## 8 INFLECTIONAL SUFFIXES

**Inflectional suffixes** indicate how the constituents of a sentence relate to each other, and express functional relations such as **case**, **person** and **tense**. In this chapter a description of the forms and attachment properties of these suffixes is provided; for the meaning and usage of each suffix, the reader is referred to the relevant chapters in Part 3.

In section 8.1 we discuss the inflectional suffixes that attach to nominals, and in section 8.2 those that attach to verbs. Sections 8.3 and 8.4 focus on the **copular markers** and **person markers**, both of which can attach to nominals and to verbs. Section 8.5 explains the attachment properties of suffixes that form subordinate clauses.

#### 8.1 NOMINAL INFLECTIONAL SUFFIXES

The suffixes that attach to nominals are those marking **number**, **possession** and case. The only number suffix is the plural suffix *-lAr*. The possessive suffixes indicate the person of the possessor. The order in which nominal inflectional suffixes appear on the stem is number-possession-case (see 14.3.1.2 (38) for an exception):

These forms can further be combined with the copular markers (8.3.2), *-DIr* (8.3.3) and person markers (8.4) to form **predicates** (12.1.1.2):

## 8.1.1 THE PLURAL SUFFIX -lAr

The suffix -lAr (14.3.1.1) is used primarily to indicate plurality: köpekler 'dogs', sular '[glasses, etc. of] water', sunlar 'these', sarılar 'the yellow [ones']; see 14.3.1.2 for other functions. This suffix should not be confused with the 3rd person plural marker -lAr which appears, as at the end of example (2) above, on predicates to indicate subject agreement (8.4 and 12.2.2).

## 8.1.2 POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES

The forms of the possessive suffix are:

1st person singular		-(I)m	'my'
2nd person singular	(familiar)	-(I)n	'your'
	(formal)	-(I)nIz	'your'
3rd person singular		-(s)I(n)	'his', 'her', 'its', 'their'
1st person plural		-(I)mIz	'our'
2nd person plural		-(I)nIz	'your'
3rd person plural		-lArI(n)	'their'

## Examples:

ev-im	'my house'	araba- <b>m</b>	'my car'
ev <b>-in</b>	'your house' (familiar)	araba- <b>n</b>	'your car' (familiar)
ev <b>-iniz</b>	'your house' (formal)	araba- <b>nız</b>	'your car' (formal)
ev <b>-i</b>	'his/her/their house'	araba- <b>sı</b>	'his/her/their car'
ev <b>-imiz</b>	'our house'	araba- <b>mız</b>	'our car'
ev <b>-iniz</b>	'your house'	araba- <b>nız</b>	'your car'
ev <b>-leri</b>	'their house(s)'	araba- <b>ları</b>	'their car(s)'

For the number ambiguity in the 3rd person forms, see 14.3.2 and 14.4.

Apart from indicating the possessor in a noun phrase (14.3.2, 14.4), possessive suffixes are also added to the subordinating suffixes *-DIK*, *-(y)AcAK*, *-mA* and *-(y)Iş* (8.5.1) to mark the subject of the subordinate clause: *ilgilendiğimiz* (*konular*) '(the topics) that we are interested in', *gidecekleri* (*ülke*) '(the country) that they will go to', *anlamanız* (*için*) 'so that you understand', (*kitabı*) *okuyuşu* 'his/her reading the book'. For a full discussion see Chapters 24–6.

Possessive suffixes can be followed by case markers: *odamda* 'in my room', the marker -(y)lA/ile 'with', 'by', 'and' (8.1.4): *annemle* 'with my mother', 'my mother and...' and to a limited extent by the adverbial suffix -CA (7.2.2.2): *kanımca* 'in my opinion'.

The 3rd person singular form -(s)I(n) appears as -(s)I when no other suffix follows it: tepesi 'its top', yüzü 'his/her face'. When it is followed by a case suffix or by the adverbial suffix -CA, it appears as -(s)In: tepesinde 'at its summit/top', yüzüne 'to his/her face', fikrince 'in his/her opinion'. Similarly, the 3rd person plural form -lArI(n) appears as -lArI when no other suffix follows. However, when there is a case suffix or -CA following it, it appears as -lArIn: elbiselerine 'to their dress(es)'. (See 14.4 for the ambiguity of forms containing the 3rd person plural possessive form, e.g. ev-lerin-e 'to their house(s)' and forms containing the plural suffix+3rd person singular possessive

marker, e.g. *ev-ler-in-e* 'to his/her houses', 'to their houses'. See 6.2 for other forms containing 'n'.) In this book, for reasons of simplicity, we use the forms *-(s)I* and *-lArI* when referring to these suffixes.

The suffix -(s)I has a number of functions in addition to those that it shares with the other possessive suffixes:

- (i) it marks the head of a noun compound: düğün pastası 'wedding cake' (10.2)
- (ii) it marks the head of a partitive construction: *kitaplardan üç tanesi* 'three of the books' (14.5.2–3)
- (iii) it forms pronominals from a variety of word classes: *burası* 'here', *içerisi* 'inside', *eskisi* 'the old one', *hiçbiri(si)* 'none of them' (18.3–4)
- (iv) it appears on (impersonal) verbal nouns which contain -*mA*: *okuması zor* '[it] is difficult to read' (8.5.1.2, 24.4.2.2)
- (v) it occurs in some composite suffixes: *anlamazmışçasına* 'as if uncomprehending' (8.5.2.2, 26.3.6).

## 8.1.3 CASE SUFFIXES

Turkish has five case suffixes:

- -(y)I marker of the accusative case: sarayı 'the palace (ACC)', suyu 'the water (ACC)', küçüğü 'the small one (ACC)'.
- -(y)A marker of the **dative** case: *Kars'a* 'to Kars', *dereye* '(in)to the river', *masaya* 'on (to) the table', size 'to you'.
- -DA marker of the **locative** case: *radyoda* 'on the radio', *evde* 'at home', *sepette* 'in the basket'.
- -DAn marker of the **ablative** case: *okuldan* 'from/of/out of (the) school', *sonuçtan* 'from/of the result', *sisten* 'from/of the fog'.
- -(n)In/- marker of the **genitive** case: *çocuğun* 'the child's', *Fatma'nın* 'Fatma's', *bahçenin* 'of Im the garden'. -Im attaches to 1st person pronouns: *benim* 'my', *bizim* 'our'.

The function of these suffixes is discussed in 14.3.3.

## 8.1.4 OTHER NOMINAL INFLECTIONAL MARKERS

This marker can have comitative, instrumental or conjunctive meaning. In all of these *(y)lA/ile* functions it appears predominantly in the suffixal form *-(y)lA*, and only rarely as the separate form *ile*. The comitative/instrumental marker forms postpositional phrases (17.3). Like the dative, locative and ablative case markers it attaches to noun phrases, enabling them to function as oblique objects (13.1.2.2) or adverbials (13.1.3). However, unlike the case suffixes it is unstressable (4.3.2):

Ahmét'**le** 'with Ahmet' (comitative), *kalémle* 'with a pen/ pencil' (instrumental), *baltáyla* 'with an axe' (instrumental). This marker also functions as a noun phrase conjunction: Ahmet'**le** Mehmet 'Ahmet and Mehmet', *kedimle* köpeğim 'my cat and my dog' (see 28.3.1.1 (ii)).

In the standard language, -(y)IA attaches to the genitive-marked forms of the following pronouns (i.e. **genitive-attracting pronouns**), except where the plural suffix -IAr is also present (see 17.2.1):

- (i) simple personal pronouns (18.1.1): benimle 'with me'
- (ii) demonstrative pronouns (18.2): *şununla* 'with this/that one'
- (iii) kim 'who' (19.2.1.1): kiminle 'with whom'.

The free-standing form ile is not used with genitive-attracting pronouns. In everyday speech, -(y)lA may be attached directly to pronouns without an intervening genitive case marker:  $\downarrow benle$  'with me',  $\downarrow sunla$  'with this/that one',  $\downarrow kimle$  'who with'. In very informal speech contexts 'l' may be pronounced as [n] and the marker itself may be followed by [n]:  $\downarrow Fatma'ynan$ ,  $\downarrow sunnan$ ,  $\downarrow kimnen$ .

