

A-dependencies and the morphosyntax of voice¹

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Goal: to consider the morphosyntax of non-active voice in Greek/Albanian and consider the implications for the A-dependencies and movement in particular.

1. A-movement: General remarks

- Passives

- (1) a. *The apples* were eaten ~~the apples~~ (by John).
b. [_{IP} The apples [_I were [_(VP) [_{VP} eaten ~~the apples~~]]]]

Background: a) the external argument is demoted (realized as a *by*-phrase), b) the verb cannot assign Case, b) the passive participle is different (abstractly) from the past participle (as in *John has eaten the apples*), c) the internal argument is promoted (A-movement) to the EPP position (Spec,IP) via movement; *-en* is an argument (Jaeggli 1986, Baker, Johnson & Roberts 1989).

- Anticausatives

- (2) a. John opened *the door*. (Active)
b. *The door* was opened (by John). (Passive)
c. *The door* opened (*by John). (Anticausative)

(2b) and (2c): promotion of the internal argument to the EPP position; the structures are otherwise different (no passive affix and no *by*-phrase available in (2c)). Movement?

- Reflexives

- (3) a. *John* likes *himself*.
b. *John* washes/shaves (*himself*)

(3a): an A-dependency without movement. (3b): inherently reflexive reading.

Some standard observations: a) English has no synthetic passive voice; b) Anticausatives are formed with the active voice; c) Reflexives cannot be passivized.

Greek (Modern): Active vs. passive voice, anticausatives, reflexives:

- (4) a. O Janis anikse tin porta.
The John opened-3s the door
'John opened the door.'
b. I porta anikse (apo ton aera/?* apo ton Jani)
the door opened-3s (from the wind/from the John)
'The door opened (from the wind/*by John).'

- c. I porta anixtike (apo ton klidhara)
the door opened-pass-3sg (from the locksmith)
'The door was opened (by the locksmith).'

¹ This presentation is part of joint work with M. Rita Manzini and Leonardo Savoia of the University of Florence (Manzini, M.R., A. Roussou, and L.M. Savoia (to appear)).

- (5) a. (o Janis) plenete/ plithike
 the John wash-3s.pass/washed-pass-3sg
 ‘John is (being) washed/ John was washed’
 ‘John washes (himself)/ John washed (himself)’
 b. To aftokinito plithike (apo ti vroxi/apo ton Jani).
 the car washed-pass-3s (from the rain/from the John)
 ‘The car got washed (with the rain)/ was washed (by John)’

- Three possible readings:
 a) passive, b) reflexive (‘middle’), c) anticausative. The passive reading arises in all cases (deponents aside); the reflexive seems to require an animate subject; the anticausative is not tied to voice morphology. Make use of the term non-active voice (NACT).
- Voice morphology:
 active vs. non-active with further variation in the realization of the latter.
- Each NACT morphology is compatible with any of the three meanings and vice-versa.

Some questions that arise

- What do these data imply for the standard A-movement approach, assuming that the basic property of all three readings is the association of an internal argument with the EPP position?
- What is the relationship between syntax and morphology and between morphosyntax and LF?
- Is meaning built inside syntax, or is it syntax that constrains meaning?

2. The empirical evidence I: Greek

I. Morphology

The morphologies: (a) examples = NACT voice, (b) examples = active voice

Present (imperfective)

(6)	a.	plen-	ome/	ese/	ete/	omaste/	osaste/	onde
		wash	1sg	2sg	3sg	1pl	2pl	3pl
			‘I am (being) washed’, etc.					
	b.	plen-	o/	is/	i/	ume/	ete/	un(e)
		wash	1sg	2sg	3sg	1pl	2pl	3pl
			‘I am washing/I wash (someone)’ etc.					

Past imperfective

(7)	a.	plen-	omun/	osun/	otan/	omastan/	ostastan/	ondan
		wash	1sg	2sg	3sg	1pl	2pl	3pl
			‘I was being washed’ etc.					
	b.	(e)plen-	a/	es/	e/	ame/	ate/	an
		wash(ed)	1sg	2sg	3sg	1pl	2pl	3pl
			‘I was washing (somebody)’ etc.					

