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Titel: Aspect in Turkish constituent clauses

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Aspect in Turkish constituent clauses

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Morphology has always played a central role in the grammatical description of Turkish and Turkic in general. However, overestimating morphology often impedes insight into the exact function of a given item. The article below employs a basically syntactic approach: Predicates of non-finite clauses with a specific syntactic status within the matrix sentence—namely *constituent clauses*—are examined for an inventory of competing morphological items denoting a specific set of semantic categories—namely *aspect*. Some peripheral semantic oppositions are considered along the way. The strongly functional delimitation allows a perspective on the items under investigation which is quite different from the traditional point of view reflected in most grammars of Turkish. For this inductive study of aspect in constituent clauses, ample examples from Turkish literature are quoted.

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1. Introduction

Aspectological work usually focuses on finite verbs. Still, aspectual values are marked in non-finite positions, too. In Turkish, four non-finite syntagmatic positions with different items competing and, consequently, different oppositions arising need to be distinguished. These are: constituent clauses, relative clauses, converb clauses and secondary predications.

Constituent clauses are clauses that hold constituent status in the sentence, e.g. <Otobüste, evle okul arasında geçen zamanın bana nasıl bir yük olduğunu> *bilemezsin* ‘You cannot know <what a burden the time that passes in the bus between home and school means for me>’ (TUT 41), where the passage in brackets holds the status of the object constituent of the sentence. Aspectual and modal items in the predicative head of constituent clauses are verbal nouns, i.e. action nouns.

Relative clauses specify a nominal head and fulfil semantic and syntactic functions similar to adjectives. They can be restrictive, e.g. *Dadım, <doksan yaşında bile güzel kalmış> bir Çerkezdi* ‘My nanny was a Cherkess <who had remained beautiful even in her nineties>’ (DİN 23), or non-restrictive, e.g. <*Uykunun huzuruna gömülmüş*> *Rüya* ‘Rüya, <who was buried in the tranquillity of sleep>’ (KK 11). Turkish distinguishes between two types of relative clauses, depending on whether the first actant in the relative clause is co-indexed with the nominal head within the matrix sentence, e.g. <*okuyan_i*> *adam_i* ‘the man_i <who_i reads>’, or not, e.g. <*okuduğum_i*>

kitap_j ‘the book_j <I_i read>’. Both types of relative clauses have distinct inventories of aspectual items in different oppositions. Many other Turkic languages do not employ different inventories depending on co-indexation. Relative clauses can be bound, i.e. the nominal head is expressed overtly, e.g. <*Bütün gece uğraşmış olduğu*> *bir konunun rüyasına girmemesi garip geldi ona* ‘It seemed strange to him that an issue <he had been busy with the whole night> did not enter his dreams’ (TUT 32), or free, i.e. without the head being mentioned, e.g. *anlatamıyorlar* <*anlatılamayanı*> ‘They cannot explain <what is unexplainable>’ (TUT 133). The question whether a relative clause is free or bound is irrelevant for the inventory and the functional configuration of the aspectual oppositions. Aspectual and modal items in the predication of relative clauses are verbal adjectives, i.e. participles.

Converb clauses have adverbial status in the sentence, e.g. <*Tahta üstünde oturarak*>, *dört beş gün süren yorucu bir yolculuk yaptık* ‘<Sitting on a wooden bench>, we made an exhausting journey of four or five days’ (DİN 195). Converb items present the aspectologist with a number of problems as they do not constitute a closed class and can carry other semantic values beside aspectual ones. Nonetheless, among nonfinal items converbs are investigated best from an aspectological point of view (e.g. Johanson 1990, 1995a, 1995b). Converbs are verbal adverbs, i.e. gerunds.

Secondary predications are predicative attributes (cf. Drimba 1976). They usually occur directly in front of the superordinate predication and pose relatively strong restrictions on intervening items. Examples for secondary predications are *biraz olsun* <*kurtulmuş*> *sayılır bu hastalıktan* ‘he is considered <saved from this illness>, at least a little bit’ (KK 263) and *Hakikatte bütün bu insanlar* <*hakikat denen duvarın ötesine geçmek için birer delik bulmuş*> *yaşıyorlardı* ‘In fact, all these people were leading their lives <having each found a hole to get beyond the wall called truth>’ (SAE 44). The superordinate predication needs not be finite; in *kurtulmuş sayıldığı için* and *delik bulmuş yaşarken*, *kurtulmuş* and *bulmuş* are examples of secondary predications with non-finite matrix predicates.

Distinguishing the different types of non-finite clauses can sometimes be difficult. Their morphological inventories partly overlap. Converb clauses with secondary converb heads often contain constituent clauses (e.g. *diği için*) or relative clauses (e.g. *diği zaman*). Whether or not aspectual values in secondary converb structures can be evaluated within the framework of their basic constructions largely depends on the degree of grammaticalization of the converb constructions (cf. *diğine göre* in example 55 below). Headless relative clauses can sometimes be misinterpreted as constituent clauses. In theory, the sentence *Turgut*, <*söylediklerine*> *inanmakta zorluk çekmedi* (TUT 39) could be interpreted in two ways, i.e. as a relative clause (‘It was not difficult for Turgut to believe <in what he had said>’) or as a constituent clause (‘It was not difficult for Turgut to believe <that they had spoken>’). The reason is that free relative clauses can assume constituent status in the matrix sentence themselves. Usually, the context will make it perfectly clear which interpretation is the correct one. Still, there remain rather intricate cases. E.g., <*ne yapmış olduğunu*> *bilirse* ‘if we know <what he has done>’ (TUT 72) is a constituent clause in Turkish

in spite of its *translation* as a relative clause. Question words like *ne* and *kim*, which function as a compensation for relative pronouns non-existent in Turkish, have the same syntactical status here as *kahvaltı* in *kahvaltı yapmış olduğunu bilirsek* ‘if we know that s/he has had breakfast’ or *kendisinin* in *kendisinin yapmış olduğunu bilirsek* ‘if we know that s/he has made it’.¹ Although distinguishing between constituent clauses and free relative clauses may be difficult sometimes, it is vital to distinguish these types of clauses carefully, as the aspectual items are part of different oppositions and thus carry different values.² It goes without saying that the analytical problem for the researcher does not arise for the skilled L1 user, as the correct value is selected automatically during the interpretation process. Most grammars of Turkish follow a completely morphological approach and deal with items like *DİK* regardless of their syntactic status and the oppositions involved.

