On the use of the accusative case in the passive clauses
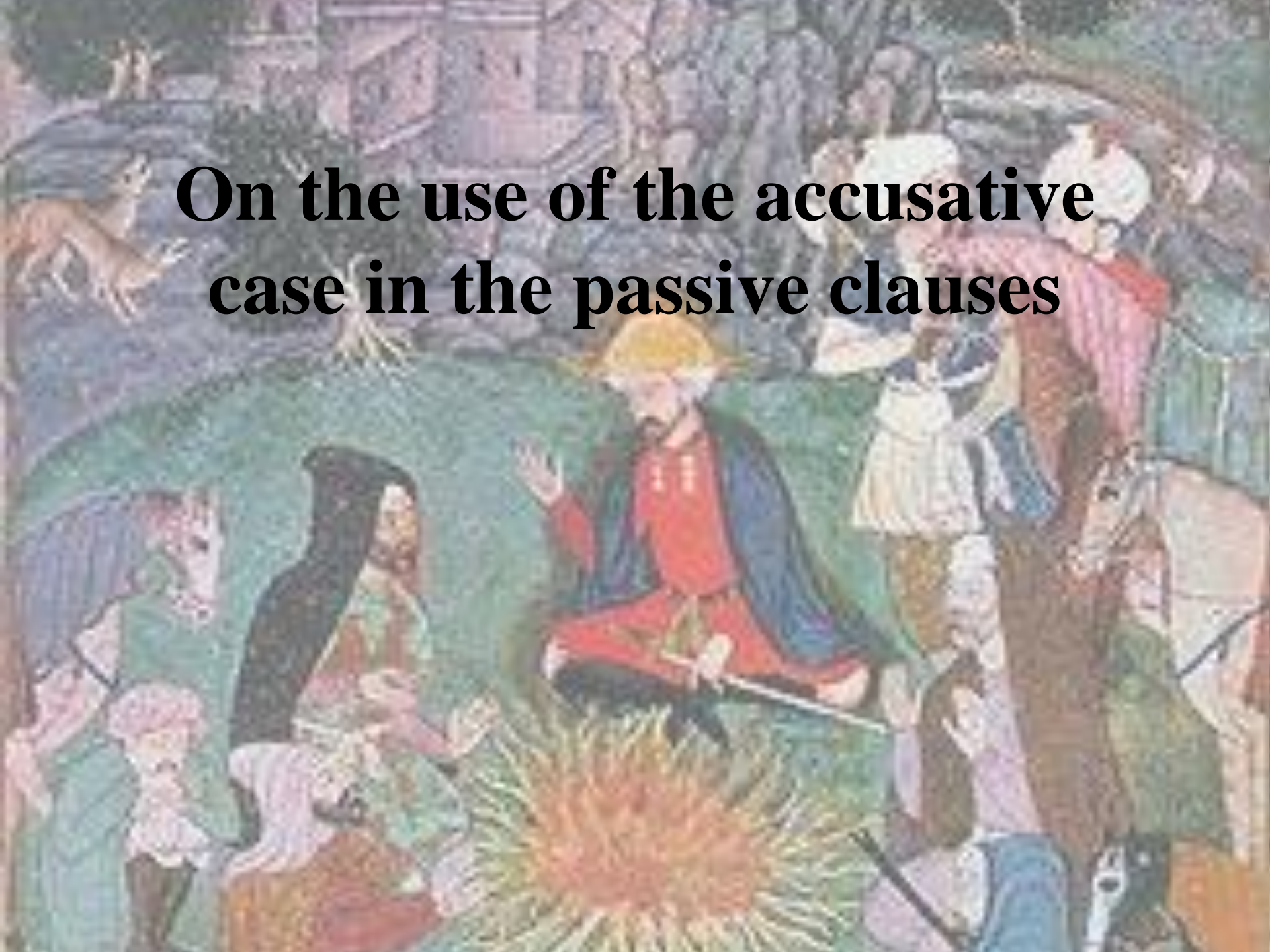
The aim of the presentation