This is a stressable suffix whose vowel is invariable except that, in some cases, it harmonizes ki(n) with a preceding 'ü': evdeki '(the one) in the house', oradaki '(the one) over there', sizinki 'yours', kizinki 'the one belonging to the girl', suyunki 'the one belonging to (the) water'. When it follows din 'yesterday' and gin 'day' (and words containing gin) it is generally pronounced (and spelt with) 'ü': buginki/buginki 'today's', dinki/dinki 'yesterday's'. In all other cases where it follows 'ü' it is more likely to be pronounced as 'i': giliinki 'that of the rose'. The consonant 'n' appears only when -ki is followed by a case suffix or -CA: evdekinde 'in/on/at the one in the house' (see 6.2). In this book, for reasons of simplicity, we refer to this suffix as -ki. (The suffix -ki should not be confused with the clitic ki, for which see 11.1.1.4)

-*ki* has two main functions: to form attributive adjectival phrases (15.3.6–7) and to form pronominal expressions (18.5).

These are formed in the following ways:

(i) By attaching -ki directly to adverbials which express a location in time: yarınki (gazete) 'tomorrow's (newspaper)', bu seneki (portakallar) 'this year's oranges', her zamanki 'the usual (one)'.
 Note that where the temporal adverbial takes the form of a -(s)I compound, the compound marker is deleted

before the affixation of -ki: Salı günkü (programlar) 'Tuesday's (programmes)'.

- (ii) By attaching -ki to noun phrases and postpositions which contain the locative suffix: sokaktaki araba 'the car on the street', önünüzdeki 'the one in front of you'.
- (iii) By attaching -ki to noun phrases which contain the genitive suffix: seninki 'yours', adamınki 'the man's [one]', odanınki 'the one belonging to the room'. (Expressions formed in this way are pronominal only.)

Any *pronominal* form containing -ki can be further inflected by adding:

- (i) the plural suffix -lAr: masadakiler 'the ones on the table', masanınkiler 'the ones which belong to the table'. As a result, words which contain -ki can sometimes have more than one plural suffix: masalardakiler 'the ones on the tables'.
- (ii) a case suffix, which can be added to a singular or plural form: bendekine 'to the one that I have', evinkileri 'the ones belonging to the house (ACC)', bahçedekinden 'of/from the one in the garden'. As a result, words which contain -ki can sometimes have more than one locative or genitive marker: anneminkinin (renai) '(the colour) of my mother's one', evdekilerde

'at/on/in the ones in the house'.

(iii) one of the markers -(y)lA/ile (see above), -CA 'according to', 'by' (16.1.6), or -sIz 'without' (7.2.2.2). The combination with -(y)lA/ile is regular: sokaktakiyle 'with the one on the street', mutfaktakilerle 'with the ones in the kitchen', arabanınkiyle 'with the one belonging to the car', perdeninkilerle 'with the ones belonging to the curtain'. On the rare occasions when -ki combines with -CA or -sIz, these attach to the plural form: Amerika'dakilerce 'by the ones in America', bahçedekilersiz 'without the ones in the garden'.

-ki can combine with a genitive or locative form that already contains -ki:

```
ev-de-ki-ler-in-kithe one belonging to those at home'anne-m-in-kin-de-kithe one on my mother's'
```

## 8.2 VERBAL INFLECTIONAL SUFFIXES

There are two distinct types of verb form in Turkish: **finite** and **non-finite**.

(i) Finite verb forms:

The inflectional suffixes that can appear in finite verb forms are the following:

```
voice suffixes (8.2.1)
the negative marker (8.2.2)
tense/aspect/modality markers (8.2.3)
copular markers (8.3)
person markers (8.4)
```

A finite verb form in Turkish obligatorily contains a **person marker** from groups 1–4 (8.4), which indicates the subject:

```
(3) Otur-acağ-ım. sit.down-FUT-1SG 'I'm going to sit down.'
```

Note that a 3rd person singular subject is indicated by the *absence* of any person marker from groups 1, 2 and 4:

```
(4) Şu anda evden çık-tı.
leave-PF
'S/he has just left the house.'
```

In all forms except the 2nd person imperative and the 3rd person optative, a verb contains one of the **tense/aspect/modality** suffixes from position 3 (8.2.3):

```
(5) Yüz-üyor-uz.
swim-IMPF-1PL
'We're swimming.'
```

Voice suffixes, the negative marker and copular markers may also occur in finite verb forms:

(6) Yık-**ıl-ma**-mıs-**tı**. demolish-PASS-NEG-PF-P.COP 'It had not been demolished.'

The order in which the suffixes appear in a finite verb form is:

ROOT-VOICE-NEGATION-TENSE/ASPECT/MODALITY-COPULAR MARKER-PERSON MARKER-DIr

(7) Döğ -üş -tür -t -ül -me -yebil-iyor muş -dur. -sunuz -REC-CAUS-CAUS-PASS -NEG -PSB-IMPF -EV.COP beat 2PL -GM VOICE NEGATIVE TAM COPULAR PERSON **MODALITY** 

**SUFFIXES** MARKER SUFFIXES MARKER MARKER **MARKER** 

'It is presumably the case that you sometimes were not made to fight.'

Irregular combinations are explained in the description of individual suffixes.

(ii) Non-finite verb forms:

The inflectional suffixes that can appear in non-finite verb forms are the following:

voice suffixes (8.2.1)

the negative marker (8.2.2)

tense/aspect/modality markers from positions 1 and/or 2 (8.2.3.1–2)

subordinating suffixes (8.5)

nominal inflectional suffixes (8.1)

Non-finite verb forms obligatorily contain a subordinating suffix (also called a subordinator). Because these are nominalized forms, most of them can be followed by some or all of the nominal suffixes described in 8.1 (see 8.5 for details).

(8) sev-mek-le like-SUB-INS 'by loving [him/her/it]'

The order of the suffixes in a non-finite verb form is the following:

ROOT-VOICE-NEGATION-SUBORDINATING

SUFFIX-NOMINAL

INFLECTIONAL MARKERS

(9) bak -dan -tır -ma -dığ check -CAUS -SUB -NEG -2SG.POSS ABL

VOICE NEGATIVE SUBORDINATOR PERSON **CASE** 

### SUFFIX MARKER

MARKER

MARK

ER

-Art çökert- 'crush'

'because you haven't had [it] checked', 'from the one you didn't have checked'

#### 8.2.1 VOICE SUFFIXES

These are the **causative**, **passive**, **reflexive** and **reciprocal** suffixes. Voice suffixes come immediately after the verb root preceding all other suffixes. The only exception to this is the combination of the passive suffix with -(y)Iver (see 8.2.3.2). For the effect a voice suffix has on the structure of a clause see 13.2, and for the ordering of voice suffixes see 13.2.4.

## 8.2.1.1 Causative

The causative suffix attaches to **transitive** and **intransitive verb** stems. It has the following forms:

```
- yaptır- 'make/let [s.o.] do/make/build [s.t.]', koydur- 'have/make [s.o.] put [s.t.] [s.w.]',
DIr öldür- 'kill', doldur- 'fill [s.t.]'
-t kapat- 'close [s.t.]', daralt- 'reduce', uyut- 'make/let [s.o.] sleep'
-It sarkıt- 'dangle [s.t.]', ürktüt- 'scare', korkut- 'scare'
-Ir düşür- 'drop', bitir- 'finish [s.t.]', duyur- 'announce', pişir- 'cook [s.t.]'
-Ar çıkar- 'extract', gider- 'remove'
```

Which form of the causative suffix occurs with any particular verb stem is predictable, at least in part, from the form of the stem. Around thirty monosyllabic stems, most of which are intransitive, combine with one of the forms -*It*, -*Ir*, *Ar* or -*Art*. Polysyllabic stems ending in a vowel, 'l' or 'r' combine with -*t*. In all other circumstances -*DIr* is used.

It is possible for more than one causative suffix to appear simultaneously on a single verb stem. Such combinations conform to the rules given above. Thus -t follows -DIr, -Ir or -Ar (as these suffixes end in 'r') and -DIr follows -t or -Art: bit-ir-t-tir-di 's/he arranged for it to be finished'. For the syntactic properties of multiple causativization see 13.2.1.1.