This article deals with constituent clauses exclusively. As speakers of Turkish often disagree about the grammaticality of constructed examples, I quote examples from literature and refrain from own constructions so that the issue about correctness will not arise.

My analysis is based on Johanson’s aspect model (Johanson 2000, etc.), which sharply distinguishes between the functional layers of aspect and actionality and employs the most elaborate set of distinctions I have encountered to date, thus offering a most smooth and flexible means for analysis. The details of this model cannot be described here. The reader is referred to Johanson (2000, 1971). I will confine myself to pointing out that actional contents maximally comprise a *terminus initialis* τ_1 , a *cur-sus* and a *terminus finalis* τ_2 . Actional phrases are multiple complexes whose *internal phase structure* (IPS) is determined by the combined semantic values of basic verb, arguments, and satellites. There are *transformative* [+t] and *non-transformative* [–t] actional phrases. Transformatives can be subdivided into *initio-transformatives* [+ti] and *fini-transformatives* [+tf], depending on whether τ_1 or τ_2 is the *crucial limit* τ_c . Fini-transformatives are either *momentaneous* [+mom] or *non-momentaneous* [–mom]. Non-transformatives comprise *dynamic* [+dyn] and *non-dynamic* [–dyn] actions. Non-transformatives do not have a crucial limit, but their *relevant limit* τ_R is τ_1 as the action can be taken as “having occurred” after transgression of τ_1 . The five IPSs crucial for the aspecto-actional interplay can be arranged along the following hierarchy according to their limit orientation (Johanson 2000: 58):

$$[+tf, +mom] > [+tf, -mom] > [+ti] > [-t, +dyn] > [-t, -dyn]$$

¹ Cases of doubt with respect to free relative clauses can be tested by adding an overt head, e.g. **<ne yapmış olduđu> işi bilirsek*.

² This fact is even more obvious in other Turkic languages, e.g. Uyghur, where for example *GEn* carries the value [+POST] in constituent clauses, but [(–INTRA)(–POST)] in relative clauses, which is not true for Turkish *DİK*. The correspondences between participles and action nouns in terms of aspectuality are remarkably strong in Turkish.

The actional phrase functions as the operandum of aspect values.

Aspect consists of the parameters *viewpoint* and *focality*. The *viewpoint* parameter determines the relative position of the aspectual viewpoint to the limits of the actional phrase. The options available are intraterminality [+INTRA], postterminality [+POST] and adterminality [+AD] as well as the negative (and neutral) values [-INTRA], [-POST] and [-AD]. [+INTRA] views the action within its limits, [+POST] after transgression of τ_C or τ_R and [+AD] in the attainment of τ_C .³ *Focality* is a scalar notion that determines the sharpness of the view towards the action. We can roughly distinguish *high* [HF] and *low* *focality* [LF] and *non-focal* [NF] items. Although the basic aspectual value can be determined in an abstract way for each individual item, the exact and concrete meaning realizes itself in dependency to the oppositions the items are involved in. For the interpretation of an utterance both the aspecto-actional interplay and the interaction between co-occurring aspectual items are decisive. Further factors like taxis and pragmatics are not considered in this article.

2. Basic items in constituent clauses

Turkish verbal nouns can be classified along morphological criteria. There are primary, i.e. simple, and secondary, i.e. compound items. The Turkish primary verbal nouns are *DİK*, *mE* and *mEK*.⁴ They do not carry any positive aspectual value of their own. Consequently, their contrast is of a non-aspectual nature. The opposition between *DİK* and *mE(K)* has been characterized as [\pm factive] by Johanson (1998: 60). It has to be mentioned here that [-factive] only means the absence of marked facticity and does not imply that a [-factive] item cannot refer to a fact (see examples like 18, 19, 56, 57, 69 and 71 below). The contrast between *mE* and *mEK* is less clear and often depends on conventionalized patterns.⁵ It seems, though, that *mE* as the item capable of combining with possessive and genitive suffixes tends to convey a shade of concreteness in contrast to the more abstract *mEK* (for illustration of the [-concrete] feature of *mEK*, cf. examples like 30 and 34). Although *DİK*, *mE* and *mEK* are devoid of a positive aspectual value of their own, they must still be considered aspec-

³ The opposition [\pm AD] is irrelevant in Turkish and, probably, in Turkic generally.

⁴ Another important primary verbal noun, *İş*, is probably characterized best as a derivational suffix, the resulting items being mostly lexical in nature. It is not involved in aspectual oppositions to the same degree as *mE*, *mEK* and *DİK* and will not be dealt with in this article. Its aspectual value, however, is [(-INTRA)(-POST)]. (*İş* is more strongly involved in systematic aspectual contrasts in other Turkic languages, e.g. Uyghur.) Further (secondary) verbal nouns not discussed in this article are *mEkİlK* (Lewis 1967: 170) — which is disregarded here due to scarcity — and *mEzİlK*, which also belongs to the field of derivation.

⁵ These patterns are summarized in Brendemoen & Hovdhaugen (1992: 121-124) and Lewis (1967: 167-172).

tual items as they systematically operate as the negative and neutral terms in full-fledged aspectual oppositions. Further explanation will be provided below.

The three primary items discussed here differ not only in value but also in distribution (the latter fact being conditioned by a combination of factors like the difference in meaning, conventionalization in use and phonetics). For example, *DİK* is used much less frequently in the subject slot than *mE* and even *mEK*, whereas it is very common as an object to verbs denoting meanings of thinking, knowing, feeling, etc. The following examples will be categorized along the following criteria:

- A. Direct (nominative) case, i.e. subject or predicate constituent
- B. Accusative case, i.e. direct object constituent
- C. Other cases and combinations
- D. Non-final member in combinations resembling (*tatpuruṣa* and *karmadhāraya*) compounds

Examples for the basic items:

DİK:

A.

