

Werk

Titel: Towards a unified account of passive in Turkish

Autor: Haig , Geoffrey

Ort: Wiesbaden

Jahr: 2000

PURL: https://resolver.sub.uni-goettingen.de/purl?666048797_0004 | LOG_0035

Kontakt/Contact

[Digizeitschriften e.V.](#)
SUB Göttingen
Platz der Göttinger Sieben 1
37073 Göttingen

✉ info@digizeitschriften.de

Towards a unified account of passive in Turkish

Geoffrey Haig

Haig, Geoffrey 2000. Towards a unified account of passive in Turkish. *Turkic Languages* 4, 215-234.

In Turkish the passive forms of transitive verbs often display remarkably active semantics, e.g. *koyul-* 'set off' (passive from transitive *koy-* 'put'), *takıl-* 'follow' (passive of transitive *tak-* 'attach'), *atıl-* 'jump at' (passive of transitive *at-* 'throw'). Traditionally, these forms are treated as isolated oddities, best relegated to the lexicon. In more recent work (e.g. Sezer 1991) they are reinstated to the grammar, but they are considered to be categorically different from "normal" passives, and are hence assigned a distinct derivation.

In this paper I suggest an alternative account, according to which passive in Turkish is solely a valency reducing device, a detransitivizer. Although it shares this feature with the passive in more familiar languages, it differs from Standard Average European passives in that it is underspecified for a particular semantic feature. Therefore passive forms in Turkish permit a wide range of semantic interpretations along a particular semantic dimension. Within this framework both the apparently aberrant passives such as *atıl-* 'jump at' and the "normal" passives emerge as the natural consequence of a single morphosyntactic process, and the need to posit additional types of passive derivations disappears. Finally, I relate my findings to the most-discussed aspect of the Turkish passive, the constraint on applying causative to passive.

Geoffrey Haig, Seminar für Allgemeine und Vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft, Universität Kiel, Olshausenstr. 40, 24098 Kiel, Germany. E-mail: Haig@email.uni-kiel.de

1. Introduction

According to one authority, the Turkish passive from transitive verbs is "very much like that of English" (Underhill 1987: 333), hence requiring little further comment. The treatment of the passive in the other major grammars is likewise perfunctory (cf. Deny 1921: 375-377, Kissling 1960: 236-237, Lewis 1967: 149-151 and Kononov 1956: 197-201). But Turkish texts actually contain large numbers of passive forms which do not behave like the passive verb forms of English, or for that matter, of Standard Average European. Along with textbook examples of passive sentences, an example of which is given in (1), we also encounter clauses of the type exemplified in (2)-(4):

- (1) *Mektup biz-e gönder-il-di.*
 letter 1PL-DAT send-PASS-PST(3S)
 'The letter was sent to us.'
- (2) *Yol-a koy-ul-du-k.*
 road-DAT put-PASS-PST-1PL
 '(We) set off on the road (lit. ... were placed on ...).'
- (3) *Kadın kız-ı-na sa-rıl-di*
 woman girl-POSS3S-DAT wrap-PASS-PST(3S)
 'The woman embraced her daughter (lit. ... was wrapped around ...).'
- (4) *Nehir, o yer-den deniz-e dök-ül-ür.*
 river that place-ABL sea-DAT pour-PASS-AOR(3S)
 'The river flows into the sea at that point (lit. ... is poured into ...).'

The verbs in (2)-(4) are all, formally at least, passives formed from transitive stems. Yet in none of these examples is there any implication that an entity external to the grammatical subject is involved in the event. Indeed, in examples (2) and (3), the grammatical subjects themselves are clearly the active controllers of the events denoted. Such usage is by no means a marginal phenomenon, restricted to a few idiomatic expressions, but occurs regularly with at least 20 different transitive verb stems (see section 3 for further examples). Nor is this a recent development, or one restricted to Republican Turkish: Johanson (1974) points out that most of the passive forms in Old Turkic texts do not actually imply any external agency. In other words, we are dealing with a well-established and characteristic feature of Turkish.

There have been three ways of dealing with expressions such as 2-4 in the literature: First, they are simply ignored in the treatment of passive as a verbal category, as in most of the standard grammars mentioned above. Second, they are described as "semantic shifts" (*anlam kayması*) (Ülken 1981), or "metaphorical extensions" (Erdal 1996: 78) of a basic passive meaning. The final approach, from Sezer (1991), is to assign apparently aberrant passives to different derivations, distinct from the "true passives" of the type illustrated in (1). Common to all these approaches is the tacit assumption that the function of the Turkish passive is roughly equivalent to that of the English. Therefore, if a formally passive-marked verb does not behave like an English passive, it must be in some sense deviant, i.e. either a lexical oddity, or belong to quite a different category. What is all too readily forgotten is that the term "passive" is simply a traditional label for a particular Turkish morpheme; whether it is an accurate description of that morpheme's function is another matter. As I hope to demonstrate, although the Turkish passive is functionally very similar to the English, it differs from it in one crucial respect.

The paper is organized as follows: In section 2, I will define the concept of passive used in this paper, and introduce the terminology. In section 3, passive in Turkish is presented and my analysis is outlined. In section 4 other proposals are dis-

cussed, particularly those of Sezer (1991). Section 5 deals with a widely-discussed issue in connection with the Turkish passive, namely the constraint on the combination of passive and causative. In section 6, the major conclusions are briefly recapitulated.

2. Passive as a valency-changing device

Before discussing the concept of passive, some terminological conventions have to be established. First, I make a distinction between transitive and intransitive verb stems, a fairly uncontroversial distinction in Turkish. I define transitive verbs as those which are capable of governing an accusative-marked object. Intransitive verbs are not. The second distinction, following Dixon (1994), is one between basic verb stems, i.e. the morphologically least marked form of the verb, and derived stems, i.e. stem plus some valency-changing morphology (passive, causative, etc.).

I will adopt widespread practice in using the following symbols for the core arguments of verbs:¹

S = single core argument of a basic intransitive verb

A = grammatical subject of a basic transitive verb

O = direct object of a basic transitive verb

The term “subject” will be used in this paper solely in the sense of “grammatical subject”, not “logical subject” (for which I use S or A, depending on the transitivity of the verb). For our purposes it is sufficient to define subject as the NP in nominative case which determines person agreement on the predicate.

