

On the syntax and morphology of Greek participles

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1. The problem

- We examine the properties of Greek participles ending in *-tos* and *-menos*.
- We propose that a number of semantic as well as syntactic differences shown by these derive from differences in their respective morpho-syntactic composition.

2. Two adjective like constructions

2.1 *-tos* and *-menos* participles

Next to ‘underived adjectives’, Greek has two further constructions that can be used in an adjectival function: the participle in *-menos* and what traditional grammars call the verbal adjective in *-tos*. Here we refer to them as *-menos* and *-tos* participles:

(1)	a.	vraz-o	vras-men-os	vras-t-os	“boiled”
	b.	psin-o	psi-men-os	psi-t-os	“grilled”
	c.	zograf-	zografis-men-os	zografis-t-os	“painted”
	d.	skal-	skalis-me-nos	skalis-t-os	“carved”
	e.	graf-	gram-men-os	grap-t-os	“written”
	f.	anig-	anig-men-os	anix-t-os	“opened”, “open”
	g.	klin-	klis-men-os	klis-t-os	“closed”,

In some cases, the *-tos* form exists only if suffixed by *a-* that signals negation:

(2)	a.	gra-menos	written	b.	a-graf-tos	(grap-tos)	unwritten
(3)	a.	pli-menos	washed	b.	a-pli-tos	(*pli-tos)	unwashed
(4)	a.	diavas-menos	read	b.	a-diavas-tos	(*diavas-tos)	unread
(5)	a.	fago-menos	eaten	b.	a-fago-tos	(*fago-tos)	uneaten

In general, *a-* can only be attached to *-tos* form:¹

(6)	*adiavasmeno	*aplimeno
	a- read	a-washed

It has been claimed that these two have the same meaning and that they are just like adjectives: they both refer to states (see for instance, Mozer 1994).

¹ See Kratzer (1994; 2001) for discussion of *un-*prefixation of participles in English and German, and Anagnostopoulou (2003) for a comparison between the Greek pattern in (6) and negated participles in English and German.

They seem to have a similar function to adjectives, i.e. they appear in attributive and predicative positions just like other adjectives:

- (7) a. to parathiro ine anihito
the window is open
b. to parathiro ine anigmeno
the window is opened
- (8) a. to anihito parathiro
the open window
b. to anigmeno parathiro
the opened window
- (9) a. to kokino forema
the red dress
b. to forema ine kokino
the dress is red

2.2 Some differences between the two forms

It has been shown by several people that the two forms differ (Markantonatou et al. 1996, Georgala 2001, Kordoni 2002, Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou & Stavrou 2000, Anagnostopoulou 2003):

- There are semantic and syntactic differences between the two constructions (based on Anagnostopoulou 2003):

I. Difference in interpretation:

- (10) To parathiro ine anikto (characteristic state)
the window is open
- (11) To parathiro ine diaplata anigmeno
the window is wide open
(state as result of the action denoted by the verb)

In (11) the participle is interpreted as a state resulting from a prior event while in (10) it simply refers to an underived state.

- (12) a. #Afti I varka ine fusko-**meni** alla den
This the boat is pumped but not
tin exi fuskosi kanis akoma
it has pumped noone yet
'This boat is pumped up but noone has pumped it up yet'
- b. Afti i varka ine fusko-**ti** alla den
This the boat is pump-ed but not
tin exi fuskosi kanis akoma
it have pumped noone yet
'This boat is of the type that can be pumped up but noone has pumped it up yet'

The *menos*-participle in the first conjunct of (12a) denotes that the boat is in a state resulting from a pumping event. Negating this event in the second conjunct of (12a) results in a contradiction. On the other hand, the *-tos* participle in (12b) does not entail the existence of a prior event. Therefore, the negation of the event in the second conjunct does not lead to a contradiction.

II. Distributional differences: change of state verbs like the unaccusative *ginome* 'become' and transitive verbs of creation *kano*, *ftiaxno* 'make' only take *-tos* participles as their complements:

- (13) a. To kotopoulo egine vras-to
 The chicken became boiled
 'The chicken was made boiled'
- b. Ekana/ eftiaksa to kotopoulo vras-to
 Did-1sg/made-1sg the chicken boiled
 'I made the chicken boiled'
- (14) a. *To kotopoulo egine vras-meno
 The chicken became boiled
- b. *Ekana/ eftiaksa to kotopoulo vras-meno
 Did-1sg/ made-1sg the chicken boiled

The contrast between (13) and (14) suggests that these verbs select for underived states, not states resulting from prior events.

