In (17a, b) third person plural person agreement *-lAr* is used for second and third person singular *-sin* and *ø* respectively. These forms are used as a sign of **respect.** It is also possible to use third person singular *-ø* to refer to first person singular as seen in (17c). This is the style often adopted by writers to refer to themselves in **formal** written language. The second person plural *siz* for the second person singular *sen* shown in (17d) is a widely used **politeness** pattern. Conversely, the first person plural for the first person singular *ben* signals **modesty**: *Biz öyle gördük, Boynumuz kıldan ince, Bugün nasılız?* (Lewis, 1967: 247).

I.   Why is *Sayın Vali açılışı eşleriyle birlikte sereflendirdiler* ambiguous?
II. Look at the following data and try to specify the morpheme order in nominals in Turkish.

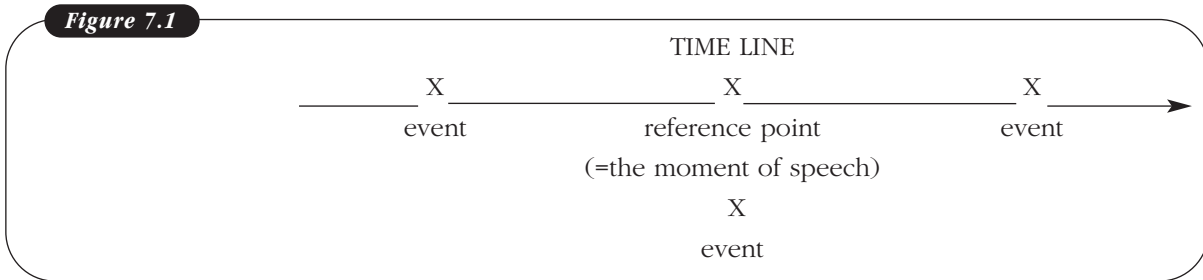|			
sokak	*sokaklar*	*sokakları*	*annemler*
sokakta	*sokaklarda*	*sokaklarında*	*annenlerde*
sokağı	*sokakları*	*sokaklarını*	*annenleri*
sokaktan	*sokaklardan*	*sokaklarından*	*annemlerden*
sokağın	*sokakların*	*sokakları*	*anemlerin*
sokağa	*sokaklara*	*sokaklarına*	*annenlere*
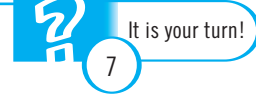
Verbal Categories

Negation

Standart negation is marked on the verb using the negative morpheme *-mA* as in *gelmedi*. The alternative negative marker *değil* is used with adjectival and nominal predicates as in *Olcay mutlu değil, Olcay öğretmen değil*. It can also occur with a preceding clause, but this type of use is more marked since it is restricted to *-mIş, -(I)yor,* and *-(y)AcAK* clauses only: *gelmiş değilsin, geliyor değilsin, gelecek değilsin,* but **geldi değilsin, *gelir değilsin, *gelmeli değilsin*. Notice that the person agreement marker is obligatorily used with *değil* in these sentences to avoid otherwise ungrammatical forms: **geliyorsun değil, *geleceksin değil, *gelmişsin değil*. However, this constraint becomes optional when *değil* is used with a preceding clause negated with *-mA*. Double negatives formed in this way allow both person marked preceding clauses as in *gelmeyeceksin değil* and/or person marked *değil* as in *gelmeyecek değilsin*. Double negatives with *değil* also allow the past and present tense markers in their preceding clauses: *gelmedi değilsin, gelmez değilsin* as well as *gelmedin değil, gelmezsin değil* (Erguvanlı-Taylan, 1986: 159-177).

It is also possible to convey negative meaning with derivational markers as in *Olcay mutsuz*. Negative derivational markers create contradictory meanings that are mutually exclusive. This kind of negation is not verbal since the use of it is restricted to non-verbal categories.

Tense, Aspect, Mood (TAM)

Tense and aspect communicate information about time. In order to understand the meaning of a noun, we do not have to consider time, but messages conveyed by verbs are understood based on various information about time. This information can be hidden in the lexical meaning of a verb. For example, some verbs inherently do not last long, i. e. *sıçra-, kır-, hapşır-,* but some do, i. e. *oku- yüz- uyu-*. Some verbs focus on the beginning or the finishing of an event, i. e. *başla-, bit-, son ver*, some on the ongoing nature of it, i. e. *sür-, ol-, dur-,* yet, some others emphasize a change in state of affairs, i. e. *büyü-, soğu-, yeşer-*. This type of intrinsic information

about the internal temporal structure of a verb is called **lexical aspect**. However, regardless of this lexical make-up of a verb, the time frame expressed by it can be manipulated by using tense and aspect markers in a language. **Tense** is a grammatical category that locates the event in time. Time, as we know it, indicates a temporal dimension, and it is linear. When we speak, we choose a point in time from which events are viewed. This point in time is our **reference point** and tense is used to locate events in time with respect to that point. Most characteristically, the moment of speech is chosen to be the reference point. An event may take place anterior to the reference point, it can include the reference point, or it can be posterior to the reference point as shown below:

Figure 7.1

TIME LINE

```
_____X_____X_____X____→
     event        reference point        event
                 (=the moment of speech)
                         X
                       event
```

This way of viewing events gives us three tense distinctions: past, present, and future. However, this terminology may sometimes be misleading since past markers may be used in non-past situations and present markers in several others. Some examples from Turkish are given in Table 7.2.

Table 7.2
Overlap in Time Reference

	past meaning	present meaning	future meaning
past marker		Vaktiniz var mıydı?	Haydi, ben gittim!
present marker	Çocuk başını kaldırır ve yaşlı adam bakar.		Yarın gelirim.
progressive marker	Annesi sabahlara kadar ders çalıştığını söylüyor		Yarın gidiyoruz.

As can be seen in the above table, only primary meanings of these markers coincide with their labels. Therefore, it is important to keep in mind that the label used to represent a tense category is not necesarily associated with only this meaning. Therefore, some grammarians prefer using a two-way distinction *as past* vs *non-past* instead of the more traditional three-way distinction *past* vs *present* vs *future*.

Another feature to note about tense is that it is a **deictic** category. The interpretation of tense is relative to the time of utterence. An event that took place in 1923 is viewed as *past* today because our reference point for this interpretation is 2004. We are looking at this event from the year 2004. 1923 is anterior to 2004; therefore, an event in it is past. However, the same event was viewed as present in 1923, or even future in 1922. So, tense is determined on the basis of the reference time. When this time changes, the temporal interpretation of the event also changes.

Aspect, on the other hand, is not a deictic category. It does not locate events on a time frame; therefore, it does not select a reference point to describe events. Rather, it conveys information about the nature of the event. That is, the way in which the event occurs in time: Is it continuous? Is it a one-time event; and therefore, semalfactive? Does it involve multiple repetitions of a seriees of sub-events; and therefore, iterative? Is the event completed (perfective), or left open (imperfective)? etc. This kind of characterization does not affect the time of the clause.

Do we always talk about facts? Past, present, or future facts expressed by continuous, semalfative, iterative, perfective, or imperfective verbs? Not quite so. We also express our intentions, predictions, suggestions, hunches, hopes, demands, wishes, etc. **Modality** is the term used to refer to these meanings, namely the actuality of an event. This gives us two classes of mood: *knowledge - based* and *action-based* also called *epistemic* and *deontic* respectively (Palmer, 1984: 153). **Mood** is the inflectional category that marks modality in a language. **Epistemic modality** indicates the degree of commitment on the part of the speaker to the actuality of the event marked by the verb. In other words, it is used to indicate different levels of certainty or possibility about the truth value of an event. This information can be conveyed based on *direct sensory evidence* (visual/auditory), or *indirect evidence* (reportative/inferential). For example, *Osman hasta* indicates a fact; and therefore, signals 100% certainty of the speaker (factive), but *Osman hasta olabilir* is non-factive since it indicates a possibility about which the speaker is less certain. **Deontic modality** conveys the kind of *need* (external/internal) which forces the speaker to perform an action. The following meanings are categorized as deontic: orders, obligations, suggestions, requests, permission, volition (wanting, willingness, intention, wishing, promising, threatening). The modal category *ability* is neither epistemic, nor deontic since it does not express a choice of behavior.

