Passive Agent Markers in the Kyrgyz Language

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(キルギス語の受動文における動作主表示)
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0. Introduction

Consider the following pair of sentences in the Kyrgyz language, which is one of the Turkic languages spoken in Central Asia:

(1) a. Kuu   tülkü kiči peyil ayuu-nu alda-dï.
     wretched fox   courteous bear-ACC cheat-PST-Ø(3)
    'The wretched fox cheated the courteous bear.'

   b. Kiči peyil ayuu *kuu*   *tülkü-gö* alda-n-dï.
      courteous bear wretched fox-DAT cheat-PASS-PST-Ø(3)
     'The courteous bear was cheated by the wretched fox.'

Although the same participants appear to play the same semantic roles in both sentences, there is a difference in the assignment of grammatical relations. The patient *kiči peyil ayuu* is the direct object marked by the accusative suffix in (1a), but the subject in (1b); and the agent *kuu tülkü* is the subject in (1a), but an oblique argument marked by the dative suffix in (1b). The suffix *-n*, which is additionally contained in the verb in (1b), is called passive suffix[1], as it signals a shift in grammatical relations observed in (1b).

However, in the Kyrgyz language, there is more than one way to mark agent phrases in passive sentences, as given in (2):

(2) a. Kiči peyil ayuu *kuu*   *tülkü-dön* alda-n-dï.
      courteous bear wretched fox-ABL   cheat-PASS-PST-Ø(3)

   b. Kiči peyil ayuu *kuu*   *tülkü* *tarab-ï-nan* alda-n-dï.
      courteous bear wretched fox   side-3:POSS-ABL cheat-PASS-PST-Ø(3)
     'The courteous bear was cheated by the wretched fox.'

The agent *kuu tülkü* is marked by the ablative suffix in (2a); it is marked by the

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[1] The Kyrgyz language uses suffixes containing *-l* as passive markers, similar to other Turkic languages. The suffix has allomorphs according to vowel harmony, *-ïl, -il, -ul, -ül*, when it attaches to a verb stem ending with a consonant. Moreover, in the Kyrgyz language, the suffix becomes *-(I)n* by dissimilation when it attaches to a stem that contains *l*.

postposition *tarabïnan*[2] in (2b). These three types of passive agent markers (henceforth PAM) —dative suffix, ablative suffix and postposition *tarabïnan*—are used in Kyrgyz. I term the passives of the type in (1b) *dative-agent-passives* and those of the type in (2a) *ablative-agent-passives*. In addition, passives of the type in (2b) are called *tarabïnan-passives* in this paper.

Observing the cases in (1b) and (2), one might conclude that each of the PAMs equally serves to mark the agent noun phrase in a given passive sentence. However, there are instances where only one of the three is allowed as a PAM, and there also exist passive sentences in which only one of the three is not allowed. They are not always interchangeably used.

This paper examines syntax and semantics of PAMs in the Kyrgyz language and addresses the issue of the extent to which each type of PAM is allowed in a passive sentence. In section 1 below I observe PAMs in other Turkic languages such as Turkish and Azerbaijanian. In section 2 the three types of PAMs in Kyrgyz are examined in order of postposition *tarabïnan*, dative suffix and ablative suffix.

1. PAMs in Turkic languages

Ščerbak (1981: 106) lists four types of PAMs in Turkic languages.

i)	dative	Khak.	*aγas-tar*	*čil-ge*	*čayxa-l-ča-lar*
			tree-PL	wind-DAT	shake-PASS-PRES-3PL
			'The trees are shaken by the wind.'		
ii)	ablative	Old-Kipč.	*burun* *alay*	*aytïldï*	*päyyambärdän*
			very early	was told	prophet-ABL
			'It was told very early by the prophet.'		
iii)	instrumental	Khak.	*anïŋ* *xol-ï-naŋ*	*tïxta-l-γan*	*traktor-lar*
			his hand-3:POSS-INST	repair-PASS-VN	tractor-PL
			'The tractor which was repaired by his hand.'		
iv)	postposition	(*bilän, menen, birlä, arkalï, tarafïndan, tomonidan, jïhatïdan*)			
		Kyrg.	*men* *tarab-ïm-dan*	*ayt-ïl-gan*	*söz*
			I side-1SG:POSS-ABL	say-PASS-VN	word
			'The words which was told by me.'		

As mentioned previously, Kyrgyz uses three types of PAMs, namely, dative suffix, ablative suffix, and postposition. It is uncommon in Turkic languages to have more than two ways to express a passive agent when the agent is animate. In Turkish, for

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[2] *Tarabïnan* can be analyzed as *tarab-ï-nan* (side-3:POSS-ABL). The possessive suffix changes according to the agreement in person and number with the preceding noun phrase. Examples are *menin tarab-ïm-dan* 'by me' and *silerdin tarab-ïŋar-dan* 'by you(pl.)'.

example, the animate passive agent is expressed almost exclusively by using the postposition *tarafından* (Göksel and Kerslake 2005: 150), as illustrated in (3).

(3) Turk.   *En   iyi   oyun   birinci   sınıf   öğrencileri   tarafından*
            best   good   play   first   grade   students   POSP
      hazırlanmış
      perform:PASS:EV.COP
      'The best play was performed by the first year students.'
                                                    (Göksel and Kerslake 2005: 149)

Similarly, in Azerbaijanian, which belongs to the Oghuz branch of Turkic languages together with Turkish, postposition *tərəfindən* is mainly used as a PAM.

(4) Azer.   *Ev   gənc   ustalar   tərəfindən   tikildi*
            house young   master:PL POSP   build:PASS:PST
      'The house was built by the young masters'   (Sultanzade 2001: 32)

The word *taraf* or *tərəf* (*tarap* in Kyrgyz) has its origin in Arabic. Ščerbak (1981: 106) states that the ablative form of the word *taraf* is used in a certain region of the Turkic-speaking area (Turkish, Azerbaijan, Turkmen, Tatar, Bashkir, Karakalpak, Uzbek, Kazakh, Kyrgyz, and Uyghur).

Both in Turkish and in Azerbaijanian, the dative suffix is also used as a PAM; however, it is limited to a small number of verbs. Those verbs often express an "unpleasant" event (Sultanzade 2001: 35), as typified by 'be defeated' or 'be caught'.