Some intransitive verbs do not combine with the causative suffix, and instead have unrelated transitive counterparts. For example, the transitive counterpart of *gir-* 'enter' is *sok-* 'insert' (also 'allow to enter'). These can be further causativized (as in *soktur-*). Another irregular verb is *em-* 'suck', for which the transitive form is *emzir-* 'breastfeed'. Some verbs which contain a form that looks like a causative suffix are not derived directly from an existing non-causative root, e.g. *getir-* 'bring', *götür-* 'take', *kaldur-* 'raise' (derived from *kalk-* 'rise'), none of which contain separable roots.

The passive suffix -II/(I)n (can be attached to transitive and intransitive stems. It turns a transitive verb into an intransitive one, as in *sev-* 'love'—*sevil-* 'be loved', or an intransitive verb into a subjectless predicate (see 13.2.2.3–4).

The passive suffix has the following forms:

- -n aran- 'be searched (for)', 'be rung up', tikan- 'be blocked', yikan- 'be washed'
- -In bilin- 'be known', delin- 'be punctured/perforated'
- -Il yapıl- 'be done/made/built', görül- 'be seen'

-*n* is attached to stems ending in a vowel, -*In* is attached to stems ending with the consonant '1', and -*Il* is attached to stems ending with all other consonants.

## 8.2.1.3 Reflexive

The reflexive suffix -(I)n is an unproductive suffix, which combines only with a few roots. It attaches to transitive verbs, to form an intransitive verb denoting an action that one can perform on or for oneself.

 $y_1ka_2$  'wash [s.t.]' $y_1ka_2$  'have a bath/shower' $kurula_2$  'dry [s.t.]' $kurula_2$  'dry oneself' $tara_2$  'comb' $tara_2$  'comb one's hair' $\ddot{o}$ rt- 'cover' $\ddot{o}$   $\ddot{o}$   $\ddot{v}$  'cover oneself' $sar_2$  'wrap' (tr.) $\ddot{o}$   $\ddot{o$ 

For the syntactic effects of reflexivization see 13.2.3.1. For the non-reflexive usage of the suffix -(*I*)*n* see 7.2.1.2.

Note that the reflexive suffix shares a form with the passive suffix. As a result, the reflexive and passive forms of some verbs are identical, e.g. *yıkan*- can mean 'be washed (by someone)' or 'have a bath/shower', depending on the context.

## 8.2.1.4 Reciprocal

The reciprocal suffix -(I)*s* combines with only a few transitive and intransitive stems, and indicates mutual involvement in an action. When it combines with a transitive stem it usually indicates the reciprocity of an action (i.e. A does x to B and B does x to A):

aras- 'ring each other',  $\ddot{o}p\ddot{u}s$ - 'kiss each other', sevis- 'make love', 'love each other',  $\ddot{g}\ddot{o}r\ddot{u}s$ - 'see/meet up with each other'

Stems containing the reciprocal suffix tend not to combine with the similar-sounding verbal noun suffix  $-(y)I_{\S}$  (8.5.2.1). Instead they combine with -mA (8.5.1.2). Some verbs that seem to have a segment identical to a reciprocal suffix are not transparently related to a non-reciprocal stem, e.g.  $konu_{\S}$ - 'speak'. (See also  $-(I)_{\S}$ , 7.2.1.2 and  $-lA_{\S}$  7.2.2.1.)

## 8.2.2 THE NEGATIVE MARKER

The negative marker -*mA* is situated between voice suffixes and tense/ aspect/modality markers. It is unstressable and causes the syllable before it to receive stress, except in most combinations with the aorist suffix (see 8.2.3.3 for details): *anlámadık* 'we did not understand', *anlaşílmasın* 'let it not be understood', *anlamáz* 's/he does not understand'. (See 4.3.2 (viii), 4.3.2.1 and 11.2.2 for the combination of -*mA* with other unstressable suffixes and clitics.) There are irregularities in the combination of the negative marker with:

- (i) the agrist -(A/I)r (producing the combination -mA-z) (8.2.3.3)
- (ii) the possibility suffix -(y)A (8.2.3.1)
- (iii) the non-premeditative suffix -(y)Iver (8.2.3.2).

The vowel of the negative suffix becomes a high vowel ('1' or 'i') when it is followed by -(I)yor (8.2.3.3), -(y)AcAk (8.2.3.3) and a few other suffixes beginning with 'y' (see 2.6). In the case of the -mA+-(I)yor combination the vowel also undergoes vowel harmony like an I-type suffix (3.2.1), which is reflected in the orthography: anlamyor 's/he does not understand', qörmüyor 's/he does not see' (see 2.6 for other examples).

The negative marker occurs in composite suffixes such as -*mAdAn* and -*mAzdAn* (8.5.2.2). For its occurrence in compound verb forms see 20.1.2.

### 8.2.3 TENSE/ASPECT/MODALITY MARKERS

Most of the suffixes falling into this group have more than one function, and may simultaneously mark tense, aspect and/or modality. The syntactic and semantic properties of these suffixes are discussed in detail in Chapters 21 and 27, and are summarized in Appendix 2.

When tense/aspect/modality markers co-occur, they appear in the order given below:

1	2	3	4	5
			Copular markers	
-(y)A (possibility)	-(y)Abil (possibility)	-DI (perfective)	-(y)DI (past copula)	-DIr
	-(y)Iver (non- premeditative)	- <i>mIş</i> (perfective/ evidential)	-(y)mIş (evidential copula)	(generalizing modality)
	∇-(y)Agel	-sA (conditional)	-(y)sA (conditional copula)	
	∇ -( <i>y</i> )Ayaz	-( <i>A/I</i> ) <i>r</i> /-z (aorist)		

The following points should be noted:

(i) Suffixes which are in the same column cannot co-occur on a single stem.

-(y)A optative

**(ii)** Finite verbs (except for imperative forms and 3rd person optative forms) obligatorily contain a suffix from position 3:

(10) Geç-ti-n.
pass-PF-2SG
3
'You've passed.'
(11) Bitir-e-me-miş-tir.
finish-PSB-NEG-PF-GM
1 3 5
'S/he has probably not been able to finish [it]'.
(12) Oku-yabil-ecek-miş.
read-PSB-FUT-EV.COP
2 3 4
Apparently s/he will be able to read [it].'

- (iii) The markers in positions 4–5 can also attach directly to a subject complement, to *değil* or to the existential expressions *var/yok* in nominal sentences (8.3, 12.1.1.2).
  - (13) Yazın Paris-te-**ydi**-k.
    Paris-LOC-P.COP-1PL

    4

    'We *were* in Paris during the summer.'
    (14) Mutlaka zamanı var-**dır**.
    existent-GM

    5
- **(iv)** Non-finite verb forms obligatorily contain a subordinating suffix (8.5), but they can also contain suffixes from positions 1–2.

(15) otur-**abil**-mek sit-PSB-VN **2** 'to *be able* to sit [down]'

'I'm sure s/he has the time.'

#### 8.2.3.1 Position 1

- The possibility suffix -(y)A (21.4.2.1) appears only in negative verb forms. It is the only (y)A tense/aspect/modality suffix that precedes the negative suffix: bakamayız 'we cannot look', göremiyordur 's/he probably can't see'. It can co-occur with the possibility suffix -(y)Abil from position 2: bakamayabiliriz 'we may/might not be able to look'.

## 8.2.3.2 Position 2

The suffixes in this group consist of one of the verb roots *bil*- 'know', *ver*-'give', *yaz*-'make a mistake (obs.)', *dur*- 'stay' and *kal*- 'remain'. All of these suffixes except for - (*y*)*Abil* are stressed on the first syllable (4.3.1 (iii)). They occur with one of the suffixes in position 3.

- The possibility suffix -(y)Abil (21.4.2.1) can occur with any of the suffixes in position 3: (y)Abil gidebileceğim 'I shall be able to go', görebildiğim '(the one) that I can see'. See also -(y)A
- This suffix can occur with all the suffixes in position 3 except for -mAktA: bitirivermiş (y)Iver 'apparently s/he finished [it] without effort', pişiriverirdim 'I would just have cooked it'. It can either follow or, less commonly, precede the negative suffix: yapmayıverdi 's/he simply didn't do [it]', yapıvermedi 's/he refrained from simply doing [it]'. Although it follows voice suffixes in general, it may precede the passive suffix: yapılıverdi/yapıverildi 'it was suddenly done'.