It is difficult to draw lines between tense, aspect, and mood as they are inherently correlated. For example, the past is characterized as *known fact* as it already took place; whereas, the future is unknown and potential as it is yet to come. This conclusion implies a correlation between tense and mood: one between future tense and non-factive mood, and one between non-future tense and factive mood. For example, *gelecek* is non-factive in terms of mood, future in terms of tense; however, *geldi* is factive, and past. An event that holds at the moment of speech is present and therefore has not been completed. This signals a correlation between present tense and imperfective aspect. This correlation implies the reverse between past tense and perfective aspect. For example, *geliyor* conveys the present tense marker and it is aspectually incompletive, but *geldi* is in the past tense and aspectually perfective.

There are languages in which each one of these temporal, aspectual, and modal meanings are distinguished by separate morphemes. However, in Turkish these meanings can be combined in a single morpheme -just as number and person marking is communicated by a single morpheme as in *-k* which marks both 1st person and plural number. This may lead to ambiguities in some cases. But, as we shall see shortly, contextual information and/or other lexical markers, i.e. adverbials, can be used as a filter to distinguish the message targetted by the speaker.

Tense, Aspect, and Mood Markers in Turkish

Turkish employs eleven morphemes to express temporal, aspectual and modal meanings. They are categorized into two groups.

GROUP I   : -DI, -mIş, -(I)yor, -(y)AcAK, -(I/A)r, -sA, -A, -mAlI
GROUP II   : -(y)DI, -(y)mIş, -(y)sA

Group I morphemes can combine with group II morphemes, and always in that order, to form more complex forms. Possible combinations in the third person sigular are displayed in Table 7.3.

Table 7.3
Combinability of Verbs in the 3rd Person Singular

	-(y)DI (past copula)	-(y)mIş (evidential copula)	-(y)sA (conditional copula)
-DI	geldiydi	X	geldiyse
-mIş	gelmişti	gelmişmiş	gelmişse
-(I)yor	geliyordu	geliyormuş	geliyorsa
-(y)AcAk	gelecekti	gelecekmiş	gelecekse
-(I/A)r	gelirdi	gelirmiş	gelirse
-sA	gelseydi	gelseymiş	X
-A	geleydi	geleymiş	X
-mAlI	gelmeliydi	gelmeliymiş	gelmeliyse

It is your turn!

8

Look at the following and make a generalization about the minimal conditions necessary to generate grammatical verbal stems in Turkish.

*git-im   **git-im-idi*
*git-id-m   **git-im-di*

Let's now have a closer look at the semantic features of these morphemes.

-DI

1. *-DI* marks **definite past** as a tense marker in the context of definite time adverbials. In sentences such as *Dün eve döndük, İki yıl önce tanıştık, Buraya geçen yıl geldik,* the events that are expressed by the verbs took place anterior to the reference point. Therefore, they are characterized as *past.*

2. *-DI* has aspectual meanings, as well. Two of them are *perfective* and *perfect* (Kornfilt 1997: 340-355). **Perfective** aspect focuses on completedness, whereas **perfect** on the present result of a past situation. A sentence such as *saçlarım ıslandı* may be ambiguous between the two aspectual meanings. In a context such as *saçlarım ıslandı ama şimdi kurudu* the event 'to get wet' is viewed as completed. Therefore, the aspectual meaning assigned to it is perfective. Compare this with *Saçlarım ıslandı ve hala da ıslak.* Now, the meaning foregrounds the **current relevance,** *being wet,* of the past situation, *getting wet.* Therefore, the aspect is interpreted as perfect. Similar examples are:

(18) Gürkan ellerini yıka**dı**.
    implication: they are clean now, so he can eat.

    Gürkan Türkçe ödevini bitir**di**.
    implication: it is ready now to be turned in.

    Pantolonuma çay dökül**dü**.
    implication: it is wet now, so I have to change it.

The *perfect* interpretation of *-DI* in (18) can be cancelled by providing additional contexts. Consider the following:

(19) Gürkan önce ellerini yıka**dı** sonra da yüzünü.
    Gürkan Türkçe ödevini bitir**di** ama daha diğerleri var.
    Pantolonuma çay dökül**dü**, bir de yırtıl**dı**.

The same morpheme in (19) is interpreted as perfective. In a context where a series of successive events are described, the focus in each of them will be on their completedness rather than their present result.

When used with appropriate adverbials, *-DI* marks **recent past**: *Ekmekler yeni/henüz geldi*. Lack of time adverbial in this context may lead to different aspectual interpretations.

The so called **experiential perfect,** as well, is grammaticalized by *-DI*. This type of aspect "indicates that a given situation has held at least once during some time in the past leading up to the present." (Comrie, 1976: 58). This meaning is reinforced by indefinite time adverbials such as *hiç, hayatında, ömründe*. Some examples are *ömrümde et yemedi m, hiç 50 kilo olmadı m, bir kere bile yalan söylemedi m*. In each of these examples, the speaker makes a remark about whether or not the situation described, i.e. eating meat, weighing 50kgs, lying, has ever held in his/her personal experience.

It is important to note that the aspectual meanings of the morpheme *-DI* do not exclude its past meaning. All of the verbs above have past reference with respect to time.

3. In terms of its epistemic modality, *-DI* signals **direct evidence** on the part of the speaker about the actuality of the event. Therefore, there is no less than 100% certainty in the meaning expressed. Since the events are directly witnessed by the speaker, they are **factive**. For example, in *gitti* 'he left', the speaker's choice of *-DI* among other morphemes signals an embedded meaning of 'I know'. So, a better translation would be 'he left for sure' or 'I am sure he left.'

The function of direct evidence or direct experience is a good linguistic motivation to use *-DI* in **narratives:** stories or accounts of events. For example, "... *Ben işte böyle korkudan titrerken birden omuzuma bir el dokundu . Döndü m. Babamdı ."*

Although they may not have been experienced by the speaker, **historical facts** are expressed by *-DI* as well. School children always recite sentences like *Atatürk 1881'de doğdu, 1938'de öldü* without witnessing these events. The reason is that historical events are conventional and known to everybody. So, having personal experience is irrelevant in this context.

4. In copular sentences[1] , past is expressed by *-(y)DI* instead of *-DI: doktordu, hastaydı, açıktı, karaydı, babamdı .*

Sometimes, both *-(y)DI* and *-DI* are used with present or future reference to denote **politeness**. *Zamanınız var mıydı?* is more polite than *Zamanınız var mı?* Similarly, *Birkaç soru sormak istedi m* is more polite than *birkaç soru sormak istiyorum*.

In terms of epistemic modality, *-(y)DI* marks **uncertainty** with present reference. Observe the difference between *Senin adın Ecem mi?,* a pure question used to seek information, and *Senin adın Ecem miydi?* a question used to check memory retention. The underlying meanings for each are *I don't know, so tell me,* and *I forgot, so remind me* respectively. Here are more examples to show this contrast:

Table 7.4
-(y)DI vs Other
Morphemes

	other	-(y)DI
'don't-know-tell-me' meaning	Bu telefon nasıl açılıyor? Nasıl konuşacak? Öğrenci misin? Öğrencisin, değil mi?	
'forgot-remind-me' meaning		Bu telefon nasıl açılıyordu? Nasıl konuşacaktı? Öğrenci miydin? Öğrenciydin, değil mi?

5. Surprisingly enough, *-DI* is used with **future/present reference** as well. Consider *Hadi ben gittim!* used when the speaker is about to leave a place, or *Geldim, geldim!* used when the speaker is about to open the door whose bell is ringing. The event *to go* will take place posterior to the moment of speech. On the other hand, *to come* is taking place at the same time the speech is made. Therefore, *-DI* is characterized to have future and present reference in these contexts.

It is your turn!

9

What aspectual meaning/s can be expressed by the following?
Annem geldi.