(5) Turk.   *Ahmet   para   çalarken   Ayşe-ye   yakala-n-dı*
            Ahmet   money   while.stealing Ayshe-DAT catch-PASS-PST
      'Ahmet was caught by Ayshe stealing money.'   (Bökesöy 2000: 94)

(6) Turk.   *A   takım-ı   B   takım-ı-na   yen-il-di*
            A   team-3SG:POSS   team-3SG:POSS-DAT   win-PASS-PST
      'Team A was defeated by Team B.'   (Bökesöy 2000: 94)

(7) Azer.   *Osmanlılar   italyanlara   basıldılar*
            Ottoman:PL   Italian:PL:DAT defeat:PASS:PST/3PL
      'The Ottomans were defeated by the Italians'   (Sultanzade 2001: 34)

It is noteworthy that in Old Azerbaijanian (thirteenth and fourteenth centuries), the ablative suffix was added directly to the noun phrase in order to express a passive agent, avoiding the word *tərəf* 'side' (Sultanzade 2001: 32).

(8) Old.Azer.   *Ey   evin   Həqdən   yapılmış...*
                o   house:POSS Truth:ABL build:PASS:PART
      'O you, whose house has been created by God'

2. PAMs in the Kyrgyz language

2.1 Three types of PAMs and their distribution

The three types of PAMs in Kyrgyz, namely, the dative suffix, ablative suffix, and postposition, are not always interchangeably used. All of them are allowed in the case of (1b) and (2); however, only the ablative-agent-passive is not allowed in the following case.

(9) a. Akmat akča uurda-p ǰat-kan ǰer-i-nen
   Akmat money steal-CV lie-VN:PST place-3:POSS-ABL
   Ayša-ga karma-l-dï
   Aysha-DAT catch-PASS-PST-Ø(3)

 b. *Akmat akča uurda-p ǰat-kan ǰer-i-nen
   Ayša-dan karma-l-dï
   Aysha-ABL catch-PASS-PST-Ø(3)

 c. Akmat akča uurda-p ǰat-kan ǰer-i-nen
   Ayša *tarab-ï-nan* karma-l-dï
   Aysha side-3:POSS-ABL catch-PASS-PST-Ø(3)
   'Akmat was caught by Aysha when he was stealing money.'

Further, only the dative-agent-passive is not allowed in (10), while only the dative suffix is allowed as a PAM in (11).

(10) a. *okumuštuu-lar* *tob-u-na* ǰasa-l-gan bul ilimiy ačïlïš
   scholar-PL group-3:POSS-DAT make-PASS-VN this scientific discovery

 b. *okumuštuu-lar* *tob-u-nan* ǰasa-l-gan bul ilimiy ačïlïš
   scholar-PL group-3:POSS-ABL make-PASS-VN

 c. *okumuštuu-lar* *tob-u* *tarab-ï-nan* ǰasa-l-gan
   scholar-PL group-3:POSS side-3:POSS-ABL make-PASS-VN
   bul ilimiy ačïlïš
   'This scientific discovery by a group of scientists' ((10c): KED p.165)

(11) a. Uul-u-nun ayag-ï *it-ke* kab-ïl-dï
   son-3:POSS-GEN leg-3:POSS dog-DAT bite-PASS-PST-Ø(3)

 b. *Uul-u-nun ayag-ï *it-ten* kab-ïl-dï
   son-3:POSS-GEN leg-3:POSS dog-ABL bite-PASS-PST-Ø(3)

 c. *Uul-u-nun ayag-ï *it* *tarab-ï-nan* kab-ïl-dï
   son-3:POSS-GEN leg-3:POSS dog side-3:POSS-ABL bite-PASS-PST-Ø(3)
   'His son's leg was bitten by the dog.'

The tabular summary of the distribution of PAMs observed above is as follows:

Table 1

verbs		meaning	dative	ablative	*tarabïnan*
alda-n-	(1)(2)	'be cheated'	✓	✓	✓
kalma-l-	(9)	'be caught'	✓	✗	✓
ǰasa-l-	(10)	'be made'	✗	✓	✓
kab-ïl-	(11)	'be bitten'	✓	✗	✗

2.2 *Tarabïnan*-passives

Tarabïnan-passives are different from the other two passives in their characteristics and usages. *Tarabïnan* can be used as a PAM in any passive sentence, without receiving the lexical restrictions of verbs. Although the *tarabïnan*-passive is not allowed in (11c), it is accepted when the subject *uulunun ayagï* 'his son's leg' is replaced by *uulu* 'his son', as shown below.

(12) a.   **Uul-u-nun*   *ayag-ï*   it   tarab-ï-nan   kab-ïl-dï
       son-3:POSS-GEN   leg-3:POSS   dog   side-3:POSS-ABL   bite-PASS-PST-Ø(3)
       'His son's leg was bitten by the dog'   (=(11c))

     b.   *Uul-u*   it   tarab-ï-nan   kab-ïl-dï
       son-3:POSS   dog   side-3:POSS-ABL   bite-PASS-PST-Ø(3)
       'His son was bitten by the dog'

The difference in acceptability between (12a) and (12b) should not be attributed to the difference in the animacy of the subject in the passive sentence, since (11a) is a rather natural sentence in Kyrgyz; additionally, the *tarabïnan*-passive with the inanimate subject in (13) is allowed.

(13) a.   Uul-u-nun   kol-u   *čirkey-ge*   čag-ïl-dï
       son-3:POSS-GEN   arm-3:POSS   mosquito-DAT   sting-PASS-PST-Ø(3)

     b.   *Uul-u-nun   kol-u   *čirkey-den*   čag-ïl-dï
       son-3:POSS-GEN   arm-3:POSS   mosquito-ABL   sting-PASS-PST-Ø(3)

     c.   Uul-u-nun   kol-u   *čirkey*   tarab-ï-nan   čag-ïl-dï
       son-3:POSS-GEN   arm-3:POSS   mosquito   side-3:POSS-ABL   sting-PASS-PST-Ø(3)
       'His son's arm was bitten by a mosquito'

I cannot clearly explain the difference in acceptability between (11c) and (13c) at this moment; however, at least it is certain that the animacy of the subject has no relation with the difference in acceptability between (12a) and (12b).