- Perfective aspect: the affix *-th* (or its allophones) and active voice inflections:

Past perfective

(8)	a.	pli-	th-	ik-	a/	es/	e/	ame/	ate/	an
		wash	NACT	past	1sg	2sg	2sg	1pl	2pl	3pl
			‘I was washed’ etc.							
	b.	(e)plin-		a/	es/	e/	ame/	ate/	an	
		wash		1sg	2sg	3sg	1pl	2pl	3pl	

‘I washed (someone)’ etc.

Perfective ‘dependent’ forms (non-past; see Holton *et al* 1999)

(9)	a.	pli-	th-		o/	is/	i/	ume/	ete/	un
		wash	NACT		1sg	2sg	3sg	1pl	2pl	3pl
		‘I am washed’			etc.					
	b.	plin-			o/	is/	i/	ume/	ete/	un
		wash		1sg	2sg	3sg	1pl	2pl	3pl	
		‘I wash (somebody)’			etc.					

(i) The dependent form has to be preceded by a particle (*na, tha, as*), a free relative pronoun, certain temporal conjunctions or adverbs; (ii) Perfective aspect here is marked through vowel raising – in other cases it is marked by the affix *-s* following the stem (*akuo ~ aku-s-o* ‘hear’), by vowel raising and *-s* (*dhino ~ dhoso* ‘give’), by suppletion (*troo ~ fao* ‘eat’).

Ralli (2005): *th-* and *thik-* are allomorphs; Philippaki-Warburton (1973): *th-* is the voice affix, *-ik* is past tense (see also Spyropoulos & Revithiadou 2009 for the latter).

- The affix *th-* and specialized NACT inflection are mutually excluded, i.e. **plith-ome*, **plith-omun*; Ralli (2005) there is a constraint that blocks the co-occurrence of two affixes with the same feature (here NACT voice).

Perfect:

The verb *exo* and the ‘participle’ in *-i* (Hesse 1980, Joseph 1983); voice is marked on the participle (which is syncretic with 3rd singular perfective ‘dependent’):

(10)	a.	ex	-o/ -is/ -i/ -ume/ -ete/ -un	<i>pli-th-i.</i>
		have	1sg etc.	wash- NACT -Infl
		‘I have been washed’		
	b.	ex	-o/ -is/ -i/ -ume/ -ete/ -un	<i>plin-i</i>
		have	1sg etc.	wash-Infl
		‘I have washed (somebody)’		

Formations with the inflected participle *-menos* are also available (Veloudis 1991); in this case voice is marked through auxiliary choice, i.e. *ime* ‘be’ for NACT, *exo* ‘have’ for active:

(11)	a.	ime <i>plimenos/plimeni/plimeno</i>		
		am washed-sg.masc/fem/neut		
		‘I am washed.’		
	b.	(ta)	<i>plimena</i>	(ta ruxa)
		them	have-1sg washed.pl-neut	the clothes
		‘I have the clothes washed.’		

II. Interpretations

Three possible interpretations associated with NACT voice, depending on the predicate, the subject, the presence/absence of a *by*-phrase, etc.:

(12)	a.	O Janis trip- <i>j-ete.</i>	
		the John prick-3sg.NACT	
	b.	O Janis trip <i>ithike</i>	/exi thrip <i>ithi</i>
		the John pricked-NACT-past-3sg	has pricked-NACT-3sg

- (i) Passive: John is being/was pricked (by the doctor).
- (ii) Reflexive: John is pricking/pricked himself.
- (iii) Anticausative: John is being/was pricked (accidentally) with the needle.

All NACT morphologies (specialized inflection and *th*-formations) give rise to all readings; [See also Manney 2000, Tsimpli 2005, 2006, Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 2004].

III. The pattern and the questions that arise

- Specialized agreement vs. active agreement with *th*-.
- The split is regulated by aspect (perfective).
- What are the properties of *th*- and specialized agreement, such that the presence of the former excludes the latter and vice versa? (cf. **di-th-ome*).
- How do these morphological realizations correlate with syntax?
- How do these morphologies correlate with the English passive affix *-en* (if they do)?

