A TRIPARTITE DIVISION OF STATIVE VERBS IN TURKISH

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ABSTRACT

A Tripartite Division of Stative Verbs in Turkish

This thesis investigates the semantic and syntactic behavior of stative verbs in Turkish in the light of two recent analyses, namely Maienborn (2005, 2007) and Rothmayr (2009). It proposes a tripartite division for stative verbs in Turkish: (i) Kimian states (K-states), (ii) Davidsonian states (D-states), the distinction already drawn by Maienborn (2005, 2007) and (iii) Equivocal states (E-states). Evidence for this division comes from both the existing tools in the literature and new tools suggested in this study. In new tools, based on the (in)compatibility of stative verbs with two post-verbs *-(y)Adur* and *-(y)Iver* and two converbial suffixes forming adverbial clauses *-(y)A…(y)A* and *-(A/I)r….-mAz*, all of which convey certain aspectual information, the tripartite division of stative verbs in Turkish is further supported. It is argued that the distribution of *-(y)Adur* and *-(y)A…(y)A* in stative verbs indicates K-states/D-states division manifest itself in Turkish such that K-states are incompatible with both units, whereas D-states are compatible with them. On the other hand, the distribution of *-(y)Iver* and *-(A/I)r….-mAz* in stative verbs shows these units are incompatible with stative verbs under stative interpretation, which validates all the types are stative. A further type to this bipartite division is suggested, namely E-states, by showing E-states are likely to be ambiguous between stative and achievement reading. They can be disambiguated via adverbial use, and therefore are highly context-dependent. The equivocal nature of E-states shows itself especially when E-states occur with *-(y)Iver* and *-(A/I)r….-mAz* since E-states are compatible with both units, but only under an achievement reading.

ÖZET

Türkçe'deki Durum Bildiren Eylemlerin Üç Yönlü Ayrımı

Bu tez, Türkçe'deki durum bildiren eylemlerin anlambilimsel ve sözdizimsel özelliklerini iki yeni analiz olan Maienborn (2003, 2005, 2007) ve Rothmayr (2009) çerçevesinde araştırmaktadır. Türkçe'deki durum bildiren eylemler için üç yönlü bir ayrım önerilmektedir: (i) Kimian durumlar (K-durumlar), (ii) Davidsonian durumlar (D-durumlar), ki bu iki yönlü ayrım Maienborn'da (2003, 2005, 2007) önerilmiştir, ve (iii) İki anlamlı durumlar (E-durumlar). Bu üç yönlü ayrım literatürde var olan testler ve bu çalışmada önerilen yeni araçlarla desteklenmektedir. Söz konusu araçlarda, durum bildiren eylemlerin, belirli görünüşsel bilgiler taşıyan iki art-fiil *-(y)Adur* ve *-(y)Iver* ve iki zarf-fiil *-(y)A…(y)A* ve *-(A/I)r….-mAz* ile uyum(suzluk)una dayanarak Türkçe'deki durum bildiren eylemler için üç yönlü ayrım güçlendirilmektedir. *-(y)Adur* ve *-(y)A…(y)A* birimlerinin durum bildiren eylemlerde dağılımıyla, K-durumlar/D-durumlar ayrımının Türkçe'de de var olduğu önerilerek K-durumların her iki birimle de uyumsuzken D-durumların her iki birimle de uyumlu olduğu gösterilmektedir. Öte yandan, *-(y)Iver* ve *-(A/I)r….-mAz* birimlerinin durum bildiren eylemlerde dağılımı, bu birimlerin her ikisinin de durum bildiren eylemlerle durum anlamı altında uyumsuz olduğunu göstermektedir, ki bu da ayrımdaki tüm türlerin durum anlamı taşıdıklarını desteklemektedir. Ayrıca belirli eylemlerin hem durum hem de olma okuması arasında belirsiz olduğunu göstererek, var olan ikili ayrıma yeni bir tür olarak E-durumlar önerilmektedir. Bu eylemlerin görünüşsel anlamları belirteç kullanımıyla belirginleştirilebilir ve bu sebeple de oldukça bağlam bağımlıdırlar. E-durumların bu iki

anlamlı doğası, özellikle *-(y)Iver* ve *-(A/I)r….-mAz* ile kullanıldığında kendini göstermektedir çünkü E-durumlar bu iki birimle de ancak olma okuması ile uyumludur.

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Last but not least, this thesis means a lot to me. It is my "first child", my baby steps…

To my dearest mother Nur and my dearest father Muzaffer

I dedicate this thesis with gratitude and love

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ABBREVIATIONS

1SG	First Person Singular
2SG	Second Person Singular
3SG	Third Person Singular
1PL	First Person Plural
2PL	Second Person Plural
3PL	Third Person Plural
ABL	Ablative Case Marker
ACC	Accusative Case Marker
ADJ	Adjectival
AOR	Aorist
CAUS	Causative
CM	Compound Marker
COND	Conditional
CVB	Converbial
DAT	Dative Case Marker
DIM	Diminutive suffix
FUT	Future
GEN	Genitive Case Marker
GER	Gerundive
IMP	Imperative
INF	Infinitival
IPFV	Imperfective aspect
LOC	Locative Case Marker
NEG	Negation
NOM	Nominalizer
OPT	Optative
PASS	Passive
PL	Plural
PFV	Perfective aspect
POSS	Possessive
PRF	Perfect
PV	Post-verb
REL	Relativizer

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this thesis is to explore the semantic and syntactic behavior of stative verbs in Turkish and to show that stative verbs, as a lexical category, are not a uniform class.

The notion of *aspect*, defined as "different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation" (Comrie, 1976, p. 3), has been considered to be a cross-linguistic semantic category (Bybee, 1985; Comrie, 1976; Smith, 1997 among others). It has been taken to cover two different phenomena under a variety of different terminologies. The first one is *grammatical aspect* (Rothstein, 2008), also alternatively *outer aspect* (Travis, 2010) or *viewpoint aspect* (Smith, 1997), which is mainly related to the opposition between perfective and imperfective and is expressed morphologically. The second one is *lexical aspect* (Rothstein, 2008), also alternatively *inner aspect* (Travis, 2010) and *situation aspect* (Smith, 1997), which focuses on the temporal constituency of a situation[1]. This type is related to the inherent semantic properties of the verb, verb phrase and/or the sentence and is expressed through lexical means.

Related to lexical aspect, scholars have mainly attempted to classify the difference between situations in terms of their inherent semantic properties represented by various binary features (Garey, 1957; Kenny, 1963; Moens, 1987; Ryle, 1949; Smith 1997; Vendler, 1957; Verkuyl, 1993 among others). In the classification of lexical aspectual classes, multiple terms and / or features have been used for similar /same concepts, or the same term has been used in multiple ways by the scholars. Table 1 provides a compilation of several feature-based studies which illustrate the parameters

[1]Situation aspect in Smith (1997) corresponds to lexical aspect in Rothstein (2008); however, the former is characterized over the "verb constellation", which means that both the semantic nature of the verb and its

underlying the aspectual classes. In these aspectual classifications, the classes are generated based on two features in general and the main division is made between states and events (also referred as non-states).

States[2] are, notionally, non-dynamic expressions and include verbs such as *know, love, weigh, own* etc and copular forms such as *be tall, be intelligent* and so on. They do not entail any change and consequently any control and energy[3]. Due to this property, they lack volition and agency as well. In contrast, all events are dynamic expressions and therefore, they entail some sort of change, control and energy. Since states lack dynamism, they cannot occur but only hold for some time.

This property of states is represented overtly by the [-dynamic] feature in Smith (1997); all events are [+dynamic]. In other feature-based systems, on the other hand, the non-dynamic nature of states is represented via different features such as [-successive phases] in Vendler (1957); [-duration] in Hoeksema (1983); *extended* property in Moens (1987) and [-stages] in Rothstein (2008)[4]. What is meant by these features is that states do not have consecutive phases or stages which follow one another. Instead, every single instance of a state is exactly the same as any other instances of that state. Therefore, phases cannot be distinguished from one another. In other words, states have "an undifferentiated period" in themselves (Smith, 1997, p. 37).

[2] States can be expressed via a verbal form such as *love, hate* etc. or a copula form such as *be tall, be intelligent* etc. In this study, I will particularly be interested in stative verbs and copular forms will be excluded. Therefore, in the rest of this study, I will use "states" as including both verbal and copular forms. For verbal forms only, I will use "statives" or "stative verbs".

[3] It seems that in Vendler's classification of verbs, non-dynamism is obtained when the values of both features are minus.

[4] These features should not be confused with the [+/±durative] feature in Olsen (1994) and Smith (1997) respectively. They are totally different from one another.

Table 1. Comparison of Features Employed by Different Linguists to Form Aspectual Classes

Scholars	Semantic features	Aspectual Classes
Vendler (1957)	[±]successive phases [±]natural point	*States*: [-successive phases, -natural point] *Activities*: [+successive phases, -natural point] *Accomplishments*: [+successive phases, +natural point] *Achievements*: [-successive phases, +natural point]
Hoeksema (1983)	[±]count [±]duration	*States*: [-count, -duration] *Activities*: [-count, +duration] *Accomplishments*: [+count, +duration] *Achievements*: [+count, -duration]
Moens (1987)	[±]consequence extended/ atomic	*State*[5]: *Process*: [-consequence, extended] *Culminated Process*: [+consequence, extended] *Culmination*: [+consequence, atomic] *Point*: [-consequence, atomic]
Olsen (1994)	[+]dynamic [+]telic [+]durative	*States*: [+durative] *Activities*: [+dynamic, +durative] *Accomplishments*: [+dynamic, +telic, +durative] *Achievements*: [+dynamic, +telic] *Semelfactives*: [+dynamic] *Stage level States*: [+telic, +durative]
Smith (1997)	[±]dynamic [±]telic [±]durative	*States*: [-dynamic, -telic, +durative] *Activities*: [+dynamic, -telic, +durative] *Accomplishments*: [+dynamic, +telic, +durative] *Achievements*: [+dynamic, +telic, -durative] *Semelfactives*: [+dynamic, -telic, -durative]
Rothstein (2008)	[±]stages [±]telic	*States*: [-stages, -telic] *Activities*: [+stages, -telic] *Accomplishments*: [+stages, +telic] *Achievements*: [-stages, +telic]

Achievements, too, do not have any stages or phases and therefore are represented via the same features [-successive phases], [-duration] or [-stages] in Vendler (1957), Hoeksema (1983) and Rothstein (2008) respectively. However, achievements differ from states in terms of having a natural endpoint or terminus (also referred as terminal point)[6]. Being telic, achievements entail change and consequently dynamism. This implies that the reasons for states and achievements to possess features like [-successive phases] or [-stages] are different from one another. States are non-

[5] In Moens (1987), [+consequence] refers to being telic, while *being extended* refers to having successive phases and *being atomic* to no successive phases as used in Vendler (1957). Yet, he does not represent states by any of these features and makes use of these features in the representation of the events. Therefore, states are provided without features.

[6] Rothstein's (2008) classification is very similar to Vendler's classification such that she utilizes the feature [±stages] instead of [±successive phases] and [±telic] instead of [±natural endpoint].

dynamic and therefore, they have such features of different systems. In other words, non-dynamic nature of states is the reason for states to be described by the features [-successive phases] or [-stages] in different systems. In contrast, despite being dynamic, achievements have such features because they are momentaneous events. This shows that there is a mismatch between the aspectual feature and the reason for aspectual classes to have that particular feature, which seems to be a problem in two-featured systems. On the other hand, both activities and achievements consist of successive phases or stages and therefore, they differ from states as well and have [+successive phases] feature or its equivalents.

The semantic features [-successive phases], [-duration], [-stages] or being extended are also related to the *homogeneity* property, which is first introduced by Vendler (1957)[7]. However, it is Dowty (1979) who focuses on this property to contrast states with activities. He indicates that both states and activities are homogeneous, whereas accomplishments and achievements are heterogeneous since they have an inherent endpoint which needs to be realized and implies a change from one state to another. However, homogeneity property of activities and states are different from each other in that states are *homogeneous down to instants* whereas activities are *homogenous down to short intervals*. To exemplify, for a state, if it is true that *John lived in Amsterdam for two years,* then it is true that in each instant/moment during the period two years, *John lived in Amsterdam*. On the other hand, let us take the activity *walk*. As walking includes, let's say, three steps, the fact that *John walked* is true at *i* means that it is true at an interval in *i* which is big enough to call it a walking event, but not instants (Rothstein, 2012, p. 75). The distinction between homogeneous down to instants and

[7] In fact, Vendler (1957) uses this property to differentiate between activities and accomplishments and does not mention states in terms of homogeneity.

homogeneous down to intervals is essential since it both distinguishes states from activities but it also indirectly indicates that states do not have any stages following one another. Homogeneity property is called *sub-interval property* of states and given as an entailment in Smith (1997) as well[8]:

(1) Entailment pattern for states:
When a state holds for an interval it holds for every sub-interval of that interval.
(Smith, 1997, p. 32)

Telicity, is another essential semantic property of the aspectual classes. It refers to *having a natural endpoint*[9]. When this endpoint is realized, a change from one state into another occurs. If the situation has a natural inherent endpoint, it is telic, but if it lacks such an endpoint, the situation is atelic. This telic/ atelic distinction is also analyzed under various terms such as *bounded/non-bounded* (Jackendoff, 1992), *delimited/non-delimited* (Tenny, 1994), or *culminating/ non-culminating* (Moens & Steedman, 1988)[10]. In terms of telicity, states are similar to activities in that neither states nor activities have a natural endpoint and therefore, both are atelic. In contrast, both accomplishments and achievements are telic situations. This implies the following generalization: all telic situations are dynamic but all dynamic situations are not necessarily telic. Atelic property is represented by features such as [-telic][11], [-consequence], [-natural point] or [-count] in different studies, as can be seen in Table 1.