III. Adverbial modification: the *-menos* participle can be modified by manner adverbs, the *-tos* one cannot:²

- (15) a. Ta malia ine atsala htenismena
 The hair are sloppily combed

² This is reminiscent of the German participles described in Kratzer (1994). See Anagnostopoulou (2003) for a detailed comparison between Greek and German.

- (i) a. Das Haar war ziemlich schlampig gekämmt
 The hair was rather sloppily combed
 'The hair was rather sloppily combed'
- b. *Das Haar war hässlich ungekämmt
 The hair was ugly uncombed
 '*The hair was ugly uncombed'
- c. *Das Haar war ziemlich schlampigfettig
 The hair was rather sloppily greasy
 '*The hair was rather sloppily greasy'

Actually there are two types of manner adverbials: manner adverbs that modify the visible result such as *schlampig* 'sloppily', and manner adverbs that modify the initiator of the action such as *vorsichtig* 'carefully'. Only the former are licensed in German participles, while both are licensed in Greek participles for reasons that we will come back to (see Anagnostopoulou 2003 for discussion).

- b. *Ta malia ine atsala ahtenista
The hair is sloppily uncombed

The *-menos* participle licenses instrumental PPs, the *-tos* participle doesn't:

- (16) a. Ta malia tis basilisas ine xtenismena me xrisi xtena
The hair the queen-GEN are combed with golden comb
'The hair of the queen is combed with a golden comb'
b. *Ta malia ine ahtenista me hrisi htena
the hair is uncombed with golden comb

IV. *-menos* participles can license *by*-phrases and control into purpose clauses *-tos* ones cannot (see also Lascaratou 1991):

- (17) a. Ta keftedakia ine tiganis-men-a apo tin Maria
The meatballs are fried by the Mary
'The meatballs are fried by Mary'
b. Aftos o pinakas ine zografismenos apo mia
This the painting is painted by a
omadha aktiviston gia na sokarun tus anthropus
group activists-GEN for to shock-pl the people
'This painting is painted by a group of activists in order to shock the people'

- (18) a. *Ta keftedakia ine tigan-ita apo tin Maria
The meatballs are fried by the Mary
b. *Aftos o pinakas ine zografistos apo mia
This the painting is painted by a
omadha aktiviston gia na sokarun tus anthropus
group activists-GEN for to shock-pl the people
'This painting is painted by a group of activists in order to shock the people'

V. There is a difference in 'productivity': not all eventive roots seem to be able to form *-tos* participles, while all eventive ones form *-menos* participles:³

- | | | |
|------------------|---------------|-----------------|
| (19) √KATASTREF- | katestramenos | *katastrep-t-os |
| destroy- | destroyed | |
| √DOLOF- | dolofonimenos | *dolofonitos |
| murder | murdered | |
| √PRASIN | prasinismenos | *prasinistos |
| green | green-ed | |
| √ASPR | asprismenos | *aspristos |
| white | whitened | |
| √DIAVAZ- | diavasmenos | *diavastos |
| read | read | |

³ Activities only marginally form *-menos* participles in Greek, similarly to German. Stative verbs do not form any participles at all, or only *-tos* participles (see Anagnostopoulou 2003). As discussed in Kratzer (1994, 2001), these restrictions are due to the semantics of participles.

3. Two types of *-menos* participles

Kratzer (2001) argues that participles denoting states resulting from prior events do not form a homogeneous class from a semantic point of view. They are divided into two subclasses: *target* and *resultant* state participles (Parsons 1990: 234-235). The former describe states that are in principle reversible; the latter introduce states that hold forever after the event that brings them about. The adverbial *immer noch* 'still' modifies reversible states and is compatible only with target state participles:

- (20) *Target state passives: compatible with 'immer noch'*
- | | | | | | |
|----|-----|--------------|------|------------|------------|
| a. | Die | Geisslein | sind | immer noch | versteckt |
| | The | little goats | are | still | hidden |
| b. | Die | Reifen | sind | immer noch | aufgepumpt |
| | The | tires | are | still | pumped up |

Resultant state participles do not tolerate *immer noch*:

