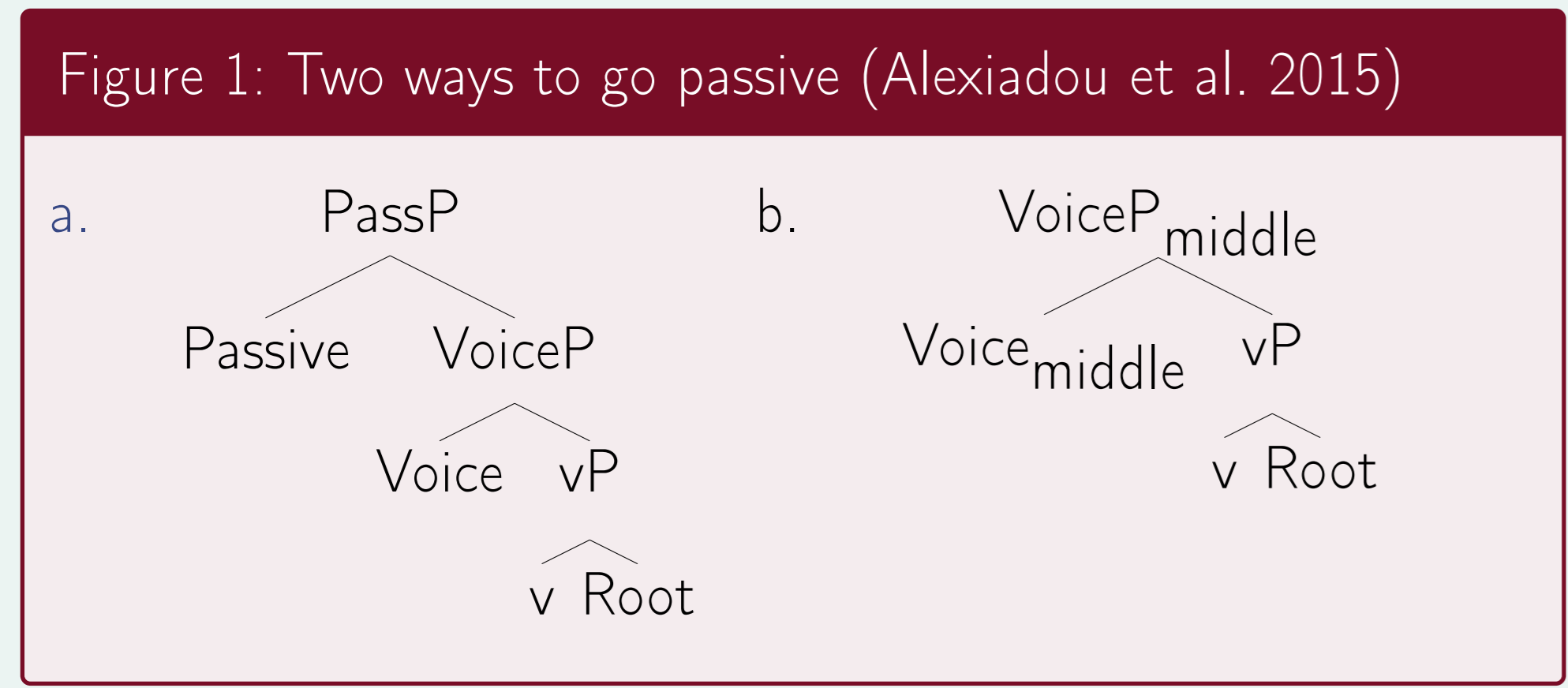


## 1. Introduction



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):

- (1) a. Anticausatives  
b. Reflexives/reciprocals  
c. Self-benefactives  
d. Dispositional/generic constructions  
e. **Passives (Mediopassives)**

- ▶ Passive = one of the **canonical functions** of non-active inflection in Greek & Sanskrit → “**inflectional passive**”
- ▶ ... but Vedic Sanskrit & Classical Greek also have a “passive” *suffix* that occurs closer to the root & co-occurs with inflectional Voice morphology → “**derivational passive**”
  - only in the present (Vedic) or aorist (Greek)