The key feature of the *tarabïnan*-passive is that it is used in the written language rather than in the spoken language. In the spoken language, it is more preferable to use the dative-agent-passives in (9a) and (11a) than to use the *tarabïnan*-passives in

(9c) and (11b). On the other hand, *tarabïnan*-passives are overwhelmingly used in written words such as newspaper reports.

As noted above, *taraf* (*tarap* in Kyrgyz) is a word of Arabic origin and may have been introduced into Turkic languages through a phase of translation from such foreign language as Arabic in the recent past. It should be noted that no *tarabïnan*-passive is found in the text of Manas Epos[3] collected in 1920s. This historical background of the word *taraf* is related to the features of *tarabïnan*-passives, that is, the feature as a written language, and *tarabïnan* can be used as a PAM in almost all passive sentences.

However, there are some restrictions in using *tarabïnan*-passives. First, *tarabïnan*-passives are avoided when a hearer/reader may misunderstand what the *tarabïnan* phrase implies. The following is the case:

(14) Čïkkïnčï   adam-dar-nïn   sïr-ï   *Stalin-ge*
traitor   person-PL-GEN   secret-3:POSS   Stalin-DAT

/*Stalin-den*   /*Stalin*   *tarab-ï-nan*   bil-in-ip   kal-dï
(Stalin-ABL)   (Stalin   side-3:POSS-ABL)   know-PASS-CV   remain-PST-Ø(3)

'The secret of the traitors was known to Stalin.'

Both ablative and *tarabïnan* phrases in (14) are avoided because they may give the wrong idea that *Stalin* is not the agent of the verb *bil-*, but the one who gave out the secret.

Second, passive agents that can be marked by *tarabïnan* are limited to animate entity, as illustrated below.

(15) 16 jïl-ï   kanča   kïrgïz   padïšalïk   asker-dïn   *kïlïč-ï-nan*
16 year-3:POSS   how.many   Kyrgyz   czarist   army-GEN   sword-3:POSS-ABL

/*kïlïč-ï-na*   /*kïlïč-ï*   *tarab-ï-nan*   kïr-ïl-dï
(sword-3:POSS-DAT)   (sword-3:POSS   side-3:POSS-ABL)   slaughter-PASS-PST-Ø(3)

'In 1916 so many Kyrgyz were slain by the swords of the czarist soldiers.'

(KED: 335)

If the inanimate noun phrase *kïlïč-ï* 'sword' in (15) is replaced by an animate agent phase, the *tarabïnan*-passive as well as dative-agent-passive is accepted.

(16) 16 jïl-ï   kanča   kïrgïz   padïšalïk   *asker-ler-den*
16 year-3:POSS   how.many   Kyrgyz   czarist   army-PL-ABL

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[3] The Manas Epos is a traditional oral poem of the Kyrgyz people. The epic was composed over many centuries, and the period of its creation is not identifiable. The speculated periods are seventh–tenth century, ninth–twelfth century, and fifteenth–eighteenth century (see May 2004: 6).

/asker-ler-ga	/asker-ler	tarab-ï-nan	kïr-ïl-dï
army-PL-DAT	army-PL	side-3:POSS-ABL	slaughter-PASS-PST-Ø(3)

'In 1916 so many Kyrgyz were slain by the czarist soldiers.'

Incidentally, inanimate noun phrases that appear with passive verbs are followed by the postposition *menen* as instrumental rather than agent, as given in (17).

(17) Čöp   čalgï   menen   čab-ïl-dï
grass   scythe   with   mow-PASS-PST-Ø(3)
'The grass was mowed with the scythe.'   (Kudaybergenov 1987: 247)

As the third restriction of *tarabïnan*-passives, *tarabïnan* hardly follows personal pronouns, as shown below.

(18) a. Menin   *but-um*   *Marat*   *tarab-ï-nan*   bas-ïl-dï
my   foot-1SG:POSS   Marat   side-3:POSS-ABL   press-PASS-PST-Ø(3)
'My foot was stepped on by Marat.'

b. ? Menin   *but-um*   *anïn*   *tarab-ï-nan*   bas-ïl-dï
my   foot-1SG:POSS   his   side-3:POSS-ABL   press-PASS-PST-Ø(3)
('My foot was stepped on by him.')

In (18), *tarabïnan* can follows proper names, but it is less acceptable when *tarabïnan* follows the personal pronoun. It can probably be attributed to the informational structure of the sentence. The functions of passive sentences can be regarded as the foregrounding of patients and the backgrounding of agents. When the postposition *tarabïnan* marks the agent in passive sentences, the *tarabïnan* phrase becomes the focus of the sentence, as it forms a strong correlation between the action and the agent. The focus of a sentence is typically new information. Example (18b) is less acceptable because the personal pronoun is hardly new information, as it always requires antecedent.

Here, the features of *tarabïnan*-passives, which I observed above, are listed as follows:

i)   *Tarabïnan* can be used as a PAM in almost all passive sentences without receiving the lexical restrictions of verbs.
ii) *Tarabïnan*-passives are used mainly in a written language.
iii) *Tarabïnan*-passives are avoided when a hearer/reader may misunderstand what the *tarabïnan* phrase implies.
iv) *Tarabïnan* can mark only animate agents.
v)   *Tarabïnan* hardly follows a personal pronoun.

In particular, from features i and ii, it can be stated that *tarabïnan*-passives are a unique class, and they should be treated separately from the other two.

2.3 Dative-agent-passives and ablative-agent-passives

To present a conclusion beforehand, I can describe that passive agents are typically marked by the dative suffix in the spoken language in Kyrgyz. However, in certain cases, dative-agent-passives are avoided. On the other hand, ablative suffix can also mark passive agents under certain restrictions. The following sections first examine dative-agent-passives and then ablative-agent-passives by exploring the factors concerning the appearance of these PAMs.

2.3.1 Dative-agent-passives

As stated above, passive agents in Kyrgyz are typically marked by the dative suffix. It can be confirmed from the following sentences. In (19) to (22), (a) provides active sentences while (b) provides corresponding passive sentences.