3. The empirical evidence II: Albanian (Standard and dialects)

I. Morphology

Data from *Gjirokastër* (a Tosk variety, essentially the Standard) and from *Shkodër* (a Geg variety) [IPA transcription used] – (h)ε = the NACT affix.²

Present imperfective

(13) *Gjirokastër*

a.	la-	(h)ε-	m/	f/	t/	mi/	ni/	n
	wash	NACT	1sg	2sg	3sg	1pl	2pl	3pl
	'I am being washed'		etc.					
b.	la-		i/	n/	n/	imə/	ni/	inə
	wash		1sg	2sg	3sg	1pl	2pl	3pl
	'I wash (something)'		etc.					
a'.	viʃ-	(h)ε-	m/	f/	t/	mi/	ni/	nə
	dress	NACT	1sg	2sg	3sg	1pl	2pl	3pl
	'I am being dressed'		etc.					
b'.	vεʃ		-/	-/	-/	im/	ni/	in
	dress		1sg	2sg	3sg	1pl	2pl	3pl
	'I dress (somebody)'		etc.					

(14) *Shkodër*

a.	lɑ-	hε-	m/	f/	t/	na/	ni/	n
	wash	NACT	1sg	2sg	3sg	1pl	2pl	3pl
	'I am being washed'		etc.					
b.	lɑ-		i/	n/	n/	im/	ni/	in
	wash		1sg	2sg	3sg	1pl	2pl	3pl
	'I wash (something)'		etc.					
a'.	veʃ-	ε-	m/	f/	t/	na/	ni/	n
	dress	NACT	1sg	2sg	3sg	1pl	2pl	3pl
	'I am being dressed'		etc.					

² For more data see Manzini & Savoia (2008).

- b'. veʃ- *i*
 ve:ʃ
 ve:ʃ
 veʃ- *im*
 veʃ- *ni*
 veʃ- *in*
 dress 1sg etc.
 'I dress (somebody)' etc.

The person inflections in the (a) and (a') examples are specialized for the NACT voice.

Perfective past (aorist)

(15) *Gjirokastër*

- | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|------|-------|----------|----------------------|-----------|-----------|-------------|------------|------------|
| a. | u | la- | it- | <i>a/</i> | <i>ɛ/</i> | <i>-/</i> | <i>əm/</i> | <i>ət/</i> | <i>ən</i> |
| | NACT | wash | PAST | 1sg | 2sg | 3sg | 1pl | 2pl | 3pl |
| | | | | 'I was washed' etc. | | | | | |
| b. | ɛ | la- | it- | <i>i</i> | | | | | |
| | it | wash | PAST | 3sg | | | | | |
| | | | | 'He washed it' | | | | | |
| a'. | u | veʃ- | | <i>a/</i> | <i>ɛ/</i> | <i>-/</i> | <i>əmə/</i> | <i>ət/</i> | <i>ənə</i> |
| | NACT | dress | | 1sg | 2sg | 3sg | 1pl | 2pl | 3pl |
| | | | | 'I was dressed' etc. | | | | | |
| b'. | ɛ | veʃ- | <i>i</i> | | | | | | |
| | him | dress | 3sg | | | | | | |
| | | | | 'He dressed him' | | | | | |

(16) *Shkodër*

- | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|------|-------|----------|----------------------|------|--|--|--|--|
| a. | u | lɔ- | v- | <i>a</i> | | | | | |
| | u | lɔ- | v- | <i>ɛ</i> | | | | | |
| | u | lɔ: | | | | | | | |
| | u | lɔ- | | <i>mɛ</i> | | | | | |
| | u | lɔ:- | | <i>t</i> | | | | | |
| | u | lɔ- | | <i>nɛ</i> | | | | | |
| | NACT | wash | PAST | 1sg | etc. | | | | |
| | | | | 'I was washed' etc. | | | | | |
| b. | ɛ | la- | <i>u</i> | | | | | | |
| | it | wash | 3sg | | | | | | |
| | | | | 'He washed it' | | | | | |
| a'. | u | veʃ- | | <i>a</i> | | | | | |
| | u | veʃ- | | <i>ɛ</i> | | | | | |
| | u | veʃ | | | | | | | |
| | u | veʃ- | | <i>mɛ</i> | | | | | |
| | u | veʃ- | | <i>t</i> | | | | | |
| | u | veʃ- | | <i>nɛ</i> | | | | | |
| | NACT | dress | | 1sg | etc. | | | | |
| | | | | 'I was dressed' etc. | | | | | |

b'. ε veʃ- i
 it dress 3sg
 'He dressed him'

- The person/agreement inflections are those of the active voice; NACT voice is formed with the clitic *u* – similar to Romance *si/se* (but the same for all persons in both numbers). Substituting *u* for the object clitic *ε* gives rise to an active (transitive) syntax.