-mIş

1. *-mIş,* as well as its copular form *-(y)mIş,* stands in opposition to *-DI* in its modal functions. These two morphemes are contrasted with respect to the kind of evidential modality they mark. As mentioned before, *-DI* marks *witnessed past.* This kind of meaning is attested by direct sensory evidence. However, in the context of *-mIş* **indirect evidence** is suggested. The meaning involved is second-hand; and therefore, a **hearsay**. Observe the difference between *Zeynep kitabı okumuş* and *Zeynep kitabı okudu*. Even though both have past reference, in the first example, the speaker is reporting a hearsay. S/he cannot have witnessed the process of *reading* and the end state of *finishing*. This kind of externality marked by *-mIş* is also observed in sentences such as *uyumuşum, çok yemişim, yorulmuşum*. However, in the second example, the choice of *-DI* clearly states that both the process and the end state have been eye-witnessed by the speaker.

It should be noted that a hearsay can be expressed by *-DI* in the context of prepared minds. If prior events lead to an **expected result,** the speaker selects *-DI* instead of *-mIş* even though direct experience is not at play (Slobin & Aksu, 1982: 196). For example, not long ago there was a public discussion on the new law of civil rights. After a long lasting media coverage, the law finally passed. When something like this happens, native speakers tend to report the news by using *-DI* as this is an expected event. Therefore, *Yeni medeni kanun geçti* is more natural in this context. However, despite the preceding process that provides familiarity, the speaker may not be ready for such a change, or he may not wish for it. In this context, the passing of the new law is interpreted as an unexpected event by the speaker. Then he would be conditioned to use *-mIş* instead of *-DI*: *Biliyor musun, yeni medeni kanun geçmiş*. This gives us another function of *-mIş*: **surprise** in the context of unprepared minds. Similarly, *Aaaa, Demet de gelmiş!* entails that Demet's coming is unexpected; and therefore, surprising for the speaker.

-mIş has another evidential function through which it marks **inferential** meaning. *Zeynep kitabı oku**muş*** can be interpreted as an inference if the speaker utters it based on situational evidence. For example, s/he might see Zeynep's book whose pages are color marked with underlined sentences and notes from cover to cover. Based on this evidence s/he can say, *'Mmm, Zeynep kitabı oku**muş** .'* Or Zeynep can be heard in a talk making arguments based on the book whose content is familiar to him/her. This is evidence enough to infer that *Zeynep has read the book.* As the speaker has not eye-witnessed the process of reading, but only the end-state of it, s/he chooses *-mIş* to mark this kind of (indirect) evidential information. Notice that *Zeynep kitabı oku**du*** is ruled out in this context since *-DI* requires direct evidence; and therefore, factive, not evidential. Similarly, *Zeynep kitabı oku**muş*** is ruled out if uttered upon seeing Zeynep reading the book. The reason is that *-mIş* requires inference based on indirect experience, i.e. observation, not on direct experience.

It should be noted that there may be an overlap between the modal and aspectual functions of *-mIş*. As mentioned earlier, an inference is made based on a result state. Therefore, it would not be wrong to assume that an inference has also got current relevance. For example, *Zeynep kitabı oku**muş*** may entail that *she knows about the book and she can talk about it*. This interpretation has current relevance; and therefore, is assigned the aspectual meaning of perfect. So, we can say that there is a semantic similarity between perfect and inferential as both categories present events via their results (Comrie, 1976: 110). However, the same sentence may also be used as an answer to the question *Zeynep ne yap**mış**?* In this context, not the result, but the event itself and its realization is prioratized. Therefore, the aspectual meaning is perfective.

By the same token, the inferential meaning of *-mIş* can be associated with past reference since an inference is made based on the result of a past event.

2. *-mIş* is used in **narratives** centering around unreal events, i.e. myths, tales, dreams, etc. This can be associated with the hearsay/reportative function of *-mIş* that marks events external to the personal experience of the speaker. Here's an extract from a children's story: *...Bir padişahın bir oğlu var**muş**. Günün birinde canı sıkıl**mış**, düş**müş** yollara... Yolda giderken bir dervişe rastla**mış**. Derviş şehzadeye, 'Şehzadesin, güzelsin, bu yollarda ne gezersin?' de**miş**. Şehzade de derdini anlat**mış**...* All the events marked with *-mIş* in this extract express a situation outside the personal experience of the speaker. This coincides with the semantics of *-mIş*; and thus, determines the speaker's preference for it over other morphemes.

In what context/s can the following sentences be used?
   *Zeynep'i sinek ısır**mış** vs Zeynep'i sinek ısır**dı**.*

It is your turn!

10

-(I)r/-(A)r
The so called **aorist** has a complex morphology; and therefore, deserves a full account. Monosyllabic stems, except for those ending in /l/ or /r/ take the low vowel suffix *-(A)r*: *koş-ar, sev-er*. (Exceptions are also possible: *gir-er, sor-ar*, etc.) But polysyllabic stems, as well as monosyllabic ones ending in /l/ or /r/, and those with derived stems take the high vowel suffix *-(I)r*: *yen-ir* (a monosyllabic, but derived stem), *aktar-ır* (a polysyllabic stem), *gör-ür* (a monosyllabic stem with a final /r/).

The negative of the aorist displays a rather peculiar morphology, as well. The consonant of the morheme, which is /r/, becomes /z/ when combined with the negative morpheme -mA. Then this /z/ is dropped when used with the first person singular subject; and it is changed into /y/ when used with the first person plural. See below for examples.

Table 7.5
Morphology of the Aorist

	positive	negative
1st singular	ara-r-ım	ara-ma-[dropped]-m
2nd singular	ara-r-sın	ara-ma-z-sın
3rd singular	ara-r-ø	ara-ma-z-ø
1st plural	ara-r-ız	ara-ma-y-ız
2nd plural	ara-r-sınız	ara-ma-z-sınız
3rd plural	ara-r-lar	ara-ma-z-lar

Let's now turn to the functions of *-(A)r/-(I)r.*

1. *-(A)r/-(I)r* is used to mark the aspectual meaning of **habitual**. Comrie (1976: 27-28) defines habituality as "a situation which is characteristic of an extended period of time." This definition makes an emphasis on typicality. Consider the examples:

(20) Balık yemem.
       Saat 12'den önce yatmam.
       Yedi saat uyurum.
       Babam kendine çok dikkat eder.
       Bizim eve çok misafir gelir.

All the sentences in (20) reflect regularly repeated behavior that is characterized as typical of the subject.

2. Closely related to this function, *-(A)r/-(I)r* is also used to mark **generic meanings**. This is not surprising as both generic and habitual make emphasis on the characterization of an entity (Yavaş, 1980: 103). When we say *balıklar yüzer* 'fish swim', we express an inherent characteristic of the fish. Similarly, *balık yemem* 'I don't eat fish' can be taken as a permanent property which characterizes the subject. In other words, not eating fish is seen as the dinstinctive feature of the entity. Other examples of generic statements are *zürafaların uzun boyunları olur, aslan kükrer, tavuk gıdaklar, insan düşünür, bebekler sevgi ister.*

The generic interpretation in these statements may be due to the timeless nature (Menges, 1968: 128) of the Turkish aorist. **Timeless** means omnitemporal. If something is viewed as omnitemporal, its truth value holds for all times. Scientific facts can be put in this category as well. Consider *güneş doğudan doğar, beş kere beş yirmibeş eder, bütün canlılar yaşlanır, ay dünyanın etrafında döner, ısınan hava yükselir, zıt kutuplar biriribirini çeker.* The truth value of these statements is constant. They represent facts which hold irrespective of time. They are true for the past, present, and future. This meaning, which is illustrated in Figure 7.2, is conveyed by *-(A)r/-(I)r* in Turkish.

Figure 7.2

TIME LINE

G ü n e ş   d o ğ u d a n   d o ğ a r
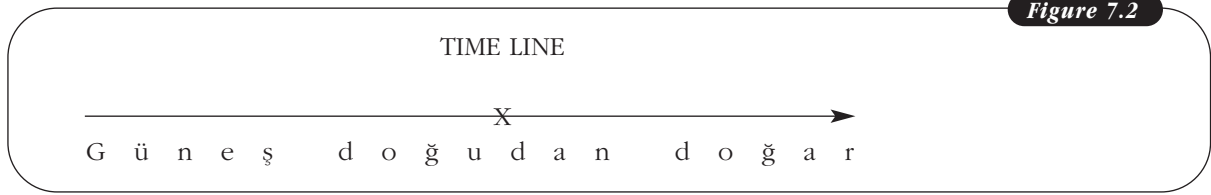
3. *-(A)r/-(I)r* has modal functions as well. One such function is **prediction.** See (21) below.