## $\nabla$ -(y)Agel, $\nabla$ -(y)Adur, $\nabla$ -(y)Ayaz $\nabla$ -(y)Akal

These markers mostly occur in (semi-)lexicalized forms, or are obsolescent: *yapagelmişizdir* 'we have gone on doing [it]', *düşeyazdım* 'I almost fell'. The least lexicalized one is *-(y)Adur: okuyadur* 'go on reading' (13.3.1.1).

## 8.2.3.3 Position 3

- -DI The **perfective** suffix can be followed by a person marker from group 1, one of the copular markers -(y)DI or -(y)sA, but not by -(y)mIş or -DIr: olduk 'we became', gittiydin 'you had left' (see -(y)DI below), beklediysen 'if you have waited'.
- The **evidential/perfective** suffix can be followed by a person marker from group 2, any one *mIş* of the copular markers, and by *-DIr*. When it is *not* followed by another tense/aspect/
  - modality marker, -mlş indicates both evidentiality and perfectivity: koşmuş 'apparently s/he ran/has run', unutmuşum 'I seem to have forgotten'. When it is followed by a copular marker or -DIr, it indicates only perfectivity: başlamıştık 'we had started', anlamamışsa 'if s/he has not understood', görmüşlerdir 'they must have seen [it]'. Similarly, when -mlş is followed by an auxiliary verb in compound verb forms (13.3.1.2) it indicates only perfectivity: yapmış olduk 'we have done [it]', görmüş bulunuyorum 'I have seen [it]'.
- -sA The **conditional** suffix can be followed by a person marker from group 1, or by -(y)DI or -(y)mIş, but not by -(y)sA or -DIr: düşünsen 'if you thought/were to think', hazırla-masaydın 'if you had not prepared [it]'. In colloquial contexts -sA can be replaced by the optative suffix -(y)A (see below) when followed by a copular marker: arasaydın/arayaydın 'if (only) you had rung', 'you should have rung'.

The aorist suffix is phonologically irregular, as it displays a variation between six vowels, (A/I)r/-'1', 'i', 'u', 'a' and 'e'. It is also the only suffix that has a different form (-z) when used with the negative marker. The agrist suffix may be followed by a person marker from group 2, or any one of the copular markers, but not by -DIr: okurum 'I read', gülerdin 'you used to/would laugh'.

The distribution of the different forms is as follows:

- -(I)r attaches to polysyllabic stems: konuşur 's/he speaks', koparır 's/he breaks [it]', and to monosyllabic stems which already contain a suffix: ye-n-ir 'it is eaten' (but yen-er 's/he beats [s.o]').
- (ii) Monosyllabic verbs ending in 'l' or 'r' are unpredict in terms of which form they combine with. Of the forty-odd monosyllabic stems that end in 'l' or 'r', the following combine with -Ir: al- 'take', bil- 'know', bul- 'find', dur- 'stop', gel-'come', gör- 'see', kal- 'stay', 'remain', ol- 'be', öl- 'die', var- 'reach', ver- 'give', vur- 'hit': bilir 's/he knows', kalır 's/he stays', görür 's/he sees', bulur 's/he finds'. Other stems ending in 'l' or 'r' combine with -Ar: örer 's/he knits', kurar 's/he establishes'.
- (iii) Monosyllabic verbs ending in any other consonant combine with -Ar, with the exception of san- 'imagine': sanırım 'I think'.
- (iv) The way in which the agrist suffix combines with the negative suffix -mA is highly irregular:
- (a) The suffix itself takes a completely different form, -z, when it follows -mA: *gitmez* 's/he doesn't/won't/ wouldn't go', anlamazsın 'you wouldn't understand'.
- **(b)** Where a negative agrist verb form does not contain a copular marker, the -z is deleted in the 1st person singular and plural: yemem 'I won't/wouldn't eat', kalmayız 'we won't/wouldn't stay'. This means that, in these particular forms, the aorist is expressed by the absence of a distinct suffix.
- (c) Unlike the negative suffix in other contexts (8.2.2), the negative-agrist combination -mAz is stressed, except where (i) it is preceded by the possibility suffix -(y)A, or (ii) it is followed by the 3rd person plural marker -lAr.

The table below shows the negative-agrist forms of the verb bak- 'look', both with and without the presence of a copular marker. In the second column the past copula -(y)DI is used as an example of a copular marker.

	Negative+aorist	Negative+aorist+ copular marker
1st person sg.	bak <b>-má</b> -m	bak- <b>má</b> -z-dı-m
2nd person sg.	bak <b>-má</b> -z-sın	bak- <b>má</b> -z-dı-n
3rd person sg.	bak <b>-má-</b> z	bak- <b>má</b> -z-dı
1st person pl.	bak <b>-má-</b> yız	bak- <b>má</b> -z-dı-k
2nd person pl.	bak <b>-má</b> -z-sınız	bak- <b>má</b> -z-dı-nız
3rd person pl.	bak <b>-ma-</b> z-lár	bak- <b>ma</b> -z-lár-dı

The future suffix may be followed by a person marker from group 2, any one of the (y)AcAK conular markers or by -DIr: aeleceğim 'I shall come', silecektiniz 'vou were going to erase [it]', *bulacaktır* 'I'm sure s/he'll find [it]'.

Despite being written with 'a' or 'e', the initial syllable of the future suffix is often pronounced like an I-type suffix (3.2.1): *kalacak* 's/he will stay' [khaht3akh] *dönecek* 's/he will return' [dönüdech]. When this suffix is followed by a person marker starting with a vowel, the final 'k' is replaced by 'ğ' (1.1.1.1). In formal speech, the inflectional sections of forms such as *seveceğim* 'I will love' and *alacağım* 'I am

going to take [it]' are pronounced as two consecutive vowels with stress on 'ce' or 'ca': [sevecim] or [sevicim], [alaciam] or [aliciam]. But in everyday speech the combination of the future marker with person markers has a contracted version.

as shown for the verb *in-* 'go/come down' in the table below. See also 2.6 for a general discussion of the effect of the initial *-(v)* of a suffix on a preceding yowel.

## Future marker -(y)AcAk+person marking:

	Formal	Familiar
1st p. sg. ineceğim	<code>[ineʤéim]/[iniʤéim]</code>	$_{\downarrow \lbrack}$ ini $oldsymbol{\dot{c}}$ źźć $oldsymbol{m}_{]}$
2nd p. sg. ineceksin	[ineckécsin][inickécsin]	$_{\downarrow \lbrack}$ ini $d_{3}$ ǽn $_{]}$
3rd p.sg. inecek	[ineʤécʰ][iniʤécʰ]	[iniʤécʰ]
1st p. pl. <i>ineceğiz</i>	[ineώiz]/[iniώiz]	<sub>↓[</sub> iniʤǽz]
2nd p. pl. ineceksiniz	[inedjécsiniz][inidjécsiniz]	$_{\downarrow \lbrack}$ ini $d_{\overline{J}}$ æ:ní $z_{ brace}$
3rd p.pl. inecekler	ineckeclær inickeclær	inidzeclæç

In the case of forms with back vowels, the [a] in the future suffix is replaced by [a]: [a]: [a] 'you are going to write', etc.

- The **imperfective** suffix *-(I)yor* contains the obsolete verb stem *yor-*, which is invariable. (*I)yor* Except where the negative marker is present, *yor-* assigns stress to the preceding vowel, whether this vowel is *-(I)* or the final vowel of the stem that *-(I)yor* attaches to: *koşúyor* 's/he runs', *korúyor* 's/he protects'. (For the effect of the negative suffix on word stress see 4.3.2.1.)