Turning now to the function of the passive, it can only be properly appreciated when it is considered within the broader context of voice mechanisms as a whole. The clearest statement I am aware of comes from Shibatani (1988: 3), which I quote in full:

“Voice is to be understood as a mechanism that selects a grammatically prominent syntactic constituent – subject – from the underlying semantic functions (case or thematic roles) of a clause. A majority of languages provide a basic voice strategy. In accusative languages [e.g. Turkish, G. H.], the basic strategy is to select an agent as a subject, and the active voice refers to the form resulting from this choice of agent as subject. The active voice in accusative languages constitutes the unmarked voice. A large number of accusative languages provide a marked voice, which denies the agent the subject role. In many, but by no means all, languages a patient assumes the subject role in this marked voice. This marked voice, which contrasts with the basic, active voice in terms of the treatment of the agent is the passive voice.”

¹ The abbreviations used here are those of Dixon (1994). The same concepts are well known in typological literature, although other scholars favour different labels (e.g. S, A and P in Comrie 1989, or Z, X and Y in Lazard 1995).

Thus the crucial, and defining feature of passive is that it is a marked verbal voice, contrasting with the unmarked active. Passive is, in effect, a signal of the “disruption of the basic relation(s) of a verb to its core nominal(s)” (Klaiman 1991: 6).

Passive involves two distinct but related processes, which I term S / A-suppression and O-advancement respectively. The two processes are displayed schematically in (5):

(5)	<i>Active (unmarked)</i>	<i>Passive (marked)</i>
S/A-suppression:	S/A = grammatical subject	S/A = \emptyset
O-advancement:	O = direct object	O = S'

(S'='subject of a derived intransitive verb', cf. Dixon 1994)

In the generative tradition, O-advancement has been considered the primary consequence of passivization. Following Shibatani (1988), however, I consider S/A-suppression to be primary, and O-advancement to be a secondary consequence. The justification for this assumption is as follows: First, there are languages in which passive verb forms still assign accusative case, i.e. O-advancement to subject does not occur (e.g. Ute (Givón 1988), Finnish, if the O is a personal pronoun (Nau 1995: 147-149), and some Turkic languages (cf. Hess (1996: 104-110) for examples from Ottoman, Uzbek and Chagatay). The second argument for the primacy of S/A-suppression is that in many languages intransitive verbs also passivize. If we assume O-advancement to be primary, then we are forced to account for the passive of intransitives by some other means, because with intransitives, O-advancement is ruled out from the start. The simpler solution is therefore to assume that S/A-suppression is the unifying feature of the passive derivation, while O-advancement is the unmarked option accompanying the passivization of transitives.

Before proceeding to the Turkish material, there is one further point that requires clarification. In many languages, though not all, an A may be expressed in the passive clause in some peripheral syntactic role, for example as a *by*-phrase in English: *The money was stolen by the accountant*. Turkish too has agented passives, but they are a clearly alien structure, used only rarely in spontaneous speech and subject to several constraints (cf. Sezer 1991: 57). I will be ignoring agented passives in this paper, as I am solely concerned with the syntax of core arguments.

3. Passive in Turkish

In Turkish, passive is effected by means of suffixes attached to the verb stem. The passive morpheme has two phonetically conditioned allomorphs: *-(I)n-* after vowels

and *-l*, and *-Il*² elsewhere. For example: *bekle-* ‘wait’, *bekle-n-* ‘wait-PASS’; *al-* ‘take, buy, receive’, *al-in-* ‘take-PASS’; *ver-* ‘give’, *ver-il-* ‘give-PASS’. The *n*-variant is identical with the medium, and in some cases, it is difficult to distinguish a medium form from a passive. To avoid complications, all the examples discussed in this paper will be with the *l*-variant, but the results are in principle applicable to all passive verb forms.

As was mentioned above, passive may apply to any transitive verb stem and—with some restrictions—to any intransitive stem.³ Although most grammarians seem to find the passive derivation from intransitives “the most remarkable feature of the Turkish passive” (Lewis 1967: 150), under my analysis, passives from intransitives are in principle no different from passives of transitives, except that O-advancement cannot, for obvious reasons, take place. In the interests of brevity I will not be discussing passives from intransitives any further here; henceforth, it will be sufficient to refer to “A-suppression” rather than “S/A-suppression”.

In (6), a simple active clause is contrasted with its passive counterpart:

(6)	<i>Active</i>		<i>Passive</i>	
	A	O	Vtrans	S' Vpass
	<i>Mehmet</i>	<i>süt-ü</i>	<i>iç-ti.</i>	<i>Süt iç-il-di.</i>
	Mehmet	milk-ACC	drink-PST(3S)	milk drink-PASS-PST(3S)
	‘Mehmet drank the milk.’			‘The milk was drunk.’

Whereas the passive clause in (6) is appropriately rendered by an English passive, many clauses with passive verb forms cannot readily be translated with an English passive. The following examples are typical:⁴

Passive clause	Basic transitive stem from which the passive is derived	English translation
(7) <i>araba dökülüyor</i>	<i>dök-</i> ‘pour’	‘the car is falling apart’

² The capital “I” indicates that the vowel of this suffix is subject to a four-way alternation, rendered orthographically by <u, ü, ı, i>, and determined by the rules of vowel harmony.

³ The restrictions on passivizing intransitives have been discussed extensively in connection with the “unaccusative hypothesis” (see discussion in Blake 1990: 29-40). Unaccusatives such as *düş-* ‘fall’ or *öl-* ‘die’ can passivize in Turkish, but there is some controversy regarding the conditions under which this is possible—see Özkaragöz (1986), Kornfilt (1991: 88-91), Sezer (1991: 63-67) and Haig (1998: 29) for discussion.

⁴ The examples (7)-(14) are based on authentic utterances gathered from a large variety of sources, both spoken and written. I have shortened them as much as possible while still maintaining what I think is the vital aspect of the verb’s meaning, and checked the resulting clauses with three native speakers. The dative arguments in these and similar clauses are discussed in Haig (1997).