- (2) Vedic Sanskrit
  - a. *bhār-a-ti* (present act.) “carries sth.”  
CARRY-ipfv-3sg.pres.act
  - b. *bhār-a-te* (present non-act.) “carries (for) oneself”  
CARRY-ipfv-3sg.pres.NAct  
(NOT “\*is being carried”)
  - c. *bhri-yā-te* (present pass.) “is being carried”  
CARRY-**ipfv.pass**-3sg.pres.NAct
- (3) Two types of passive, Vedic (a = “augment”; +past)

a. Inflectional (aorist)	b. Derivational (present)
<i>ā-sto-ṣ-ta</i> a-PRAISE-pfv-3sg.past.NAct “he/she was/got praised”	<i>bhri-yā-te</i> CARRY-ipfv.pass-3s.pres.NAct “he/she is/gets carried”

- (4) Classical Greek
  - a. *ē-lou-s-a* (aorist act.) “I washed (sth.)”  
a-WASH-pfv-1sg.past.act
  - b. *e-lou-sā-mēn* (aorist non-act.) “I washed myself”  
a-WASH-pfv-1sg.past.NAct  
(NOT “\*I was washed”)
  - c. *e-lou-thē-n* (aorist pass.) “I was washed”  
a-WASH-**pfv.pass**-1sg.past.act
- (5) Two types of passive, Greek

a. Inflectional (present)	b. Derivational (aorist)
<i>thein-o-mai</i> STRIKE-ipfv-1sg.pres.NAct “I am/get struck, hit”	<i>e-dū-thē-n</i> a-SINK-pfv.pass-1sg.past.act “I was sunk”

- ▶ Are there two different Voice heads in Vedic & Greek?
- ▶ Why is PASS restricted to a particular tense/aspect stem?
- ▶ Why does PASS co-occur with non-active morphology in Vedic but with active morphology in Greek?

## 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** → “**low PassP**”

## 3. Inflectional vs. derivational passives: Vedic

▶ Derivational passive takes **non-active** endings

(6) Inflectional vs. derivational passives: Vedic

Properties	infl.	deriv.
Acc.obj. → nom.subj.	✓	✓
Demoted agent → adjunct NP, instr. case	✓	✓
Eventive	✓	✓

Inflectional: e.g., RV 1.77.5a-b:

- (7) *evā agnir gōtamebhīr (...)*  
thus Agni.NOM Gotama.INSTR.PL (...)  
**a-sto-ṣ-ta** *jātavedāḥ*  
A-praise-AOR-3SG.PAST.NACT Jāta-vedas.NOM  
“Thus has Agni, the Jāta-vedas, been praised by the Gotamas (...).”

## 3. cont’d: Inflectional vs. derivational passives: Vedic

Derivational: e.g., RV 9.81.12d:

- (8) *sūāyudhāḥ sotṛbhīḥ*  
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.”

## 4. Inflectional vs. derivational passives: Greek

▶ Derivational passive takes **active** endings

(9) Inflectional vs. derivational passive: (post-Homeric) Greek

Properties	infl.	deriv.
Acc.obj. → nom.subj.	✓	✓
Demoted agent → prep. + gen. case	?	?
Eventive	✓	✓

Inflectional: e.g., Homer, *Iliad* 6.56–7:

- (10) *ē soi ārista pepoiē-tai*  
PTCL you.DAT best.NOM.PL do.PERF-3SG.NACT  
*katà oikon pròs Trōōn*  
towards house.ACC from/by Trojan.GEN.PL  
“(So) were the best things done to you in your house by the Trojans?”

Derivational: e.g., Herodotus, *Histories* 1.87.1:

- (11) *ei tī hoi kekharismēnon eks*  
if anything.NOM.N him.DAT pleasing.NOM of  
**autoū e-dōrē-thē**  
self.GEN A-give-V.PASS.3SG.PAST.NACT  
“If anything pleasing had (ever) been given to him, by him; ...”