(19) a. *Kuu   tülkü*   kiči   peyil   ayuu-nu   *alda*-dï
       wretched   fox   courteous   bear-ACC   cheat-PST-Ø(3)
       'The wretched fox cheated the courteous bear.'   (=(1a))

    b. Kiči   peyil   ayuu   *kuu   tülkü-gö   alda-n*-dï
       courteous   bear   wretched   fox-DAT   cheat-PASS-PST-Ø(3)
       'The courteous bear was cheated by the wretched fox.'   (=(1b))

(20) a. *Ayša*   Akmat-tï   akča   uurda-p   ǰat-kan   ǰer-i-nen   *karma*-dï
       Aysha   Akmat-ACC   money   steal-CV   lie-VN   place-3:POSS-ABL   catch-PST-Ø(3)
       'Aysha caught Akmat when he was stealing money.'

    b. Akmat   akča   uurda-p   ǰat-kan   ǰer-i-nen
       Akmat   money   steal-CV   lie-VN   place-3:POSS-ABL

       Ayša-ga   karma-l-dï
       Aysha-DAT   catch-PASS-PST-Ø(3)
       'Akmat was caught by Aysha when he was stealing money'   (=(9a))

(21) a. *It*   uul-u-nun   ayag-ï   *kap*-tï
       dog   son-3:POSS-GEN   leg-3:POSS   bite-PST-Ø(3)
       'The dog bit his son's leg.'

    b. Uul-u-nun   ayag-ï   *it-ke*   *kab-ïl*-dï
       son-3:POSS-GEN   leg-3:POSS   dog-DAT   bite-PASS-PST-Ø(3)
       'His son's leg was bitten by the dog.'   (=(11a))

(22) a. *Stalin*   čïkkïnčï   adam-dar-nïn   sïr-ï   *bil*-ip   kal-dï
       Stalin   traitor   person-PL-GEN   secret-3:POSS   know-CV   remain-PST-Ø(3)

'Stalin knew the secret of the traitors.'

b. Čïkkïnčï   adam-dar-nïn   sïr-ï   *Stalin-ge*
    traitor   person-PL-GEN   secret-3:POSS   Stalin-DAT

    bil-in-ip   kal-dï
    know-PASS-CV   remain-PST-Ø(3)
    'The secret of the traitors was known to Stalin.'   (=(14))

Each of the subjects in the active sentences in (19a)–(22a) is marked by a dative suffix in the corresponding passive sentence. As stated in section 1, both in Turkish and in Azerbaijanian, the dative suffix is used as a PAM with a small number of verbs that express an "unpleasant" event. As observed in (19)–(22), it appears that dative-agent-passives in Kyrgyz may be limited to an "unpleasant" event as well as Turkish and Azerbaijanian; however, it is not true. Dative-agent-passives can be used to express other than an "unpleasant" event in Kyrgyz, as illustrated below.

(23) a. *Ata-m*   meni   *makta*-dï
        father-1SG:POSS   I:ACC   praise-PST-Ø(3)
        'My father praised me up.'

    b. Men   *ata-m-a*   *makta-l*-dï-m
        I   father-1SG:POSS-DAT   praise-PASS-PST-1SG
        'I was praised by my father.'

(24) a. *Apa-m*   üy-dün   ič-i-n   *jïyna*-dï
        mother-1SG:POSS   house-GEN   inside-3:POSS-ACC   pick.up-PST-Ø(3)
        'My mother cleaned up inside of the house.'

    b. Üy-dün   ič-i   *apa-m-a*   *jïyna-l*-dï
        house-GEN   inside-3:POSS   mother-1SG:POSS-DAT   pick.up-PASS-PST-Ø(3)
        'The inside of the house was cleaned up by my mother.'

(25) a. "Itelgi"   ordo-su-nda   adis-ter   kuš-tar-dï   *bag-ïp*   jat-a-t
        falcon   center-3:POSS-LOC   expert-PL   bird-PL-ACC   raise-CV   lie-PRES-3
        'At the Falcon Center the experts are taking care of birds.'

    b. "Itelgi"   ordo-su-nda   kuš-tar   adis-ter-ge   *bag-ïl-ïp*   jat-a-t
                                  bird-PL   expert-PL-DAT   raise-PASS-CV   lie-PRES-3
        'At the Falcon Center birds are taken care of by the experts.'

(26) a. Üč   *jigit*   ölkö-nün   namïs-ï-n   *korgo*-du
        3   young.man   nation-GEN   dignity-3:POSS-ACC   protect-PST-Ø(3)
        'The three young men protected the nation's honor.'

    b. Ölkö-nün   namïs-ï   üč   *jigit-ke*   *korgo-l*-du
        nation-GEN   dignity-3:POSS   3   young.man-DAT   protect-PASS-PST-Ø(3)
        'The nation's honor was protected by the three young men.'

2.3.2 The cases where the dative-agent-passives are not allowed

As observed in the previous section, passive agents are typically marked by a dative suffix in Kyrgyz. However, if the corresponding active sentence contains a dative noun phrase as an argument of the verb, dative-agent-passives are avoided as it may cause the hearer to misunderstand the meaning of the dative complement.

When I say that "dative-agent-passives are avoided" it involves several steps, that is, from the step where no dative-agent-passive is allowed to the step where dative-agent-passives may be acceptable but preferably avoided. First, I observe the cases where no dative-agent-passive is allowed.

(27) Biylik *ee-ler-i-ge* köp ubada-lar *ber-il*-di
 authority owner-PL-3:POSS-DAT many promise-PL give-PASS-PST-Ø(3)
 'Many promises were given to the people (*by the people) in authority.'

The dative noun phrase *eelerige* in (27) is always interpreted as the recipient and not as the agent of the verb *ber-*. If *eeleri* is to be expressed as the agent of the verb *ber-*, it should be marked by the ablative suffix or the postposition *tarabïnan*.

(28) Biylik *ee-ler-i* *tarab-ï-nan* köp ubada-lar *ber-il*-ip...
 authority owner-PL-3:POSS side-3:POSS-ABL many promise-PL give-PASS-CV
 'Many promises were given by the people in authority.' (RFE: 2004/11/06)[4]

In the following passive sentence, which contains the phrase *sokku ur-* 'to strike a blow', the dative complement is interpreted not as the agent of the verb *ur-* but as the recipient.

