

VOICE IN ISTANBUL GREEK



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Voice in Istanbul Greek

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February 2020

## DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I, Umut Gülsün, certify that

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## ABSTRACT

### Voice in Istanbul Greek

The present thesis aims at analyzing the language spoken by one of the oldest communities in Istanbul: the Istanbul Greeks (Constantinopolites or the “Rums”). As a morphosyntactic analysis of Istanbul Greek, this research is the first of its kind, and is centered upon data collected from Istanbul Greeks regarding language use. Of course, this thesis focuses on a special aspect of morphosyntax, which is Voice related constructions in Istanbul Greek, such as anticausatives and passives. After an introductory chapter on the sociolinguistics of the Istanbul Greek community, the thesis proceeds with a theoretical discussion of Voice related constructions in Standard Greek, and ends with the analysis of Istanbul Greek data in terms of anticausative and passive constructions. This thesis centers upon language contact between Istanbul Greek and Turkish as a possible reason for the dialectal differences between Istanbul Greek and Standard Greek.

## ÖZET

### İstanbul Rumcasında Ses

Elinizdeki tez İstanbul'un en eski halklarından biri olan İstanbul Rumlarının konuştuğu dili, yani İstanbul Rumcasını incelemektedir. İstanbul Rumcası hakkındaki ilk biçimbilim-sözdizim çalışması olan bu tezin literatür açısından önemi büyüktür. İstanbul Rumları ile yapılan görüşmelerde toplanan dilsel verilere dayanan bu çalışma, biçimbilim-sözdizim arayüzünün özel bir alanı olan çatıya ve çatıyı barındıran dilsel yapılara odaklanmaktadır. İstanbul Rum toplumunun toplumdilbilimi açısından incelenmesi ile başlayan bu tez, Standart Yunancadaki çatı yapısının teorik tartışması ile devam etmekte ve İstanbul Rumcasının dilsel veriler ışığında analiz edilmesiyle son bulmaktadır. Bu çalışmada İstanbul Rumcası ve Standart Yunanca arasındaki lehçesel farklılıklar, İstanbul Rumcası ve Türkçe arasındaki dil ilişkisi çerçevesinde yorumlanmaktadır.

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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

The Greek community of Istanbul (Constantinopolites or the “Rums”) is an indigenous ethnoreligious group that has long existed, withstanding pressure and heavy emigration to Greece. This thesis aims at analyzing the language spoken by the Greeks of Istanbul in terms of Voice related constructions, such as anticausative and passive predicates. In these constructions, a special morphological phenomenon in Greek, namely non-active morphology, shows up on a regular basis. Hence, the discussion of anticausative and passive constructions also leads to a discussion of non-active morphology in Istanbul Greek. To better understand this phenomenon of morphological marking, the present thesis also visits morphological marking and Voice related phenomena in Standard Greek. In what follows, a discussion on the sociolinguistics of the Istanbul Greek community is presented, in order to give background knowledge on the community before the morphosyntactic analysis of their language. After this introductory chapter, a theoretical chapter explores Voice related phenomena and morphological marking in Standard Greek. Lastly, a chapter that involves data analysis discusses the situation of non-active morphology and Voice related constructions in Istanbul Greek.

## CHAPTER 2

### ISTANBUL GREEK

#### 2.1 Introduction

The Greek community of Istanbul (Constantinopolites or the “Rums”) is an indigenous ethnoreligious group that has long existed, withstanding pressure and heavy emigration to Greece. Although the Orthodox Greek population in Turkey is now confined to Istanbul (Poli), İzmir (Smyrna), Bozcaada (Tenedos), and Gökçeada (Imbros), the Greek language was spoken throughout Asia Minor before World War I and the population exchange between Greece and Turkey in 1924. The dialects spoken in Asia Minor included Demotic, Cappadocian, and Pontic (a small population of Muslim Pontic speakers remain in Trabzon, together with a small population of Greek speakers in Cunda, Ayvalık<sup>1</sup>). As the population exchange targeted Asia Minor, but not Istanbul, more than 100,000 Greeks could remain in the city (Komondouros & McEntee-Atalianis, 2007). However, the Greek population in Istanbul has been decreasing gradually since then. Among the reasons for the heavy emigration of Greeks out of the city are the labour battalions that recruited non-Muslims during World War II (Yirmi Kur’a Askerlik), the Capital Tax in 1942 that targeted non-Muslims (Varlık Vergisi), the Istanbul Pogrom of September 1955 against the non-Muslims of the city (6-7 Eylül), the 1964 deportation of Istanbul Greeks who held Greek passports, see Figure 1 (64 Sürgünü), and the Cyprus-related pressures against Istanbul Greeks. Today, the Greek population in Istanbul is estimated to be around 2500 people (Rompopoulou, 2018). The Greek population is

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1 The Greek speakers in Cunda are second generation Cretan immigrants whose ancestors were relocated to Cunda during the population exchange between Greece and Turkey (Kaya, 2011).

mainly located in Pera, Tatavla, Yeşilköy (Agios Stefanos), Bakırköy (Makrihori), Kadıköy (Chalkidona), the neighborhoods along the Bosphorus like Yeniköy (Nihori), and the islands of Istanbul (Prinkiponisia).



Figure 1. The 1964 deportation of Istanbul Greeks. Photograph from "20 Dolar, 20 Kilo" exhibition, *Babil Association*.

Nevertheless, the Greek language continues to exist in Istanbul, with several official domains for the language. These domains include the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate situated in Fener (Phanar) with its 70 churches (Komondouros & McEntee-Atalianis, 2007) around Istanbul (the Theological School of Halki is closed down), two community newspapers (Iho and Apoyevmatini), the Iho radio, the Istos publishing house, four junior schools, three high schools, and a nursery school (Rompopoulou, 2018). It should be noted that among the four operating junior schools, one is in the Aegean island Gökçeada (Junior School of Imbros). In the 2013-2014 school year, there were a total of 235 pupils in these schools: 50 in

nursery, 71 in junior, and 114 in high schools (Rompopoulou, 2018). On the other hand, the number of Greek schools in Istanbul has also been decreasing at an unprecedented rate together with the decrease in the Greek population. In the 1924-1925 academic year, there were 70 Greek schools in Istanbul, with a total of 11,000 pupils, while in the 1955-1956 academic year, the number of schools dropped to 45 junior schools and 6 high schools with a total of 5,380 pupils (Rompopoulou, 2018). Moreover, in the 2005-2006 academic year, there were 9 junior schools (170 pupils), 3 high schools (59 pupils), and 2 nursery schools (20 pupils) with a total of 249 pupils (Markou, 2012). As the insufficient amount of pupils in a school results in shutting down, many Greek schools have to advertise for more pupils to enroll. Unfortunately, this results in a rivalry between schools, as in the rivalry between Zappion High School, Zografion High School, and the High School of Phanar, see Figure 2 (Markou, 2012).



Figure 2. High School of Phanar. Photograph from *Habertürk*.

The Greek schools in Istanbul operate on the basis of the Lausanne treaty, which allows ethnic groups in Turkey to offer education programmes different from

that of the state (the state gives this right to Greeks, Armenians, but not to Assyrians for example). On the other hand, the regulations on the programme of the Greek schools in Istanbul require certain classes to be given in Turkish by teachers appointed by the state (Rompopoulou, 2018). Hence, the education programme in Greek schools is bilingual, and Turkish and Greek are taught equally in terms of the number of hours of classes (Rompopoulou, 2018). In accord, Greek language and Literature, Science, Mathematics, Biology, Physics, Chemistry, Music, Art, Physical Education are taught in Greek, while Turkish language and Literature, History, History of Reforms, Sociology, and Geography are taught in Turkish (Rompopoulou, 2018). The classes in Greek are offered by either Greeks who hold Turkish citizenship, or by “quota teachers” who come from Greece on the basis of an agreement between Greece and Turkey (Markou, 2012). According to Markou (2012), this bilingual dichotomy in the curriculum causes the education programme in Greek schools to break up into two conflicting levels.

In addition, there is also another language-wise dichotomy present in the Greek schools in Istanbul, namely, Arabic vs. Greek. Since the 1970s, the number of Antiochian Christian students has been increasing in the Greek schools of Istanbul (Markou, 2012). Antiochian Christians, an indigenous Arabic-speaking ethnoreligious group from Antioch, have been immigrating to Istanbul because of socioeconomic and political reasons since the 1970s, and they were given the right to study in the Greek schools of Istanbul by the Turkish state (Rompopoulou, 2018). The Antiochian Christians are members of the Greek Orthodox Church of Antioch (based in Damascus), and are mostly from Altınözü and Tokaçlı villages in Antioch. The presence of Antiochian Christians in the Greek schools of Istanbul can be shown

as follows: in the 2005-2006 academic year, 116 pupils out of 249 were Antiochians (Markou, 2012), and in the 2013-2014 academic year, 111 pupils out of 235 were Antiochians (Rompopoulou, 2018). As these children use Arabic and Turkish in their homes with their families (Markou, 2012), the Greek language is a totally foreign language for them. Hence, although the Antiochian children learn Greek starting from junior school, they find it easier to speak in Turkish with their Greek friends. That is one of the reasons why Turkish becomes the common language in Greek schools (Rompopoulou, 2018; Markou, 2012; Komondouros & McEntee-Atalianis, 2007).

Now that the reader has gained some basic insight about the Greek community in Istanbul and the education system in Greek schools, the following two sections will provide a sociolinguistic analysis of the Istanbul Greek community. Hence, I will start with a sociolinguistic framework in the next section.

## 2.2 A sociolinguistic framework

Although the rise of the nation state has negatively impacted multilingualism remarkably, it is believed that multilingual speakers outnumber monolingual speakers in the world's population. One of the first written texts where multilingualism was alluded to is the Hebrew Bible (the Tanakh). The Book of Genesis, which is the first book of the Tanakh, tells the myth of the Tower of Babel where the people of Shinar build a tower to reach the heaven. God, looking upon this tower with anger, decides to confuse the language of these people so that they don't understand one another. It may be said that the myth of Babel is one of the first instances in the mythology of languages where multilingualism is regarded as a curse on humankind.



One of the main concepts that is used in sociolinguistics in order to study multilingualism is the concept of domain. The concept of domain was proposed by Fishman (1972): domains are “the societally or institutionally clusterable occasions in which one language (variant, dialect, style, etc.) is habitually employed rather than (or in addition to) another” (Fishman, 1972, p. 80). That is to say, the domain of a social situation is a determiner of who speaks in what language to whom and when. Accordingly, the domain is made up of three components: persons, places, and times. A combination of persons, places, and times constitutes a domain. One example of a domain may be the family domain, and Fishman gives special importance to the family in terms of intergenerational mother tongue transmission: “Multilingualism often begins in the family and depends upon it for encouragement if not for protection” (Fishman, 1972, p. 82).

When discussing intergenerational mother tongue transmission, one should bring forth the term language shift. Language shift may also be called language replacement or language assimilation, and it happens when a speech community shifts to another language. Fishman defines language shift in the following way:

The study of language maintenance and language shift is concerned with the relationship between change (or stability) in language usage patterns, on the one hand, and ongoing psychological, social or cultural processes, on the other hand, in populations that utilize more than one speech variety for intra-group or for inter-group purposes (Fishman, 1968, p. 76).

The reason for language shift is the presence of a dominant language with higher status than the language of the speech community. Edwards (2010) also takes up the same viewpoint: “Language decline can be understood properly only as a symptom of minority-majority contact” (Edwards, 2010, p. 73).

The penetration of the dominant language into the domains of the threatened language may be scaled into eight stages. This scaling system that was proposed by Fishman (2001) is called the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS). In this scale, a higher score corresponds to lower language maintenance (hence higher language shift). In Stage 8, the threatened language is spoken by socially isolated old folks. In Stage 1, the language is used in higher level educational, occupational, governmental and media efforts. Fishman suggests that there is no possibility of language maintenance beyond Stage 6 where the threatened language is the normal language of informal spoken interaction between and within all three generations of family. In Stage 6, the dominant language is reserved for greater formality and technicality than those common of daily family life. Unlike Stage 6, there is no chance of reversing language shift in Stage 7. In this stage, the threatened language is spoken by people who are socially integrated and ethnolinguistically active, but beyond child-bearing age. This means that intergenerational mother tongue transmission cannot take place anymore at Stage 7. For example, according to Romero (2011), Judeo-Spanish in Turkey is beyond Stage 6:

Most Judeo-Spanish speakers are fully integrated into the society which speaks the majority language and are beyond child-bearing age. This implies that intergenerational transmission may no longer be possible, and therefore the language dies as entire communities experience language shift.

Another language that should be considered when discussing languages in Turkey is Kurdish. Kurdish has a greater speech community in terms of population, and was studied more extensively compared to Istanbul Greek. Öpengin (2012) summarizes the language shift in the Kurdish speech community in three major points: “(1) a quasi-total exclusion of Turkish among speakers over 40 years; (2) prevalent alternate usage of the two languages with slightly higher rates for the usage

of Kurdish among speakers of 20-40 years; (3) relatively higher usage of Turkish among speakers below 20 years.” In the case of Istanbul Greek, one does not expect to find a quasi-total exclusion of Turkish in middle-aged speakers as in (1). The reason is that Istanbul Greeks have to fully integrate into the Turkish-speaking society because of their relatively scarce population. On the other hand, the language shift in the Greek community of Istanbul (as in other ethnolinguistic communities in Turkey) parallels that of Kurdish. According to Komondouros and McEntee-Atalianis (2007), on Fishman’s (2001) GIDS scale, “Greek in Istanbul is somewhere between Stages 4 and 6,” the latter being the last stage where language maintenance is possible.

### 2.3 The sociolinguistic situation of Istanbul Greek

There are two previous studies that were conducted on the sociolinguistic status of Istanbul Greek. This section will focus on the first study by Komondouros and McEntee-Atalianis (2007), which aims at investigating language use and competence in Greek, language and identity, and language attitudes. Their study employs a questionnaire addressing the aforementioned sociolinguistic aspects of Istanbul Greek. In all, the questionnaire could be distributed to 300 people, yielding 60 completed and valid questionnaires. Moreover, although the Greek Consulate supported the study initially, it later intervened and stopped questionnaire collection in the Greek schools because of the questions on language and identity (Komondouros & McEntee-Atalianis, 2007). In addition, the authors report that the older generation was particularly reticent, and explain the difficulties that arose

during questionnaire collection by the sensitive historical and political background of the Istanbul Greek community (Komondouros & McEntee-Atalianis, 2007).

Nevertheless, among the 60 informants who completed the questionnaire, 26 informants also expanded on their responses in interviews. Again, among these 60 informants, 54 reported Greek as their mother tongue, one Turkish, and five Arabic, the latter being the Antiochian Christians previously mentioned. In terms of the language of formal education, five informants reported Turkish, 35 informants reported Greek and Turkish equally, and 20 informants reported Greek (Komondouros & McEntee-Atalianis, 2007). The summary of the population sample in the study can be found in Table 1 (Komondouros & McEntee-Atalianis, 2007).

Table 1. Sample Overview

	<i>Age group</i>			<i>Total</i>
	<i>Young ( &lt; 35 years)</i>	<i>Middle-aged (36-55 years)</i>	<i>Older ( &gt; 56 years)</i>	
<i>Gender</i>				
Female	15	4	5	24
Male	11	13	12	36
Total	26	17	17	60

In terms of language use, Komondouros and McEntee-Atalianis (2007) investigated the language spoken in the family domain, and in other domains. In the questionnaire, language use was scored on a Likert scale, the range being 1 – only Turkish, to 5 – only Greek (2 – mainly Turkish with some Greek, 3 – Greek and Turkish equally, 4 – mainly Greek with some Turkish). According to the authors, the language of the family domain is predominantly Greek, as in Table 2 (Komondouros & McEntee-Atalianis, 2007). Moreover, the data in the study shows that Istanbul Greeks mainly use Greek at church, and to a lesser extent, at community events. To

add, the church and the Phanar based Patriarchate play a crucial role in the cohesion of the Istanbul Greek community, given the historical importance of the Patriarchate in Istanbul. Church-related events (mass or cultural events) are a point of gathering for Istanbul Greeks. Moreover, the church also provides employment for community members. It should be noted here that the Istanbul Greek community is very active in terms of cultural and social events. For example, the alumni associations of the three main schools (Zappion High School, Zografion High School, High School of Phanar), and the Panayia Church in Yeniköy (Nihori) regularly organize events that attract community members, and also people from different origins. According to Komondouros and McEntee-Atalianis (2007), these cultural events are well attended by community members, as they are seen as an opportunity to use the Greek language and to socialize. On the other hand, Istanbul Greeks use Greek and Turkish equally with friends, while in their work and daily lives, they use more Turkish than Greek, as in Figure 3 (Komondouros & McEntee-Atalianis, 2007).

