

## *The Greek Passive Voice*

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### Contents

- 1 Vender's verbal aspectual classification within the Decomposition Theory
- 2 Aspectual restrictions in the ability of Greek verbs to passivise
- 3 Direct vs. Indirect Causation and the agentive argument (*by*-phrase)
- 4 Literatures
- 5 Abbreviations

### 1 Vender's verbal aspectual classification within the Decomposition Theory

Vendler (1967) (for a detailed discussion see Fabricius-Hansen 1991, among others; see Ehrich 1992 and Rapp 1997 for more current classifications).

- (1) (a) **States:** e.g. *know, be ill, love, sleep*  
(b) **Activities:** e.g. *run, swim, walk, hunt*  
(c) **Achievements:** e.g. *find, die, forget, begin*  
(d) **Accomplishments:** e.g. *build a house, draw a circle, assassinate, lay a book into a box*

Dowty's (1979) semantic formalisation of Vendler's aspectual classes are summarised in (2).

- (2) (a) [x BE] or [x BE (y)], for **States**  
(b) [x DO] or [x DO (y)], for **Activities**  
(c) [x BECOME (BE)] or [x BECOME (BE (y))], for **Achievements**  
(d) [x CAUSE (BECOME (BE (y)))], for **Accomplishments**

### 2 Aspectual restrictions in the ability of Greek verbs to passivise

#### 2.1 Accomplishments vs. States, Activities and Achievements

##### Question 1

Why some verbs in Greek are able to passivise and some not, although they are actional and syntactically transitive verbs? Compare the following examples:

- (1) (a) Ο Κώστας            μετέφρασε            το κείμενο.  
ο kostas            metefrase            to kimeno  
the Kostas-Nom    translate-AA-Past-3Sg    the text-Acc  
'Kostas translated the text.'
  
- (b) Το κείμενο            μεταφράστηκε            από τον Κώστα.  
to kimeno            metafrastike            apo ton kostas  
the text-Nom    translate-PA-Past-3Sg    by the Kostas  
'The text was translated by Kostas.'

(2) (a) Ο Κώστας κλώτσησε τη μπάλα.  
 ο kostas klotsize ti bala  
 the Kostas-Nom kick-AA-Past-3Sg the ball-Acc  
 'Kostas kicked the ball.'

(b) \*Η μπάλα κλωτσήθηκε.  
 ι bala klotsiθike  
 the ball-Nom kick-PA-Past-3Sg  
 'The ball was kicked.'

☞ It is clear that neither the **transitivity** nor the **actional** criterion is crucial for Greek verbs to passivise.

☞ Examining now the aspectual structure of the Greek verbs we see that their ability to passivise undergoes aspectual restrictions. Compare the following examples. Although both verbs *μεταφράζω* (*metafrazo*) 'translate' and *κλωτσάω* (*klotsao*) 'kick' are transitive and actional, they have different aspectual structures. While the **verbal phrase** with the verb *μεταφράζω* (*metafrazo*) 'translate' implies a **causative accomplishment structure**, the verbal phrase with the verb *κλωτσάω* (*klotsao*) 'kick' implies a non-causative **activity structure**. This is shown by the ability of the verbal phrase with the verb *μεταφράζω* (*metafrazo*) 'translate', unlike the verbal phrase with the verb *κλωτσάω* (*klotsao*) 'kick', to allow the modification of the adverbial phrase *σε μια ώρα* (*se mia ora*) 'in an hour', as illustrated by the examples below.

(3) Ο Κώστας μετέφρασε το κείμενο στα Αγγλικά μέσα σε μια ώρα.  
 ο kostas metefrase to kimeno sta aglika mesa se mia ora  
 the Kostas-Nom translate-AA-Past-3Sg the text-Acc in-the English inside in one hour  
 'Kostas translated the text into English in an hour.'

[X<sub>Kostas</sub> CAUSE (BECOME (BE<sub>in English</sub> (Y<sub>text</sub>)))]

(4) \*Ο Κώστας κλώτσησε τη μπάλα μέσα σε μια ώρα.  
 ο kostas klotsize ti bala mesa se mia ora  
 the Kostas-Nom kick-AA-Past-3Sg the ball-Acc inside in one hour  
 'Kostas kicked the ball in an hour.'

[X<sub>Kostas</sub> DO<sub>kicking</sub> Y<sub>ball</sub>]

☞ Similarly, you can run all the tests given in Vendler (1967) to see the differences between the two actions, Activity (*kick the ball*) versus Accomplishment (*translate a text into English*).

Moreover, verbs/ verbal phrases implying the aspectual structure of states, such as in (5), or achievements, such as in (6), are not able to passivise in Greek neither.

(5) (a) Η Ελένη απόλαυσε τον καφέ της στη βεράντα.  
 ι eleni apolafse ton kafe tis sti veranta  
 the Eleni-Nom enjoy-AA-Past-3Sg the coffee-Acc her on-the terrace  
 'Eleni enjoyed her coffee on the terrace.'

(b) \*Ο καφές απολαύτηκε στη βεράντα.  
 o kafes apolafitike sti veranta  
 the coffee-Nom enjoy-PA-Past-3Sg on-the terrace  
 'The coffee was enjoyed on the terrace.'