- (21) *Resultant state passives: incompatible with 'immer noch'*
- | | | | | | |
|----|-----|----------|------|---------------|-----------|
| a. | Das | Theorem | ist | (*immer noch) | bewiesen |
| | The | theorem | is | (*still) | proven |
| b. | Der | Kinder | sind | (*immer noch) | gewaschen |
| | The | children | are | (*still) | washed |

Anagnostopoulou (2003), following Kratzer (2001), points out that *-menos* participles can denote target and resultant states:

Target state participles in (22) are compatible with the adverbial *akoma* 'still', while resultant state participles in (23) are incompatible with it:

- | | | | | | | |
|------|----|-----|----------|-----|----------|--------------|
| (22) | a. | Ta | pedhia | ine | akoma | krimena |
| | | The | children | are | still | hidden |
| | b. | Ta | lasticha | ine | akoma | fuskomena |
| | | The | tires | are | still | pumped up |
| (23) | a. | To | theorima | ine | (*akoma) | apodedigmeno |
| | | The | theorem | is | (still) | proven |
| | b. | Ta | ruxa | ine | (*akoma) | stegnomena |
| | | The | clothes | are | (still) | dried |

Target state *-menos* participles do not license agent and instrument PPs and agentive adverbials:

(a) By-phrases and instrument phrases are incompatible with *akoma* 'still':

- (24) a. Ta lastixa ine (*akoma) fuskomena apo tin Maria
 The tires are (still) inflated by the Mary
 'The tires are still inflated by Mary'

- b. Ta lastixa ine (*akoma) fuskomena me tin tromba
 The tires are (still) inflated with the pump
 ‘The tires are still inflated with the pump’

(b) There are two types of manner adverbials (see also fn. 2 above):

- (i) manner adverbs that modify the visible result of an event such as *schlampig* ‘sloppily’ (result-oriented) and
 (ii) manner adverbs that modify the initiator of the action such as *vorsichtig* ‘carefully’ (agent-oriented).

Voice (i.e. agent-oriented) modifiers are incompatible with *akoma* (25), while adverbs denoting the visible result (result-oriented) are compatible with it (26):⁴

- (25) To thisavrofilakioitan (*akoma) prosektika anigmeno
 The safe was (still) cautiously opened
 ‘The safe was still cautiously opened’

- (26) Ta malia mu ine (akoma) atsala xtenismena
 The hair my is still sloppily combed
 ‘My hair is still sloppily combed’

4. Structuring participles

We have identified **three types** of participles:

(I) *-tos* participles:

- no implication of an event (no result-oriented modification, lack of contradictions in context (12), licit as complements of *become*; *make*)
- no agentivity (no agent-oriented modification, no by-phrases and instruments)

(II) *-menos* target state participles:

- implication of an event (diagnosed by result-oriented modification, emergence of contradiction in context (12), illicit as complements of *become*; *make*)
- no agentivity (no agent-oriented modification, no by-phrases and instruments)

(III) *-menos* resultant state participles:

- implication of an event (diagnosed by result-oriented modification, emergence of contradiction in (12), illicit as complements of *become*; *make*)
- agentivity (diagnosed by agent-oriented modification, by-phrases and instruments)

⁴ The same distribution is found in contexts with the verb *parameno* ‘remain’.

In terms of functional layers the above distribution suggests, that *-menos* participles must contain layers that bring about properties that are lacking from *-tos* participles, namely the **implication of an event** and that resultant state *-menos* participles bring about properties that are lacking from target state *-tos* participles, namely **agentivity**.

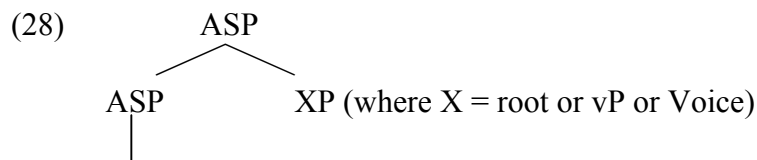
Following much of the recent literature, we take properties such as agentivity and event implications to be located in functional heads, e.g. *v* and/or Voice.

Moreover, following Marantz (1997, 2001), we assume that one place to build words is in the domain of a root, attaching a morpheme to the root before attaching a functional head that determines the syntactic category of the word (N, V, Adj). A second place to build words is outside the domain of functional head that determines syntactic category – the little *v*'s, *n*'s, and *a*'s.



