TURKIC PASSIVES

Formal features

Turkic is an agglutinative language. **Verb stems** combine with one or more suffixes denoting:

- diathesis (reciprocal/cooperative, causative/factitive, passive, or reflexive);
- negation;
- thematic suffixes (tense/mood/actionality/viewpoint);
- *and* the suffix indicating person and number of the actant.

Consequently, diathesis is marked by means of verb morphology. As a rule, the passive marker has the form $\{-I^4I\}$, as in *bak*- 'to look' > *bakıl*- 'to be watched'. After stem-final -l or vowel, the suffix has the form $\{-(I^4)n\}$; e.g. *bil*- 'to know' > *bilin*- 'to be/become known', *al*- 'to take, buy' > *alın*- 'to be taken, bought'.

Light verbs based on nominal component + auxiliary

Light verbs display *transitive forms* based on the auxiliary 'to do', which is *et*- in Standard Turkish (= ST), or mostly e(y)le- in Iran-Turkic.

The corresponding *intransitives* may combine with the auxiliary ol- 'to become'.

Example from ST: *rahatsız et-* 'to disturb someone:ACC' *rahatsız ol-* 'to become/feel disturbed'

Note that exactly the same construction occurs with Persian light verbs: transitive: *nârâhat kardan* 'to disturb someone:ACC' intransitive: *nârâhat šodan* 'to become/feel disturbed'

The intransitive form uses the same auxiliary as the Persian passive of full verbs, which consists of the PPP (participle past passive) and *šodan*

dide šodam 'I was seen' *dide mišavam* 'I am seen'

An overlap of intransitive and passive?

In ST, the auxialiary of light verbs may display 3 different forms; see, for instance, the example of the light verb *feth et-* 'to conquer', and its intransitive *feth ol-* 'to be conquered'. The latter can also be expressed by using passive forms of 'to do' or 'to become', such as *edil-* or *olun-*:

- a.) The intransitive counterpart of *feth et-*: *İstanbul feth oldu*.
- b.) The auxialiary *ol* additionally marked for passive: *İstanbul feth olundu*.
- c.) The passive marker on the auxiliary *et*-: *İstanbul feth edildi*.

In construction c.), a 1st agent can be introduced a postpositional phrase in X *tarafindan* (side:POSS.ABL) – which is conspicuously similar to the corresponding Persian construction *az taraf-e X* (PREP side:EZ) 'made from the side of X'.

İstanbul Fatih Sultan Mehmed tarafından feth edilmiştir. 'Istanbul was conquered by Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror.'

The use of Turkic passives

In passivation, the slot of the 1st agent in the argument structure of the verb remains empty. Thus, passive voice is used if the actor or 1st agent of the verb is unknown, or shall not be explicitly mentioned in the sentence. Therefore, passives appear more frequently in general statements, official language styles, manuals/instructions of use etc.

In Iran-Turkic, passives are rarely used. The following examples (1-3) for passive verbs are taken from texts in relatively elaborated style, produced by two elderly male informants; the texts deal with the history and methods of the construction of irrigation canals

- (1) *iydam olunmadi* 'no measures were taken' (37:30) measurebecome:NEG.PST3SG
- (2) *su tutulmıya* 'that the water should not be blocked'(36:6) water block:PASS.NEG.OPT3SG
- (3) Zamân-i Sofawiyädä bu yanâd dâ 'ır olubdi¹. (36:2) time:EZ Safavids:LOC this canal installing become:PF3SG 'This canal was constructed in the time of the Safavids.'

There are other strategies than passivation to avoid the introduction of a 1st agent/actor

Very much like spoken Persian, Iran-Turkic applies 3PL marking instead of passives for general statements; see ex. (4), from the same text as ex. (1):

(4) <i>buranı durusd eläyıblär</i>	Lit.: 'They have built this place here'
this place:ACC right make:PF3PL	'This here was built' (36:4)
(5) <i>dryällär Qaračay</i> say:AOR3PL nom. loc.	'They call (this river) Qarachay', for: 'It is called Qarachay.' (1:5)

General conditions can be formed with the 2^{nd} person singular in the sense of 'one/someone'. In this construction, the 2^{nd} SG is a dummy used with an active verb form. Note also that in Iran-Turkic, the optative functions as conditional mood (after the model of the Persian subjunctive).

(6) Sâvähdän	gejäy yı	uxar i	'If one goes far	rther up from	Saveh.'(1:1)
nom. loc.	pass:OPT2SG	up			

(7) *dilini bilmiyäy čatin olar*, language:POSS3SG.ACC know:NEG.OPT2SG difficult become:AOR3SG
'If someone (literally: you) doesn't know its language (= the right way to do it), it is difficult.' (60:5)

¹ Iran-Turkic $d\hat{a}$ '*ir ol*- goes back to the Persian light verb $d\hat{a}$ 'er budan 'to function, work', and $d\hat{a}$ 'er *šodan* 'to be installed, applied'. The nominal element is an Arabic participle.