- Description of the Chagatay passive clauses in which the Patient is marked with the accusative case and not with nominative

Chagatay language

- Originally the Chagatay was the language of the nomad Turks of the Chagatai Ulus in Central Asia

- From the fourteenth till the beginning of the 20th century

- The Chagatay language was a kind of lingua franca (Kashgar, Buhara, Samarkand, Herat, Hiva or Kokand; Volga-region, Krim, Great Moghul Empire, Ottoman Empire)

- Modern Uyghur and Uzbek languages are closely related to it

Babur and the *Bāburnāma*

- Zahir-ud-din Muhammad Babur (1483-1530), was the founder of the Great Mughal Empire

- The *Bāburnāma*, his autobiographical work was written in the Chagatay language

- The transcription and the translation of the sentences quoted from *Bāburnāma* follows Thackston, W. M. Jr. (ed.) (1993): *Zahirüddin Muhammad Bābur Mirza. Bāburnāma. I-III. Chaghatay Turkish Text with Abdul-Rahim Khankhanan's Persian translation*. Harvard University.

The morphological marking of the passive structures in Chagatay

- *-(X)l-*

- its allomorf is the morpheme *-(X)n-*
  - Verb stem ends with *-l* or *-r*
  - Monosyllabic stem ends with a vowel

A „traditional" passive example

(1) **Bu furşat** *barča vaqt-ta* **tap-ul-***mas*. (Sayf. 105r:8)
this opportunity all time-LOC find-PASS-PRAS.NEG(SG.3)
'This opportunity is not to find every time.'

Transitive verb   Passive marking

The Patient is in the subject position and marked with the **nominative case**.

Source of the example: Bodrogligeti 2001: 160-161

Passive clauses with accusative

(2) ***Raḥmat Piyāda-nï*** *fatḥnāma-lar bilä Kābul-ɣa* ***yibär-il****-di*. (263a, 11)

R. P.-ACC [proclamation of victory]-PL INST K.-DAT send-PASS-PAST(SG.3)

'Rahmat Piada was sent to Kabul with proclamations of victory.'

Passive verbform

Patient marked with the accusative case

- This phenomenon is found not only in *Bāburnāma* but in other Chagatay texts as well.

- E.g. in *Maḥbūlu'l-qulūb of 'Alī Šīr Nevā'ī*

(3)   *anï üč qïsm qïl-ïl-dï* (Maḥb. 9: 6)

(s)he.ACC three part make-PASS-PAST.SG.3

'I divided it into three parts'

Source of the transcription and translation: Eckmann 1966: 92.

- In *Risāla-i Validīya*

(4) *Ol sabab-dïn bu risāla-nï Turkī [til-i] bilän Muḥammad Tīmūr Bahādur üčün ayt-ïl-dï.* (RM2r:3-6)

that reason-ABL this treatise-ACC Turkish[language-POSS.SG.3] INST M. T. B. for tell-PASS-PAST.SG.3

'For that reason this treatise was composed in the Turki language for Muhammad Timur Bahadur.'

Példa és fordítás forrása: Bodrogligeti 2001: 29-30.

This structure in Uzbek and Uyghur (?)

(5)   (?) *Čåy-ni ič-il-di.*

        tea-ACC drink-PASS-PAST(SG.3)

        'The tea was drunk.'

(6)   (?) *Aš-ni yė-yil-gen.*

        food-ACC eat-PASS-PAST(SG.3)

        'The food was eaten.'

Source of the examples: Johanson 1988: 55

Middle Turkic internal change

- The phenomenon seems to be an independent Middle Turkic internal change

- There are no similar structures in Old Turkic (cf. Erdal 1991; Erdal 2004)
- There is no similar structure in Persian.

- In the Persian translation of the *Bāburnāma* (Abdul-Rahim Khankhanan; 1589) there are passive clauses with accusative marking.

