A voice allomorphy puzzle in the Classical Greek passive

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Outward sensitive allomorphy in Modern Greek has been argued to be triggered by spans of ordered terminal nodes rather than strict node adjacency (Merchant 2015, Merchant & Pavlou 2016). This paper provides arguments that "strict" adjacency does, however, play a role in inward sensitive allomorphy, that is, when lower nodes have already been linearized and have phonological content: In the Classical Greek (CG) future passive, it is the combination of Asp[pfv]+Mod that causes non-active morphology to surface on T/Agr, since neither node by itself obligatorily demands non-active morphology. This is line with recent research that suggests that linearization influences the realization of morphosyntactic features (e.g., Arregi & Nevins 2012, Marušič et al. To appear).

In CG perfective stems (aorist, future), passive is expressed as a morpheme *-(th)ē-* that appears immediately next to the root (glossed PFV.PASS; NPAST = non-past) and that co-occurs with the voice morphology of the verbal endings (active/non-active, NAct). However, while *-thē-* obligatorily triggers active endings in the aorist, (1a-c), it always triggers NAct endings in the future, (1d-e).

(1) CG aorist and future passives (1sg.)

stem	passive	gloss	meaning
a. aor.	e-loú-thē-n	PAST-wash-PASS.PFV-1SG.PAST.**ACT**	'was washed'
b. aor.subj.	lou-thô	wash-PASS.PFV.SUBJ.1SG.NPAST.**ACT**	'may have been washed'
c. aor.opt.	lou-theíē-n	wash-PASS.PFV.OPT-1SG.PAST.**ACT**	'might have been washed'
d. fut.	lou-thḗ-so-mai	wash-PASS.PFV-FUT-1SG.NPAST.**NACT**	'will be washed'
e. fut.opt.	lou-thē-s-oí-mēn	wash-PASS.PFV-FUT-OPT-1SG.PAST.**NACT**	'might be washed'

This cannot be due to the intervening future suffix *-so-/-s-* in (1d-e), since this by itself can take either active or NAct morphology, e.g., *loú-s-ō* wash-FUT-1SG.NPAST.ACT 'I will wash (sth.)' vs. *loú-so-mai* wash-FUT-1SG.NPAST.NACT 'I will wash myself'.

Analysis I propose that CG *-thē-* realizes Asp[pfv] in the absence of Voice. Following, e.g., Embick 2004, Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou & Schäfer 2015, I assume that active/non-active morphology in Greek is allomorphy of the Voice head: Nonactive is conditioned by the absence of an agent argument in Spec.VoiceP; "active" is elsewhere morphology and surfaces when the condition for non-active is not fulfilled, as well as when Voice is missing entirely. Therefore *-thē-* is predicted to occur only in contexts where Voice is missing and to co-occur with active T/Agr morphology, as in the aorist passive, (1a-c). Its co-occurrence with NAct morphology in (1d-e) is unexpected. *-thē-* also realizes Asp[pfv] in the absence of Voice in the future passive (which is always perfective). The future suffix *-se/o-* realizes future modality (Mod), but it is not Mod alone that triggers the realization of T/Agr as non-active in the future passive, but the *span* Asp[pfv]+Mod. Since this is a case of "inward sensitivity", the phonological content of this span becomes relevant: A node with with phonological content intervenes between T/Agr and Asp[pfv] in the fut.pass. and fut.opt.pass., unlike in the aorist passive where nothing intervenes phonologically. This also predicts the interaction of *-thē-* with modality in cases where fusion of nodes has taken place: If Asp[PFV] undergoes fusion with Mod, as in the aorist subjunctive and aorist optative, (1b-c), Mod does not act as an intervener and the expected active morphology surfaces. If Asp and Mod do not fuse, (1d-e), the phonological content of Mod intervenes and NAct morphology surfaces. Further implications for outward and inward span sensitivity will also be discussed.

Selected references: **Alexiadou**, A., **Anagnostopoulou**, E. & F. **Schäfer**. 2015. *External arguments in transitivity alternations: a layering approach*. OUP. **Arregi**, K. & A. **Nevins**. 2012. *Morphotactics: Basque auxiliaries and the structure of Spellout*. Springer. **Embick**, D. 2004. Unaccusative syntax and verbal alternations. *The Unaccusativity puzzle*, 137–58. **Merchant**, J. 2015. How much context is enough? Two cases of span-conditioned stem allomorphy. *LI* 46/2:273–303. **Merchant**, J., & N. **Pavlou**. 2016. A surprising allomorphic span in Cypriot Greek. Ms., University of Chicago.