- | | | | |
|------|---|-----------------------------------|--|
| (8) | <i>gemi, fırtınaya tu-</i>
utulmuş | <i>tut-</i> ‘catch, hold’ | ‘the ship was caught in the storm’ |
| (9) | <i>onun bitmeyen</i>
<i>şikayetlerinden</i>
sıkıldım | <i>sık-</i> ‘squeeze’ | ‘I am sick and tired of his constant complaints’ |
| (10) | <i>paniğe kapıldım</i> | <i>kap-</i> ‘seize’ | ‘I panicked / was seized by panic’ |
| (11) | <i>üzülme o çocuğa</i> | <i>üz-</i> ‘sadden’ | ‘don't feel sorry for that child’ |
| (12) | <i>konferansa</i>
katıldık | <i>kat-</i> ‘add’ | ‘We attended the conference.’ |
| (13) | <i>ayrıl o heriften</i> | <i>ayır-</i> ‘separate, allocate’ | ‘leave that guy!’ |
| (14) | <i>Ahmet, adamın</i>
<i>üstüne atıldı</i> | <i>at-</i> ‘throw’ | ‘Ahmet sprang at the man.’ |

Examples (7)-(14) have been given in a particular order, namely in order of increasing control over the event on the part of the subject. For example, in (7) and (8), the subjects are inanimate entities undergoing a change of state, over which they exercise no control. They differ from the passives such as (6) in that there is no identifiable external agent which is effecting that change of state (whether *fırtına* ‘storm’ in (8) should be considered an agent depends on whether one assumes that agency presupposes volition). The subjects in (9) and (10), on the other hand, are humans experiencing a change of internal emotional state: annoyance or panic. To what extent they are controlling these events is a question best left to psychologists and philosophers; we will simply assume that they have—potentially at least—more control than the subjects in (7) and (8). The remaining examples all have human subjects involved in events which they instigate and control to varying degrees, from the minimally controllable ‘feeling pity’ in (11) down to the clearly agentive activities such as attending a conference (12), or jumping at someone (14). To the latter we could also add (2) and (3) above. Note that these passive verb forms are perfectly compatible with the imperative mood, as for example in (13).

I will refer to the extent that the grammatical subject exercises control over the event denoted by the verb as S'-control. The notion of control I have in mind is not a binary feature, but a cline subsuming several factors such as volition and animacy (arguments for the scalar nature of control are presented in e.g. Van Valin (1990), Chvany (1993: 248) and Manning (1995); a more detailed discussion of control, applicable to Turkish, is Haig (1998: 174-176)). The examples given so far should have made it clear that passive verb forms permit a wide range of values on the scale of S'-control. I maintain, however, that the differences in S'-control are not categoric but gradual, allowing any number of intermediate shades, an argument I return to in Section 4. For the sake of convenience, I will refer to examples with maximally controlling subjects such as (12)-(14) as S'-control passives.

Variation along the scale of S'-control is not only a feature distinguishing the passive forms of different verbs. It is also manifest in the range of interpretations of one and the same verb form. Consider *kat-il-* ‘add-PASS’ in (12). Along with the S'-control reading ‘join, participate’ given in (12), it may also have the more typically

passive meaning ‘be added to’. At first glance, these two events may not appear to have much in common, and we might be tempted to dismiss the ‘join, participate’ reading as merely an idiosyncratic semantic extension. But in fact, both readings express the same basic event, i.e. the physical processes and the spatial relationships of the participants are identical: one entity attaches to, or becomes part of, another. The difference is that the passive reading ‘be added to’ implies external agency and no control, while the S’-control reading ‘participate’ implies no external agency and, correspondingly, control on the part of the subject. Consider also the passive form *çek-il-* of the transitive verb *çek-* ‘draw’. A sentence such as *Ayşe çek-il-di* ‘Ayşe draw / pull-PASS-PST’ could refer to an intentional action on the part of the subject: ‘Ayşe deliberately drew back’, or to an involuntary reflex: ‘Ayşe drew back involuntarily (through shock, fear, pain, etc.)’, or it could refer to some external agency who pulls Ayşe back: ‘Ayşe was pulled back (by someone)’,—as well as to any number of fine intermediary nuances between these three points. It can also be used with an inanimate subject, for example to describe how the sea recedes (draws back) at low tide. The point about these examples is that the basic event expressed by the passive verb, e.g. the type of motion the subject undergoes, is identical; what changes is the extent to which the grammatical subject can be considered to control the event.

A similar range of interpretations is offered by many passive forms of transitive verbs. In the following table some illustrative examples are given of the different readings open to transitive verb forms, illustrated as different values along a scale of S’-control:

(15) Scale of S’-control

lack of S’-control	increasing S’-control
←	→
(possible implication of external agency)	(no implication of external agency)

Examples:

(a)	<i>bur-ul-</i> twist-PASS	‘be twisted, wrung’	~	‘writhe (with pain, etc.)’
(b)	<i>dik-il-</i> erect-PASS	‘be erected / placed in an upright position’	~	‘rear up, appear’
(c)	<i>eğ-il-</i> bend-PASS	‘be bent’	~	‘lean (out / over)’
(d)	<i>ger-il</i> stretch-PASS	‘be stretched’	~	‘stretch (intrans.)’
(e)	<i>göm-ül-</i> bury-PASS	‘be buried’	~	‘bury oneself, sink into (e.g. an armchair)’
(f)	<i>kat-il-</i> add+PASS	‘be added’	~	‘join/participate’

(g)	<i>kır-ıl-</i> break-PASS	'be broken' ~ 'break (intrans.)'	~	'be deeply disappointed'
(h)	<i>sıyr-ıl-</i> scrape-PASS	'be scraped'	~	'worm oneself (e.g. out of another person's grasp)'
(i)	<i>sok-ıl-</i> insert-PASS	'be inserted'	~	'push through to, approach'
(j)	<i>süz-ül-</i> strain/filter-PASS	'be filtered'	~	'soar (e.g. of an eagle)'
(k)	<i>tak-ıl-</i> attach-PASS	'be attached' ~ 'get hung up on /caught on' ~ 'cling to, pursue'		
(l)	<i>vur-ıl-</i> strike-PASS	'be struck (by a bullet)'	~	'be fascinated, infatuated by someone'

This type of frequently recurring semantic variation obviously requires some explanation. My proposal is along the following lines: The syntactic consequences of passive in Turkish are that the A of the original basic transitive verb is suppressed, i.e. is denied core argument status, leaving the original O as the sole core argument of the resulting intransitive clause. The O becomes by default the grammatical subject (S'). However, passivization sets no predetermined semantic restrictions on the nature of the grammatical subject's involvement in the event; more specifically, passivization does not require the S' to be an undergoer. Because the passive is essentially indifferent to the parameter of control on the part of the S', all possible values on that parameter are found. On this view, "normal" passives and S'-control passives are not categorically different but simply the two endpoints of the scale of S'-control, the two maximum semantic and idiomatic exploitations of the inherent vagueness of the passive morpheme.

It must be noted, however, that there are clear preferences in the interpretation of passive verb forms: The default reading is one with minimal S'-control where the S' is a non-controlling undergoer, and the event is instigated and controlled by some external entity (i.e. roughly equivalent to the English passive). In other words, the unmarked reading of a passive form will be towards the left of the scale given in (15). Certainly all passive verb forms I am aware of are amenable to such a reading, whereas only a subset also offer S'-control readings. Just which passives will have S'-control readings is in part dependent on the lexical semantics of the stem itself, and in part on other factors yet to be elucidated. Ülken (1981) has pointed out that many S'-control passives are marked stylistic variants, used primarily in colloquial speech. In this sense then the S'-control passives are indeed secondary to the standard passive reading. But the number of deviations from the standard passive meaning, together with their highly predictable nature, nevertheless cry out for an explanation.

