A Corpus-based study on Turkish volitional suffix -sUn and infinitival marker -mA

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Abstract
This is a comparative corpus-based study, investigating the frequency of occurrences of the Turkish structures subordinated finite clause with voluntative suffix -sUn and non-finite infinitival complement clauses with -mA$mI$. Their usages are compared in terms of the illocutionary forces they carry when they are used with the verb iste- (to want). The results revealed that while voluntative suffix in subordinated finite clauses have 13 examples, the other form outnumbered it with 100 instances in Turkish National Corpus (TNC). Furthermore, the degree of their illocutionary forces and perlocutionary affects have been observed as showing differences.

Introduction
Johanson (2009) has stated a decrease in the usage of subordinated finite clause with voluntative suffix -sUn in contemporary Turkish compared to the structure of non-finite infinitival complement clauses with -mA$mI$, even though they convey the same meaning. Therefore, the aim of this study is to investigate the difference between these structures with the verb ‘iste-’ in the predicate position of their matrix clauses. The first section of this paper will explain these structures with examples, and as an additional point to Johanson (2009), their factiveness and illocutionary forces will be discussed. Data will be retrieved from Turkish National Corpus, and the later sections will present the frequency results with the discussion of mitigation/reinforcement of their illocutionary forces.

Subordinated Finite Clauses
The studies on Turkish typology and grammar have mostly focused on nominalized non-finite subordinate constructions (Göksel and Kerslake 2005; Kornfilt, 1997). However, both finite and non-finite subordinating clauses do exist in the structure of Turkish sentences. The meaning conveyed through these structures does not change. Subordinated finite clauses have inflected predicates like the matrix clause predicates. While sometimes these clauses can be adjoined to the main
clause, they can also be connected with a subordinator. These finite clauses can be embedded to
the matrix predicates by “diye”, which is one of the subjunctor particles.

(1) [Bugün iş - e gid - ecek - sin diye bil - iyor - duk.]
   Today work DAT go FUTURE 2S saying know PROG PST 1PL

“We knew that you would go to work today”

Also, “ki” can be used in a similar fashion, which will be explained in detail later on in this article.
As it is stated in Valk and Backus (2013), “ki” is a quotative, and the basic complementizer of English
“that” is the nearest equivalent of it.

(2) [Anla - dim ki beni sev - mi - yor - sun.]
   Know PST 1SG that me love NEG PROG 2SG

“I understood that you don’t love me.”

Other than “ki” and “diye”, finite complements can be embedded to the matrix clause with some
postpositions such as “gibi” (Johanson and Csato, 2015).

(3) [Aşık ol - muş - sun gibi davran - iyor - sun]
   In love be PST 2SG postposition act PROG 2SG

“You are acting like you are in love.”

As it is stated in Johanson and Csato (2015), Turkish matrix clauses constructed by the following
predicates “iste- (to want), san- (to believe), and bil- (to know)” can contain an embedded clause
whose predicate can be finite.

(4) [Kendim - e gel - e - yim iste - di - m.]
   myself DAT come OPT 1SG want PST 1SG

“I wanted to come to myself.”

(5) [Seni öl - dü - n san - iyor - du - m.]
   you die PST 2SG suppose PROG PST 1SG

“I supposed that you died.”

Non-finite Complement Clauses

These clause types include non-finite verbal predicate, which occur in three forms in Turkish sub-
ordinate clauses: complement, relative and adverbial clauses (Valk and Backus, 2013). These verbs
in subordinate clauses have non-finite endings and they function as syntactic subjunctors (Johanson and Csato, 2015). They can also be accepted as bound complementizers. These non-finite complement types are classified (Haig and Slodowicz, 2004) as: (a) -mE infinitives, (b) -mEk infinitives, (c) -(y)ış infinitives, (d) -DIG participles, and (e) -EcEG participles.

According to Kornfilt (1997), among these subordinators, three nominalization markers are the most prominent ones. These are non-future -DIG and future -EcEG nominalization markers, which are factive; and the infinitival marker -mA, which refers to action nominalization.

They function as subjects or objects of the matrix clause and their internal structures have similar patterns like clauses in terms of their predicate potential (Johanson and Csato, 2015). Underhill (1976) argues that complement clauses are nominalizations and only -DIG and -EcEG can be counted as nominalizations, therefore complement clauses. He stated that -mA is not a nominalization and can only be found in nominal phrases. On the other hand, Johanson (1975) stated that -mA can occur in both forms, and while noun phrases constructed with -mA can be modified by an adjective, the complement clauses with -mA have non-finite verbs modified by adverbs.

Factiveness and Illocutionary Force of Complement Clauses

The distinction between factive verbs and non-factive verbs was made by Kiparsky and Kiparsky (1970). A similar distinction can be observed in Turkish complement clauses -DIG and -mA (Johanson, 2013). As it was stated before by Kornfilt (1997), the participle subjunctor -DIG provide truth conditions and state factivity, whereas complement clauses constructed with the infinitival subjunctor -mA are non-factive. The latter is indicated as referring actions instead of facts (Johanson, 2013). Furthermore, these subjunctors are categorized as ‘fact complements’ constructed with -DIG and -EcEG, and ‘act complements’ constructed with -mA. Act complements are stated to lack tense reference (Johanson, 2013).