(29) *AKŠ*[5]*-ga* kïyratkïč sokku *ur-ul*-du
 USA-DAT destructive blow strike-PASS-PST-Ø(3)
 'A destructive blow was struck to/against the USA.'

The passive sentence in (29) can be assumed to be the corresponding passive sentence of the active sentence such as below.

(30) Terrorist-ter *AKŠ-ga* kïyratkïč sokku *ur*-du
 terrorist-PL USA-DAT destructive blow strike-PST-Ø(3)
 'The terrorists struck a destructive blow to/against the USA.'

The direct object of the active sentence in (30) is *sokku* 'a blow', while the recipient *AKŠ* is presented as indirect object marked by a dative suffix. The dative

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[4] The data is taken from the web-site: Radio Free Europe Kyrgyz website (=RFE) http://www.azattyk. org/
[5] *AKŠ*: *Amerika Košmoš Šïtattar(ï)*

complement *AKŠga* in the passive sentence in (29) never receives the interpretation as agent of the verb *ur-*, because the semantical property of the dative complement in the active sentence is maintained even when the verb is passivized.

In the case of passive sentences in (27) and (29), the dative complements whose meaning is maintained despite the passivization of the verbs can be regarded as the core arguments of the verbs. In this case, the meaning of the dative complements are always maintained in the corresponding passive sentences; however, there are some cases where the meaning of dative complements is maintained in passives even though they are not regarded as core arguments.

(31) a. Kat *Ayday-ga*   *jaz-ïl-*dï
      letter   Ayday-DAT   write-PASS-PST-Ø(3)
      'The letter was written for Ayday (*by Ayday).'

    b. Kat *Ayday-dan*   *jaz-ïl-*dï
      letter   Ayday-ABL   write-PASS-PST-Ø(3)
      'The letter was written by Ayday.'

Since the dative complement of the verb *jaz-* 'to write' is always understood as the recipient or the goal of the action, the passive agent should be marked by ablative suffix as in (31b). Strictly speaking, the recipient/goal of the action is only a periphrastic argument of the verb *jaz-*; however, its meaning is maintained even when the verb is passivized.

Similarly in the following instance that contains the verb *paydalan-* 'to use', the dative complement receives an interpretation not as the agent of the verb but as the goal/beneficiary of the action.

(32) Gaz   ušunday   *adam-dar-ga*   *paydalan-ïl-*a-t
     gas   like.this   person-PL-DAT   use-PASS-PRES-3
     'The gas is used for this kind of people.'   (RFE: 2004/12/04)

The sentence in (32) is taken from the speech of one person who was related to the case in which another person was abducted and then released after being tortured with gas. The victim of the case is only one, while the abductors were supposed to be more than one. In spite of such a context, the dative complement *ušunday adamdarga* is never interpreted as the agent of the action.

The verb *paydalan-* implies 'to use, to make use of', derived from the Arabic originated noun *payda* 'profit, benefit'. The verb takes the dative complement as the goal/beneficiary. The instance in (32) implies that the meaning of this dative complement is maintained even when the verb is passivized.

Although the dative complements that appear with such verbs as *jaz-* and *paydalan-* cannot be regarded as "core arguments" of the verb, they are something more than adjuncts, since their appearance depends on the verb or the core argument complements. Dixon and Aikhenvald (2000) term these types of complements as "extension to core." The dative complements as goal/beneficiary that occur with the verbs *jaz-* and *paydalan-* are considered to have special status as "extension to core." In this case as well as in the case of core arguments, such dative complements cannot bear the semantic function as agent when the verb is passivized.

Further, in the case of the following verb *jabdï-* 'to equip, supply', the recipient of the supply is marked by an accusative suffix, while the supplies are presented by the postposition *menen* 'with', as shown in (33).

(33) *Čet ölkö-lör*   Kïrgïzstan-da   Islamdïk   maanaydagï   uyum-dar-dï
     foreign.country-PL   Kyrgzstan-LOC   Islamic   attitude   organization-PL-ACC
    akča   menen   *jabdï-*p   tur-a-t
    money   with   supply-CV   stand-PRES-3
    'Foreign countries are supplying pro-Islamic organization with money in
    Kyrgyzstan.'

No dative complement appears with the verb *jabdï-*; however, the dative complement that appear with the passive verb *jabdï-l-*, as in (34), is never interpreted as agent; rather, it is interpreted as recipient.

(34) Kïrgïzstan-da   Islamdïk   maanaydagï   uyum-dar
    Kyrgzstan-LOC   Islamic   attitude   organization-PL
    čet ölkö-lör-dön   /*čet ölkö-lör-gö   *jabdï-l-*p   tur-a-t
    foreign.country-PL-ABL   (*foreign.country-PL-DAT)   supply-PASS-CV   stand-PRES-3
    'In Kyrgyzstan pro-Islamic organization is being supplied by foreign countries.'

The dative complement is neither a core argument nor an "extension to core," since no dative complement is involved in the active sentence with the verb *jabdï-*. However, with verbs such as *jabdï-*, which imply movement or transfer of something, dative complements are always related to the goals of the action—the recipients. Therefore, the dative suffix can never mark the passive agent in (34).

Now I shall focus on the cases where dative-agent-passives may be acceptable but preferably avoided. Some dative complements in active sentences express the purpose of the action denoted by the verb. The dative complement in (35a) expresses "benefactive" and the one in (35b) expresses "desiderative."

(35) a. Ayša *bala-sï-na* koy-du *bag-ïp* tur-a-t
Aysha child-3:POSS-DAT sheep-ACC raise-CV stand-PRES-3
'Aysha is raising the sheep for her child.'

   b. Tuugan-ïbïz Almaz *akča-ga* küyöö-m Akimbek-ti
relative-1PL:POSS Almaz money-DAT husband-1SG:POSS Akimbek-ACC
muuzda-p *öl-tür*-dü
slit.throat-CV die-CAUS-PST-Ø(3)
'Our relative Almaz murdered my husband Akimbek over money.'