[8] According to what is cited in Rothstein (2012), this property is called "segmental homogeneity" in Landman (2008) (p. 63).
[9] An inherent end, limit or boundary and culmination are other key concepts relevant to telicity.
[10] When referring to "having a natural endpoint", telicity will be used in the rest of this study.
[11] Rothstein (2008) assumes that telicity is a VP level property (p. 34); however, she employs [±telic] feature in her lexical aspectual classification.

Another crucial semantic property is *durativity*, also referred as *temporal extent* as in Filip (2012)[12]. This property helps to distinguish achievements from states, activities and accomplishments since achievements are instantaneous events. They occur in a single moment and therefore, they do not have any duration. However, states, activities and accomplishments have some duration. While states last for some period without any change, both activities and accomplishments have some duration with dynamism. This property is only included in two studies in Table 1; i.e. Olsen (1994) and Smith (1997) and it is represented by the feature [+/±durative][13] respectively.

In two-featured systems, the reason for states and achievements to have [-stages] is different such that states are non-dynamic and consequently are [-stages], whereas achievements are momentaneous events happening in a single moment and hence they are [-stages]. This indicates that [-stages] merges two distinct properties; i.e. non-dynamism of states and punctuality of achievements, into one feature and consequently, the semantics of these two classes cannot be reflected truly in two-featured systems. Thus, suggesting durativity as a further feature in addition to the dynamicity feature, as in three-featured systems, helps to define and distinguish between states and achievements more accurately. It also helps to comprehend and analyze the semantics of aspectual classes much better as well as introducing a fifth class named *semelfactives*[14]. Therefore, three-featured systems seem to be more favorable.

[12] This property is not provided explicitly in Vendler (1957), but he points out that states last for a period of time.

[13] It should be noted that [±-durative] feature in Olsen (1994) and Smith (1997) and [±duration] feature in Hoeksema (1983) do not refer to the same concept. In Hoeksema (1983), states have the feature [-duration], which means that they do not have stages or successive phases. On the other hand, states have the feature [+durative] since they hold for some time.

[14] Semelfactives are not considered to be a fifth class in certain studies (Rothstein, 2008). However, whether semelfactives should appear as the fifth class or not is not relevant to this study.

Further, Rothstein (2008) states that if there are *n* number of features, a featural system gives 2^n classes and therefore two features provide us with four different aspectual classes (p. 13). However, such a prediction would be too straightforward in that a featural system needs to address why certain feature combinations cannot be possible, which Rothstein does not take into consideration. Let us check this argumentation with a classification which is formed via three features such as Smith (1997). According to Rothstein's argumentation, there should be eight aspectual classes in Smith's system, but she has only five classes and there are three unattested classes in her system as given in Table 2. When the unattested classes are considered, it is seen that they are already impossible to exist. Unattested 1 and 2 cannot exist since a class cannot be both non-dynamic and telic. If telicity holds, then dynamicity exists as well. As for unattested 3, it cannot exist as well since a non-dynamic situation cannot be momentaneous at the same time. Therefore, these three unattested classes are already expected not to exist, which refutes Rothstein's (2008) claim.

Table 2. The Aspectual Classification in Smith (1997)

	Dynamic	Telic	Durative
States love, own, weigh	-	-	+
Activities run,walk,dance	+	-	+
Accomplishments build a house	+	+	+
Achievements die, arrive	+	+	-
Semelfactives tap, knock	+	-	-
Unattested 1	-	+	+
Unattested 2	-	+	-
Unattested 3	-	-	-

On the other hand, in three - featured systems, Olsen's (1994) study is different from other feature-based systems in that Olsen argues for lexical aspect formed by privative features rather than equipollent features. This means that values of features of

each class do not have equal semantic weight as [+] and [-]. Instead, certain features are marked in the classes and the marked features are inherent and lexical. Therefore, the marked feature(s) cannot be changed. In contrast, when a feature is unmarked, it means that it is not inherent and it can get [+] value depending on the contextual information.

In Olsen (1994), accordingly, states are represented by only the [+durative] feature. This seems to be a little awkward since the basic distinction between states and events is (non-)dynamicity. Yet, Olsen (1994) argues that states are lexically [+durative] but interestingly unmarked for dynamicity feature as well as telicity. In addition, since Olsen claims that the marked features are consistent and cannot be cancelled, her analysis implies that states can lose their interpretation via further contextual information, which turns the unmarked features to marked ones and consequently, they will be reinterpreted as activities and accomplishments[15] (p. 7). Yet, her analysis cannot explain sentences such as "Suddenly, she knew the answer", which loses its stative reading and gets the achievement interpretation. This is because if [+durative] feature of states is inherent and uncancellable, it would be impossible for a state at the basic level to derive into an achievement, which as observed, is possible. In short, although assuming three features for aspectual classes resolves the problem observed in two-featured systems, Olsen's (1994) theory cannot explain the shifts from states into achievements[16].

[15] Reinterpreted cases from states to activities (i) and accomplishments (iii) are exemplified as follows:

i. What Mary's face did was *glow* with excitement. activity
ii. The affidavit *includes* the revised language. state
iii. I *included* the revised language in the affidavit. accomplishment

[16] Due to the same reasons, similar problems arise in other aspectual classes as well in this study. However, since the shifts between other classes are beyond this study, I will not mention them here. For further details, see the original study Olsen (1994).

Smith (1997) argues for five situation types based on three binary features as given in Table 2[17]. In addition, her analysis allows for aspectual type shifting such that every situation belongs to a basic level category, but due to further contextual information, the situations may undergo type-shifting to another type at the derived level. Accordingly, a state may be reinterpreted as an activity or an accomplishment via additional contextual information, as in Olsen (1994). Yet, contrary to Olsen (1994), Smith's (1997) theory allows a state to get an achievement interpretation as well. She proposes a principle called *Principle of External Override*, which is described as follows: "the feature value of an external form overrides the feature value of the verb constellation" (Smith, 1997, p. 53) and the external forms mentioned include adverbials and viewpoints. Then, in a sentence such as "Suddenly, she knew the answer", *know* is a stative verb and it has the feature [+durative], but the adverbial *suddenly* is a momentaneous adverbial, with the feature [-durative]. The feature value of the adverbial overrides the feature value of the verb and aspectual type shifting occurs[18]. As a result, the sentence is interpreted as an achievement rather than a state. Similarly, a sentence like "she is being lazy" presents a state as an event by the progressive viewpoint, which is related to dynamism. What is meant by this sentence is that *being lazy* is not a permanent, but a transitory property and this behavior of her contains certain will. As a result, the progressive viewpoint has the feature [+dynamic] whereas the state *be lazy* is [-dynamic] and the feature value of the viewpoint overrides the value of the situation, leading to a dynamic sentence; i.e. an activity.

[17] Smith (1997) classifies situations rather than verbs or VPs. In this classification, the type of a situation is determined via the verb constellation which includes both the verb and its arguments.

[18] As for Smith (1997), habitual and generic sentences are derived statives (p. 33-4). She asserts that they are semantically stative although their verb constellations refer to another situation type. Derived statives fall outside of the scope of this study.

The discussion so far has revealed that the most basic difference between states and events is dynamism such that the former is devoid of it whereas the latter involves it. Furthermore, states are atelic, which means that they do not have any natural endpoint and they share this property with activities. In addition, states are durative situations such that they hold for some time. In terms of durativity, states are similar to activities and accomplishments, but activities include dynamism while accomplishments involve both dynamism and a natural inherent endpoint, which distinguish states from these two situations. Achievements, on the other hand, are both telic and momentaneous events. The temporal schema in (2) which is provided for states in Smith (1997) illustrates these properties. Accordingly, the initial and final endpoints are not included since these points represent change of states. Therefore, they are given in parentheses. Between the initial and final endpoints, the schema presents an undifferentiated period, which refers to states.

(2) Temporal schema of states: (I) _____ (F)

(Smith, 1997, p. 32)

These semantic properties have certain linguistic reflexes which have been illustrated with certain diagnostic tests as presented below[19].

For instance, as states lack dynamicity, they cannot co-occur with adverbials such as *deliberately, carefully* as in (3), both of which imply agency. Similarly, states cannot occur as complements of verbs such as *persuade*, *command* or *force*, as in (5). In contrast, being dynamic, activities can occur with such adverbials as in (4) and as

[19] The diagnostic tests here are taken from the list given in Dowty (1979), which is the first study presenting the diagnostic tests in a formal way. The tests here focus on the semantic features of dynamicity, durativity and telicity (De Swart, 2012; Dowty, 1979; Smith, 1997; Vendler, 1957; among others).

complements of these verbs as in (6). Moreover, they cannot be modified by instrumental adverbials, as in (7):

(3)	*John deliberately knew the answer.	*State*
(4)	John ran carefully.	*Activity*
(5)	*John forced Harry to know the answer.	*State*
(6)	John persuaded Harry to run.	*activity*

(Dowty, 1979, p. 55)

(7) *The door was open with a key.

(Smith, 1997, p. 40)

In addition, states do not appear in imperative constructions, as in (8), and cannot appear in pseudo-cleft constructions, as in (10). Contrastively, activities can be used in imperative constructions and pseudo-cleft constructions as in (9) and (11) respectively since they are dynamic:

(8)	*Know the answer!	*state*
(9)	Run!	*activity*
(10)	*What John did was know the answer.	*state*
(11)	What John did was run.	*activity*

(Dowty, 1979, p. 55)

Furthermore, states cannot occur in the progressive, as in (12) since verbs which allow the progressive get dynamic interpretation as the one in (13)[20]:

(12)	*John is knowing the answer.	*state*
(13)	John is running.	*activity*

(Dowty, 1979: 55)

Lastly, non-states get a habitual interpretation in the simple present tense; that is, they involve more than one occasion of running as in (15). However, when states are used in the simple present tense, they do not get any habitual interpretation. Instead, they involve only one occasion of that state such as knowing the answer as in (14):

[20] Yet, states may be observed in the progressive only when they get a change of state reading in sentences such as "John is believing in God day by day". In such contexts, they lose their stative interpretation.

(14) John knows the answer. *state*
(15) John runs fast. *activity*

(Dowty, 1979, p. 56)

Related to the durativity property of states, they are compatible with durative adverbial *for x time,* as in (16):

(16) John loved Mary for two years.

(cited from Walková, 2012, p. 501)

Similarly, states are compatible with *spend x time Ø-ing*:

(17) Bill spent twenty years believing in Marxism.

(cited from Rothstein, 2008, p. 25)

Related to the telicity property of states, states are not compatible with adverbials in the form of *in x time* since such adverbials express an endpoint and states do not have an endpoint[21]:

(18) *John loved Mary in two years.

(cited from Walková, 2012, p. 502)

Similarly, the verbs *stop* vs *finish* are provided as a diagnostic tool related to telicity. The verb *finish* entails completion and thus a telic situation, whereas *stop* expresses cessation and is compatible with atelic situations. Therefore, states are incompatible with *finish*, but compatible with *stop*, as in (19) and (20) respectively[22].

[21] Yet, when a state appears in a sentence including *in x hour*, aspectual coercion occurs and it gets an inchoative reading:

i. John was curious to find out where his grandfather had been born, and with the help of the record office he knew the answer in a few hours.

(cited from Rothstein, 2008, p. 16)

[22] The question whether an accomplishment can be used with the verb *stop* may arise. For instance, the following sentence can be uttered without any problem:

i. John stopped building the house.

However, it should be stated that the inference from (i) is the event is incomplete when it is used with the verb *stop*. However, when it is uttered with the verb *finish*, the completion of the event is infered. Such inferential differences in interpretation is not valid for states.

(19) *John finished loving Mary.
(20) John stopped loving Mary.

(cited from Walková, 2012, p. 502)

The problem, however, in the traditional works on aspectual classes is that events have aroused a lot of interest and been analyzed from many perspectives, yet states have not received much attention. One reason may be due to the fact that states have been treated as the most basic and simplest type of all in the system (Dowty, 1979; Rothstein, 2008). Especially in lexical semantics, states are taken as semantic primitives and argued to include only the BE operator in their lexical structure. All the other types are built upon this primitive, which implies that events are always more complex than states.