(7a) *Yūsuf ʿAli Rikābdār**rā** ba Kābul firistāda šud.*

(7b) *Yūsuf ʿAlī Rikābdār-nï Kābul-ɣa yibär-il-di.*
(220a)

Y. ʿA. R.-ACC K.-DAT send-PASS-PAST(SG.3)

'Yusuf Ali Rikabdar was sent to Kabul.'

(8a) *Ham qalʿa girifta šud u ham ɣanīm**rā** gurezānīda šud.*

(8b) *Ham qorɣan-nï al-ïl-dï, ham ɣanīm-nï qačur-ul-dï.* (85b, 15)

both citadell-ACC take-PASS.PAST(SG.3) and enemy-ACC [drive away]-PASS-PAST(SG.3)

'Both the citadel had been taken and the enemy put to flight.'

According to Thackston 1991 this is a structure which the Persian copied from Chagatay.

When is the accusative not present?

(9) *Kätä Beg-**ni** xabar üčün Ibrāhīm-nïng ordu-sï-γa **yibär-il-**di.* (262a, 11-12)

K. Beg-ACC news [because of] I.-GEN camp-POSS.SG.3-DAT send-PASS-PAST(SG.3)

'Kätä Beg was sent to Ibrahim's camp to gather information.'

Accusative marking on the Patient

(10) *Har nečä ṭarāf u ĵavānib-qa* **elči-lär va kiši-lär yibär-il-di**, *(hečkimdin kömäk u madadî yetišmädi.)* (94a, 26)

every thing direction **direction.PL-DAT emissary-PL and man-PL send-PASS-PAST(SG.3)** (…)

'No matter how many emissaries and envoys were sent in every direction, (aid and assistance came from no one.)'

No accusative marking on the Patient

- The direct object is not always marked with the accusative case.

  ➤Not marked if the direct object is indefinite

  ➤It is marked if the direct object is definite (it has a determinant or possessive-marking; it is a proper noun, a personal or demonstrative pronoun), or if it is the topic of the sentence

cf. The following Kazakh sentences

(11) *Әке-м **үй** сал-а-ды.*

father-POSS.SG.1 **house** set-PRAS-COPSG.3

'My father is building a house.'