According to Csato’s (1999) classification, -DIG complement clauses are categorized as indicative and -mA complement clauses are stated as non-indicative. Csato (1999) continued and stated that these indicative participle subjunctors form complement clause having illocutionary force and truth value. On the other hand, infinitival complement clauses with -mA do not have illocutionary force (Csato, 1990). These constructions are generally found to be followed by the specific types of predicates to state an illocutionary act as stated below:

- practical manipulation predicates such as emret-, zorla-, engelle-, ızin ver-, öğütle-.
- volitional predicates such as iste-, ica et-, arzu et-, um-, talep et-, bekle-.
As Johanson (2013) stated, complement clauses with -mA can occur with certain matrix clause verb predicates which together express deontic modality, and the complement clause in this type of sentences describes the attitude of addressee towards the action. Especially verbs like -iste (to want) expressing command, wish, expectation or request are said to provide this type of modality (see sentence 8). However, if -mA occurs with factive predicates in the matrix clause, then it has truth value (see sentence 9) (Johanson, 2013).

(8) Ayşe, [Hülya’nın gitmesine] sevindi.
(9) Ayşe, [Hülya’nın gitmesini] istedi.

While in sentence (8), the truth value of the complement clause is presupposed, it cannot be stated for sentence (9). One cannot say “ama Hülya gitmedi” for sentence (9). It has been indicated by Johanson (2013) that “the infinitival subjunctor does not signal modal meanings explicitly, and refers to the action”, leaving the modal reading to the matrix predicate.

Volition in Turkish Sentences and Subjunctive Functions

Infinitival complements can be used with matrix predicates meaning ‘to want’ (iste-), and the verb iste-, here as a word expressing volition (Johanson, 2009).

(10) [Ali’nin gitmesini istedim.]

“I wanted Ali to go.”

As exemplified in sentence (10), this type of constructions mostly observed with an overt subject which takes the genitive case, and the subject of the complement clause has a possessive suffix (Johanson, 2009).

The volition mood can also be stated with voluntative, optative and hypothetical suffixes, of which voluntative and optative suffixes became unique due to the close semantic similarity (Johanson, 2009). While the first and second person forms are constructed with the suffix -(y)E, these forms are found to be rare in modern usage of Turkish, and third person forms are constructed with the suffix -sUn, which is also named as imperative (Underhill, 1976).

Johanson (2009) further states that the volition modal verb iste- (to want) can occur with a finite predicate indicating subjunctive mood, although normally this verb occurs in matrix predicates of sentences having complement clauses with the infinitival subjunctive. This usage started with using optative suffix subjunctive function as a result of Persian effect (see sentence 11), and began to use voluntative suffix -sUn instead of the optative suffix -(y)a after 14th century in Ottoman Turkish (see sentence 12).
I want to come.

order them not to give

I want that everybody is pleased.

I want everybody to be pleased.

**Methodology**

Data has been obtained from Turkish National Corpus (TNC), which is consisted of 50 million contemporary Turkish words. This corpus includes 4438 different textual data representing various genres from 1990 to 2009 (Aksan, et al., 2012). The query was done using the key word 'iste*' (to want), since it is the main determiner of the occurrence of identified structures as a volitional predicate. In total, 2500 occurrences of the verb 'iste*' have been listed by TNC. Only non-finite infinitival complement clauses with -mA in 3rd person singular accusative form, and subordinated finite clause with voluntative suffix -sUn were identified in which -iste* is the predicate of the matrix clause.

The following research questions are asked in this study:

1. What is the frequency of subjunctive function of modal suffix (-sUn) occurrences and non-finite complement clause (-mA) occurrences with the verb 'iste-' (to want)?
2. Can we observe any ‘ki complement’ usage with the subjunctive forms stated above?
3. Do these structures have mitigation/reinforcement in their illocutionary forces?

**Results and Discussion**

The frequency results for subjunctive function of modal suffix (\(-sUn\)) and non-finite complement clause (\(-mA\)) in 3rd person singular accusative form show that while former structure has only 13 occurrences, the latter one has 100 occurrences in the corpus. No ‘ki’ conjunctor usage has been identified in the data.

The findings of this research paper supports the assertions stated by Johanson (2009) in that the usage of voluntative modal suffixes with the verb ‘iste-’ (to want) in finite subordinated clauses has fewer instances in contemporary Turkish. In all examples obtained from TNC, the predicate of the subordinate clause comes just before the ‘iste-’ (the predicate of the matrix clauses). However, in only one instance the word order differs, and the finite verb with the voluntative suffix is seen at the end of the sentence after the matrix clause predicate:

(15) [Ben  
iste  
- r  
im  
banka  
da  
paracıklar  
im  
ol  
sun.] (TNC, 2016)

\[\text{I too want, Present, bank, LOC, money, POSS, to be, VOL, 1SG.}\]

“I want to have money in bank, too.”