(1) <*Eski Osmanlı ediplerine çok özendiğiniz*> *ayan oluyor efendim*. 'It becomes obvious <that you are emulating the old Ottoman authors>, sir.' (TUT 57)

(2) *Deli eniştemiz bunu işitince bakmış ki bu defa da <peygamberi sövdüğü> sanılarak başına bir iş açılacak!* 'When our crazy uncle heard this he realized that once again he would be thought of as <having cursed the Prophet> and therefore he would run into trouble.' (ÇEN 125)

(3) <*Nereden geldiği*> *anlaşılamayan fosforlu bir ışıkla arada bir belli belirsiz aydınlanan Kara Cadillac'a ağır ağır, korkuyla, yanbaşındaki Haçlı muhafızlarından izin alır gibi saygıyla yaklaşacağım*. 'Slowly and fearfully, respectfully, as if asking permission from the crusader guards at its side I will approach the Black Cadillac that is occasionally slightly illuminated by a phosphorescent light of which nobody knows <where it comes from>.' (KK 27)

(4) <*Nereden kabardığı*> *bilinmeyen bir küçük rüzgârla harekete geçen bir bulut parçası, evvela bir gül bahçesi oldu, sonra ince ince parçalara ayrılarak ta başlarının ucuna kadar ilerledi ve orada yeleleri alevli siyah bir atın ön ayaklarına doğru bir halı gibi serildi*. 'A piece of cloud moved by a breeze of which nobody knew <from where it had arisen> became a rose garden first; then it was split into minute pieces and moved down towards their heads. There, they were spread out like a carpet before the forelegs of a black horse with a blazing mane.' (HUZ 204)

(5) *Tek bildiğim*, <onlarla aynı evde yaşadığım>. ‘The only thing I know is <that I live in the same house with them>.’ (BİP 160)⁶

B.

(6) *Nermin*, hafifçe başını kaldırıp, <<sevindiğini> gizlediğini> belirtmek isteyen bir bakışla: “Başka türlü olabilir miydi?” dedi. ‘Nermin raised her head slightly and said with a glance which was meant to indicate <that she was hiding <that she was glad>>: “Could it be different?”’ (TUT 49)

(7) *Galip*, <Celâl’i bulmak üzere olduğunu> anlattı. ‘Galip told him <that he was about to find Celâl>.’ (KK 387)

(8) *Dostları*, <onun gizli din kullandığını> bile rivayet ederlerdi. ‘His friends even used to relate <that he practised a secret religion>.’ (SİB 52)

(9) *Turgut*, bütün bunları o sırada mı düşündü, yoksa sonradan, o anı hatırladığı zaman, <öyle düşündüğünü> mü sandı? ‘Did Turgut think all these things then, or did he believe <that he had thought like that> when he remembered that moment later?’ (TUT 36)

(10) <Biraz daha dişini sıkması gerektiğini> biliyordu sadece. ‘He simply knew <that he would have to grit his teeth a little longer>.’ (TUT 38)

C.

(11) <Bu açıklamanın, değil dinleyenler için, benim için bile fazla soyut olduğunun> farkındayım. ‘I am aware of the fact <that this explanation is too abstract not only for those who listen but also for myself>.’ (TUT 41)

(12) *İşiten* <senin Müslüman kızı olduğuna> inanmayacak... ‘The one who hears this won’t believe <that you are a Muslim girl>.’ (SİB 44)

(13) *Bütün bunlara bakıp* <hakikaten hayatımı, mühim, anlatılması behemehal lâzım gelen bir şey sandığıma>, <ona olduğundan fazla bir değer verdiğime> inanmayınız. ‘With regard to all these things, do not think <that I really consider my life an important matter that absolutely needs to be narrated> and <that I attach more importance to it than it has>.’ (SAE 14)

(14) *Bu*, <Celâl’in uzun zamandır gazeteye yeni yazı göndermediğinin> açık bir işareti olduğu gibi, başka bir şeyin gizli bir işareti de olabilirdi. ‘Just as it could be a clear sign for the fact <that Celâl had not sent any new articles to the newspaper for a long time>, it could also be a secret sign for something else.’ (KK 96)

⁶ *Tek bildiğim* is a free relative clause.

D.

(15) *Eminönü otobüsündeyken kucağındaki paketin tuhaf bir şekilde ağırlaştığını hissetti, aynı tuhaflıkla başka bir duyguya, bir gözün kendisini gözetlediği duygusuna da kapıldı.* ‘While he sat in the Eminönü bus he felt that the parcel in his lap was becoming heavy in a strange way; in the same strange way he was seized with another feeling, namely the feeling that an eye was watching him.’ (KK 72)

mE:

A.

(16) *İçinin boşaldığını hissetti birdenbire: <göğsünden midesine, oradan da bacaklarına doğru bir kayıp gitme>.* ‘Suddenly he felt that he became empty internally: <a drifting away from his chest to his stomach, and further towards his legs>.’ (TUT 34)

(17) *Fakat onu hayran eden şey, <bir kadının iki sene bir sır gibi saklayabilmesi> oldu.* ‘But what struck him was <that a woman could hide it like a secret for two years>.’ (SİB 38)

(18) *Bu saadetin tek lekesi <Seyit Lûtfullah’ın ancak Aselban’ın kendisini çağırdığı zamanlar oraya gidebilmesi> idi.* ‘The only stain on this bliss was <that Seyit Lûtfullah could only go there when Aselban invited him>.’ (SAE 46)

(19) *<Şimdi, hiçbir köşede bulunamaması>, <bıraktığı adreslerin ve telefon numaralarının yanlış ya da uydurma çıkması>, sevgilerine karşılık veremediği yakın akrabalarına, uzak akrabalarına—bütün insanlara—duyduğu tuhaf ve anlaşılabilir bir nefret yüzündendi.* ‘<That he could not be found anywhere now> and <that all the addresses and telephone numbers he had left turned out to be wrong or fictitious> was due to a strange and incomprehensible hatred against his close relatives, his distant relatives—all people whose love he did not reciprocate.’ (KK 101)

B.

(20) *<Direnmeyi> bırak.* ‘Give in (i.e. give up the resistance).’ (TUT 537)

(21) *Bizim <tekrar tekrar dinlemeyi> sevdiğimiz bu fıkrayı anlatırken o hâlâ bu işten ucuz kurtulmuş olmasının heyecanını duyardı.* ‘When he told this anecdote, which we loved <to hear again and again>, he always still felt the excitement of only just having escaped this situation.’ (ÇEN 125)

(22) *Yokuşu çıkarken <Celâl’e yalnızca Rüya’nın hafif hasta olduğunu söylemeyi> kuruyordu.* ‘While he was going uphill he planned <to tell Celâl only that Rüya was a little ill>.’ (KK 96)

C.

