

*Historical development of passives in Turkish**

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1. Introduction

This paper aims to present regular and irregular passives in Turkish starting from Orkhon Turkic (OrkT), which is the first period of Old Turkic between the seventh and tenth centuries, to Modern Turkish (ModT) using selected data extracted from prose sources for all periods of Turkish. I will claim that OrkT has different kind of passive strategies. OrkT produces a passive sentence with or without passive morphology. Moreover, most of the examples which are said to be passive are of a middle/reflexive character. After OrkT the formation of the regular passive (personal and impersonal) becomes very productive and regular. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries of Ottoman Turkish (OttT) the agent phrases *tarafından* and *canibinden* are introduced.

Irregular passive which is formed with the light verbs¹ starts to be seen especially in Old Anatolian Turkish (OAT) which covers the period between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries. The frequently used light verb *it-* 'to do, to make' is used in the active, middle and causative form but not in the passive. The other verb, *ol-* 'to be, to become', is used only in passive-like environments and *olun-* 'to be done, to be let or made' is used as the passive form of both *it-* and other light verbs. This kind of passivisation is a challenge to the Turkish passive formation. The passive in Turkish is made by adding a passive morpheme to the stem of the verb in question, whereas

* A. S. Özsoy et al. (eds.) (2000) *Studies in Turkish Linguistics*, İstanbul: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yay., 37-48.

1. "They have little or no semantic content of their own and serve only to provide a usable verbal form of an item which carries the semantic content of a verb but which is formally a noun." (Trask 1996: 27)

here *olun-* stands for all the light verbs in the passive. In OAT, although the verb *idil-* is not used, the derived verb *idin-* expresses middle/reflexive situations. This shows that the only derivation is reserved for the reflexive/middle situations and not passives in OAT. Late OtT acquires the passive form of *et-* (*edil-*) and ModT prefers *edil-* form not *olun-*.

The second part of the paper (ii) is about the regular passives and the third part (iii) deals with the irregular passives in Turkish.

ii. Regular passives

Kornfilt (1991: 18–20) compares the passive in Old Turkic with the ModT examples, and claims that there is no real passive in Old Turkic because of a lack of functional category projections. Here, I shall not discuss whether there were functional category projections or not, but I shall scrutinize the passive constructions in terms of their arguments and meanings. The following example is considered as passive by Tekin:

- (1) *türk bodun qan-ı-n bul-ma-yın tabyaç-da*
 [Turk people khan-3SG-ACC find-NEG-GER China-LOC
adıl-dı qanlan-tı
 to be separated-PAST have a khan-PAST]
 'Without having found their khan, the Turkish people were parted from the Chinese, and got themselves a khan.' (TI W2; Tekin 1968: 249, 283)²

From the example above, it is clear that this form differs from a passive structure in some respects. The action that is carried out is done by the subject *türk bodun*. This NP is the real subject of the sentence, that is the people that move from China are *Türk bodun*. The example covers the meaning of reflexive/middle³ rather than passive.

However, the following example in OrkT can be interpreted as a passive statement without the passive morpheme *-n/-l-*:

- (2) *tinsi oylı ayt-ıyma tay*
 [the son of Heaven say-PART mountain]
 'the mountain which is called Son of Heaven' (TII S2, 3; Tekin 1968: 252, 289)

2. The sources from which the examples come are provided after each example given in the article.
3. In a typical reflexive/middle situation, a participant acts on himself or herself rather than on any other.



In (2), the verb *ayt-ıyma* does not have a passive morpheme within the verb stem although the passive meaning is necessary.⁴ The word *tay* 'mountain' is a theme here.

On the other hand, the following example, which lacks an active pair, resembles a real passive. The difference between the example in (2) and (3) is that although the example above does not carry a passive morpheme, the following example carries a passive suffix *-lan-* or simply *-n-*.