Another connected reason may be that in almost all the major theories of aspectual classes, states have been seen as a uniform aspectual class/type, whereas events have divisions in themselves. Thus, since states are taken to be uniform, most theories have overlooked the possibility of the complexity of states.

In addition, later studies on aspect have questioned whether the verb alone has to be considered in deciding the inherent semantic properties of a situation or other constituents in the sentence contribute to aspectual interpretation[23]. Certain scholars (Dowty, 1979; Ritter&Rosen, 1996; Smith, 1997; Tenny, 1994; Verkuyl, 1972 among others) have claimed that along with the verb, other constituents such as the internal or the external argument of the verb should be taken into consideration in determining the aspectual interpretation[24]. For instance, Verkuyl (1972) showed that the internal argument of the verb may affect the aspectual interpretation such that the telicity property of a verb such as "walk" depends on the choice of the direct object. That is,

[23] The literature is divided on this issue; advocates of the view (Filip 2012; Kenny, 1963; Piñón, 1995; Rothstein, 2008; Ryle, 1949; Vendler, 1957 among others) argue that the properties of the verb alone determine the inherent semantic properties of a situation.
[24] Verkuyl (1972) is the first to argue that aspectual classification needs to be compositional and claims that telicity has to be a property which is defined over VPs.

when the direct object is expressed with a specific quantity (referred to as *quantized* in Krifka, 1989), the aspectual interpretation becomes an accomplishment, as in (21). On the other hand, when the direct object is expressed without a specific quantity; i.e. is non-quantizied, the interpretation is rendered as an activity, as in (22):

(21) Mary walked three miles.
(22) Mary walked miles.

(Verkuyl, 2006, p. 24)

However, since states are considered to be a single and simple type, whether the arguments of a stative verb may affect the stative interpretation and if so, how have not been questioned.

On the other hand, certain studies have claimed that states, similar to events, have multiple types. For instance, Dowty (1979) divides states into two as *interval states* such as *love, know, be asleep* etc and *momentary states* such as *sit, stand, lie* etc. The difference between the two types is that the former type cannot be seen in the progressive form whereas the latter one can be. However, although he emphasizes that the temporal properties of the verb phrase depend on both the properties of the verb and arguments of that verb, he does not mention anything about how the arguments of a stative verb play a role in the aspectual interpretation or about the division of states. Similarly, Bach (1986) argues for a division among states as *dynamic states* such as *sit, stand, lie* etc and *static states* such as *own, love, resemble* etc. He questions whether the count/mass distinction in the nominal domain argued in Link (1983) can be applied to the domain of eventualities. Yet, in his discussion, Bach (1986) concentrates on only processes and events, and does not question the application of this model to states or the division within states. To sum up, these studies have observed that states possibly have more than one type, but they have not provided any formal account for this division.

Regarding studies on aspect in Turkish, those conducted on states in Turkish are too limited as well (Aksu-Koç, 1988; Aydemir, 2006; Erguvanlı- Taylan, 1996, 2001; Güven, 2004; Kerslake, 2001; Slobin & Aksu-Koç, 1982). To my knowledge, Kerslake (2001) is the only study which concentrates on specifically states and it basically examines the relation between the perfective marker –DI and states. On the other hand, the other cited studies investigate the aspectual system of Turkish in a broader perspective and mention states only as a sub-part in their analysis. However, there is no study which in particular focuses on the question of whether statives in Turkish form a uniform class or analyzes their semantic and syntactic properties.

Taking all these into consideration, this thesis aims to fulfill the task of examining closely the behavior of stative verbs in Turkish. Since I will be interested in verbal forms of states, copular forms will be excluded in this thesis. I will basically question the view that states are a uniform class. To this end, I assume that they lexically have three features as [-dynamic, -telic, +durative], as proposed in Smith (1997) rather than two features. As pointed out above, this is because the mismatch between the feature [-stages] and the reason for states and achievements to have this feature, which emerges in two-featured systems, is not valid in three-featured systems.

In addition, I assume that aspectual interpretation of a sentence is obtained by a combination of both the lexical aspect and the viewpoint aspect. Regarding viewpoint markers, as pointed out in works on aspect in Turkish (Aksu-Koç, 1988; Erguvanlı-Taylan, 1996, 2001; Kornfilt, 1997; Slobin & Aksu-Koç, 1982), grammatical markers on the verb may have more than one function such that a morpheme may convey information about tense, aspect and/or modality simultaneously. Keeping this fact in mind, –DI will be used as the perfective viewpoint marker whereas –Iyor as the

imperfective viewpoint marker in the rest of this study. Only if necessary, other functions of these morphemes will be mentioned. Further, as will be seen in Chapter 2, the perfective marker on a stative verb may trigger type shifting as well (Erguvanlı-Taylan, 1996; Kerslake, 2001). Due to this fact, the data in Chapter 3 will be presented in the imperfective viewpoint.

Smith's (1997) model allows for aspectual type shifting, which is accounted for by her "principle of external override". This principle is crucial to this thesis since one type of statives in Turkish, which will be proposed in Chapter 5, is observed to be more vulnerable to aspectual type shifting and easily gets the achievement interpretation[25].

Within the scope of this study, the discussion will develop from the following questions:

(i) Do stative verbs form a heterogeneous class in Turkish? If so, how does this heterogeneity show itself in Turkish?

(ii) What factors are effective in the stative interpretation of a sentence?

(iii) What are the semantic and syntactic reflexes of stative verbs in Turkish?

In seeking response to these questions below, two recent analyses of stative verbs from two different approaches, namely Maienborn (2003, 2005, 2007) and Rothmayr (2009), will be compared and tested with Turkish data. These analyses are crucial to this thesis since they argue that stative verbs do not form a uniform class[26] and therefore, the implications of these analyses for stative verbs in Turkish will be investigated.

The organization of the chapters is as follows: Chapter 2 mainly will discuss and compare the details of two different analyses; i.e. Maienborn (2003, 2005, 2007) and

[25] As adverbials may trigger type shifting, they will not be included in the analysis of a sentence unless when they are used as a diagnostic tool.
[26] The details of these analyses will be provided in Chapter 2.

Rothmayr (2009). Also, a brief summary of the works on stative verbs in Turkish will be given. Chapter 3 will proceed in two ways. The stative verb classification offered in Rothmayr (2009) will be checked against Turkish data and the diagnostic tools in the existing literature will be applied to stative verbs at the same time. Accordingly, a new stative verb classification in Turkish will be offered. In presenting this classification, I will also seek answers for what factors are effective in the stative interpretation. In Chapter 3, how stative verbs in Turkish behave with respect to the existing diagnostic tools in the literature will also be discussed. Based on the results of these tools, a contrastive analysis of stative verbs in Turkish and two recent analyses presented in Chapter 2 will be provided. Chapter 4 will explore how the semantics of stative verbs interacts with certain (morpho-)syntactic structures in Turkish. In particular, the behavior of stative verbs and four different morphological units, namely two post-verbs *–(y)Adur* and *–(y)Iver* and two converbial suffixes *–(y)A…-(y)A* and *–(A/I)r….-mAz*, will be examined, and this will constitute the empirical basis of this study. An experiment in the form of grammaticality judgment tasks will be designed to see the interaction between the morphological units and the verbs and the results of this experiment will be discussed. Based on the results of the experiment, I will mainly challenge the argument that statives are a homogeneous class. This chapter will further support that the bipartite division proposed in Maienborn (2003, 2005, 2007) manifests itself in Turkish. It will be proposed that Turkish, in fact, exhibits a tripartite divison for statives. In Chapter 5, the results of both Chapter 3 and 4 will be combined and it will be argued that statives form a heterogeneous class. Contributions of this thesis to the field of aspect and specifically stative verb literature, and limitations of the study will be clarified mentioning some recommendations for further research.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

It has been traditionally assumed that stative verbs are the most basic and simple situation type in terms of their logical structure since they have been argued to host only the BE operator in their semantic structure (Hale & Keyser, 2002; Katz, 2000a; Levin&Rappaport, 2005; Rothstein, 2008). Therefore, works on aspect have not elaborated much on the details of this class. Some studies (Bach, 1986; Dowty, 1979) have pointed out that stative verbs are not as simple as suggested and there is a division among statives, though no formal account was provided to this division.

The latest studies on stative verbs, however, have raised questions such as 'Are statives heterogeneous in themselves?', 'What makes statives a heterogeneous class rather than a homogeneous one?', 'What determines the different behavior of stative verbs?' (Diesing, 1992; Higginbotham, 1985; Maienborn, 2003, 2005, 2007; Mittwoch, 2005; Parsons, 2000 among others). In looking for answers to such questions, these studies have been influenced by Davidson's (1967) view on action verbs in the literature. The main argument in Davidson's (1967) work is that all action verbs should contain a variable, i.e. *Davidsonian event argument*, in their logical representation which

stands for the action expressed in the sentence[27]. Following from this, researchers such as Higginbotham (1985, 1996), Parsons (1990, 2000), Katz (2000a, 2000b), Maienborn (2003, 2005, 2007) have attempted to extend this argument to stative verbs and questioned whether such a variable (Davidsonian event argument) proposed for action verbs could be applied to stative verbs as well in order to explain their divergent behavior.

Based on this question, three different approaches have developed regarding how to treat stative verbs:

i. The Davidsonian Approach

ii. The Anti-Davidsonian Approach

iii. The Neo-Davidsonian Approach

In the Davidsonian approach, the main argument is that there are two kinds of states; i.e. one has a Davidsonian event argument (henceforth D-argument) in the logical structure whereas the other lacks it, which is why this approach is called "the Davidsonian approach" (Diesing, 1992; Kratzer, 1995; Maienborn, 2003, 2005, 2007).

On the other hand, in the anti-Davidsonian approach the main claim is that all stative verbs lack such a D-argument in their logical structure, which is why this approach is called "Anti-Davidsonian" (Katz, 2000; Rothmayr, 2009).

[27] The intuition behind this event argument is that the event in the sentence can be referred to by the pronoun *it*. A sentence such as "Jones buttered the toast in the bathroom with a knife at midnight", for instance, can be uttered as "Jones did it in the bathroom, with a knife, at midnight", where *it* refers to the action in the sentence and this action can be characterized in different ways (Davidson, 1967, p. 105-6). Following from this, the event argument is proposed and it allows the event to have a place in the argument structure of an action sentence. The first motivation for this variable is that this argument allows adjuncts to be referred to, specified and analyzed. They are taken to be predicates of events. For example, the logical form of a sentence like (i) is as in (ii):

(i) Peter slowly buttered the toast for Beth.

(ii) ∃e [butter (e, Peter, the toast) & for (e, Beth) & slow (e)]

Another motivation is that thanks to the logical forms as in (ii), the variable allows us to capture the entailment relations and to make inferences about the contribution of adverbials to the meaning of the sentence.

Contrary to the anti-Davidsonian approach, the main argument in the neo-Davidsonian approach is that all the predicates, including statives, have a D-argument in their logical structure (Higginbotham, 1985 & 2000; Mittwoch, 2005; Parsons, 1990, 2000). Since the cited studies under this approach have taken a further step by arguing all the predicates have a D-argument in their logical structure, they are called "Neo-Davidsonian".

The main drawback of most of the cited studies under each approach is that they only focus on one part of stative verbs. Specifically, certain studies (Katz, 2000) under the anti-Davidsonian approach do not mention a group of stative verbs such as *sit, sleep, stand* and so on. In contrast, studies under the neo-Davidsonian approach ignore the other kind of stative verbs such as *love, own, weigh* etc. On the other hand, some studies under the Davidsonian approach (Diesing, 1992; Kratzer, 1995) work on the types of predicates from a general perspective and thus, do not specifically investigate the behavior of stative verbs.

In this chapter, I will concentrate on two recent analyses; i.e. Maienborn (2003, 2005, 2007) in the Davidsonian approach and Rothmayr (2009) in the anti-Davidsonian approach. These studies address only stative verbs and of both kinds, namely verbs such as *sit, sleep, stand* on the one hand and *love, own, weigh* on the other hand.

This chapter will proceed as follows: 2.1 will present the analysis proposed by Maienborn (2003, 2005, 2007). In 2.2, Rothmayr's (2009) analysis will be discussed and contrasted with Maienborn's analysis. 2.3 will present a brief summary of the similarities and the differences between both studies. Section 2.4 presents briefly work in Turkish which covers stative verbs. 2.5 will give a brief summary of the whole chapter.

2.1 Maienborn (2003, 2005, 2007) [28]

The main argument in Maienborn's analysis is that there are two kinds of statives, one of which has a D-argument in its logical representation whereas the other one lacks such an argument.

The main assumption is that Davidsonian eventualities[29] are "particular spatiotemporal entities with functionally integrated participants", having the following ontological properties (Maienborn, 2007, p. 109):

(1) Ontological properties of Davidsonian eventualities
   a. Eventualities are perceptible.
   b. Eventualities can be located in space and time.
   c. Eventualities can vary in the way that they are realized.