-(I)yor combines regularly with stems ending in a consonant: sattyor 's/he sells/is selling', görüyor 's/he sees'. Stems ending in a vowel combine with the component 'yor'. In the case of stems ending in a high vowel ('i', 'ı', 'ü' or 'u') 'yor' is added directly to the stem: eriyor 'it melts/is melting', kuruyor 'it dries/is drying'. However, where a stem ends in 'a' or 'e', the combination with 'yor' causes this vowel to become high (see 2.6). This high vowel is then subject to vowel harmony (3.2.1):

anla- 'understand  $\rightarrow$  anlayor 's/he understands' ok sa- 'caress'  $\rightarrow$  ok suy or 's/he caresses/is caressing'

bekle- 'wait' bekliyor 's/he waits/is waiting'

özle- 'miss' özlüyor 's/he misses'

The same situation occurs when -(I)yor is attached to the negative marker:

saklamıyor 's/he doesn't hide/ is not hiding' saklama- 'not hide' söyleme- 'not tell' söylemiyor 's/he doesn't tell/ isn't telling'

> -(I)yor may be followed by a person marker from group 2, any one of the copular markers or by *-DIr: çalışıyorum* 'I work/am working', *arıyordu* 's/he was looking for [it]', anlıyorsa 'if s/he understands [it]', qidiyordur 's/he's probably going'. In colloquial speech the 'r' at the end of the suffix is often not pronounced when it is followed by a suffix

> beginning with a consonant: gidiyorsun 's/he goes/is going' [Jidijosun]/ [Jidíjorsun], ödüyorduk 'we were paying', [Ödújodukh]/ [Ödújordukh].

> or when it is at the end of a word: *sariyor* 's/he wraps' [sarí**jo**]/[**saríjo**]. 'r' is retained when it is followed by a suffix beginning with a vowel: seviyorum 'I love/like' [sevíjorum].

- The obligative suffix (21.4.2.2) may be followed by a person marker from group 2 or by -mAlI any one of the copular markers: oturmamalisin 'you must not sit', anlattırmaliydilar 'they should have made [him/her] tell [the story]'. In formal texts it can also be followed by -DIr when the verb is in the 3rd person singular or plural form: *qitmelidir(ler)* 's/he/(they) should go', *yapılmamalıdır* 'it should not be done'.
- This is an **imperfective** suffix which is mostly used in formal contexts. It may be followed by a person marker from group 2 or any one of the copular markers: okumaktasın 'you are mAktA(in the process of) reading', bitirmekteydim 'I was (in the process of) finishing'. It can also be followed by *-DIr* when the verb is in the 3rd person singular or plural form: dönmektedirler 'they are (in the process of) returning', görülmemektedir 'it is not seen/observed'
- The **optative** suffix occurs mostly in the 1st person singular and plural forms: *gideyim* 'let -(y)Ame go', 'I'll go', oturalım 'let's sit (down)'. It may also occur in the 2nd person singular and plural forms, usually in adverbial clauses of purpose with the subordinator diye or ki(26.1.1.2, 26.1.2.2): gösteresin (diye) '(so that) you [can] indicate'. Apart from the person markers in group 3, -(y)A may be followed by -(y)DI or -(y)mIş: qideydim 'if I had gone'. In these combinations with copular markers -(y)A is an informal alternative to the conditional suffix -sA (see above).

## 8.3 THE COPULA 'BE', COPULAR MARKERS AND -DIr

The copular markers in position 4 are composite. They are made up of the copula -(y)and the suffixes -DI, -mIs and -sA.

## 8.3.1 THE COPULA 'be'

The copula, which in most cases corresponds to the verb 'be', has different forms. These are:

- (i) -(y)-: This appears in -(y)DI, -(y)mIs, -(y)sA and in the converbial form -(y)ken (8.5.2.2 and 26.3.16). The segment 'y' in these markers should not be confused with the consonant which occurs at the beginning of many suffixes for purposes of attachment (6.1.3). The markers containing the copula -(y)- are unstressable (4.3.2 (i)). -(y)- is the contracted form of i-, see below.
- (ii) The bound stem i-: This is an obsolescent stem which appears in the now seldom used forms  $\nabla idi$ ,  $\nabla imis$   $\nabla ise$  and  $\nabla iken$ , e.g. seviyor idiysen 'if (as you imply) you loved [him/her]'. In the limited cases in which they are used, they are most often the stressed word within the whole sentence and they are stressed on their second syllable. This is because they are used primarily for purposes of emphasizing the tense or modality that a particular copular marker expresses, especially by contrast to another tense or modality expressed in the preceding utterance. For example, in a context where someone makes a statement to the effect that Ahmet likes horror films, whereas the hearer believes that Ahmet used to like horror films but no longer does, s/he could respond by saying:

Sever idí.

'He used to.'

(iii) ol- (see 12.1.1.2–3).

## 8.3.2 THE COPULAR MARKERS -(y)DI, -(y)mIş AND -(y)sA

These markers are the contracted forms of  $\nabla_{idi}$ ,  $\nabla_{imis}$ , and  $\nabla_{ise}$  (8.3.1 (ii)). They attach to:

- **(i)** Verbs containing one of the suffixes in position 3 (see the description of individual suffixes for exceptions): *birakmişti* 's/he had left', *yürümekteymişler* 'apparently they are/were walking', *koşuyorsak* 'if we are running', *bitirmiş olacaklardı* 'they were supposed to have finished [it]'.
- (ii) To nominals (7.1.1) to form nominal predicates (12.1.1.2): *hastaydı* 's/he was ill', *evdeymişler* 'apparently they are/were at home', *hevesliysek* 'if we are enthusiastic'.

Note that the component -(y)- is omitted following a consonant: satiyor duk 'we were selling [it]', yemisti 's/he had eaten', oynarsan 'if you play'. -(y)DI and -(y)sA are followed by person markers belonging to group 1, and -(y)mIs by person markers belonging to group 2 (see 8.4 for details and exceptions). The copular markers are unstressable, and place stress on the (stressable) syllable before them (see 4.3.2 (i) and 4.3.2.1).

#### -(y)DI The **past copula** can attach to:

(i) All suffixes in position 3 on a verb stem: koşuyordu 's/he was running', kalkmalıydı 's/he should have got up'. The forms -DIydI and -mIştI are identical in meaning, but the former is restricted to informal registers: aelmisti 's/he had arrived'. | aeldivdi

's/he had arrived'.

(ii) Nominals: öğretmenimdiniz 'you were my teacher', buradaydım 'I was here', hastaydık 'we were ill'.

Note that -(*y*)*DI* can also occur *after* a person marker which is attached to the perfective marker -*DI* (8.2.3.3): *gittimdi* 'I have been [there]', as well as before it: *gittiydim*.

For the combination of the past copula with the conditional copula see -(*y*)s*A* below.

## The evidential copula can attach to:

(y)mIş

- (i) all suffixes in position 3 on a verb stem except for -DI: anliyormuşsun 'apparently you understand/understood', otursaymışlar/otursalarmış 'apparently, if they had sat...'
- (ii) nominals: öğretmenmiş 'apparently s/he is/was a teacher', evimmiş 'it is/was apparently my house'.

See -(y)sA below for the combination of the evidential copula with the conditional copula.

#### *-(y)sA* The **conditional copula** can attach to:

(i) all suffixes in position 3 on a verb stem except for -sA: görmüşse 'if s/he has (apparently) seen', seviyorsan 'if you love [him/her]'.

Note that -(*y*)*sA* can also occur *after* a person marker which is attached to the perfective marker -*DI* (8.2.3.3): *gittimse* 'if I have gone [there]', as well as before it: *gittiysem*.

- (ii) nominals: \$\sigmi \text{of}\text{orse}\$ 'if s/he is a driver', \$ya\sh\text{lysa}\$ 'if s/he is old', \$evdeysem\$ 'if I am at home'
- (iii) the copular markers -(y)DI and -(y)mIş. When it combines with these other copular markers, -(y)sA usually follows them: gidiyorduysan 'if (as you imply) you were going', bakıyormuşsan 'if (as seems to be the case) you were said to be looking'. However, some speakers use the reverse order with -(y)DI: gidiyorsaydın

In nominal predicates the free-standing forms *idiyse* and *imişse* are generally preferred to the suffixed combinations -(y)DIysA and -(y)mIşsA: masada idiyse 'if it was on the table'.