- (3) *yerçi yer yañıl-ıp <yerçi>⁵ boyuzla-n-tı*
 [guide land make a mistake-GER guide slaughter-PASS-PAST]
 'Since the guide had misled (us), he was slaughtered.' (TI N2; Tekin 1968: 251, 286)

Example (3) has two verbs *yañılıp* and *boguzlantı* (*boguz-lan-tı*). Both verbs share the common subject *yerçi*. However, the word *yerçi* is not an agent for the *boguzlantı*, but it is a theme. It can be predicted that the agent is suppressed due to the passivisation of the second predicate.

After examining the examples, it can be said that OrkT has different kind of passive strategies as in the examples in (2) and (3). Contrary to the example (3), the passive in the example (2) is formed without a passive morpheme. Apart from the example (3) above, if a morpheme is attached to the verb stem, this should be analysed as a reflexive/middle in meaning except the example in (3). There was no agent phrase in that period.⁶

After OrkT, regular passivisation is observed in all periods of Turkish, (Karakhanid Turkic (KarT), OAT and OttT and of course ModT). In this regular morphological process the well-known passive suffixes are *-l-* and *-n-*.⁷ After OrkT, the passivisation of both transitive and intransitive verbs is possible. (4a-b) and (4c) belong to KarT (eleventh century) and OAT respectively.

- (4a) *bitig oqi-n-di*
 [book read-PASS-PAST]
 'The book was read.' (DLT1; Dankoff – Kelly 1982: 196)

4. In the literature, studies on passive constructions without suitable morphology are rarely encountered (Haspelmath 1990: 26).
5. Angle brackets represent the arguments of the verbs which are not present in the texts.
6. Erdal (1996: 89) says that in Old Turkic the *üzä* phrase is used in place of the *by phrase*. However, my corpus of OrkT does not have sentences which contain the word *üzä*.
7. The *-sık* is considered as passive morpheme such as *Anung yaşut işi bilsikdi* 'His secret work was known.' (Hacıeminoğlu 1996: 141).

- (4b) *üv-din* *çiq-il-di*
 [home-ABL go out-PASS-PAST]
 'There was a going out from the house.' (DLT2; Dankoff – Kelly 1984: 30)
- (4c) *padişah-uñ* *kile-si* *qardaş-umuz* *yük-i-nde* *bul-un-di*
 [sultan-GEN bushel-3SG sibling-1PL pack-3SG-LOC find-PASS-PAST]
 'The *kile* of the sultan was found among our brother's packs.' (KE 180)

The agent phrase is not encountered in the selected texts of OAT. In OttT *tarafından* functions exactly as a *by phrase*. In addition to the *tarafından* phrase, there are other lexical items that function like an agent phrase. The following example illustrates the use of the *tarafından* phrase:

- (5) ...*cümle-si-nüñ qahve-leri bile han tarafından ver-il-ir-di*
 [all-3SG-GEN coffee-3PL even khan by give-PASS-AOR-PAST]
 'Even their coffee was provided by the Khan.' (EÇ 118–119)

One suffix which can be treated as forming a *by phrase* in OttT is the ablative +dAn, as in the following example:

- (6) *bu dahı gayet güzel qızı idi ancaq biraz açıq-meşreb idi*
 [this also very beautiful girl PAST but a little loose PAST]
andan ötüri <güzel qız> qadın-dan gahice döğ-ül-ir-di
 [therefore beautiful girl woman-ABL sometimes beat-PASS-AOR-PAST]
 'She was a beautiful girl, but she was slightly loose, therefore she was sometimes beaten by the woman.' (TOAT 62)

III. Irregular passives

Compounding is a common property of Turkic languages from the beginning to the modern period. In OrkT, "compound verbs consist of a verb preceded by a noun functioning as complement or by a gerund." (Tekin 1968: 118). In simple terms, a compound verb formation is [N+V] as stated in the above definition. For example: *qagan bol-* 'to become kagan', *qul bol-* 'to become slave', *baz qıl-* 'to subjugate' and *uruş qıl-* 'to fight'.

It is important to note that the basic light verbs, *bol-* (> *ol-* in OAT) and *qıl-* are used in OrkT to create compound verbs. All the nouns that incorporate with the verb are in the nominative case, and all of them are located preverbally. This means that ModT verbs *ol-* and *kıl-* can be traced back to OrkT as light verbs.