    (21) a. Osman sebze sever, öyleyse fasulye de yer.
        b. *Osman karar verdi, öyleyse fasulye yer.

Based on prior knowledge about the subject, i.e. his likes and dislikes, the speaker in (21a) makes a prediction about his potential behavior. From the ungrammaticality of (21b), it is clear that, epistemically, this form does not denote strong certainty. A decision implies strong certainy; therefore, it cannot be used with *-(A)r/-(I)r* which has contradictory semantics. Compare, however, *ben üniversite sınavını kazanırım, ben bu masayı kaldırırım, ben bu işi kotarırım*. In these examples the speaker and the subject is identical. This leads us to a different interpretation. Here the speaker makes a prediction about his/her ability to accomplish something (Yavaş, 1980: 105). This signals **self-assurance,** which denotes stronger certainty.

In addition to these epistemic meanings, *-(A)r/-(I)r* also has some deontic meanings. One of them is **volition** on the part of the speaker: *Sana onbeşten veririm, evimi size veririm, yüzde beşine razı olurum*. In all of these examples, the speaker signals willingness about the realization of the verb. Notice that for this kind of interpretation, the speaker and the subject must be identical. This function is similar to **promising**: *Söz, gelirken oyuncaklarımı da getiririm; Söz, ağzımı açmam*. These examples have future reference as well.

-(A)r/-(I)r is used in **offers /invitations/requests**. This is a function which is closely related to volition. Some examples are: *Biraz daha alır mısınız?, Bize gelir misin?, Biraz sessiz olur musun?*

4. *-(A)/-(I)r* is used in **narratives**. Especially, in third person narration and story telling, the choice of *-(A)r/-(I)r* over other possible markers brings more immediacy to the text because past meanings remain alive in the present. Look at the following extracts.

    (22) "...İhanet de o vakit başlar zaten. Kendini sevmeye başlamasıyla.
        'Kendimi sevdiğimi anladım,' der ölüm sorgusunda, 've hayatı...'
        Kendisi hesabına ve dışarıdaki hayat adına içerideki dünyaya
        ihanetin bedelini de bilir..." (Kırca, 1997: 24)

        " ...Oğlan az uyur, çok uyur. Bir de bakar ki, kız yok. Ne oldu diye
        gezinirken, orada bir kuyu bulur. Kuyunun içine bakar ki, dibinde
        bir gürültü, çalgı çağanak artık deme gitsin. Derken, kuyunun içinden
        bir kuş çıkar. Kuş, oğlanı görünce, 'Ey yiğit, sen burada ne arıyorsun?'
        diye sorar..." (Kunos, 1991: 128)

The same effect is created in **demonstrations.** Consider the example below and see how the speaker provides a description of a process accompanied by a visual demonstration:

(23) Önce kağıdımızı ikiye katlarız. Böylece ortasını buluruz.
Sonra da tekrar açıp, bu kek her iki kenarı ortaya gelecek
şekilde iki taraftan katlarız...

-(I)yor
1. *-(I)yor* has several aspectual functions. One such function is to mark the **progressive** aspect in Turkish. When events are viewed as non-complete or in progress, they are marked with *-(I)yor. Ne yap***ıyor***sun?, Kitap oku***yo****rum.* Note that this function has present reference.

Like the aorist, *-(I)yor* has the aspectual meaning of **habitual.** Therefore, the examples given in (20) can be marked with *-(I)yor* as well: *Balık yem***iyor***um, Saat 12'den önce yatm***uyor***um, Yedi saat u***yuyor***um, Babam kendine çok dikkat ed***iyor***, Bizim eve çok misafir gel***iyor***.* Even though both *-(A)r/-(I)r* and *-(I)yor* mark habituality, the latter lacks the typicality function of the former mentioned above. It merely serves as a marker which signals a certain regular behavior of the subject. It does not make a reference to any property associated with the subject (Yavaş, 1980: 101). Other examples are: *Kardeşim bankada çalı***şıyor***, Ben müzik dinlemeyi sev***iyor***um, Hiç devamsızlık yapm***ıyo****rum.* Note that, as a semantic feature of habituality, the actuality of the events in these examples applies to past, present, and most probably future as well. In other words, a sentence such as *müzik dinlemeyi sev***iyor***um* entails *I did, do,* and most probably *will like* listening to music.'

-(I)yor marks the so called the **perfect of persistant situation** (Comrie, 1976) in Turkish. As Comrie puts it (p. 60), it is used to "describe a situation that started in the past, but continues (persists) into the present." Some examples are: *on yıldır buradan alış veriş ediyorum, geçen yıldan beri dans dersleri alıyorum, onunla kısa bir süreden beri tanışıyoruz, ne zamandan beri bu işi yapıyorsun?*

-(I)yor marks **iterativity** when used with verbs otherwise **semalfactive.** For example, *öksürmek* is a one time verb; and thus, semalfactive. When we say *Sevim öksürdü,* we mean she caughed only once. However, this interpretation is cancelled if *-DI* is replaced by *-(I)yor. Sevim öksür***üyor*** is iterative as it now denotes a series of repeated coughs, not a single one. Other examples are: *Zeynep başına vurdu* vs *Zeynep başına vur***uyor***, Hakan topu tekmeledi vs Hakan topu tekmel***iyor***, Can hapşırdı vs Can hapşır***ıyor***.*

2. *-(I)yor* is also used with future reference to mark **scheduled future events:** *Yarın eve dönüyorum, Pazartesi bütün faturalarımı ödüyorum, okul iki yıl sonra bitiyor.* Notice that this meaning is cancelled in the absence of the time adverbials.

3. *-(I)yor* has **past interpretation**, as well: *Rapor son rakamları ver***iyor,*** *araştırmalar bunu göster***iyor***, gazeteler öyle yaz***ıyor.*** This type of usage is restricted to the verbs of communication (Quirk et. al., 1985: 181). Even though past reference is acceptable in these contexts, *-(I)yor* is chosen to mark the currently operative nature of the situation. Therefore, a sentence such as *rapor son rakamları*

*ver**iyor*** suggest that even though it was written in the past, it still reveals this information. Likewise, the suggestion in the next two examples is that research studies and newspapers still speak to us about these events.

4. *-(I)yor* is used in **narratives, commentaries,** and **demonstrations**. Like the aorist, the choice of *-(I)yor* provides immediacy and generates excitement. Therefore, it increases the dramatic effect of the events narrated. Consider the language samples used in a commentary, narrative, and demonstration in (23 a, b, and c) respectively.

(23) a. Hakan topu Rüştü'ye at**ıyor,** ama maalesef top Rüştü'ye geln**iyor.**
b. Kırmızı Başlıklı Kız içeriye gir**iyor** ve karşısında hain kurdu buluyor.
c. Önce soğanımızı kavur**uyor**uz, sonra biraz da su ilave ederek pişir**iyor**uz.

Think of a context in which the following sentence cannot be acceptable.
On yıldır buradan alış veriş ediyorum.

It is your turn!

12

-(y)AcAK

1. *-(y)AcAK* is the **future** marker in Turkish. *Koş**acak***, *gel**eceğ**iz, ve **ecek**sin, sor**acak**lar* all indicate that the events described by the verbs will take place posterior to the moment of speech.

2. When combined with relevant adverbials, *-(y)AcAK* marks the **prospective aspect** in Turkish. Sentences such as *Otobüs şimdi hareket ed**ecek*** (=it has not departed yet, but will soon), *annem hemen gel**ecek (***=she is not here now, but soon will be) make a reference to a present state related to a future event. This meaning is symmetrical with the **retrospective** function of perfect. Retrospective links a present state to a past situation; whereas, prospective links a present state to a subsequant situation (Comrie, 1976: 64).

3. Recall that *-(I)yor* and *-(A)r/-(I)r* are also used to mark **futurity**. However, the three morphemes differ in some respects. *-(I)yor* and *-(y)AcAK* are contrasted on the basis of whether or not the event is scheduled; and therefore, more definite. For non-scheduled, less definite events, the choice is between *-(y)AcAK* and *-(A)r/-(I)r* (Yavaş, 1980: 84). This shows that *-(y)AcAK* can be used for both planned and unplanned events; whereas, *-(I)yor* and *-(A)r/-(I)r* are restricted to only planned and unplanned events respectively.