[x<sub>Eleni</sub> BE<sub>enjoy</sub> Y<sub>coffee</sub>]

(6) (a) Η Ελένη κατάλαβε την ερώτηση.  
 i eleni katalave tin erotisi  
 the Eleni-Nom understand-AA-Past-3Sg the question-Acc  
 'Eleni understood the question.'

(b) \*Η ερώτηση καταλαβήθηκε.  
 i erotisi katalavithike  
 the question-Nom understand-PA-Past-3Sg  
 'The question was understood.'

[x<sub>Eleni</sub> BECOME (BE<sub>understood</sub>) Y<sub>question</sub>]

## Conclusion 1

We conclude that the ability of the Greek verbs/ verbal phrases to passivise is aspectually restricted: **only Causative Accomplishments** [x CAUSE (BECOME (BE (y)))] **are able to passivise in Greek**. States [x BE], Activities [x DO] and Achievements [x BECOME (BE)] are not able in Greek to undergo the active/ passive alternation.

## 2.2 Verbs/ verbal phrases changing their aspectual structure

The aspectual restrictions of the Greek verbs with regard to their ability to passivise can be well supported by verbs which change their lexical aspect when they occur in specific verbal phrases (note the crucial distinction between **Verbs** vs. **Verbal Phrases**). Consider the examples in (7)-(9). The verb ακούω (*akuo*) 'hear' can have the aspectual structure either of a State or Activity or Accomplishment depending each time in which verbal phrase it occurs. When the verb ακούω (*akuo*) 'hear' has the aspectual structure of a State or Activity as in (7) and (8) respectively, then this verb **can not passivise**. In contrast, when the verb ακούω (*akuo*) 'hear' has the aspectual structure of a causative accomplishment as in (9), then **passivisation** is possible.

(7) (a) Η Ελένη δεν ακούει τις υψηλές συχνότητες.  
 i eleni den akui tis ipsiles sixnotites  
 the Eleni-Nom not hear-AA-Pres-3Sg the high frequencies-Acc  
 'Eleni does not hear the high frequencies.'

(b) \*Οι υψηλές συχνότητες δεν ακούγονται (από την Ελένη).  
 i ipsilies sixnotites den akuyonte (apo tin eleni)  
 the high frequencies-Nom not hear-PA-Pres-3Sg (by the Eleni)  
 'The high frequencies are not heard (by Eleni).'

[x BE]

(8) (a) Η Ελένη ακούει το δάσκαλο με προσοχή.  
 i eleni akui to daskalo me prosoxi  
 the Eleni-Nom hear-AA-Pres-3Sg the teacher-Acc with attention  
 'Eleni is listening to the teacher carefully.'

(b) \*Ο δάσκαλος ακούγεται με προσοχή (από την Ελένη).  
 o daskalos akuyete me prosoxi (apo tin eleni)  
 the teacher-Nom hear-PA-Pres-3Sg with attention (by the Eleni)  
 'The teacher is being listened to carefully (by Eleni).'

[x DO]

(9) (a) Η νεολαία ακούει πολύ αυτόν το δίσκο.  
 i neolea akui poli afton to disko  
 the young-people-Nom hear-AA-Pres-3Sg a-lot this the record-Acc  
 'Young people hear this record a lot.'

(b) Ο δίσκος αυτός ακούγεται πολύ (από τη νεολαία).  
 o diskos aftos akuyete poli (apo ti neolea)  
 the record-Nom this hear-PA-Pres-3Sg a-lot (by the young-people)  
 'This record is heard a lot (by young people).'

[x CAUSE (BECOME (BE (y)))]

Similarly, many verbs such as *κερδίζω* (*kerdizo*) 'win', *συναντώ* (*sinanto*) 'meet', *αναγνωρίζω* (*anagnorizo*) 'recognise', *μαθαίνω* (*matheno*) 'learn', *ξεχνάω* (*ksexnao*) 'forget', *βρίσκω* (*vrisko*) 'find', *ανακαλύπτω* (*anakalipto*) 'discover' can have the aspectual structure either of an Achievement or an Accomplishment, when they occur in certain verbal phrases. When these verbal phrases have the aspectual structure of an Achievement they **are not able to passivise**; they are, however, able to passivise when they have the aspectual structure of an Accomplishment. This is exemplified by the verb *αναγνωρίζω* (*anagnorizo*) 'recognise'.

(10) (a) Η Ελένη αναγνώρισε αμέσως τον Κώστα μετά από τόσα χρόνια.  
 i eleni anagnorise amesos ton kostas meta apo tosa xronia  
 the Eleni-Nom recognise-AA-Past-3Sg at-once the Kostas-Acc after from so-many years  
 'Eleni recognised Kostas at once after all these years.'

(b) \*Ο Κώστας αναγνωρίστηκε αμέσως (από την Ελένη) μετά από τόσα χρόνια.  
 o kostas anagnoristike amesos (apo tin eleni) meta apo tosa xronia  
 the Kostas-Nom recognise-PA-Past-3Sg at-once (by the Eleni) after from so-many years  
 'Kostas was recognised at once after all these years (by Eleni).'