- Problems:
- ▶ Greek “passive” *-(th)ē-* also found in statives/inchoatives
  - ▶ Variation in the use of prepositions to express the demoted agent: *hupó* ‘from, under’, *apó* ‘from’, *ek* ‘out of’, etc.
  - ▶ Formally *active* unaccusatives use the same prepositions

## 5. Analysis

Ex. 1 Spell-Out of NonAct (Alexiadou et al. 2015):  
Voice → Voice[NonAct]/\_ No DP specifier

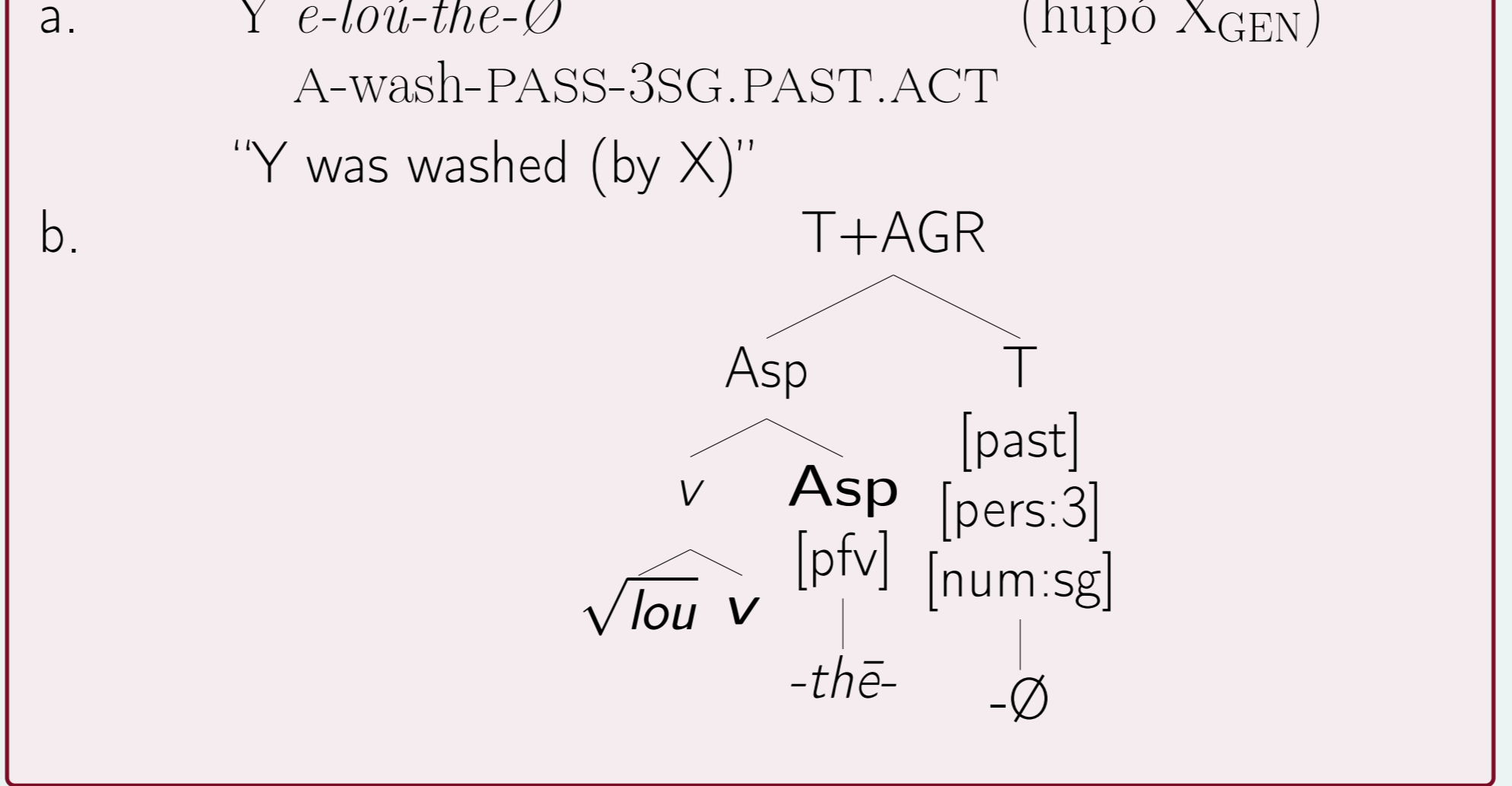
- ▶ (Non-)active morphology = sensitive to Voice[+/-ext.arg.]
- ▶ active morphology = “elsewhere” (also emerges when Voice is missing, e.g., in unaccusatives & statives, Kallulli 2013).

