



## **MORPHO-SYNTACTIC CHARACTER OF ADDITIVES: A DESCRIPTIVE APPROACH TO ADDITIVES IN ASIAN SOV LANGUAGES**

### **Ekleyicilerin Biçimsözdizimsel Özellikleri: ÖNE Sözdizilime Sahip Asya Dillerine Betimsel Bir Yaklaşım**

Aydın Özbek<sup>1(a)</sup>, LinShen Zang<sup>2(b)</sup>, Esra Demirtaş<sup>3</sup>

(a) *Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart University*, (b) *Osaka Prefecture University*

**Özet:** Türkçe, Özne Nesne Eylem (ÖNE) dizilimine sahip bir dil olarak kabul edilmekle birlikte, Altay dil ailesinin de bir üyesidir. Bu nedendir ki, daha önce yapılan karşılaştırmalı dilbilim yöntemlerine dayanan araştırmaların hemen hepsi Altay dil ailesinin diğer dilleri ile yapılmıştır. Bu çalışmada, sadece Altay dilleri değil, Asya'daki diğer ÖNE dillerinden faydalanılarak *dA* biçimbiriminin özellikleri belirtilecektir. Çalışma, özellikle Türkçe *dA* biçimbirimi ile diğer dillerdeki benzerlerinin coğrafik ya da genetik yakınlıktan bağımsız olarak, evrensel bir benzerlik taşıdığını göstermektedir. Buna da neden olarak sözdizimin büyük etki sağladığı belirtilmektedir.

**Anahtar sözcükler:** *ÖNE dilleri, ekleyiciler, parçacıklar, kaynaşıklar, Asya dilleri*

<sup>1</sup> aydinozbek@gmail.com

<sup>2</sup> chizhang@lc.osakafu-u.ac.jp

<sup>3</sup> esra.demirtas73@gmail.com

**Abstract:** Traditionally Turkish is considered as an SOV language and a member of the Altaic Languages. In this sense, most of the previous contrastive studies have been done by using the data from the Altaic languages. Contrary to this method, this study focuses on additives in SOV languages of Asia which are considered to be in different families. It must be noted that even if language families are clearly differing from each other, additives show almost same or similar behaviors that, could be considered as a universal process, independent of geographical distribution.

**Keywords:** *SOV languages, additives, particles, clitics, Asian languages*

## 1. INTRODUCTION

This paper will concentrate in some detail on additive particles in Asian languages (principally SOV languages), focusing on the cross-linguistic similarities and differences among their typology and morpho-syntactic features. In the first part of the paper, we will introduce five languages from two language families of the SOV languages that the data will be used as shown in Table 1. Qiang and Jingpho (Tibet-Burma family), Turkish and Uyghur (Altaic family) and Japanese additive particles will be introduced. However, Japanese is not closely related to any other language, though a distant genetic kinship to Korean is now thought probable by some scholars, and an even more remote relationship to the Altaic languages is still discussed by several scholars, in this paper we consider Japanese as an individual SOV language.

**Table 1.** Language families and additive particles

Language Family	Language	Particles
Tibet-Burma Family	1.Qiang	le
	2.Jingpho	mung
Altaic Family	3.Turkish	dA
	4.Uyghur	mu
Altaic ?	5.Japanese	mo

In our findings, first in all five languages additives are attached to the subject, object and the predicate, indicating that the events are connected. In addition, additive particles are attached to numerals and wh-phrases that convey a subjective meaning or a total negation interpretation. In this sense SOV languages show different characteristics than English *too* or *also*. Besides it must be noted that additives in SOV languages are considered as particles, however, in SVO languages that we know, most of the additives are independent words such as Chinese *ye* or German *auch* or English *also*. These two properties of additive particles in SOV languages have a common property. However, because of the lack of the space and time in this study it will be focused mostly on the additive usage of these particles.