This structure resembles to the form of ‘ki complement’:

(16) [Ben  
de  
iste  
- r  
im  
(ki)  
banka  
da  
paracıklar  
im  
ol  
sun.]

\[\text{I too want, Present, 1SG, JUNCT, bank, LOC, money, POSS, to be, VOL.}\]

Sentence (15) seems to have omitted the ‘ki’ conjunctor, but still has the same verb order, which resembles to English word order with ‘that’. Furthermore, the first examples of the Persian effect stated by Johanson (2009) (11) and (12), were same with the example (15). As he stated that this kind of usages have decreased dramatically, especially after 14th century, this finding supports this idea, since it only has one occurrence in the corpus.

Although the first occurrences of the subjunctive function of the voluntative suffix have a similar form with the usage of that in English because of the Persian effect, it can be observed from the corpus results that the word order has changed and has fit the Turkish word order of non-finite infinitival complement clause with \(-mA\). However, even though the word order has changed to fit the Turkish usage, the frequency of these occurrences is quite low compared to non-finite complement clause \(-mA\) conveying the same meaning.

(17) [Burada  
öl  
sün  
iste  
- di.] (TNC, 2016)

\[\text{here, die, VOL, want, PST, 3SG.}\]

“He wanted him to die here.”
Mitigation/ Reinforcement of Illocutionary Forces

The standard conception of illocutionary force has been defined by Searle (1969) as a successfully performed act by the speaker with a specified intention under some circumstances in order to be understood by the interlocutors. The illocutionary act is determined by the speakers’ intention in communication, and also the illocutionary force of the utterance. The effect of illocutionary act depends on the recognition of the hearer. According to Sbisa (2001), the strength of this illocutionary force can be explained with several aspects such as speaker’s entitlement, modal values assigned to the addressee, and perlocutionary goals of the speech act.

The utterance of a speaker performing a specific illocutionary act meets the felicity conditions for the speaker for that certain act (Sbisa, 2001). Most of the time, this type of entitlement includes a degree of power, which denotes some kind of authority, capacity or competence. Sometimes, this degree of power effects the strength of the illocutionary force. In this way, the speaker may desire to highlight his/her entitlement for that speech act (Sbisa, 2001). In sentence (12) exemplified by Johanson (2009), the sense of authority in the illocutionary force can be stated as stronger, as if an authority uttered it.

The modal values assigned to the addressee are stated to be influential in his/her deontic status (Sbisa, 2001). For instance, the obligations are assigned to the addressee through ordering or advice, and the degrees can be changed here in order to reinforce the assigned obligations. As previously stated, the infinitival subjunctor -mA does not have any modal meaning and leaves the modal reading, thus illocutionary force, to the predicate of matrix clause (Johanson 2013). In the sentences formed with modal suffixes in the predicate position of the matrix clause, the illocutionary force is observed in the modal suffix itself as in “Ahmet ev-e gel-sin” [Ahmet - home-DAT - come-VOL]. Already having an illocutionary force, these forms can be found in subordinated finite clauses with the volition verb ‘iste-’ (to want). According to the assertions of Sbisa (2001), the illocutionary meaning in these sentences can be stated as reinforced, since double volition is observed.

It can be seen in sentence (19) that the ‘want’ of the speaker is reinforced by strengthening the sentence with double modal structures. On the other hand, this reinforcement is not observed in
sentences with non-finite infinitival clauses with -$mA$. Furthermore, no instances can be observed for mitigation in the data retrieved from this corpus.

Lastly, the speakers’ intention determines the way a speech act is formulated as well as the perlocutionary intention that the speaker has (Sbisa, 2001). The increasing intention of the speaker increases the strength of perlocutionary force. It has been stated in Sbisa (2001) that “the increasing strength of the attempt to achieve the perlocutionary goal may be connected with the reinforcements of the core illocutionary effect, since the reformulations may also strengthen the speaker’s entitlement or commitment or the modal values assigned to the addressee.” Hence, the structure of subordinated finite clause with voluntative suffix -$sUn$ can be interpreted as having a stronger perlocutionary effect compared to the structure of non-finite infinitival complement clause with -$mA$.

**Conclusion**

This corpus-based research has found out supporting examples from Turkish National corpus in line with the literature as a result of the query for the verb ‘iste-‘ (to want). While the infinitival complement clause with -$mA$ occurrences outnumbered significantly the occurrences of subordinated finite clause with voluntative suffix -$sUn$, ‘ki’ complement word order structure has been observed only in one sentence. Although the meaning conveyed through these sentences does not change in these two types of structures, their illocutionary forces can be interpreted as showing differences in degree with finite clauses plus the verb to want having a stronger illocutionary force and perlocutionary effect.

This investigation is limited to the data provided by Turkish National Corpus. Including data from other corpora may enrich the frequencies and examples for the comparison of these two structures.

**References**


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