(24) a. Sınav tarihleri belli oldu. *Edebiyat sınavı Salı günü ol**ur**.
b. Sınav tarihleri belli oldu. Edebiyat sınavı Salı günü ol**acak.**
c. Sınav tarihleri belli oldu. Edebiyat sınavı Salı günü ol**uyor.**

As evidenced by the ungrammaticality of (24a), *-(A)r/-(I)r* is disallowed in the context of a definite scheduled event. Let's now see which of these morphemes can cooccur with an unscheduled; and therefore, less definite event. Consider the following examples. Notice that an adverbial of a weak possibility, *sanırım,* is included as a semantic test. Our assumption is that *sanırım* and markers which denote definiteness will be in complimentary distribution as they display a conflict in their semantics.

(25) a. Sağlığın bozuluyor, sanırım sigarayı bırak**ır**sın.
b. ?Sağlığın bozuluyor, sanırım sigarayı bırak**acak**sın.
c. *Sağlığın bozuluyor, sanırım sigarayı bırak**ıyor**sun.

The acceptability of (25a) shows that *-(A)/r/-(I)r* can cooccur with *sanırım*; and thus, less strong. However, (25b) is marginal and (25c) is ungrammatical due to the semantic conflict between *sanırım*, and that of *-(I)yor* and *-(y)AcAK*. The fact that *-(I)yor* is ruled out but *-(y)AcAK* may be kept in the environment of adverbials that mark weak possibility shows that *-(I)yor* is stronger than *-(y)AcAK*.

4. *-(y)AcAK* can be used to make **assumptions** based on prior knowledge about a situation: *eve gitme, annem şimdi alışverişte olacak; doktoru ara, odasında olacak; paspası kaldır, anahtar altında olacak.*

It is your turn!

13

Is the following sentence acceptable as a definite future event?
Sağlığın bozuluyor, mutlaka sigarayı bırakıyorsun.

Mood Markers in Turkish

-sA

-sA, as well as its copular form *-(y)sA,* is a mood marker, which denotes **conditional** meanings: *bilsen* (remote condition/wish), *bilseydin* (unfulfilled condition/counterfactual wish) vs *bilseymiş* (reported condition/wish), *okusaydın* (past conditional) (see Unit 12 for more).

-(y)A

-(y)A is the **optative** mood marker, which is the expression of speaker's wish. *yapayım* (let me do it), *yapalım* (let's do it). It is used much less commonly in other persons: *yapasın, yapa, yapasınız, yapalar.*

-mAlI

-mAlI marks the modal functions of **obligation/necessity,** and **assumption**. *Aliye olmalı* may convey necessity in a context where she is the only person without whom a situation will be incomplete. So, the speaker implies that there must be Aliye there, otherwise they will fail. It may also be interpreted as an assumption in a context where, for example, the speaker has reason to believe that Aliye will be at his/her door ringing the bell at the time of the utterance. Therefore, s/he makes an assumption based on this information.

-(y)Abil

-(y)Abil is the modal category that marks **ability** and **possibility**. A statement such as *okuyabilirim* may be ambiguous between the two functions. Depending on the context, it may either mean 'I am capable of reading', or 'I may read.'

Imperative

Imperative is a modal category which denotes **commands**. It can be negated and inflected for two of the voice categories (reflexive and causative) in Turkish. Some examples of second person singular imperative are: *tara, taran, tarat, tarama, taranma, taratma.*

Turkish allows special forms of imperative which are expressed in the second and third person plural as well: *tarayın(ız)/tarasınlar, taranın(ız)/taransınlar, taratın(ız)/taratsınlar.*

The category imperative does not always suggest an order. For example, *Bak, ne yaptın!* is simply an **exclamation** used as an expression of annoyance or discomfort. Also, the negative imperative may be used as a **warning** in the context

of appropriate adverbials: *Sakın ona söyleme!, Asla bir daha taksiye binme!, Hele yalan hiç söyleme!*

Make table which displays the temporal, aspectual, and modal meanings marked in Turkish.

Voice

Voice is another grammatical category which is marked on verbs. It signifies the nature of the participation of a participant in the process, event or action described by the verb. There are three types of participants: the subject (the first participant), the direct object (the second participant), and the indirect object (the third participant). Subjects are typically agents, direct objects represent the affected party of the action, and indirect objects represent the entity that receives the direct object. By looking at the voice morphology of a verb we can answer the following questions:

Is it important to identify the first participant? (active)
Is it more important to express the second participant? (pasive)
Are the first and second participants identical? (reflexive)
Is the first participant a single subject or a group of subjects doing something
    together, or to one another? (reciprocal)
Are there intermediaries that perform the verb for the subject? (causative)

The voice morphology used to encode this kind of information in Turkish can be shown as: active *döv*, the passive *döv-ül*, the reflexive *döv-ün*, the reciprocal *döv-üş*, and the causative *döv-dür*.

Active

All the verbs that are not marked for voice, and that require a subject are categorized as active verbs. They can be transitive *iç-* or intransitive *uyu-*.

(26) a. Tam beş bardak su içtim.
    b. Bebek uyuyor.

The active voice used in (26a, b) does not carry voice morphology, and indicates that the subjects are the performers of the verbs.

Passive -Il or -(I)n

Passive in Turkish is formed by attaching the morpheme *-Il* to verbs ending in consonants except /l/, and its alternate *-(I)n* to the verbs ending in /l/ or a vowel: *yar-* vs *yar-ıl*; *sat-* vs *sat-ıl*; *sev-* vs *sev-il*; but, *kal-* vs *kal-ın*, *al-* vs *al-ın*, and *ata-* vs *ata-n, tara-* vs *tara-n*. Notice that the vowel in *-(I)n* is deleted in the environment of a syllable final stem vowel.

Passivization is a process of supressing the subject. In this process an active transitive verb with a direct object, becomes a passive intransitive verb with a subject only. Therefore, passive morphology is said to decrease the **valency** of a verb. By valency we refer to the argument structure of a verb; namely the number of noun phrases of that verb. For example, in *Aslan kükredi,* the verb *kükre* has only one argument: *aslan;* whereas in *Aslan avını yakaladı, yakala* has two arguments: *aslan* and *av.*

Compare the active sentence *Suzan camı kırdı* and its passive version *Cam kırıldı.* How is the passive form generated? Can we say the passive morpheme *-Il*

is attached to the stem first as in *Suzan camı kırıldı*, and then the subject is supressed as in *Camı kırıldı?* Maybe, but so far our derivation has generated an ungrammatical form. How can we reach the grammatical *Cam kırıldı?* It is claimed that a subjectless verb with passive morphology cannot assign accusative case to its arguments (Sezer, 1991: 44). So, our derivation in fact generated the grammatical *Cam kırıldı* since the passive morphology absorbed accusative case. Even though the passive morphology blocks accusative case assignment, it tolerates other cases: *Uçaktan korkulmaz, Burada motosiklete binilmez.* The caseless counterparts of these examples are ungrammatical: **Uçak korkulmaz, *Burada motosiklet binilmez.*

Passive voice allows double passives in Turkish. This process has an emphatic function which intensifies the passive meaning of the verb. It also serves as a means to disambiguate the passive forms made with -*(I)*n from the reflexive having a similar form (Lewis, 1967: 150; Özkaragöz, 1986: 78): *aran-* vs *aranıl-, beslen-* vs *beslenil-*.

Types of Passive

There are two types of passive in Turkish: personal and impersonal. The distiction between the two is made based on whether the verb is transitive or intransitive. Study the following examples
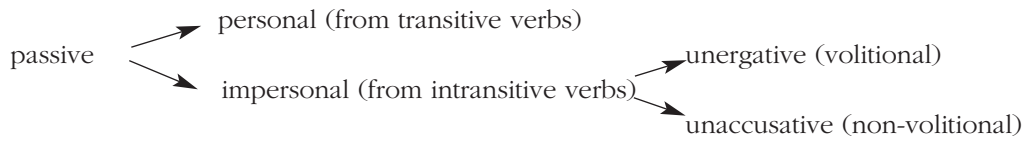
(27) a. Bütün sınıf kütüphaneyi kullandı.
　　　 b. Kütüphane kullanıldı.
(28) a. Bütün sınıf kütüphaneye gitti.
　　　 b. Kütüphaneye gidildi.