The split in the realization of voice seems to be regulated by aspect, as in Greek. But:

Past imperfective:

(17) *Gjirokastër*

a.	la-	(h)ε-	ʃ-	a/	ε/	-/	im/	it/	in
	wash	NACT	past	1sg	2sg	3sg	1pl	2pl	3pl
	'I was being washed' etc.								
b.	ε	la-	j-	a					
			j-	ε					
			n-	tε					
			n-	im					
			n-	it					
			n-	in					
	it	wash	past	1sg	etc				
	'I was washing it' etc.								
a'.	viʃ-	ε-	ʃ-	a/	ε/	-/	im/	it/	in
	dress	NACT	past	1sg	2sg	3sg	1pl	2pl	3pl
	'I was being dressed' etc.								
b'.	viʃ-	j-	a						
		j-	ε						
			tε						
			n-	im					
			n-	it					
			n-	in					
	dress	Past	1sg	etc.					
	'I was dressing (somebody)' etc.								

(18) *Shkodër*

a.	u	/ε	lɔ-	ʃ-	a				
				ʃ-	ε				
					tε				
				ʃ-	im				
				ʃ-	it				
				ʃ-	in				
	NACT	/it	wash	past.impf	1sg	etc.			
	'I was being washed/ I was washing it' etc.								
b.	u/	ε	veʃ-	ʃ-	a				
				ʃ-	ε				
					tε				

ɤ-	<i>im</i>
ɤ-	<i>it</i>
ɤ-	<i>in</i>

NACT /him dress past.impf 1sg etc.
‘I was being dressed/ I was dressing it’ etc.

- In the Tosk dialects the split in the realization of NACT voice is conditioned by (perfective) aspect, while in the Geg varieties it is conditioned by tense (past).

Perfect

Voice is marked through auxiliary choice: *jam* ‘be’ for NACT, and *kam* ‘have’ for active, both followed by the same participle.

(19) Gjirokastër

- | | | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------|-------------|-------------|------------|-----------|
| a. | əʃt | <i>la-</i> | <i>it-</i> | <i>ur</i> | |
| | is | wash | prf | prt | |
| | ‘He has been washed’ | | | | |
| b. | ε | <i>ka</i> | <i>la-</i> | <i>it-</i> | <i>ur</i> |
| | it | has | wash | prf | prt |
| | ‘He has washed it’ | | | | |
| a’. | əʃt | <i>vɛf-</i> | <i>ur</i> | | |
| | is | dress | prt | | |
| | ‘He has been dressed’ | | | | |
| b’. | ε | <i>ka</i> | <i>vɛf-</i> | <i>ur</i> | |
| | him | has | dress | prt | |
| | ‘He has washed him’ | | | | |

(20) Shkodër

- | | | | | |
|----|------------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| a. | əʃt | <i>lɔ:/</i> | <i>ve:f</i> | |
| | is | washed/ | dressed | |
| | ‘He has been washed/dressed’ | | | |
| b. | ε | <i>kɔ</i> | <i>lɔ:/</i> | <i>ve:f</i> |
| | him | has | washed/ | dressed |
| | ‘He has washed/ dressed him’ | | | |

[For more details on the participial morphology, see Manzini & Savoia 2007].

Shkodër (Geg) uses the bare form of the verb, which coincides with the 2nd and 3rd person of the present, while Gjirokastër (Tosk) has a distinct participial form (the *-r* participle).

Arbëresh dialects (of the Tosk type, spoken in Southern Italy): *Portocannone* has the NACT affix *-x-* also in the perfective past in (21c) along with the *u* clitic (the morphological constraint of Ralli (2005) for Greek cannot obviously hold here).