(23) *<Adları değiştirerek kitabı yayımlamamda> bir sakınca görmediğini belirtti.* ‘She declared that she had no objection <against publishing the book (while) changing the names>.’ (TUT 19)

(24) *Umumî veya hususi psikoloji ve bilhassa sosyoloji hakkında hiçbir fikrim olmasına rağmen <işin böyle olmasına> ben de memnunum.* ‘Although I have no idea about general or special psychology and especially sociology, I am content <that the matter is like this>.’ (SAE 21)

(25) *Buna rağmen, ister gündüz olsun, ister gece, canları diledikçe, bir mezarlıktan ötekine hoplaya zıplaya geçenler de vardı: rüzgâr ve hırsızlar, kertenkeleler ve kediler, <aradaki duvarın üstünden, içinden, altından geçmenin> türlü türlü yollarına vakıftı.* Nevertheless, there were creatures that hopped and leaped from one graveyard to the other as their hearts desired: wind and thieves, lizards and cats were aware of <manifold ways of getting across, through or below the wall between them>.’ (BİP 19)

(26) *<ölümü beklemenin> zamanı geldi artık* ‘the time has finally come <to expect death>’ (KK 27)

D.

(27) *İçinde bazı uyku sonlarını andıran çok lezzetli bir tükenme duygusu, hattâ bu sıcak kavrayış ve sokuluşların içinde bir tükenme arzusu vardı.* ‘Internally there was a very delicate feeling of exhaustion that resembled the end of slumber, even a desire for exhaustion within this warm grasping and shoving.’ (HUZ 26)

(28) *Doğduğundan beri başının çevrisini bir uğursuzluk hâlesi gibi saran o amansız yalnızlık duygusundan, insanlara sokulamama hastalığından kurtulamayacağını anlamıştı artık.* ‘He finally had understood that he would not be able to escape that merciless feeling of loneliness that had surrounded his head like a halo of misfortune since birth, and the illness of being unable to cope with people.’ (KK 101)

(29) *Her şey, moda mağazalarından, muâşeret güçlüklerinden, cinsi terbiyeden, utanma duygusundan, günah korkusundan edebiyat ve sanata kadar her şey bu işe müdahale ediyor.* ‘Everything, beginning from fashion magazines, the difficulties in social relations, sexual education, sense of shame, fear of guilt, up to literature and art, everything is involved in this matter.’ (HUZ 167)

mEK:

A.

(30) *<Hatırlamak> <gördüğünü bilmektir>. <Bilmek>, <gördüğünü hatırlamaktır>. <Görmek>, <hatırlamadan bilmektir>.* ‘<To remember> is <to know what you have seen>. <To know> is <to remember what you have seen>. <To see> is <to know without remembering>.’ (BAK 91-92)

(31) *Belki de bütün ömrünce ikisini beraber görmeye alıştığı için, <ayrı ayrı yerlerde yattıkları düşünmek> ona ağır geliyordu.* ‘Maybe it was hard for him <to realize that they lay in different places>, because he had been accustomed to seeing them both together all his life.’ (HUZ 35)

(32) *<Şeker bayramında şeker yemek ve ikram etmek>, <Kurban bayramında kurban eti yemek ve dağıtmak>; <Muharrem’in onunda aşure pişirtmek, yemek ve tanıdıkla-*

rına göndermek> lezzetli bir sevapti. ‘<To eat and offer candy on the Candy Festival>, <to eat and distribute meat on the Festival of Sacrifice>, <to have prepared Ashura on the tenth of Muharram, to eat it and to send it to one’s acquaintances> was a pleasant, good deed.’ (ÇEN 35-36)

(33) *Bilmiyorum, <bir fiction’un yokluğuna üzölmek> ne dereceye kadar doğrudur?* ‘I don’t know; to what extent is it right <to feel regret about the absence of a fiction>?’ (HUZ 270)

(34) *<İnsanın aylardır mutlulukla resmettiğı bir kitabın, kutsal bildiğı şeylere saldır-dığından kuşulanmak>, <yaşarken cehennem azabı çekmek>.* ‘<To suspect that a book one has been illustrating for months insults things one considers holy> is <to burn in hell alive>.’ (BAK 183)

B.

(35) *Hanımlar, bu sabah saatlerinde, <gezinmeğı> pek severler* ‘The ladies very much loved <to go for a stroll> in these morning hours.’ (ÇEN 70)

C.

(36) *<Öteki adları değıştirmekte> güçlük çekmedim.* ‘I had no difficulties in <chang-ing the other names>.’ (TUT 19)

(37) *<Çocuk iki yaşına geldiğı gün çektirilen fotoğrafta onu tanımakta> güçlük çeker-diniz.* ‘It would be difficult for you <to recognize him on a photo which was taken on the day the child became two>.’ (TUT 53)

(38) *Hayır, <hâtıralarımı yazmaktan> kastım <kendimi anlatmak> değildir.* ‘No, my intention <in writing my memoirs> is not <to express myself>.’ (SAE 14)

(39) *Evet, <ne okumaktan, ne yazmaktan> hoşlanırım.* ‘Yes, I enjoy <neither reading nor writing>.’ (SAE 13)

(40) *Celal, <sahneye çıkmaktan> korkan bir oyuncuyu yüreklendirir gibi sırtını sıvaz-layarak, perdenin önüne doğru nazikçe itekledi kardeşini.* ‘Celal pushed his brother gently towards the curtain, stroking his back as if he was encouraging an actor that was afraid <of going on stage>.’ (BİP 337)

(41) *Milletin yarısı, <öbür yarısının hayvaniyetini doyurmakla> meşgul.* ‘Half of the people are busy <satisfying the bestiality of the other half>.’ (SİB 57)

D.

(42) *Onun en büyük hususiyeti harikulâde bir yemek pişirmek, yemek ve veditmek me-rakıydı.* ‘His biggest peculiarity was his passion to cook, eat and serve an extra-ordinary meal.’ (ÇEN 61)

(43) *Beni daima ciddiye almak lütfunu gösteren Doktor Ramiz bu düşüncelerinin sonunda benim büyük bir idealist olduğumu da ilâve etmişti.* ‘Doctor Ramiz, who had

the kindness always to take me seriously, added at the end of these considerations that I was a great idealist.’ (SAE 21)

Thus, we can say that *DİK*, *mE* and *mEK* carry the following values:

Aspectual value	[±factive]	[±concrete]	Morpheme
[(-INTRA)(-POST)]	+	+	<i>DİK</i>
[(-INTRA)(-POST)]	–	+	<i>mE</i>
[(-INTRA)(-POST)]	–	–	<i>mEK</i>

The existence of the oppositions [±factive] and [±concrete] bears relevance for the complete aspectual inventory of constituent clauses. The items *DİK*, *mE* and *mEK* both function as neutral terms within this inventory, i.e. as carriers of the value [(-INTRA)(-POST)], and are involved in the formation of all the positively marked items as well.