The ontological properties given in (1) naturally have certain linguistic reflexes such that certain diagnostic tools, provided in (2), are suggested to detect the D-argument:

(2) Diagnostic tools to detect the D-argument in the logical structure
   a. Eventualities can serve as infinitival complements of perception verbs.
   b. Eventualities combine with both locative and temporal modifiers.
   c. Eventualities can combine with manner adverbials and the like.
   (Maienborn, 2007, p. 110)

Based on the tools above, it is shown that stative verbs behave differently (Maienborn, 2005, 2007). More specifically, one group of stative verbs is shown to be

[28] Since Maienborn (2003) is written in German, I will cite Maienborn (2005, 2007) in the rest of the study.

[29] As proposed in Bach (1986), Maienborn (2005, 2007) adopts the term "Davidsonian eventuality" as a cover term which includes both statives and events rather than "Davidsonian event". This is because it is noted that in addition to processes (Vendler's activities) and events (Vendler's accomplishments and achievements), at least one particular kind of static expression (i.e. D-states) reacts in the same way to the diagnostic tools as events do. Therefore, processes, events and D-states are considered to be true eventualities. Due to the same reasoning, she uses "Davidsonian eventuality argument" instead of "Davidsonian event argument"; i.e. the variable in the logical structure. In this study, I will use the term "D-argument" as referring to the variable in the logical structure.

ungrammatical when it is used as infinitival complements of perception verbs, as can be seen in (3) and (4):

(3) *Ich sah die Tomaten 1 Kg wiegen.
I saw the tomatoes 1 kg weigh.

(4) *Ich sah meine Tante Romy Schneider ähneln.
I saw my aunt Romy Schneider resemble.

(Maienborn, 2007, p. 110)

This group is not compatible with locative modifiers either, as illustrated in (5) and (6):

(5) *Die Tomaten wiegen neben den Paprikas 1 Kg.
The tomatoes weigh besides the paprikas 1 kg.

(6) *Bardo weiß (gerade) dort drüben die Antwort.
Bardo knows (at-this-moment) over there the answer.

(Maienborn, 2007, p. 111)

Further, the verbs in this group cannot combine with manner adverbials, as exemplified in (7) and (8):

(7) *Andrea ähnelt mit ihrer Tochter Romy Schneider.
Andrea resembles with her daughter Romy Schneider.

(8) *Bardo besitzt sparsam/spendabel viel Geld.
Bardo owns thriftily /generously much money.

(Maienborn, 2007, p. 112)

In contrast, it is shown that the other group of stative verbs is felicitous as infinitival complements of perception verbs, as can be seen in (9) and (10):

(9) Ich sah das Buch auf dem Tisch liegen.
I saw the book on the table lie.

(10) Ich sah Bardo schlafen.
I saw Bardo sleep.

(Maienborn, 2007, p. 110)

This group is also compatible with locative modifiers, as seen in (11) and (12):

(11) Das Auto wartet an der Ampel.
The car waits at the traffic light.

(12) Bardo schläft in der Hängematte.
Bardo sleeps in the hammock.

(Maienborn, 2007, p. 111)

Lastly, they can combine with manner adverbials and comitatives felicitously, as given in (13) and (14):

(13) Bardo schläft friedlich/mit seinem Teddy/ohne Schnuller.
Bardo sleeps calmly /with his teddy /without dummy.

(14) Carolin saß reglos /kerzengerade am Tisch.
Carolin sat motionless/straight as a die at the table.

(Maienborn, 2007, p. 112)

Based on the results of the diagnostic tools, Maienborn (2005, 2007) proposes a bipartite division between stative verbs, namely *Davidsonian states* (D-states henceforth) and *Kimian states* (K-states henceforth). D-states constitute the group which is compatible with the tools and the typical examples of D-states are verbs such as *sit, lie, hang, sleep, gleam, wait, stand* etc[30]. On the other hand, K-states constitute the other group which is not compatible with the tools and the typical examples of K-states are *know, hate, resemble, weigh, own, cost* etc[31]., in addition to all copular constructions[32]. Since the former group fulfills all the criteria that are put forward to detect the hidden D-argument, Maienborn calls this group "D-state". She proposes that D-states have a D-argument in the logical representation and denote true eventualities. In contrast, the

[30] Maienborn (2005, 2007) called the verbs under K-states 'stative verbs' whereas she called the verbs under D-states 'state verbs'. However, in the discussion of her study, K-states and D-states will be used in order to avoid any misunderstanding. Also, when the notion 'stative verbs' is used, it will refer to all the verbal members of the aspectual class 'state'.
[31] The verbs given as members of K-states and D-states here are all the verbs included in Maienborn's analysis.
[32] Since copular constructions are beyond this thesis, they will be provided for the sake of a better comprehension only when necessary.

latter group is not compatible with the diagnostic tools. This indicates that they do not have a D-argument and consequently, they do not denote true eventualities (p. 112).

Maienborn (2007) defines K-states as "K-states are abstract objects for the exemplification of a property P at a holder x and a time t" (p.113), with the ontological properties given in (15) and the linguistic realization in (16)[33]:

(15) Ontological properties of K-states:
   a. K-states are not accessible to direct perception and have no location in space.
   b. K-states are accessible to (higher) cognitive operations.
   c. K-states can be located in time.

(Maienborn, 2007, p. 113)

(16) Linguistic diagnostics for Kimian states:
   a. K-state expressions cannot serve as infinitival complements of perception verbs and do not combine with locative modifiers.
   b. K-state expressions are accessible for anaphoric reference.
   c. K-state expressions combine with temporal modifiers.

(Maienborn, 2007, p. 113)

In addition to the tools discussed, a new eventuality diagnostic tool is suggested to differentiate K-states from D-states: modification by *ein bisschen* "a little bit". When *ein bisschen* "a little bit" and a K-state co-occur, *ein bisschen* "a little bit" gets the degree reading only, as illustrated in (17) and (18). However, if *ein bisschen* "a little bit" and a D-state co-occur, *ein bisschen* "a little bit" may get both eventive; i.e. temporal, and degree readings, as can be seen in (19) and (20)[34].

[33] Regarding K-states, Maienborn (2007) develops an alternative view such that she adopts Kim's (1969, 1976) notion of temporally bound property exemplifications and combines this notion with Asher's (1993, 2000) conception of abstract objects as mentally constructed entities, as cited in Maienborn (2007). It is noted that Maienborn (2007) differs from Kim's work in that Kim considers his proposal as an alternative to Davidson's approach. On the other hand, Maienborn takes K-states as a supplement to Davidsonian eventualities rather than an alternative (p. 112-3).

[34] Whether one reading or both readings are obtained depends on the verb meaning.

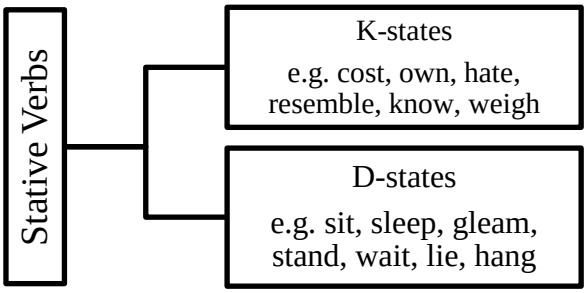

Fig. 1 The division proposed by Maienborn (2005, 2007)

In the eventive reading[35], what is referred to is that the duration is short, whereas in the degree reading what is referred to is that the amount is small:

(17) (Kaufen Sie jetzt!) Diese Aktie kostet nur ein bisschen so wenig. *degree reading*
'(Buy now!) This share costs only a little bit so little.'

(18) Carol ähnelte ein bisschen ihrer Großmutter. *degree reading*
'Carol resembled a little bit her grandmother.'

(Maienborn, 2005, p. 298-9)

(19) Paul hat ein bisschen im Garten gesessen. *eventive reading*
Paul has a little bit in.the garden sat.

(20) Das Fenster hat ein bisschen offen gestanden. *degree and eventive reading*
The window has a little bit open stood

(Maienborn, 2005, p. 298)

Lastly, it is illustrated that both K-states and D-states cannot be followed by the verb *happen*, which substantiates that both K-states and D-states are not eventive expressions, but stative[36]:

[35] It is noted that the eventive reading is accessible to only homogeneous eventualities, which are processes- activities in Vendler's term- and D-states. (Maienborn, 2005, p. 297)
[36] When an eventive verb such as an activity "play" is followed by the verb *happen*, the result is grammatical.

(21) Eva besaβ ein Haus. *Das geschah während… (a K-state)
'Eva owned a house. *This happened while…'

(22) Eva stand am Fenster. *Das geschah während… (a D-state)
'Eva stood at the window. *This happened while…'

(Maienborn, 2005, p. 285-6)

It is concluded that K-states and D-states are ontologically different from each other with respect to the eventuality diagnostic tools although they are both non-dynamic expressions.

2.2 Rothmayr (2009)

In Rothmayr's analysis, on the other hand, the main claim is that stative verbs do not have a D-argument in their logical structure based on their behavior in the diagnostic tools to detect the D-argument.

Rothmayr (2009) claims that there are two types of eventualities[37]: *K-states* and *Davidsonian events* (henceforth D-events)[38]. To determine the eventuality type of a verb, the same diagnostic tools are applied to each sub-class, as done in Maienborn (2005, 2007), namely (i) manner modification, (ii) locative modification, (iii) modification with *ein bisschen* "a little bit" and (iv) (in)compatibility as the infinitival complement of a perception verb. The criteria to call a verb K-state is the same as the ones in Maienborn (2005, 2007). In other words, if a verb is incompatible with manner and locative adverbials; cannot be used as the infinitival complement of a perception verb; and if *ein bisschen* "a little bit" gets only the degree reading, that verb is a K-state. However, if a

[37] Here, Rothmayr (2009) adopts the term eventuality as in Bach (1986). Accordingly, eventuality is a neutral term and it includes both states and events.

[38] This division in Rothmayr (2009) is in fact the same division as the one in Bach (1986). Rather than calling "state vs event", Rothmayr uses the terms "K-state vs D-event". This implies that D-events in the sense of Rothmayr (2009) are eventive predicates and include activities, accomplishments and achievements.

verb behaves the other way round, that verb is a D-event. This means that the criteria to call a verb D-state in Maienborn (2005, 2007) are in fact assumed to be the criteria for the presence of an eventive eventuality; i.e. D-events, in Rothmayr (2009). Following from this, it can be concluded that D-states in the sense of Maienborn (2005, 2007) fall under eventives in Rothmayr (2009), which is the most basic difference between the two analyses.

Apart from investigating whether a D-argument exists in the structure of stative verbs or not, Rothmayr (2009) also offers a finer-grained classification of stative verbs to show the heterogeneity of stative verbs, which differentiates this analysis from the other cited analyses. She divides stative verbs into two main groups as "stative- eventive ambiguities" and "non-ambiguous stative verbs", both of which host their own sub-classes as well. The major difference between the two groups is that the former is ambiguous in stative/eventive interpretation based on agentivity whereas the latter is non-ambiguously stative. The classification offered in Rothmayr (2009) is presented in Table 3:

Table 3. Stative Verb Classification Offered in Rothmayr (2009)

Stative Verb Classification	
Stative- Eventive Ambiguities	Non-ambiguous Stative Verbs
• Ambiguity due to instrumental alternation such as *decorate, block, obstruct, surround*[39] *etc.* • Object-experiencer verbs assigning accusative such as *depress, annoy, remind, amuse, frighten etc.* • The *threaten* class such as *threaten* • Dispositional verbs such as *help* • Perception verbs such as s*ee, hear, smell etc.*	• Subject experiencer/ possessor verbs such as *admire, own, love, hate, respect, know etc.* • Dative experiencer/ possessor verbs such as *fit, appeal to, suit etc.* • Measure verbs such as *measure, weigh, last, cost etc.* • PP-complement verbs such as *border with, appear in, be based on, follow from etc.*

[39] The English translations of the verbs are provided as examples; however, the original language studied in Rothmayr (2009) is German.

The ambiguity which the sub-classes under "stative-eventive ambiguities" show is exemplified below. All the (a) sentences have the eventive reading, which generally refers to an activity, whereas all the (b) sentences have the stative reading. The ambiguity is due to agentivity such that if there is an agent in the sentence, the interpretation will be eventive, whereas the absence of an agent leads to the stative interpretation[40]:

(23) Ambiguity due to instrumental alternation

a. Die Irmi verstopft die Straße mit ihrem Lastwagen
The Irmi obstructs the street with her truck
'Irmi is obstructing the street with her truck.'
(Rothmayr, 2009, p. 49)

b. Das Gewebe verstopfte das Blutgefäß.
The tissue obstructed the blood vessel
'Tissue obstructed the blood vessel.'
(Rothmayr, 2009, p. 48)

(24) Object Experiencer Verbs assigning accusative

a. Die Irmi ärgert den Poldi (mit einem Lied).
The Irmi annoys the Poldi (with a song)
'Irmi is annoying Poldi (with a song).'
(Rothmayr, 2009, p. 66)

b. Das Lied ärgert den Poldi.
The song annoys the Poldi
'The song annoys Poldi.'
(Rothmayr, 2009, p. 66)

(25) The *threaten* class

a. Die Irmi drohte, daβ sie die Kekse essen würde.
The Irmi threatened that she the cookies eat would
'Irmi threatened that she would eat the cookies.'
(Rothmayr, 2009, p. 79)

[40] Rothmayr (2009) argues that the ambiguity is due to presence or absence of DO operator. That is, when DO operator is present in the lexical semantic structure of a verb, that verb will have the eventive reading. In the absence of this operator, the reading will be stative. The presence of the DO operator is contingent on the sentence having an agent. When there is an agent, the sentence is compatible with manner adverbials, locative modifiers and so on. This implies that semantically there is the DO operator in the structure.

b. Die Kekse drohen zu verschimmeln.
The cookies threaten to get rotten
'The cookies are threatening to go moldy.'