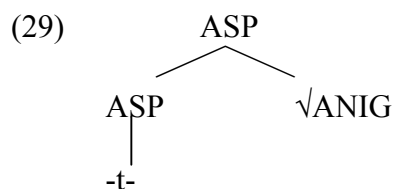
- Turning to the structure of the Greek participles:

We propose that a layer Asp (or stativizer) is present in the structure of all three types (cf. Anagnostopoulou 2003, Embick 2003). Where the three differ is the height of attachment of Asp, root cycle, vs. outer-cycle.⁵



4.1 Decomposition of *-t-os* participles

-t- is an exponent of ASP. Since *-tos* participles lack agentivity and event implications, we take it that they involve root-cycle attachment of Asp:



On this view, *-tos* participles have a structure similar to ‘adjectives’.

- Are there any differences between *-tos* and 'underived' adjectives?

First, as already shown, they have similar functions and appear in similar positions:

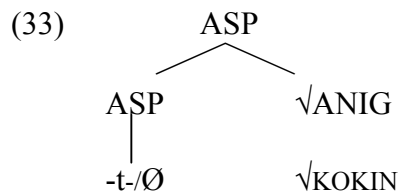
⁵ At this point, we remain agnostic as to whether the stativizer has different semantics in each construction (see Kratzer 2001 for arguments that the target state operator has different semantics than the resultant state one).

- (30) a. To kotopoulo egine vras-to
 The chicken became boiled
 'The chicken was made boiled'
- b. Ekana/ efiaksa to kotopoulo vras-to
 Did-1sg/made-1sg the chicken boiled
 'I made the chicken boiled'
- (31) a. o tihos egine kitrinos
 the wall became yellow
- b. ekana ton tiho kitrino
 I made the wall yellow

Second, many adjectives can take the negative prefix **a-** exactly like the **-tos** formations:

- (32) a. kakos 'bad' a-kakos 'neg-bad'
 dikeos 'just' a-dikos 'neg-just'
 glikos 'sweet' a-glikos 'neg-sweet'
- b. a-graftos a-plitos a-ksiristos
 neg-written neg-washed neg-shaven

In principle we could adopt the structure in (33) for both:



The difference between 'underived' adjectives and *-tos* adjectives could be one at the level of allomorphy, i.e. **-t-** is an ASP exponent that appears with particular types/lists of roots, while \emptyset appears together with a different list of roots.⁶

- | | | | | | | |
|------|-------------|-----------|------------------|---------------|----------|-------------|
| (34) | aspr-iz-o | 'whiten' | aspr-iz-men-os | aspr-os/i/o | 'white' | *tos |
| | kokin-iz-o | 'reddden' | kokin-iz-men-os | kokin-os/i/o | 'red' | *tos |
| | mavr-iz-o | 'blacken' | mavr-iz-men-os | mavr-os/i/o | 'black' | *tos |
| | kitrin-iz-o | 'yellow' | kitrin-iz-men-os | kitrin-os/i/o | 'yellow' | *tos |
| | prasin-iz-o | 'green' | prasin-iz-men-os | prasin-os/i/o | 'green' | *tos |
| | kathar-iz-o | 'clean' | kathar-iz-men-os | kathar-os/i/o | 'clean' | *tos |
| | megal-on-o | 'grow' | megal-o-men-os | megalos | 'big' | *tos |

- Blocking!

⁶ See Embick (2003) for further discussion of the idea that exponents make reference to particular lists.

(35) Spell-out of ASP: Root Cycle⁷

ASP ↔ -Ø/____{√KOKIN/RED/, √KATHAR/CLEAN/ ...}
ASP ↔ -t/____{√ANIG/OPEN, √KLIN/CLOSE/, √VRAZ/BOIL/...}

Alternatively, it can be assumed that there is a difference as far as the encyclopedic meaning of the root is concerned: √KOKIN type roots can be classified as states, while this is not the case with roots like √VRAZ: they become stative in the presence of ASP. If this is correct, then ASP is not really necessary with the former.

- What about the other cases of roots such as √KATASTREF-/DESTROY and √DOLOFON/MURDER/ that cannot form a *-tos* participle?

Such roots necessarily require the presence of Voice (as they are agentive/externally caused, Anagnostopoulou 2003; Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou & Schäfer 2005). Hence it is expected that *-tos* cannot appear with them.