(21) *Portocannone*

- | | | | | | | | | | |
|----|----------------------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|------------|------------|------------|-----------|
| a. | <i>la-</i> | <i>xɛ-</i> | <i>m/</i> | <i>f/</i> | <i>t/</i> | <i>mi/</i> | <i>ni/</i> | <i>n</i> | |
| | wash | NACT | 1sg/ | 2sg | 3sg | 1pl | 2pl | 3pl | |
| | ‘I am being washed’ | | | | | | | | |
| b. | <i>la-</i> | <i>x-</i> | <i>f-</i> | <i>a/</i> | <i>ɛ/</i> | <i>i/</i> | <i>əm/</i> | <i>ət/</i> | <i>ən</i> |
| | wash.up | NACT | impf | 1sg/ | 2sg | 3sg | 1pl | 2pl | 3pl |
| | ‘I was being washed’ | | | etc. | | | | | |

c.	u	la-	x-	tʃ/	ɛ/	-/	əm/	ət/	ən
	NACT	wash	NACT	1sg/	2sg	3sg	1pl	2pl	3pl
				‘I was washed’ etc.					
d.	ɛ	la-	v-	a/	ɛ/	i/	əm/	ət/	ən
	it	wash	past	1sg	etc.				
	‘I washed it’			etc.					

Perfect

(22)	a.	atɔ	kiʃən	u	la-	x-	ur
		they	had	NACT	wash-NACT-prt		
		‘They had washed themselves’					
	b.	atɔ	kiʃən	ɛ	la-	it-	ur
		they	had	it	wash	perf	prt
		‘They had washed it’					

As in Greek, voice is not distinguished by auxiliary choice but by the main verb/participle.

II. Interpretations

Passive, reflexive, anticausative (as in Greek), plus the impersonal (cf. *si*). All readings available with all morphologies:

(23) *Gjirokastër*

a.	zʃu-	(h)ɛ-	t	b.	zʃu-	(h)ɛ-	ʃ
	wake	NACT	3sg		wake	NACT	past
	‘He wakes up’				‘He was waking up’		
c.	u	zʃɔ-	it	d.	əʃt	zʃu-	ar
	NACT	wake	prf		he.is	wake	prt
	‘He woke up’				‘He has woken up’		

(24) *Shkodër*

a.	tʃo-	hɛ-	t	b.	u	tʃo-	tɛ
	wake	NACT	3sg		NACT	wake	3sg
	‘He wakes up’				‘He was waking up’		
c.	u	tʃu:		d.	əʃt	tʃu:	
	NACT	woke			he.is	woken	
	‘He woke up’				‘He has woken up’		

- (i) Passive: He is/was/has been woken up by the others.
Reflexive: He is waking/woke/has woken himself up.
Anticausative: He is waking/woke/has woken up (accidentally).

- The impersonal reading (‘one’) is also available (so it can attach to intransitive unergatives; no *by*-phrase is available):

(25) *Gjirokastër*

a.	ati	flə-	(h)ɛ-	t	mir
	there	sleep-NACT	-3sg		well
	‘There one sleeps well’				

- b. ati u fiɛt mir
 there NACT slept well
 ‘There one slept well’

- Also with unaccusatives:

(26) *Gjirokastër*

- a. nga ati dil- ɛ- t
 from there exit- NACT -3sg
 ‘One exits from there’
- a’. ai del
 he exits
 ‘He exits’
- b. nga ati u dɔð
 from there NACT exited
 ‘One exited from there’
- b’. ai dɔð- i
 he exited-3sg
 ‘He exited’
- c. nga ati ɛʃt dalə mir
 from there it.is exited well
 ‘One has exited well from there’
- c’. ka dalə
 he.has gone
 ‘He has exited’

III. Questions

- The ones raised for Greek, plus
- Why is aux *jam* incompatible with the clitic *u*?

Summarizing the picture

(27) *The patterns*

	<i>NACT specialized inflection</i>	<i>u/-th and ACT inflection</i>	<i>Perfect tenses</i>
MG	Imperfective (present, past)	Perfective (present, past)	<i>exo+ V-th-i</i> (perfective)
Tosk	Imperfective (present, past)	Perfective (past)	<i>jam+V(-it-u)r</i> participle
Geg	Present	Past	<i>jam+ participle =verb base</i>

Some generalizations

- Specialized NACT inflection and *th-/u* are incompatible.
- Auxiliary *jam* ‘be’ *u* are incompatible (but *kam* ‘have’ isn’t; see *Portocannone*).

4. The morphosyntax

4.1. Specialized inflections

- Greek and Albanian are pro-drop languages. Person/agreement inflections realize the EPP feature/property (corresponding to the external, internal argument, or an expletive).