When the corresponding passive sentences contain dative complements like above, the dative complements can be interpreted as either the purpose of the action or the agent of the action.

(36) a. Koy *baldar-ga* *bag-ïl-ïp* jat-a-t
sheep children-DAT raise-PASS-CV lie-PRES-3
'The sheep is being raised for children/ by children.'

   b. Akimbek *mamleket-ke* *öl-tür-il*-dü
Akimbek nation-DAT die-CAUS-PASS-PST-Ø(3)
'Akimbek was murdered for the good of the nation/ by the nation.'

Although the context decides which interpretation should be prioritized, dative-agent-passives are usually avoided because dative marking may cause the hearer to misunderstand.

2.3.3 Ablative-agent-passives
The ablative suffix can mark passive agents as I have observed in section 2.1; however, it seems that the ablative complement in a passive sentence only presents the cause of the event or the source of the action in most of the cases. That is, an ablative suffix is regarded as a PAM when the expression of the cause of the event or the source of the action coincides with the expression of the agent of the action. This observation is concerned with the two constraints on ablative-agent-passives discussed below. In section 2.3.3.2, I describe the cases where the ablative suffix appears to mark the passive agent itself.

2.3.3.1 Two constraints on ablative-agent-passives
Ablative-agent-passives are not allowed or preferably avoided in the following two cases:
i) When the corresponding active sentence contains an ablative complement, or, when a passive sentence may contain an ablative complement other than agentive

phrase, the ablative-agent-passives are avoided because ablative marking may cause the hearer to misunderstand.

ii) Since an ablative phrase typically expresses the cause of the event or the source of the action, ablative-agent-passives are not accepted when the action by the agent directly affects the object.

First, I examine the former constraint. The verb *karma-* 'to catch' is often accompanied by the ablative complement which implies "whence, from where," as shown in (37).

(37) Ayša   Akmat-tï   akča   uurda-p   ǰat-kan   *ǰer-i-nen*   *karma*-dï
     Aysha   Akmat-ACC   money   steal-CV   lie-VN   place-3:POSS-ABL   catch-PST-Ø(3)
     'Aysha caught Akmat when he was stealing money.'   (=(20a))

The ablative complement in the corresponding passive sentence is not interpreted as the passive agent, as in (38), but rather interpreted as the source of the action.

(38) Akmat   akča   uurda-p   ǰat-kan   ǰer-i-nen
     Akmat   money   steal-CV   lie-VN:PST   place-3:POSS-ABL
     Ayša-dan   / Ayša-ga   karma-l-dï
     (Aysha-ABL)   Aysha-DAT   catch-PASS-PST-Ø(3)
     'Akmat was caught by Aysha when he was stealing money.'   (=(9a,b))

Incidentally, the ill-formedness of the ablative complement in (38) should not be attributed to the sequence of ablative phrases, since the Kyrgyz language is rather permissive with the sequence of ablative phrases compared to the sequence of accusative or dative phrases, as illustrated below.

(39) Al   *ǰoopkersizdig-i-nen*   *kïzmat-ï-nan*   bošot-ul-du
     he   irresponsibility-3:POSS-ABL   job-3:POSS-ABL   release-PASS-PST-Ø(3)
     'He was fired from his job because of his irresponsibility.'   (Tursunov 1987: 145)

The ablative complements that accompany passive verbs such as *al-ïn-* 'to be taken' and *uurda-l-* 'be stolen' are also usually interpreted as the source of the action, not as the agent of the action, as given in (40) and (41).

(40) Taškent-tin   borbor-u-ndagï   Karl   Marks-tïn   estelig-i
     Tashkent-GEN   center-3:POSS-located   Karl   Marx-GEN   statue-3:POSS
     kïzmatker-ler-den   /kïzmatker-ler-ge   al-ïn-ïp   tašta-l-dï
     (worker-PL-ABL)   worker-PL-DAT   take-PASS-CV   throw.away-PASS-PST-Ø(3)
     'The statue of Karl Marks at the center of Tashkent was removed by the workers'

(41) Nan   product-ï-lar   kombinat-ï-nan   60 kg   buuday
     bread   product-3:POSS-PL   combine-3:POSS-ABL   60 kg   wheat

eki   *uuru-dan   /uuru-ga   uurda-l-dï
2   (thief-ABL)   thief-DAT   steal-PASS-PST-Ø(3)

'From the large bakery 60 kg of wheat was stolen by two thieves.'

With verbs such as *karma*- 'to catch', *al*- 'to take', and *uurda*- 'to steal', which imply movement or transfer of something, the ablative complements are always related to the sources of the movement and hardly interpreted as passive agents.

Further, the verb *korgo*- 'to protect' is often accompanied by the ablative complement which implies "(to protect) from/against what." The ablative suffix cannot mark the passive agent because the implication of the ablative phrase is understood in the same way as in the active sentence, as shown in (42).

(42) a.   Ölkö-nün   namïs-ï   üč   *jigit-ke*   *korgo-l*-du
            nation-GEN   dignity-3:POSS   3   young.man-DAT   protect-PASS-PST-Ø(3)
            'The nation's honor was protected by the three young men.'   (=(26b))

     b.   Ölkö-nün   namïs-ï   üč   *jigit-ten*   *korgo-l*-du
            nation-GEN   dignity-3:POSS   3   young.man-ABL   protect-PASS-PST-Ø(3)
            'The nation's honor was protected against (the infringement by) the three young men.'

The dative complement *jigit-ke* in (42a) is understood as the agent of the verb *korgo*- 'to protect', namely, 'the one who protected the nation's honor', while the ablative complement *jigit-ten* in (42b) is interpreted as "the one who disgraced the nation."

The ablative complements that accompany such verbs as *karma*- 'to catch', *al*- 'to take', *uurda*- 'to steal', and *korgo*- 'to protect' cannot be regarded as the core arguments of the verbs; however, they are considered to have a status as "extension to core." Similar to the dative complements which I observed in section 2.3.2, any of these ablative complements cannot bear the semantic function as agent when the verbs are passivized.