Table 2. The Family Domain

<i>Interlocutor</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Std. deviation</i>
Grandparents	40	4.08	1.269
Parents	56	4.05	1.242
Husband/wife	27	4.00	1.468
Siblings	46	4.04	1.134
Children	20	4.40	0.995
Grandchildren	4	4.75	0.500
Valid <i>N</i> (listwise)	4		

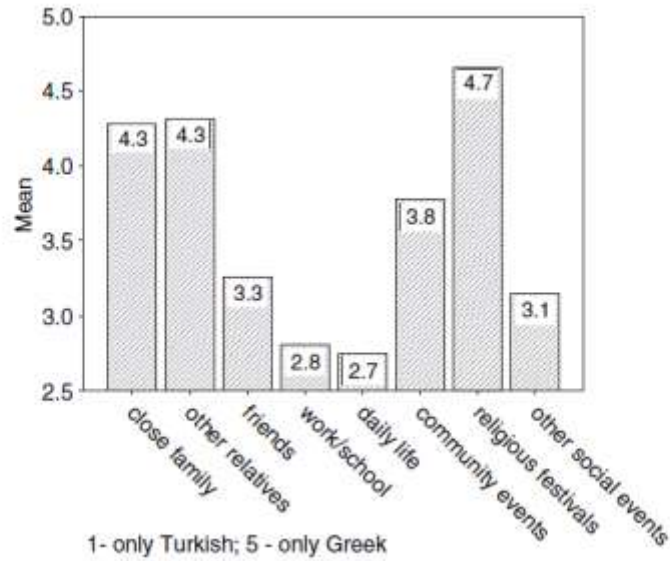


Figure 3. Language use in other domains

Another finding of Komondouros and McEntee-Atalianis (2007) related to the contact between Istanbul Greeks and Greece has particular importance for this thesis. According to the authors, many informants who participated in their study have relatives and friends in Greece, usually Greek immigrants from Istanbul. Also, many Istanbul Greeks travel to Greece regularly for holidays or for work, which strengthens the dialectal ties between Istanbul Greek and Standard Greek. In addition, Istanbul Greeks mostly choose Greece for tertiary education, as entrance to universities in mainland Greece was made easy for Istanbul Greeks. According to the informants, this situation furthers the decline of the community (Komondouros & McEntee-Atalianis, 2007). Lastly, Istanbul Greeks are exposed to Greek through literature and media, which are mostly in Standard Greek (e.g. the accessibility of Greek television channels by satellite). In terms of media in Istanbul Greek, one can consider the two community newspapers which act as notice-boards for social, cultural, and religious events (Iho and Apoyevmatini, with a circulation of few hundred copies each), the Iho radio, and old literature written in Istanbul Greek (e.g.

Loksandra). Apart from these, Istanbul Greeks are mainly exposed to the media in Standard Greek (and Turkish). Although this exposure to Standard Greek is important for the maintenance of Greek in Istanbul, I claim that it also reduces the dialectal differences between Istanbul Greek and Standard Greek. On the other hand, Turkish television and media are also an important part of the home domain. According to Komondouros and McEntee-Atalianis (2007), 98% of their informants watch Turkish television or listen to Turkish radio often or all the time. Conversely, 72% percent of their informants report that they watch Greek television or listen to Greek radio often or all the time.

Regarding language shift, the data in the study of Komondouros and McEntee-Atalianis (2007) reveal a falling self-assessed competence in Greek with each age group (see the age groups in Table 1). Moreover, self-assessed competence in Greek is higher for the two younger age groups compared to the older group. Komondouros and McEntee-Atalianis (2007) also report that codeswitching is prevalent across all age groups: 88% of their informants state that they use Turkish words or phrases when speaking Greek. Using a statistical analysis (ANOVA), the authors found out that age has a significant effect on the decreased language competence. Hence, they claim that language shift is taking place in the Greek community of Istanbul (Komondouros & McEntee-Atalianis, 2007). Another statistical result of their study is the positive correlation between Greek competence and the number of years of education in Greek, as would be expected. The self-assessed competence in Greek and Turkish is given in Figure 4 (Komondouros & McEntee-Atalianis, 2007).

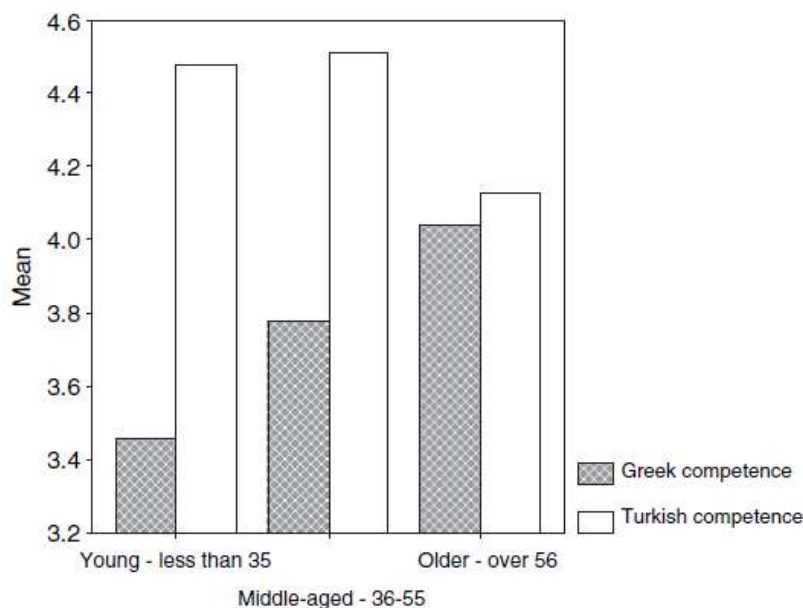


Figure 4. Self-assessed competence in Greek and Turkish by age group

Apart from language competence and language use, Komondouros and McEntee-Atalianis (2007) focus on the language attitudes of Istanbul Greeks. Of importance, the informants in their study report on the social status of Istanbul Greek as they perceive it. For example, during the worst periods of state pressure against Istanbul Greeks (e.g. the ‘Citizen speak Turkish’ movement<sup>2</sup> of the 1930s), Istanbul Greeks had to avoid speaking in Greek in public. However, informants now state that this intimidation is no longer the case, and more than 80% of the informants report that they do not feel uncomfortable in speaking Greek in public. On the other hand, more than 50% of the informants think that Greek has an inferior status compared to Turkish. The statements of the informants related to the social status of Istanbul Greek can be found in Table 3 (Komondouros & McEntee-Atalianis, 2007).

<sup>2</sup> The ‘Citizen speak Turkish’ movement aimed at imposing the use of Turkish on all citizens (Komondouros & McEntee-Atalianis, 2007).



Table 3. Social Status Statements

	<i>Valid n</i>	<i>Agree or strongly agree (%)</i>	<i>Indifferent (%)</i>	<i>Disagree or strongly disagree (%)</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Standard deviation</i>
SS1: Greek has inferior status in Turkish society to Turkish	52	51.6	8.3	26.6	2.6	1.43
SS2: Greek does not have same social status that it used to	58	68.4	11.7	16.7	2.3	0.99
SS3: Speaking Greek hinders one's social advancement	58	5.0	5.0	86.7	4.2	0.74
SS4: I do not feel comfortable speaking Greek in public	58	16.7	11.7	68.4	3.8	1.14

Percentages are of total sample, not just of valid responses

Moreover, regarding language attitudes, the informants in the study report that Greek has high symbolic and historic importance in Istanbul, and all of them feel that Greek should be preserved in the city. Although one may claim that the Patriarchate in Phanar is an important reason of the high symbolic status of Greek for the community, the situation is not as clear. According to the data in the study, only 56.7% of the informants report that Greek is essential because of the Patriarchate. According to Komondouros and McEntee-Atalianis (2007), age has a statistically significant effect on the response to the question in the survey regarding the relationship between the Patriarchate and the importance of Istanbul Greek. According to the authors, the older generation reported that the importance of the Patriarchate was high, contrary to the younger generation. Hence, the authors claim that the younger generation no longer sees the Patriarchate as an essential feature of

ethnic identity (Komondouros & McEntee-Atalianis, 2007). The answers to the symbolic status questions can be found in Table 4 (Komondouros & McEntee-Atalianis, 2007).

Table 4. The Symbolic Status of Istanbul Greek

	<i>Valid n</i>	<i>Not at all or a little (%)</i>	<i>Fairly (%)</i>	<i>Very or extremely (%)</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Standard deviation</i>
SYM1: How important is it to you to be able to speak Greek?	56	1.7	5.0	86.6	4.6*	0.75
	<i>Valid n</i>	<i>Agree or strongly agree (%)</i>	<i>Indifferent (%)</i>	<i>Disagree or strongly disagree (%)</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Standard deviation</i>
SYM2: It is important to preserve Greek/ pass it on to future generations	59	93.3	0.0	5.0	4.4	0.75
SYM3: Our culture and religion are strongly tied to the Greek language	59	96.8	1.7	0.0	4.4*	0.53
SYM4: Greek is essential because of the Patriarchate	56	56.7	11.7	25.0	3.6	1.23

Percentages are of total sample, not just of valid responses

\*Indicates statistical significance at the 5% level

Lastly, Komondouros and McEntee-Atalianis (2007) touch upon language and identity, which is an extremely sensitive issue in the context of the Istanbul Greek community. According to the authors, the identity of Istanbul Greeks comprises Greek culture and traditions, the Greek language, Greek Orthodox religion, and crucially, the Istanbulite identity that has deep roots and history in the city. The respondents to the questionnaire also report that they feel more Greek than Turkish. Regarding the Istanbulite identity, the informants feel that being Istanbulites is the defining element of their identity. Moreover, the informants repeatedly emphasize on

how they feel they do not belong when they visit Greece. This is due to linguistic differences between Istanbul Greek and Standard Greek, but also due to differences in “psychology” and “character” (Komondouros & McEntee-Atalianis, 2007). Most importantly, all informants strongly feel that Greek is part of their ethnocultural identity. Results to identity questions can be found in Table 5 (Komondouros & McEntee-Atalianis, 2007).

Table 5. Language and Identity

	<i>Valid n</i>	<i>Not at all or more Greek than Turkish (%)</i>	<i>Equally Greek and Turkish (%)</i>	<i>Completely or more Turkish than Greek (%)</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Standard deviation</i>
ID1: How Turkish do you feel?	53	78.3	10.0	0.0	4.4*	0.69
	<i>Valid n</i>	<i>Agree or strongly agree (%)</i>	<i>Indifferent (%)</i>	<i>Disagree or strongly disagree (%)</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Standard deviation</i>
ID2: To be a true Istanbul Greek, it is necessary to speak Greek	60	71.7	16.7	11.6	3.9	1.09
ID3: I feel proud to be an Istanbul Greek	58	78.3	11.7	6.6	4.2	1.02
ID4: Speaking Turkish weakens our identity	58	11.6	10.0	75.0	3.8	0.99

Percentages are of total sample, not just of valid responses

\*Indicates statistical significance at the 5% level

#### 2.4 The basic description of the grammar of Istanbul Greek

Now that we have gained insight on the sociolinguistic situation of Istanbul Greek, this section will provide a basic description of the Istanbul Greek dialect in terms of the grammatical differences between Standard Greek and Istanbul Greek.

### 2.4.1 Articles and pronouns

In Standard Greek, personal pronouns come in two forms: emphatic and weak. Weak forms can only be used in close connection to words that they are tied to (i.e. they are clitic pronouns). These forms do not carry stress, and they consist of a single syllable. For the first and second person, there are no weak forms in the nominative case (Holton, Mackridge, & Philippaki-Warburton, 2005). In Istanbul Greek, the masculine accusative plural form of the weak personal pronoun is *tis* instead of *tus* (Pandelidis, 2019). The weak personal pronouns in Istanbul Greek are presented in Table 6 (Holton et al., 2005; Pandelidis, 2019).

Table 6. Weak Personal Pronouns

Weak personal pronouns						
First person: ‘me, us’				Second person: ‘you’		
	Sg.	Pl.			Sg.	Pl.
Acc.	me	mas		Acc.	se	sas
Gen.	mu	mas		Gen.	su	sas
Third person: ‘him, her, it, them’						
	Sg.			Pl.		
	M	F	N	M	F	N
Nom.	tos	ti	to	ti	tes	ta
Acc.	ton	ti(n)	to	<b><u>tis</u></b>	tis/tes	ta
Gen.	tu	tis	tu	tus	tus	tus

Weak pronouns in Greek are used more frequently than emphatic pronouns.

These pronouns can act as the direct object in the accusative (Holton et al., 2005):

(1) Se                      ida.

you.ACC.Sg saw.1SG

“I saw you.”

Moreover, in Standard Greek, weak pronouns can act as the indirect object in the genitive (Holton et al., 2005). However, this is not the case in Istanbul Greek, as the indirect object also carries accusative case in this dialect (Pandelidis, 2019):

(2) Se/ \*su to ipa.  
you.ACC.Sg / you.GEN.Sg it.ACC.Sg told.1SG  
“I told you.”

To add, weak pronouns can also act as possessive pronouns in the genitive after a noun (Holton et al., 2005):

(3) o adelfos tis  
the brother her.GEN.Sg  
“her brother”

Last but not least, when the weak pronoun is combined with the word *monos* “alone”, it means “by myself” (Holton et al., 2005):

(4a) Meno monos mu.  
live.1SG alone.MASC me.GEN.Sg  
“I live alone.”

(4b) Meni moni tis.  
live.3SG alone.FEM her.GEN.Sg  
“She lives alone.”

(4c) To bukali adiase apo mono tu.  
the bottle emptied by alone.NEUT it.GEN.Sg  
“The bottle emptied by itself.”

Personal pronouns in Greek can also come in emphatic forms. They inflect for number, case, and gender (Holton et al., 2005). In Istanbul Greek, instead of the

plural genitive form of the masculine personal pronoun (*afton*), the accusative form *aftunus* is used (Pandelidis, 2019). Moreover, *-a* is added to masculine and feminine forms of some pronouns: *aftona*, *aftina* (Pandelidis, 2019). The emphatic personal pronouns in Istanbul Greek are presented below in Table 7 (Holton et al., 2005; Pandelidis, 2019).

Table 7. Emphatic Personal Pronouns

Emphatic personal pronouns						
First person: 'I, we'				Second person: 'you'		
	Sg.	Pl.			Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	ego	emis		Nom.	esi	esis
Acc.	emena	emas		Acc.	esena	esas
Gen.	emena	emas		Gen.	esena	esas
Third person: 'he, she, they'						
	Sg.			Pl.		
	M	F	N	M	F	N
Nom.	aftos	afti	afto	afti	aftes	afta
Acc.	<b><u>aftona</u></b>	<b><u>aftina</u></b>	afto	aftus/aftunus	aftes	afta
Gen.	aftu	aftis	aftu	<b><u>aftunus</u></b>	<b><u>aftunus</u></b>	<b><u>aftunus</u></b>

In Greek, the definite article also inflects for gender, number, and case (Holton et al., 2005). The definite article paradigm in Istanbul Greek differs in terms of the masculine accusative plural article: *tis* is used instead of *tus* (Pandelidis, 2019). The definite articles in Istanbul Greek are presented in Table 8 (Holton et al., 2005; Pandelidis, 2019).



(6) Ego tha pliroso ton logariasmo.

I.NOM FUT pay.1SG the.ACC.MASC bill.ACC

“I will pay the bill.”

As the inflection on the verb shows the person and number of the subject, a subject pronoun becomes redundant in Greek. That is why in many sentences, no explicit subject is stated (Holton et al., 2005):

(7) Kseris pote tha ftasi?

know.2SG when FUT arrive.3SG

“Do you know when s/he will arrive?”

#### 2.4.4 Case

The Greek language has four cases: nominative, accusative, genitive, and vocative.

The nominative is used to indicate the subject of a verb (Holton et al., 2005):

(8) I Maria efige.

the.NOM.FEM.Sg Maria.NOM left.3SG

“Maria left.”

The second case, which is the accusative, has two chief uses in Greek. First of all, the accusative is used to indicate the direct object of a verb (Holton et al., 2005):

(9) O Yorgos eklise tin porta.

the.NOM.MASC.Sg Yorgos.NOM closed.3SG the.ACC.FEM.Sg door.ACC

“Yorgos closed the door.”

Secondly, the accusative case is used for the object of most prepositions (Holton et al., 2005):





Lastly, Greek also has the vocative case, which indicates that the noun phrase in question is being addressed (Holton et al., 2005):

(14) Yatre!

doctor.VOC

“Doctor!”

## 2.5 Methodology

After a section on the basic description of Istanbul Greek’s grammar, the rest of this thesis focuses on a special morphosyntactic phenomenon: Voice-related morphology in Standard Greek and Istanbul Greek. In order to collect data for these two dialects, I collected grammaticality judgments from speakers of both these dialects based on a set of Greek sentences (the data in this thesis has been collected as part of the project Türkiye’de Dil Etkileşimi: Belgeleme ve Çözümleme [Language Contact in Turkey: Documentation and Analysis (3.8.2016-2.8.2018) Boğaziçi University Research Fund #11500]). The set of sentences that were used in data collection basically consists of two options for marking the verb: non-active morphology vs. active morphology. The informants are free to choose among the two options of marking for the verb (none and both are also licit answers). Moreover, each verb in question comes in four different contexts: passive, anticausative, anticausative with partial change semantics, and anticausative with total change semantics. Hence, the set of sentences includes four sentences for each verb.

The informants that participated in the study are speakers of Istanbul Greek and Standard Greek. For each dialect, I collected data from four speakers. It should be noted here that it is hard to reach Istanbul Greek informants due to the small size

of the community, and the sociopolitical factors that arise from the previous pressures on Istanbul Greeks. As the sample size is small for both dialects, the findings in this thesis can only be interpreted as tendencies rather than facts. That said, I now want to provide some demographic information about my informants, and explain the course of data collection.