As for their distribution, *DİK* rather rarely occurs in the direct case, with the exception of constructions like *diği için* or *diği gibi* (*Yani her millette olduğu gibi* ‘In other words, as it is the case in every nation’ (HUZ 241)), which are highly conventionalized. This infrequency of *DİK* in the direct case might be the reason why occurrences of *DİK* in the subject slot are often questioned by speakers of Turkish.

The contrast [±concrete] between *mE* and *mEK* is restricted in some respects:

- As soon as possessive suffixes are involved, *mE* is preferred to *mEK*. This is actually *because of* the contrast [±concrete]: Possessive suffixes always imply concreteness.
- *mEK* never combines with the genitive and rarely (cf. example 35) with the accusative, possibly due to the fact that these combinations could only be distinguished in their velar variant (cf. Lewis 1967: 168). As an object, *mEK* usually occurs as an unmarked object to verbs like *istemek*, etc. only. This usage is also highly conventionalized.
- *mE* never combines with the ablative; this is probably in order to avoid homonymy with the converb *mEdEn*: □

□

(44) *O zamanlarda herkes <“Zülfüyâr” diye andığı bu istibdat idaresini kuşkulandırabilecek bir haberdan bahsetmekten, bunu duymaktan bile> çekinirdi.* ‘These days, everybody was afraid <to mention or even to hear tidings that might arouse the suspicion of the absolutist regime labelled “The Lover’s Lock”>’. (ÇEN 125)

- In the case of the dative, there are obviously certain conventions for selecting *mE* or *mEK*, e.g. *mEyE başlamak* (45, 46) but *mEğE uğraşmak* (47). In many cases, both options seem acceptable. From the phonetic point of view, they can only be distinguished in the velar version (*maya* vs. *mağa*), which might contribute to the neutralization of the contrast. □

(45) “Ne?” diye haykarmaya başlamış “‘What?’ he started screaming.” (ÇEN 125)

(46) *Hemen Fincancılar yokuşundan aşağı, koşmaya başlamış* ‘Immediately he started running down the Cupmakers’ Hill.’ (ÇEN 125)

(47) *kendini yine bir yere tâyin ettirmeğe uğraştığı bir gün* ‘one day when he tried to get transferred to another place’ (ÇEN 125).

As a result of these restrictions, the functional contrast between *mE* and *mEK* is most striking in the subject or predicate constituent.

The aspectually neutral value [(–INTRA)(–POST)] is responsible for the fact that constituent clauses marked with *DİK*, *mE* or *mEK* can be interpreted either as synchronous with the superordinate predicate or as “preterite”, quite independently of the IPS of the actional phrase. It is a special characteristic of [(–INTRA)(–POST)] items that both these negative values need not necessarily appear balanced, but depending on the context one of the (negative) values may be highlighted, thus producing a phantom reading of the complementary positive value. E.g., in *sevindiğini* [–t, +dyn] in example (6) above, the quality [–POST] prevails over [–INTRA], thus producing a pseudo-intraterminal reading in this particular context. The same is true for *gözetlediği* [–t, +dyn] in example (15). The reverse is the case for *öyle düşündüğünü* [+tf, –mom] in example (9). Here, for contextual reasons, the value [–INTRA] is highlighted, resulting in a pseudo-postterminal reading. Needless to say, these readings do not reflect any marked linguistic feature. Of course, the neutral value of [(–INTRA)(–POST)] items can result in aspectually indifferent or terminal readings, too.

3. Secondary items in constituent clauses

Almost all action nouns positively marked for aspect are constructed periphrastically by the aspect items *mİş*, *mEkE* and *İyor* and the copula *ol-* combined with *DİK*, *mE* or *mEK*. The items *mİş*, *mEkE* and *İyor* in combination with *ol-* are predicative attributes, strictly speaking; thus action nouns with the values [+POST] and [+INTRA] are analytical constructions based on secondary predications. The value [+POST] is signalled by *mİş ol-*, where *mİş*, unlike in finite position but like in relative clauses, retains its original postterminal quality. [+INTRA] is signalled by *mEkE ol-* and *İyor ol-*. As a result of their combinability with *DİK*, *mE* and *mEK*, the oppositions [±factive] and [±concrete] are imposed on the whole inventory of action nouns. As the secondary items are encountered less often than the primary ones, the syntactic categories A. to D. mentioned above could not be found for all theoretically possible combinations. Examples for secondary items will therefore be mentioned where available, with the syntactic category in question indicated afterwards. The following examples slightly focus on *İyor ol-* items, as these are the ones least accounted for in turcological literature.

mış olduğu

(48) <Memleketini ve dinini terketmiş olduğu> söylenirdi. ‘There was a rumour <that he had forsaken his country and his religion>.’ (SİB 52) A.

(49) *Halbuki <iliklerine kadar dinin kanaatleri, emirleri, nehiyeleri, lezzetleri, nedametleri, rüzgârları ve fırtınaları içinde bocalayan deli eniştemizin bütün âsası ve hüviyeti dinin selâmetiyle daha yatışmamış olduğu> görülüyordu.* ‘However, it was obvious <that the nerves and the character of my crazy uncle, who was deeply entangled in a web of religious beliefs, orders, prohibitions, pleasures, regrets, winds and storms, were not yet reconciled with the reassuring aspects of religion>.’ (ÇEN 37) A.

(50) *Ben de ona, <eserdeki insanların adları için Turgut’un bir teklif listesi göndermiş olduğunu> söyledim ve Günseli adını uygun bulup bulmadığını sordum.* ‘I also told her <that Turgut had sent a list with proposals for changing the names in the work> and asked her whether or not she found the name Günseli appropriate.’ (TUT 19) B.

(51) *Sonunda okuyacağım bu İncil’i ve <senin okumamış olduğunu> ispat edeceğim böylece.* ‘In the end I will read this Gospel and prove this way <that you haven’t read it>.’ (TUT 52) B.