Kullan- is a transitive verb and takes a direct object, whereas *git-* is an intransitive verb and does not require a direct object. To form **personal passives**, the direct object of a transitive verb becomes the subject of a passive verb as in (27b). However, intransitive verbs are objectless, so they lack a direct object to go to the subject position of the passive. Therefore, they form **impersonal passives** without an overt subject as in (28b). The fact that *kütüphane* in this axample is not the subject is evident from its lacking subject properties: nominative case and agreement (Kornfilt, 1997: 324). It is even possible to form impersonal passives that do not contain a noun phrase of any kind: *erken yatılır, hızlı yürünmez, çok konuşulmaz.*

Impersonal passives are of two type: unergatives and unaccusatives. Unergative and unaccusative verbs can be distinguished by easily observed semantic facts. Intransitive verbs that denote volitional acts are categorized as **unergative,** and those that denote non-volitional acts as **unaccusative** (Biktimir, 1986: 56). For example, *takıl-, boğul-, düş-, bat-, çürü-* are unaccusatives; *çalış-, koş-, oyna-, kaç-, dans et-* are unergatives. Since they are intransitive, both groups of verbs have only one argument: surface subject. But in unaccusatives this surface subject is in fact serves as the underlying object of the verb. For example, in *Ecem düştü, Ecem* is the syntactic subject, but semantically it is the person that is affected by the action denoted by the verb.

To recapulate, examine the following sketch.

Figure 7.3

passive → personal (from transitive verbs)

passive → impersonal (from intransitive verbs) → unergative (volitional)

impersonal (from intransitive verbs) → unaccusative (non-volitional)

Restrictions on Impersonal Passives

It seems that animacy of a noun phrase plays a crucial role in passivization. **Animacy** is a semantic category that specifies whether a noun refers to a non-living thing (inanimate) or a living thing (animate: human vs non-human). It is argued that only verbs that can take human subjects can form impersonal passives. (Biktimir, 1986: 59; Knecht, 1985: 67). This generalization is supported by the native speaker judgement of the following as ungrammatical: *Burada kışın buzlanılır, *Bu yolda hep arızalanılır, *Bu tencerede fokurdanır. Buzlan-, arızalan- and fokurda- are verbs that take non-human subjects; therefore, they are not allowed to appear in passive constructions. Verbs with human subjects, on the other hand, form grammatical impersonal passives: Burada çalışıldı, dans edildi, konuşuldu, yemek yendi. But there are also intransitive verbs that are true of both human and non-human subjects. The passive reading of such verbs always yields underlying human subjects. For example, even though a non-human subject such as bitkiler is logically possible in Hastalanınca sararılır, it is always assumed that there is a human subject in it. Similarly, upon hearing a sentence such as Burada koşuldu, a native speaker would never assume that a dog ran there.

Another restriction reveals a difference between the behavior of unaccusative and unergative passives in different tense contexts. It is claimed that unaccusative passives are restricted to the aorist tense (the present tense), whereas unergatives can appear with other tenses along with the aorist (Sezer, 1991: 64). Compare:

(29) a. Kaygan zeminde düşülür.
  b. *Kaygan zeminde düşüldü.
(30) a. Burada koşulur.
  b. Burada koşuldu.

As the ungrammaticality of (29b) shows, unaccusative passives disallow specific readings of the verb; therefore, they must be used in the aorist tense.

Another formal restriction on impersonal passives is that they disallow agentive phrases. In personal passives, the supressed subject may optionally be expressed by an agentive phrase, which is typically formed with the postposition tarafından, or with the suffix -CA in more formal contexts.

(31) a. Bahçıvan çiçekleri suladı.
  b. Çiçekler sulandı.
  c. Çiçekler bahçıvan tarafından sulandı.
  d. Çiçekler bahçıvanca sulandı.

(31d) is strange because -CA requires a more formal context such as Park ve bahçelerin belediyece sulanmasına valilikçe onay verildi.

Let's now look at the following examples of impersonal passives with agentive phrases. The resulting ungrammaticality can be considered as another indication of their property of being impersonal (Knecht, 1985: 40): *Kütüphaneye öğrenciler tarafından gidildi, *Başarıya öğrenciler tarafından susandı, *Evden çocuklar tarafından fazla uzaklaşılmadı, *Çocuklar tarafından erken yatılır, *Sporcular tarafından hergün koşulur.*

Another restriction is on the person agreement used in impersonal passives. The ungrammaticality of *benden kaçıldım, *benden kaçıldın, *benden kaçıldık, *benden kaçıldınız,* and *benden kaçıldılar,* but the grammaticality of *benden kaçıldı, okula gidildi, burada dans edildi* show that only third person singular verb is allowed in impersonal passives.

Reflexive -(I)n

Reflexive morphology indicates that the verb is performed by the subject and for/to the subject again. That is, the first and the second participants refer to the same person. Therefore, like the passive, the reflexive morpheme decreases the valency of the verb. The non-reflexive form may include the reflexive pronoun *kendi* to signal the reflexive meaning.

(32) a. Leyla kendini yıkadı.
     b. Leyla yıkandı.

If the sentences in (32) are claimed to be identical in meaning, then we should conclude that the reflexive pronoun *kendi* and the reflexive morpheme *-(I)n* have identical functions. If this is the case, then we can even say that the reflexive morpheme in (32b) represents the reflexive pronoun in (32a) functioning as the direct object of the sentence. If this claim, too, is true, two identical forms representing the direct object should be disallowed in the same context. Let's use them together to test our assumption: *Leyla kendini yıkandı.* As we correctly assumed, used in the same context, the two forms yield an ungrammatical sentence. Therefore, the reflexive pronoun and the reflexive suffix cannot co-occur in the same environment; they are mutually exclusive.

After this quick summary of the semantics of the reflexive morphology, let's underline one formal feature of it before we go any further. It is important to notice that the reflexive and the passive morphemes are **homonymous.** That is, both meanings are manifasted by morphemes that look and sound alike: *-(I)n.* But do not forget that this surface form has two distinct functions. Therefore, *yıkandı* is ambiguous between passive and reflexive readings. It may express a meaning like *somebody washed himself/herself* as well as *somebody was washed by someone else.*

Reciprocal -(I)ş

In reciprocals, subject and direct object are combined into a single compound subject, thus valency is reduced from transitive to intransitive. The reciprocal morphology always assumes a plural reading, and marks either mutual or collective participation in the situation described by the verb. That is, both the subject and the object of the non-reciprocal verb act as the subject of the reciprocal verb.

(33) a. Sedat Tolga'yı buldu.
     b. Sedat'la Tolga buluştular.

In (33a) there are two participants: a singular subject and a singular object; but in (33b) there is only one participant: a plural subject.

There are two types of participation: mutual and collective. If the reciprocal morpheme is used with a transitive verb, it conveys a reading of **mutual** participation: *anlaş-, boğuş-, kapış.* If, however, it is used with an intransitive verb, it conveys a reading of **collective** participation: *gülüş-, kaçış-, ağlaş-, uçuş-.* In mutual participation the direction of the action works both ways; from one participant to the other. In collective participation, action is performed in a group without necessarily being performed in the same circle each time. For example, *Aliye'yle Suna itiştiler* indicates that both participants acted upon each other in the same manner. However, *Aliye'yle Suna kaçıştılar* lacks a cyclical interpretation of the action performed. Rather, it indicates a jointly perfomed action in different directions.

It is also possible to use a reciprocal pronoun with verbs of mutual action as in (34a), but not with those of collective action as marked ungrammatical in (34b).

(34) a. Aliye'yle Suna biribirleriyle iyi anlaşıyorlar.
　　 b. *Aliye'yle Suna birbirleriyle kaçışıyorlar.

Note that the noun phrases used with a reciprocal verb are obligatorily in the commitative form made with the postposition *ile* as in (34a). Other forms are not allowed: **Aliye Sunayı anlaşıyor, *Aliye'yle Suna biribirlerini anlaşıyorlar.*

Causative -DIr, -(I)t, -(I)r, -Ar

All causative verbs are transitive.The causative situation always implies one more participant than the non-causative equivalent. Therefore, the valecy of a causative verb is greater than that of a non-causative. In addition to the subject, a second or even a third party can be included in the sentence by using the causative morphemes: aldı=one participant, al-dır=two participants, and al-dır-t=three participants.