The four Istanbul Greek informants that participated in this study are all generations-long Istanbulites who are Greek-Turkish bilinguals. I reached most of my Istanbul Greek informants through mutual friends; although, I already knew one of my informants before the study that I conducted. Fortunately, I could arrange one-to-one meetings with all of the Istanbul Greek informants, as the presence of another speaker could have made data collection difficult. The interviews with Istanbul Greek informants took place in their homes, work places, or public places such as cafes. The ages of the informants can be roughly described as follows: two of them were middle-aged, while the other two were elderly. In terms of gender, three informants were female, and one informant was male. It should be noted here that all informants have one way or another been exposed to Standard Greek through travels, media, or other contacts with Greece. Hence, for all informants, we can talk about reduced dialectal difference between Standard Greek and the Istanbul dialect. Although one would expect old informants to be less influenced by Standard Greek (as the influence of the standard dialect has been increasing only recently, see section 2.3), the findings show the opposite, as both of the old informants were university professors who had full grasp of the standard dialect. That is why they differentiated their own way of speaking from “ordinary” Istanbul Greeks (one of my informants described them as the ordinary “Marika”) who have less grasp of the “standard” way

of speaking. Compared to the university professors, the other informants were less meticulous about “standard” Greek. I should also note their professional backgrounds: one of the middle-aged informants was a real estate agent, while the other one was a retired white-collar employee.

On the other hand, my initial expectation that younger informants would be more influenced by Turkish (due to increasing influence of Turkish through media and assimilation) seems to hold, as the answers of middle-aged informants to my set of questions tended to be more “non-standard” compared to those of the older informants (many of these “non-standard” answers could be interpreted by the influence of Turkish). Another reason why the old informants were less influenced by Turkish was their educational and professional background that seems to bring them closer to a “correct” and “standard” way of speaking. To sum up, generational, professional, and educational differences between the informants resulted in different levels of “standardness” in the data they provided.

For Standard Greek speakers, I unfortunately could not arrange face-to-face interviews. Hence, the set of sentences were sent to the informants through e-mail. The four informants that participated in the study came from a variety of regions in Greece: Corinth, Patra, and Athens. Their ages ranged from 27 to 42. All of them were either academicians or students, and they all have at least a master’s degree. The participants were all raised in monolingual homes, and the language of the family domain was Greek for all of them. In terms of gender, two informants were female, while the other two were male. Apart from one informant who selected English as the language she preferred in daily life, the other informants selected Greek as the language of daily life.

## 2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has provided the reader with a historical, sociological, and sociolinguistic basis about the Istanbul Greek community, together with an introduction of the grammar of the Istanbul Greek dialect. Apart from these, section 2.5 has also set the methodological basis of this thesis in terms of data collection, and has provided demographic information on the participants of this study. After this introductory chapter, the next chapter proceeds with Voice-related constructions in Standard Greek.



## CHAPTER 3

### UNACCUSATIVES IN STANDARD GREEK

#### 3.1 Introduction

An unaccusative verb is an intransitive verb whose syntactic external argument is not a semantic agent. Unaccusative verbs have two types. One of them is anticausative verbs. This type can also be formulated as the alternating unaccusative. An example for an alternating unaccusative is given in (1).

(1a) The window broke.

(1b) Eleni broke the window.

In this example, (1a) is the anticausative counterpart of (1b). Whereas (1b) is the causative counterpart of (1a). For unaccusatives that can alternate like (1), the argument of the intransitive variant and the object of the transitive variant bear the same thematic relationship to the verb. However, there are also unaccusative verbs that do not alternate as in (1). Such verbs are called pure unaccusatives. An example for a pure unaccusative is given in (2).

(2a) The vase fell.

(2b) \*Eleni fell the vase.

In example (2), the transitive form of (2a), which is (2b), is ungrammatical. For unaccusative verbs such as *fall*, only the intransitive form in (2a) is possible. In this chapter, I will try to examine unaccusatives in Standard Greek that are of type (1). As told, such unaccusatives are called anticausatives, and the members of the causative-anticausative alternation have special morphology on them in Greek. This chapter will try to investigate the existence of this phenomenon in Standard Greek.

### 3.2 Anticausatives in Standard Greek

Unlike English, alternating unaccusatives (anticausatives) in Standard Greek have different forms. The causative counterpart in Standard Greek carries active morphology as in (3a), and the anticausative counterpart carries non-active morphology as in (3b).

(3a) O Yannis ekapse ti supa.  
the Yannis.NOM burnt.Act the soup.ACC  
“Yannis burnt the soup.”

(3b) I supa kaike.  
the soup.NOM burnt.NAct  
“The soup burnt.”

As seen in example (3), the transitive and the anticausative forms in Standard Greek differ in terms of active morphology vs. non-active morphology. Apart from the causative-anticausative alternation, the non-active form is used in several different environments in Standard Greek. One such environment is the passive. An example is given in (4).

(4) To vivlio diavastike htes.  
the book.NOM read.NAct yesterday  
“The book was read yesterday.”

Apart from the passive, Standard Greek utilizes non-active morphology for inherent reflexives and self-reflexives, as in (5) and (6) respectively.

(5) I Maria htenizete.  
the Maria.NOM combs.NAct  
“Maria combs.”

(6) I Maria afto-katastrefete.  
the Maria.NOM self-destroys.NAct  
“Maria destroys herself.”

### 3.2.1 Types of anticausatives in Standard Greek

In Standard Greek, anticausatives come in three types, or classes. One class is the anticausatives that are formed with non-active morphology. Let us call this Class A (Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou, & Schäfer, 2015). The verb *keo* that we have seen before in (3) belongs to Class A. Another such verb is *vithizo*:

(7a) I kateyida vithise to plio.  
the storm.NOM sank.Act the ship.ACC  
“The storm sank the ship.”

(7b) To plio vithistike.  
the ship.NOM sank.NAct  
“The ship sank.”

Another type of anticausative in Standard Greek, which we will call Class B, carries active morphology in the intransitive context (Alexiadou et al., 2015). Two examples for Class B are given in (8) and (9).

(8a) O Yannis adiase ti sakula.  
the Yannis.NOM emptied the bag.ACC  
“Yannis emptied the bag.”

(8b) I sakula adiase.  
the bag.NOM emptied.Act  
“The bag emptied.”



(9a) O Petros anixe ti porta.

the Petros.NOM opened.Act the door.ACC

“Petros opened the door.”

(9b) I porta anixe.

the door.NOM opened.Act

“The door opened.”

As seen in (8) and (9), for verbs that belong to Class B, it is possible to form the anticausative with active morphology. Apart from the verbs in (8) and (9), verbs like *asprizo* (whiten), *kokinizo* (redden), and *mavrizo* (blacken) also belong to Class B. Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (2004) claim that all such de-adjectival verbs that undergo the causative alternation are members of Class B, and that they are not used with non-active morphology. In addition, they claim that most of these verbs lack a passive.

Lastly, verbs that are of the third type of anticausatives in Standard Greek can bear both active and non-active morphology, which means that they are optionally marked (Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou, 2004). We will categorize these verbs in Class C (Alexiadou et al., 2015). Such two examples are given below.

(10a) O sismos gremise to ktirio.

the earthquake.NOM demolished the building.ACC

“The earthquake demolished the building.”

(10b) To ktirio gremise apo mono tu.

the building collapsed.Act by itself

“The building collapsed by itself.”

(10c) To ktirio gremistike apo mono tu.

the building collapsed.NAct by itself

“The building collapsed by itself.”

(11a) I Maria lerose to trapezomantilo.

the Maria.NOM dirtied.Act the table.cloth.ACC

“Maria dirtied the table cloth.”

(11b) To trapezomantilo lerose.

the table.cloth.NOM dirtied.Act

“The table cloth got dirty.”

(11c) To trapezomantilo lerothike.

the table.cloth.NOM dirtied.NAct

“The table cloth got dirty.”

Although they are optionally marked, Class C verbs are interpreted differently in accord with the type of morphology they bear (Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou, 2004; Alexiadou et al., 2015). When verbs of Class C are unmarked, they denote a partial change. However, this does not mean that only unmarked Class C verbs can denote partial change. Verbs that are marked with non-active morphology may also denote partial change. The difference between marked and unmarked Class C verbs is the fact that only the ones that are marked may denote a completed change of state. Examples (12) and (13) illustrate the different interpretations of Class C verbs.

(12a) To ktirio gremise se ena simio  
the building collapsed.Act in one spot  
alla den gremistike/ #gremise entelos.  
but NEG collapsed.NAct/ collapsed.Act completely

(12b) To trapezomantilo leroise se ena simio  
the table.cloth dirtied.Act in one spot  
alla den lerothike/ #leroise entelos.  
but NEG dirtied.NAct/dirtied.Act completely

(13a) To ktirio gremistike se ena simio  
the building collapsed.NAct in one spot  
alla den gremistike/ #gremise entelos.  
but NEG collapsed.NAct/ collapsed.Act completely

(13b) To trapezomantilo lerothike se ena simio  
the table.cloth dirtied.NAct in one spot  
alla den lerothike/ #leroise entelos.  
but NEG dirtied.NAct/ dirtied.Act completely

(Alexiadou et al., 2015, p. 89)

Thus, Alexiadou et al. (2015) conclude that, in Greek, “the active form asserts incomplete change while the non-active is compatible with both total and partial change.”

### 3.2.2 Tests for unaccusativity in Greek

As already mentioned in the introduction, for anticausatives, the subject of the intransitive variant and the object of the transitive variant bear the same thematic

relationship to the verb. This property of the anticausative makes it very similar to the passive in terms of the relationship between the two variants of the passive alternation, as in example (14).

(14a) Eleni broke the window. (transitive)

(14b) The window was broken by Eleni. (passive)

(14c) The window broke. (anticausative)

Apart from the aforementioned similarity between anticausatives and passives, Greek anticausatives are similar to the Greek passive in that they can bear the same kind of morphology, which is the non-active (i.e. they are morphologically syncretic). To illustrate, we can see in (15b) and (15c) that the verbs that are anticausative and passive both carry non-active morphology. Moreover, reflexives in Greek also share the same morphology with passives and anticausatives, as in (15d).

(15a) O Yannis eshise to sakaki. (transitive)

the Yannis.NOM tore.Act the jacket.ACC

“Yannis tore the jacket.”

(15b) To sakaki skistike. (anticausative)

the jacket.NOM tore.NAct

“The jacket tore.”

(15c) I porta anihtike apo ton Yanni. (passive)

the door.NOM opened.NAct by the Yannis

“The door was opened by Yannis.”

(15d) O Yannis plithike. (reflexive)

the Yannis.NOM washed.NAct

“Yannis washed himself.”

As seen, in Greek, passives and anticausatives can be morphologically similar when the latter bears non-active morphology. Then how are we going to distinguish them? Although passives and anticausatives have the aforementioned similarities, there is actually a clear difference between (15b) and (15c), which is the fact that only the passive is understood as including an implicit external argument (Alexiadou et al., 2015). To show the syntactic presence/absence of this implicit external argument, there are five tests that can be employed (Alexiadou et al., 2015).

(i) Licensing of *by*-phrases: While anticausatives do not allow for modification with a *by*-phrase, passives verbs allow for the same modification because of the implicit external argument that is present in passive structures:

(16a) The birds were gathered by Eleni.

(16b) \*The birds gathered by Eleni.

(ii) The ability to control: The pro subject of a rationale clause can be controlled by the implicit agent of a passive. This is not possible for anticausatives. Note here that this test is not applicable for Greek<sup>3</sup>, “as the language lacks control into purpose clauses due to the fact that it lacks infinitives” (Alexiadou et al., 2015).

(17a) The house was burnt [PRO to collect the insurance].

(17b) \*The house burnt [PRO to collect the insurance].

(iii) Compatibility with agentive adverbs (e.g. *deliberately*): Adverbs like *deliberately* which are associated with the implicit external argument can appear in a passive sentence. These adverbs are not associated with the syntactic subject. For anticausatives, an adverb like *deliberately* can only be associated to the syntactic

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3 Although this control test cannot be used in Greek, it should be noted that purpose clauses are licit in Greek passives, but not in Greek unaccusatives (Alexiadou et al., 2015).

subject, as there is no implicit agent in anticausative sentences. Therefore, an agentive adverb renders an anticausative sentence pragmatically deviant:

(18a) The door was broken deliberately.

(18b) #The door broke deliberately.

(iv) Licensing of instrumental PPs: As instruments have to be controlled by an external argument, passives but not anticausatives license instrumental PPs.

Example (19) points out the absence of an implicit external argument in anticausatives. However, like test (ii), this test is also non-applicable for Greek, as Greek anticausatives license instrumental PPs. “This relates to the fact that the preposition *me* is used [to introduce instrumental PPs], namely the preposition that in Greek also introduces causers” (Alexiadou et al., 2015).

(19a) The ship was sunk by the enemy submarine with a torpedo.

(19b) \*The ship sank with a torpedo.

(v) Licensing of *by itself*: When a speaker uses the adverbial *by itself* phrase, s/he denies that “anybody or anything can be identified that (directly or indirectly) caused the antecedent of *by itself* to participate in the event expressed by the predicate” (Alexiadou et al., 2015). As the *by itself* phrase implies that nothing or no one can be identified as the causer or the enforcer of an event, it gives rise to a contradiction when combined with a passive, as in (20a). On the other hand, the anticausative in (20b) is compatible with the *by itself* phrase.

(20a) \*The ship was sunk by itself.

(20b) The ship sank by itself.

Apart from showing how passives and anticausatives differ in terms of the syntactic presence of an implicit agent, these examples also demonstrate that

anticausatives fail tests diagnosing agentivity. Although the tests above have shown that anticausatives lack agentivity, the next section will try to show that anticausatives are nevertheless semantically causative. But before moving to the next section, the reader will first see how these unaccusativity tests can be used in Greek. The examples below exemplify tests (i), (iii), and (v), as these are the tests that are applicable for Greek:

(i) Licensing of *by*-phrases: In Greek, the *by*-phrase is formed by *apo* ('from') followed by a DP denoting the agent, which is licensed with passives but not with anticausatives:

(21a) To vivlio diavastike apo ton Petro. (passive)

the book.NOM read.Nact by the Petros

"The book was read by Petros."

(21b) \*To bukali adiase apo ton Petro. (anticausative)

the bottle.NOM emptied.Act by the Petros

(21c) \*I supa kaike apo to Yani. (anticausative)

the soup burnt.NAct by the Yannis

iii) Compatibility with agentive adverbs (e.g. deliberately): Just like the *by*-phrase *apo ton Petro*, the agentive adverb *eskemmena* is also noncompatible with anticausatives in Greek:

(22a) I porta anihtike eskemmena. (passive)

the door.NOM opened.NAct deliberately

"The door was opened deliberately."

(22b) \*To bukali adiasē eskemmena. (anticausative)

the bottle.NOM emptied.Act deliberately

(22c) \*I supā kaike eskemmena. (anticausative)

the soup burnt.NAct deliberately

(v) Licensing of *by itself*: The *by itself* phrase in Greek is formed with *apo* ('from') followed by the anaphoric element *mono* to which a possessive clitic attaches. *Apo mono tu* ('by itself') is not permitted with passives, but is permitted with anticausatives, as in (23).

(23a) \*To vivlio diavastike apo mono tu. (passive)

the book.NOM read.NAct by itself

(23b) To bukali adiasē apo mono tu. (anticausative)

the bottle.NOM emptied.Act by itself

“The bottle emptied by itself.”

(23c) To pani skistike apo mono tu. (anticausative)

the cloth tore.NAct by itself

“The cloth tore by itself.”

### 3.3 Anticausatives and causation: towards the syntactic structure of the anticausative

The unaccusativity tests in the last section has shown that anticausatives fail tests that diagnose agentivity. But what about causation? As pointed out in the last section, “anticausatives lack an implicit external argument, as they do not license agents, instruments, and causers/causing events introduced by the prepositions *by* or *with* (Alexiadou et al., 2015):



(24a) \*The window broke by Kostas / with a bullet.

(24b) \*The window broke by the hail.

(24c) \*The glass shattered by Ella's singing.

Following the examples in (24), one could claim that anticausatives lack a causative component as they do not license causers/causing events (24b and 24c) together with agents and instruments. Although it is sure that agents and instruments are not permitted with anticausatives as in (24a), constructing the causer prepositional phrase (PP) with the preposition *from* actually results in grammatical sentences (Alexiadou et al., 2015):

(25a) The window broke from the pressure.

(25b) The window broke from the explosion.

(25c) \*The door opened from Mary / from the key.

Examples (24) and (25) show that anticausatives license causer PPs contrary to expectation, but not license agentive and instrumental PPs. This difference between causer PPs and agentive PPs in terms of licensing hints for a syntactic difference between the layers that license them. According to Alexiadou et al. (2015), agentive PPs are licensed by the Voice layer, and causer PPs are licensed by v-CAUSE (Voice<sub>CAUSE</sub>), which is the causative component that is dissociated from Voice. As Voice and v-CAUSE are different syntactic layers, causer PPs can be licensed by anticausatives where agentive PPs cannot. In the next section, the reader will see more evidence from Greek that show how v-CAUSE is dissociated from the Voice layer.

### 3.3.1 Causer PPs in Greek

In Greek, the thematic roles discussed in the last section are introduced by different prepositions: agents are introduced by *apo* ('from'), instruments are introduced by *me* ('with'), and causers, natural forces, and causing events are introduced by *apo* or *me* (Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou, 2009). As in English, Greek anticausatives do not license agents, (26), but they do license causers and causing events, as in (27) and (28) (Zombolou, 2004). However, unlike in English, Greek anticausatives license instrumental PPs, as in (29). Moreover, the active vs. non-active distinction in Greek anticausatives does not influence the distribution of PPs, as in (26a) vs. (26b), (27a) vs. (27b), (28a) vs. (28b), and (29a) vs. (29b) (Alexiadou et al., 2015).