When we look at the passivisation of the light verbs we see that there are no examples of passivisation for *bol-*, (**bolun-*) as a light verb in OrkT. Although *qıl-* has the form of *qılınım* (O F4; Tekin 1968: 255), *qılınmış* (KT E1; Tekin 1968: 232), *qılınmışda* (KT E1; Tekin 1968: 232), *qılınmaduq ärinç* (KT E5,

BK E6, E6; Tekin 1968: 233) in our examples, *qıl-* cannot be analysed as a compound verb, but is a full lexical verb. For example:

- (7) *üze kök teñri asra yağız yer kılın-tukda*
 [above blue sky below brown earth be created-when
ekin ara kişi oğlu kılın-mış
 two between human being be-created-R.PAST]
 'When the blue sky above and the reddish-brown earth below were created, between the two human beings were created.' (Tekin 1968: 232, 263)

In (7), the verb *kıl-* cannot constitute a compound verb, because the previous element *yer* forms an adjectival phrase with the word *yağız* that cannot be included in the main verb. The morpheme *-In-* on *qıl-* can be analysed as the middle/reflexive suffix, but not as the passive suffix.⁸

Tracing the development of Turkic languages, it becomes apparent that while compound verbs based on *bol-*, *it-* and *kıl-* in DLT and *Qytadgu Bilig* (QB) of KarT are not passivised, those verbs can be passivised if they are used in their simple lexical verbs.

In Kaşgari's lexicon, the verb *et-* is given as an Oghuz element: "Oğuzlar birşey yaptıkları zaman etti sözünü kullanırlar, öbür Türkler kıldı derler." (DLT₁; Atalay 1939: 171).⁹ The example of *it-* is:

- (8) *tāñri mǎn-iñ iş-im et-ti*
 [God I-GEN work-1SG do-PAST]
 'God made my business prosper.' (DLT₁; Dankoff – Kelly 1982: 179)

Example (8) contains the full lexical verb *etti*.

The following example shows the passivisation of *et-* (*edil-*). It must be noted that in this example also, *et-* is a full lexical verb and not a light verb.

- (9) *beg ugur-ı-nda mǎn-ig iş-im et-il-di*
 [beg reign-3SG-LOC I-GEN work-1SG do-PASS-PAST]
 'My affairs prospered during the reign of the emir.' (DLT₁; Dankoff – Kelly 1982: 100)

In the QB there are many verbs that take nouns to form compounds (Ercilasun 1984: 51–72), and *bol-*, *qıl-*, *it-* (and also *itin-*) [no *cyle-* and *buyur-*] are in this group. For example *müflis bol-* 'to go bankrupt', *sabır qıl-* 'to be patient' and *ün it-* 'to make noise'.

8. For more details see Kornfilt (1991: 21–22).

9. Translation: 'Oghuz use the word *etti* when they do something, other Turks use the verb *kıldı*'.

From the above examples taken from Ercilasun (1984) it will be seen that in terms of usage, these verbs are similar to instances encountered in DLT and QB. That is to say, *bol-* (> *ol-*) is frequently used in both sources; then comes the verb *kıl-*. The verb *it-* is rarely used.

OAT inherited the *ol-*, *it-* and *qıl-* forms from OrkT and KarT (*bol-* > *ol-*) with some phonological changes. In OAT, we also see verbs like *eyle-* 'to do', *buyur-* 'to do'. Among the light verbs, *ol-* and *it-* are the most commonly used ones.

Some of the words that *it-* can combine with to form compound verbs are: *beyan* 'declaration', *bina* 'building', *da'vet* 'invitation', *defn* 'burial', *esir* 'slave', *feth* 'conquest', *fıkr* 'idea', *hata* 'mistake', *idrak* 'perception' etc. Some of the words that *ol-* can combine with to form compound verbs are: *bina* 'building', *cenk* 'battle', *dahil* 'including', *hayran* 'admirer', *şehid* 'martyr', etc.

Generally, the verb *it-* forms transitive structures and rarely intransitive ones. *Ol-* generally produces intransitive verbs. *eyle-* and *qıl-* generate both transitive and intransitive ones.