## 5a. Greek: “pass” = v+Asp

**Proposal:** Greek *-thē-* realizes v+Asp (cf. Merchant 2015); is never selected by Voice

- ▶ *-(th)ē-* patterns as (anticaus./inchoative) verbal stem suffix
- (12) Non-passive *thē-*aorists (a = “augment”, +past):
    - a. *e-krūph-thē-n* ‘I hid (myself)’  
a-HIDE-**pfv**-1sg.past.act
    - b. *e-phobē-thē-n* ‘I fled’  
a-FLEE-**pfv**-1sg.past.act
  - (13) *-thē-* in complementary distribution with other v’s:
    - a. *e-dū-thē-n* ‘I was sunk’  
a-SINK-**pfv.pass**-1sg.past.act
    - b. *dū-n-ō* ‘I sink (sth.)’  
SINK-**pres**-1sg.pres.act

## Figure 2: Derivational passive, Greek



- ▶ Origin of “passive” *-(th)ē-*: inchoative & stative formations
- ▶ Jasanoff 2004: (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

## 5b. Vedic: “pass” = v

**Proposal:** Vedic *passive* *-yā-* realizes v

- ▶ never co-occurs with other stem-forming morphology
- ▶ never selects verbs with overt transitivity morphology

(14) Vedic nasal-infix present and its passive

a. present act.	b. pres. pass.
<i>yu&lt;nā&gt;k-ti</i> ‘yokes’	<i>yuj-yā-te</i> ‘is being yoked’
YOKE- <b>ipfv</b> -3sg.pres.act	YOKE- <b>ipfv.pass</b> -3sg.pres.NAct

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

- (15) Vedic intransitive (non-passive) *-ya-*:
  - a. **active**: *kṣúdh-ya-ti* ‘becomes hungry’, *gṛdh-ya-ti* ‘becomes greedy’, *jūr-ya-ti* ‘grows old, ages’
  - b. **non-act.**: *pád-ya-te* ‘falls’, *búdh-ya-te* ‘is awake’
- (16) Intransitive vs. passive *-ya-*: minimal pair

a. intransitive -ya-	b. passive -ya-
<i>kṣī-ya-te</i> ‘perishes’	<i>kṣī-yā-te</i> ‘is destroyed’
PERISH- <b>ipfv</b> -3sg.pres.NAct	PERISH- <b>ipfv.pass</b> -3sg.pres.NAct