## 2. DATA AND THE LANGUAGES

The speakers of the Qiang language live in Aba Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture, on the eastern edge of the Tibetan plateau in the northwest part of Sichuan Province of China. There are almost 300.000 speakers of Qiang language and its dialects. Qiang is cited as a verb-final language (LaPolla and Huang, 2003:20); however, word order of this language is determined by pragmatic factors. In this study we consider Qiang as a SOV language because almost all of the data that we collected have SOV word order.

The Jingpho people are an ethnic group who largely inhabit in northern Myanmar's Kachin state. There are also around 100.000 speakers in China. There are approximately 500.000 native speakers of Jingpho around the world. The data for Qiang is collected from A Grammar of Qiang, with annotated texts and glossary (LaPolla and Huang, 2003). For Jingpho for Uyghur data is collected from textbooks published by Chinese government, and for Turkish and Japanese the data is collected from the native informants<sup>4</sup>. In order to facilitate organization and comparison of cross-linguistic data we use

<sup>4</sup> All of the data without reference is collected from the native informants.

as uniform a format as possible in collecting it as shown in Table 2.

**Table 2.** Format of the study

a.	Subject	+ Add
b.	Object	+ Add
c.	Predicate	+ Add
d.	Numerals	+ Add
e.	Question words	+ Add

### 3. OVERVIEW OF TURKISH *da*

It has been claimed that, *da* never begins a sentence and, though written as a separate word, is enclitic (Lewis, 1967). After Lewis (1967) there are several representative works considering Turkish enclitic particle *da*'s functions (Kerslake, 1996; Göksel and Özsoy, 2003; Dönük, 2005; Göksel and Kerslake, 2005). It will be briefly shown some of the well known functions of *da* which are also much discussed in the Turkish literature and quite interesting, is the counterpart of English adverbials such as *too*, *also*, or *either* which assert there are other objects that satisfy a certain property that is already known to be true of something else.

- (1) Ali gel-di,      Ayşe de      gel-di.  
 Ali come-Past    Ayşe Add      come-Past  
 'Ali came and Ayşe came, too.'

The second part of the sentence of (1), for example, presupposes that there is someone who came, which is confirmed by the presence of the first part of the sentence, and asserts that, in addition to this person, Ayşe did the same thing. Here the second phrase is an additive, and *da* is a particle which works as an additive marker. (Lewis, 1967; Kerslake, 1996; Göksel & Özsoy, 2005; among others) have considered *da* to be a polysemous or a multi function particles fulfilling the roles of additive, expansive, alternative and adversative.

For instance the answer sentence of (2) can be interpreted as an alternative situation that *dA* work as *or* not *too* or *also*. However without a question, the same sentence will have the additive interpretation.

(2) Q: Size yardım etmeye kim gelsin?

‘Who do you want to help you?’

A: Ali *de* yardım ed-ebilir, Ayşe *de*. (Benim için fark etmez)

Ali Add help do-Pot Ayşe Add

‘Either Ali or Ayşe can do, I don’t mind.’(alternative)

\* ‘Ali can help and Ayşe can help too.’ (additive)

### 3. ADDITIVES

#### 3.1. ADDITIVES ATTACHED TO SUBJECTS

Additive particles in five languages could be attached to the subject. The common property for all languages we deal with is that additive particles emphasize the equal status and function of two or more subjects. Additive particles appear immediately after the subject of the second or the first sentence. If there is a Nominative or a Topic marker additive particle takes over these markers places. For instance, Jingpho topic marker *go* or Japanese topic marker *wa* or nominative *ga* must disappear after an additive attachment. However, in Qiang additive *lə* might come after a definite marker *tou*. Though it must be noted that the addition of *tou* is not an obligation, and the sentence will not be ungrammatical without it. Because Turkish and Uyghur don’t have an overt Nominative or a Topic marker, additive takes place immediately after the Subject.

In our preliminary findings of our ongoing work on the geographical distribution and morpho-syntactic properties of the additive particles, we observed a cross-linguistic tendency: If there are more than two subjects, additive markers should be attached to the second subject or

both. We do not have any findings that there is a single additive only in the first subject. So when (3) and (4) are grammatically possible, (5) seems to be ungrammatical.