- Internally caused roots do not seem to produce good *-tos* formations either:

(36) *sapistos rotted *adinatistos thin

Such formations are blocked once again by the presence of an adjective:⁸

(37) sapios 'rotten' adinatos 'thin'

4.2 Decomposition of *-men-os* participles

(38) a. anig- anig-**men**-os “opened”, “open”
 b. klin- klis-**men**-os “closed”, “close”

⁷ Note there are certain complications. The analysis in the text suggests that *-tos* attaches only low. But, roots such as √KOKIN/RED/, √KATHAR/CLEAN as well as many others can form participles ending in *-tos* that contain a morpheme signaling the presence of a *v* head; sometimes this is observed only in the negated counterpart:

(i) kokin-os kokin-**is**-t-os ‘red’
(ii) kathar-os a-kathar-t-os a-kathar-**is**-t-os ‘clean’ ‘un-clean’

If, as we do in 4.2, we take *-is/z* as an instantiation of *v*, (i-ii) suggest that probably *-tos*, like *-menos*, can attach high or low, and that it is because of the semantics of the stativizer which is interpreted as generic that we do not get an event implication and hence the licensing of adverbs. The issue awaits further research.

⁸ *-tos* participles do not sound very good after *remain* and *look*:

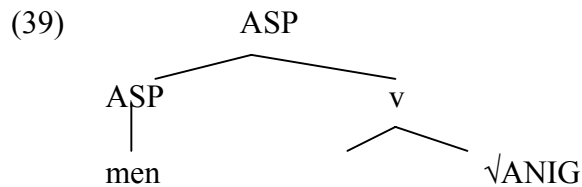
(i) a. *to trapezi parameni skalisto
 the table remains carved
 b. *to kotopulo miazi psito
 the chicken looks grilled

There seems to exist another difference between adjectives and *-tos* participles. This has to do with the fact that *-tos* constructions seem to resist comparative formation **pio vrasto*, ‘more boiled’ **ligotero vrasto* ‘less boiled’, suggesting that these are non-gradable.

-men- is in Asp:⁹

I. target states:

In view of the fact that *-menos* target state participles contain event implications, they must contain v:



Further supportive evidence for the presence of v within target state participles in Greek:

(i) the morphological decomposition of Greek verbs containing **-iz-** suggests that a further head is present in these structures:

(40)	aspr-iz-o	'whiten'	aspr-iz-men-os	aspr-os/i/o	'white'	*tos
	kokin-iz-o	'redden'	kokin-iz-men-os	kokin-os/i/o	'red'	*tos
	mavr-iz-o	'blacken'	mavr-iz-men-os	mavr-os/i/o	'black'	*tos
	kitrin-iz-o	'yellow'	kitrin-iz-men-os	kitrin-os/i/o	'yellow'	*tos

Alexiadou (2001) proposed that *-iz* is an overt reflex of an eventive v.

(ii) As mentioned above, there are different types of manner adverbs: those that modify the initiator of an event, and those that modify the result state. Taking adverbs to be licensed by functional heads only, this suggests that result states manner adverbs modify v, while initiator related manner adverbs modify Voice. Only the former are present within target states in Greek:

(41)	a.	Ta mallia mu ine	akoma	atsala	htenismena
		The hair my are	still	sloppily	combed
	b.	*Ta mallia mu ine	akoma	prosektika	htenismena
		The hair my are	still	sloppily	combed

(iii) 'verbs' that do not have transitive counterparts e.g. *anti-iz-o* 'blossom', *sap-iz-o* 'rot' can form *-menos* participles. These are derived from internally caused roots and have been argued to never combine with Voice (Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou & Schäfer 2005):

(42)	a.	i kersia	ine anthismeni
		the cherry tree is	blossomed

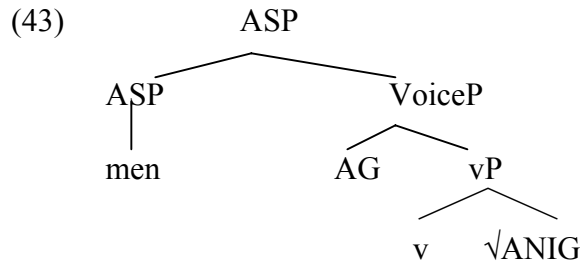
⁹ It could be argued that *men* is a v/Voice marker (not a stativizer), as this is the affix used in Classical Greek for the formation of the middle and passive participle which had different aspects. However, *-men-* cannot be argued to spell-out agentive voice with target state participles. Moreover, internally caused verbs that never combine with Voice can form *-menos* participles, see (42).