(28) a. (I Maria) plen-i ta ruxa.
 the Mary wash-3s the clothes
 “Mary/she washes the clothes.”

- The object clitic ε = the internal argument (y) of the participle (cf. restructuring).
- The EPP argument is realized by the matrix finite inflection (the embedded EPP is just a variable for the purposes of interpretation, which is bound by the matrix one; cf. control).

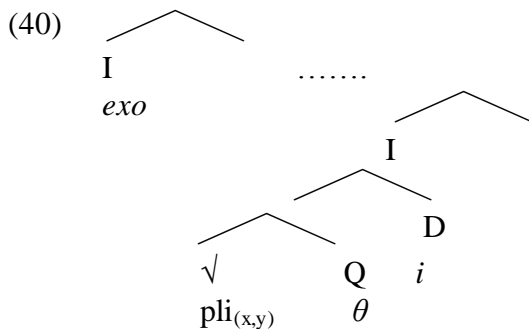
(38) *ton exo plini* ‘I have washed him’

- The same structure as in (37); *plini* is a bare verb base (alternatively, *-i* takes its referential properties from the matrix finite inflection; again control-like).

NACT voice: Greek

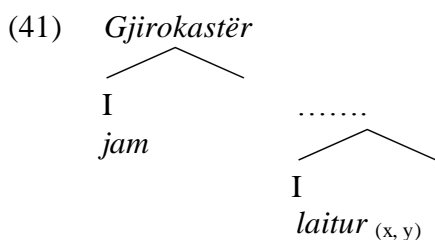
(39) *exo plithi* ‘I have been washed’

- The affix *-th* realizes the internal argument which is itself a variable, bound by the EPP inside the morphological structure. Since *-i* is also a variable, it ultimately gets bound by the matrix finite inflection. So the chain extends beyond the morphological level to the syntactic one.



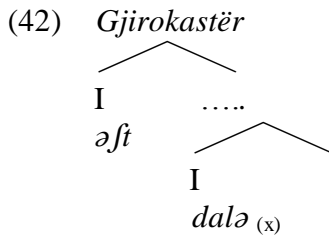
NACT voice: Albanian

The auxiliary *jam* with a participle; *jam* as a raising verb (after Moro 1997) (cf. the difference from *kam/exo* ‘have’ above):



The internal argument is associated with the embedded EPP and from there with the matrix EPP, while the external argument remains unassociated.

- The same participle has an active construal when embedded under *kam* as in (37), but a NACT construal when embedded under *jam* as in (41): each construal depends on some selectional constraint imposed by *kam* and/or *jam*.
- The unaccusative *dal* ‘I go out’ has an impersonal reading when embedded under *jam*, but all other interpretations when embedded under *kam*. In the first case, the single argument (theme) is assigned to the EPP position, which is a variable (due to the participle); this variable is bound by a generic operator which then passes on the matrix EPP with which it forms a chain:



(43) *ka dalə* ‘he has exited’: here voice, but not valency, i.e. (in)transitivity, is selected for.

- *Jam* selects for an embedded structure containing a certain type of variable (generic, or existentially bound as in passives, or unassigned as in anticausatives): *jam* selects for a ‘reduced’ argument structure in its participial complement. This also explains the incompatibility of *jam* with the clitic *u*.
- *Kam/exo* selects for predicates with a closed argument structure, in the sense that no free variables or generically closed ones are instantiated within it. Greek *exo*: either with active voice (where the argument structure closes at the syntactic level) or with *-th* (at the morphosyntactic level).
- In Arbëresh varieties: *kam* and the clitic *u*.

Conclusions

- Specialized NACT inflection conditioned by aspect or tense. When specialized inflection is not present, the person inflections are those of the active, and NACT takes the form of a clitic (Albanian *u*) or an affix (Greek *-th*). Perfect tenses further show an interaction between NACT realizations and auxiliary selection.
- Each morphosyntactic realization is compatible with a range of NACT interpretations (passive, reflexive, anticausative, and impersonal in Albanian).
- Specialized inflection is akin to participial agreement (‘absolutive’). The clitic *u* and the affix *-th* realize the internal argument – variables bound by the EPP slot.
- Morphosyntax constrains meaning; ambiguity is available at LF (cf. Cinque & Rizzi (2008) on ‘syntacticization’).

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