There is a three-way valency distinction: intransitive, monotransitive, and ditransitive. Turkish allows causatives of all three types as displayed in Table 7.5.

	INTRANSITIVE	MONOTRANSITIVE	DITRANSITIVE
NON-CAUSATIVE	Nurdan öldü.	Ben kitabı okudum.	Ben anahtarı kutuya koydum.
CAUSATIVE	Nurdan'ı öldürdüler.	Bana kitabı okuttular.	Bana anahtarı kutuya koydurdular.

Table 7.6
Valency Distinctions in Turkish Causative

When added to the intransitive verb *öl-,* the causative suffix introduces a new participant (the causee) other than the subject (the causer). So, in the causative of an intransitive verb, the causer appears as the subject, *onlar* in the example; and the causee as the direct object, *Nurdanı* in the example. In causatives of monotransitive verbs, the causer is the subject of the causative verb, *onlar* in the example; and the causee is the indirect object, *bana* in the example. The direct object of the non-causative verb remains as the direct object of the causative. A ditransitive verb is made causative in the same way as a transitive verb is made causative. Note that the subject of a non-causative verb is the direct object of the intransive causative verb, but the indirect object of the monotransitive or ditransitive causative verb.

Semantics of causation exibits a number of different functions. Comrie (1985: 332-334) suggests three types of relations between the causer and the effect brought about: causation proper *(cause/make)*, causation permissive *(allow/let)*, and *causation assistive (help)*. Some examples are:

(35) a. Causation proper   Onu doyurdum.
     b. Causation permissive   Sakın kapıyı açtırma!
     c. Causation assistive   Ona ders çalıştırdım.

With the proper meaning, the causer brings about a situation which might not have come about without him/her. With the permissive, the causer has the power to prevent the verb from happening, or allow it to happen. In the assistive, the verb may or may not have come about without the causer, but s/he helps bring it about as shown above. Using this criteria, the underlying messages signalled in the examples in (35) can be listed as:

(a)   I caused him/her to eat.
(b)   You have the power not to let him open the door. So, don't let him!
(c)   I helped him with his lessons.

In addition to marking the natural participants of a verb, one more causative marker can be added to the causative verb to include an element of force. Compare (a) *ye-dir-t-tir* and (b) *ye-dir-t*. Despite the extra causative morpheme in (a), there is no difference in the valency structure of (a) and (b). Both mean that 'Have someone have someone else eat something'. However, the former sounds more forceful than the latter (Demircan, 2002: 84).

It is your turn!

15

a. What is the function of causative in the following?
Paramızı haraççılara yediriyoruz.
b. What is the order of verbal categories in *dayanıştırıldılar?* (example from Lewis, 1967: 152)

Summary

1. How many different categories are there?
There are two grammatical categories: nominal and verbal. It is important to note that even though there are grammatical markers that typically apply to a particular category, there may be overlaps between categories. For example, number features can be seen both on nouns and verbs, but the one used on nouns is considered to be number marking, and the one on verbs agreement marking. Likewise, agreement is seen both on nouns and verbs.

2. What is nominal categorization?
Nominal categorization is the process that is inflected on nouns. Types of nominal categorization are number (singular vs plural), gender (feminine vs masculine vs neuter), and case (nominative, accusative, dative, locative, ablative, genitive). Note that Turkish does not have a grammatical category of gender, but, though not very productively, it employs several foreign suffixes and lexical derivations marking natural gender in humans and animals. Also note that the order of the morphemes in a nominal is: number+possessive+case

3. What is verbal categorization?
Verbal categorization includes grammatical marking on verbs. It marks, tense (present, past, future), aspect (completive vs incompletive), negation, voice (active, passive, reflexive, reciprocal and causative), and agreement (number, person) categories. Note that some of these morphemes do not like each other and they almost never occur in the same environment since they compete for the same slot in a stem. However, the commonly employed order of morphemes in a verbal stem is: voice+TAM+agreement. When there are more than one voice marking, the order is reflexive/reciprocal+causative+passive. Note also that modal and aspectual marking tend to precede tense marking.

Self-test

1. Plural morpheme is not used with numeral quantifiers in Turkish. Then why is *iki evleri var* grammatical?
- a. *-lAr* is marks agreement in this example.
- b. The noun is in the accusative case.
- c. *-lAr* functions as the genitive marker.
- d. This sentence is subjectless.
- e. Both (c) and (d)

2. Which one of the following is ambiguous?
- a. Ankara'ya sabahtan gittik.
- b. Ankara'ya senden önce gittik.
- c. Ankara'ya Eskişehir'den gittik.
- d. Ankara'ya bayramdan bayrama gideriz.
- e. Ankara'ya en kısa yoldan gittik.

3. Which one of the following has a nominal plural?
- a. solardı
- b. soldular
- c. gözlere
- d. uygular
- e. gözlerler

4. Which one has a reflexive morpheme?
- a. budandı
- b. okundu
- c. çiğnendi
- d. giyindi
- e. uğrandı

5. What effect is created when causative is attached to intransitive verbs such as *kop-, kuru-, dol-,* and *kayna-* as in *kopar-, kurut-, doldur-* and *kaynat-*?
- a. They become impersonal.
- b. They become transitive.
- c. Their valency decreases.
- d. They become definite.
- e. They cannot be attached causative.

6. Which one of the following has a reciprocal meaning?
- a. Son yıllarda <u>çıkışa</u> geçti.
- b. Suna kardeşine <u>sataştı.</u>
- c. Gizli <u>buluşma</u> herkes tarafından öğrenildi.
- d. Değerler git gide <u>yozlaşıyor.</u>
- e. Kaset satışları <u>yavaşladı.</u>

7. Which one of the underlined verbs is *inferential*?
- a. Etem <u>gitmiş</u>. Işıkları yanmıyor.
- b. Etem <u>gitmiş</u>. Halası söyledi.
- c. Etem <u>gitti</u>. Biliyorum.
- d. Etem <u>gider</u>. Hep öyle yapar.
- e. Etem <u>gitti</u> ama gelecek

8. Why is the following setence ungrammatical?
Burada öğrenciler tarafından çalışılır.
- a. An intransitive verb cannot be pasivized.
- b. Agentive phrases are not allowed in impersonal passives.
- c. Agents are supressed in passive construction.
- d. Unaccusative verbs do not co-occur with agents.
- e. Personal passives absorbs agent phrases.

9. Which one of the following is ambiguous between passive and active readings?
- a. Duvar yıkıldı.
- b. Eteğim tele takıldı.
- c. Gözlerin süzülmüş.
- d. Çocuk annesine atıldı.
- e. Sütü süzmüş.

10. Which one of the following includes a violation of agreement?
- a. *Sabaha beri çalışıyorum.
- b. *Gömleğini çalınmış.
- c. *Mustafa çağırdılar.
- d. *Meral kendini tarandı.
- e. *Sen annenle mi gittiniz?

Turkish Alive

"(1) Türk yöneticisinin kapısı daima açıktır: Sekreter girer, geleni haber verir. (2) Ziyaretçi gelir, odacı çay getirir, imza için ya da bir şey sormak onayını almak için astları gelir. (3) Dolayısıyla, yönetici bir yandan imza atar, imza atarken telefonla konuşur, geleni başı ile selamlar, eli ile buyur eder. (4) Yöneticinin bir dakikası boş değildir ama yine de günlük işlerini bitiremez ve çantası ile eve iş götürür ve evde dahi dosya inceler. (5) Tek kelime ile yöneticinin hiç vakti yoktur. (6) Çünkü gelen zarfları dahi açan, her evrakın havalesini bizzat yapan, her evraka imza atan yönetici çoktur. (7) Nitekim 'imza atma' konusunda ilginç bir öykü anlatılır;

(8) Bakanlık civarında , bir çöpçü ortalığı süpürürken rüzgar çıkar ve süpürülen kağıtların bir kısmı havada uçmaya başlar. (9) Bu sırada bakanın penceresi açıktır. (10) Uçuşan kağıtlardan birkaçı bakanın masasının üzerine konar. (11) Çöpçüde bir telaş başlar. (12) Ne yapsın? Koşup bakanlığa, özel kalem müdürünün odasına girer ve durumu anlatır. (13) Özel kalem müdürü de bakanın kapısını çalar ve kendisine konuyu anlatmak ister. (14) "Efendim, pencereden kağıtlar..." demeye kalmadan, bakan "ben onları çoktan imzaladım" der. (Bülent Ecevit, Milliyet, 7.3.1986)

(15) Bu örnek olay bir fıkra olsa da, gerçekten Türk kamu yönetiminde bir üst kademe yöneticisi günde ortalama 740 <u>imza</u> atmaktadır. (16) Ancak 740 imza atan bir yöneticinin başarılı olması mümkün değildir. (17) Zira bu kişi, her gün kendi sağlığından ve aile yaşamından çalarak çalışmaktadır.