Consider how the explanation offered here would apply to a verb form such as *sarıl-*, the passive of the transitive stem *sar-* 'wrap'. *Sarıl-* regularly has the meaning 'embrace', as in (3), repeated here as (16):

- (16) *Kadın, kız-ı-na sar-ıl-di.*
 woman girl-POSS3S-DAT wrap-PASS-PAST(3s)
 'The woman embraced her daughter.'

Sarıl- can of course have a more typically passive meaning, as in (17):

- (17) *İp makara-ya sar-ıl-di.*
 thread bobbin-DAT wrap-PASS-PAST(3s)
 'The thread was wrapped around the bobbin.'

Although at first sight the verbs in the two sentences appear to have very different meanings, in fact they both express the same basic event, namely that of 'one object wrapping around another'. The difference is that (17) implies no control on the part of the subject and some external agency, while (16) implies control on the part of the subject and a corresponding lack of external agency. Semantic variation along these lines is precisely what would be predicted if we assume, as I do, that the passive morpheme sets no predetermined limits on the degree of control exercised by the subject.

Naturally, some passive verbs have acquired rather specialized meanings. A good example is given in (18):

- (18) *boğ-ul-* 'be strangled' ~ 'drown'
 strangle/choke-PASS

Although one could certainly make a case for considering *boğul-* 'drown' to be a separate verb in its own right, the semantic relationship between the transitive stem and the two meanings of the passive quite clearly parallels the other cases: Drowning may be considered to be merely one instantiation of a more general meaning 'being strangled / suffocated without any external agency'. In fact, the meaning of *boğul-* given in the Turkish-Turkish dictionary (Türk Dil Kurumu 1988) is 'die through lack of air' (*havasızlıktan ölmek*).

In sum, I propose that the Turkish passive is a pure valency-reducing device, more precisely, A-suppression. The O does advance to the grammatical subject role, i.e. to S', but the semantics of the S' are left undetermined; hence it is possible to accommodate a broad spectrum of semantic interpretations of passive verb forms. There is a default reading, namely that the S' is a non-controller, giving rise to the classic passive reading; but undergoer-semantics of the S' is not a necessary condition for the Turkish passive, and other interpretations are quite possible. In the case of verbs such as *katıl-* 'be added > participate', or *ayrıl-* 'be separated > leave', the S'-control meaning has become dominant. This is clearly a dynamic process, and Ülken (1981: 65) has noted that many of the S'-control passives described here have a colloquial flavour ("argo niteliği var"). But it is nevertheless a regular process, evident in a large number of stems, and deserves therefore to be treated in the grammar, not the lexicon or studies of stylistic variants.

4. Other approaches

Those scholars who do recognize the existence of S'-control passives generally go to some lengths to discount them as passives. Thus the different readings available to passive verb forms are assigned to different categories, distinct from the true "passive". Underhill for example postulates two different types of passive: one which "serves simply to derive intransitive verbs from transitive ones" (Underhill 1987: 336), and the "normal" passive derivation. Erdal (1996) and, following him, Hess (1996: 202) also insist on a strict distinction between the "true passive" use of the passive morpheme and its "intransitivizing" function:

"A clear distinction needs to be made between the mere intransitive verb (whatever its form) and the true passive (including sentences in which the agent can be - and indeed has to be - supplied from the context)." (Erdal 1996: 79)

According to Erdal (1996: 82), for a form to be considered passive, "the noun phrase serving as the verb's subject ... should be the patient of the action ...". A similar semantic characterization of passive is offered in Erdal (1991: 651): "A verb is passive if the subject is represented as taking no initiative in the occurrence of the event." Thus for Erdal, lack of control on the part of the S' is the criterial property of passive. On this view, then, the S'-control passives are not passives at all, but simply intransitive verbs. But the semantic criteria are difficult to apply in practice: Consider examples such as (7) or (8), where the grammatical subjects are presumably "patients", yet there is no implication of external agency. Are they passives, or simply intransitives, or somewhere in between?

A further drawback of this approach is that it glosses over the fact that all verb forms carrying the passive morpheme share one formal feature, regardless of their semantics: The passive morpheme may not be followed by the causative morpheme (see section 5 for discussion of this constraint and its occasional violations). Consider the verb *ayr-ıl-* 'separate-PASS' 'leave', formally, the passive form of the transitive verb *ayır-* 'separate'. According to Underhill (1987: 336), it is simply an intransitive verb, i.e. distinct from a real passive. Now, if we wish to express a causative proposition based on this verb, i.e. 'cause / allow to leave', it is not possible to simply add causative morphology to the verb:

(19) **ayrıl-t-* leave+CAUS 'cause/allow to leave'

In order to express 'cause to leave', we must resort to a periphrastic construction with the verb *zorla-* 'oblige, force', or something similar. Consider now the verb *bayıl-* 'faint', which like *ayrıl-* is intransitive, and also has a second syllable phonetically identical with the passive suffix.⁵ But despite these similarities, there is a

⁵ In fact *bayıl-* is quite possibly historically derived from a transitive stem **bay-* via the addition of passive. In modern standard Turkish, however, no transitive stem *bay-*

demonstrable formal difference between the verbs *ayrıl-* and *bayıl-*: the former does not accept causative morphology (cf. (19) above), the latter does: *bayıl-t-* ‘cause to faint’. Thus in this respect *ayrıl-* patterns like any other passive verb, regardless of its apparently “non-passive” semantics, while *bayıl-* behaves like a basic intransitive. Characterizing *ayrıl-* as an “intransitive” misses the important difference.

Sezer (1991: 55-61) goes further than the scholars discussed above in that he postulates three different passive derivations to account for different types of passives formed from transitive verbs (and a fourth (!) type for passives from intransitives, which will not concern us here). First, there is a “true passive” derivation, illustrated by examples such as (6). Second, there is what he terms the “unaccusative passive derivation”. These differ from the “true passive” in that the non-expressed A is a “cause” rather than an “agent”, whereby the distinction appears to be based on the feature [\pm human]. A sentence such as (20) is thus ambiguous with regard to the distinction between true and unaccusative passive:

- (20) *Kapı aç-ıl-dı*
 door open-PASS-PST(3S)
- a. true passive: ‘The door was opened (by someone).’
 b. derived unaccusative: ‘The door was opened (e.g. by the wind).’