(52) *Eğer, siyasi ve milli muarızlarıyla uzun seneler mücadele etmek mecburiyetinde kalmayıp da biraz okumaya fırsat bulsaydı, <tarihte, kendisi gibi birçok şahsiyetin yaşamış olduğunu> görecekti ve her bakımdan tatmin olarak, muhaliflerinin kendisinde işaret ettiği ani hırçınlık ve kaprislerden, belki bir nebze olsun kurtulabilecekti.* ‘Had he not been obliged to fight his political and national opponents for many years, and had he found the opportunity to read a little instead, he would have realized <that quite a few persons like him had existed before in history> and maybe he could to everyone’s satisfaction have escaped at least a little the sudden tantrums and caprices his opponents identified in his personality.’ (TUT 56) B.

(53) *Soğuk kış gecelerinde, “Sonunda ayakta kalabildim!” derken kendime, <içimin boşalmış olduğunu> da bilirdim.* ‘On cold winter nights, when I said to myself “Finally I have prevailed!” I also recognized <that I had become empty inside>.’ (KK 113) B.

(54) *Hava, <geceden yeni çıkmış olduğundan> serin ve <uykudan henüz ayrılmış olduğundan> dinlenmiştir.* ‘The air is cool <because it has emerged from the night recently> and it is well rested <because it has just awakened from sleep>.’ (ÇEN 70) C.

(55) *Fakat <ben yerlerde süründükten sonra açılan geniş adımlarla Rumelihisarı mezarlığına doğru kaçmış olan eniştemizin bize gelmemiş olduğuna> göre, mutlaka mezarlık ortasından geçen yokuştan yukarı çıkmış, mezarlığa karışmış ve maneviyatından bir kısmının orada kalmış, biraz kaybolmuş ve eksilmiş olacağına—sonradan eniştemizi tam ve sağlam görmüş olduğum halde bile—ihtimal vermekten ve bunu zannetmekten kendimi alamadım.* ‘But due <to the fact that our uncle, who had fled with giant strides towards the cemetery of Rumelihisarı, had not returned to us after I had shuffled along here and there>, I could not refrain from deeming it possible and be-

lieving—even though I saw him alive and kicking later—that he undoubtedly would have climbed the slope leading right through the cemetery, got lost in the graveyard and part of his wit would have remained there, vanished and diminished a little.’ (ÇEN 53) C.

mış olma

(56) *Bilhassa <bu sözlerin kulağına söylenmiş olması>; bu tarihi şahsiyette, bütün kültürün ve hassaten Arap kültürünün kulaktan dolma bir şekilde tezahürüne sebebiyet vermiştir.* ‘Especially <that these words had been whispered into his ear> was the reason why all the culture, particularly the Arab culture, manifested itself in this historical person in a shallow, hearsay manner.’ (TUT 56) A.

(57) *Bana gelince, <esas fikri kendime ait olmasa bile, imzayı taşıyan bu eserin on sekiz dile tercüme edilmiş olması>, bu dillerin gazetelerinde tenkit edilmesi, <Van Humbert gibi bir âlimin sırf benimle tanışmak ve Ahmet Zamanî’nin kabrini ziyaret etmek için Hollanda’dan buraya kadar gelmiş olması>, diyebilirim ki, hayatımın en önemli hâdiselerinden biridir.* ‘As far as I am concerned, I can say that it is one of the most important events in my life <that this work, which is signed with my name even though its basic idea was not my own, has been translated into eighteen languages>, that it has been reviewed in the newspapers of these languages, and <that a scholar like van Humbert travelled here all the way from Holland just to make my acquaintance and to visit the grave of Ahmet the Temporary>.’ (SAE 12) A.

(58) *<Onu aramış olmam>, konuştuğumuz anlamına gelmiyordu illa da.* ‘<My having phoned her> did not necessarily mean that we had talked.’ (BİP 136) A.

(59) *<Ayşin’in dün gece telefonu açmamış olmasının> akla en yakın meali, o esnada evde bulunmamasıydı.* ‘The most likely meaning of <Ayşin not having answered the phone last night> was that she was not at home at that time.’ (BİP 136) C.

(60) *Ayrı kişiler tarafından kaleme alınmış olması nedeniyle yer yer tutarsızlıklar vardı.* ‘For the reason that it had been composed by different people there were inconsistencies here and there.’ (TUT 19) D.

mış olmak

(61) *<Sarhoşken ona telefon etmiş olmak> yeterince azap verici.* ‘<Having phoned her drunk> is distressing enough.’ (BİP 135) A.

mEktE olduğu

(62) *<Gürültü patırtıdan aklındaki şiiri unutmakta olduğunu> korkuyla anlayan Ka bu sırada salondan çıkmıştı.* ‘Meanwhile, Ka, who realized with terror that <he was forgetting the poem in his mind because of the uproar>, had left the hall.’ (KAR 154) B.

(63) *On dakika sonra İpek'i bir an önce görmek için dayanılmaz bir istek duyarak aşağıya inince <bütün ailenin bir misafirle birlikte çevresinde toplandığı sofranın ortasına Zahide'nin çorba tenceresini yeni yerleştirmekte olduğunu> ve İpek'in kumral saçlarının parıltısını mutlulukla gördü.* 'Ten minutes later, when he felt an unbearable urge to see İpek at once and went downstairs, he saw <that Zahide was just placing the soup tureen in the middle of the table around which the whole family had assembled together with a guest>. He happily saw the glittering of İpek's blonde hair, too.' (KAR 300) B.

(64) *Sonra Nermin sofrayı toplarken, oturduğu koltukta, birden Turgut <aynı huzursuzluğun yaklaşmakta olduğunu> hissetti.* 'Later, while Nermin was tidying up the table, Turgut in his armchair upon which he sat suddenly realized <that the same restlessness was approaching him>.' (TUT 50) B.

(65) *Beklerken, <çaprazında oturan, gözlerinin altında morun üç ayrı tonundan üç ayrı torba birikmiş, karayağız bir adamın dikkatle kendisini süzmekte olduğunu> fark etti.* 'While he was waiting he realized <that a swarthy man sitting diagonally across from him, under whose eyes three different bags of three different shades of purple were gathered, was watching him attentively>.' (BİP 304) B.