(Rothmayr, 2009, p. 78)

(26) Dispositional Verbs

a. Die Irmi hat dem Poldi geholfen.
The Irmi has the Poldi DAT helped
'Irmi helped Poldi.'

(Rothmayr, 2009, p. 98)

b. Die Tablette hat dem Poldi geholfen.
The pill has the Poldi helped
'The pill helped Poldi.'

(Rothmayr, 2009, p. 97)

(27) Perception Verbs

a. Die Irmi erschmeckt ein Schwammerl.
The Irmi er-tastes a mushroom
'Irmi is tasting a mushroom.'

(Rothmayr, 2009, p. 106)

b. Die Irmi sieht eine Spinne.
The Irmi sees a spider
'Irmi sees a spider.'

(Rothmayr, 2009, p. 105)

In contrast, agentivity does not create any difference in the group of non-ambiguous stative verbs. The sub-classes are exemplified below:

(28) Subject Experiencer/ Possessor Verb

Die Irmi kennt die Antwort.
The Irmi NOM knows the answer ACC
'Irmi knows the answer.'

(Rothmayr, 2009, p. 109)

(29) Dative Experiencer/ Possessor Verb
Das Lied gefällt der Irmi.
The song appeals to the Irmi
'The song appeals to Irmi.'

(Rothmayr, 2009, p. 130)

(30) Measure Verb
Das Buch kostet 10 Euro.
The book costs 10euro
'The book costs ten euros.'

(Rothmayr, 2009, p. 131)

(31) PP-complement Verb
Das Grundstück grenzt an den Fluß.
The property borders to the river.
'The property borders to the river.'

(Rothmayr, 2009, p. 140)

As seen in the examples, all the sub-classes under the group of non-ambiguous stative verbs get only the stative reading.

When the verbs included in Maienborn (2005, 2007) and Rothmayr (2009) are contrasted, it is seen that the group of "stative-eventive ambiguities" in Rothmayr (2009) is not addressed in Maienborn (2005, 2007). In addition, with respect to the group of "non-ambiguous stative verbs" in Rothmayr (2009), not all the non-ambiguous stative verbs given in Rothmayr (2009) have been included in Maienborn's analysis. Maienborn (2005, 2007) includes only certain subject experiencer verbs such as *know* and *hate*, and measure verbs such as *weigh* and *cost*. Other than subject experiencer and measure verbs, other sub-classes in Rothmayr (2009) are not mentioned in Maienborn (2005, 2007).

On the other hand, Rothmayr (2009) does not address the question of whether the sub-classes under the ambiguous group are categorized as a state or an event at the lexical base and what the implications of being ambiguous for these sub-classes are.

In Rothmayr's (2009) analysis, all the sub-classes under "stative-eventive ambiguities" behave as K-states in their stative reading with respect to the diagnostic

tools given above. Likewise, all the sub-classes under "non-ambiguous stative verbs" behave like K-states. This indicates that all the stative verbs in Rothmayr's classification are in fact K-states although they have different lexical semantic structures in themselves.

Here, it should be noted that all the diagnostic tools are not regularly applied to each sub-classes in Rothmayr (2009), which seems to be a shortcoming of this analysis. To exemplify, all the tools are applied only to PP-complement verbs such as *border with, appear in* and so on. All the other sub-classes under "stative-eventive ambiguities" and "non-ambiguous stative verbs" are checked against three tools, namely manner modification, locative modification, modification with *ein bisschen* "a little bit". To this behavior, Rothmayr (2009) does not provide any reason why she does not apply all the tools to each sub-class.

As stated above, Rothmayr (2009) opposes the view of D-states, contrary to Maienborn (2005, 2007), and claims that if a verb is not a K-state, then it is a D-event. Then how are the "D-states" of Maienborn (2005, 2007) treated in Rothmayr (2009)? To answer this question, Rothmayr concentrates on two different sub-classes: verbs of position such as *sit, stand* etc. and verbs of internal causation such as *gleam*. Recall that these verb types are taken to be D-states in Maienborn (2005, 2007).

First, in Rothmayr (2009), verbs of position are divided into two as "stative verbs of position" such as *hang, (the book, the papers etc.) lie, (TV etc.) sit* and "verbs of body posture" such as *crouch, squat, kneel, stand* etc., as exemplified in (32) and (33) respectively:

(32) Das Buch liegt am Tisch. (stative verbs of position)
The book lies on the table
'The book is lying on the table.'

(Rothmayr, 2009, p. 152)

(33) Der Poldi hockt am Boden. (verbs of body posture)
The Poldi crouches on the floor
'Poldi is crouching on the floor.'

(Rothmayr, 2009, p. 156)

Stative verbs of position are illustrated to be incompatible with manner and locative adverbials as typical K-states are. Therefore, they are taken to be K-states. In contrast, verbs of body posture allow for manner modification[41]. Therefore, they are claimed to be eventive; i.e. D-events. It is further asserted that verbs of body posture are in fact activities since they denote an action which is intentionally carried out by an agent, which means that an animal or a human can remain in a certain location intentionally and keep their body in a particular position[42].

Second, similar to verbs of body posture, verbs of internal causation such as *gleam* are argued to be D-events with respect to the diagnostic tools. These verbs are considered to be like activities, but the only difference between verbs of internal causation and activities resides in the intentionality of their subject NP[43].

To conclude, all of Maienborn's K-states are in the stative verb classification in Rothmayr (2009) and they are K-states as well. However, only some of Maienborn's D-states fall under Rothmayr's statives, namely stative verbs of position in Rothmayr (2009) such as *hang, (the book, the papers etc) lie, (TV etc) sit* and so on. The other verbs such as *gleam* and *sit, stand* with animate subject NPs are claimed to be D-events,

[41] In terms of locative modification, it is asserted that the locative PPs are arguments in these verbs and therefore, this tool cannot determine the eventuality type of verbs of posture.
[42] Stative verbs of position lack such intentionality and they express that an object is located at a particular position.
[43] In the syntactic structure, this difference is represented with two different theta features: cause [c] and mental involvement [m]. For more details, see Rothmayr (2009).

contrary to Maienborn (2005, 2007). Figure 2 below illustrates the division between K-states and D-events in detail in Rothmayr (2009)[44].

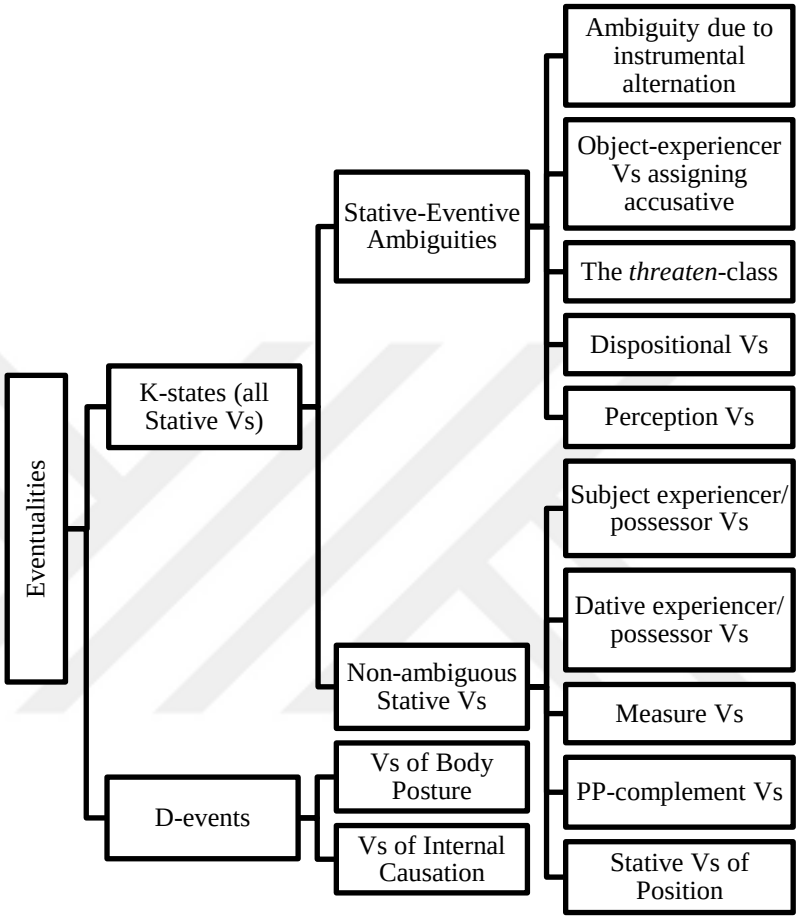

Fig. 2 The division of statives and eventives proposed by Rothmayr (2009)

Here, there seems to be a problem in Rothmayr's argument, however. Although she acknowledges that nothing seems to happen in verbs of body posture and internal causation, she argues that these verbs are eventive. Yet, she does not provide any evidence to support this argument. Recall that Maienborn (2005) illustrates that both D-states and K-states cannot be followed by the verb *happen*, which substantiates that D-states are statives as well.

[44] The division that Rothmayr (2009) proposes in fact corresponds to the division proposed by Bach (1986). In Bach's analysis, eventuality is used as a cover term and it consists of states and events. Rothmayr calls states of Bach (1986) "K-states" and events of Bach (1986) "D-events". However, these two studies differ from each other in their treatment of verbs such as sit, stand, lie etc. Bach (1986) argues that such verbs are stative as well.

Lastly, Rothmayr (2009) provides the reader with both the lexical-semantic structure and the syntactic structure for each sub-class by using three aspectual operators DO, BECOME and CAUSE[45]. In the eventive reading, all the verbs have to have the DO and/or BECOME operator(s) in their lexical-semantic structure. In the stative reading, however, only the CAUSE operator can be valid in the lexical-semantic structure of a verb and DO or BECOME operators are absent. However, the presence of CAUSE operator does not guarantee the stative or eventive interpretation. If the CAUSE operator is valid, ambiguity between stative/eventive readings arises, as seen in ambiguity due to instrumental alternation, object experiencer verbs and dispositional verbs[46]. They get the stative reading if there is a causal relation between two states[47],[48].

Yet, the CAUSE operator is not a prerequisite for the ambiguity. This means that a verb in ambiguous group may be ambiguous between stative and eventive readings without the CAUSE operator as well, as in the cases of the *threaten* class and perception verbs. The ambiguity observed in these sub-classes is because the DO operator can be inserted freely into the lexical-semantic structure of these verbs.

As for the group of non-ambiguous stative verbs, however, all the sub-classes are unambiguously stative since there is no CAUSE operator in their lexical-semantic structure and the DO operator cannot be inserted into the lexical-semantic structure of

[45] DO operator is valid when there is an agent in the sentence. BECOME operator is available when there is a change of state in the sentence. CAUSE operator is valid when there is causation in the sentence.
[46] If these verbs have DO and/or BECOME operators in addition to the CAUSE operator, then they get the eventive reading.
[47] It is stated that if both the causer and the causee are stative, there will be a stative causal relation. This means that such a relation does not include any action of an agent and any resultant state (Rothmayr 2009, p. 40).
[48] The sub-classes under "stative-eventive ambiguities" may get both agentive and eventive reading as well. In the former reading, there is an agent, whereas in the latter reading there is no agent but a change of state. If they have the agentive/eventive reading, they have DO/BECOME operators in the lexical-semantic structure respectively. BECOME operator can be optional in the agentive reading.

non-ambiguous stative verbs. The verbs under the non-ambiguous group do not have any operators in their lexical-semantic structure and therefore, their underlying structure is simple. In brief, the only common property which all stative verbs share is that they lack the DO and BECOME operator, if available, in their stative reading.

On the other hand, verbs of body posture and verbs of internal causation; i.e. D-events, have only the DO operator in their lexical-semantic structure, which yields eventive reading[49]. Table 3 presents both Maienborn's (2005, 2007) and Rothmayr's (2009) analyses contrastively:

[49] Verbs of internal causation get the agentive reading as well as eventive reading by adding an agentive subject NP to the sentence. In agentive reading, both DO and CAUSE operators are argued to be valid in the lexical-semantic structure of these verbs, whereas there is no CAUSE operator in the eventive reading. When contrasted with instrumental alternation verbs, it is observed that the agentive interpretation of instrumental alternation verbs have a very similar structure as the agentive interpretation of verbs of internal causation.