(12) *Сумка-м-а **кітап-тар-ым-ды** сал-ды-м.*

bag-POSS.SG.1-DAT **book-PL-POSS.SG.1-ACC** put-PAST-SG.1
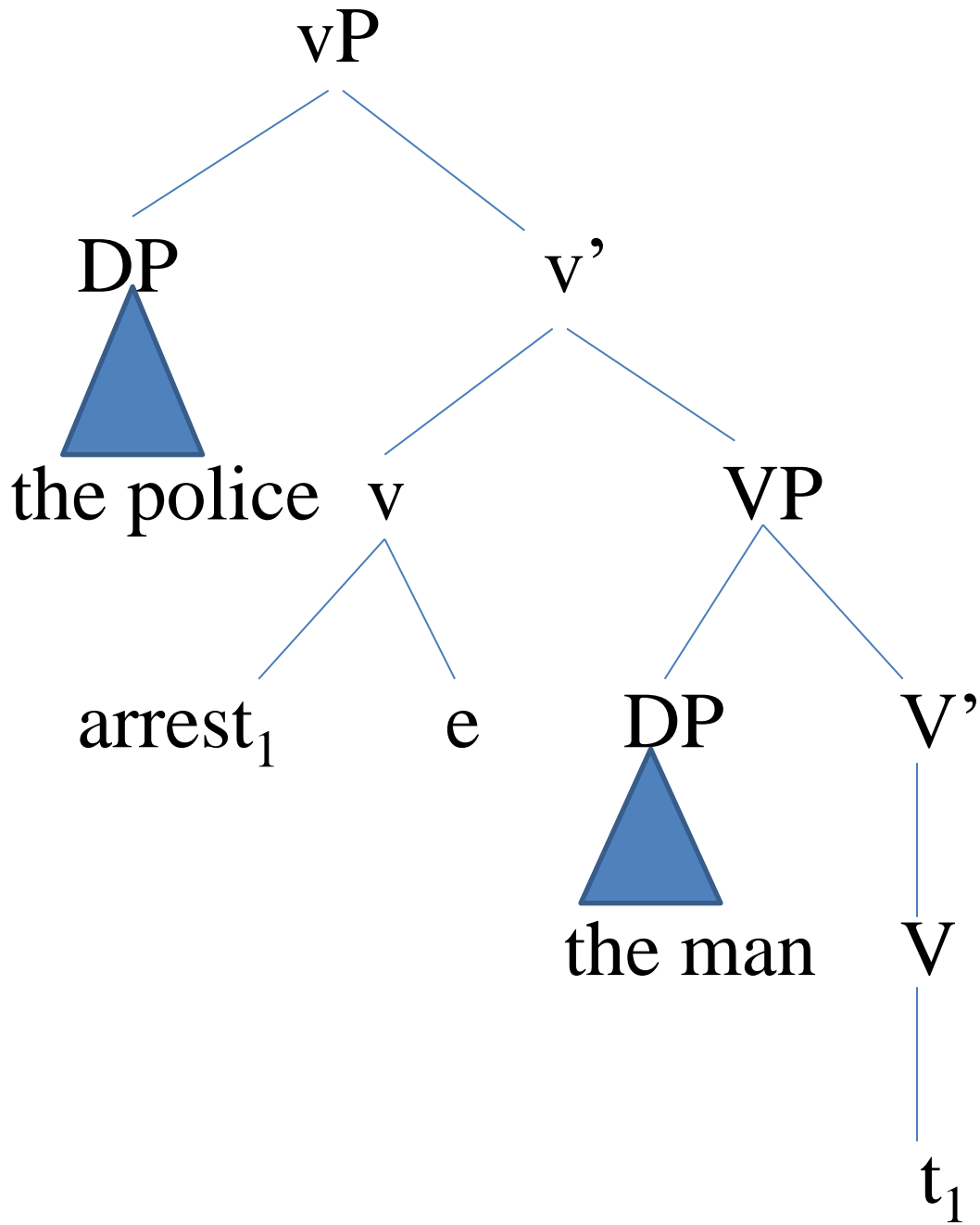
'I put my books into my bag.'

If there wasn't any accusative marking in the active clause, we cannot expect it to appear in the passive clause.

The verb phrase in the Minimalist Program

- In the active sentence

  ➢ the V head assigns the Theme or the Patient Theta roles

  ➢ The v head (light verb) assigns the Agent or the Experiencer Theta roles (external Thematic roles)