- (3) [[Subject + Add],[ Subject + Add]]  
 (4) [[Subject], [Subject + Add]]  
 (5) \*[[Subject +Add], [ Subject]]

There are examples that the Add marker occurs in a single sentence, yet it is a macrosyntactic use of a conjunction, depending on something outside the sentence in which it occurs as shown in (7), (12) and (16). This usage of the additives is beyond the scope of this paper, and we shall not discuss it in the remaining paper.

### Qiang

- (6) ɕtɕiɕtɕaɕ tou lə ipəlkui noʊu tou lə ipəlkui  
 magpie Det Add came crow Det Add came  
 ‘Both the magpie and the crow came.’ (p.275)
- (7) ʔü lə ətɕ<sup>h</sup>in pa!  
 You Add eat(imp) sent.part  
 ‘Please eat (some food)’ (because we are eating) (p.324)
- (8) sətɕ<sup>h</sup>uan kən si, ʂanɣai i lə kən si.  
 Sichuān very hot Shanghai Add very hot  
 ‘Shichuan is hot and Shanghai is very hot too.’

### Jingpho

- (9) Mago-pu pu-s-ai, Hpyinko-pu mung pu-s-ai.  
 Pear-blossom bloom-Past-3sng apple-blossom Add bloom-Past-3sng  
 ‘Pear blossoms bloomed and apple blossoms bloomed too.’ (PT12. P20)
- (10) Jak shagan- go lamu ganghkau de pyen du lu sumsingpyenli mung  
 Satellite-top space-dat fly go Pot Space shuttle go

lamu ganghkau de    pyen du    lu    nga ai  
 space-dat            fly go Pot        Cond-sg  
 ‘Satellites can fly to space, and space shuttles can also fly to space.’ (PT 21. p. 202)

### Japanese

- (11) Taroo    *mo*    ki-ta.            Hanako    *mo*    ki-ta  
 Taroo    Add    come-Past    Hanako    Add    come-Past  
 ‘Taroo came, and Hanako came too’
- (12)    Anata    *mo*    tabe-nasai.  
 You        Add    eat-Imp  
 ‘Please have some (food)’ (because we are eating)

### Uyghur

- (13) Üzüm    pish-ti        almilar    *mu*    pish-ti  
 Grape    ripen-Past    apples    Add    ripen-Past  
 ‘Grapes ripened, and apples ripened too’  
 Apa,    män    *mu*    uxlay    özäj    *mu*    uxliğın.
- (14)    mother I        Add    sleep    you    Add    sleep-Imp  
 ‘Mom, because I am going to sleep, please (you) sleep too.’

### Turkish

- (15) Ali    *de*    gel-di        Ayşe    *de*    gel-di.  
 Ali    Add    come-Past    Ayşe    Add    come-Past  
 ‘Ali came, and Ayşe came too’
- (16) Sen        *de*    ye.  
 you        Add    eat-Imp  
 ‘Please have some (food).’ (because we are eating)

### 3.2. ADDITIVES ATTACHED TO OBJECTS

As it can be seen in (17), (19), (21), (23) and (25), additive particles can also be attached to one or more objects in SOV languages. There is no limitation for the objects whether they have an overt accusative marking or not. For example, Japanese additive *mo* can both appear

immediately after a bare object noun or a marked one to emphasize the object or topicalize the object. However, we cannot say that an additive marker after an accusative case is not a well-seen situation, and under some pragmatic factors, most of my informants found them not ungrammatical but unnatural. On the other hand, Turkish has an overt accusative marking that has a referential role; *dA* can both appear immediately after the referential accusative or after a bare object. Note that, there are direct (DO) and indirect object (IO) distinction in all five languages and direct objects are marked with a dative marker, and as far as we know, dative markers seem to be obligatory in DO+Add contexts, which may not be a language universal but may be a cross-linguistic tendency for SOV languages.