Sezer suggests a formal criterion for distinguishing between “true passives” and derived unaccusatives: With a true passive, the suppressed A can be expressed in the clause via the quasi-postposition *tarafından* ‘from-the-side-of’, e.g. *hizmetçi tarafından açıldı* ‘from-the-side-of the servant was-opened’, i.e. opened by the servant. With a “cause” (a non-human agent), e.g. *rüzgar* ‘wind’, *tarafından* is, according to Sezer “ungrammatical” (Sezer 1991: 58); instead the ablative case is used: *rüzgar-dan* ‘by the wind’.

The three native speakers I consulted on the difference between ablative and *tarafından* did not give a unanimous opinion; in fact two of them felt that *tarafından* was acceptable with *rüzgar*, so the difference does not seem to be all that strict. The more fundamental question regarding the proposed distinction between “true passive” and “derived unaccusative” is whether it is necessary to postulate two distinct verbal derivations in order to account for the semantic feature [\pm human] on the agent—surely the difference in the *by*-phrase can be handled elsewhere in the grammar?

Both the “unaccusative passive derivation” and the “true passive derivation” are derived via the same process, namely “suppression of the external argument” (roughly equivalent to my S or A). Up to this point I agree with Sezer, as I consider

exists. There is, however, an adjective *baygın* ‘fainted, unconscious’. This word appears to be formed with the deverbal derivational suffix *-Gln*, a suffix which creates resultative adjectives from verb stems, e.g. *yorgun* ‘tired’ from transitive *yor-* ‘tire’. The existence of the adjective does therefore suggest that at some stage a stem **bay-* was in use, but as I have been unable to find clear evidence of **bay-* elsewhere in Turkic, this remains speculative.

passive to be S / A-suppression. However, Sezer goes on to postulate a third type of passive derivation which he calls “derived unergatives”. Derived unergatives differ from both true passives and derived unaccusatives in that they involve the suppression of the *internal* argument (my O). Sezer provides the following example of a derived unergative (1991: 60):

- (21) *Ayşe çek-il-di.*
 Ayşe draw-PASS-PST(3S)
 ‘Ayşe withdrew.’

The derived unergative is, according to Sezer, comparable to a reflexive, which also involves the suppression of the O. Hence (21) can be translated as ‘Ayşe drew herself back’.

Sezer’s claim that “derived unergatives” involve O-suppression would mean that the passive morpheme is used for two quite distinct valency-changing purposes, namely A-suppression in one instance (“derived unaccusatives”) and O-suppression in another (“derived unergatives”). This would be a rather surprising fact, particularly as O-suppression, or O-backgrounding, is already the domain of the medium⁶ in Turkish. The only evidence in favour of assuming an additional category of derived unergatives appears to be that some passive verb forms are translatable with English reflexives, not a particularly strong argument.

My main objection to the proposed distinction between derived unaccusatives and derived unergatives is that it imposes an either / or division on a scalar dimension. According to Sezer, a derived intransitive is the result of either A-suppression, or O-suppression; there is no room within this scheme for intermediary shades. But Sezer himself states earlier in his book (1991:19) that the only means of distinguishing unaccusatives from unergatives in Turkish is via the agentivity of the subject, i.e. a semantic criterion, which I claim is scalar in nature. I have already shown how one and the same verb form may be subject to several different interpretations (recall

⁶ I use the term “medium” for the suffix *-(I)n* rather than the traditional “reflexive”. I do not discuss the medium in this paper, partly due to limitations of space, but also because the medium requires very different treatment from the passive. First, the medium, unlike the passive, is not a fully productive suffix — in fact it only applies to relatively few stems. Second, it does not have a fully predictable effect on the verb valency: it is usually valency-reducing, but some mediums from transitive verbs actually remain transitive (e.g. *tak-ın-* ‘put on (glasses, facial expression, etc.)’ from the transitive stem *tak-* ‘attach’; *giy-in-* ‘get dressed, put on clothes’ from transitive *giy-* ‘put on’; *ed-in-* ‘acquire’, from transitive *et-* ‘do’). Finally, although it often has a reflexive sense, i.e. expresses an event in which A and O are coreferent, it very often does not. Göksel (1995:84) attempts to characterize the medium as reflexive, mentioning in a footnote just two “idiosyncratic” examples of non-reflexive uses of *-(I)n*. In fact the number is much higher (see e.g. Banguoğlu 1986:283-284 for examples). The medium then, as an unproductive suffix with unpredictable semantic and syntactic consequences, requires very different treatment from the passive.

çek-il- ‘draw / pull-PASS’ in section 3). Or consider the various meanings of *tak-il* attach-PASS. Along with the meaning ‘be attached / fitted, e.g. a light bulb (by some external agency)’, it can also mean ‘hang out (somewhere)’, or it can mean ‘get stuck / caught on something’, or it can mean ‘cling to, follow, pursue’. This range of variation is typical; it is not amenable to the kind of tidy categorization suggested by labels such as “unergative” and “unaccusative”.

To sum up, the previous proposals can all be characterized as attempts to set up distinct categories to which the different meanings of passive verb forms can be assigned. Some scholars propose a two-way distinction between passives and intransitives, Sezer proposes a three way distinction between “true” passive, derived unergative, and derived unaccusatives. None of the operational criteria put forward for these categorizations is particularly convincing. My proposals on the other hand are both simpler and cover the data more adequately: The passive is simply a detransitivizer, more specifically, A-suppression. That is the single feature common to all examples of passive verb forms. The semantics of the derived subject, on the other hand, are left undetermined, hence the wide (but not unlimited) range of meanings available to passive verb forms. Postulating categorically distinct “passive derivations” to account for the range of meanings inevitably involves drawing arbitrary boundaries, and on my view is simply unnecessary.

In this connection it is worth noting that another voice category, causative, is also indifferent to the parameter of control on the part of the subject. A causative such as *kaç-ır-* go, escape-CAUS can mean either ‘kidnap’ i.e. ‘cause someone to leave by force’, or ‘miss (a train, an opportunity, etc.)’, i.e. let something “escape” through inattention, stupidity, etc. To my knowledge, no one has yet suggested setting up separate “causative derivations” to account for these two different readings; but that would be the logical extension of the approach put forward by Sezer. Rather, most scholars simply accept that the causative morpheme is indifferent to this particular semantic parameter (see esp. Johanson 1974 in this connection); I believe the same is true of the passive morpheme.

5. Constraints on combining passive with other voice categories:

Semantics, syntax or morphology?