Now, I shall describe the second constraint on ablative-agent-passives. As mentioned above, ablative-agent-passives are not accepted when the action of the agent directly affects the object. This constraint is attributed to the typical semantic function of ablative phrases. Ablative phrases in Kyrgyz usually express meanings such as follows:

i)   the source of the action: Ömürbek   *bazaar-dan*   kayt-tï
                                      Ömürbek   market-ABL   return-PST-Ø(3)
                                      'Ömürbek returned from the market.'

ii) starting point of time: Al *jaš-ï-nan*   iš-ke   bïš-ïp   kanïk-kan

he   youth-3:POSS-ABL   job-DAT   ripen-CV   know-VN:PST

'He has been proficient at the job from his earlier years.'

iii) partitive: Al Düšönkul-du   kekirtek-ten   mïkčï-dï

he   Düshönkul-ACC   throat-ABL   squeeze-PST-Ø(3)

'He grabbed Düshönkul's neck.' (Tursunov 1987: 144)

iv) material: Arïk mal-dïn   *et-i-nen*   jasa-l-gan   kolbasa

lean   livestock-GEN   meat-3:POSS-ABL   make-PASS-VN   sausage

'The sausage made from the meat of lean livestock.' (KED: 53)

v) cause: Eč bir kïlmïšker 《Men *ačkalïk-tan* ušu-ga bar-dï-m》

none   criminal   I   hunger-ABL   this-DAT   go-PST-1SG

de-p   ayt-a   elek

say-CV   say-CV   not.yet

'No criminal says that "I Int there because of hunger."'

vi) comparative criteria: Mosköö *Vašington-don* biyik

Moscow   Washington-ABL   big

'Moscow is bigger than Washington.' (KED: 93)

vii) origin: Asan *Talas-tan*

Asan   Talas-ABL

'Asan is from Talas.'

The reason the ablative-agent-passives in (11b) and (13b) are unacceptable is that it is not appropriate to mark the passive agents with the ablative suffix when the agents directly affect the patients. Both instances are repeated below.

(43) a. Uul-u-nun   ayag-ï   *it-ten   /*it-ke*   kab-ïl-dï

son-3:POSS-GEN   leg-3:POSS   (dog-ABL)   dog-DAT   bite-PASS-PST-Ø(3)

'His son's leg was bitten by the dog.' (=(11a,b))

b. Uul-u-nun   kol-u   *čirkey-den   /*čirkey-ge*   čag-ïl-dï

son-3:POSS-GEN   arm-3:POSS   (mosquito-ABL)   mosquito-DAT   sting-PASS-PST-Ø(3)

'His son's arm was bitten by a mosquito' (=(13a,b))

Similarly, with verbs such as *teb-il-* 'be kicked' and *öltür-ül-* 'be killed', the ablative suffix cannot mark the passive agents because the actions by the agents directly affect the patients.

(44) Bala *at-tan   /*at-ka*   teb-il-di

child   (horse-ABL)   horse-DAT   kick-PASS-PST-Ø(3)

'The child was kicked by the horse.'

(45) Küyöö-m   Akimbek *Almaz-dan   /*Almaz-ga*   öltür-ül-dü

husband-1SG:POSS   Akimbek   (Almaz-ABL)   Almaz-DAT   kill-PASS-PST-Ø(3)

'My husband Akimbek was murdered by Almaz.' (cf. (35b)(36b))

In the cases of verbs such as *makta-l-* 'be praised' and *jïyna-l-* 'be cleaned up', the

ablative-agent-passives are not accepted because the passive agents cannot be regarded as "the cause of the event" or "the source of the action."

(46) Men   *ata-m-dan*   /ata-m-a   makta-l-dï-m
    child   (father-1SG:POSS-ABL)   father-1SG:POSS-DAT   praise-PASS-PST-1SG
    'I was praised by my father.'   (cf. (23))

(47) Üy-dün   ič-i   *apa-m-dan*   /apa-m-a   jïyna-l-dï-m
    house-GEN   inside-3:POSS   (mother-1SG:POSS-ABL)   mother-1SG:POSS-DAT   kill-PASS-PST-Ø(3)

    'My husband Akimbek was murdered by Almaz.'   (cf. (24))

Despite of the instances given above, the ablative-agent-passive is accepted with the verb *bas-ïl-* 'be pressed', though the verb seems to denote the action that directly affects the patient.

(48) a.   Menin   but-um   *Marat-tan*   /Marat-ka   bas-ïl-dï
      my   foot-1SG:POSS   Marat-ABL   Marat-DAT   press-PASS-PST-Ø(3)
      'My foot was stepped on by Marat.'   (cf. (18a))
    b.   Koyon   *mašina-dan*   /mašina-ga   bas-ïl-dï
      rabbit   car-ABL   car-DAT   press-PASS-PST-Ø(3)
      'The rabbit was trampled down by the car.'

The acceptability of the ablative-agent-passive in (48a,b) is explained as follows: The passive agents in (48a,b) can be treated as the source of the action since the action denoted by the verb *bas-* 'to press' involves the action with force or weight in a given direction.

From what I have observed above, I can state that the ablative marking of passive agents is not a genuine passive-agent-marking but rather an expression of the cause of the event or the source of the action. This observation makes it possible to explain the distribution of the ablative-agent-passives in most cases. However, there are some idiosyncratic cases of the ablative-agent-passives, which cannot be explained from the typical usages of ablative phrases. This will be discussed in the following section.

2.3.3.2 Some idiosyncratic cases of ablative-agent-passives

With the passive verb *jeŋ-il-* 'be defeated', the passive agent can be marked by either ablative or dative suffix, as shown in (49).

(49) a.   *B*   *tob-u*   A   tob-u-n   *jeŋ*-di
      B   team-3:POSS   A   team-3:POSS-ACC   win-PASS-PST-Ø(3)
      'Team B defeated Team A.'

b. A tob-u *B tob-u-nan /tob-u-na* *ǰeŋ-il*-di
A team-3:POSS B team-3:POSS-ABL team-3:POSS-DAT win-PST-Ø(3)
'Team A was defeated by the Team B.'