Table 4. The Comparison between Maienborn (2005, 2007) and Rothmayr (2009)

Rothmayr (2009)	Maienborn (2005, 2007)
Eventuality is a cover term which includes both states and events.	Eventualities are particular spatiotemporal entities with functionally integrated participants.
A finer-grained classification of stative verbs is provided and a wide variety of stative verbs are included.	Few stative verbs are included.
It is assumed that K-states exist.	It is assumed that K-states exist.
Stative verbs include two groups: ambiguous vs non-ambiguous group All the K-states in the sense of Maienborn are stative.	The verbs under ambiguous group such as *decorate, block, threaten* etc are not mentioned. From the non-ambiguous group in Rothmayr (2009), only subject experiencer verbs such as *hate* and *know*, and measure verbs such as *cost* and *weigh* are included.
Both types of stative verbs, ambiguous vs non-ambiguous group, are K-states. There is no D-state.	There are two types of states; K-states and D-states.
The tools applied: manner modification, locative modification, modification with *ein bisschen* "a little bit" and (in)compatibility as the infinitival complement of a perception verb.	The tools applied: manner modification, locative modification, modification with *ein bisschen* "a little bit" and (in)compatibility as the infinitival complement of a perception verb.
All the tools are not applied regularly.	All the tools are applied regularly.
Verbs such as *sit, stand, lie* are divided into two; (i) 'stative verbs of position' such as *hang, (the book, the papers etc.) lie, (TV etc.) sit* and (ii) 'verbs of body posture' such as *stand.* These verbs always have inanimate subject NPs. The latter group has an animate subject NPs all the time. Thus, it is agentive and consequently, a D-event.	Verbs such as *sit, stand, lie* are D-states.
Stative verbs of position such as *hang, (the book, the papers etc.) lie, (TV etc.) sit* are K-states.	Verbs such as *hang, (the book, the papers etc.) lie, (TV etc.) sit* are D-states.
Verbs such as *gleam* belong to the class of 'verbs of internal causation' and they are D-events.	Verbs such as *gleam* are D-states.
D-events pass all the tools to detect D-argument and therefore, are D-events. (In)compatibility with the verb *happen* is not mentioned. K-states are stative and D-events are eventive.	D-states pass all the tools to detect D-argument, but they are stative based on their behavior with respect to *happen*. Both K-states and D-states cannot be followed by the verb *happen*.

2.3 Interim summary

To summarize, a comparison of the analyses by Maienborn (2005, 2007) and Rothmayr (2009) has shown that both analyses assume that K-states exist. In addition, both analyses apply the same diagnostic tools to stative verbs to examine their behavior:

manner modification, locative modification, modification with ein bisschen “a little bit” and (in)compatibility as the infinitival complement of a perception verb.

On the other hand, they differ from one another in several aspects. First, Rothmayr (2009) offers a finer-grained classification of stative verbs and provides a comprehensive analysis whereas Maienborn (2005) investigates stative verbs from a general perspective and includes fewer verbs comparatively. In addition, the latter analysis does not elaborate on ambiguous stative verbs. Furthermore, they differ in their treatment of verbs such as sit, stand, gleam etc.; for Rothmayr (2009) these verbs are “D-events” and hence eventive, whereas for Maienborn (2005) they are “D-states” and hence stative. However, Rothmayr (2009) does not provide any evidence for claiming that they are eventive, whereas Maienborn (2005, 2007) illustrates that these verbs cannot be followed by the verb happen, which substantiates that these verbs are stative.

2.4 Turkish literature on stative verbs

As pointed out before, Turkish does have a limited number of studies which cover stative verbs (Aksu-Koç, 1988; Aydemir, 2006; Erguvanlı- Taylan, 1996, 2001; Güven, 2004; Kerslake, 2001; Slobin & Aksu-Koç, 1982). Most of these studies mainly elaborate on aspect or aspectual classes and states are included as a sub-part of the analysis. As states have been considered to be simpler than other aspectual classes by many scholars (Dowty, 1979; Rothstein, 2008 among others) and therefore have not received as much attention as other classes, it would not be too wrong to say that this is the case in Turkish, too. It is only Kerslake (2001) which concentrates on states exclusively.

Erguvanlı-Taylan (1996) implements the two parameters of aspect argued in Smith (1997) into Turkish and analyzes the aspectual interpretation of sentences. She highlights on the interaction between the adverbials in the sentence and the situation types. This is essential for the study in here since the interaction between the adverbials and the aspectual classes will be used in order to justify the interpretations in the analysis of this thesis (in Chapter 3 and 4). Also, how viewpoint aspect is realized in the sentence is pointed out[50]. In addition, it is emphasized that there is not one to one correspondence between the morphemes and their functions. For instance, the morpheme –DI may function as the perfective marker and/or the past tense marker at the same time. In cases such as (34), it does not function as past tense, either; instead, it marks the end point which is the signal for an entry into a new state.

(34) Bu ev-i çok beğen-di-m.
This house-ACC ver like-PFV.1P
'I like this house a lot.'

As for statives, it has been pointed out that they cannot occur with agency-related adverbials such as bile bile "on purpose" and they can freely appear with –(I)yor, which marks both progressivity and imperfectivity.

This one morpheme to many functions is crucial for this thesis in that the examples in this thesis will be provided with two tense/aspect morphemes: -DI and –Iyor. Though both have many functions, –DI will be used as a perfective viewpoint marker while –Iyor will be used as the imperfective viewpoint marker.

Erguvanlı-Taylan (2001), on the other hand, investigates the relation between the verbs and the temporal/ aspectual adverbs in Turkish. The adverbials included in this study are characterized by certain aspectual features; i.e. [±durative], [±telic] and

[50] Erguvanlı-Taylan (1996) also observes that adverbials come with certain restrictions and therefore they may entail particular viewpoint aspect markers.

[±orientation point]. This study illustrates that there are certain constraints on the co-occurrence of adverbials, viewpoint markers and situation types. It is shown that adverbials in the sentence may trigger aspectual type shifting and therefore determine the aspectual interpretation of a whole sentence. This fact in Turkish is highly important for this thesis as well since aspectual type-shifting plays an important role in stative interpretation and leads to changes in interpretation.

Güven (2004) argues that tense-aspect adverbials constitute the third parameter of the aspect theory in addition to situation aspect and viewpoint aspect. As a result of the composition of these three paramaters, the aspectual interpretation of sentence can be determined. She provides a very detailed analysis of tense-aspect adverbials in Turkish and examines how the interaction between viewpoint aspect, situation aspect and adverbials take place. In terms of seeing how effective the adverbials are in the interpretation of a sentence and how they trigger shifts in interpretation, Güven (2004) is very practical. Similar cases will be shown in this study as well, although the adverbials to be used in this study will be more of other kinds of adverbials such as manner adverbials rather than tense/aspect adverbials.

Kerslake (2001) examines the perfective marker –DI on statives and emphasizes its making reference to "onset of a state" meaning; i.e. inchoative use. She investigates the verbs which are likely to prefer inchoative use and the motivations behind this preference. It is concluded that there is strong tendency in Turkish to refer to "the entry into a state" than the state itself. As stated above, knowing the inchoative use of –DI, this study will present the example sentences inflected with –Iyor rather than –DI. –DI will only be used to show that it triggers aspectual shifts in statives.

All the analyses presented above have very crucial intuitions and valuable observations regarding the aspectual system of Turkish. However, none of them is directly relevant to this thesis since they do not question whether states form a homogeneous class or not or discuss the presence of any possibility of a taxonomy among states. Therefore, they will not be discussed in much detail here.

Lastly, in her dissertation, Aydemir (2006) offers a verbal aspectual classification for Turkish making use of the Aspectual Interface Hypothesis developed by Tenny (1994). She differentiates between lexical and non-lexical properties; there are certain lexical classes based on the lexical properties. However, non-lexical properties which emerge because of other constituents in the sentence may result in a derived level categorization[51]. Thus, she proposes the lexical aspectual class given in Table 5 based on two semantic features: dynamic and static[52](p. 130). The feature system which Aydemir employs shares the basic property of Olsen's (1994) classification in that the features do not have either [+] or [-] values. Instead, each feature has either [+] value or is valueless. If a feature has the [+] value, it means that it is an inherent feature; however, if a feature does not have any value, it means that that feature is not inherently available for the relevant class; i.e. it is underspecified. Yet, a feature may be [+] valued depending on the properties of the direct object or temporal adverbials or other constituents in the sentence (Aydemir 2006, p. 129). This means that the verbal classification offered allows for aspectual type shifting. If so, the prediction is that aspectually complex verbs cannot undergo any aspectual shift since both features are [+] valued.

[51] Aydemir (2006) assumes that telicity is a VP-level property and cannot be determined by looking at the atomic structure of an event. Therefore, she does not take telicity as a lexical property in her classification (p. 131).

[52] The original language of the dissertation is Turkish and the author does not provide any English terminology for her classification. Therefore, the names of the aspectual classes are my own translation.

Table 5. The verb classification proposed in Aydemir (2006)

	dynamic	Static
Motion[53]	+	
State		+
Aspectually Complex	+	+
Aspectless		

Though Aydemir's (2006) work does not have much to contribute to this study as the main concern is not specifically stative verbs and their behavior, there are, yet, some problems regarding her treatment of states that need to be mentioned.

As for states, Aydemir (2006) concentrates on the following verbs in her analysis.

(35)

a. CAUSE-layered verbs such as üz- 'sadden', etkile- 'affect'
b. Psychological verbs such as sev- 'love', kork- 'be afraid of', hoşlan-'like', beğen- 'admire'
c. Mental verbs such as bil- 'know'
d. Verbs of position/location such as kal- 'stay', dur- 'stand'

Aydemir (2006) analyzes how adverbials such as "in x time", and the perfective viewpoint marker affects the stative meaning. Also, she illustrates how the [dynamic] feature of states can be triggered. She claims that states preserve their meaning only when the verbs have the imperfective marker –Iyor. In contrast, when the verbs have the perfective marker, they get the telic interpretation. In such sentences, the [dynamic] feature becomes [+]-valued and the state becomes an aspectually complex class. Such a claim is closely related to this study as well. There are certain problems regarding this argumentation, however. It is not incorrect to argue that some stative verbs lose their

[53] Processes (activities), semelfactives and accomplishments are all together analyzed under "motions". From this perspective, this study has many drawbacks. Accomplishments have a natural endpoint and when the endpoint is realized, a resultant state emerges. According to this analysis, the implication is that the [static] feature has to get the plus value due to this change of state. However, if this happens, then aspectual shift occurs and the derived level "aspectually complex class" is obtained, which is problematic. For further problems, see the original study. These are outside the scope of my thesis and therefore, will not be discussed in detail.

stative interpretation with the perfective marker. Yet, as will be shown in Chapter 3, some stative verbs do not lose their stative interpretation even when they have the perfective marker such as *bekle-* 'wait', *otur-* 'sit, etc. Therefore, the claim that [dynamic] feature of states gets the [+] value in the presence of the perfective marker would be too powerful.

Furthermore, she contradicts with her own argument in the analysis of the verb *bil-* 'know'. She firstly provides the example in (36) and states that the sentence does not include dynamism and it is a state. Then, by giving the sentence in (37), she claims that it is impossible for *bil-* "know" to have the perfective marker if dynamism is not triggered in the meaning. This argumentation is problematic in that it is already the perfective marker which may trigger dynamism in a stative verb. Here in (36), dynamism is not triggered although the verb has –DI because *hayatı boyunca* "all her life" preserves the stative reading. However, in (37) the perfective marker triggers dynamism. Therefore, it is very important to determine which factor causes what kind of a change.

(36) Esen hayatı boyunca nasıl davranması gerektiğini bildi.
'Esen knew how to act all her life.'
(Aydemir, 2006, p. 180)

(37) Yarışmacı bütün soruları bildi.
'The contestant knew all the answers.'
(Aydemir, 2006, p. 180)

Another point is that she illustrates that both motions and states are compatible with adverbials such as "for x time". In a feature system which includes the feature [durative], it is possible to explain the compatibility of such adverbials with both classes. However, in Aydemir's analysis, these two classes do not share any common property, but still both allow for "for x time" without undergoing any shift to another class. The reason for this compatibility remains unknown in the analysis.

The last point I would like to mention regarding states concerns verbs such as *kal-* "stay", *uyu-* "sleep", *bak-* "look", *dur-* "stand" etc. Especially the verbs *bak-* "look" and *dur-* "stand" are problematic in this analysis since these verbs are polysemous as exemplified in (38) and (39). However, this property seems to be ignored in Aydemir (2006):

(38) 2 saat boyunca pencereden dışarıya baktım.
'I looked out of the window for 2 hours.'

(39) Öğretmen ödevlere 2 günde baktı.
'The teacher checked the homework in 2 days.'