(18) TOPLAM KALİTE YÖNETİMİNDE BAŞARININ İLK ADIMI BAŞTA ÜST YÖNETİM OLMAK ÜZERE, TÜM ÇALIŞANLARDA KALİTE BİLİNCİNİN OLUŞTURULMASINDAN GEÇMEKTEDİR."

(Samsun Emniyet Müdürlüğü, Toplam Kalite Yönetimi Çalışmalarından, 2002)

EXERCISES:

Find the following in the given text.

1. one objective genitive   _____
   one subjective genitive   _____
   one partitive genitive   _____
   one true genitive   _____

2. three examples of possesive marked noun phrases without their posessors.
   a.   _____
   b.   _____
   c.   _____

3. two personal passive constructions
   a.   _____
   b.   _____

4. one verb having collective reciprocal _____

5. four ablatives:
   a.   three with 'partitive' function   _____
   b.   one with 'action through' meaning _____

6. one example of:
   verbal agreement with a predicate verb   _____
   verbal agreement with a predicative adjective _____
   verbal agreement with a predicative noun   _____
   nominal agreement in a possessive construction_____
   nominal agreement in a subordinate clause   _____

7. Which one/s of the following datives mark/s temporal location?
   evde in (4), *civarında* and *havada* in (8), *günde* in (15).

8. We have seen that accusative case marking is optional. Is it possible to use it with the underlined word in (15)? Why?/Why not?

9. Campare the temporal and aspectual meanings of -(A)r/(I)r in the first and second paragraphs.

10. What TAM markers are used in the last paragraph? Compare their functions with the ones we discussed in Unit 7.

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End Note

[1] Copular sentences are the sentences that have a verb (copula) which links a subject to a complement. One such verb is *-(y)DI*. Some examples are: *Etem öğrenci-y-di, Etem çalışkan-dı, Etem ablasından sonra-y-dı, Etem yardım etmek isteyen-di, Etem iş arayan-dı (see Unit 11 for more on this).*

Key to "It is your turn!"

It is your turn! **⁇** 1

The following is the doubly marked forms of the given word classes.

nouns	demonstrative	personal pronouns	possessive determiners	possessive pronouns	reflexive pronouns	verbs
* evlerler	* bunlarlar	bizler	? bizimler	bizimkiler	* kendimizler	* geldikler
	* şunlarlar	sizler	? sizinler	sizinkiler	* kendinizler	* geldinizler
	* onlarlar	* onlarlar	* onlarınlar	onlarınkiler	* knedileriler	* gldilerler

When we attach *-lAr* to the already plural forms, we get the above combinations. Only first and second person plural pronouns are allowed to take the second marking for number. The inflections with the question mark can take the plural morpheme though the function of it is slightly different. After you study the part on the category agreement, come back to this question again, and try to explain the difference.

It is your turn! **⁇** 2

Taş, taşlar, and *taşlarım* are nominative. Yes, there are markers on *taşlar* and *taşlarım,* but they are not case

markers. *-lAr* is the plural morpheme, *-(I)m* is the person agreement marker (see agreement). *Taşın* is ambiguous: In a phrase like *taşın ağırlığı* it is case marked (genitive), but in *senin taşın* it is in the nominative carrying person agreement.

It is your turn! 3 Recall that in modal contexts accusative case may be used genericly. So there is in fact no difference between *dondurma sevmez* and *dondurmayı sevmez*. The object is used as an abstract category noun. But in *bu dondurmayı sevdi,* it has a definite reading because of the time limitation marked by the verb.

It is your turn! 4 *Kardeşine* has a benefactive reading. *Masa* is inanimate, so we cannot consider it as the entity that can benefit from the action. The dative case in *masaya* in fact indicates directionality.

It is your turn! 5 They are often used interchangeably, but there is a slight difference between the two. *Kaça* is more about the total price; whereas; *kaçtan* inquires the price for per item. This function of ablative seems to be related to its partitive semantics focusing on parts of a whole.

It is your turn! 6 Kardeşimin bakıcısı (objective genitive), Sezen Aksu'nun son kasedi (genitive of origin), Osmanlı'nın son sultanı (appositive genitive), avukatın itirazı (subjective genitive), ağacın dalları (partitive/part-whole genitive), çocuğun bisikleti (genitive), anasının kızı (descriptive genitive).

It is your turn! 7 I. We have seen that *-lAr* is typicaly used to express the quantity of 'more than one'. We also said that in formal contexts it is used to show respect. Ambiguity of the given sentence can be explained by referring to these two functions.

a. The mayor has more than one wife.
b. The mayor has only one wife, but the speaker uses the plural form out of respect.

II. The morpheme order in nominals in Turkish is noun+number+possessive+case. However, Anne-m-ler (noun+possessive+number) seems to violate this generalization. This is the only case in Turkish that switches the position of the possessive and number suffixes. It may be that *-lAr* does not convey its true function of plurality. It functions more like a derivational morpheme meaning family (*-gil* in some registers). If it really has a derivational function, then it can precede all other inflectional morphemes. Notice that if we want to pluralize the noun we have to say *anne-ler-im* (noun+number+possessive)

It is your turn! 8 Let's first try to understand what makes the given examples ungrammatical.

* git-in   stem+person agr.
* git-idi-m   stem+Type II verb+person agr.
* git-in-idi   stem+person agr.+Type II verb
* git-in-di   stem+person agr.+Type I verb

These combinations of verbal categories are not good enough to form the minimal verbal stem in Turkish. We have seen that verbs are marked for TAM, voice and agreement categories. Which ones are obligatory and in what order? We know that voice is not an obligatory category. It seems that only agreement, and combinations of Type II verbs and agreement are not good enough. The last example having a Type I verb is not good either, at least in that order. But if we change it to gi-ti-m, the result is grammatical. So, stem+Type I verb+person agreement is the minimal condition.

It is your turn! 9 It can be *perfective* in a context such as: *Kim geldi? Annem geldi.* But *perfect* in a context such as *Annem geldi. Now that she is here we can start cooking.*

It is your turn! 10 *Zeynep'i sinek ısırmış* can be uttered upon seeing a rash on her body (indirect evidence: inferential). It can also be said after being reported that Zeynep was bitten by a mosquito (indirect evidence: hearsay). *Zeynep'i sinek ısırdı* can be uttered upon seeing a mosquito biting Zeynep (direct evidence).

It is your turn! 11 Past in present.

It is your turn! 12 If the speaker has stopped shopping in that store.

It is your turn! 13 No because *-(I)yor* is associated with scheduled events. But this one is not scheduled.

It is your turn! 14

Overlap in TAM in Turkish

	tense	aspect	mood
-DI	past	perfective	factive
	(future)	(perfect of recent past,	direct evidence
	(prasent)	experiential perfect)	
		perfect	
-mIş	past	perfect	factive
		perfective	evidential
			indirect evidence
			(inferential&hearsay)
-(A)r/-(I)	timeless	habitual	epistemic (prediction)
	(future)		deontic (volition, promise,
	(past)		request, suggestion)
-(I)yor	present	progressive	factive
	(future)	perfect of persistant	
	(past)	situation	
		iterative	
-(y)AcAk	future	prospective	non-factive
			assumption

It is your turn! 15

a. The speaker certainly does not cause this to happen. It sounds like a complaint. The underlying meaning is that why do we let this happen? Let's do something to prevent it. Let's not let this go on! So it is causative permissive.

b. daya-n-ış-tır-ıl-dı-lar (stem+reflexive+reciprocal+ causative+passive+tense+agreement)