#### 8.3.3 -DIr

The **generalizing modality marker** *-DIr* follows person markers (8.4), except in the case of the 3rd person plural suffix *-lAr*, which it may precede or follow:

1st person singular gid-iyor-um-**dur** 'I'm presumably going' 2nd person singular (familiar) gid-iyor-sun-**dur** 'you're presumably going'

(formal) gid-iyor-sunuz-dur 'you're presumably going'

3rd person singular gid-iyor-dur 's/he's presumably going'
1st person plural gid-iyor-uz-dur 'we're presumably going'
2nd person plural gid-iyor-sunuz-dur 'you're presumably going'

3rd person plural

gid-iyor-lar-dır/gid-iyor-dur-lar 'they're presumably going'

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#### -DIr occurs in:

- (i) verbal forms which already contain one of the position 3 suffixes -mls. -(y)AcaK, -(I)yor, -mAlI, -mAktA: anlamışlar**dır** 'they've probably understood', unutacağızdır 'we will almost certainly forget', sanıyordur 's/he's probably assuming', bilmelidir 's/he must know', gitmektedir 's/he is going'. -DIr cooccurs with -mAlI and -mAktA only in the 3rd person singular and plural forms.
- (ii) verbal forms which have the combination *-(I)yormuş* (the imperfective suffix followed by the evidential copula). This occurs only in colloquial registers: *↓bitiriyormuştur* 's/he must have been finishing [it]'.
- (iii) nominal predicates: yırtıcı bir kuştur, 'it's a bird of prey', güzelsindir 'you are definitely pretty', burdadır 's/he's probably here', vardır 'there is/must be'. (iv) expressions denoting a period of time: bunca zamandır 'for all this time' (see 16.4.1.2 (iii)).

When -DIr is attached to an indefinite noun phrase which is the subject or object in a sentence, it emphasizes the scale of the event described: Bir curcunadir qidiyordu 'There was pandemonium', *Bir inattır tutturdu* 'S/he is being totally unreasonable'.

## **8.4 PERSON MARKERS**

Person markers are attached to both verbal and nominal predicates, to indicate the (grammatical person of the) subject. They follow all other suffixes: kaçsan 'if you ran away', çalışıyoruz 'we're working', bakayım 'let me see', gidin 'go!', odamdayım 'I'm in my room', except in the following cases, where they optionally or obligatorily precede another suffix:

- (i) 1st and 2nd person forms which contain -*DIr* (see 8.3.3)
- (ii) verb forms with -DI followed by -(y)DI or -(y)sA (see group 1 below)
- (iii) the 3rd person plural suffix -*lAr*: When this suffix occurs in a form which contains a position 3 suffix and a copular marker, its preferred position is between these two, but it may also come at the end:

kat-sa-lar-dı/kat-sa-ydı-lar 'if they had added [it]' bak-acak-lar-miş/bak-acak-miş-lar 'apparently they are/were going to look'

In nominal predicates the 3rd person plural suffix normally follows a copular marker:

öğrenci-ydi-**ler** 'they were students' hasta-ymiş-lar 'apparently they are/were ill'

However, there are two exceptions:

**(a)** When suffixed to a locative-marked noun phrase *-lAr* may precede a copular marker, although this is less common:

orada-ydı-lar (or orada-lar-dı) 'they were there' evde-yse-ler (or evde-ler-se) 'if they are at home'

**(b)** When suffixed to one of the negation markers *değil* or *yok* (20.2–3), - *lAr* normally precedes a copular marker, although the reverse order is also possible:

öğrenci değil-**ler**-di (or değil-di-**ler**) 'they were not students' evde yok-**lar**-mış (or yok-muş-**lar**) 'apparently they are/were not at home'

A non-case-marked subject complement to which the 3rd person plural predicate marker lAr has been added should not be confused with a noun phrase containing the number suffix, i.e. the plural marker -lAr. In the former case -lAr is unstressable, whereas in the latter case it is stressable (see also 4.3.2 (ivc) and 22.3 (34)):

Öğretmén**ler**. 'They are teachers.' (3rd person plural predicate marker) öğretmen**lér** '(the) teachers' (number suffix)

For the circumstances under which the 3rd person plural predicate marker can be used or omitted see 12.2.1–2. The conditions that apply to the usage of the familiar and formal 2nd person singular forms in the groups below are the same as those described for the selection of the 2nd person singular pronouns *sen* 'you' (familiar) or *siz* 'you' (formal) in 18.1.1.

There are four groups of person markers that occur in predicates.

## **Group 1**

1st person singular		-m
2nd person singular	(familiar)	-n
	(formal)	-nIz
3rd person singular		
1st person plural		-k
2nd person plural		-nIz
3rd person plural		(-lAr)

The 3rd person singular is expressed by the absence of any suffix: *geldi* 's/he has arrived', *kalsa* 'if s/he were to stay', *yazmıştı* 's/he had written'.

The markers in this group are used after:

(i) The position 3 verbal suffixes -DI and -sA: *çekildiniz* 'you retreated', *baktılar* 'they looked', *bıraksak* 'if we were to leave [it]', *uyusan* 'if you slept', *kaldılar* 'they stayed'.

(ii) The copular markers -(y)DI and -(y)sA: *çekilirdiniz* 'you used to retreat', *bırakıyorsak* 'if we are leaving [it]', *evdeydik* 'we were at home', *hastaysalar* 'if they are ill'.

When a verb form contains -DI followed by -(y)DI or -(y)sA, the person markers can occur either after -DI or after the copular marker: geldinizse/ geldiyseniz 'if you have arrived', baktıydık/baktıktı 'we had looked'.

## Group 2

1st person singular		-(y)Im
2nd person singular	(familiar)	-sIn
	(formal)	-sInIz
3rd person singular		
1st person plural		-(y)Iz
2nd person plural		-sInIz
3rd person plural		(-lAr)

The 3rd person singular is indicated by the absence of any suffix: *okuyormuş* 'apparently s/he's reading', *bakacak* 's/he's going to look', *orada* 's/he's there'.

The markers in this group are used after:

- **(i)** The position 3 verbal suffixes -*mIş*, -(*A/I*)*r*, -(*y*)*AcAK*, -(*I*)*yor*, -*mAlI*, -*mAktA*: *unutmuşsun* 'you seem to have forgotten', *biliriz* 'we know', *hatırlamalıyım* 'I must remember', *gideceğim* 'I shall go', *ilgilenmemişler* 'apparently they did not take any notice'.
- (ii) The copular marker -(y)mIş: çalışmalıymışız 'apparently we have to work', söylüyormuşsunuz 'apparently you've been saying'.
- (iii) Nominals which are part of nominal predicates: *okuldayım* 'I'm at school', *hastasınız* 'you're ill', *buradalar* 'they're here'.

In colloquial speech, the 's' in the forms <code>-mIşsIn(Iz)</code> (evidential/perfective suffix+2nd person singular/plural) and <code>-(y)mIşsIn(Iz)</code> (evidential copula+ 2nd person singular/plural) can be deleted, reducing these forms to <code>-mIşIn(Iz)</code> and <code>-(y)mIşIn(Iz)</code>: <code>satmuşin</code> 'I hear you've sold [it]', <code>bitiriyormuşunuz</code> 'I gather you're finishing [it]'. The combination of group 2 person markers with the future suffix also has a colloquial version (see <code>-(y)AcAk</code>, 8.2.3.3).

## Group 3

1st person singular		-yIm
2nd person singular	(familiar)	-sIn
	(formal)	-sInIz
3rd person singular		-sIn
1st person plural		-lIm

2nd person plural -sInIz
3rd person plural -sIn(lAr)

All of the person markers above except the 3rd person forms attach to the optative suffix -(y)A (8.3.3.1, 21.4.4.3): bakayım 'let me see', oynayabilesiniz '[so that] you would be able to play', kaçalım 'let us escape'. The 3rd person forms -sIn and -sInlar do not attach to the optative suffix (or to any other position 3 suffix) but conjoin directly with the verb (which may contain a suffix from position 2): git-sin 'let him/her go', oynasınlar 'let them play', kalkmayıversin 'let him/her just not get up', bitirebilsinler '[so that] they are able to finish [it]'.

#### Group 4

2nd person singular	(familiar)	-, -sAnA
	(formal)	-(y)In, -(y)InIz, -sAnIzA
3rd person singular		-sIn
2nd person plural		-(y)In, -(y)InIz, -sAnIzA
3rd person plural		-sIn(lAr)

These are person markers used in imperative forms. They attach directly to the verb stem: okutun 'make [him/her/them] read', gel 'come here!'. The 2nd person persuasive imperative forms  $\downarrow$ -sAnA and  $\downarrow$ -sAnIzA are composite forms containing the conditional suffix, the 2nd person markers from group 1 and the harmonized interjection A. These two person markers are mostly used for expressing suggestions rather than orders:  $\downarrow$  otursaniza 'why don't you sit down', oturun 'sit down!' (see 21.4.4.2).