(Aydemir, 2006, p. 185)

For the sentence in (38), Aydemir claims that it is a state; however, the verb *bak-* "look" here is not a stative verb, but an activity, whereas the verb *gör-* "see" is a stative verb. I do not know whether she confuses these verbs with each other, but it is clear that they are totally different from each other. On the other hand, the sentence in (42) is claimed to be a state in the beginning and due to the modification by the temporal adverbial "in x time", it becomes an aspectually complex class. However, the verb in (39) has the meaning of "check/control" which is an accomplishment[54].

Overall, the feature system proposed in Aydemir (2006) raises questions regarding other aspectual classes as well, but will not be elaborated on as they are not in the immediate concern of this thesis. It also has problems regarding states in that it does not analyze the effects of adverbials and the perfective marker in a systematic way which weakens the argument. Also, some non-stative verbs such as *dur-* in the meaning

[54] A similar case is also valid for the verb *dur-* "stay" as well. The author provides sentences in which the verb *dur-* is used in the meaning of "stop", which is not a state. For details, see the original work.

of “stop” rather than “stand”, *bak*- “look at” or “check” rather than *gör*- “see” are analyzed under states.

2.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, the main question was whether there is a D-argument in the logical structure of stative verbs or not. Although there are three main approaches with respect to stative verbs, namely the Davidsonian, the Neo-Davidsonian and the anti-Davidsonian, only the Davidsonian analysis of Maienborn (2005, 2007) and the anti-Davidsonian analysis of Rothmayr (2009) were discussed. This is because the other cited analyses under different approaches ignored certain group of stative verbs and only concentrated on a restricted set of verbs. In the last section, studies which had something to say on stative verbs in Turkish were presented.

In the following chapter, by taking Rothmayr’s (2009) stative verb classification as a model, the diagnostics tools will be applied to the classes and accordingly, a classification for stative verbs in Turkish will be offered. I will investigate whether behavior of Turkish stative verbs supports any division discussed in this chapter.

CHAPTER 3

TESTING OUT THE EXISTING ANALYSES WITH TURKISH: THE TAXONOMY OF STATIVES IN TURKISH

In this chapter, I will attempt to reveal whether stative verbs in Turkish form a heterogeneous class and accordingly discover what kind of taxonomy Turkish exhibits. I will also address the implications of Maienborn (2005, 2007) and Rothmayr (2009) for stative verbs in Turkish. In order to determine which verbs are stative, I will firstly apply and test out the diagnostic tools discussed in Chapter 2. As a result of this application, I will propose a stative verb classification for Turkish, which will help us find out whether stative verbs are homogeneous or heterogeneous as a class.

In my attempt to offer a stative verb classification for Turkish, I will follow Rothmayr's (2009) classification as it is more extensive compared to Maienborn's (2005, 2007). Therefore, I will first test the classification in Rothmayr (2009) with Turkish data by applying the diagnostic tools in Chapter 2. All the tools will be applied to each sub-class without any exceptions, contrary to Rothmayr (2009). Based on the behavior of the stative verbs in Turkish, I will offer a stative verb classification. In forming this classification, the basic determinant to call a verb "stative" is whether that verb can be followed by the verb *happen* or not. If it cannot, then the verb will be labeled as "stative".

Following the stative verb classification, whether stative verbs in Turkish behave similarly or different from each other will be discussed and accordingly whether they form a uniform or a heterogeneous class will be determined.

The organization of the chapter is as follows: Section 3.1 analyzes the classification in Rothmayr (2009) with respect to Turkish. In this section, the diagnostic tools discussed in Chapter 2 are applied to each sub-class. Section 3.2 presents the new stative verb classification for Turkish. It also addresses the factors which are effective in the stative interpretation of a sentence. Section 3.3 discusses the results of tool application. Section 3.4 summarizes the chapter.

3.1 Stative verb sub-classes in Turkish

As given in section 2.2 of Chapter 2, Figure 3 presents the stative verb classification in Rothmayr (2009):

Stative Verb Classification	Stative-Eventive Ambiguities	Ambiguity due to instrumental alternation
		Object-experiencer Vs assigning accusative
		The *threaten* class
		Dispositional Vs
		Perception Vs
	Non-ambiguous Stative Vs	Subject experiencer/ possessor Vs
		Dative experiencer/ possessor Vs
		Measure Vs
		PP-complement Vs
		Stative Vs of Position

Fig. 3 The stative verb classification proposed in Rothmayr (2009)

In checking the classification given above with Turkish data, I will exclude PP-complement verbs such as *border with, be based on* etc since the Turkish counterparts are not verbal forms.

Recall that Rothmayr (2009) argues that verbs such as *gleam, sputter* and *sit, stand, lie* with animate subject NPs are eventive rather than stative based on their behavior with the diagnostic tools. In forming a classification for Turkish, I will include these verbs and examine their behavior since these verbs are claimed to be statives in Maienborn (2005, 2007). I will call verbs such as *gleam, sputter, crackle* "verbs of emission" and verbs such as *sit, stand, lie* "verbs of position". For the latter class, I will provide examples of these verbs with both animate and inanimate subject NPs and check whether they behave differently regarding the diagnostics, as argued in Rothmayr (2009).

Furthermore, there is one more class which might be stative as well since it is very similar to measure verbs and it cannot be followed by the verb *happen*, as will be seen below: *capacity verbs* such as *host, seat, carry* and so on. Therefore, I will include capacity verbs and check how they behave regarding the diagnostics.

Recall that the diagnostic tools comprise manner modification, locative modification, modification with *ein bisschen* "a little bit" and compatibility with *happen*. Note that (in)compatibility as the infinitival complement of a perception verb does not work in Turkish as in German since Turkish has infinitive complement as in (1), but does not have infinitival complements of perception verbs, as in (2):

(1) Ben öğretmen ol-mak isti-yor-um.
I teacher be-INF want-IPFV.1SG
'I want to be a teacher.'

(2) *Ben Ayşe-yi pasta-yı mum-lar-la süsle-mek gör-dü-m.
I Ayşe-ACC cake-ACC candle-PL-WITH decorate-INF see-PFV.1SG
Intended Reading: 'I saw Ayşe decorate the cake with candles.'

Therefore, this diagnostic tool will not be applied to the sub-classes below.

3.1.1 The group of stative - eventive ambiguities in Rothmayr (2009)

3.1.1.1 Ambiguity due to instrumental alternation

This sub-class includes verbs such as *tıka-* "obstruct*", süsle-* "decorate*", sar-* "surround*", ört-* "cover*", engelle-* "block" etc. As pointed out in Katz (2000), in the eventive interpretation of these verbs, the subject NP is an agent which performs an action with an instrument introduced by the preposition "with". However, when the instrumental phrase in the eventive variant becomes the subject NP, the sentence is interpreted as stative[55]. This suggests that the difference in interpretation is due to the semantic properties of the subject NP such that if the subject NP is animate; i.e. semantically capable of being an agent, the interpretation will be eventive and if inanimate, the interpretation will be stative.

Below are the Turkish examples of this sub-class. All the sentences in (a) represent the eventive variant and they have an animate subject NP, whereas all the sentences in (b) represent the stative variant and they have an inanimate subject NP:

(3)

a. Ayşe pasta-yı mum-lar-la süslü-yor.
   Ayşe cake-ACC candle-PL-with decorate-IPFV.3SG
   'Ayşe is decorating the cake with candles.'

b. Mum-lar pasta-yı süslü-yor.
   Candle-PL cake-ACC decorate-IPFV.3SG
   'Candles are decorating the cake.'

[55] The reason for different readings is pointed out as follows: there is a causal relationship-causation- in the semantics of the verbs in this sub-class and the difference in interpretation arises due to the components of this causal relationship. Specifically, in the eventive reading, this causal relationship is between the event and the result state. It means that an event causes a resultant state to appear. In the stative reading, on the other hand, the causal relationship is between two states. There is no agent that performs any action.

(4)

a. Adam deliğ-i tıpa-yla tıkı-yor.
Man hole-ACC tap-WITH obstruct-IPFV.3SG
'The man is obstructing the hole with a tap.'

b. Tıpa deliğ-i tıkı-yor.
Tap hole-ACC obstruct –IPFV.3SG
'The tap is obstructing the hole.'

Note that keeping the subject NP inanimate does not ensure the stative interpretation in Turkish, however. There are other factors which affect the stative/eventive interpretation of this sub-class.

One such factor is the viewpoint aspect marker on the verb, as pointed out in Smith (1997). The presence of the perfective marker triggers ambiguity in this sub-class. For instance, sentence (5) has two readings as stative and eventive. In the stative variant, what is referred to by the sentence is that the tap obstructed the hole for some period in the past, as clarified by a durative adverbial in (6). In contrast, the eventive variant refers to the moment of "obstructing the hole", which yields an achievement interpretation, as seen clearly by a momentary adverbial in (7):

(5) Tıpa deliğ-i tıka-dı[56].
Tap hole-ACC obstruct–PFV.3SG
'The tap obstructed the hole.'

(6) Tıpa deliğ-i iki saat boyunca tıka-dı.
Tap hole-ACC two hour during obstruct –PFV.3SG
'The tap obstructed the hole for two hours.'

(7) Tıpa deliğ-i bir an-da tıka-dı.
Tap hole-ACC one moment-LOC obstruct –PFV.3SG
'The tap obstructed the hole in an instant.'

Furthermore, the plurality of the subject NP plays a role in the stative/eventive interpretation. (4b) illustrates that when the subject NP is singular, the interpretation is

[56] As stated in Chapter 2, since the perfective marker on a stative verb may lead to the eventive interpretation, when the tools are applied to each sub-class, the verbs will have the imperfective marker –*Iyor*.

stative. However, when the subject NP is plural, the sentence shows ambiguity, as exemplified in (8):

(8) Yaprak-lar deliğ-i tık-ıyor.
Leaf-PL hole-ACC obstruct-IPFV.3SG
'The leaves are obstructing the hole.'

To disambiguate the interpretation, adverbial modification can be utilized. With a manner adverbial, the sentence in (8) gets the eventive interpretation, as illustrated in (9). In contrast, modification by a durative adverbial yields stative reading, as given in (10):

(9) Yaprak-lar deliğ-i yavaş yavaş tık-ıyor.
Leaf-PL hole-ACC slow slow obstruct-IPFV.3SG
'The leaves are obstructing the hole slowly.'

(10) Yaprak-lar deliğ-i iki saat-tir tık-ıyor.
Leaf-PL hole-ACC two hour-FOR obstruct-IPFV.3SG
'The leaves have been obstructing the hole for two hours.'

So far, it has been observed that ambiguous stative verbs can be used both with durative adverbials such as *for x time* and adverbs of completion such as *in x time,* showing the two different interpretations of ambiguous group and disambiguating them.

Note that when the verb has the imperfective marker, the adverbial may still trigger aspectual shift from stative to achievements, as exemplified in (11):

(11) Tıpa deliğ-i aniden tık-ıyor.
Tap hole-ACC suddenly obstruct-IPFV.3SG
'The tap suddenly obstructs the hole.'

Below, the diagnostic tests will be applied to this sub-class.

i. Manner adverbials

Instrumental alternation verbs in Turkish behave differently with respect to manner adverbial modification such that the sentence in (12) cannot be modified by the manner

adverbials felicitously, but the sentence in (13) can be modified by another manner adverbial:

(12) *Araba geçiş-i dikkatlice/yavaşça engelli-yor.
Car transit-ACC carefully /slowly block-IPFV.3SG
'The car was blocking the transition carefully/slowly.'

(13) Tıpa deliğ-i sıkı bir biçim-de tıkı-yor.
Tap hole-ACC firm a way-LOC obstruct-IPFV.3SG
'The tap is obstructing the hole firmly.'

There is also the unexpected case of (14) where the subject NP is inanimate and thus lacks intentionality. Therefore, it is expected to be ungrammatical when modified by manner adverbials, which is not the case:

(14) Araba geçiş-i kasten engell-iyor.
Car transit-ACC deliberately block-IPFV.3SG
'The car was blocking the transition deliberately.'

The grammaticality of (14) is due to the fact that what the subject NP araba "car" refers to, in fact, the driver of the car. The inference in (14) is that the driver was blocking the transition and therefore, the interpretation is not stative, but eventive; i.e. activity. As a result, manner modification does not cause any ungrammaticality in this sentence. Note that this inference seems to be due to world knowledge.

Based on the observations above, instrumental alternation verbs are context-dependent with respect to manner adverbial modification. This means that depending on the manner adverbial, this sub-class can co-occur with manner adverbials felicitously.

ii. Locative modifiers[57]

It is argued that locative modifiers can be used with K-states only as frame-setters[58] (Maienborn, 2001). As for Turkish, topics are placed in s-initial position (Erguvanlı, 1984; Erkü, 1983; Hoffman, 1995; İşsever, 2000; Kılıçaslan, 1994; Vallduvı´ and Engdahl, 1996; as cited in İşsever, 2003, p. 1029) and they may act as frame-setters. When topicalized, locative adverbials can be used as a frame-setter with instrumental alternation verbs, as in (15):

(15) Mutfak-ta yemek artık-lar-ı delik-i tıkı-yor.
Kitchen-LOC food remains-PL-CM hole-ACC obstruct-IPFV.3PL
'In the kitchen, the remains obstruct the hole.'

