Contact-induced change and structural variation in the passive constructions of Nayini

Roohollah Mofidi¹ & Hiwa Asadpour²

¹Imam Khomeini International University, Qazvin, Iran, ²JSPS International Research Fellow, University of Tokyo & Goethe University, Frankfurt mofidi@hum.ikiu.ac.ir, asadpour@lingua.uni-frankfurt.de

This study investigates the structural variation in the passive constructions of Nayini (Central Iranian language). The data include interviews with 30 native speakers by means of picture story-telling and film re-narration. Among the total tokens, 94 instances of passive construction were identified, which reveal three patterns of passive formation: a) the passive marker -š, preceded by the verbal root (and causative marker -en for some verbs) and followed by tense-agreement morphology (79.8%, see example [1a]); b) a devoted passive root ker- 'do', followed by the passive marker -š and tense-agreement morphology (11.7%, see example [1b]); and 1c) the past participle plus the inflected auxiliaries gert- or bo, both 'become' (8.5%, see example [1c]).

- (1a) *u-von-š-ay* PFV-cut-PASS-PST.3SG It was cut.'
- (1b) pak e-ker-š-æ clean IPFV-do.PASS-PASS-3SG 'It is cleaned.'
- (1c) bor-id-æ gert-ay
 cut-PST-PTCP become-PST[3SG]
 It was cut.'

Pattern (1a) employs a suffix-like marker (-š), whose category is to be further investigated. Pattern (1b), employing the same marker, is doubly-marked for passive by its verbal root as well, and it is lexically restricted: the opposition of present/past/passive is only observed in *kir/ka/ker* 'do' (as opposed to other roots maintaining a present/past opposition). Finally, pattern (1c) is a contact phenomenon with a lexical-functional asymmetry. The past participles, as the lexical part of the construction, are borrowed as adjectives from Persian, the only other language spoken in the region. The borrowed root *bor*- in (1c) is opposed to the native root *von*- in (1a). However, the functional part of the construction, i.e. auxiliary, is not borrowed. Rather, the native change-of-state verbs *gert*- or *bo* are employed, which are conceptually the equivalents of Persian passive auxiliary *šod*. On the contrary, the patterns (1a) and (1b) are contact-resistant, not replicating any lexical or functional element of Persian. Firstly, the verbal roots in (1a) and (1b) differ from Persian roots, and secondly, the morpho-syntactic characteristics of -š are not observed in Persian, neither as a suffix, nor as an auxiliary.

References: • Borjian, H. (2009). Median succumbs to Persian after three millennia of coexistence: Language shift in the Central Iranian Plateau. *Journal of Persianate Societies* 2(1), 62–87. • Dabir-Moghaddam, M. (2013). *Radešenāsi-ye zabānhā-ye Irāni*. Tehran: Samt.