### Qiang

- (17) qa    ɣo:ts    lə    fek<sup>h</sup>ua    quaha    lə    faɣuəlɟa  
 I    beard    Add    shave-Past    face    Add    wash-Past  
 ‘I shaved my beard and washed my face’ (p. 252)

- (18) sumle:    ə<sup>h</sup>niantɕe    tɕ    lə    jinjy    su    wu  
 Teacher    2<sup>nd</sup> grade    Dat    Add    English    teach    and  
  
 sanniantɕe tɕ    lə    jinjy    su.  
 3<sup>rd</sup> gradeDat    Add    English    teach  
 ‘The teacher teaches English to both the 2<sup>nd</sup> grades and the 3<sup>rd</sup> grades’

### Jinpo

- (19) Jingpo rainngai    raitim Zi ga    mung    chye ga    nngai  
 Jinpo    be 1SG    but    Zi Language    Add    Pot speak    1SG  
 ‘I am Jinpo(people) but I can also speak Zi (language).’ (p.179)

- (20) na-a    ana    ganing    di-nna    tsi shamai    La ai lam  
 you-Gen    illness    how    do-Ger    Heal-Caus    Past that  
  
 Shi    hpe    mung    Tsun dan rit  
 Nom    he    Add    Show-imp-2sg  
 ‘You should also tell him how you healed your illness.’ (p.216)



**Japanese**

- (21) Taroo-wa osake mo nom-eru shi shochuu mo nom-eru  
 Taroo-Top osake Add drink-Pot and Shochuu Add drink-Pot  
 ‘Taroo can drink both osake and shochuu.’
- (22) Taroo ga sono hon wo boku-ni *mo* kure-ta.  
 Taroo-Nom that book-Acc I-Dat Add give-Past  
 ‘Taroo also gave me that book.’

**Uyghur**

- (23) Ular-niñ qeşi ğa biz-ni *mu* başlap bar siñiz.  
 They-Gen near Dat we-Acc Add take go-imp  
 ‘Take us too (to their place).’ (p.49)
- (24) U kitap-ni mañ-i *mu* bar-di  
 He book Acc I-Dat Add give-Past  
 ‘He also gave me the book.’

**Turkish**

- (25) Ali viski *de* iç-ebilir, rakı *da* iç-ebilir.  
 Ali whisky Add drink-Pot rakı Add drink-Pot  
 ‘Ali can drink both whisky and rakı’
- (26) O kitap-ı bana *da* ver-di  
 He book Acc I-Dat Add give-Past  
 ‘He also gave me the book.’

From the data we collected, we can summarize the general properties for additive attachment to the objects as shown below. They show similarity as in the previous section, that single additive attachment to the initial object is not allowed .

- (27) [[Object (dat)+ Add],[ Object(dat) + Add]]

Or

- (28) [[Object(dat)], [Object(dat) + Add]]  
 (29) \*[[Object(dat) +Add], [ Object(dat)]]

## 3.2. ADDITIVES ATTACHED TO PREDICATE VERBS

Additives may appear after one or more predicate verbs. There seems to be a morphological distinction while they are associating to the verbs. For example, while Qiang *lə* and Jingpho *mung* can both appear immediately after a predicate verb, Japanese, Uyghur and Turkish additives exhibit a different notion that additives intervene between the verb and the conjugative suffixes or auxiliary verbs.

**Qiang**

- (30) mi t<sup>h</sup>e: stuaha tɕ<sup>h</sup>ə lə dzə wu, nə lə dzə.  
 Person that food eat Add Pot and sleep Add Pot  
 ‘That person can also eat and sleep.’

**Jingpho**

- (31) sha *mung* hkum sha, manang ni ya-tim  
 eat Add do-Neg-Imp eat friend give-Ger  
 hkum la  
 do-Neg-Imp Take  
 ‘Don’t even eat, even if your friends give don’t take’ (p.222)

**Japanese**

- (32) Burogu ga daisuki dakara yomi mo suru shi jibun de  
 Blog nom love(much) because read Add do and self Loc  
 kaki mo suru.  
 write Add do  
 ‘Because I love blogs, I read (them) and I write myself too.’