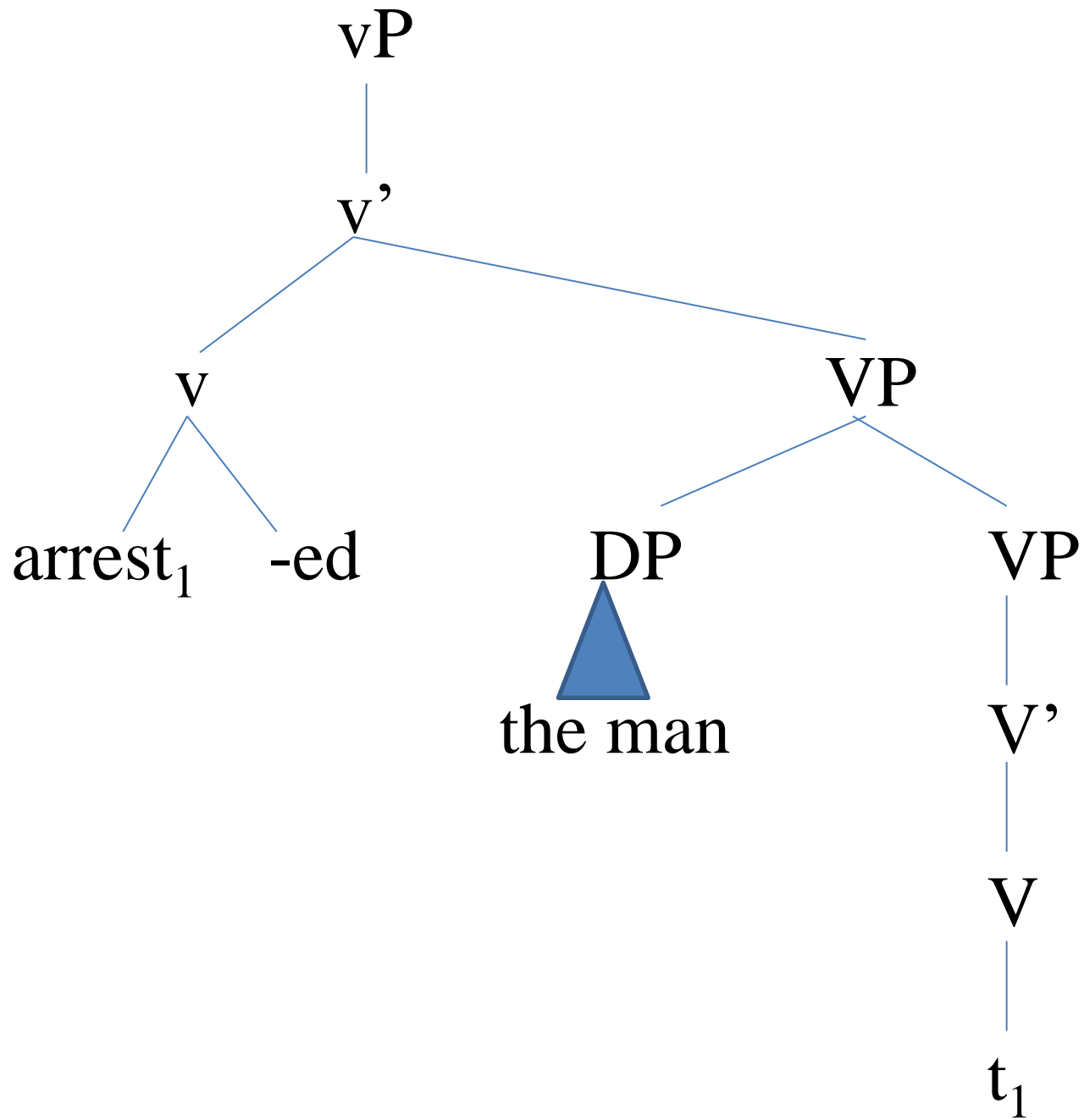 ➢ The v head assigns the accusative case

(13) *The police arrested the man.*

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                        vP
                   ┌────┴────┐
                  DP          v'
                  ╱▲╲      ┌───┴───┐
                 ╱  ╲      v        VP
              the police  ╱ ╲    ┌───┴───┐
                    arrest₁  e   DP       V'
                                ╱▲╲       │
                               ╱  ╲       V
                              the man     │
                                          t₁
```

vP

DP — the police

v'

v — arrest$_1$, e

VP

DP — the man

V'

V

t$_1$

- In the „traditional" passive clause
  - ➢the passive marking replaces the light verb of the active sentence
  - ➢this new head does not assign external Thematic role to any DP
  - ➢this new head does not assign accusative case to any DP

(14) *The man was arrested.*

Cf. Newson 2006, Adger 2003, Radford 1997

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                              vP
                               |
                               v'
                          /          \
                         v            VP
                       /    \        /    \
                 arrest₁    -ed    DP      VP
                                   △        |
                                the man     V'
                                            |
                                            V
                                            |
                                            t₁
```

vP

v'

v VP

$arrest_1$ -ed DP VP

the man V'

V

t_1

Chagatay passive with accusative

(15) *Anïng bilä bar kiši bar beg-lär-**ni** tut-ur-**ul**-dï.* (25a, 19-20)

(s)he.GEN INST existent man existent beg-PL-**ACC** arrest-CAUS-**PASS**-PAST(SG.3)

'All the men and begs who were with him were arrested.'

The passive marking is present, still the accusative is assigned.

