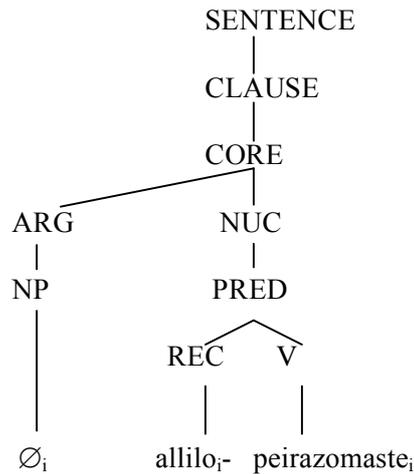
(17) Allilopeirazomaste.

each other tease-3pl.pres.non-act.

‘We tease each other.’

(Mackridge 1987, p.89)

(18)



S2: Ø_i allilo_i- peirazomaste_i
 S1: [CLAUSE [CORE [PSA Ø_i], [NUC allilo_i-, peirazo]]]

LS2: BECOME allilo_i- **peiraghmenos**'(Ø_i)

LS1: **do**'(Ø_i, [**peirazo**'(Ø_i, allilo_i-)])

LS0: **do**'(x_i [AGR 2] [PER a GEND b], [**peirazo**' [AGR 1] [NUM pl]] (x_i, y_i [AGR 2]))

This LS0, similarly to the LS0 in (16) above, has two arguments in it, and the verb predicate carries plural agreement marking. x and y are specified at LS1 as Ø and the reciprocal clitic *allilo-* respectively. Given the anaphoric status of *allilo-*²¹ and that both Ø and *allilo-* are in the scope of predication of *peirazo*, it follows that *allilo-* is bound by Ø. Thus, both arguments carry the same agreement features, while the Obliqueness and the Role Hierarchy conditions are also satisfied. At LS2 a single-argument logical structure is derived, since *allilo-* is no longer in an argument position. Consequently, the null actor is mapped at S1 to PSA, the reciprocal clitic being prefixed to *peirazo*. Non-active morphology is added to the verb at S2

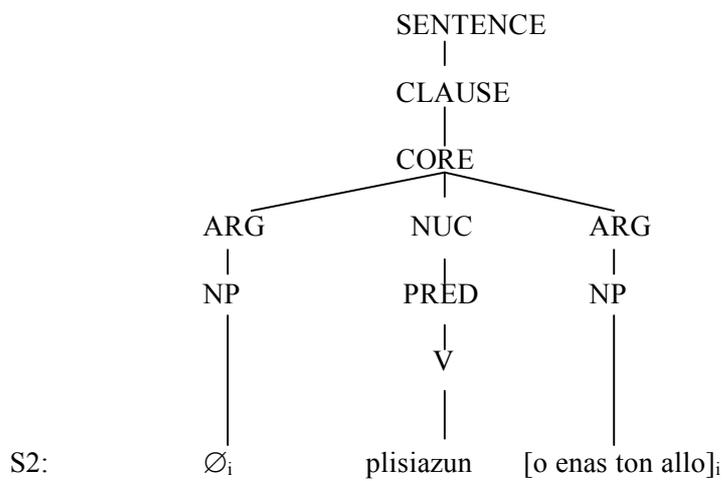
inserted, which is linked to the first conjunct of the logical structure by means of coindexation. This adjunct phrase is then mapped in syntax to a clause peripheral position and attributes an emphatic interpretation to the reciprocity conveyed.

and thus the reciprocal interpretation is encoded at the syntactic level; besides, the presence of *allilo-* also contributes to the reciprocity conveyed.

Turning now to *-o* reciprocals that are followed by the heavy reciprocal marker *o enas ton allo*, (19 & 20) below is illustrative of their underlying semantic representation and of the linking operations deriving their surface syntactic form:

- (19) *Plisiazun o enas ton allo*
 approach-3pl.pres.act. the-nom.masc.sg. one the-acc.masc.sg. other
 ‘They are approaching one another.’ (Mackridge 1987, p.89)

(20)



S1: [CLAUSE [CORE [PSA∅_i], [NUC plisiazō], [POST-NUC [o enas ton allo]_i]]]

LS2: **do'**(∅_i, [plisiazō'(∅_i, [o enas ton allo]_i)])

LS1: **do'**(∅_i, [plisiazō'(∅_i, [o enas ton allo]_i)])

LS0: **do'**(x_i [[AGR 2] [[1] [PER a] [GEND b]]], [plisiazō' [AGR 1] [NUM pl]] (x_i, y_i [AGR 2]]))

Given the transitivity of *plisiazō*, which bears plural agreement specification, two arguments are present at LS0. At LS1, ∅ is mapped to the actor *x* and *o enas ton allo* to the undergoer *y* argument. In virtue of the reciprocal coreference it signals, *o enas ton allo* necessarily agrees with ∅ in terms of case and phi-features. Besides, reciprocity is well formed since the ∅ antecedent precedes the reciprocal marker in the argument structure list and is higher than it on the thematic hierarchy, thus satisfying the Obliqueness and the Role Hierarchy conditions respectively. Moving to LS2, *o enas ton allo* still occupies the undergoer position and,

²¹ Following the generative tradition, RRG treats both reflexives and reciprocals as anaphoric in nature.

therefore, a template with two argument slots is selected. \emptyset and *o enas ton allo* are then mapped respectively to their default core-initial and core-final positions at S1, while the necessary morphological features are added at S2.

Finally, reciprocity constitutes an inherent property of certain morphologically active verbs (see (7) in 1.2); in such cases, however, it is purely lexical in nature and not the result of special linking operations.

3. Summary and Conclusions

On the whole, the discussion in this paper has shown that parallel reflexive and reciprocal constructions can be accounted for in similar terms within Role-and-Reference Grammar. All *-mai* reflexives and reciprocals were marked by argument reduction at LS2, *-mai*²² and emphatic ones involving undergoer suppression and pronoun incorporation ones undergoer prefixation to the verb predicate. In *-o* reflexives and reciprocals, on the other hand, that are followed by *ton eafto mu* and *o enas ton allo* respectively, "...the [undergoer] is not understood and covert...but overt and explicitly represented...within the syntax" (Nolan 2000, p.50). Lastly, reflexivity and reciprocity sometimes constitute an inherent part of the semantics of some verbs.

In general, lexical cases aside, all reflexive and reciprocal constructions were found to be well accounted for in terms of the Obliqueness condition within the binding domain, the Role Hierarchy condition and the principles of the Role-and-Reference Grammar framework implicit in the analysis throughout. Of course, this analysis was based on an enriched version of the Role-and-Reference Grammar machinery; that is, the traditional Role-and-Reference Grammar organization structure was extended to include three stages (LS0, LS1, LS2) at the semantic and two stages (S1, S2) at the syntactic level of representation, while a feature-decompositional approach was implemented at the LS level. In this way, a more succinct description and comparison/ contrast of Modern Greek reflexive and reciprocal constructions was aimed at and apparently attained.

²² Here in the restricted sense of reflexives and reciprocals that involve neither an emphatic adjunct phrase nor an incorporated pronoun.

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