[x BECOME (BE)]

(11) (a) Ο καθηγητής αναγνώρισε το πτυχίο μου.  
 o kathigitis anagnorise to ptixio mu  
 the professor-Nom recognise-AA-Past-3Sg the diploma-Acc my  
 'The professor recognised my diploma.'

(b) Το πτυχίο μου αναγνωρίστηκε (από τον καθηγητή).  
 to ptixio mu anagnoristike (apo ton kathigiti)  
 the diploma-Nom my recognise-PA-Past-3Sg (by the professor)  
 'My diploma was recognised (by the professor).'

[x CAUSE (BECOME (BE (y)))]

### 3 Direct vs. Indirect Causation and the agentive argument (*by*-phrase)

#### 3.1 The absence of the agentive argument (*by*-phrase) in Greek passives

##### Question 2

Why some verbs allow the agentive argument, i.e. the *από* (*apo*) '*by*'-phrase and some others disallow it when passivised? Compare the following examples:

(12) (a) Ο Κώστας μετέφρασε το κείμενο.  
ο kostas metefrase to kimeno  
the Kostas-Nom translate-AA-Past-3Sg the text-Acc  
'Kostas translated the text.'

(b) Το κείμενο μεταφράστηκε από τον Κώστα.  
to kimeno metafrastike apo ton kostas  
the text-Nom translate-PA-Past-3Sg by the Kostas  
'The text was translated by Kostas.'

[X<sub>Kostas</sub> CAUSE (BECOME (BE<sub>text</sub> (Y<sub>in English</sub>)))]

(13) (a) Ο Κώστας σκότωσε την Ελένη.  
ο kostas skotose tin eleni  
the Kostas-Nom kill-AA-Past-3Sg the Eleni-Acc  
'Kostas killed Eleni.'

(b) \*Η Ελένη σκοτώθηκε από τον Κώστα.  
i eleni skotothike apo ton kostas  
the Eleni-Nom kill-PA-Past-3Sg by the Kostas  
'Eleni was killed by Kostas.'

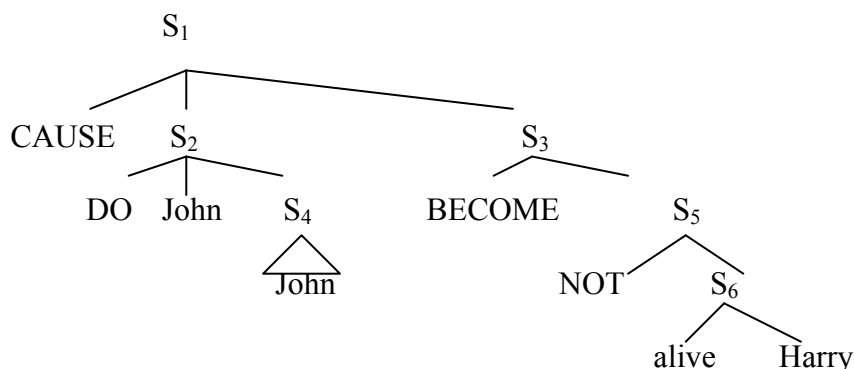
[X<sub>Kostas</sub> CAUSE (BECOME (BE<sub>-alive</sub> (Y<sub>Eleni</sub>)))]

Given the conclusion from the previous section that only Accomplishments [x CAUSE (BECOME (BE (y)))] can undergo the active/ passive alternation, we are allowed to conclude that both verb/ verbal phrases types, (a) those that allow the agentive *από* (*apo*) '*by*'-phrase and, (b) those that disallow it, are Accomplishments. For example, both verbal structures in the examples above, *μεταφράζω* (*metafrazo*) '*translate*' and *σκοτώνω* (*skotono*) '*kill*', are Accomplishments. However, the verb *μεταφράζω* (*metafrazo*) '*translate*' allows the agentive *από* (*apo*) '*by*'-phrase, while the verb *σκοτώνω* (*skotono*) '*kill*' disallows it.

☞ We claim that the distinction between **Direct versus Indirect Causation** is responsible for this discrepancy. More concretely, we claim that verbs/ verbal phrases in Greek that underlie a Direct Causation allows the agentive *από* (*apo*) '*by*'-phrase, while verbs/ verbal phrases that underlie an Indirect Causation disallow it.

### 3.2 The distinction between Direct versus Indirect Causation

(3) *John killed Harry*



(4) John killed Harry.  
 [John **does something** in order for Harry to be not alive] (from Dowty 1972:63)

(5) John killed Harry: [(x<sub>John</sub> DO) CAUSE (BECOME (BE<sub>-alive</sub> (y)))]

(6) The committee elects John chairman.  
 [#The committee does something (different than electing) in order for John to be chairman]

Härtl (2001) and Wunderlich (1997)

(7) (a) **Direct causation**  
 [x CAUSE (BECOME (BE (y)))]

(b) **Indirect causation**  
 [(x DO)<sub>e</sub> CAUSE (BECOME (BE (y)))]