(26a) \**Ta mallia mu stegnosan apo tin komotria.*

the hair my dried.Act by the hairdresser

“\*My hair dried by the hairdresser.”

(26b) (\*) *To hirografo katastrafike apo tin ipalilo.*

the manuscript destroyed.NAct by the employee

“\*The manuscript destroyed by the employee.”

It should be noted for example (26b) that the verb *katastrafike* is ambiguous between a passive and an anticausative reading as it bears non-active morphology (remember from section 3.2.2 that passives and anticausatives are morphologically similar when the latter is marked with non-active morphology). That is why modification by an agentive PP results in a passive interpretation for (26b), which renders the sentence grammatical.

(27a) Ta ruxa stegnosan apo / me ton ilio.

the clothes dried.Act from / with the sun

“The clothes dried from the sun.”

(27b) To hirografo katastrafike apo / me tin pirkagia.

the manuscript destroyed.NAct by / with the fire

“The manuscript got destroyed by the fire.”

(28a) Ta ruxa stegnosan me to aploma ston ilio.

the clothes dried.Act with the hanging.up under.the sun

“The clothes dried from hanging them up under the sun.”

(28b) Me tin afksisi tis igrasias to hirografo katastrafike.

with the rising the humidity.GEN the manuscript destroyed.NAct

“\*The manuscript destroyed from the rising of humidity.”

(29a) Ta mallia mu stegnosan me to pistolaki.

the hair my dried.Act with the hair.dryer

“\*My hair dried with the hair dryer.”

(29b) To pani skistike me to psalidi.

the cloth tore.NAct with the scissors

“\*The clothes tore with the scissors.”

(Alexiadou et al., 2015, pp. 34-35)

To summarize, if we assume that the grammaticality of *from* and *apo/me-*PPs points out the presence of a causative component in anticausatives, then the presence vs. absence of cause semantics cannot distinguish between passives and anticausatives, respectively. Furthermore, as argued before (see section 3.2.2), there is a clear line between passives and anticausatives in terms of the presence vs.

absence of agentivity. These considerations lead to the view that the structural compartments introducing agentivity and causation must be syntactically distinguished.

### 3.3.2 The syntactic structure of the anticausative

According to Alexiadou et al. (2015), the decompositions for the anticausative and the transitive involve two different licensing heads, namely Voice and v-CAUSE, as in (30) and (31). If we assume that adjunct PPs are licensed by structural layers that have matching semantic features (Alexiadou, 1997; Cinque, 1999), we can claim that agent PPs (*by/apo*) and true instrument PPs (*with/me*) are licensed by Passive Voice, and that causer PPs are licensed by the head v-CAUSE (Alexiadou et al., 2015).

(30a) The door opened.

(30b) [v-CAUSE [the door  $\sqrt{\text{OPEN}}$ ]]

(31a) John opened the door.

(31b) [John *Voice* [v-CAUSE [the door  $\sqrt{\text{OPEN}}$ ]]]

This syntactic analysis of the anticausative crucially does not unify the licensing of an external argument with the presence of a cause component. In accord with this view, internally caused predicates such as *wilt* are also similar to anticausatives in that they also lack Voice (as they lack a causative variant), but contain a cause component as they also license causer PPs, as in (32).

(32a) The flowers wilted from the heat/\*from the gardener.

(32b) \*The heat/the gardener wilted the flowers.

The example of the internally caused predicate provides extra evidence for the claim that the licensing of causer PPs does not show the presence of an external

argument theta-role, but rather the existence of a causative component. Internally caused predicates in Greek and their licensing of causer PPs also support this view:

(33) *To fito anthise me tin zesti.*

the plant blossomed with the heat

“The plant blossomed from the heat.”

To sum up, examples in this section have shown that anticausatives contain a layer of causation that is dissociated from Voice. Moreover, as seen in (30) and (31), the syntactic structure of causatives and anticausatives both include a v-CAUSE head, but only the causative includes a Voice head. Hence, the causative alternation can be simply viewed as a Voice alternation, which means that it is related to the presence vs. absence of VoiceP (Kratzer, 1996).

Although this section has provided a possible syntactic structure for anticausatives that are unmarked, as in (30), no syntactic differentiation was made between marked and unmarked anticausatives. As marked anticausatives typically involve a morphological marking that is related to other voice alternations (Alexiadou et al., 2015), one has to say more about their syntactic structure. The next section will center upon this issue.

### 3.4 Marked anticausatives

As discussed before, in languages like English, anticausatives do not bear special morphology, but surface with the active form as their transitive counterparts. On the other hand, in languages like Greek, anticausatives differ from their transitive counterparts in terms of the presence of special morphology on the intransitive member of the causative-anticausative alternation. In Greek, this special morphology

is the non-active, and it often surfaces with anticausatives. Moreover, the Greek anticausative shares the non-active morphology with passives and reflexives. Although the anticausative in Greek mostly surfaces with non-active morphology, there are also cases where it surfaces without special morphology. As discussed before, the Greek anticausatives come in three classes: Class A verbs surface only with non-active morphology, Class B verbs surface with active morphology, and Class C verbs are optionally marked. In a similar fashion, many other languages also employ such distributional classes of anticausatives where the morphological marker is used either on the verb or on a reflexive pronoun/clitic (Alexiadou et al., 2015).

Although many languages use the aforementioned distributional classes of anticausatives, the membership and size of these classes differ from language to language. For example, Class A is very small in Dutch (Evertaert, 1986), while Class B is extremely small in Spanish (Sánchez Lopez, 2002). In German, Class A is larger than Class B, but Class B has more than 100 verbs (Schäfer, 2008). In Greek, Class A and Class B seem to be equally big, while Class C is relatively small, as in many other languages (Alexiadou et al., 2015). In Turkish, all three classes exist (Class A: *tabak kırıldı* ‘the plate broke.NAct’, Class B: *tavuk pişti* ‘the chicken roasted’, and Class C: *hava kapandı/kapadı* ‘the sky clouded.up.NAct/clouded.up), but no research was conducted on the relevant sizes of these classes.

Moreover, various verbs are situated in different classes across languages. For example, the German counterpart of the Greek Class B verb *adiase* ‘to empty’ is a Class A verb, or the Greek Class C anticausative *lerose/lerothike* ‘to dirty’ is a Class B verb in German. Similarly, many Italian anticausatives of Class B are Class A verbs in German (Alexiadou et al., 2015). Hence, it can be claimed that there is no

coherent semantic or conceptual reasoning to why a verb in a language appears in one of the three classes mentioned above. To add, this claim implies that the membership in the three classes needs to be learned by children, and cannot be derived by semantic considerations (Alexiadou et al., 2015).

As seen above, anticausatives fall in three distributional classes cross-linguistically, and are formed in two ways: non-active (or reflexive) vs. unmarked. But why is there a three-way partition for anticausative classes, and why does this partition employ two ways of marking? In other words, does this partition and the ways of marking imply anything about the architecture of grammar for the marked anticausatives? To answer this question, one has to first review the previous cross-linguistic explanations for the anticausative paradigm.

#### 3.4.1 Previous approaches to marked anticausatives

Although the previous section has argued that there is no coherent semantic or conceptual reasoning to why an anticausative in a language appears in one of the three classes, this does not mean that there are no cross-linguistic tendencies about the morphological marking of anticausatives. According to Haspelmath (1993), verbs that express events that are more likely to occur spontaneously tend to form unmarked anticausatives, while verbs that express events that are less likely to occur spontaneously tend to form marked anticausatives. Although Haspelmath explains the anticausative paradigm in tendencies, there were also trials to explain the paradigm in more concrete ways. The rest of the section goes over two such approaches.

### 3.4.1.1 The reflexivization analysis

As discussed before, many languages mark the anticausative with special morphological devices. Among these languages, Greek is one that marks the anticausative with the non-active. However, there are also languages like German (Romance, Scandinavian, Germanic, and Slavic languages) which mark the anticausative with a reflexive morpheme:

(34a) Hans öffnet die Tür.

Hans opens the door

“Hans opens the door.”

(34b) Die Tür öffnet sich.

the door opens REFL

“The door opens.”

According to Koontz-Garboden (2009), the reflexive morpheme in the anticausative reflexivizes a transitive verb, which in turn sets the external argument and the internal argument identical. In accord, reflexively marked anticausatives should also be semantically reflexive. Although Koontz-Garboden’s analysis can hold for Class A anticausatives as in (34), it would not be possible to derive Class B verbs by reflexivization as they do not accept the reflexive morpheme:

(35a) Hans zerbrach die Vase.

Hans broke the vase

“Hans broke the vase.”

(35b) Die Vase zerbrach (\*sich).

the vase broke REFL

“The vase broke.”



On the other hand, one could also argue that Class B verbs are derived by zero-marked reflexivization. However, for Greek and German (which have both Class A and Class B anticausatives), Alexiadou et al. (2015) argue that zero-marked reflexives do not exist outside the causative alternation. In other words, naturally reflexive verbs such as *wash* and *shave* are marked obligatorily with reflexive morphology in Greek and German. Hence, Alexiadou et al. (2015) argue that the reflexivization analysis over-generates across languages. Moreover, the limitations of the reflexivization analysis also show that anticausatives cannot be regarded as semantically reflexive (Alexiadou et al., 2015).

#### 3.4.1.2 Semantic effects associated with the marking of anticausatives

According to many authors who have tried to offer an explanation for the anticausative paradigm, the marking of anticausatives is related to the inner aspectual properties of anticausative verbs. These aspectual properties include the telic vs. atelic behavior of anticausatives, the degree of change that the verb asserts, and the type of causation that the verb expresses. If there is a relation between the aspectual properties of the verb and the type of marking that it bears, then there should be a consistent correlation between morphological marking and the semantic feature in question.

According to Folli (2002), the *si*-marking (reflexive marking) of anticausatives in Italian correlates with the telic nature of the verb. In accord, the unmarked anticausatives are interpreted to be atelic. Folli claims that telic (marked) anticausatives of Class A can be used with adverbials that set a temporal frame in which the event finishes:

(36a) Gianni ha chiuso la finestra in un secondo.

Gianni has closed the window in one second

“Gianni closed the window in one second.”

(36b) La finestra si è chiusa in un secondo.

the window REFL is closed in one second

“The window closed in one second.”

On the other hand, Folli argues that verbs of Class B in Italian are obligatorily atelic, and that they can be modified by “*for some time*” adverbials (durative adverbials) to contextually become telic. According to Folli, these verbs express a change of degree without a final state, but they can have a resultant state that is contextually set:

(37a) Gianni ha diminuito la temperatura per un’ora.

Gianni has decreased the temperature for one hour

“Gianni decreased the temperature for an hour.”

(37b) La temperatura è diminuita per un’ora.

the temperature is decreased for one hour

“The temperature decreased for an hour.”

Although the set of examples that Folli offers imply an aspectual distinction (telic vs. atelic) between marked and unmarked anticausatives, there are also examples which show that Class A verbs can behave in an atelic manner. For example, Cennamo and Ježek (2011) argue that verbs like *vuotare* “to empty” and *gonfiare* “to swell” in Italian can behave like degree achievements (i.e. atelic) with durative adverbials although they are Class A anticausatives:

(38) I piedi si sono gonfiati per alcune ore.

the feet REFL are swollen for some hours

“The feet swelled up for some hours.”

Although Folli’s explanation of the anticausative paradigm in Italian has its setbacks for Class A verbs, it is eventually true for Class B verbs as most Class B verbs are atelic/degree achievements. Still, there are also Class B verbs which imply a definite result state as in telic verbs:

(39) La nave è affondata \*per un’ora / in un’ora.

the ship is sunk \*for an hour/ in an hour

“The ship sank \*for an hour/ in an hour.”

To sum up, although Folli’s argumentation holds mostly for Italian anticausatives of Class B, her analysis for Class A verbs is not as clear cut. Hence, it can be argued that the telic vs. atelic property of an anticausative verb is not strictly correlated with the type of morphological marking that it bears (Alexiadou et al., 2015).

Another aspectual property that was discussed by Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (2004) is the degree of change that the anticausative verb asserts. As already mentioned (see section 3.2.1), Class C verbs in Greek are optionally marked with non-active morphology, where the active form asserts partial (incomplete) change, and the non-active form asserts either total or partial change. Hence, one could conclude that the degree of change that is asserted by the verb is an aspectual property that differentiates between marked and unmarked anticausatives.

Although the explanation above may seem as a neat solution to the anticausative paradigm, it only takes Greek Class C verbs into consideration. If the

aspectual behavior in question was connected to morphological marking (i.e. active vs. non-active), one would also expect Class B verbs in Greek to assert partial change only (Class B verbs are unmarked, hence active in form). However, the situation for Class B verbs is the opposite (Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou, 2013):

(40) To spiti katharise (\*alla paremine vromiko s'ena simio).

the house cleaned.3sg but remained dirty in a spot

“The house got clean, but it remained dirty in a spot.”

As (40) exemplifies, anticausative verbs of Class B entail complete change, contrary to expectation. Hence, the partial vs. total change distinction in anticausatives is not sufficient to explain the morphological marking paradigm.

Lastly, it has been argued by many authors that the type of causation that a Class C anticausative expresses is correlated with the morphological marking that it bears (Labelle, 1992; Doron & Labelle, 2011). According to this view, the change of state is presented as internally caused when expressed by unmarked anticausatives and as externally caused when expressed by marked anticausatives. Although this approach may hold for Class C verbs, the relevant semantic properties should also hold for Class A and Class B verbs in order to claim that there is a systematic correlation between the type of causation and the marking of the anticausative. However, contrary to the aforementioned view, in French, there are Class A verbs (marked anticausatives) which can express internally caused events, and Class B verbs (unmarked anticausatives) that can express externally caused events (Alexiadou et al., 2015, p. 92):

(41a) L'univers s'agrandit.

the.universe REFL enlarges

“The universe enlarges.”

(41b) Le temps s'améliore.

the weather REFL improves

“The weather is getting better.”

(41c) Le bâtiment explose.

the building explodes

“The building explodes.”

(41d) Le poulet cuit.

the chicken cooks

“The chicken is roasting.”

As seen, the morphological marking of anticausatives in French does not systematically correlate with the type of causation that the verb expresses. Hence, it can be claimed that the type of causation is not sufficient to explain the anticausative paradigm across languages.

To conclude, this section has reviewed previous approaches to marked anticausatives such as the reflexivisation analysis which claims that anticausatives are semantically reflexive, and other approaches that correlate morphological marking with the aspectual properties of the verb, such as the telic vs. atelic behavior of anticausatives, the degree of change that the verb asserts, and the type of causation that the verb expresses. This review has shown that the previous approaches to the anticausative paradigm that are based on semantic considerations are insufficient to explain the marking of anticausatives across languages. As such, the distributional

classes of anticausatives seem to be idiosyncratic rather than driven by the semantic properties of the verb. Hence, like Alexiadou et al. (2015), I claim that Haspelmath's (1993) aforementioned explanation of the anticausative paradigm (see the beginning of section 3.4.1) better captures the cross-linguistic tendencies of markedness: verbs that express events that are more likely to occur spontaneously tend to form unmarked anticausatives, while verbs that express events that are less likely to occur spontaneously tend to form marked anticausatives. In accord, the next section will argue that the marking of the anticausative is related to the presence of expletive Voice, and that expletive Voice is associated with anticausatives that express events that are low on the spontaneity scale.

#### 3.4.2 The syntactic structure of marked anticausatives

As claimed before in section 3.3.2, the external argument of a verb is introduced by the functional category Voice, rather than the external argument being a true argument of the verb (Kratzer, 1996). As anticausatives test negative for an implicit external argument (see section 3.2.2), the most logical way to explain the syntactic structure of the anticausative is to assume that it lacks a Voice layer (Alexiadou et al., 2015):

(42) [vP [Root/ResultP]]

However, the structure in (42) implies that anticausatives will never surface with Voice-related morphology, which is in contradiction with the situation of marked anticausatives. Henceforth, marked anticausatives should contain a Voice layer that is absent in unmarked anticausatives (Alexiadou et al., 2015). As previous sections have shown that there are no consistent semantic differences between

marked and unmarked anticausatives (section 3.4.1.2), and that marked anticausatives lack agentivity (section 3.2.2), this Voice layer should be semantically and thematically inert. In accord, marked anticausatives can be claimed to have the following structure, which successfully captures the two-way morphological distinction between anticausatives (Alexiadou et al., 2015):

(43) [VoiceP [vP [Root/ResultP]]]

Moreover, according to Embick (1998), Greek passives and anticausatives share a syntactic property that results in their morphological syncretism (see section 3.2.2), while they are semantically different in terms of the presence vs. absence of an implicit external argument. In other words, Embick claims that both passives and marked anticausatives in Greek contain the verbal projection that introduces external arguments, which is realized with non-active morphology as the Voice head lacks a specifier. This verbal head contains a thematic agent feature only in the case of passives, and hence results in the semantic difference between marked anticausatives and passives (Embick, 1998).