Explanations in the literature

- Eckmann 1966: 90-91 and Bodrogligeti 2001: 29-30 state that in these structures the speaker does not name themselves out of modesty.

  They translate these structures mostly with first person singular.

(16) *Manga bisyār dušvār keldi. Beixtiyār ɣalaba yïɣladïm. Andïn Xuĵandqa keldim. Mening anamnï va uluɣ anamnï ba'zï mening bilä qalɣanlarnïng köčläri bilä Xuĵandqa mening qašïmɣa yibärdilär.* (55b, 11-13)

Ol Ramaḍān-nï Xuĵand-ta ötkär-il-di. (55b, 14)

that Ramadan-ACC X-LOC spend-PASS-PAST(SG.3)

'It was very difficult for me. I wept involuntarily. From there I went to Khodzhent, where my mother and my grandmother were sent to me with the families of those who remained with me.'

'The Ramadan was spent in Khodzhent.'   (I/We spent the Ramadan in Khodzhent.)

(17) *Bir kün Šïbaq Xan Āhanīn Darzāzasï sarï uruš keltürdi. Yatīmlär čun dilīr bolup erdilär, dāyimqï dek dilīr va yiraq čïqtïlar.* (91b, 1-2)

Bular-nïng arqa-sï-ɣa baʿzï yigir-lär-ni atlïɣ čïqar-ïl-dï. (91b, 2)

they-GEN back-POSS.SG.3-DAT some soldier-PL-ACC [with horse] send-PASS-PAST(SG.3)

'One day Wormwood Khan directed his attack at the Iron Gate. The mob, having grown bold, went far out as usual in their daring way.'

'Some cavalrymen were sent out behind them.'

- Brockelmann 1954: 285-286 calls these structures „impersonal passive".

Our research confirms this claim.

Cross-linguistic perspective

- The usage of the accusative in the passive clauses is not without precedent in the languages of the world. It can be found e.g. in Welsh, Irish, North Russian, Ute.

- Welsh

(18) *Fe'**i** lladdwyd (ef) (gan ddraig).*

    him kill-IMP him by dragon

    'He was killed by the dragon.'

Source of the example: Baker 1988: 348.

- Irish

(19) *Bhi se buailte aici.*

AUX he hit(PTCPL) at.her

'He was hit by her.'

(20) *Buaileadh (lei)* **e**.

hit(IMPRS) (with her) **him**

'There was hitting of him (by her).'

Source of the examples: Keenan - Dryer 2007: 348.

Burzio's Generalisation

- Burzio's Generalisation: If the accusative case is assigned then the external Thematic role must be assigned as well.

- We can apply this generalisation to the passive sentences of the *Bāburnāma*

- It can be assumed that - **since the accusative is assigned - the external Thematic role is assigned** as well.

(21) *Bu bahāna bilä alar**nï** ham **kör-ül**-di*. (55b, 24-25)

   this excuse INST they.ACC too see-PASS-PAST(SG.3)

   'Upon this pretext I went to see him.'

PRO subject

- A subject needs to be postulated to which the external Thematic role can be assigned.

- This is most probably a pro/PRO.

(21) **[pro/PRO]** *Bu bahāna bilä alarnï ham kör-ül-di.* (55b, 24-25)

- In our corpus there is not a single example where the verb would agree with a subject different from the third person singular.

(22) *Bular-nïng arqa-sï-ɣa baʿzï **yigir-lär-ni** atlïɣ **čïqar-ïl-dï.*** (91b, 2)

  they-GEN back-POSS.SG.3-DAT some **soldier-PL-ACC** [with horse] **send-PASS-PAST(SG.3)**

  'Some cavalrymen were sent out behind them.'

- The lack of other subjects indicates that the subject of these clauses is third person singular.

- It is because of the pro/PRO subject that these passive clauses have impersonal interpretation.

Summary

- The presence of the accusative-marking in the Chagatay passive clauses is not due to some sort of anomaly

- According to Burzio's Generalisation – since the accusative is assigned – the external Thematic role should be assigned as well.

- We postulated a pro/PRO in the subject position

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