As noted in the previous section, compounding is a very common process in the language during this period, and new compound verbs are created. Indeed because borrowing from Arabic and Persian increases during this period, it is expected that compounding should increase as well.

The OAT texts show that there is no one to one matching in the selection of the light verb and its noun/adj. Sometimes, the same words (noun or adj.) may select more than one verb. For example: *biünyad eyle-* / *biünyad qıl-*. The following examples are for the pairs *feth ol-* / *qıl-* / *it-*:

- (10a) *di-r-ler ki feth ol-an iki hisar*
 [say-AOR-PL COMP conquest become-PART two castle
Odgüklük-le Eksamiliye-ydi
Odgüklük-and Eksamiliye-PAST
 'They say that the two castles which were conquered were *Odgüklük*
 and *Eksamiliye*.' (KC1 177)
- (10b) ...<0> *Köpri-Hisar-ı muhasara id-üb feth kıl-ub...*
 [he Köprü-Hisar-ACC surround do-CONJ conquest do-CONJ]
 '(He) surrounded and conquered *Köprühisar*.' (KC1 93)
- (10c) *pes Osman dahı ... Karacahisar-ı feth id-üb...*
 [then Osman also Karacahisar-ACC conquest do-CONJ]
 'Then Osman also conquered *Karacahisar*...' (KC1 87)

The example in (10a) which contains the compound verb *feth olan* includes a relative clause whose head is *iki hisar*. When that relative clause is turned into a simple sentence, we get *iki hisar feth oldu* 'Two castles were conquered.'

In that case, *iki hisar* is the subject and the rest of the sentence is the verb. However, the subject is not doer, but a patient, like the subject of a passive sentence.

Examples (10b) and (10c) contain the compound verbs *feth kılub* and *feth idüb*. Syntactically, there seems to be no difference between them, since both verbs have subjects and objects and both are transitive.

In the passive form of light verbs in OAT, the most used form is *ol-un* rather than *eyle-n-* and *kıl-m-* and there are no examples of *it-* in the passive. i.e. **id-il-*. This is quite interesting, because Turkish normally allows the passivisation of the verb by adding a passive morpheme. In OAT, this process does not apply to the compound of *it-*. That is, the compound verb *feth it-* cannot be transformed into a passive structure **feth id-il-*.

Let us examine the following examples with *ceng ol-*, *ceng it-*, *ceng olın-*:

- (11a) <onlar> *Ceng it-di-ler...*
 [they battle do-PAST-PL]
 'They fought.' (BT 482)
- (11b) *akşam-a degin qati ceng ol-dı...*
 [evening-DAT up to very battle become-PAST]
 'There was fierce fighting till the evening...' (BT 499)
- (11c) *ol gün acaib muhkem ceng ol-m-dı*
 [that day fierce strong battle become-PASS-PAST]
 'That day, there was fierce fighting.' (BTK2 319)

In example (11a), the verb has an unexpressed subject, *onlar*. In example (11b), the verb *ceng oldı* does not have a passive morpheme and there is no subject either. In (11b) and (11c), the adverbial phrases are located before the compound verb. The sentence structures of *ceng ol-* and *ceng olın-* are almost identical. They do not have subjects. For these examples, it can be claimed that there is no difference between them semantically.

We can conclude that *ol-* and the passive *olın-* are used with a passive meaning, and that the light verb *it-* is replaced by *olın-* when it is passivized. Other examples below provide additional examples to this claim:

- (12a) *...yarındası Osman Gazi bu düş-i-ni gel-üb*
 [next day Osman Gazi this dream-3SG-ACC come-CONJ]
ol 'aziz-e nakl it-di
 that saintly person-DAT tell do-PAST]
 'The next day Osman Gazi came and told his dream to the holy person.' (KC1; Unat 1949: 83)

- (12b) *ve bu menakib Edebali oğlu Mehmed Paşa-dan*
 [and this legend Edebali son-3SG Mehmet Pasha-ABL
nakl ol-un-di
 narrate become-PASS-PAST]
 'And this story was narrated by the way of the son of Edebali, Mehmet Pasha.' (KC1 85)