- b. to sidero ine sapismeno
the iron is rotten]

II. resultant states:

Resultant states do not only contain event implications, but also agentivity. Hence they must contain VoiceP in addition to vP. Voice licenses agent-PPs, instrument-PPs and agent-oriented adverbs like *prosektika* ‘carefully’.

-men- is in Asp:



- (44) a. Spell-out of ASP: Root Cycle

ASP ↔ -t/____{√ANIG/OPEN, √KLIN/CLOSE/, √VRAZ/BOIL/...}

- b. Spell-out of ASP: Outer-cycle

ASP ↔ *men*

5. Differences between Greek and English/German resultant state participles

While target state participles seem to behave alike in Greek and German, Greek resultant state *-menos* participles crucially differ from their counterparts in English and German (see Kordoni 2002, Anagnostopoulou 2003).

I. Agent PPs and control into purpose clauses are not licensed with participles in these two languages but they are in Greek:

- (45) The metal is hammered by John *only eventive passive*

- (46) a. *Der Fisch war von Maria gebraten
The fish was by Mary fried
‘The fish was fried by Mary’

- b. *Die Tür war von den Polizisten geöffnet
The door was by the policemen opened
‘The door was opened by the policemen’

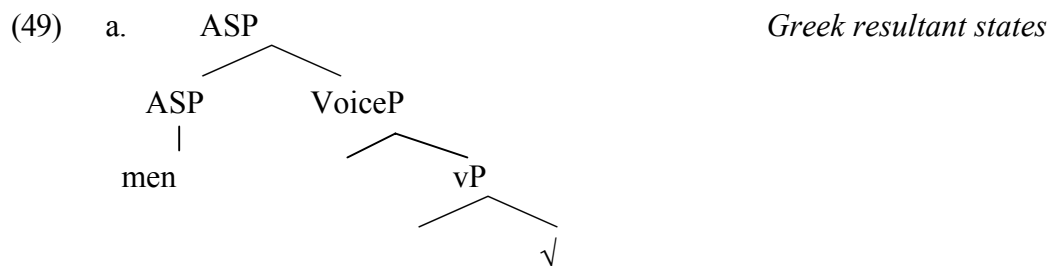
(47) Das Kind ist schlampig gekämmt
 The child is sloppily combed
 (*um die Großmutter zu schockieren)
 (in order the grandmother to shock)
 ‘The child is sloppily combed in order to shock the grandmother’

II. Adverbial modification: adverbs that are sensitive to the presence of Voice (agentive features) can be licensed in Greek *-menos* participles, but not in German/English:

(48) Ihre Haare sind mit einem goldenen Kamm gekämmt
 Her hair are with a golden comb combed
 ‘Her hair is combed with a golden comb’

Both languages license result state manner adverbs.

- The above contrasts suggest that the structure of Greek participles differs from their English and German counterparts.
- Arguably, this relates to the presence vs. absence of Voice.



Problem: this would suggest that the structure of German resultant state participles is identical to the structure of Greek target states participles. However, target state participles do not differ, i.e. they behave alike in these two languages.

In principle, there are two options to account for this:

- (i) assume that in German the difference between resultant states and target states is localized in the semantics of the roots.

Or (ii) suggest that both in Greek and German target states lack functional layers (see Anagnostopoulou 2003), which would create a problem with the morphological decomposition of the Greek participles, i.e. the assumption that *-iz-* is located in *v*.

6. Remaining questions

- What are the exact restrictions on the *-tos* formation?

Hard to answer.

- What is the difference between *-menos* constructions and the verbal passives?

Anagnostopoulou (2003): 'Greek adjectival participles differ from verbal synthetic passives only with respect to eventiveness/stativity and not with respect to the presence / absence of an implicit external argument'.

For several researchers, the interpretation of the BE + Participle construction comes close to that of the HAVE+ Pass. Participle yielding the interpretation of the passive perfect, Perfect of Result:

- (50) a. To grama ehi grafti
the letter has been written
b. To gramma ine grameno
The letter is written

Further research is necessary in order to determine the differences and the similarities between the two constructions.

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