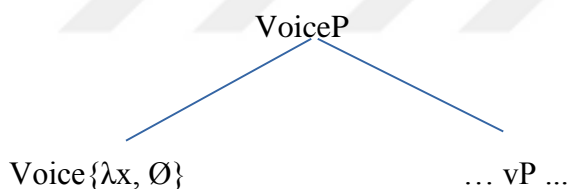
Following Embick, it can be claimed that the proposed Voice head in Greek is realized with non-active morphology when it lacks a specifier. In accord with this claim, passives and marked anticausatives are similar in terms of the absence of a syntactically projected external argument in Spec, VoiceP. Moreover, this claim also offers an explanation for the morphological difference between marked and unmarked anticausatives: anticausatives that are based on the structure in (42) do not bear special morphology as this structure lacks a Voice layer, while anticausatives based on the structure in (43) bear non-active morphology as (43) includes an additional Voice layer. Then, the semantic properties of Voice should be the

determiner of the semantic difference between passives and anticausatives: for passives, an implicit argument and a thematic feature for this argument are introduced by Voice, while Voice is semantically inert/expletive in anticausatives. However, the semantic features of Voice are irrelevant for the following rule which determines the morphological marking of the verb (Alexiadou et al., 2015):

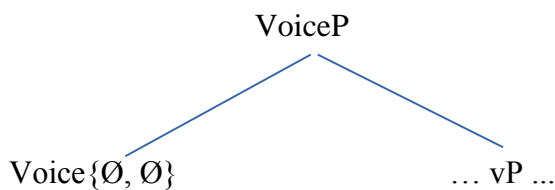
(44) Voice  $\rightarrow$  Voice[NonAct]/ \_\_\_No DP specifier

Moreover, the discussion above finally leads to the syntactic trees of transitive, passive, and anticausative constructions. As discussed, passives and marked anticausatives differ in terms of the semantic properties of Voice: passives include an extra thematic feature in Voice. On the other hand, they both lack a DP specifier. Hence the following trees can be proposed for marked anticausatives and passives (Alexiadou et al., 2015):

(45a) thematic non-active Voice (passive)



(45b) expletive non-active Voice (marked anticausative)

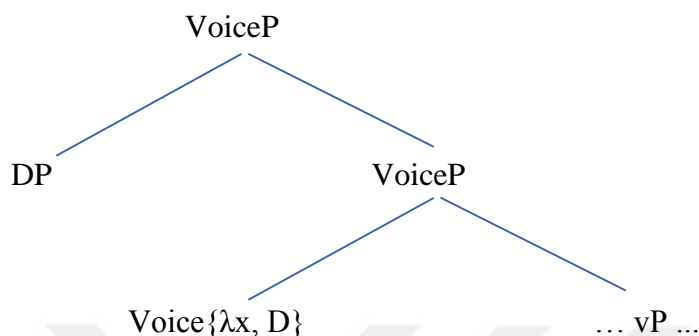


As seen in (45), the passive includes an extra thematic role ( $\lambda x$ ) that introduces an external argument variable, and therefore differentiates the marked anticausative from the passive. Moreover, both Voice heads lack a D-feature ( $\emptyset$ ), i.e. the feature that marks the presence vs. absence of a specifier. Hence, both



constructions are realized with non-active morphology in accord with rule (44). On the other hand, the Voice head for the transitive includes both a thematic role and a D-feature, as in (46) (Alexiadou et al., 2015):

(46) thematic active Voice (transitive)



Since the expletive Voice proposed here is semantically inert, language learners can only acquire it in the presence of morphological evidence. In the case of unmarked anticausatives, learners of a language have no reason to assume an expletive projection (Alexiadou et al., 2015). Therefore, like English anticausatives which lack a morphological marker, Greek unmarked anticausatives also have the structure in (42).

### 3.5 Conclusion

To conclude, this chapter has first gone over the anticausative paradigm in Standard Greek to later claim that anticausatives lack an implicit external argument. Moreover, causer PPs in Greek have shown that anticausatives contain a layer of causation that is dissociated from Voice. Although these features of the anticausative hinted for a syntactic structure for the unmarked anticausative, something more had to be said for marked anticausatives. Hence, section 3.4 discussed previous approaches to marked anticausatives to conclude that these approaches to the anticausative paradigm that

are based on semantic considerations are insufficient to explain the marking of anticausatives across languages. Then, Haspelmath's (1993) spontaneity scale approach to the anticausative paradigm was taken as an explanation for the cross-linguistic marking of anticausatives. Lastly, section 3.4.2 has provided a possible syntactic structure for marked anticausatives.



## CHAPTER 4

### THE ANALYSIS OF ISTANBUL GREEK

#### 4.1 Introduction

Although the previous chapter has provided a neat explanation for the anticausative paradigm in Standard Greek, the situation of anticausatives in Istanbul Greek prove to be different than the standard dialect. As we have seen before in the previous chapter (see section 3.2.2 in chapter 3), passives in Standard Greek, but not anticausatives, license *by*-phrases, which are formed by *apo* ('from') followed by a DP denoting the agent. Moreover, we have also seen that anticausatives in Standard Greek license the *by itself* phrase, which is formed with *apo* ('from') followed by the anaphoric element *mono* to which a possessive clitic attaches. *Apo mono tu* ('by itself') is not permitted with passives, in contrast to anticausatives. Hence, we expect to get ungrammaticality judgments in the case of passives that are combined with *apo mono tu*, and in the case of anticausatives that are combined with *by*-phrases (e.g. *apo ton Petro*). However, the results are contrary to expectation for the following examples:

(1a) To vivlio diavastike apo ton Yorgo. (Passive)

the book.NOM read.NAct by the Yorgos

“The book was read by Yorgos.”

(1b) To bukali adiase apo ton Yorgo. (Anticausative)

the bottle.NOM emptied.Act by the Yorgos

“\*The bottle emptied by Yorgos.”

(1c) I supa kaike apo to Yani. (Anticausative)

the soup burnt.NAct by the Yannis

“\*The soup burnt by Yannis.”

(2a) To vivlio diavastike apo mono tu. (Passive)

the book.NOM read.NAct by itself

“\*The book was read by itself.”

(2b) To bukali adiase apo mono tu. (Anticausative)

the bottle.NOM emptied.Act by itself

“The bottle emptied by itself.”

(2c) To pani skistike apo mono tu. (Anticausative)

the cloth tore.NAct by itself

“The cloth tore by itself.”

As seen in (1) and (2), the judgments by Istanbul Greeks for the sentences above contrast with the grammaticality expectations for Standard Greek. In (1b) and (1c), the anticausative verbs license *by*-phrases, while in (2a), the passive verb licenses *apo mono tu*, the *by itself* phrase in Greek. Then what does this situation suggest for Istanbul Greek? If we suppose that only anticausatives can carry the *by itself* phrase in Greek (Alexiadou et al., 2015), then the passive verb in (2a) should have been interpreted as an anticausative verb. Similarly, if we suppose that only passives can carry *by*-phrases in Greek (Alexiadou et al., 2015), examples (1b) and (1c) should have been interpreted as passives. But how can a passive be interpreted as an anticausative, and vice versa?

As we have seen in the previous chapter (see section 3.2.2), Greek anticausatives are similar to Greek passives in that they can bear the same kind of

morphology, which is the non-active. Also, for anticausatives, the argument of the intransitive variant and the object of the transitive variant bear the same thematic relationship to the verb. This property of the anticausative makes it very similar to the passive in terms of the relationship between the two variants of the passive alternation. Of course, as argued in section 3.4.2 in chapter 3, there is a difference between marked anticausatives and passives, which is the extra thematic feature in Voice that only passives include. Then, to explain the examples above, one option is to claim that the semantic features in Voice do not suffice for the speakers of Istanbul Greek to differentiate between a passive and an anticausative when a prepositional phrase is added.

On the other hand, the situation of the anticausatives that carry active morphology in Greek (e.g. *adiase*) does not really fit into the explanation above, as such anticausatives do not have a Voice layer at all (see section 3.3.2 in chapter 3). Moreover, the aforementioned morphological similarity between passives and anticausatives in Greek does not apply to anticausatives that carry active morphology. With such differences, is it possible for active anticausatives to be perceived as passives? One explanation to this can be the diminishing difference between the active and the non-active in Istanbul Greek. If this morphological difference is diminished in Istanbul Greek, this would also mean that the syntactic structures of the two different types of anticausatives are similar in Istanbul Greek, supporting the first explanation, as the active anticausative does not interfere with this explanation anymore in the case of a diminishing difference between active and non-active morphology in the Istanbul dialect. However, there are other cases which

suggest that the active vs. non-active difference has not diminished in the dialect, as in (3).

(3a) \*O sismos gremistike to ktirio.

the earthquake.NOM collapsed.NAct the building.ACC

(3b) \*O Petros adiaastike to bukali.

the Petros.NOM emptied.NAct the bottle.ACC

(3c) \*O Yannis kaike ti supa.

the Yannis.NOM burnt.NAct the soup.ACC

(3d) \*O Sabuncakis skistike to pani.

the Sabuncakis.NOM tore.NAct the cloth.ACC

As seen in example (3), it is not possible to use non-active forms in transitive constructions. This suggests that in Istanbul Greek, the active vs. non-active distinction has not completely diminished. If it was so, the sentences in (3) would be grammatical. Then, one can also claim that there are some environments in Istanbul Greek where the distinction between active and non-active morphology is less. Transitive sentences are not one of those environments, but sentences with the prepositional phrases *apo mono tu* (*by itself* phrases) and *apo ton Petro* (*by-phrases*) are environments where the active vs. non-active distinction is felt less.

Moreover, as all Istanbul Greeks are Greek-Turkish bilinguals, it is for sure that there is some language contact between Greek and Turkish in Istanbul (together with the contact between Istanbul Greek and other languages of Istanbul, such as Armenian or Ladino). Hence, I claim that some examples in Istanbul Greek maybe explained by the influence of Turkish.

To add up, we have seen in this section a number of ideas to explain the anticausative paradigm in Istanbul Greek. It seems that none are sufficient to explain the overall paradigm alone, and in depth. Hence, the proceeding sections will provide more examples in Istanbul Greek, in order to propose a combination of theories and ideas to explain the anticausative paradigm in Istanbul Greek.

#### 4.2 The set of verbs in question

Some of the examples that I devised for this study include anticausative verbs that Alexiadou et al. (2015) already categorized in terms of the morphological marking that they bear. As explained in chapter 3 (section 3.2.1), the anticausative verbs in Greek come in three classes: Class A verbs only bear non-active morphology, Class B verbs only bear active morphology, and Class C verbs are optionally marked (although they are interpreted differently in accord with the type of morphology they bear, at least in Standard Greek). From the study of Alexiadou et al. (2015), I utilized the following verbs when generating new examples:

(4a) Class A: *veltiono* (improve), *vithizo* (sink)

(4b) Class B: *asprizo* (whiten), *katharizo* (clean), *klino* (close), *anigo* (open)

(4c) Class C: *zarono* (wrinkle), *tsalakono* (crumple), *zesteno* (warm up/heat), *skizo* (tear), *lerono* (dirty), *gremizo* (demolish/collapse)

Apart from these verbs that were already categorized by Alexiadou et al. (2015), I also tried to utilize other verbs that showed up when I asked Istanbul Greek informants to translate some Turkish sentences to Greek. In order to categorize these verbs into the three classes of anticausatives in Greek, I consulted Standard Greek speakers. To understand to which class a verb in question belongs, I used the *by itself*

phrase test (*apo mono tu*) mentioned above. As known, only anticausatives can bear *apo mono tu* in Greek. Moreover, I added optionality to the sentences for the test in terms of the morphological marking of the anticausative (active vs. non-active). The Standard Greek speakers were free to choose among the type of morphological marking. This way, I could understand what type of morphological marking that the verbs in question bear in Standard Greek. An example test is given below:

(5a) To ktirio katedafistike/ \*katedafise apo mono tu.  
the building.NOM collapsed.NAct/ collapsed.Act by itself  
“The building collapsed by itself.”

(5b) To ktirio katedafistike/ \*katedafise merikos.  
the building.NOM collapsed.NAct/ collapsed.Act partially  
“The building collapsed partially.”

(5c) To ktirio katedafistike/ \*katedafise entelos.  
the building.NOM collapsed.NAct/ collapsed.Act completely  
“The building collapsed completely.”

(5d) To ktirio katedafistike/ \*katedafise apo ton Yorgo.  
the building.NOM collapsed.NAct/ collapsed.Act by the Yorgos  
“The building was demolished by Yorgos.”

In example (5), we can see that the verb *katedafizo* (collapse) is always marked with the non-active when it is used as an anticausative (a, b, and c). The reason why I asked the sentences in (5b) and (5c) to Standard Greek speakers was to see if the verb *katedafizo* could be used with optional marking. As we had seen in the previous chapter (section 3.2.1), for Class C verbs in Greek (optionally marked anticausatives), only marked ones can denote a completed change of state, while



unmarked ones can denote either a partial change or a complete change. Hence, if *katedafizo* was a Class C verb, we would expect both options to be possible in (5b). Then, I claim that *katedafizo* is a Class A verb in Greek. Moreover, this test also shows the morphological marking of the passive form of the verb, as in (5d). The verbs that have been found to behave similarly are the following: *mazevo* (gather), *egatalipo* (abandon), *kovo* (pluck), *psino* (bake), *hino* (spill), and *prizo* (swell). For the sake of clarification, I provide here another example test that was applied for *psino* (bake), as in (6). Moreover, for verbs that did not show optionality, I skip the *merikos/entelos* test.

(6a) To kreas psithike/ \*epsise apo mono tu.  
 the meat.NOM baked.NAct/baked.Act by itself  
 “The meat roasted by itself.”

(6b) To kreas psithike/ \*epsise apo ton Yorgo.  
 the meat.NOM baked.NAct/baked.Act by the Yorgos  
 “The meat was roasted by Yorgos.”

When it comes to Class B verbs in Greek (unmarked anticausatives), I could identify the following: *mavrizo* (blacken), *fardeno* (widen), *rodizo* (redden/roast), *spao* (break), *svino* (burn out, *sönmek* in Turkish), and *yirizo* (turn). These verbs never showed up with non-active morphology when used as anticausatives. Two example tests are given below for Class B anticausatives in Standard Greek:

(7a) To piato \*spastike/ espase apo mono tu.  
 the plate.NOM broke.NAct/broke.Act by itself  
 “The plate broke by itself.”

(7b) To piato spastike/ espase apo ton Yorgo.

the plate.NOM broke.NAct/broke.Act by the Yorgos

“The plate was broken by Yorgos.”

For (7b), it should be noted that the choice of marking differs for informants.

While some choose *spastike*, which is the expected form with non-active morphology, some choose *espase*, as they find the form *spastike* ungrammatical. The reason for the ungrammaticality in *spastike* is morpho-phonological. According to Alexiadou et al. (2015), the verb *spao* “break” cannot combine with Voice, and the resulting form is outright ungrammatical (although the form *spastike* is licit as an idiom). Hence, informants who found *spastike* to be ungrammatical selected *espase* instead.

However, they also reported that *espase* did not fit the sentence very well. I think the situation with the verb *spao* challenges Alexiadou et al. (2015) in two ways. First of all, the verbal form *spastike* is not outright grammatical for some speakers of Standard Greek. Secondly, the situation shows that Class B verbs can form passives (either marked or unmarked), contrary to Alexiadou et al. (2015), as they claim that most Class B verbs do not have passives (Alexiadou et al., 2015, p. 88, p. 120).

Another interesting Class B verb in Standard Greek that can form a passive is *fardeno* (widen), as in (8). It should be noted for *fardeno* that it can never be marked with the non-active, again because of morpho-phonological reasons (Alexiadou et al., 2015, p. 135).

(8a) To riaki fardine apo mono tu.

the river.NOM widened.Act by itself

“The river widened by itself.”

(8b) I            dromi            fardinan    apo ton    dimo.

the.Pl street.NOM.Pl widened.Act.Pl by the mayor

“The streets were widened by the mayor.”

In (8b), we can see that the Class B verb *fardeno* forms a perfectly licit passive with active morphology, contrary to expectation. Although Alexiadou et al. (2015) claim that many Class B verbs cannot combine with non-active morphology, and that these verbs do not have passives as a result, I think they miss the fact that passives can be formed with active morphology on some occasions, and that some Class B verbs can bear non-active morphology to form a passive. Other Class B verbs that were observed to form a passive in Standard Greek are the following: *asprizo* (whiten), *katharizo* (clean), *klino* (close), *anigo* (open), *mavrizo* (blacken), *fardeno* (widen), *spao* (break), *svino* (burn out, *sönmek* in Turkish), and *yirizo* (turn). It should be noted that these verbs constitute nearly all of the set of Class B verbs in the present study. Hence, I claim that most Class B verbs can be used in passive constructions, contrary to expectation.

For Class C, I was not able to spot new verbs that belong to this class with the data that I collected from Standard Greek speakers. Hence, I decided to use the already categorized Class C verbs in this study (the verbs that were classified by Alexiadou et al. (2015), as mentioned previously). These verbs, as a reminder, are the following: *zarono* (wrinkle), *tsalakono* (crumple), *zesteno* (heat/warm up), *skizo* (tear), *lerono* (dirty), and *gremizo* (demolish/collapse). Among these six verbs, *zarono* (wrinkle) constitutes an interesting example, as it was unmarked all the time with no variation (judgments are from Standard Greek speakers), as in (9).

(9) \*Zarothike / zarose to derma tis.

wrinkled.NAct/wrinkled.Act the skin.NOM hers

“Her skin wrinkled.”

Moreover, the verb *skizo* (tear) and *gremizo* (collapse) did not show up with active morphology at all. The grammaticality judgments for *skizo* are given in (10). Hence, I claim that the classification by Alexiadou et al. (2015) may have its setbacks. We will come back to the issues with this classification also later in this chapter.

(10) To yileko skistike/ \*eshise apo mono tu.

the vest.NOM tore.NAct/ tore.Act by itself

“The vest tore by itself.”