The subject of the active sentence in (49a) can be presented in either ablative or dative form in the corresponding passive sentence in (49b). No significant difference is found between the ablative marking and the dative marking of the passive agent. What is distinctive about the verb *ǰeŋ-il-* is that the ablative suffix can mark the passive agent despite the fact that the active verb *ǰeŋ-* 'to win' can be accompanied by the ablative phrase which imply "from where," as shown in (50).

(50) a. *Taekvondo-don* düynölük čenpionat-ta Kïrgïzstandïk
taekwondo-ABL world championship-LOC Kyrgyzstan

üč ǰigit 11 medal' *ǰeŋ*-di
3 young.man 11 medal win-PST-Ø(3)
'(lit.)From taekwondo, at the world championship, Kyrgyzstan three young men won eleven medals.' (RFE: 2004/10/29)

b. *konkurs-tan ǰeŋ*-ip čïk-kan
contest-ABL win-CV come.out-VN:PST
'won the competition' (KED: 169)

It seems that the ablative suffix can mark both of the conflicting parties, since both "the winner" in (49b) and the expression of "from where the winner won a victory" in (50a,b) are presented in the ablative form. Comparing the fact that the ablative marking is usually avoided when it may cause the hearer to misunderstand, as I observed in the previous section, the ablative-agent-passives with the verb *ǰeŋ-il-* seem to be free from the constraint.

Similarly, with the verb *ut-ul-* 'to lose', the ablative suffix can mark "the winner" in (51), while "the loser" is also in the ablative form with the verb *ut-*, as in (52).

(51) Respublika-bïz-dïn komanda-sï *azerbayǰan-dar-ga*
republic-1PL:POSS-GEN team-3:POSS azerbaijan-PL-DAT
/azerbayǰan-dar-dan 2:3 eseb-i-nde *ut-ul*-up kal-dï
azerbaijan-PL-ABL 2:3 point-3:POSS-LOC win-PASS-CV remain-PST-Ø(3)
'Our republic's team lost to the Azerbaijanis 2 to 3.'

(52) Men *sen-den* köp akča *ut*-p al-dï-m
I you-ABL much money win-CV take-PST-1SG
'I won much money from you.' (KRS: 808)

It may be possible to consider that the ablative markings in (49b) and in (51) are the marking of passive agent itself, not the expression of the cause of the event or the

source of the action.

It should be noted that the passive verbs *ǰeŋ-il-* and *ut-ul-* have common characteristic that they do not allow inanimate subjects, as shown below.

(53) a. *11 medal' *ǰeŋ-il*-di
             11   medal   win-PASS-PST-Ø(3)

   b. *Köp akča *ut-ul*-du
             much   money   win-PASS-PST-Ø(3)

Both *ǰeŋ-* 'to win' and *ut-* 'to win, gain' have a long history in Turkic languages. I can find these verbs in the literature between the eighth and eleventh centuries: *er anı: yeŋdi:* 'the man defeated him' (EDPT: 942, DLT3-391), (a gambler) *tokuzo:n boš koñ utmi:š* 'won ninety ownerless sheep' (EDPT: 38, IrkB29). No further discussion on this issue is to be made in this paper; however, I can argue that the ablative-agent-passives with verbs such as *ǰeŋ-il-* and *ut-ul-* are a unique class, and they should be treated separately from other ablative-agent-passives.

3. Summary

In this paper, I examined the distribution of the passive agent markers in the Kyrgyz language and presented a descriptive account of the three types of passive agent markers. The postposition *tarabïnan* is used to mark the passive agents mostly in a written language. The dative suffix is the most typical passive agent marker in Kyrgyz; however, the dative marking is avoided when the dative phrase may be understood as other than the passive agent. The ablative suffix is also used to mark the passive agents; however, the ablative marking is avoided not only when the ablative phrase may cause the hearer to misunderstand, but also when the passive agent cannot be regarded as the cause of the event or the source of the action. Lastly, I mentioned a certain idiosyncratic cases of the ablative-agent-passives.

Abbreviations

ABL	ablative	PL	plural
ACC	accusative	POSP	postposition
CAUS	causative suffix	POSS	possessive
CV	converb	PRES	present/future tense
DAT	dative	PST	past tense
EV.COP	evidential copula	SG	singular
GEN	genitive	VN	verbal noun
LOC	locative	1/2/3	first/second/third person
PASS	passive suffix		

Azer.	Azerbaijanian	Old Kipč.	Old Kipchak
Khak.	Khakas	Turk.	Turkish
Kyrg.	Kyrgyz		

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キルギス語の受動文における動作主表示

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キルギス語において、対応する能動文を持つ典型的な受動文では、意味上の動作主を統語上で表示することができる。受動文において意味上の動作主を表示する方法には、与格によるもの、奪格によるもの、そして *tarabınan* という後置詞によるものの三通りの方法があるが、この三通りの動作主表示方法は、すべての受動文において許容されるわけではない。本論文では、キルギス語の受動文における三通りの動作主表示方法の分布を調べ、それぞれの動作主表示方法がどのような場合に許容され、どのような場合に許容されないかを、他のチュルク語に見られる受動文の動作主表示方法を考慮に入れながら、統語的、意味論的に考察し、記述を行った。

まず、後置詞 *tarabınan* による動作主表示は、主に文章語で用いられ、動詞の語彙的な制限が関わることなく、ほとんどの動詞に基づく受動文において用いることができる。しかし、*tarabınan* 後置詞句が他の意味に誤解されるおそれのある場合や、動作主が無生物である場合、また *tarabınan* が人称代名詞に後続する場合は、*tarabınan* による動作主表示が避けられる。

キルギス語の受動文における最も基本的な動作主表示方法は、与格による表示だと認められる。一方、奪格による表示は、動作主が「原因」や「起点」として捉えられる場合に限って容認される。どちらの場合も、与格や奪格による表示が動作主表示以外の意味に誤解されるおそれのある場合には避けられるが、このことは、動詞の項構造という観点から説明が可能である。すなわち、能動文において動詞の必須項、あるいはこれに準ずるような与格／奪格名詞句をとる場合には、その与格／奪格名詞句の意味が受動文においても保持され、与格／奪格による動作主表示が成り立たない。

また、いくつかの動詞に基づく受動文においては、特殊な振る舞いを見せる奪格動作主表示が見られることについても述べた。