To sum up, OAT inherited *ol-*, *qıl-* and *it-* from Old Turkic. Those verbs were used intensively in the OAT syntax (especially *it-* and *ol-* to form a compound verb). Most of the time the first part of a compound word is of Arabic or Persian origin. Some words can combine with more than one light verb as seen in the examples (11) and (12). Second, these compounds undergo passivisation, but in this process, the passive form of *ol-* is used most frequently, i.e. *olun-*. At this period of the language, the passive form of *it-* is not used (*idil-*). Third, probably the passive form *olun-* is used not only for *it-* but also for *eyle-* and *qıl-*.¹⁰

Before starting the OttT case, it should be stressed that some examples encountered exhibit interesting features of OAT; for example the *it-* form can be used as *idin-*, in quite a different way.

- (13a) ...<0> *a-m Kadı-ı 'Asker id-in-di*
 [he he-ACC highest judicial authority do-REF-PAST]
 'He appointed him as a Kadiasker for himself.' (KC1 191)
- (13b) *Ertuğrul ... ol diyar-ı yurd id-in-üb...*
 [Ertugrul that land-ACC home do-REF-CONJ]
 'Ertugrul had that region as his home.' (KC1 69)

Although all of the examples above have a compound verb like *yurd idiniüb* and *kadı-ı 'asker idindi*, the elements of the compound verb *kadı-ı 'asker*, and *yurd* cannot be objects. The evidence that supports this claim comes from the sentences themselves. In example (13a), the sentence has an object argument *anı*. The examples are far from being passive in meaning, but they can be called "middle" because the suffix is similar to passive and the meanings of the sentences are 'having for oneself'. It is interesting to ask why the verb in question takes a middle suffix and not a passive suffix. The answer may be that before *it-* was used in the passive (*id-il-*), it was used in the 'middle' environments. That is, the development of 'passive' may come after that of 'middle'.

10. I have come across two examples with the passive of *qıl-*, i.e. *qıl-m-*.

The number of compounds using light verbs increases during the OttT period. The passivisation of the light verbs follows the same pattern as in OAT. That is, the light verb *ol-un-* is used for all other light verbs. The examples show that there is no one to one relation between the light verb *it-* and its passive form *ol-un-*. The following example (14) illustrates this point:

- (14) ...Belgrad üzerine git-meg-e murad-ları ol-ub
 [Belgrad on go-INF-DAT wish-3PL become-CONJ
 mahall-i mezbur-da üç gün mek̄s ol-un-ub
 place-IZF afore mentioned-LOC three day stay become-PASS-CONJ
 biz dahi ikinci gün aya-mız-a işaret ile söyle-yüb...
 we also second day agha-1PL-DAT signal with tell-CONJ]
 'They wished to go to Belgrad and stayed there three days. On the second day we also signed to our agha...' (TOAT 19)

However, at the end of OttT, the light verb *it-* used in the active is reanalyzed and its passive form, *id-il-*, is created alongside *ol-un-*:

- (15a) ...ve şu arzu-m gün-den gün-e kesb-i
 [and this wish-1SG day-ABL day-DAT acquisition-IZF
 şiddet eyle-diğ-in-den bir ziyafet tertib id-erek
 intensity do-PART-3SG-ABL one feast planning do-ADV
 kendi-si-ni da'vet it-mek... kararlaştır-dı-m...
 self-3SG-ACC invitation do-INF decide-PAST-1SG]
 '...and because my desire increased day by day, I decided to organise a feast and invite him/her.' (AV 52)
- (15b) ...büyük bir zat-ın kerime-si hanımefendi
 [important one person-GEN wife-3SG lady
 tarafından bu akşam kendi bağ-ların-da tertib
 by this evening self vineyard-3PL-LOC organising
 id-il-en ziyafet-te bulun-maklığ-ım için...
 do-PASS-PART feast-LOC be present-VN-1SG for]
 'In order to be present at the party in their own gardens, which was organised by the wife of a highly respected person...' (AV 30)

As seen in the previous sections, passivisation of the light verb(s) changed over time starting from OAT. In the OttT period, the light verb *et-* is reanalysed as a verb which is capable of passive formation. After this process, the use of the light verb *edil-* increased, and in today's ModT, both *edil-* and *olun-* are used interchangeably in most instances. For example;

- (16a) o-nu tenkit ed-iyor-lar
 [he-ACC criticising do-PROG-3PL]
 'They are criticising him.'