### 3.3 Direct vs. Indirect Causation in Greek passives

**Table 3**

<b>Indirect Causation</b> [(x DO) <sub>e</sub> CAUSE (BECOME (BE (y)))]	<b>The Direct Causation Verbs</b> [x CAUSE (BECOME (BE (y)))]
1. Instrumental verbs	1. δίνω ( <i>dino</i> ) 'give'-verbs
2. Manner verbs	2. παίρνω ( <i>perno</i> ) 'take'-verbs
3. Verbs with a specified end result	3. λέγω ( <i>leγο</i> ) 'tell'-verbs
	4. γράφω ( <i>grafa</i> ) 'write'-verbs
	5. βάλλω/βάζω ( <i>valo/vazo</i> ) 'put'-verbs



(h) καίω (keo) 'burn' (< root verb)

CS: [(x DO by instr.<sub>hot temperature</sub>)e CAUSE (BECOME (–BE (y)))]

(i) πλένω (pleno) 'wash' (< root verb)

CS: [(x DO by instr.<sub>water</sub>)e CAUSE (BECOME (BE<sub>clean</sub> (y)))]

### 3.4.2 Manner verbs (indirect causation)

(10)(a) τινάζω (tinazo) 'shake out' (< root verb)

[(x DO in manner of z<sub>short, jerky, and vehement movement</sub>)e CAUSE (BECOME (BE<sub>be in motion</sub> (y)))]

(b) τραντάζω (trantazo) 'shake strongly' (< root verb)

[(x DO in manner of z<sub>very strong movement</sub>)e CAUSE (BECOME (BE<sub>be in motion</sub> (y)))]

(11)(a) Το χαλί τινάχτηκε \*από τον Κώστα.  
to xali tinaxtike apo ton kosta  
the carpet-Nom shake out-PA-Past-3Sg by the Kostas  
'The carpet was shaken out by Kostas.'

(b) Το δέντρο τραντάχτηκε \*από τον Κώστα.  
to dentro trantaxtike apo ton kosta  
the tree-Nom shake strongly-PA-Perf-Past-3Sg by the Kostas  
'The tree was shaken strongly by Kostas.'

(12)(a) ψήνω (psino) 'cook, bake' (< root verb)

[(x DO in manner of z<sub>very few liquid</sub>)e CAUSE (BECOME (BE<sub>edible</sub> (y)))]

(b) τσιγαρίζω (tsiyarizo) 'sauté' (< root verb)

[(x DO in manner of z<sub>much oil and hot temperature</sub>)e CAUSE (BECOME (BE<sub>edible</sub> (y)))]

(c) καβουρδίζω (kavurδizo) 'roast coffee or legumes' (< root verb)

[(x DO in manner of z<sub>no liquid and hot temperature</sub>)e CAUSE (BECOME (BE<sub>edible</sub> (y)))]

(13)(a) Το κοτόπουλο ψήθηκε στο φούρνο/ στα κάρβουνα \*από τον Κώστα.  
to kotopulo psihtike sto furno/ sta karvuna apo ton kosta  
the chicken-Nom cook-PA-Past-3Sg in-the oven/ on-the coal by the Kostas  
'The chicken was cooked in the oven/ on the coal by Kostas.'

(b) Τα κρεμμύδια/ το κρέας/ τα λαχανικά τσιγαρίστηκαν \*από τον Κώστα.  
ta kremidia/ to kreas/ ta laxanika tsiyaristikan apo ton kosta  
the onions/ the meat/ the vegetables-Nom sauté-PA-Past-3Sg by the Kostas  
'The onions/ meat/ vegetables were sautéed by Kostas.'

(c) Ο καφές καβουρδίστηκε \*από τον Κώστα.  
o kafes kavurdistike apo ton kosta  
the coffee-Nom roast-PA-Past-3Sg by the Kostas  
'The coffee was roasted by Kostas.'

- (14)(a) γιατρέω (giatrevo) 'heal' (< ο γιατρός (o yiattros) 'the doctor')  
 [(x DO in manner of z^z is in the role of y<sub>doctor</sub>)e CAUSE (BECOME (BE<sub>healthy</sub> (y)))]
- (b) παραξενεύω (paraksenevo) 'amaze' (< παράξενος (paraksenos) 'strange')  
 [(x DO in manner of z^z has the property of y<sub>strange</sub>)e CAUSE (BECOME (BE<sub>amazed</sub> (y)))]
- (15)(a) Η μητέρα μου γιατρεύτηκε \*από τον γιατρό κ. Μόκαλη.  
 i mitera mu giatreftike apo ton yiatro k. mokali  
 the mother-Nom my heal-PA-Past-3Sg by the doctor Mr. Mokalis  
 'My mother was healed by the doctor Mr. Mokalis.'
- (b) Η Ελένη παραξενεύτηκε \*από τον Κώστα.  
 i eleni paraksenefitike apo ton kostas  
 the Eleni-Nom amaze-PA-Past-3Sg by the Kostas  
 'Eleni was amazed by Kostas.'