It is well known that Turkish does not allow the combination “verb stem+PASS+CAUS” (in that order). This constraint has attracted a fair bit of attention, one of the earliest contributions being Lees (1973). Lees suggested that such a combination would be simply superfluous. For example, from the verb *kır-* ‘break (trans.)’ we get *kır-il-* break+PASS=be broken’. A fictive **kır-il-t-* break+PASS+CAUS ‘cause to become broken’ would, according to Lees (1973: 508), be so close in meaning to the basic stem that the two would “compete semantically”. Dede (1986) argues along similar lines.⁷

⁷ A detailed recent discussion of this constraint may be found in Erdal (1996). A more technical discussion is Baker (1988: 413-419).

This line of argument is frankly bizarre: natural languages are full of forms that “compete semantically”. Quite apart from countless lexical synonyms, consider agented passives, which occur in many languages although they surely “compete semantically” with the active form. A more specific counter-example to the semantic arguments is provided by the S'-control passives such as *ayrıl-* ‘leave’, discussed in section 3. Here the semantic argument for a constraint on causativization no longer holds: ‘cause to leave’ is a perfectly reasonable proposition, and it is not encoded by any other simple verb form. Yet, as I demonstrated in (19) above, the constraint on adding causative to passive is still evident.

A different explanation, this time a syntactic one, comes from Sezer (1991: 82). He notes that the crucial feature of passive morphology is that it suppresses an argument, thereby rendering the resulting verb intransitive. The crucial feature of causative morphology on the other hand is that it renders any verb stem transitive. Sezer suggests that causative cannot be added to passive because “transitivity, once suppressed, may not be regained.” In support of this, he claims that not only passives are immune to causative, but that “reflexive middles may not have causatives” either, quoting the following example (1991: 83):

- (22) **Kız-ı hamam-da yıka-n-dır-dı-m.*
 girl-ACC bath-LOC wash-MED-CAUS-PST-1S
 Intended meaning: ‘I made / let the girl wash in the bath.’

But the ungrammaticality of (22) cannot be due to a strict ban on the combination medium + causative because many other mediums, even though they are intransitive, can and do take causative (see Erdal 1996: 80 and Hess 1996: 213) for examples).⁸ Thus we may safely discount the existence of a general constraint on “regaining lost transitivity”; the constraint we are dealing with applies quite specifically to the combination of the passive and the causative morphemes.

So far, neither the semantic nor the syntactic arguments have been particularly promising. What tends to be forgotten in the discussion is that causative and passive in Turkish are expressed via bound morphemes, i.e. are parts of words. Now it is well known that there are strong constraints on the form that words may take in a language, particularly the order of the different morphemes (cf. Johanson 1992: 71 on Turkish). The actual order of suffixes found may not have very much to do with syntax or semantics; it may in fact be simply a language-specific convention governing the permissible forms of words.⁹ For example, different languages sanction different orders of comparable morphemes: in Turkish, possessive morphology precedes

⁸ *Yıka-n-* in (22) can just as easily be interpreted as a passive (medium and passive forms are indistinguishable after vowel-final stems). Thus (22) is probably ungrammatical simply because it violates the restriction on adding causative to passive.

⁹ This is not to deny that across languages certain orders are found to be preferred over others, and those preferences may often be traced back to functional or iconic principles, i.e. are not simply arbitrary; see Bybee (1985).

case morphology: *ev-i-ni* house+POSS3s+ACC ‘his / her house (acc.)’. But in Finnish, or in Arabic, the order is the reverse, i.e. CASE-POSS, as in Arabic *bayt-a-hu* house+ACC+POSS3s(masc). It would, I contend, be a fairly futile endeavour to attempt to unearth the reasons for this in semantic terms.

Returning to the constraint on the combination of passive and causative, I suggest it may simply be the result of a *morphological* constraint governing the canonical form of words. In fact, all the Turkish voice morphemes are subject to certain constraints on their combinability. In modern standard Turkish, the order of voice morphemes within the word generally adheres to the following pattern:

- (23) Canonical order of voice morphemes:
stem+(MED ~ RECIPROC)¹⁰+CAUS+PASS

One way of looking at (23) is to see it as a ranking of the voice morphemes in terms of “propensity to occur outside (i.e. after) other voice morphemes”. Thus the passive is the highest ranking in this respect, as it regularly occurs after all other voice morphemes, but is virtually never followed by them; the causative is the next highest, because it is only regularly followed by the passive, while medium and reciprocal almost never follow other voice suffixes. The order given in (23) does in fact admit a number of exceptions, which I will discuss below, so seeing it in terms of a tendency to occupy certain positions rather than a rigid ordering is perhaps a more faithful reflection of the facts.

Looked at from this angle, the order *PASS-CAUS turns out to be merely one among several semantically conceivable combinations which the canonical order does not sanction.¹¹ A comparable non-sanctioned order is *CAUS-RECIPROC: from the verb *gül-* ‘laugh’, we can derive the transitive *gül-dür-* ‘to cause to laugh’ by adding the causative suffix. Now although it is quite plausible that two or more people make each other laugh, it is nevertheless not possible to attach a reciprocal suffix to *güldür-* creating a verb **gül-dür-üş-* ‘to make one another laugh’. Looking for semantic or syntactic reasons for these constraints misses the point. The simpler explanation is that the order of suffixes involved violates a language-specific morphological constraint. That this particular constraint is language-specific becomes even more obvious when we turn to a closely related language, the Azeri dialect spoken in Iran (data from Dehghani 1998 and Dehghani, personal communication): in this dialect, not only is the order PASS-CAUS prohibited, as in Turkish, but also the order

¹⁰ The relative order of MEDIUM and RECIPROC is not entirely clear, hence the brackets. Given the paucity of examples containing both morphemes, plus the difficulty of unequivocal analysis in many cases, (e.g. some denominals in *-lan* and *-laş*) it would not be prudent to make a firm statement on their relative orderings.

¹¹ Hess (1996: 198-236) has undertaken a detailed study of possible combinations of voice morphemes in Ottoman Turkish. His results largely confirm the order given in (23), although there was apparently somewhat more freedom in Old Ottoman than in modern Turkish in this respect.

CAUS-PASS, although the latter is perfectly acceptable in Turkish. And in the course of time, the canonical order of suffixes may change: Various combinations of voice suffixes which are ruled out in modern Turkish were actually possible in Old Turkic—including PASS-CAUS (Erdal 1996: 81). Thus constraints on the ordering of morphemes are highly language-specific, and to some extent at least, arbitrary.