- (16b) *tenkit ed-il-iyor*
 [criticising do-PASS-PROG]
 'He is being criticised.'
- (16c) *tenkit ol-un-uyor*
 [criticising become-PASS-PROG]
 'He is being criticised.' (Lewis 1967: 151)

On this subject, Lewis (1967: 151) claims that "the passive of *ol-* is used to form the passive of verbs compounded of *et-* 'to do' and a verbal noun and is commoner in this use than the passive of *et-*." Lewis' suggestion is not valid in contemporary understanding when the two passive forms are compared. The following examples epitomize the fact that in normal everyday situations *edil-* is used, whereas *olun-* is more appropriate in situations which express respect:

- (17a) *Hasan Bey parti-ye davet ed-il-di*
 [Hasan Mr party-DAT invitation do-PASS-PART]
 'Hasan was invited to the party.'
- (17b) *Hasan Bey parti-ye davet ol-un-du*
 [Hasan Mr party-DAT invitation become-PASS-PART]
 'Hasan was invited to the party.' (When Hasan has higher status.)
- (18a) *kadın-a yardım ed-il-di*
 [woman-DAT help do-PASS-PART]
 'The woman was helped.'
- (18b) *?Kadın-a yardım ol-un-du*
 [woman-DAT help become-PASS-PART]

As seen in (17) and (18), the preferable option is constructed with the light verb *edil-*.

In short, the use of active *et-* and the passive *edil-* is more dominant among the light verbs in ModT.

Conclusion

The passives in Turkish have unique features especially irregular passives when examined from a historical point of view.

In OrkT, most of the constructions, called the 'passive' by historical grammarians have real subjects as middles/reflexives do as in the example (1). The subjects of these sentences are not considered as subjects of the active (passive) sentences, because they are not themes. This is consistent with middles, because the NP in the subject position in 'middles' reflects primarily affectedness on the subjects. As well as these middle constructions, we also have other structures that do not bear any passive morphemes

where a passive meaning is appropriate. In this case, we can divide the constructions into reflexive/middles and passives: the first group carries a middle/reflexive suffix and an actual, real subject, whereas the second one does not contain any passive morphemes, but it indicates passive in meaning. The real passive sentences also have subjects which are themes. I came across only one passive sentence which carries a passive meaning and bears a passive morpheme.

After OrkT, we have regular passive morphology in Turkish. Until late OttT we do not have agent phrase in the passive constructions.

As in OrkT, passivisation of compound verbs is not possible in KarT. In this period of the language, KarT has its own light verbs (*kıl-*, *bol-*) to form compound structures in addition to the light verbs used in OAT, i.e. *it-*.

The production of compound verbs is very common in OAT, and their use is more frequent than in OrkT and in KarT. The most surprising thing is that generally the passive of the compound verbs (irregular passives) is constructed with the verb *olun-*. The passive form of *it-* does not appear in my corpus although I have many sentences whose verbs are formed with *it-*. Additionally, the verb *it-* can take suffixes such as *-in-* (*idin-*) and *-dür-* (*itdür-*) and create a middle and a causative structure. This is a dilemma if *it-* does not have a real passive form.

For the light verbs, it can be said that these verbs are used in large numbers in OttT. Their passive form is made with the verb *ol-* (*olun-*) as in OAT. However, in the late OttT we have examples formed with *idil-*, as well as many *olun-* examples. This indicates that the passive form *idil-* was beginning to be introduced in the passive sense, though this use is not common. During the later period of Turkish (ModT) both forms are used side by side as in the *tamir edil-* 'repair-PASS' and *tamir olun-* 'repair-PASS' pairs, each pair gaining its semantic context in time.

The examples show that Turkish syntax / morphology is becoming regular in the formation of the passive of light verbs although there are still some irregular instances.

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