### 3.4.3 Verbs with a specified end result (indirect causation)

- (16) πνίγω (pniɣo): [(x DO)e<sub>1-4</sub> CAUSE (BECOME (BE<sub>-able to breathe</sub> (y)))]
- (a) Causing subevent *e*<sub>1</sub>  
 (x presses y's head into a tub full with water) → *drown*
- (b) Causing subevent *e*<sub>2</sub>  
 (x presses a pillow against y's mouth) → *smother*
- (c) Causing subevent *e*<sub>3</sub>  
 (x blows the cigarette smoke against y's face) → *choke*
- (d) Causing subevent *e*<sub>4</sub>  
 (x presses on y's throat) → *strangle*
- (17) σβήνω (svino): [(x DO)e<sub>1-4</sub> CAUSE (BECOME (BE<sub>-</sub>BE (y)))]
- (a) Causing subevent *e*<sub>1</sub>  
 (x throws water on y^y is fire) → *put out the fire*
- (b) Causing subevent *e*<sub>2</sub>  
 (x throws water on y^y is a cigarette) or  
 (x presses against a hard area y^y is a cigarette) → *stub out the cigarette*
- (c) Causing subevent *e*<sub>3</sub>  
 (x presses y^y is a on/off-button of an electric appliance) → *turn/ switch off*
- (d) Causing subevent *e*<sub>4</sub>  
 (x moves a sponge up and down on y^y is on a blackboard) → *wipe sth. off the blackboard*

(18)(a) Η Ελένη πνίγηκε **\*από τον Κόστα.**  
 i eleni pniγike apo ton kosta  
 the Eleni-Nom drown/ smother/ choke/ strangle-PA-Past-3Sg by the Kostas  
 'Eleni was choked/smothered/strangled/drowned by Kostas.'

(b) Η φωτιά/ το τσιγάρο/ το φως/ το σκίτσο σβήστηκε  
 i fotia/ to tsiγaro/ to fos/ to skitso svistike  
 the fire/ the cigarette/ the light / the sketch-Nom put-out/stub-out/turn-off/erase-PA-Past-3Sg

**\*από τον Κόστα.**

apo ton kosta  
 by the Kostas

'The fire was put out/ the cigarette was stubbed out/ the light was turned off/  
 the sketch was wiped by Kostas.'

### 3.5 Direct Causative Verbs

<b>The Direct Causation Verbs</b> [x CAUSE (BECOME (BE (y)))]
1. δίνω (dino) 'give'-verbs
2. παίρνω (perno) 'take'-verbs
3. λέγω (leγο) 'tell'-verbs
4. γράφω (grafa) 'write'-verbs
5. βάλλω/ βάζω (valo/ vazo) 'put'-verbs

(19) Ο φάκελος που σας δόθηκε **από τον υπάλληλο** κ. Μαίρη πρέπει...  
 o fakelos pu sas dothike apo ton ipalilo k. meri prepi...  
 the envelope-Nom that you give-PA-Past-3Sg by the officer Mrs. Mary must...  
 'The envelope that has been given to you by the officer Mrs. Mary must...'

[<sub>X</sub>officer CAUSE (BECOME (BE<sub>poss</sub> (y<sub>the envelope</sub>, Z<sub>Mrs Mary</sub>)))]

(20) Η έρευνα χρηματοδοτήθηκε **από τον εφοπλιστή** κ. Περάκη.  
 i erevna xrimatodotiθike apo ton efoplasti k. peraki  
 the investigation-Nom finance-PA-Past-3Sg by the shipowner Mr. Perakis  
 'The investigation was financed by the shipowner Mr. Perakis.'

*χρηματοδοτώ (xrimatodoto) 'finance':*

MS: [(το χρήμα (to xrima) 'the money')<sub>N</sub> + (δίνω (dino) 'give')<sub>V</sub>]<sub>V</sub>

SS: [<sub>X</sub>Mr. Perakis CAUSE (BECOME (BE<sub>poss</sub> (y<sub>money</sub>, Z<sub>the investigation</sub>)))]

(21) Το κτίριο στην οδό Ερμού αγοράστηκε **από τον υπουργό εξωτερικών.**  
 to ktirio stin oδο Ermu αγοραstike apo ton ipurygo eksoterikon  
 the building-Nom on-the street Ermu buy-PA-Past-3Sg by the minister foreign  
 'The building on Ermu street was bought by the foreign minister.'

- (22) Η λέξη παθητική επαναλαμβάνεται συνέχεια από τη συγγραφέα.  
 i leksi *passive* *repeat-PA-Past-3Sg* the whole time by the author  
 'The word *passive* is repeated by the author the whole time.'
- (23) Ο ύποπτος συλλήφθηκε από τον αστυνομικό.  
 o ipoptos *silifθηκε* apo ton astinomiko  
 the suspect-Nom was arrested-PA-Past-3Sg by the policeman  
 'The suspect has been arrested by the policeman.'
- (24) Τίποτα δεν ειπώθηκε από τον υπουργό.  
 tipota den *iprothike* apo ton ipurgo  
 nothing-Nom den-Negation-Particle tell-PA-Past-3Sg by the minister  
 'Nothing was said by the minister.'
- (25) Το γραπτό βαθμολογήθηκε και από ένα δεύτερο καθηγητή.  
 to grapho *vaθmoloyithike* ke apo ena deftero kathigiti  
 the test-Nom mark-PA-Past-3Sg and by a second teacher  
 'The test was marked by a second teacher.'
- (26) Ο συγγραφέας ρωτήθηκε από το δημοσιογράφο εαν...  
 o sigrafeas *rotithike* apo to dimosiografo ean...  
 the author-Nom ask-PA-Past-3Sg by the journalist if...  
 'The author was asked by the journalist if ...'
- (27) Το συμβόλαιο υπογράφηκε από το διευθυντή.  
 to simvoleo *iprograftike* apo ton diefthinti  
 the contract- Nom sign-PA-Past-3Sg by the director  
 'The contract was signed by the director.'
- (28) Το χωριό αυτό περιγράφεται πολύ ωραία από το συγγραφέα.  
 to xorio afto *perigrafete* poli orea apo to sigrafeas  
 the village-Nom this describe-PA-Present-3Sg very well by the author  
 'This village is described very well by the author.'
- (29) Ο μαθητής αποβλήθηκε από το δάσκαλο.  
 o mathitis *apovlithike* apo to daskalo  
 the student-Nom expel-PA-Past-3Sg by the teacher  
 'The pupil was expelled by the teacher.'