Although Standard Greek speakers repeatedly find *eshise* to be ungrammatical in this setting, they also report that *apo mono tu* (the *by itself* test) does not fit into this sentence. The informants do not understand the reason why a vest would be torn by itself. Hence, for some settings, it seems that the *by itself* test does not work as expected. In the next section, I will try to propose a better test to capture anticausative constructions.

If we go back to Class C verbs in Standard Greek, the three other verbs that will be used in this study (*tsalakono*, *zesteno*, *lerono*) either show intra-speaker variation or inter-speaker variation in the standard dialect. Although Alexiadou et al. (2015) claim that the optional marking in Class C is related to completed vs. partial change semantics (see chapter 3, section 3.2.1), the data shows that variation in marking is possible without any semantic background in the sentence in terms of completed vs. partial change:

(11) To spiti zestathike/ zestane.

the house.NOM warmed.up.NAct/warmed.up.Act

“The house warmed up.” (intra-speaker variation)

(12) To forema tsalakothike/ tsalakose apo mono tu.

the dress.NOM crumpled.NAct/crumpled.Act by itself

“The dress crumpled by itself.” (inter and intra-speaker variation)

(13) To yileko lerothike/ lerose apo tin boya.

the vest.NOM dirtied.NAct/dirtied.Act by the paint

“The vest got dirty because of the paint.” (inter-speaker variation)

Apart from exemplifying the morphological variation in Class C verbs without degree of change semantics, the sentences above also incorporate other methods of testing for anticausative constructions. For example, the verb in (11), *zesteno*, is already interpreted to be anticausative, as an agentive PP is absent in the sentence. Remember that anticausatives and passives may share the same kind of morphology: the non-active. According to Alexiadou et al. (2015), for such verbs that are ambiguous between a passive and an anticausative interpretation, “modification by an agent PP yields a passive interpretation.” Hence, I claim, the absence of an agentive PP shows that the verb in question will be interpreted as an anticausative predicate. Moreover, as in (13), an anticausative predicate can be modified by a causer PP (as seen before in chapter 3, section 3.3.1). I claim that causer PPs are only licit with anticausatives, but not passives, as passive constructions require animate agents. Hence, we have now more methods to differentiate between passives and anticausatives, and can we can utilize these new methods instead of the *by itself* test

which sometimes results in semantically odd sentences. I will exemplify this with Standard Greek in the next section.

In terms of Class C verbs, as a summary, we have seen that some verbs that were claimed to belong to this class by Alexiadou et al. (2015) did not show up with variation at all. To refute this, one may claim that the necessary semantic conditions were not present for variation in the examples that I presented. However, I claim that the absence of specific semantics for partial change actually imply a completed change. Hence, for example in (9), the wrinkling of someone's skin is a completed change, if there is no specific semantic clue about a partial change. Hence, in (9), a completed change is conveyed via active morphology, which contradicts Alexiadou et al. (2015), as they claim that completed changes are conveyed via non-active morphology in Class C. My claim here is supported by the absence of semantic considerations in the designation of active vs. non-active morphology to an anticausative verb across all classes (see chapter 3, section 3.4.1.2). Moreover, the absence of variation in (10), and the rather random variation in examples (11), (12), and (13) imply a more complex explanation of Class C anticausatives in Greek.

Now that we have gone over the Standard Greek data that I collected, I also want to propose a new anticausative classification for the standard dialect, as some verbs that were claimed to be Class C by Alexiadou et al. (2015) do not show any variation in my data. Hence, I classify these verbs either in Class A or Class B in accord with the type of morphology they bear. Moreover, the new classification omits some verbs that were classified in Alexiadou et al. (2015), and incorporates other verbs that I have found and classified (as explained above). The new classification of Standard Greek anticausatives can be found in Table 9.

Table 9. Standard Greek Anticausatives

Class A	Class B	Class C
<b><i>veltiono</i></b> (improve)	<b><i>asprizo</i></b> (whiten)	<b><i>tsalakono</i></b> (crumple)
<b><i>vithizo</i></b> (sink)	<b><i>katharizo</i></b> (clean)	<b><i>zesteno</i></b> (heat/warm up)
<i>katedafizo</i> (collapse) <sup>4</sup>	<b><i>klino</i></b> (close)	<b><i>lerono</i></b> (dirty)
<i>mazevo</i> (gather)	<b><i>anigo</i></b> (open)	
<i>egatalipo</i> (abandon)	<i>mavrizo</i> (blacken)	
<i>kovo</i> (pluck)	<i>fardeno</i> (widen)	
<i>psino</i> (bake)	<i>rodizo</i> (reddden/roast)	
<i>hino</i> (spill)	<i>spao</i> (break)	
<i>prizo</i> (swell)	<i>svino</i> (burn out)	
<i>skizo</i> (tear)*	<i>yirizo</i> (turn)	
<i>gremizo</i> (collapse)*	<i>zaronno</i> (wrinkle)*	
Verbs that are written in bold remain from the original classification of Alexiadou et al. (2015). The other verbs were added or re-classified by the author.		
*Verbs that were re-classified by the author.		

#### 4.3 The causer prepositional phrase test

As we have seen before in chapter 3 (section 3.3.1), anticausatives in Greek license causers and causing events. Hence, I proposed in the next section that we could use causer PPs in order to capture an anticausative construction. The reason for the need for a new test apart from the *by itself* phrase (*apo mono tu*) is the weakness of the latter in certain environments in terms of semantic oddness. Hence, in some

4 Note that *katedafizo* (collapse) and *gremizo* (collapse) in Class A have exactly the same meaning in Greek. The only difference is the fact that *katedafizo* can be used more formally.

sentences that are devised to gather grammaticality judgments, I used the causer PP test for Standard Greek, and for Istanbul Greek. In this section, I provide several examples of the usage of the causer PP test for Standard Greek (data from informants):

(14a) O tihos aspristike/ \*asprise apo ton Petros.  
the wall.NOM whitened.NAct/whitened.Act by the Petros  
“The wall was whitened by Petros.”

(14b) To plakaki \*aspristike/ asprise apo ton ilio. (causer PP)  
the tile.NOM whitened.NAct/whitened.Act by the sun  
“The tile whitened because of the sun.”

(15a) To pukamiso katharistike/ \*katharise apo ton Petros.  
the shirt.NOM cleaned.NAct/cleaned.Act by the Petros  
“The shirt was cleaned by Petros.”

(15b) O tihos \*katharistike/ katharise apo tin vrohi. (causer PP)  
the wall.NOM cleaned.NAct/cleaned.Act by the rain  
“The wall got clean thanks to the rain.”

For examples (16) and (17), remember that passives license agentive adverbial phrases (e.g. *deliberately*). The corresponding adverbial is *eskemmena* in Greek (see chapter 3, section 3.2.2). We use *eskemmena* here to test for passives, as *apo ton Petro* (the *by*-phrase) sometimes results in odd sentences according to informants.

(16a) O tihos mavristike/ \*mavrise eskemmena.  
the wall.NOM blackened.NAct/blackened.Act deliberately  
“The wall was blackened deliberately.”



(16b) O tihos \*mavristike/ mavrise apo tin boya. (causer PP)

the wall.NOM blackened.NAct/blackened.Act by the paint

“The wall blackened because of the paint.”

(17a) I porta klistike/ \*eklise apo ton Petros.

the door.NOM closed.NAct/closed.Act by the Petros

“The door was closed by Petros.”

(17b) I porta \*klistike/ eklise apo ton aera. (causer PP)

the door.NOM closed.NAct/closed.Act by the wind

“The door closed because of the wind.”

As we can see in the examples above, the causer PP test proves to be a good test for differentiating between passives and anticausatives. Although we are almost done in terms of setting the background for the analysis of Istanbul Greek, we briefly have to mention Voice-related constructions in Turkish before going on with the analysis of Istanbul Greek anticausatives, as the analysis of Istanbul Greek data involves language contact between Turkish and Istanbul Greek.

#### 4.4 Voice in Turkish

Like Standard Greek, Turkish also has anticausative, reflexive, and passive constructions. Anticausatives are either marked or unmarked in Turkish, but unmarked anticausatives (Class B) do not carry active morphology as in Greek. Hence, for Class B verbs in Turkish, we can say that unmarked anticausative forms do not correspond to causative forms, as the causative forms of Class B verbs carry active morphology, while the anticausative forms do not carry special morphology, as in example (18).

(18a) Yorgo yemeği pişirdi. (causative)

Yorgos.NOM food.ACC baked.Act

“Yorgos baked the food.”

(18b) Yemek pişti. (anticausative)

food.NOM baked

“The food baked.”

On the other hand, marked anticausatives (Class A) carry non-active morphology in Turkish, which distinguishes them from their causative counterparts, as the causative forms of Class A verbs in Turkish carry no special morphology, as in example (19).

(19a) Eleni binayı yıktı. (causative)

Eleni.NOM building.ACC demolished

“Eleni demolished the building.”

(19b) Bina yıkıldı. (anticausative)

building.NOM demolished.NAct

“The building collapsed.”

Apart from Class A and Class B verbs, Turkish also has a small set of Class C anticausatives which are optionally marked. One example is given below:

(20) Hava açtı/ açıldı. (anticausative)

weather.NOM opened/opened.NAct

“The weather got better.”

Just like in Greek, non-active morphology is also used in other environments in Turkish, such as passive and reflexive constructions, as in (21) and (22).

(21) Kitap dün okundu. (passive)

book.NOM yesterday read.NAct

“The book was read yesterday.”

(22) Maria taranıyor. (reflexive)

Maria.NOM combs.NAct

“Maria combs.”

Now that we have gained basic insight about Voice-related constructions in Turkish, we will better interpret Istanbul Greek anticausatives in the following sections in terms of the language contact between Istanbul Greek and Turkish.

#### 4.5 Class A anticausatives in Istanbul Greek

As we can remember, Class A anticausatives in Greek are consistently marked with non-active morphology, without any variation. In Istanbul Greek, many verbs that are used in this study comply to the rules of Standard Greek, and the grammaticality judgments for these verbs in anticausative contexts are as expected. Several examples of such verbs are given below:

(23a) Ta filla mazeftikan/ \*mazepsan apo ton aera.

the.Pl leaf.NOM.Pl gathered.NAct.Pl/gathered.Act.Pl by the wind

“The leaves gathered because of the wind.”

(23b) Ta filla mazeftikan/ \*mazepsan apo ton Yorgo.

the.Pl leaf.NOM.Pl gathered.NAct.Pl/gathered.Act.Pl by the Yorgos.

“The leaves were gathered by Yorgos.”

(24a) To ktirio katedafistike/ \*katedafise apo mono tu.  
the building.NOM collapsed.NAct/collapsed.Act by itself  
“The building collapsed by itself.”

(24b) To ktirio katedafistike/ \*katedafise apo ton Yorgo.  
the building.NOM collapsed.NAct/collapsed.Act by the Yorgos.  
“The building was demolished by Yorgos.”

(25) To nero hithike/ \*ehise.  
the water.NOM spilled.NAct/spilled.Act  
“The water spilled.”

As we can see in examples (23), (24), and (25), the verbs *mazevo*, *katedafizo*, and *hino* can only bear non-active morphology in Istanbul Greek when used in anticausative predicates. Although many other Class A verbs in Istanbul Greek follow the same pattern, there are also verbs that behave contrary to expectation, and carry active morphology. However, it should be noted here that there is no consistent absence of marking for these verbs in question. Some speakers mark these verbs, while others do not. Hence, we can say that there is inter-speaker variation for these verbs, as in (26) and (27).

(26a) To plio vithistike/ vithise apo tin kateyida.  
the ship.NOM sank.NAct/sank.Act by the storm  
“The ship sank because of the storm.” (inter-speaker variation)

(26b) To plio vithistike/ \*vithise eskemmena.  
the ship.NOM sank.NAct/sank.Act deliberately  
“The ship was sunk deliberately.”

(27a) I            misthi    ton    ergaton            veltiothikan/ veltiosan.  
 the.Pl wage.NOM.Pl of worker.GEN.Pl improved.NAct/improved.Act  
 “The wages improved.” (inter-speaker variation)

(27b) I            misthi    ton    ergaton            veltiothikan/ \*veltiosan apo  
 the.Pl wage.NOM.Pl of worker.GEN.Pl improved.NAct/improved.Act by  
 ton dimo.  
 the mayor  
 “The wages were improved by the mayor.”

Now, notice that the Turkish translations for the first set of examples and the second set of examples have a very important difference. In the first set, the Turkish translation of the verbs in the anticausative context also carry non-active morphology, while the second set of anticausatives are unmarked in Turkish. For example, the verbal form *katedafistike* “collapsed.NAct” in (24a) is translated to Turkish as *yıkıldı* “collapsed.NAct”. On the other hand, the two possible verbal forms in (26a), *vithistike* “sank.NAct” and *vithise* “sank.Act”, are translated to Turkish as *battı* “sank” in the anticausative context. As the unexpected form in (26a) is *vithise* “sank.Act”, and as its Turkish counterpart is also unmarked, I claim that the morphological variation in (26) and (27) can be explained by the influence of Turkish on Istanbul Greek (as all Istanbul Greeks are Greek-Turkish bilinguals). Lets also clarify example (27): the anticausative forms possible for the verb *veltiono* are *veltiothikan* “improved.NAct.Pl” and *veltiosan* “improved.Act.Pl” in Istanbul Greek. On the other hand, the Turkish translation of this verb is *iyileşti* “improved” in the anticausative context, which is unmarked. Hence, I claim that the speakers who choose not to mark

the anticausative verbs in (26) and (27) are influenced by the Turkish translations of these verbs that do not carry non-active morphology.

But how can we account for this situation within a framework of cross-linguistic language contact phenomena? According to Grossman and Witzlack-Makarevich (2019), morphosyntactic borrowing in language contact situations can be explained by what they call the “valency frame”. Here, “valency” (or valence) refers to “the subcategorization requirements of any lexical item, i.e. to the number and nature of verbal arguments” (Grossman & Witzlack-Makarevich, 2019). Then, a “valency frame” marks a specific way of morphosyntactic behavior that a group of verbs in a language share. For example, in Russian, the complement of the verb ‘become’ is marked by instrumental case. Hence, verbs which mark their complements with instrumental case comply to this specific valency frame in Russian. The situation of ‘become’ in Russian is presented below:

(28) ja stanovljusj director-om (Grossman & Witzlack-Makarevich, 2019)

I become.1SG director-INS

“I become a director.”

As we can see in (28), the verb ‘become’ in Russian complies to a valency frame that marks the complement of the verb with instrumental case. Interestingly, Lithuanian Romani, which is in contact with Russian, also marks the complement of the verb ‘become’ with instrumental case (Tenser, 2005). In other dialects of Romani, the complement of the verb ‘become’ occurs in nominative case (Grossman & Witzlack-Makarevich, 2019). The situation of Lithuanian Romani is presented below:

(29) me jačjow direktoro-sa (Tenser, 2005)

I become.1SG director-INS

“I become director.”

According to Grossman and Witzlack-Makarevich (2019), the valency frame that marks the complement of the verb with instrumental case has been copied from Russian to Lithuanian Romani because of language contact. According to the authors, this language contact phenomenon is called “valency-copying”.

There are also other examples in the language contact literature where valency-copying may apply to the marking of verbs. For example, again in Lithuanian Romani, originally monovalent verbs can optionally occur with a detransitivizing marker (reflexive in this case), copying the structure of Russian:

(30a) Lithuanian Romani (Tenser, 2005)

tume san  
2PL laugh.2PL

“You laugh.”

(30b) Lithuanian Romani (Tenser, 2005)

tume san pe  
2PL laugh.2PL REFL

“You laugh.”

(30c) Russian (Tenser, 2005)

vy smejote sj  
2PL laugh.2PL REFL

“You laugh.”

As we can see in (30), the valency frame in Russian that marks the verb ‘laugh’ with a detransitivizing marker has been copied to Lithuanian Romani, resulting in the optional marking of ‘laugh’ in Lithuanian Romani. Another similar example comes from Hup where the passive verb is marked on the basis of a valency frame copied from Tukano (Epps, 2007):

(31a) Hup (Epps, 2007)

yaʔám tiyĩʔ-ǎn **hup**-mòh-òy.

jaguar man-OBJ **PASS**-kill-DYNM

“The jaguar was killed by the man.”

(31b) Tukano (Epps, 2007)

di’i-tí wĩ’ba-gí-de bopê-**dõ**’o-’kado

pot-CL child-MASC.SG-OBJ break-**PASS**-NMLZ.PLACE.PERF

dĩ-api.

be-REC.PAST.VIS

“The pot was broken by the child.”

As we can see in (31), valency-copying from Tukano to Hup results in the marking of passive verbs in Hup. This passive structure in Hup is not found in other Nadahup languages, which shows that the phenomenon in (31) is a result of language contact (Grossman & Witzlack-Makarevich, 2019).

When we consider Greek, non-active morphology is also a detransitivizing marker, as verbs that are marked with the non-active cannot be used in transitive contexts anymore. Hence, non-active morphology in Greek is similar to the reflexive marker in Lithuanian Romani and the passive marker in Hup which are all detransitivizing markers. As we had seen above, valency-copying can result in



different tendencies of verbal marking in Lithuanian Romani and Hup. Hence, if we go back to Istanbul Greek, I claim that the unexpected pattern of marking for the verbs *vithizo* and *veltiono* in (26a) and (27a) is a result of valency-copying from Turkish. As these verbs are used without detransitivizing markers in Turkish (*iyileşti* and *battı*), valency-copying into Istanbul Greek results in the unexpected forms *veltiosan* and *vithise*, which also do not carry detransitivizing markers (non-active morphology).