(66) *<Boğaz'ın sularının çekilmekte olduğunu> farkettiler mi?* 'Did you notice <that the water of the Bosphorus is receding>?' (KK 23) B.

mEktE olma

No examples encountered.

mEktE olmak

No examples encountered.

İyor olduğu

(67) *Beni sevenlerin sık sık beni düşünüp, <İstanbul'un bir köşesinde aptalca bir meşgaleye hâlâ oyalanıyor olduğumu>, hatta başka bir kadının peşinden gittiğimi hayal etmeleri huzursuz ruhuma büsbütün azap veriyor.* 'It is torturing my restless spirit extremely that those who love me think about me frequently, that they imagine <that I am wasting time with some stupid activity somewhere in İstanbul>, even that I'm off with another woman.' (BAK 11-12) B.

İyor olması

(68) *<Zavallı yetimin hâlâ ağlıyor olması> birden çok dokundu bana, kendim de ağlayacaktım.* 'It suddenly touched me <that the poor orphan was still crying> and I was about to cry myself.' (BAK 164) A.

(69) *<Az önce birlikte diz dize yan yana oturup resimlere baktığım kişiyle konuşuyor olmaları> içimi bir gurur ateşiyle doldurdu.* 'It filled me with a blaze of pride <that

His Excellency was talking to the person with whom I had sat down together and looked at the pictures a little earlier>.’ (BAK 311) A.

(70) <Sizin bilimle uğraşıyor olmanız> umurlarında bile değildir. ‘They don’t even care <that you are concerned with science>.’ (PAT 48) A.

(71) <Hiç tanımadıkları birinin erzakları koydukları yere kadar kampı tanıyor olması>, kazı başkanını ürkütmüş, hemen istediklerinin hazırlanmasını söylemişti. ‘<That somebody whom they didn’t even know knew the camp including even the place where they stored their provisions> had frightened the chief of the excavation, and he had told him that everything they wanted would be prepared at once.’ (PAT 49) A.

(72) İşin kötü yanı <Orhan’ın kendini de kandırıyor olmasıydı>. ‘The worst thing about it was <that Orhan was betraying himself>.’ (PAT 298) A.

(73) Odanın yalınlığı ve fakirliği, boyasız ve sıvası dökülmüş duvarlar, <tepedeki çıplak ampulün kuvvetli ışığının gözünün içine giriyor olması> onu huzursuz ediyordu. ‘The bareness and poverty of the room, the unpainted walls with the plaster crumbled off, <(and the fact) that the bright light of the naked bulb on the ceiling was shining into his eyes> made him feel uncomfortable.’ (KAR 76) A.

(74) <Gecenin yerel televizyondan “veriliyor” olması> Karşılıkların çoğunda evlerinde oturup sahnede olanları televizyondan izleme isteğinden çok, tiyatroya gidip “çekim” yapan televizyoncuları seyretme isteği uyandırmıştı. ‘<That the night was being broadcast by local television> aroused in many inhabitants of Kars the desire, rather than just sitting at home and watching the events on stage on television, to go to the theatre and see the television staff doing the shoot.’ (KAR 150) A.

(75) Karla kaplı kaldırımında yürürken bembeyaz sokakların boşluğu ve <bütün şehirde yalnız onların yürüyor olması> içini mutlulukla doldurmuştu. ‘While they were walking on the snow-covered sidewalk, the emptiness of the snow-white streets and <the fact that within the whole town only they were walking around> filled his mind with happiness.’ (KAR 197) A.

(76) Mesela <benim İslamcı bilimkurgu romanı yazıyor olmam> onları gülümsetir. ‘For example <that I am writing an Islamist science fiction novel> makes them smile.’ (KAR 412) A.

(77) Haykırmakta olan karımı kendime çektim ve <çocukların gözyaşlarıyla yaklaşıyor olmasına> aldırmadan, yanağından aşkla öptüm onu. ‘I pulled my screaming wife towards me and without bothering <about the children approaching with tears in their eyes> I kissed her lovingly on her cheek.’ (BAK 256) C.

(78) <Modernist efsanelere kanarak zor anlaşılır şiirler yazan şairleri yıllarca küçümsedikten sonra hayatının son dört yılında kendi yazdığı şiirleri kendi kendine yorumluyor olmasının> gene de birkaç hafletici özürü var. ‘Still, there are some mitigating excuses <for his being engaged in interpreting for himself the poems he had written in

the last four years of his life, after having belittled for years poets who believe in modernist tales and write poems difficult to understand>.’ (KAR 378) C.

(79) *Ama daha önemlisi <gecenin televiziyondan naklen yayınlanıyor olması>, bu bir yerel yayın olmasına rağmen, onlarda bütün Türkiye’nin ve Ankara’nın kendilerini seyrediyor olduğu duygusunu uyandırmıştı.* ‘But more important was <that the night was being broadcast live on television>, and although this was a local broadcast, it aroused in them the feeling of all of Turkey and Ankara watching them.’ (KAR 149-150) A. D.

İyor olmak

(80) *Dünyanın baştan aşağı değiştiğinden o kadar emindim ki, <evden çıkarken babamın o ağır ve eski paltosunu giyiyor olmak> bende bir eksiklik duygusu uyandırmadı.* ‘I was so convinced that the world had changed from top to bottom that it did not wake inside me the impression of a flaw <that I was putting on that heavy and old coat of my father’s while leaving the house>.’ (YH 21) A.

(81) *<Alman parasıyla besleniyor olmak> sana bu milletin inançlarını ayaklar altına alma hakkını vermez!* ‘<Feeding on German money> does not entitle you to trample on the beliefs of this nation!’ (KAR 295) A.

(82) *<Padişah’ın özel izniyle böyle tehlikeli bir şey yapıyor olmak>, Frenk üstatlarının resimlerine hayranlık kadar önemliydi onun için.* ‘<To make such a dangerous thing with the Sultan’s special permission> was just as important to him as his admiration for the European masters.’ (BAK 448) A.

(83) *“Kiminle tanışmış oluyorum,” diye sordu bana ve alnıma dikkatle baktı, belki de <Canan’a benden fazla bakıyor olmaktan> çekindiği için.* “‘With whom do I have the pleasure of becoming acquainted,’ he asked me and looked at my forehead attentively, maybe because he was afraid <of looking at Canan more than at me>.’ (YH 88-89) C.

(84) *<Birdenbire ve üstüm başım kan içindeyken, O’nun huzuruna çıkıyor olmaktan> utanç duydum.* ‘I was ashamed <of approaching Him all of a sudden and soaked in blood all over>.’ (BAK 266) C.

