Verbalizers and the morphosyntax of Greek verbal stems

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Category-less roots first combine with the category-defining head v, which in turn combines with (other) functional heads in the extended verbal projection. This common theory of verbal morphosyntax, originating in Marantz (1997, 2001), has been extremely popular in works on (Modern) Greek verbs couched in Distributed Morphology (DM) and related frameworks (Galani 2005; Spyropoulos and Revithiadou 2009; Merchant 2015; Spyropoulos, Revithiadou, and Panagiotidis 2015; Panagiotidis et al. 2017; Christopoulos and Petrosino 2018; Markopoulos 2018; Pavlou 2018; Alexiadou 2021; Grestenberger 2022; Paparounas 2024, i.a.) Greek has recently even been claimed to lend explicit support for this theory, due to its 'verbalizers', which have been argued to be clear exponents of (and therefore clear evidence for) the category-defining head *v* (Spyropoulos, Revithiadou, and Panagiotidis 2015; Panagiotidis et al. 2017). In this talk, I argue that a closer look at the properties of Greek verbalizers actually reveals both feature-related and structure-related problems for the applicability of this theory to Greek verbs. I show that i) the evidence for Greek verbalizers being exponents of *v* is not as clear as one might have hoped, as the most straightforward predictions that this hypothesis makes about the distribution of verbalizers are actually not borne out, and ii) though verbalizers may indeed linearly mediate between the base and the inflection markers, all the available evidence speaks against conceiving of verbalizers as being associated with a morphosyntactic position that structurally mediates between the root and functional features like aspect and voice. In view of these conclusions, I offer an alternative theory of the morphosyntax of Greek verbal stems that is compatible with the general architectural assumptions of DM.