**Uyghur**

- (33) U tehi şam ni bir qétim örüp mu ätti.  
 He again candle Acc one time throw down Add do-Past  
 ‘He also threw down the candle once’

**Turkish**

- (34) Hakan İstanbul-a döne-de-bilir, Ankara-da kala-da-bilir.  
 Hakan İstanbul-Dat return-Add-Pot Ankara-Loc stay-Add-Pot  
 ‘Hakan might return to İstanbul or He might stay in Ankara’

It is interesting that in Japanese and Uyghur additive markers cannot be attached to the bare verb or the imperative verb. Verbs somehow must be in the continuative form such as *yom-i* (mo) in Japanese, *örü-p* (mu) in Uyghur. However, in Turkish while *dA* can be attached also to the continuative form such as *gid-e-dE-bilir*, it can also be attached to converbs such as *Ali koşunca dA koşmayınca dA yoruluyor* (Ali gets tried even if he runs or not). In addition, in Turkish additives can be attached to the imperative form of the verb, such as *yap dA göreyim!* (i defy you to do so) which gives an offensive meaning to the hearer. Besides additives can also appear between a Verbal Noun and a light verb such as ,

**(35) Turkish**

- Araba-yı muayene de et-tik, tamir de et-tik.  
 Car-Acc inspection Add do-Past-3Plr repair add do-Past-3Plr  
 ‘We also inspected the car and also repaired it.’

**(36) Japanese**

- Kinoo soodi mo si-ta si, sentaku mo si-ta  
 Yesterday cleaning Add do-Past and laundry Add do-Past  
 ‘Yesterday I did the cleaning and also I did the laundry too.’

**3.4. ADDITIVES ATTACHED TO NUMERALS**

Additives attached to the numerals in these five languages emphasize the meaning. They can be both used in an affirmative or a negative context, and the sentence will be interpreted as All Neg or All Positive. However, in Jingpho and Japanese with a cardinal *one* additive particles turn to a negative polarity item (NPI) such as (*mi+mung...neg*) or (*hitotsu+mo....neg*). And if they are followed by a positive context, the sentence will be ungrammatical (Nakanishi,

2006). We can say that Uyghur additive particle *mu* shows similar negative effect on the sentence, however it can not be attached to the bare numeral unless it gives a plural meaning not an additive such as, *bir mu bir* (one and one).

### Qiang

- (37) tɕimi zguətʂə lə iɕi.  
 child nine Add give birth  
 ‘(She) gave birth to nine children (that’s a lot).’

### Jingpho

- (38) Shat ngup mi mung n lu mayu jahkrat uai.  
 Food mouth one Add Neg Pot swallow 3sg  
 ‘I can’t even swallow one piece of food.’ (p.227)

### Japanese

- (39) Kare wa ringo wo hitotsu mo tabe-tei-nai.  
 He-Top apple Acc one Add eat-Asp-Neg  
 ‘He didn’t eat even one apple’

### Uyghur

- (40) U ana wätini ni bir minut mu unti-mi-di.  
 he mother land Acc one minute Add forget-Neg-Past  
 ‘He didn’t forget his motherland even for a minute.’ (p.64)

### Turkish

- (41) Çocuk-lar-ın üç-ü de gel-me-di.  
 child-Plr-Gen three-Poss Add come-Neg-Past  
 ‘(all of the) Three children did not come.’

### 3.5. ADDITIVES ATTACHED TO A QUESTION WORD

Additives can appear attached to interrogative pronouns or question words as shown in the examples. Qiang, Japanese, Uyghur and Turkish question words with an additive compose a NPI. The syntactic