Among the rest of the Class A verbs, the verb *egatalipo* “abandon” follows the same pattern as the first set of examples (examples (23), (24), and (25)):

(32a) To      dolario              egatalifhike/ \*egatelipse.

the dollar.NOM abandoned.NAct/abandoned.Act

“The dollar was abandoned.”

(32b) To      amaksi              egatalifhike/ \*egatelipse      apo ton Yorgo.

the car.NOM abandoned.NAct/abandoned.Act by the Yorgos

“The car was abandoned by Yorgos.”

Notice in (32a) that the Turkish translation for *egatalifhike* “abandoned.NAct” is *terk edildi* “abandoned.NAct”, again a correspondance between Istanbul Greek and Turkish. However, not all verbs in Class A comply to this language contact explanation. The rest of the Class A verbs carry non-active morphology in the anticausative context, and the Turkish translations for them do not carry the non-active:

(33a) To      luludi              kopike/ \*ekopse      apo ton aera.

the flower.NOM plucked.NAct/plucked.Act by the wind

“The flower severed because of the wind.”

(33b) To luludi kopike/ \*ekopse eskemmena.

the flower.NOM plucked.NAct/plucked.Act deliberately

“The flower was plucked deliberately.”

(34) I kota psithike/ \*epsise.

the chicken.NOM baked.NAct/baked.Act

“The chicken roasted.” (*psistike* was also observed for the non-active form)

(35) To heri mu pristike/ \*eprikse.

the hand.NOM my swelled.NAct/swelled.Act

“My hand swelled.”

Although these verbs (i.e. the third set of examples) do not comply to the previous language contact explanation, one should notice the phonological and orthographic similarity between the anticausative verbs in (33) and (34) and their Turkish counterparts: [kop-ike] in Greek and [kop-tu] in Turkish, [psiθ-ike] or [psist-ike] in Istanbul Greek and [piʃ-ti] in Turkish (root and morphemes are separated by a dash for clarification). I claim that the similarities between Greek and Turkish forms may be an explanation for the usage of some of the verbs in the third set.

Moreover, the verbs *kovo* “pluck” and *psino* “bake” are verbs that are less likely to occur spontaneously, i.e. they imply external causation. According to Haspelmath (1993), verbs that express events that are more likely to occur spontaneously tend to form unmarked anticausatives, while verbs that express events that are less likely to occur spontaneously tend to form marked anticausatives. Hence, the markedness of these two verbs can be explained by Haspelmath’s spontaneity scale. On the other hand, the verb *prizo* “swell” is more likely to occur spontaneously, i.e. it implies internal causation, but it still carries non-active morphology in the

anticausative context. It seems that this verb does not fit into any explanation presented above. Then, we can explain the situation by the idiosyncratic behavior of this verb. In my opinion, the morpho-phonological properties of the active form of this verb, i.e. *eprikse*, does not perfectly fit into anticausative usage. Recall that among Class A verbs in this study, the ones that alternate in terms of morphological marking do not take the additional augment vowel<sup>5</sup> *e-* at the beginning of the verbal form when they are unmarked (*veltiose* “improved.Act”, *vithise* “sank.Act”). On the other hand, verbs like *prizo* “swell” take the augment vowel when they are unmarked: *eprikse* “swelled.Act”, *epsise* “baked.Act”, *ekopse* “plucked.Act”, *ehise* “spilled.Act”. Hence, I claim that the additional augment vowel decreases the chances for the interchangeable usage of marked and unmarked forms for verbs that take the augment in the active form. To clarify, verbs that take the augment vowel in active form have marked and unmarked forms that do not start with the same sound. On the other hand, verbs that do not take the augment vowel in active form have marked and unmarked forms that start with the same sound. Hence, for verbs that do not take the augment vowel, it is easier to use marked and unmarked forms interchangeably in anticausative (and possibly passive) contexts, as marked and unmarked forms start with the same sound for these verbs. That is why mostly verbs that do not take the augment vowel can alternate in terms of marking (in Istanbul Greek). Then, the strict non-active usage of the verbs *prizo* “swell”, *psino* “bake”, *kovo* “pluck”, and *hino* “spill” in anticausative predicates can also be explained by the morpho-phonological properties of the active forms of these verbs (i.e. idiosyncratic properties).

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5 The “syllabic augment is the vowel *e-* prefixed to the stem of the verb in a past tense, e.g. *e-grapsa* ‘I wrote’. The augment is required when the verb has a one-syllable stem beginning with a consonant, and a one-syllable ending” (Holton et al., 2005).

Now that we have proposed an analysis for Class A verbs in Istanbul Greek, I also want to make a new classification for Istanbul Greek anticausatives, as data shows that the verbs *vithizo* and *veltiono* behave as Class C verbs in Istanbul Greek in terms of being optionally marked, contrary to Standard Greek where they behave as Class A anticausatives. The new classification can be found in Table 10. New items will be added to this table in the following sections.

Table 10. Istanbul Greek Anticausatives – 1

Class A	Class B	Class C
<i>katedafizo</i> (collapse)		<b><i>veltiono</i> (improve)</b>
<i>mazevo</i> (gather)		<b><i>vithizo</i> (sink)</b>
<i>egatalipo</i> (abandon)		
<i>kovo</i> (pluck)		
<i>psino</i> (bake)		
<i>hino</i> (spill)		
<i>prizo</i> (swell)		
Newly re-classified items are in bold.		

#### 4.6 Class B anticausatives in Istanbul Greek

As we already know, Class B anticausatives in Greek only bear active morphology, i.e. they are unmarked. According to Alexiadou et al. (2015), many Class B verbs cannot combine with non-active morphology, and that these verbs do not have passives as a result. However, I argued against this in section 4.2, and claimed that passives can be formed with active morphology on some occasions, and that some Class B verbs can bear non-active morphology to form a passive. We should bear this in mind when discussing Class B anticausatives in Istanbul Greek.

Among the ten Class B anticausatives that will be discussed in this section, I only inquired for the passive usage for seven verbs. Among these seven verbs, all of them have licit passive usage, which confirms my claim in section 4.2. Building on the Standard Greek data in section 4.2, but not on Alexiadou et al. (2015), we expect to find passive forms that bear non-active morphology for most of these seven verbs (only *fardeno* “widen” forms a passive with active morphology in Standard Greek among these seven verbs, as discussed earlier). However, contrary to expectation, nearly half of these verbs can also form a passive with active morphology:

(36) I      porta              klistike/eklise      apo ton Yorgo.  
the door.NOM closed.NAct/closed.Act by the Yorgos  
“The door was closed by Yorgos.” (inter and intra-speaker variation)

(37) I      porta              anihtike/anikse      eskemmena.  
the door.NOM opened.NAct/opened.Act deliberately  
“The door was opened deliberately.” (inter and intra-speaker variation)

(38) To      duvari              mavristike/mavrise      eskemmena.  
the wall.NOM blackened.NAct/blackened.Act deliberately  
“The wall was blackened deliberately.” (inter and intra-speaker variation)

To account for this situation, we should note that both the passive and the anticausative map into the same verbal form in Turkish for the verbs in (36) and (37): *açıldı* “opened.NAct” and *kapandı* “closed.NAct”. These two forms are used both in passive and anticausative predicates in Turkish:

(39a) Kapı Yorgo tarafından kapandı. (passive)  
door Yorgos by closed.NAct  
“The door was closed by Yorgos.”

(39b) Kapı kapandı. (anticausative)

door closed.NAct

“The door closed.”

(40a) Kapı Yorgo tarafından açıldı. (passive)

door Yorgos by opened.NAct

“The door was opened by Yorgos.”

(40b) Kapı açıldı. (anticausative)

door opened.NAct

“The door opened.”

As we can see in (39) and (40), the verbal forms *açıldı* “opened.NAct” and *kapandı* “closed.NAct” are used both in passive and anticausative constructions in Turkish. Then, these verbal forms also correspond to unmarked Class B anticausatives in Greek in the anticausative context. An example is given here for clarification:

(41) I porta eklise apo ton aera.

the door.NOM closed.Act by the wind

“The door closed because of the wind.”

As we can deduce from (39b) and (41), the unmarked anticausative form *eklise* “closed.Act” corresponds to *kapandı* “closed.NAct” in the Turkish translation. As *kapandı* “closed.NAct” is also used for the passive in Turkish, I claim that this match in form results in Istanbul Greek speakers to use *eklise* “closed.Act” in passive predicates. The same argumentation applies for the verb *anigo* (open). Then, examples (36) and (37) can also be interpreted as instances of valency-copying. On the other hand, the situation with the verb *mavrizo* (blacken) is different: the forms

for the passive and the anticausative do not correspond in the case of *blacken* in Turkish (*siyahladı* “blackened” for anticausative vs. *siyahlatıldı* “blackened.NAct” for passive). Hence, the argumentation above does not explain the morphological variation for the verb *mavrizo* (blacken) in Istanbul Greek. Then, this variation does not have a systematic explanation.

In terms of anticausative usage, many Class B verbs in Istanbul Greek follow the same pattern as Class B anticausatives in Standard Greek, i.e. they are unmarked. Several examples are given below:

(42) I        porta        \*klistike/eklise        apo ton aera.  
           the door.NOM closed.NAct/closed.Act by the wind  
           “The door closed because of the wind.”

(43) O        tihos        \*mavristike/        mavrise        apo tin boya.  
           the wall.NOM blackened.NAct/blackened.Act by the paint  
           “The wall blackened because of the paint.”

(44) To        piato        \*spastike/        espase.  
           the plate.NOM broke.NAct/broke.Act  
           “The plate broke.”

On the other hand, there are three Class B verbs in this data set that were observed to bear non-active morphology in anticausative predicates in Istanbul Greek, contrary to expectation:

(45) I        porta        anihtike/anikse        apo ton aera.  
           the door.NOM opened.NAct/opened.Act by the wind  
           “The door opened because of the wind.” (inter-speaker variation)

(46) To plakaki aspristike/ asprise apo ton ilio.

the tile.NOM whitened.NAct/whitened.Act by the sun

“The tile whitened because of the sun.” (inter-speaker variation)

(47) O tihos katharistike/ katharise apo tin vrohi.

the wall.NOM cleaned.NAct/cleaned.Act by the rain

“The wall got clean thanks to the rain.” (inter-speaker variation)

Among these three verbs, the passive and anticausative forms for *katharizo* (clean) and *anigo* (open) map into a single Turkish verbal form (*temizlendi* “cleaned.NAct” and *açıldı* “opened.NAct”), as discussed before for *anigo* (open).

The relevant examples for *clean* are given below:

(48) Duvar yağmurdan temizlendi. (anticausative)

wall rain.ABL cleaned.NAct

“The wall got clean thanks to the rain.”

(49) Duvar Yorgo tarafından temizlendi. (passive)

wall Yorgos by cleaned.NAct

“The wall was cleaned by Yorgos.”

As seen in (48) and (49), the verbal form *temizlendi* “cleaned.NAct” can be used both in passive and anticausative predicates in Turkish, just like *açıldı* “opened.NAct”. Then, both active and non-active forms for *anigo* (open) and *katharizo* (clean) in Greek correspond to a single verbal form in Turkish. Hence, I claim that this situation results in Istanbul Greek speakers to use the non-active forms of these verbs in anticausative constructions on some occasions, as the Turkish translations of these non-active forms fit in anticausative predicates. Then, in theoretical terms, examples (45) and (47) are also instances of valency-copying. On



the other hand, this argumentation does not explain the situation for the verb *asprizo* (whiten), as there is no morphological match for passive and anticausative verbal forms in Turkish in the case of this verb (*beyazladı* “whitened” for anticausative vs. *beyazlatıldı* “whitened.NAct” for passive). Hence, I claim that there is no systematic explanation for this variation, just like the case of *mavrizo* (blacken) in passive predicates. However, it should be noted that the variations that I could not explain both relate to color verbs (*blacken* and *whiten*, two basic colors). Hence, there might be a systematic explanation that I could not discover yet.

In terms of the re-classification of verbs, this section showed that *katharizo* (clean), *asprizo* (whiten), and *anigo* (open) are marked optionally in Istanbul Greek. Hence, these verbs will be re-classified in Class C, contrary to Standard Greek where they are Class B anticausatives. Apart from these three verbs, the rest will be classified in Class B. The resulting classification is in Table 11.

Table 11. Istanbul Greek Anticausatives – 2

Class A	Class B	Class C
<i>katedafizo</i> (collapse)	<i>klino</i> (close)	<i>veltiono</i> (improve)
<i>mazevo</i> (gather)	<i>mavrizo</i> (blacken)	<i>vithizo</i> (sink)
<i>egatalipo</i> (abandon)	<i>fardeno</i> (widen)	<b><i>katharizo</i> (clean)</b>
<i>kovo</i> (pluck)	<i>rodizo</i> (reddden/roast)	<b><i>asprizo</i> (whiten)</b>
<i>psino</i> (bake)	<i>spao</i> (break)	<b><i>anigo</i> (open)</b>
<i>hino</i> (spill)	<i>svino</i> (burn out)	
<i>prizo</i> (swell)	<i>yirizo</i> (turn)	
Newly re-classified items are in bold.		

#### 4.7 Class C anticausatives in Istanbul Greek

In Standard Greek, anticausative verbs that belong to Class C are optionally marked, and Alexiadou et al. (2015) claim that the optional marking in Class C is related to completed vs. partial change semantics (see chapter 3, section 3.3.2.1). As I have argued in section 4.2, the data that I have collected from Standard Greek speakers shows that variation in marking is possible without any semantic background in the sentence in terms of completed vs. partial change. Moreover, the data from Istanbul Greek also confirms my initial claim about Class C anticausatives in Greek: there was no instance of optional marking that I could observe that was due to level-of-change semantics in the case of Istanbul Greek. Actually, all my informants reported that my tests for level-of-change semantics had no effect on their grammaticality judgments:

(50a) To sakaki skistike/\*eshise merikos.  
the jacket.NOM tore.NAct/tore.Act partially

“The jacket tore partially.”

(50b) To sakaki skistike/\*eshise olokliros.  
the jacket.NOM tore.NAct/tore.Act completely

“The jacket tore completely.”

(51a) To derma tis \*zarothiske / zarose merikos.  
the skin.NOM hers wrinkled.NAct/wrinkled.Act partially

“Her skin wrinkled partially.”

(51b) To derma tis \*zarothiske / zarose olokliros.  
the skin.NOM hers wrinkled.NAct/wrinkled.Act completely

“Her skin wrinkled completely.”

(52a) To spiti zestathike/\*zestane merikos.

the house.NOM warmed.NAct/warmed.Act partially

“The house warmed up partially.”

(52b) To spiti zestathike/\*zestane olokliros.

the house.NOM warmed.NAct/warmed.Act completely

“The house warmed up completely.”

(52c) O kairos zestathike/zestane.

the weather.NOM warmed.NAct/warmed.Act

“The weather warmed up.”

As we can see in the examples above, optional marking never shows up in the cases where tests for level-of-change semantics are present. On the other hand, the verb is optionally marked in (52c) without any level-of-change semantics in the sentence. Hence, the optionality should be related to another phenomenon, confirming my initial claim in section 4.2.

Moreover, it should be noted that the verbs in (50) and (51), *zarono* (wrinkle) and *skizo* (tear), are never optionally marked throughout the data for Istanbul Greek. While *zarono* is always unmarked in anticausative predicates, *skizo* is always marked, which is contrary to the classification of Alexiadou et al. (2015), as these verbs are expected to be optionally marked. When we consider the Turkish translations for these verbs, *wrinkle* is unmarked in Turkish, while *tear* is marked, which overlaps with the morphological marking in Istanbul Greek:

(53) \*Zarothike / zarose to derma tis.

wrinkled.NAct/wrinkled.Act the skin.NOM hers

“Her skin wrinkled.”

(54) O perdes skistike/\*eshise pera os pera.

the curtain.NOM tore.NAct/tore.Act completely

“The curtain tore completely.”