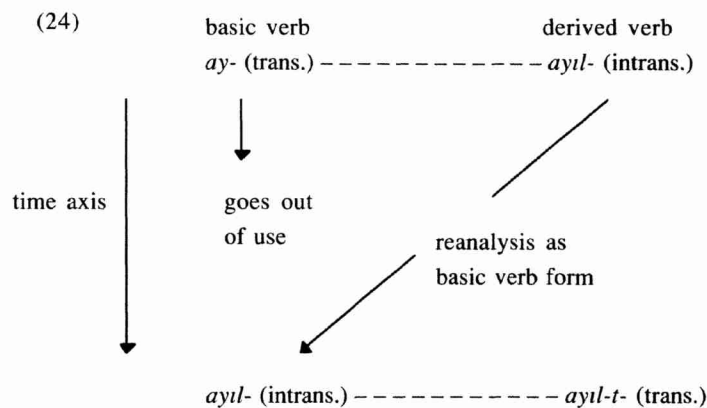
Nevertheless, at least part of the canonical order given in (23), namely the fact that passive and causative occur outside reciprocal and medium, can be related to more general factors: Bybee (1985) has shown that the more productive and predictable morphemes tend to occur further away from the stem than the less productive and predictable ones. Now, in the case of the voice morphemes, the causative and passive are the most productive in that they can apply to any stem.¹² Both the reciprocal and the medium, on the other hand, occur with only a limited number of stems. Similarly, the causative and the passive have highly predictable effects on their stems: the causative invariably creates a transitive verb via A-addition, the passive invariably creates an intransitive verb via A-suppression. Again, neither the reciprocal nor the medium have predictable effects in terms of transitivity (cf. fn. 6 on the medium).

Finally, we should note that the canonical order given in (23) is occasionally violated. Erdal (1996: 78) discusses the non-sanctioned combination PASS-CAUS, found for example in the word *yay-il-t-* spread(trans.)-PASS-CAUS, lit. ‘to cause/allow to spread’, used in the meaning ‘to let someone do as he wishes’ (translation from Erdal). The attested deviations from the canonical order can be explained as the result of reanalysis: Adherence to the canonical order presupposes that the morphemes concerned are perceived—albeit subconsciously—by the speakers as such. If, however, a particular combination of, say, transitive stem + PASS acquires a meaning not readily related to its transitive base, and if that meaning becomes dominant, it is quite possible that the form will eventually be reanalyzed as a basic intransitive stem. Once reanalysis has taken place, the cycle of morphemic augmentation can start afresh, and causatives, reciprocals etc. will readily affix to the new stem. But as long as the final segment is perceived as a passive morpheme, the addition of further voice morphology is blocked. In this manner, then, some passive verbs do indeed become simply intransitive verbs. However, it should be noted that passive-marked verbs remain subject to the morphological constraints on passive verb forms for a long time, even when they are used in non-passive senses (e.g. as S'-control passives), and should be considered passives for as long as they are subject to these constraints.

A verb form consisting of “transitive stem + passive morpheme” is much more likely to be reanalysed as a basic intransitive verb if the original transitive stem goes

¹² Cf. Ergin (1958: 186) for the causative. There are some marginal restrictions on passives from intransitives, which were discussed in fn. 3, as well as the odd case of the transitive stem *anla-* ‘understand’, which has an irregular passive *anla-y-il-*. But even if it should turn out that passive and causative are not fully productive, they are undeniably more so than either reciprocal or medium.

out of usage or undergoes a change of meaning, because once the basic verb disappears, speakers are less likely to recognize the surviving derived form as being derived. An example is the modern intransitive verb *ayıl-*. Its meaning is ‘come to one’s senses, recover from stupor’. From it we can create a causative *ayıl-t-* ‘to bring someone around’. Now there still exists a verb *ay-*, only used rarely today, which is also intransitive and has roughly the same meaning as *ayıl-*. But there is no *transitive* stem which could readily be perceived as derivationally related to *ayıl-*, and hence the final syllable is not felt to be a passive morpheme. However, the Redhouse Turkish-English dictionary (1988) lists an archaic meaning of *ay-*, namely transitive ‘bring (someone) to’, also noted in the dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkic (Clauson 1972: 46). According to Clauson (1972: 56), the modern *ayıl-* was originally the passive of this transitive verb. As the transitive meaning of *ay-* was lost, *ayıl-* became a lexical isolate, no longer readily relatable to a basic stem, and was in turn reanalyzed as a basic intransitive stem itself, hence offering no further resistance to causative morphology. This process is rendered schematically in (24):



“-----” indicates a productive derivational process

The reanalysis I am suggesting is a constant and gradual process, encompassing several stages. Consider the verb *ayrıl-* ‘separate-PASS’, discussed above. In (19) I demonstrated that it does not permit the addition of causative morphology, which suggests that it is still perceived as a derived verb form. Yet it does permit the addition of reciprocal morphology, as in *ayrıl-ış-* ‘separate-PASS-RECIPROC’, listed in the Turkish-Turkish dictionary (Türk Dil Kurumu 1988) with the meaning *birbirinden ayrılmak* ‘leave one another’. The combination PASS-RECIPROC violates the canonical order, which means that *ayrıl-* ‘separate-PASS’ is on its way to reanalysis as a basic intransitive verb. But it has not completed the entire cycle yet, for it still resists causative morphology. It seems, then, that different stages in the process of

reanalysis from derived intransitive to basic intransitive can be distinguished according to which voice morpheme is tolerated after passive.¹³

Passives may then develop into basic intransitive stems via reanalysis, but the process is long and gradual. Note that it is precisely because the passive morpheme is essentially vague with regard to S'-control that passive verb forms begin to develop lives of their own, eventually becoming conceptually detached from the original transitive stem from which they are derived. The essential vagueness of the passive morpheme, for which I have argued, provides the initial impetus for reanalysis.

6. Conclusions

1. Passive in Turkish is essentially a detransitivizer. The sole syntactic consequence of passivization is S / A-suppression, accompanied by O-advancement where this is possible. The Turkish passive could more accurately be termed anti-causative.

2. O-advancement does not imply that the derived subject (S') is necessarily an undergoer in the resulting proposition, although this is certainly the default reading. Rather, the passive is indifferent with regard to the parameter of S'-control (see also Johanson 1974).

3. From the preceding point it follows that passive verb forms are open to a number of different interpretations. For example, *sar-ıl-* wrap+PASS can mean 'be wrapped', or it can mean 'embrace' (lit. be wrapped around someone). *At-ıl-* throw+PASS can mean 'be thrown', or it can mean 'jump, spring'.

4. A number of scholars have set up different classes of passive to account for these differences in meaning. I have argued against such an account, proposing instead that the differences found are best considered as different values along the scale of S'-control, which the passive derivation leaves undetermined.