## 8.5 SUBORDINATING SUFFIXES

Suffixation is the primary means of forming subordinate clauses in Turkish. Subordinating suffixes are nominalizing suffixes. They combine with verb stems to form nominals, some of which can be inflected with the plural suffix (8.1.1), the possessive marker indicating the subject of the subordinate clause (8.1.2), a case suffix (8.1.3), -(y)lA or -ki (8.1.4). Any verb form which contains a subordinating suffix is non-finite. Non-finite verb forms are of the three following types:

- (i) verbal nouns: these are non-finite verbs of noun clauses (Chapter 24)
- (ii) participles: these are non-finite verbs of relative clauses (Chapter 25)
- (iii) converbs: these are non-finite verbs of adverbial clauses (Chapter 26).

Some examples are:

(16) [Sorun **yarat-***aca***ğ-1**] belli. (Verbal noun) problem create-VN-3SG.POSS clear

## 'It is clear [that s/he will create problems].'

(17) [Sorun **yarat-***an*] kuruluş-lar uyar-ıl-dı. (Participle) problem create-PART organization-PL admonish-PASS-PF 'The organizations [*that were creating* problems] were admonished.' (18) [Sorun **yarat-***maktansa*] sonuç-lar-ı kabullen-di. (Converb) problem create-CV consequence-PL-ACC accept-PF '[*Instead of creating problems*] s/he accepted the consequences.'

The majority of subordinating suffixes in Turkish form only one of the three types of non-finite verb. However, certain subordinators, namely *-DIK*, *-(y)AcAK*, *-mA* and *-mAK* can form more than one type of subordinate clause. In some cases they do this by combining with other suffixes or words. In this section we describe the attachment properties and morphological characteristics of each subordinating suffix. For a full discussion of their functions see Chapters 24–7. Note that where person marking is obligatory in a particular non-finite form, this is indicated below by the 3rd person singular form.

# 8.5.1 MULTI-FUNCTIONAL SUBORDINATING SUFFIXES: -DIK, - (y)AcAK, -mA, -mAK

## 8.5.1.1 *-DIK* and *-(y)AcAK*

- *-DIK* and *-(y)AcAK* form all three types of subordinate clause. They can be followed by possessive suffixes and case suffixes. Where they function as participles in headless relative clauses (25.3), they can be followed by all of the nominal inflectional suffixes described in 8.1, including the plural marker, *-(y)lA* and *-ki: sattiklarımınki* 'the one belonging to those that I sell/sold'.
  - -DIK This suffix usually expresses present or past time. It forms:
- **(i)** Verbal nouns: *gittiğini* (*bil-*) '(know) that s/he has left', *kıskandırdığınızı* (*anla-*) '(understand) that you are making/have made [s.o.] envious' (24.4.3).
- (ii) Participles: *göremediğim (film)* '(the film) that I was not able to see', *öpüştüğü (kız)* '(the girl) whom s/he has kissed/is kissing' (25.1.1.2).
- **(iii)** Converbs: *baktığımızda* 'when we look/looked', *anladığımdan* 'because I understand/(have) understood'.
- *-DIK* has a converbial function when it occurs in one of the following combinations (26.2–3), some of which involve postpositions (Chapter 17):
- -DIğIndA: yürü**düğ**ümde'when I walk'
  - -DIkçA: koştukça 'the more [s.o.] runs'
  - -DIğIndAn (beri/dolayı/ötürü): qeldiğimizden beri 'since we arrived'
- -DIğI (için/zaman/sırada/anda/halde/kadarıyla/takdirde/gibi/sürece/ nispette): bakma**dığ**ım için 'because I haven't looked/am/was not looking', gör**düğ**üm anda 'the moment I saw [it]'
  - -DIğInA (göre): istemediğinize göre 'since you don't/didn't want [it]'

-DIktAn (sonra/başka): aldıktan sonra 'after taking [it]', anladıktan başka 'in addition to understanding'

- -(y)AcAK This subordinator indicates (relative) future time, and forms:
- **(i)** Verbal nouns: *anlayacağımı* (*san-*) '(imagine) that I would understand', *iteceğini* (*düşün-*) '(think) that s/he would push' (24.4.3).
- (ii) Participles: *okuyacağım* (*kitap*) '(the book) that I am/was going to read', *sevemeyeceğim* (*bir kişi*) '(a person) that I shall/would not be able to like', *görüşeceği* (*doktor*) '(the doctor) whom s/he is/was going to see' (25.1.1.2).
- (iii) Converbs: öğreneceğine 'instead of learning', isteyeceğimden 'because I am going to want'.
- -(y)AcAK has a converbial function when it occurs in one of the following combinations (26.2.3), some of which involve postpositions (Chapter 17).
- -(y)AcAğI (için/zaman/sırada/anda/halde/gibi): kalk**acağ**ın zaman 'when you are going to get up', *oturmayacağ*ı için 'because s/he isn't/wasn't going to stay', *gideceğ*i gibi 'in addition to the fact that s/he is/was going to go'
- -(y)AcAğIndAn (dolayı/ötürü): satmayacağından ötürü 'on account of the fact that s/he is/was not going to sell [it]'
  - -(y)AcAğInA (göre): içmeyeceğime göre 'since I'm/I was not going to drink [it]'
  - -(y)AcAk (kadar/derecede): saklayacak kadar 'to the point of hiding [it]'

Note that words containing the subordinating suffix -(y)AcAK have a different stress pattern and pronunciation from words containing the future marker -(y)AcAK (8.2.3.3). The finite forms which contain the future marker -(y)AcAK combine with the unstressable (group 2) person markers (4.3.2 (iv)) and have short vowels, whereas the non-finite forms which contain the subordinator -(y)AcAK are followed by stressable possessive markers (8.1.2). However, in the informal contracted forms that occur in non-finite as well as finite future verbs, this distinction in stress is neutralized in the 1st and 2nd person singular and the 2nd person plural. (Compare the table below with that given for the same verb *in*- 'go/come down' in 8.2.3.3.)

Subordinator -(y)AcAk+possessive marking:

		•	
		Formal	Familiar
1st p. sg. ineceğin	1	<code>[ineʤeím]/[iniʤeím]</code>	<sub>↓[</sub> iniʤǽ:m]
2nd p. sg. ineceği	n	$_{[}$ ine $oldsymbol{d}$ eín $_{]/[}$ ini $oldsymbol{d}$ eín $_{]}$	<sub>↓[</sub> iniʤǽ:n]
3rd p.sg. ineceği		<code>[ineʤeí]/[iniʤeí]</code>	<sub>↓[</sub> iniʤǽ:]
1st p. pl. ineceğin	niz	$[ined_{eim}(z_{)/[}inid_{eim}(z_{]}$	<sub>↓[</sub> iniʤæ:míz ]
2nd p. pl. ineceğin	niz	$[ined_{gini}z_{M}inid_{gini}z_{M}$	$_{\downarrow \lbrack}$ inid $_{3}$ æ:ní $z_{ brace}$
3rd p.pl. inecekler	i ·i	[inedgeclerí]/[inidgeclerí]	[inidzeclerí]

#### 8.5.1.2 -mA and -mAK

Both -*mA* and -*mAK* form verbal nouns and converbs. These two suffixes differ in respect of which nominal inflectional markers they can combine with. The plural suffix attaches to -*mA* only: (*evden*) *kaçmalar* 'incidents of running away (from home)'. Combinability with possessive suffixes is the most significant difference between the two subordinators. While -*mA* is often followed by one of the possessive markers, -*mAK* cannot combine with them:

-mA -mAK kos**ma**m (için) kos**mak** (için) '(in order for) me to run' '(in order) to run' These forms can be inflected for case: git**me**nizi (bekliyor) git**mey**i (bekliyor) 's/he expects you to leave' 's/he expects to leave' sarkı söyle**me**ne (bayılıyor) şar kı söyle**mey**e (bayılıyor) 's/he loves [the way] you sing' 's/he loves singing' koşmamda (ısrar etti) koş**mak**ta (ısrar etti) 's/he insisted that I run/ran' 's/he insisted on running' konus**ma**mdan (korkuyor) konus**mak**tan (korkuyor) 's/he is scared that I might talk' 's/he is scared of talking'

-mA can also combine directly with the genitive case-marker, whereas -mAK cannot: *üniversiteye gitmenin (anlamı)* '(the significance) of going to university'. Some speakers attach the locative case marker directly to -mA: cevap vermede (geciktim) 'I am/was late in responding', but forms where the locative suffix is attached to -mAK are more widespread: cevap vermekte (geciktim) 'I am/was late in responding'.