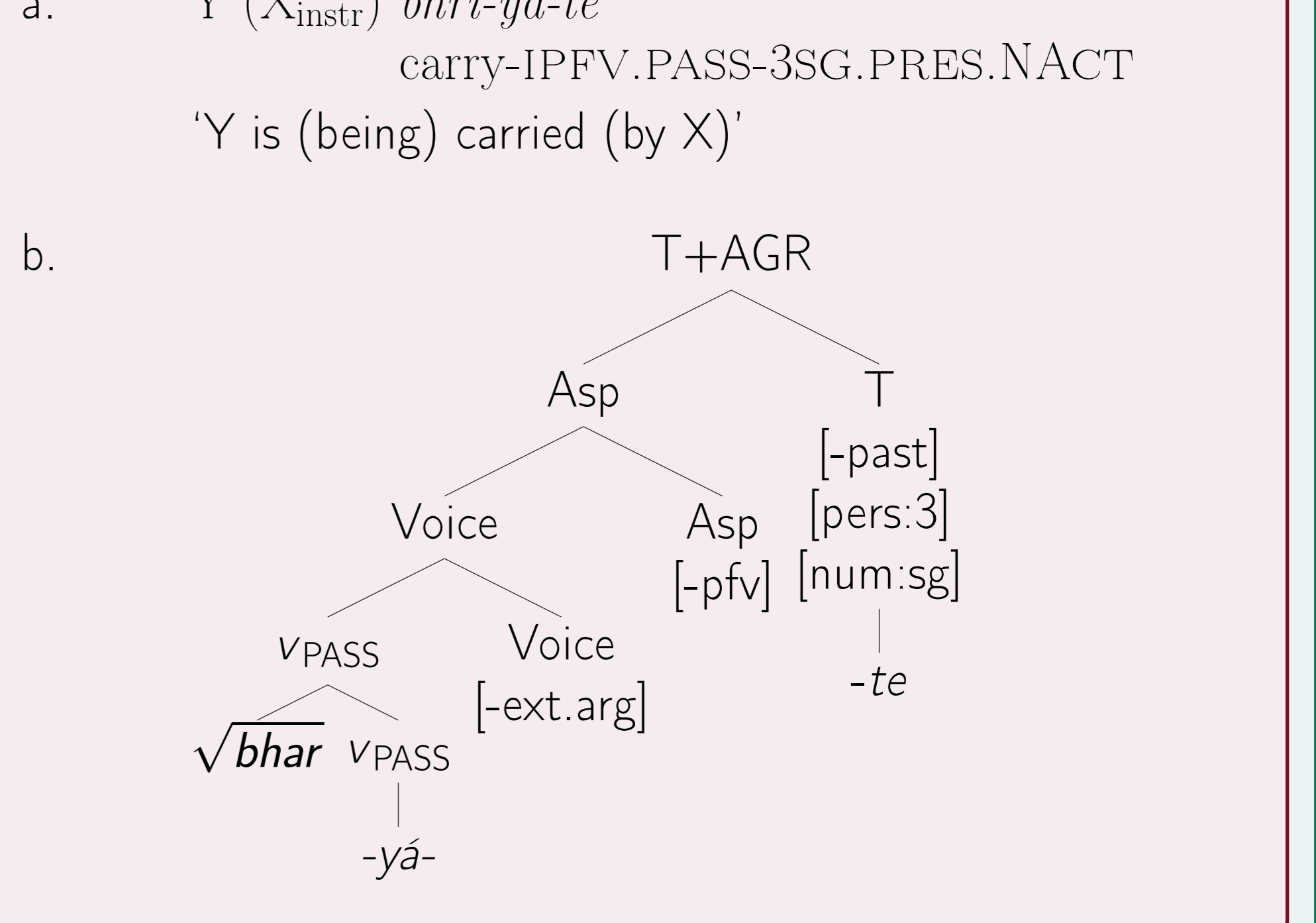
**Proposal:** Diachronic reanalysis v<sub>BECOME-YA-</sub> → v<sub>PASS-YA-</sub>

- ▶ Ved. *-yā-* < Proto-Indo-European (PIE) *\*-jé/o-*, function: stative, anticausative, often denominal/deadjectival
- ▶ PIE *\*-jé/o-* was compatible with act. & non-act morphology:

- (17) a. *\*spék-jé-* ‘see, watch for’ > Ved. act. *pásyati* ‘sees’, Lat. act. *speciō* ‘I see’, vs. Gk. non-act. *sképtomai* ‘look around’  
b. *\*mṛ-jé-* ‘die’ > Ved. non-act. *mriyāte* ‘dies’, Lat. non-act. *morior* ‘die’

... which suggests that Vedic v<sub>PASS</sub> is selected by Voice

## Figure 3: Derivational passive, Vedic



## 6. Conclusion & implications: two types of passive

- ▶ Vedic & Greek Act/NAct inflection = allomorphs of Voice<sub>(middle)</sub>
  - 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 *-yā-* & 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 (analytic and synthetic!) develop from stative/inchoative constructions

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