

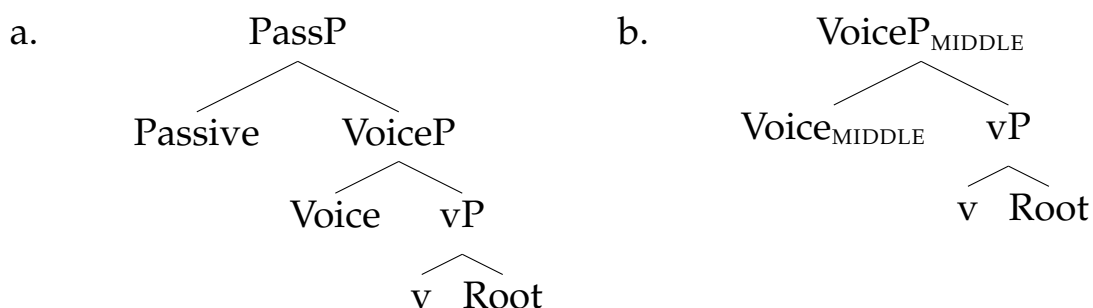
“Low passives” and the inchoative-to-passive reanalysis in Greek and Sanskrit

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NELS 48, University of Iceland, Reykjavík, 27–29 Oct. 2017

1 Introduction

Fig.1 Two ways to go passive (Alexiadou et al. 2015)



a.: Gmn., Engl.: PassP selects Voice[+ext.arg] (cp. Collins 2005, Bruening 2013)

b.: Greek, Albanian: Voice[+/-ext.arg.] selects v_{CAUSE} , v_{BECOME} , etc.

(1) Spell-Out of NonAct/“Middle” (Alexiadou et al. 2015):
 Voice \rightarrow Voice[NonAct]/_ No DP specifier

- (Non-)active morphology = sensitive to Voice[+/-ext.arg.]
- active morphology = “elsewhere” (also emerges when Voice is absent, e.g., in unaccusatives & statives; Kallulli 2013).

Canonical contexts of non-active/“middle” morphology (“voice syncretism”, Embick 1998, 2004; cf. Kemmer 1993, Kaufmann 2007, Alexiadou and Doron 2012, Alexiadou 2013, Alexiadou et al. 2015):

- (2)
- Anticausatives
 - Reflexives/reciprocals
 - Self-benefactives
 - Dispositional/generic constructions
 - Passives (Mediopassives)**

- Passive = one of the **canonical functions** of non-active inflection in Classical Greek (CG) & Vedic Sanskrit (VS) → “**inflectional passive**”
- But VS & CG also have a “passive” *suffix* closer to the root & co-occurring with Act/NAct inflection on the endings → “**derivational passive**”
 - only in the present (VS) or aorist (CG)

(3) Two types of passive, Vedic (A = “augment”; +past)

a. Inflectional (aorist)	b. Derivational (present)
<i>á-sto-ṣ-ṭa</i>	<i>bhri-yá-te</i>
A-praise-PFV-3SG.PAST.NACT “he/she was/got praised”	carry-IPFV.PASS-3S.PRES.NACT “he/she is/gets carried”

(4) Two types of passive, Greek

a. Inflectional (present)	b. Derivational (aorist)
<i>theín-o-mai</i>	<i>e-dú-thē-n</i>
strike-IPFV-1SG.PRES.NACT “I am/get struck, hit”	A-sink-PFV.PASS-1SG.PAST.ACT “I was sunk”

- Do VS and CG have PassP *and* VoiceP?
- Why does PASS co-occur with NAct in VS but with Act in CG?

2 Proposal

- Vedic & Greek have only *one* Voice head—Fig. 1(b)
- Their derivational passives developed independently out of stative/inchoative *v*'s via **reanalysis**, giving the impression of a “**low PassP**”
 - Greek *-thē-* realizes *v*+Asp (cf. Merchant 2015); is never selected by Voice
 - Vedic *-yá-* realizes (a flavor of) *v*; is selected by Voice

3 Inflectional vs. derivational passives: Vedic & Greek

- Vedic: Derivational passive takes **non-active** endings

Vedic inflectional passive: RV 1.77.5a-b:

- (5) *evá agnír gótamebhir (...)*
 thus Agni.NOM Gotama.INSTR.PL
a-sto-ṣ-ṭa jātavedāḥ
 A-praise-AOR-3SG.PAST.NACT Jātavedas.NOM
 “Thus has Agni, the Jātavedas, been praised by the Gotamas (...).”

Vedic derivational passive: RV 9.81.12d:

- (6) *s_uāyudhāḥ sotṛbhiḥ*
 with.good.weapons.NOM.SG presser.INSTR.PL
pū-ya-te vṛṣā
 purify-V.PASS-3SG.PRES.NACT bull.NOM.SG
 “The bull of good weapons is purified by the pressers.”