Note that when -*mAK* combines with a suffix beginning with a vowel, as in the case of the accusative and dative suffixes, the resulting form is spelt and pronounced more commonly nowadays as -*mayi*, -*meyi* (ACC) and -*maya*, -*meye* (DAT), rather than -*maği*, -*meği* (ACC) and -*mağa*, -*meğe* (DAT). Since a case marker can also attach to -*mA* directly without an intervening possessive marker (as seen above in the case of the genitive and locative case markers), it may not always be clear whether the accusative or dative case marker has attached to -*mA* or to -*mAK*. In this book we adhere to the new spelling of these forms (with 'y' rather than 'ğ') and consider these forms as a combination of -*mAK*+ACC/DAT.

-mAK This subordinator forms:

- (i) Verbal nouns: almak (iste-) '(want) to buy', sevmeyi (öğren-) '(learn) to love', ağlamaya (başla-) '(start) crying' (24.4.1)
  - (ii) Converbs: içmeksizin 'without drinking'.

-*mAK* has a converbial function when it occurs in one of the following combinations (26.2–3), some of which involve postpositions (Chapter 17):

-mAk (üzere/için/yerine/suretiyle/şartıyla): ver**mek** için 'in order to give' -mAklA (birlikte): okuyabil**mek**le birlikte 'although able to read'

- -mAksIzIn (formal): dön**meksizin** 'without returning'
- -mAktAn (öte/başka/gayrı): satmaktan öte 'apart from selling [it]'
- -mAktAnsA: bitirmektense 'rather than finishing [it]'.
- -mA This subordinator forms:
- (i) Verbal nouns: anlamamamı (iste-) '(want) me not to understand' (24.4.2)
  - (ii) Converbs: yürümekten baska 'apart from walking'.
- -mA has a converbial function when it occurs in one of the following combinations (26.2–3), some of which involve postpositions (Chapter 17):
- -mAsI (için/halinde/durumunda/yüzünden): öksürmesi halinde 'in the event of his/her coughing'
- -mAsIndAn (itibaren/önce/sonra/ötürü/başka/dolayı): seçil**me**sinden önce 'before s/he was elected', istemememizden ötürü 'because we don't/didn't want [it]'
- -mAsInA (rağmen/karşın): anlaşmanıza rağmen 'in spite of your getting along well together'.

## 8.5.2 SUBORDINATING SUFFIXES WHICH HAVE A SINGLE **FUNCTION**

#### 8.5.2.1 - (y)An and -(y)Is

- This suffix forms participles: okuyan (çocuk) '(the child) who studies/is studying' (y)An (25.1.1.1). When it occurs in headless relative clauses (25.3) and pronominalized complex adjectivals (18.4 (vi)), it can be followed by all of the nominal inflectional suffixes described in 8.1: okuyanlarımıza 'to the ones among us who study/are studying'. Much less productively than in its usage as a participle, -(y)An can be used idiomatically in informal contexts to express the unexpectedly large number of people involved in a particular activity. In these cases it is reiterated on identical and adjacent verb stems, and the second verb has dative case marking: Konsere giden gidene 'Masses of people went to the concert'. Şu saçma dergiyi de alan alana! 'Everyone's buying this ridiculous magazine!'
- -(y)Iş This suffix can combine with the plural marker, possessive suffixes and case suffixes. It forms verbal nouns: oturuşumu (beğen-) '(like) my way of sitting', konuşuşunuz 'the way you talk' (24.4.4).

## 8.5.2.2 Subordinating suffixes which only form converbs

The following suffixes form converbs (26.2–3). With the exception of -mlsCAsInA, none of these suffixes combine with person markers:

- (i) Converbial suffixes containing the negative marker -mA or -mAz
- -mAdAn ( $\ddot{o}$ nce/ $\ddot{V}$ evvel): The forms containing -mA are stressed on the syllable preceding the negative marker (cf. 4.3.2 (viii)), e.g. yıkílmadan 'before being demolished'.

-mAzdAn ( $\ddot{o}nce/\nabla evvel$ ) (-mA combined with the negative aorist form -z): The forms containing -mAz occur with  $\ddot{o}nce$  or  $\nabla evvel$ . They are stressed on the case suffix following the negative marker, e.g.  $y_1k_1lmazd\acute{a}n$   $\ddot{o}nce$  'before being demolished'. The form -mAzdAn  $\ddot{o}nce$  is slightly more formal than -mAdAn  $\ddot{o}nce$ .

- (ii) Other converbial suffixes:
- -(y)IncA yüz**ünce** 'when [s.o.] swims/swam', kalkmayınca 'when [s.o.] doesn't/didn't get up'.
- -(y)ArAk koş**arak** 'running', büyü**yerek** 'growing up', çalış**arak** 'by working'. Also ↓-(y)ArAktAn: bakaraktan 'looking'.
- *↓-(y)AlI* düşü**neli** (beri) 'since thinking about [s.t.]', *geleli* beri 'since arriving', 'since [s.o.] (beri) arrived'. Colloquial form of *-DIğIndAn beri*.
- -(y)IncAyA (kadar/değin/dek)/\u03b4-(y)AnA (kadar)

*gidinceye kadar* 'by the time [s.o.] went'. -(y)AnA is a colloquial version: ↓otu**rana** *kadar* 'by the time [s.o.] sat down'.

-(A/I)r/-(y)AcAk/-mIş/-(y)mIş/-(I)yor gibi

kalkacak gibi 'as if about to get up', anlar gibi 'as if understanding', içki içmiş gibi 'as if having drunk alcohol'.

-(A/I)rcAsInA/-mIşçAsInA

hissedercesine 'as if feeling'. With the form -mIşçAsInA, there is the possibility of adding person marking: konuşuyormuşumcasına 'as if I was talking'.

- -(y)Ip koş**up** al- 'run and get', *girip otur* 'enter and sit down'. Because of its conjunctive function, this suffix is discussed in 28.2.
- -(y)ken The segment -(y)- is the copula (8.3.1). Because of this, -(y)ken attaches not directly to the verb stem, but instead to a position 3 verbal suffix or to a nominal (cf. 8.3.2, 26.2.3 (ii)): bakarken 'when/while ([s.o.] is/was) watching', cocukken 'when/as a child', 'when [s.o.] was a child', sokaktayken 'while in the street', bizimken 'when [s.t.] is/was ours'. Unlike the other copular markers, it cannot combine with person markers, except optionally with the 3rd person plural suffix -lAr: gider(ler)ken 'as they go/went'. It is invariable (i.e. its vowel does not undergo vowel harmony, see 3.4).

A few converbial subordinators are added to pairs of verbs that follow immediately after each other:

- -(y)A... Added to identical or similar verb stems or to semantically contrasting ones: baka baka (y)A 'staring', yedire yedire 'continuously making [s.o.] eat', bağıra çağıra 'at the top of his/her voice', gide gele 'going back and forth', bata çıka 'sinking and rising'.
- ↓-DI... Added to identical verb stems. The first stem has person marking: duydum duyalı 'ever (y)AlI since I heard [it]', baktırdın baktıralı 'ever since you had [it] checked', alındı alınalı 'ever since it was bought'.
- -(*A*/1*r*...- This pair of suffixes consists of the aorist and negative-aorist position 3 verbal suffixes *mAz* (8.2.3.3). These produce a converbial form when added to consecutive identical verb stems without any person marking: *yer yemez* 'as soon as [s.o.] eats/ate', *gider gitmez* 'as soon as [s.o.] leaves/left'.