5. The constraint on applying passive to causative is neither semantically nor syntactically motivated, but stems from a language-specific morphological constraint governing the possible combinations of morphemes in words.

6. Via reanalysis, erstwhile passive verb forms may develop into simple intransitive verbs. The formal criterion for recognizing such verbs is that they are no longer subject to the morphological constraint which prevents voice morphology from following passive morphology. This is neither a semantic or a syntactic criterion but a morphological one.

¹³ Lees (1973: 509-510) mentions several other examples, taken from older dictionaries, of non-canonical orders with the reciprocal suffix. For example *sar-ıl-ış-* wrap+PASS+RECIPROC 'to embrace one another', still listed in the more recent Turkish-Turkish dictionary (Türk Dil Kurumu 1988), and *öl-dür-üş-* die+CAUS+RECIPROC 'to kill one another', no longer listed in the more recent dictionary. However, the informants I consulted were reluctant to accept *sar-ıl-ış-*, and rejected *öl-dür-üş-* outright.

References

- Blake, B. 1990. *Relational grammar*. London: Routledge.
- Chvany, C. 1993. Bystander voice in English: a generalization masked in some versions of theta theory. In: Comrie, B. & Polinsky, M. (eds.) *Causatives and transitivity*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 241-252.
- Comrie, B. 1989². *Language universals and linguistic typology: syntax and morphology*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Brockelmann, C. 1954. *Osttürkische Grammatik der islamischen Litteratursprachen Mittelasiens*. Leiden: Brill.
- Bybee, J. 1985. *Morphology: a study of the relation between meaning and form*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Clauson, Sir. G. 1972. *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dede, M. 1986. Causatives in Turkish. In: Aksu Koç, A. & Erguvanlı Taylan, E. (eds.) *Proceedings of the Turkish Linguistics Conference*. İstanbul, 9-10 August, 1984. (Boğaziçi University Publications no. 400). İstanbul: Boğaziçi University, 48-58.
- Dehghani, Yavar. 1998. *A grammar of Iranian Azari including comparisons with Persian*. Unpublished PhD thesis. School of Languages, Cultures and Linguistics. La Trobe University, Melbourne.
- Deny, J. 1921. *Grammaire de la langue turque (dialecte osmanlı)*. (2 vols.). [Quotes are from the reprint: Vaduz, Liechtenstein: Sändig Reprints Verlag (1986)]
- Dixon, R. 1994. *Ergativity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Erdal, M. 1991. *Old Turkic word formation. A functional approach to the lexicon*. (2 vols.). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Erdal, M. 1996. On applying 'causative' to 'passive', mainly in Turkish. In: Berta, Á. & Brendemoen, B. & Schönig, C. (eds.) *Symbolae Turcologicae: Studies in honour of Lars Johanson on his sixtieth birthday, 8. March 1996*. (Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul Transactions Vol. 6). Stockholm, 77-95.
- Ergin, M. 1958. *Türk Dil Bilgisi*. (İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları 785). İstanbul.
- Givón, T. 1988. Tale of two passives in Ute. In: Shibatani M. (ed.) *Passive and voice*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 417-440.
- Göksel, A. Voice in Turkish. In: Bynon, T. & Hewitt, B. (eds.) *Subject, voice and ergativity*. London: SOAS, 82-104.
- Haig, G. 1997. The dative as default case in Turkish. In: Uzun, E. & İmer, K. (eds.) *Proceedings of the VIII International Conference on Turkish Linguistics, Ankara, August 7-9, 1996*. Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, 37-48.
- Haig, G. 1998. *Relative constructions in Turkish*. (Turcologica 33.) Harrassowitz: Wiesbaden.
- Hess, M. 1996. *Das genus verbi des Osmanischen zwischen 1575 and 1775*. [Unpublished PhD. dissertation. Universität Mainz.]
- Johanson, L. 1974. Zur Syntax der alttürkischen Kausativa. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Suppl. II, 529-540. [reprinted in: Johanson, L. (1991) *Linguistische Beiträge zur Gesamt-turkologie*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 198-210]
- Johanson, L. 1992. *Strukturelle Faktoren in türkischen Sprachkontakten*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.
- Kissling, H. 1960. *Osmanisch-türkische Grammatik*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

- Klaiman, M. 1991. *Grammatical voice*. Cambridge, etc.: Cambridge University Press.
- Kononov, A. 1956. *Grammatika sovremennogo tureckogo literaturnogo jazyka*. Moskva: Akademii Nauk.
- Kornfilt, J. 1991. Some current issues in Turkish syntax. In: Boeschoten, H. & Verhoeven, L. (eds.) *Turkish linguistics today*. Leiden: Brill, 60-92.
- Langacker, R. 1982. Space grammar, analyzability, and the English passive. *Language* (58) 1, 22-80
- Lazard, G. 1995. Typological research on actancy: The Paris RIVALC group. In: Shibatani, M. & Bynon T. (eds.) *Approaches to language typology*. Oxford: Clarendon, 167-213.
- Lees, R. 1973. Turkish voice. In: Kachru, B. & Lees, R. & Malkiel, Y. & Pietrangeli, A. & Saporta S. (eds.) *Issues in linguistics. Papers in honor of Henry and Renée Kahane*. Urbana, etc.: University of Illinois. 540-514.
- Lewis, G. 1967. *Turkish grammar*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Manning, H. Paul. 1995. Fluid intransitivity in Middle Welsh: Gradience, typology and 'unaccusativity'. *Lingua* 97, 171-194.
- Nau, N. 1995. *Möglichkeiten und Mechanismen kontaktbewegten Sprachwandels unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Finnischen*. Unterschliessheim, München: Lincom.
- Özkaragöz, İ. 1986. Monoclausal double passives in Turkish. In: Slobin, D. & Zimmer, K. (eds.) *Studies in Turkish linguistics*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 77-91.
- Sezer, E. 1991. *Issues in Turkish syntax*. Unpublished PhD thesis. Department of Linguistics, Harvard University.
- Shibatani, M. 1988. Introduction. In: Shibatani, M. (ed.) *Passive and voice*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 3-8.
- Türk Dil Kurumu. 1988. *Türkçe sözlüğü* (2 vols.). Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu. [Turkish-Turkish dictionary]
- Ülken, F. 1981. Türkçede edilgen çatı özneleri üstüne bir araştırma. *Dilbilim – Linguistique* 6, 56-70.
- Underhill, R. 1987. *Turkish grammar*. Cambridge Mass.: MIT. [1972¹]
- Van Valin, R. 1990. Semantic parameters of split intransitivity. *Language* 66 (2), 221-260.