- Greek derivational passive takes **active** endings

Greek inflectional passive: Homer, *Iliad* 6.56–7:

- (7) *ê soî árista pepoiē-tai katà*
 PTCL you.DAT best.NOM.PL do.PERF-3SG.NACT towards
oīkon pròs Tróōn
 house.ACC from/by Trojan.GEN.PL
 “(So) were the best things done to you in your house by the Trojans?”

Greek derivational passive: Herodotus, *Histories* 1.87.1:

- (8) *eí tí hoi kekharisménon eks autoũ*
 if anything.NOM.N him.DAT pleasing.NOM of self.GEN
e-dōrē-thē ...
 A-give-V.PASS.3SG.PAST.NACT
 “If anything pleasing had (ever) been given to him_i by him_j ...”

- (9) Inflectional vs. derivational passives: summary

Properties	Vedic		Greek	
	infl.	deriv.	infl.	deriv.
Acc.obj. → nom.subj.	✓	✓	✓	✓
Demoted agent → adjunct NP	✓ (INSTR)	✓ (INSTR)	? (prep.+GEN)	? (prep.+GEN)
Eventive	✓	✓	✓	✓

Problems:

- Greek “passive” *-(th)ē-* also found in statives/inchoatives, in Homer

and up until Classical Greek

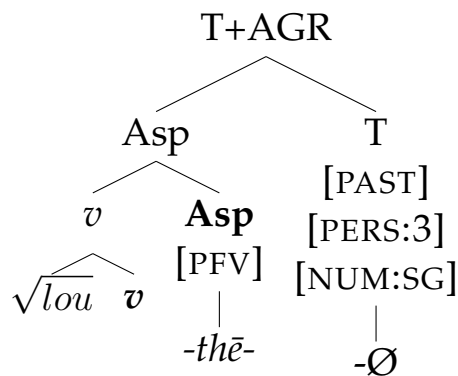
- *hupó* + gen. ‘from, under’, *apó* + gen. ‘from’, *ek* + gen. ‘out of’, *pará* + gen. ‘from’, *prós* + gen., dat. ‘from, by’, etc.
- Formally active unaccusatives can also express the agent/cause of the verbal event through with the same prepositions

→ The Greek derivational passive looks a lot more like an unaccusative/stative construction than its Vedic counterpart.

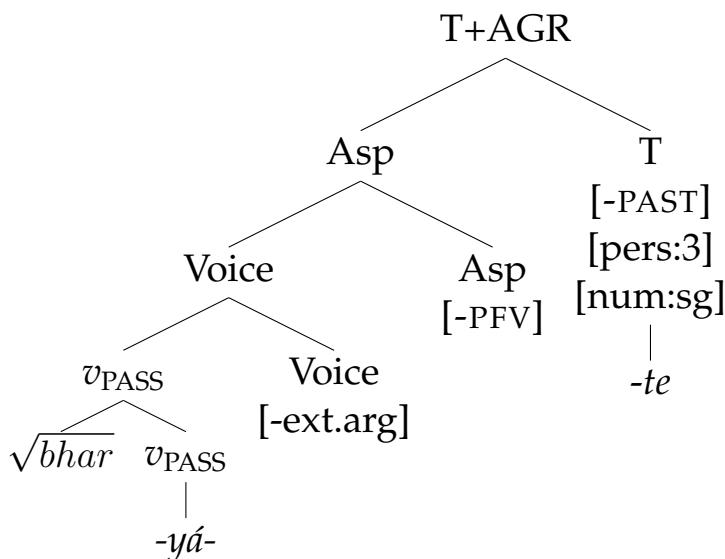
4 Analysis

Fig. 2: Derivational passive: a. Greek, b. Vedic

- a. *e-loú-thē-∅* (*hupó* X_{GEN}) ‘was washed (by X)’
A-wash-PASS-3SG.PAST.ACT



- b. *bhri-yá-te* (X_{instr}) ‘is (being) carried (by X)’
carry-IPFV.PASS-3SG.PRES.NACT



- (10) Evidence: CG *-thē-* & VS *-yá-* are in complementary distribution with other *v*'s:

a. CG <i>-thē-</i>	aor. act. <i>é-dū-s-a</i> 'I sank (sth.)' A-sink-PFV-1SG.PST.ACT	aor. pass. <i>e-dú-thē-n</i> 'I was sunk' A-sink-PFV.PASS-1SG.PST.ACT
b. VS <i>-yá-</i>	pres. act. <i>yu<ná>k-ti</i> 'yokes (sth.)' yoke<IPFV>-3SG.PRES.ACT	pres. pass. <i>yuj-yá-te</i> 'is being yoked' yoke-IPFV.PASS-3SG.PRES.NACT

Ved. *-yá-* & CG *-thē-*:

- never co-occur with other stem-forming morphology
- never select verbs with overt transitivity morphology

5 Greek: "pass" = v+Asp

- Origin of "passive" *-(th)ē-*: inchoative & stative formations
- Jasanoff 2004, García Ramón 2014: (de)nominal; reanalyzed instr.sg. nouns in **-ē*, cf. Ved. *guhā bhū-* 'become hidden', Lat. *ārē-faciō* 'make hot'.
- non-alternating unaccusatives → never had a Voice head

- (11) Non-passive *thē-* aorists (a = "augment", +past):

- e-krúph-thē-n* 'I hid (myself)'
A-hide-PFV-1SG.PAST.ACT
- e-phobē-thē-n* 'I fled'
A-flee-PFV-1SG.PAST.ACT

6 Vedic: "pass" = v

Vedic has two *-ya-* suffixes, 1. passive *-yá-*, 2. unaccented non-passive, intransitive *-ya-* (cf. Kulikov 2012)

- (12) Vedic intransitive (non-passive) *-ya-*:

- active:** *kṣúdh-ya-ti* 'becomes hungry', *gṛdh-ya-ti* 'becomes greedy', *jūr-ya-ti* 'grows old, ages'
- non-act.:** *pád-ya-te* 'falls', *búdh-ya-te* 'is awake'

Proposal: **Diachronic reanalysis** $v_{\text{BECOME-ya-}} \rightarrow v_{\text{pass-ya-}}$

- Ved. *-yá-* < Proto-Indo-European (PIE) **-ié/o-*, function: stative, anti-causative, often denominal/deadjectival
- PIE **-ie/o-* was compatible with act. & non-act morphology:

- (13) a. **spék̑-ie-* ‘see, watch for’ > Ved. act. *pásyati* ‘sees’, Lat. act. *speciō* ‘I see’, vs. Gk. non-act. *sképtomai* ‘look around’
 b. **mȓ-ié-* ‘die’ > Ved. non-act. *mriyáte* ‘dies’, Lat. non-act. *morior* ‘die’

7 Conclusion & implications: “low passives”

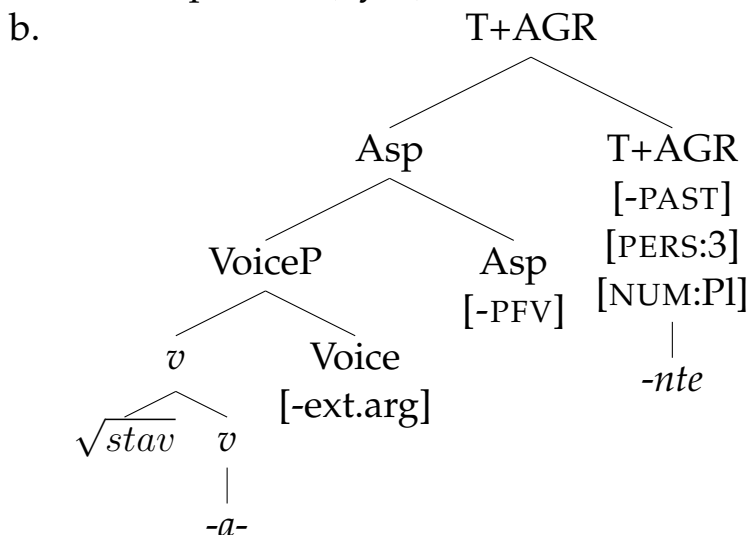
- Vedic & Greek **inflectional passives**: Act/NAct inflection = allomorphs of Voice_(middle)
 - Non-active morphology marks the lack of an agent in Spec.VoiceP in different syntactic environments, one of which is the **passive**
 - **Inflectional passives** behave as such w.r.t. to applicable criteria in both languages (demoted agents, etc.)
- Vedic & Greek **derivational passives**: A distinct verbal functional head, but unlike Alexiadou et al. 2015’s “high passive”
 - Vedic *-yá-* & Greek *-thē-* select roots, *not* transitive *v*
 - Both developed diachronically from stative/intransitive verbalizing suffixes → “**low passive**”
 - But they differ in whether or not they co-occur with the higher Voice head (Vedic: yes, Greek: no)
- **Diachronic generalization**: eventive passives develop from stative/inchoative constructions (synthetic *and* analytic, cp. Haspelmath 1994 on pass. participles)
 - A unified analysis for the synthetic/analytic inchoative-to-passive reanalysis (e.g., Spell-Out of different spans of the verbal domain: Res (stative) vs. Init (eventive) á la Ramchand (to appear)) → future work

Appendix

(14) Inflectional passive, Vedic (= Greek)

- a. Y (X_{INSTR}) *stav-a-nte*
praise-IPFV-3PL.PRES.NACT

“Y are praised (by X)”



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