### 3.6 Direct vs. Indirect Causation: Morphological distribution

#### 3.6.1 Actional nouns

Table 5

Derived by Direct Causation Verbs	Derived by Indirect Causation Verbs
η χρηματοδότηση (i xrimatodotisi) 'the financing'	το κάψιμο (to kapsimo) 'the burning'
η έκδοση (i ekdosi) 'the publication'	το κόψιμο (to kopsimo) 'the cutting'
η επανάληψη (i epanalipsi) 'the repetition'	το πλύσιμο (to plisimo) 'the washing'
η κατάθεση (i katathesi) 'the deposit, deposition'	ο τραυματισμός (o travmatismos) 'the injuring'
η τοποθέτηση (i topothesi) 'the placement'	το σκότωμα (to skotoma) 'the killing'

(30) (a) η χρηματοδότηση της έρευνας **από τον εφοπλιστή κ. Περάκη**  
 i xrimatodotisi tis erevnas apo ton efoplasti k. peraki  
 ‘The financing of the investigation by the shipowner Mr. Perakis.’

(b) η τοποθέτηση της βόμβας **από τον ειδικό τεχνικό**  
 i topothesisi tis vomvas apo ton idiko texniko  
 ‘The delivering of the speech by the president’

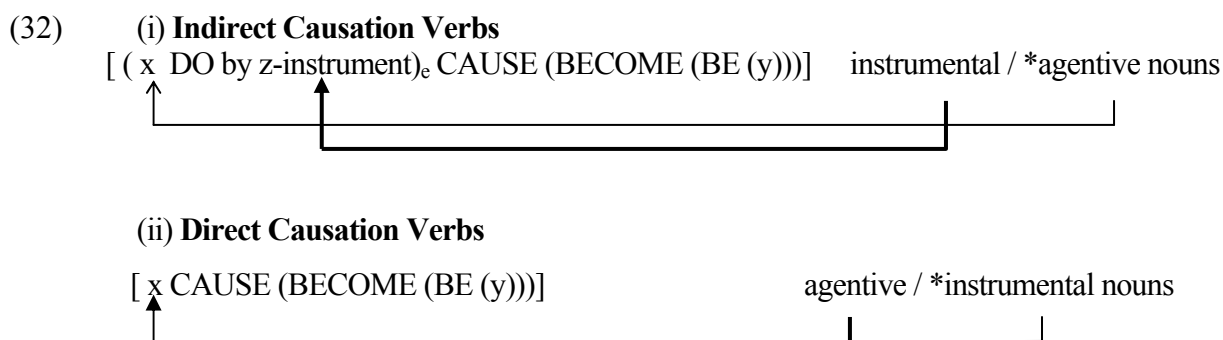
(31) (a) το κάψιμο του δάσους **\*από το Νίκο**  
 to kapsimo tu dasus apo to niko  
 ‘The burning of the forest by Nikos’

(b) το πλύσιμο των ρούχων **\*από τον Πέτρο**  
 to plisimo ton ruxon apo ton petro  
 ‘The washing of the clothes by Petros’

### 3.6.2 Agentive vs. instrumental nouns

Table 6

Direct Causation Verbs	Indirect Causation Verbs
<b>Agentive nouns</b>	<b>Instrumental nouns</b>
ο χρηματοδότης (ο xrimatodotis) ‘the financier’	ο κόφτης (ο koftis) ‘the cutting instrument’
ο εκδότης (ο ekdotis) ‘the publisher’	ο ξύστης (ο ksistis) ‘the scraper’
ο μεταφραστής (ο metafrastis) ‘the translator’	ο τρίφτης (ο triftis) ‘the grater’



### 3.6.3 Adjectives of ability in -μοζ/ -μη/ -μο (-imos/-imi/-imo)

(33) (a) Ο Κώστας μπορεί να πεί αυτό το νερό.  
 o kostas borí na pii afto to nero  
 the Kostas-Nom can-AA-Present-3Sg na-Particle trink this the water-Acc  
 ‘Kostas can drink this water.’

(b) Το νερό είναι πόσιμο.  
 to nero íne posimo  
 the water-Nom be-Present-3Sg drinkable  
 ‘The water is drinkable.’