As we can see in (53) and (54), the verb *wrinkle* is unmarked in Turkish, *buruştu* “wrinkled”, and the verb *tear* is marked in Turkish, *yırtıldı* “tore.NAct”. Hence, the anticausative paradigm in Istanbul Greek may have been influenced by morphological marking in Turkish. On the other hand, these two verbs also show the same pattern in Standard Greek, as we had seen in examples (9) and (10) in section 4.2. Then, the influence of Turkish is not the only reason why these verbs are not optionally marked. I claim here that the spontaneity scale of Haspelmath (1993) can help in terms of explaining the cross-linguistic marking of *wrinkle* and *tear*. As verbs that express events that are more likely to occur spontaneously tend to form unmarked anticausatives (e.g. *wrinkle*), and verbs that express events that are less likely to occur spontaneously tend to form marked anticausatives (e.g. *tear*), *zarono* is unmarked in Istanbul Greek and Standard Greek (and Turkish), while *skizo* is marked in these dialects (and Turkish). Then, the classification of these verbs in Class C raises questions in terms of the data presented here. Lastly, the active form of *skizo*, *eshise* “tore.Act”, bears the additional augment vowel that I discussed in section 4.4. I claim that the presence of the augment may be an additional reason why *skizo* is always used with non-active morphology. This claim is supported by the fact that Class C verbs that are optionally marked never carry the augment vowel in active form. Now, let us look at these optionally marked Class C verbs in Istanbul Greek:

(55) To yileko lerothike/ lerose apo tin boya.  
the vest.NOM dirtied.NAct/dirtied.Act by the paint  
“The vest got dirty because of the paint.” (inter and intra-speaker variation)

(56) To forema tsalakothike/ tsalakose apo mono tu.  
the dress.NOM crumpled.NAct/crumpled.Act by itself  
“The dress crumpled by itself.” (inter and intra-speaker variation)

(57) To ktirio gremistike/gremise apo mono tu.  
the building.NOM collapsed.NAct/collapsed.Act by itself  
“The building collapsed by itself.” (inter-speaker variation)

(58) O kairos zestathike/zestane.  
the weather.NOM warmed.NAct/warmed.Act  
“The weather warmed up.” (inter and intra-speaker variation)

As we can see in the examples above, Class C verbs in Istanbul Greek are optionally marked without any semantic considerations. On the other hand, this rather chaotic paradigm still has to say about language contact between Istanbul Greek and Turkish. First of all, the verb *lerono* (dirty) in (55) has a tendency to be marked with non-active morphology although it is marked optionally. The active form *lerose* for this verb is rather rare compared to the non-active form *lerothike* in the data. Then, this tendency can be explained by the corresponding marked form in Turkish, *kirlendi* “dirtied.NAct”. On the other hand, it should be noted here that the situation with *lerono* is also similar in Standard Greek: most of the informants tend to mark this verb. Then, language contact cannot be the only reason for this phenomenon, there should also be language internal reasons for this tendency. Secondly, the verb *zesteno* (warm up) also has a tendency to be marked in Istanbul

Greek. I claim that this tendency can also be explained by the corresponding marked form in Turkish, *ısındı* “warmed.NAct”. Although the situation with *lerono* and *zesteno* can be explained by language contact, the verb *gremizo* (collapse) has no tendency towards either markedness or unmarkedness. If language contact was influencing the morphological marking of *gremizo*, we would expect to find a tendency towards markedness, as the corresponding form in Turkish is marked (*yıkıldı* “collapsed.NAct”). Similarly, the verb *tsalakono* (crumple) is mostly marked in Istanbul Greek, contrary to the unmarked form in Turkish (*buruştu* “crumpled”). Hence, the situation for *gremizo* and *tsalakono* cannot be explained by language contact. Moreover, these verbs have different tendencies of marking in Standard Greek: *gremizo* (collapse) is always marked in my data, while *tsalakono* (crumple) is mostly unmarked in anticausative constructions. This mismatch between Istanbul Greek and Standard Greek (and Turkish), I claim, is due to the rather random marking for these verbs (compared to others). Hence, I claim that the marking for Class C verbs is mostly speaker-dependent.

For re-classification, this section has provided us with two verbs: *zarono* (wrinkle) and *skizo* (tear). While *zarono* is always unmarked throughout the Istanbul Greek data, *skizo* is always marked. Hence, *zarono* behaves as a Class B verb in Istanbul Greek, while *skizo* behaves as a Class A verb. Then, these two verbs have to be re-classified accordingly, while the rest of the verbs discussed in this section can be classified in Class C. The resulting classification, which is the final one, can be found in Table 12.

Table 12. Istanbul Greek Anticausatives – Final

Class A	Class B	Class C
<i>katedafizo</i> (collapse)	<i>klino</i> (close)	<i>veltiono</i> (improve)
<i>mazevo</i> (gather)	<i>mavrizo</i> (blacken)	<i>vithizo</i> (sink)
<i>egatalipo</i> (abandon)	<i>fardeno</i> (widen)	<i>katharizo</i> (clean)
<i>kovo</i> (pluck)	<i>rodizo</i> (reddden/roast)	<i>asprizo</i> (whiten)
<i>psino</i> (bake)	<i>spao</i> (break)	<i>anigo</i> (open)
<i>hino</i> (spill)	<i>svino</i> (burn out)	<i>zesteno</i> (warm up)
<i>prizo</i> (swell)	<i>yirizo</i> (turn)	<i>tsalakono</i> (crumple)
<b><i>skizo</i> (tear)</b>	<b><i>zaronο</i> (wrinkle)</b>	<i>gremizo</i> (collapse)
		<i>lerono</i> (dirty)
Newly re-classified items are in bold.		

Apart from the final classification of Istanbul Greek anticausatives, I also want to offer here another table that summarizes the contact between Istanbul Greek and Turkish in terms of anticausative usage and morphological marking. The table consists of Istanbul Greek anticausatives, corresponding Turkish anticausatives and their marking, and the Standard Greek classification of the anticausatives in question. The summary table can be found below (Table 13).

Table 13. Istanbul Greek Anticausatives and their Turkish Counterparts

	Istanbul Greek	Turkish Anticausative Usage	Morphological Marking in Turkish	Anticausative Class in Standard Greek*
Class A	<i>katedafizo</i> (collapse)	<i>yıklmak</i> (collapse)	non-active	A
	<i>mazevo</i> (gather)	<i>toplanmak</i> (gather)	non-active	A
	<i>egatalipo</i> (abandon)	<i>terk edilmek</i> (abandon)	non-active	A
	<i>kovo</i> (pluck)	<i>kopmak</i> (detach)	-	A
	<i>psino</i> (bake)	<i>pişmek</i> (bake)	-	A
	<i>hino</i> (spill)	<i>dökülmek</i> (spill)	non-active	A
	<i>prizo</i> (swell)	<i>şişmek</i> (swell)	-	A
	<i>skizo</i> (tear)	<i>yırtılmak</i> (tear)	non-active	A
Class B	<i>klino</i> (close)	<i>kapanmak</i> (close)	non-active	B
	<i>mavrizo</i> (blacken)	<i>siyahlamak</i> (blacken)	-	B
	<i>fardeno</i> (widen)	<i>genişlemek</i> (widen)	-	B
	<i>rodizo</i> (redden/roast)	<i>kızarmak</i> (redden/roast)	-	B
	<i>spao</i> (break)	<i>kırılmak</i> (break)	non-active	B
	<i>svino</i> (burn out)	<i>sönmek</i> (burn out)	-	B
	<i>yirizo</i> (turn)	<i>dönmek</i> (turn)	-	B
	<i>zarono</i> (wrinkle)	<i>buruşmak</i> (wrinkle)	-	B
Class C	<i>veltiono</i> (improve)	<i>iyileşmek</i> (improve)	-	A
	<i>vithizo</i> (sink)	<i>batmak</i> (sink)	-	A
	<i>katharizo</i> (clean)	<i>temizlenmek</i> (clean)	non-active	B
	<i>asprizo</i> (whiten)	<i>beyazlamak</i> (whiten)	-	B
	<i>anigo</i> (open)	<i>açılmak</i> (open)	non-active	B
	<i>zesteno</i> (warm up)	<i>ısınmak</i> (warm up)	non-active	C
	<i>tsalakono</i> (crumple)	<i>buruşmak</i> (crumple)	-	C
	<i>gremizo</i> (collapse)	<i>yıklmak</i> (collapse)	non-active	A
	<i>lerono</i> (dirty)	<i>kirlenmek</i> (dirty)	non-active	C

\*As classified in Table 9.



#### 4.8 Internal and external causation

Throughout this thesis, I always argued that the morphological marking of the anticausative is not associated with the semantics of the verb. However, some examples in the previous section suggest otherwise:

(59) \*Zarothike / zarose to derma tis.

wrinkled.NAct/wrinkled.Act the skin.NOM hers

“Her skin wrinkled.”

(60) O perdes skistike/\*eshise pera os pera.

the curtain.NOM tore.NAct/tore.Act completely

“The curtain tore completely.”

As we can see in (59) and (60), *zarono* (wrinkle) is always unmarked in Istanbul Greek, while *skizo* (tear) is always marked. As I had argued in the previous section, the morphological marking of these verbs can be explained by the spontaneity scale of Haspelmath (1993): verbs that express events that are more likely to occur spontaneously tend to form unmarked anticausatives (e.g. *wrinkle*), and verbs that express events that are less likely to occur spontaneously tend to form marked anticausatives (e.g. *tear*). If we take this argumentation one step further, we can map events that are more likely to occur spontaneously to internal causation, and events that are less likely to occur spontaneously to external causation. Then, verbs that express internally caused events tend to form unmarked anticausatives (e.g. *wrinkle*), and verbs that express externally caused events tend to form marked anticausatives (e.g. *tear*). This claim is also supported by the following example from Istanbul Greek (remember that *lerono* is optionally marked in Istanbul Greek):

(61) To moro lerothike / \*lerose.

the baby dirtied.NAct/dirtied.Act

“The baby soiled his diapers.”

As we can see in example (61), the addition of an animate agent, which implies external causation, forbids optional marking for the verb *lerono*, and results in non-active marking. Hence, external vs. internal causation seems to have an effect on the morphological marking of anticausatives in Greek.

On the other hand, many other verbs that express internally caused events in Istanbul Greek are actually counter examples to the claim above. The following examples illustrate the morphological marking of *skuriazō* (rust), *hiroterevo* (deteriorate), and *ksireno* (dry), which all express internally caused events:

(62) To aftokinito skuriastike/skuriase apo mono tu.

the car.NOM rusted.NAct/rusted.Act by itself

“The car rusted by itself.”

(63) I steli hirotereftike/hiroterepse.

the roof.NOM deteriorated.NAct/deteriorated.Act

“The roof deteriorated.”

(64) Ta filla ksirathikan/\*ksiranan.

the leaves.NOM dried.NAct/dried.Act

“The leaves dried.”

As we can see in (62), (63), and (64), none of the internally caused events above are expressed by verbs that are exclusively unmarked, contrary to expectation. Moreover, the verb *ksireno* in (64) is exclusively marked with non-active morphology, which is what we would expect from a verb that expresses an externally

caused event. Then, the initial claim that external vs. internal causation semantics had an effect on the morphological marking of anticausatives in Greek proves to be wrong. I also want to illustrate my case with the prototypical member of verbs that express external causation, which is *spao* (break):

- (65) To piato \*spastike/ espase.  
the plate.NOM broke.NAct/broke.Act  
“The plate broke.”

As seen in example (65), external causation also does not imply markedness. Then, there is no strict correlation between internal vs. external causation and unmarked vs. marked verbs. But still, we need to go back to example (61), which is a strong argument in favor of the initial claim in this section. Example (61) is revisited below in (66):

- (66) To moro lerothike / \*lerose.  
the baby dirtied.NAct/dirtied.Act  
“The baby soiled his diapers.”

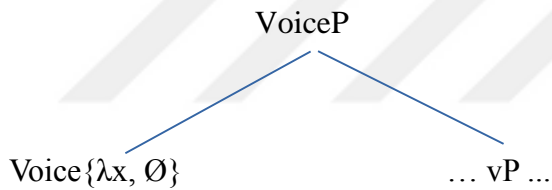
Although it may seem at first sight that external causation semantics (or animacy in this example) results in non-active marking for the verb *lerono* (dirty) here, I claim that the markedness of *lerono* in this example is a result of the predicate here being not an anticausative, but a reflexive. If we revisit this example as a reflexive construction, the marking of *lerono* exclusively with non-active morphology here becomes very natural.

To sum up, I claimed in this section that there is no strict correlation between internal vs. external causation and unmarked vs. marked verbs in Istanbul Greek, although some examples may suggest otherwise at first sight.

#### 4.9 Passives with active morphology

Another issue that I want to touch upon in more detail is the unmarked passive (passives with active morphology) that we observed both in Standard Greek and Istanbul Greek. As we can remember, Alexiadou et al. (2015) claim that passives are consistently marked with non-active morphology in Greek (see section 3.2). On the other hand, I have provided data in the previous sections which show that passives can be formed with active morphology in Standard Greek and Istanbul Greek (see sections 4.2 and 4.6). As Alexiadou et al. (2015) disregard unmarked passives, they also have not provided a syntactic explanation for the matter in question (see section 3.4.2). As a reminder, Alexiadou et al. (2015) claim that all passives have the following structure:

(67) thematic non-active Voice (passive with NAct morphology, or marked passive)



As seen in (67), the syntactic construction of the marked passive has a Voice layer, which includes a thematic role ( $\lambda x$ ), but lacks a DP specifier (the D-feature is  $\emptyset$ ). Then, the passives that have this construction are marked with non-active morphology according to the following rule:

(68) Voice  $\rightarrow$  Voice[NonAct]/ \_\_\_No DP specifier

Although this syntactic structure perfectly explains marked passives, it does not explain unmarked passives, as the structure in (67) obligatorily marks the passive because of the lacking DP specifier. Then, unmarked passives should have a different structure.

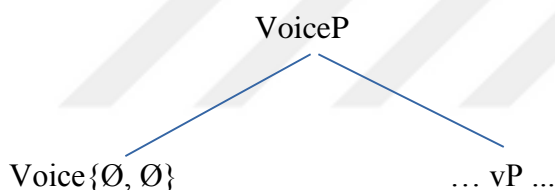
If we stay in the syntactic model of Alexiadou et al. (2015), there is only one other possible syntactic structure that unmarked passives can have, which is also the syntactic structure of the unmarked anticausative:

(69) [vP [Root/ResultP]]

As the structure in (69) lacks a Voice layer, a phrase that has this structure cannot be marked with Voice-related morphology, as in the case of unmarked anticausatives. Then, the structure in (69) can be a possible explanation for the syntactic structure of unmarked passives.

On the other hand, remember that marked anticausatives and marked passives have structures that are very similar, but not identical. For clarification, I provide here the syntactic structure of the marked anticausative again:

(70) expletive non-active Voice (marked anticausative)



As we can see in (70), the structure of the marked anticausative lacks a thematic role ( $\emptyset$ ), which differentiates this structure from that of marked passives. On the other hand, the structure that I proposed for unmarked passives in (69) does not differentiate between unmarked anticausatives and unmarked passives in terms of the presence vs. absence of a thematic role. If we assume that the unmarked passive has the structure in (69), there are two possibilities: either the unmarked passive lacks a thematic role, or the thematic role is coded not in the Voice layer, but elsewhere. As it is not logical to assume that the unmarked passive lacks a thematic

role, the thematic role that differentiates the unmarked passive from the unmarked anticausative should be coded somewhere other than the Voice layer.

If we take a step back and look at the big picture, we will remember that all irregular and memorized parts of language are actually stored in the lexicon. Each entry in the lexicon include at least the following: meaning, syntactic category, pronunciation, all kinds of irregularities, and most importantly, the argument structure (Carnie, 2013). Hence, the thematic roles associated with the argument structure are already stored in the lexical entry of a verb. Then, in terms of distinguishing between the unmarked passive and the unmarked anticausative, we do not need the presence of the Voice layer; the lexicon already codes the difference. Now that we have shown the whereabouts of the thematic role that distinguishes the unmarked passive from the unmarked anticausative, we can confidently claim that the unmarked passive also has the syntactic structure in (69), just like the unmarked anticausative.

To sum up, we have seen in this section that Alexiadou et al. (2015) do not account for the syntactic structure of unmarked passives in Greek. Hence, I tried to come up with a possible structure that would capture both the unmarked passive and the unmarked anticausative.

#### 4.10 Conclusion

To conclude, this chapter has tried to offer a morphosyntactic explanation to the dialectal differences observed in the Istanbul Greek data in question. In doing so, I tried to utilize language contact concepts such as valency-copying, morpho-phonological explanations such as the presence vs. absence of the augment vowel,

and Haspelmath's (1993) spontaneity scale, among others. Moreover, I also tried to provide summary tables that would ease the comprehension of the Istanbul Greek data. After touching upon internal and external causation, I also tried to provide a syntactic structure for passives with active morphology at the end of the chapter.



## CHAPTER 5

### CONCLUSION

By providing a morphosyntactic analysis of Istanbul Greek, the present thesis has accomplished what was not done before, as such an in-depth morphosyntactic study was never conducted for the Istanbul Greek dialect. This thesis consists of three main components: background knowledge on Istanbul Greeks and their dialect (second chapter), Voice-related theoretical background on Standard Greek (third chapter), and the analysis of Voice-related constructions in Istanbul Greek (fourth chapter). The second chapter first explains the sociolinguistic situation of the Istanbul Greek community, proceeds with the basic description of the grammar of Istanbul Greek, and ends with the data collection methodology of this thesis. The third chapter sets up the theoretical background of this thesis based on Alexiadou et al.'s (2015) work about Standard Greek marked/unmarked anticausatives. Lastly, the fourth chapter presents data collected from Standard Greek speakers and Istanbul Greek speakers, and offers an analysis for the dialectal differences between Standard Greek and Istanbul Greek in terms of the contact between Istanbul Greek and Turkish.

It should be noted that this study was conducted with a small group of participants. As explained in the methodology section, I could only collect data from four Istanbul Greek speakers and four Standard Greek speakers. Hence, the results of this study are not definitive because of the small sample size. Then, this study should be repeated with a larger sample size for more definitive results. As such, I would like to encourage researchers to work on the Istanbul Greek dialect for a better



understanding of the dialectal differences between Standard Greek and Istanbul Greek.

Moreover, this thesis also aimed at increasing the visibility of Istanbul Greeks and their dialect. Of course, my vantage point here does not view Istanbul Greeks as objects of melancholy, but views them as an existing community that still survives in some way or other, with its issues that have to be dealt with, such as the maintenance of their language. Hence, I hope that other researchers who want to explore the Istanbul Greek dialect use this vantage point in viewing the community: a vantage point that does not treat them as melancholic objects or objects that need protection, but a vantage point that views Istanbul Greeks as a real and existing community that can empower itself.

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