From the sum of examples it is quite apparent that the absence of the combinations *mEktE olma* and *mEktE olmak* from this corpus does not indicate that these combinations are impossible. Quite on the contrary, it can be assumed that *mİş*, *mEktE* and *İyor* can occur with *olduğu*, *olma* and *olmak* in the same distribution as the basic items *DİK*, *mE* and *mEK*.⁷ The examples cited with *İyor ol-* show that *İyor* freely

⁷ In terms of frequency, the following ranking can be established: *mİş ol-* > *mEktE ol-* > *İyor ol-*.

combines with *ol-* in periphrastic constructions of all kinds and is by no means restricted to certain conventionalized patterns like *İyor olmalı*, etc. Nevertheless, it has to be admitted that these combinations are extremely infrequent,⁸ the examples cited here being confined to just a few authors.

The infrequency of both *mEktE ol-* and *İyor ol-* accounts for the fact that these items, though *occurring* in one and the same author's work, virtually never *co-occur*.⁹ Therefore, no contrast in focality can be established, and *mEktE ol-* and *İyor ol-* have to be regarded as free variants.

Thus we can ascribe the following values to the individual items, with the same restrictions applying as with the primary items:

Aspectual value	[+factive]	[-factive]	
		[+concrete]	[-concrete]
[(-INTRA)(-POST)]	<i>DİK</i>	<i>mE</i>	<i>mEK</i>
[(+POST)(-INTRA)]	<i>mİş olduğu</i>	<i>mİş olma</i>	<i>mİş olmak</i>
[(+INTRA)(-POST)]	<i>mEktE olduğu</i> <i>İyor olduğu</i>	<i>mEktE olma</i> <i>İyor olma</i>	<i>mEktE olmak</i> <i>İyor olmak</i>

As we have seen, there are no focality contrasts in constituent clauses. The inherent focality degrees of the action nouns can be described as relatively high, which is supported by the fact that the items positively marked for aspect are marked in frequency against the [(-INTRA)(-POST)] items and therefore represent their respective values quite emphatically. Not surprisingly, of all the examples quoted above, *taniyor olması* in (71) is the only case of an [+INTRA] item combining with IPS [-dyn], and all but three examples—*okumamış olduğunu* [-t, -dyn] in (51), *yaşamış olduğunu* [-t, +dyn] in (52) and *gelmemiş olduğuna* [-t, -dyn] in (55)¹⁰—of [+POST] items combine with IPS [+tf]. Thus it is appropriate to state that the [+INTRA] and [+POST] items in question usually operate on their actional core domain. All situations apt for postterminal or intraterminal presentation can be related with the help of neutral *DİK*, *mE* and *mEK* also. The choice of a positively marked aspect item for a constituent clause is in itself an act of marked presentation, which is not the case with finite items (cf. *İyor*). The situation in constituent clauses is in this

⁸ In Orhan Pamuk's novel *Kar*, for example, *İyor ol-* (regardless of whether in constituent or in relative clauses) statistically occurs once every 52.5 pages (although thrice on page 150 alone).

⁹ Consider, though, the co-occurrence of adjectival *mEktE olan* and substantival *İyor olma* in example (77) above.

¹⁰ *okumamış olduğunu* and *gelmemiş olduğuna* being special cases as they represent [+tf, -mom] actional phrases recategorized as [-t, -dyn] by negation.

respect comparable to the situation in finite [+PAST] representations, where *Dİ* is applicable in all situations and positively marked items convey particular ideas.¹¹

4. Marginal phenomena

Needless to say, this article leaves many things unexplained. Modals have been excluded from the description, a decision which could be disputed as there is no clear demarcation line between the semantic fields of aspect and certain types of modality. Both the extremely frequent primary [+MOD] item *EcEK* and secondary items such as *Ir ol-* do occur in constituent clauses and deserve attention in their own right, but are disregarded here as they do not belong to the aspectual core inventory.

There are other cases of clearly aspectual nature, though. In these cases, positively marked aspectuality is achieved without periphrasis with *ol-*:

mış.Ø

(85) *Üçüncü gün işçinin yerine, ağzında dişi, dizinde dermanı kalmamış ama <çenesinin kuvvetinden zerre kaybetmiş> benzemeyen dedesi damladı araziye ...* ‘On the third day, instead of the workers, an old man who had no teeth in his mouth and no strength left in his knees but who did not seem <to have lost the least bit of the power of his chin>, dropped in on the territory.’ (BİP 25)

ıyor.Ø

(86) *O kadar ki, sesi <bataklıktan çıkıyor> benziyordu.* ‘To the degree that its voice seemed <to be emerging from a swamp>.’ (HUZ 221)

These extremely rare cases are very difficult to judge. They clearly have constituent status in the sentence. But are they constituent clauses in the true sense of the word? Clearly enough, these cases do not partake in the oppositions [\pm factive] and [\pm concrete]. Whatever their exact status is, they can definitely be labelled abnormal.

5. Summary

- Turkish primary action nouns are aspectually neutral. Still, they are full-fledged aspectual items as they systematically function as the negative term in aspectual oppositions.
- Positively marked aspectual values are signalled by morphologically secondary action nouns. These can be analyzed as periphrases of secondary

¹¹ Both situations differ in other respects, e.g. that there is no finite [+POST] item in Turkish (*mış* being defocalized to a [(–INTRA)(–POST)^{+IND}] item; though the renewed item *mış bulunuyor* might possibly be considered a full-fledged [+POST] item), and that the intra-terminal *ıyor* is far more frequent than both intraterminal items in constituent clauses.

predicative items and the copula *ol-* with one of the three primary items. The contrasts [\pm factive] and [\pm concrete] that are established by the basic items (although certain restrictions apply) are thus systematically combined with aspectual oppositions.

- The opposition [\pm concrete] is largely restricted to the subject and predicate slot.
- The aspectual oppositions [\pm INTRA] and [\pm POST] are fully represented in constituent clauses. [(–INTRA)(–POST)] items offer the option of leaving aspectual ideas unexpressed and consequently display a universal applicability comparable to the finite item *Dİ* in the [+PAST] sphere. Consequently, [+INTRA] and [+POST] items are not only marked semantically but also in frequency. They represent their aspectual values quite emphatically and can be classified as high focals.

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