(34) (a) Ο Κώστας μπορεί να κόψει το ψωμί.  
 o kostas bori na kopsi to psomi  
 the Kostas-Nom can-AA-Present-3Sg na-Particle cut the bread-Acc  
 'Kostas can cut the bread.'

(b) \*Το ψωμί είναι κοψίσιμο.  
 to psomi ine kopsisimo  
 the bread-Nom be-Present-3Sg cut-able  
 'The bread is cut-able.'

(35) (i) **Direct Causation Verbs**

[[x CAUSE (BECOME (BE (y)))] adjective of ability in *-ιμος (-imos)*

(ii) **Indirect Causation Verbs**

[(x DO)e CAUSE (BECOME (BE (y)))] \*adjective of ability in *-ιμος (-imos)*

**3.6.4 Adjectives of ability in *-ικός/ -ική/ -ικό (-ikos/ -iki/ -iko)***

(36) (a) Το εργαλείο αυτό είναι ένα κοπτικό εργαλείο.  
 to ergalio afto ine ena koptiko ergalio  
 'This instrument is a cutting instrument.'

(b) Με το εργαλείο αυτό μπορεί κανείς να κόψει κάτι.  
 me to ergalio afto bori kanis na kopsi kati  
 'By means of this instrument one can cut something.'

(37) ο εξυπηρετικός άνθρωπος  
 o eksipiretikos anthropos  
 'the helpful person'

(i) Ένας άνθρωπος ο οποίος εξυπηρετεί.  
 enas anthropos o opios eksipireti  
 'One person who serves someone else.'

(ii) \*Ένας άνθρωπος με τον οποίο μπορείς να εξυπηρετήσεις κάποιον.  
 enas anthropos me ton opio boris na eksipiretisis kapion  
 'One person by means of whom one can serve someone else.'

(38) (i) **Direct Causation Verbs**

[[x CAUSE (BECOME (BE (y)))] adjective of ability in *-ικός (-ikos)*

(ii) **Indirect Causation Verbs**

[(x DO by z-instrument)e CAUSE (BECOME (BE (y)))] adjective of ability in *-ικός (-ikos)*

### 3.7 Agentive *από (apo)* 'by'-phrase versus Causative phrase *με (me)* 'with'-phrase

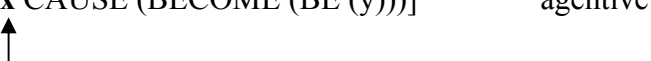
- (39) (a) \*Το σπίτι κάηκε **από τον Κώστα.**  
to spiti kaike apo ton kostas  
the house-Nom burn-PA-Past-3Sg by the Kostas  
'The house was burnt by Kostas.'
- (b) Το σπίτι κάηκε **με βενζίνη**  
to spiti kaike me venzini  
the house-Nom burn-PA-Past-3Sg with petrol  
που άπλωσε ο Κώστας σε όλα τα δωμάτια.  
pu aplose o kostas se ola ta domatia  
that poure-AA-Past-3Sg the Kostas in all the rooms  
'The house was burnt with petrol which Kostas poured in all rooms.'
- (40) (a) \*Η μπλούζα σκίστηκε **από τον Κώστα.**  
i bluzá skistike apo ton kostas  
the T-shirt-Nom tear-PA-Past-3Sg by the Kostas  
'The T-shirt was torn by Kostas.'
- (b) Η μπλούζα σκίστηκε **με το δυνατό τράβηγμα**  
i bluzá skistike me to dinato travigima  
the T-shirt-Nom tear-PA-Past-3Sg with the strong pulling  
που της έκανε ο Κώστας.  
pu tis ekane o kostas  
that to-her do-AA-Past-3Sg the Kostas  
'The T-shirt was torn by Kosta's strong pulling.'
- (41) **Με ποιον τρόπο** πνίγηκε η Ελένη/ κάηκε το σπίτι/ σκίστηκε η μπλούζα;  
me pion tropo pniyike i eleni/ kaike to spiti/ skistike i bluzá?  
'In what way was Eleni strangled/ the house burnt/ the T-shirt torn?'
- (42) **Με τι** πνίγηκε η Ελένη/ κάηκε το σπίτι/ σκίστηκε η μπλούζα;  
me ti pniyike i eleni/ kaike to spiti/ skistike i bluzá?  
'With what was Eleni strangled/ the house burnt/ the T-shirt torn?'
- (43) \***Από ποιον** πνίγηκε η Ελένη/ κάηκε το σπίτι/ σκίστηκε η μπλούζα;  
apo pion pniyike i eleni/ kaike to spiti/ skistike i bluzá?  
'By whom was Eleni strangled/ the house burnt/ the T-shirt torn?'
- (44) (a) Το σπίτι κάηκε **εξαιτίας/ λόγω** της βενζίνης  
to spiti kaike eksetias/ logo tis venzinis  
που άπλωσε ο Κώστας σε όλα τα δωμάτια.  
pu aplose o kostas se ola ta domatia  
'The house was burnt because of the petrol that Kostas poured in all rooms.'
- (b) Το σπίτι κάηκε **επειδή** ο Κώστας άπλωσε τη βενζίνη  
to spiti kaike epidi o kostas aplose ti venzini  
σε όλα τα δωμάτια (και μετά έβαλε φωτιά).  
se ola ta domatia (ke meta evale fotia)  
'The house was burnt because Kostas poured petrol in all rooms  
(and then made a fire).'