distribution of NPIs is quite straightforward: They have to co-occur with a clausemate sentential negation. Qiang additives and Japanese additive particles can be attached to a bare question word and compose a new NPI such as *aʃpa lə* ‘anywhere’ or *iʃi lə* ‘anything’ in Qiang, *daremo* ‘anyone’, *dokomo* ‘anywhere’, *nanimo* ‘anything’ in Japanese. However, it must be noted that, *daremo* and *dokomo* can also be used in affirmative sentences. Especially if the nominative case marker *ga* follows the question word and the additive *daremo* such as *daremo ga suki na eiga* ‘A movie which everyone likes’. On the other hand, Uyghur additives cannot appear attached to a bare question word, but they can appear after a question word that has already attached to a NPI *heç* as shown in the example (45). In this sense, Turkish shows different behavior; only the question word *kim* with a conditional *-se* can be a NPI. Turkish NPI *hiç* is optional for *kimse* such as *hiçkimse* and additive attachment emphasizes the negative interpretation. On the other hand in Jingpho, question word and an additive particle can appear both in positive and negative sentences. This is also true for the Japanese question word *itsu* ‘when’, when additive marker is attached to *itsu*, it gives us a universal interpretation such as *itsumo* ‘always’.

### Qiang

- (42) t<sup>he</sup>: iʃi lə bəl- ma-ʏzə.  
 he what Add do-Neg-Pot  
 ‘He can’t do anything at all.’

### Jingpho

- (43) nang hpa mung hkum hkrit!  
 you what Add do-imp(Neg) afraid  
 ‘Don’t be afraid of anything’

### Japanese

- (44) Taro wa nani mo tabe-tei-nai  
 Taro Top what Add eat-Asp-Neg  
 ‘Taro is not eating anything’

**Uyghur**

- (45) U heç nemi *mu* ye-mi-di  
 he not what Add eat-Neg-Past  
 ‘He didn’t eat anything at all’

**Turkish**

- (46) Bu konu-yu kim-se *de* bil-mi-yor  
 this matter-Acc who-Cond Add know-Neg-Asp  
 ‘Noone knows anything about this matter.’

**4. CONCLUSION**

In the present study, additives in 5 SOV languages from 3 language families were examined. Among languages the common properties of additives are:

1. They are particles but not (independent) words, that they have to occur after another item in the sentence.
2. They can be attached after one or more subjects, objects, verbs, numerals and question words.
3. In numerals and question words, when they appear after these items they give a subjective interpretation and especially for the question words they compose a NPI .

However, it is interesting to observe that the languages which we dealt with here are all Asian origin SOV languages. While language contact certainly has played and continue to play a significant role (Pardeshi et al., 2006), it is hard to say Japanese or Turkish had a contact. We propose that the SOV word order itself has an independent operation on the morpho-syntactic property of the additives.

**REFERENCES**

- Dönük, D. (2005). Additive enclitic suffix –dA in Turkish as a cohesive device. *Dil Dergisi*, 130, 54-67.
- Göksel, A. and Özsoy, A. S. (2003). dA: A focus/topic associated clitic in Turkish. *Lingua* 113 (11), 1143-1167.
- Göksel, A. and Kerslake, C. (2005). *Turkish: A comprehensive grammar*. London: Routledge
- Kerslake, C. (1996). The role of connectives in discourse construction in Turkish. In A. Konrot (Ed.), *Modern Studies in Turkish. Proceedings of the 6th International Conference on Turkish Linguistics*. 12-14 August, 1992. Eskişehir, Turkey,. (77-104).
- LaPolla, R. J. and Huang, C. (2003). *A grammar of Qiang, with annotated texts and glossary*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Lewis, G. L. (1967). *Turkish grammar*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Nakanishi, K. (2006). Even, only and negative polarity in Japanese. In *the Proceedings of the 16<sup>th</sup> Semantics and Linguistics Theory, SALT 16*, (138-155).
- Pardeshi, P., Hook, P., Masica, C. P., Ido, H. B. S., Horie, K., Dorjkhand, J., Kim, J., Mori, K., Chandralal, D., Koul, O. N., Liang, H., Murakami, Y., Thepkanjana, K., Li, Q., Vasireddi, P. and varma, T. (2006). Toward a geotypology of EAT-expressions in languages of Asia: Visualizing areal patterns through WALS. *Gengo Kenkyu* 130, 89-108.
- YuWen Sekizinci Sınıflar için Dilbilgisi* (2004). Shinjian Eğitim Yayınları. Çin.
- İlkokullar için Dilbilgisi*. (2003). The Nationalities Publishing House of Yunnan.