- (45) (a) Το κείμενο μεταφράστηκε στα Αγγλικά **από μια ομάδα φοιτητών**.  
to kimeno metafrastike sta aglika apo mia omada fititon  
the text-Nom translate-PA-Past-3Sg in-the English by a group students-Gen  
'The text was translated in English by a group of students.'
- (b) \*Το κείμενο μεταφράστηκε στα Αγγλικά **εξαιτίας/λόγω** μιας ομάδας φοιτητών.  
to kimeno metafrastike sta aglika eksetias/ logo mias omadas fititon  
the text-Nom translate-PA-Past-3Sg in-the English because of a group students-Gen  
'The text was translated in English because of a group of students.'
- (46) (a) Το κείμενο μεταφράστηκε **με το λεξικό** του Σταυρόπουλου.  
to kimeno metafrastike me to leksiko tu stavropulu  
the text-Nom translate-PA-Past-3Sg with the dictionary the Stavropoulos-Gen  
'The text was translated with Stavropoulos' dictionary.'
- (b) \*Το κείμενο μεταφράστηκε **εξαιτίας/λόγω** του λεξικού του Σταυρόπουλου.  
to kimeno metafrastike eksetias/ logo tu leksiku tu stavropulu  
the text-Nom translate-PA-Past-3Sg because of the dictionary the Stavropoulos-Gen  
'The text was translated in English because of the Stavropoulos' dictionary.'
- (47) (a) Το συμβόλαιο υπογράφηκε **με χρυσή πένα**.  
to simvoleo ipograftike me xrisi pena  
the contract-Nom sign-PA-Past-3Sg with gold pen  
'The contract was signed with a gold pen.'
- (b) \*Το συμβόλαιο υπογράφηκε **εξαιτίας/λόγω** της χρυσής πέννας.  
to simvoleo ipograftike eksetias/ logo tis xrisis penas  
the contract-Nom sign-PA-Past-3Sg because of the gold pen-Gen  
'The contract was signed because of the gold pen.'
- (48) (a) Με το εργαλείο αυτό μπορεί κανείς να κόψει κάτι.  
me to ergalio afto bori kanis na kopsi kati  
'By means of this instrument one can cut something.'
- (b) Το εργαλείο αυτό είναι ένα **κοπτικό** εργαλείο.  
to ergalio afto ine ena koptiko ergalio  
'This instrument is a cutting instrument.'
- (49) (a) Με το εργαλείο αυτό μπορεί κανείς να μεταφράσει στα Αγγλικά.  
me to ergalio afto bori kanis na metafrasi sta aglika  
'By means of this instrument one can translate in English.'
- (b) \*Το εργαλείο αυτό είναι **μεταφραστικό**.  
to ergalio afto ine metafrastiko  
'This instrument is a translating instrument.'

☞ This happens because the agentive *από* (*apo*) 'by'-phrase refers to the agent carrying out directly the denoted action, meaning that it is this argument that is the subject of the operator CAUSE in the Direct Causation verbs ([x CAUSE (BECOME (BE (y)))]). In contrast, the causative *με* (*me*) 'with'-phrase refers to either the instrument or the Causing Subevent, which is the subject of the operator CAUSE in Indirect Causation verbs [(x DO)e CAUSE (BECOME (BE (y)))]. For this reason the agentive *από* (*apo*) 'by'-phrase is disallowed by the Indirect Causation verbs, then the agent x is only the subject of the Causing Subevent but not of the operator CAUSE.


(50) (i) **Direct Causation Verbs**

[x CAUSE (BECOME (BE (y)))]      agentive *από (apo)* 'by'-phrase



(ii) **Indirect Causation Verbs**

[(x DO by z-instrument)e CAUSE (BECOME (BE (y)))]      causative *με (me)* 'with'-phrase



## Conclusion 2

We conclude that the ability of the Greek verbs/ verbal phrases to allow the agentive *από (apo)* 'by'-phrase depends on the underlying semantic structure of the verbs/ verbal phrases. More concretely, verbs/ verbal phrases implying a Direct Causation [x CAUSE (BECOME (BE (y)))] allow the *από (apo)* 'by'-phrase, while these implying an Indirect Causation [(x DO)e CAUSE (BECOME (BE (y)))] disallow it. This happens because the identity denoted by the *από (apo)* 'by'-phrase is the subject of the operator CAUSE in Direct Causation verbs, while it is only the subject of the Causing Subevent (e) in Indirect Causation verbs. This analysis is also supported by further morphological distributions in Greek, for example, derivation of actional nouns, agentive nouns and adjectives of ability.

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## Abbreviations

AA = Active voice affix  
 Acc = Accusative  
 Intr. = Intransitive

Nom = Nominative  
 PA = Passive voice affix  
 Pl = Plural

Pres = Present  
 Sg = Singular  
 Tr. = Transitive