However, scrambling is a well-known phenomenon in Turkish and therefore, in Turkish these locative adverbials may appear in different positions in the sentence. Consider the sentences (16) and (17). When the locative adverbial in (16) is pre-verbally positioned, the result is ungrammatical[59]. However, the locative adverbial in (17) is between the subject NP and the object NP and the result is grammatical:

(16) *Yemek artık-lar-ı delik-i mutfak-ta tıkı-yor.
food remains-PLU-CM hole-ACC kitchen- LOC obstruct-IPFV.3SG
'The remains obstruct the hole in the kitchen.'

[57] To check my own judgments of grammaticality regarding locative and "a little bit" modification, I conducted a questionnaire with 20 native speakers of Turkish for their judgments of grammaticality. I questioned the acceptability of locative adverbials in different positions in a sentence and whether *biraz* "a little bit" in Turkish gets time-span or degree reading when it occurs with stative verbs. The results revealed that the judgments of the participants are parallel to my own judgments and there was no unexpected or divergent result.

[58] Maienborn (2001) provides a syntactic and semantic account of locative modifiers. The proposal is that there are three different kinds of locative modifiers as (i)external, (ii)internal and (iii)frame-setting modifiers, which differ from one another with respect to their syntactic base positions which are fixed in the syntactic structure and interpretations. Accordingly, stative verbs and locative adverbials may co-occur only when the locative is used as frame-setting modifier. In this use, locative phrases set a scene for the claim that the speaker makes; in a way, they restrict the speaker's claim. In addition, when they are omitted from the clause, the truth conditions do not have to be preserved. Furthermore, frame-setting locatives can be interpreted in various ways such as temporal modifiers. However, the syntactic and semantic tests to determine the type of a locative modifier working for German do not work for Turkish.

[59] With a contrastive focus, even this sentence can be found acceptable.

(17) Yemek artık-lar-ı mutfak-ta delik-i tıkı-yor.
food remains-PLU-CM kitchen- LOC hole-ACC obstruct-IPFV.3SG
'The remains obstruct the hole in the kitchen.'

This shows that instrumental alternation verbs do not prefer pre-verbal locative phrases, whereas they allow for locative phrases between the subject NP and the object NP. On the other hand, whether the locative adverbial in (17) is used as a frame-setter or not is not obvious.

Taking all these into consideration, the conclusion is that locative adverbials can be used as frame-setters when topicalized, as argued in Maienborn (2001). However, due to the scrambling property of Turkish, whether the locative adverbial placed different from s-initial position is event-related or frame-setter cannot be identified clearly contrary to German data discussed in Maienborn (2001). Therefore, it is not possible to state whether instrumental alternation verbs behave as K-states or not regarding locative adverbial modification.

iii. Degree readings of *ein bisschen* "a little bit"

When *biraz* "a little bit" co-occurs with instrumental alternation verbs, the adverbial gets the degree reading, as in (18) and (19):

(18) Araba geçiş-i biraz engelli-yor.
Car transit-ACC a little bit block-IPFV.3SG
'The car is blocking the transition a little.'

(19) Tıpa deliğ-i biraz tıka-yor.
Tap hole-ACC a little bit obstruct- IPFV.3SG
'The tap is obstructing the hole a little.'

However, note that the interpretation of "a little bit" may change with an additional context. Depending on the contextual information, both degree and time-span

readings may be triggered such that "a little bit" obtains time-span reading in (20), whereas it gets the degree reading in (21):

(20) Tıpa deliği biraz tıkıyor, ama tıkaması uzun sürmüyor.
'The tap obstructs the hole for some time, but its obstructing does not last long.'

(21) Tıpa deliği biraz tıkıyor, ama tam tıkamadığından su birikmiyor.
'The tap obstructs the hole a little, but the water does not accumulate since the tap does not obstruct it completely.'

The conclusion is that "a little bit" gets the degree reading with instrumental alternation verbs without any additional contextual information. This suggests that they behave as K-states do. Yet, a further context may cause the adverbial to get either interpretation, which shows that context-dependency plays a role in the interpretation of *biraz* "a little bit".

iv. Compatibility with *happen*

It has been argued that statives cannot be followed by the verb *happen*, whereas non-statives can be. When a stative verb is followed by the verb *ol-* "happen" in Turkish, the result is ungrammatical, as in (22):

(22) Tıpa deliğ-i tıka-yor. *Bu mutfak-ta ol-uyor.
Tap hole-ACC obstruct- IPFV.3SG This kitchen-LOC happen-IPFV.3SG
'The tap is obstructing the hole. *This is happening in the kitchen.'

This indicates that instrumental alternation verbs are stative rather than eventive.

3.1.1.2 Object-experiencer verbs assigning accusative

This sub-class in Turkish includes verbs such as *korkut-* "frighten", *kızdır-* "annoy", *üz-* "upset", *sinirlendir-* "irritate", *sakinleştir-* "soothe", *eğlendir-* "amuse", *endişelendir-*

"worry", *sık-* "bore" etc. The verbs in this sub-class have been argued to get both stative and eventive interpretations (Arad, 1998, 2000; Landau, 2010; Marín and McNally, 2011; Alexiadou and Iordăchioaia, 2014 and so on). Arad (1998), for instance, argues that there are three different interpretations valid for object experiencer verbs: an agentive interpretation as in (23), an eventive interpretation as in (24) and a stative interpretation as in (25)[60]:

(23) Nina frightened Laura deliberately/ to make her go away.
(24) a. Nina frightened Laura accidentally.
b. The explosion/ the noise frightened Laura.
(25) John/ John's behavior/ nuclear war frightened Nina.

(Arad, 1998, p. 3-4)

Note that the subject NP in (24a) is semantically capable of being an agent. However, by using the adverbial "accidentally", the sentence is interpreted as eventive rather than agentive since there is no deliberate action. A similar case is valid in (25) as well. Even when the subject NP is animate like John in (25), it is possible to get the stative interpretation from the sentence. The interpretation could be that only the presence of John or seeing him might have frightened Nina, which means that John did not have to do some action to frighten her.

To differentiate these three readings from each other, two properties are given: whether there is an agent and whether there is a change of state in the experiencer (Arad, 1998, p. 3). Based on these properties, the stative reading is claimed to lack both an agent and a change of state in the experiencer object[61]. Instead, in the stative reading there is a stimulus and the experiencer is in a certain mental state as long as this stimulus

[60] Both the agentive and eventive readings are taken as "eventive" in this study.
[61] The agentive reading involves both an agent and a change of state in the experiencer whereas the eventive reading involves a change of state in the experiencer. However, there is no intentional agent in the eventive reading (Arad 1998, p. 3).

exists[62](p. 4). In other words, as long as the experiencer perceives the stimulus, the experiencer will stay in a certain state. In the eventive reading, on the other hand, the stimulus is not dependent on the existence of the mental state. It only results in a change of state. The schemas given in (26) and (27) illustrate the difference between the stative and non-stative readings, respectively (Arad, 1998, p. 5):

(26) Stative:
Perception of stimulus: _____stop
Mental state: ...…….stop

(27) Non-stative:
Stimulus mental state
----------→…… (indefinite)

As can be seen in the examples given in (23), (24) and (25), however, it seems that the verbs in this sub-class are always ambiguous between stative and eventive reading when they are not modified by any kind of adverbial. This also suggests that the interpretation of the sentence depends on the hearer's perspective in such cases.

Turkish exhibits such an ambiguity for object experiencer verbs as well. Take the sentence in (28). It is ambiguous between eventive and stative interpretations. If the subject NP "Ali" in the sentence is considered to be an agent, (28) gets the eventive interpretation. The eventive interpretation can be substantiated by the modification of agentivity-related adverbials such as *kasten* "deliberately" or purpose clauses respectively, as in (29):

(28) Ali ben-i sinirlen-dir-iyor.
Ali I-ACC get annoyed-CAUS-IPFV.3SG
'Ali annoys me.'

[62] This suggests that when the stimulus disappears, the state will disappear as well. Therefore, the mental state of the experiencer is dependent on the existence of the stimulus (Arad 1998, p. 6).

(29) Ali ben-i kasten / moral boz-mak için
Ali I-ACC deliberately / demoralize-INF to

sinirlen-dir-iyor.
get annoyed-CAUS- IPFV.3SG

'Ali annoys me deliberately/ to demoralize.'

On the other hand, in the stative interpretation of (28), the subject NP is considered to be a stimulus. It could be interpreted as follows: even only the presence of Ali in a place annoys me and he does not have to do something to make me annoyed[63].

A similar ambiguity is valid when the subject NP is inanimate as well, but one of the two properties; i.e. agentivity, is eliminated when the subject NP in inanimate. In the eventive variant, there is a change in the state of the experiencer, whereas such a change-of-state is not valid in the stative variant:

(30) Dışarı-dan gel-en gürültü ben-i sinirlen-dir-iyor.
Outside-ABL come-REL noise I-ACC get annoyed-CAUS- IPFV.3SG
'The noise coming outside annoys me.'

Similar to instrumental alternation verbs, certain other factors affect the interpretation of these verbs as well. One of these factors is the perfective marker. The presence of the perfective marker on these verbs disambiguates the interpretation and the sentence is interpreted as eventive, as in (31):

(31) Şehit haber-ler-i ben-i üz-dü.
Martyr news-PL-CM I-ACC upset-PFV.3SG
'The news about martyr upset me.'

Yet, a durative adverbial in the context may render the interpretation as stative as well, as in (32):

[63] However, it should be noted that when the subject NP is animate, interpreting the sentence as eventive is more natural and unmarked than interpreting it as stative. Therefore, in the rest of the paper, these verbs will be provided with inanimate subject NPs.

(32) Yıl-lar boyunca şehit haber-ler-i bu ülke-yi üz-dü.
Year-PL during martyr news-PL-CM this country-ACC upset-PFV.3SG
'For many years, the news about martyr upset this country.'

Below the diagnostic tools are applied to object experiencer verbs.

i. Manner adverbials

Object experiencer verbs in Turkish are ungrammatical when modified by manner adverbials, as seen in (33) and (34):

(33) *Şehit haber-ler-i ben-i hafif hafif/yavaş yavaş üz-üyor.
Martyr news-PL-CM I-ACC soft soft/slow slow upset-IPFV.3SG
'*The news about martyr upsets me sofly/slowly.'

On the other hand, the sentence in (34) is totally grammatical:

(34) Korna ses-i ben-i yavaş yavaş / hafifçe
Horn sound-CM I-ACC slow slow / a little bit

sinirlen-dir-iyor.
get annoyed-CAUS- IPFV.3SG

'The sound of horn annoys me slowly/ a little bit.'

However, the manner adverb *yavaş yavaş* "slowly" gives rise to the inchoative interpretation of the sentence and consequently, the sentence loses its stative interpretation. On the other hand, the adverb *hafifçe* can be interpreted as "softly" or "a little bit", both of which in fact refer to the degree of annoying rather than manner. Therefore, being modified by *hafifçe* "a little bit" does not create any problem in terms of stative interpretation.

This indicates that object experiencer verbs cannot be modified by manner adverbials under stative reading and consequently, they behave as K-states do.

ii. Locative modifiers

In terms of locative adverbial modification, object experiencer verbs behave differently. Some verbs do not allow for locative adverbial modification even when the locative adverbial is topicalized and used as a frame-setter, as seen in (35):

(35) *Ev-de şehit haber-ler-i ben-i üz-üyor.
house-LOC martyr news-PL-CM I-ACC upset-IPFV.3SG
*The news about martyr upsets me at home.'

However, some other verbs in this sub-class allow for locative adverbial modification. Even when the adverbials were in different positions, due to the scrambling property of Turkish, they were found to be acceptable, as given in (36) and (37):

(36) Korna ses-ler-i trafik-te ben-i sinirlen-dir-iyor.
horn sound-PL-CM traffic-LOC I-ACC get annoyed-CAUS-IPFV.3SG
'The sound of horn annoys me in the traffic.'

(37) Korna ses-ler-i ben-i trafik-te sinirlen-dir-iyor.
horn sound-PL-CM I-ACC traffic-LOC get annoyed-CAUS- IPFV.3SG
'The sound of horn annoys me in the traffic.'

This shows that locative adverbial modification does not work as in German since it interacts with other variables in Turkish. Also, whether the locative adverbials in (36) and (37) are used as frame-setters or not cannot be stated clearly. Therefore, it is not possible to state whether this sub-class behaves as K-states or not with respect to locative adverbial modification

iii. Degree readings of *ein bisschen* "a little bit"

When *biraz* "a little bit" co-occurs with object experiencer verbs, it gets the degree reading, as in (38):

(38) Korna ses-i ben-i biraz sinirlen-dir-iyor.
Horn sound-CM I-ACC a little get annoyed-CAUS- IPFV.3SG
'The sound of horn annoys me a little bit.'

The sentence would be ungrammatical even with an additional context which favors time-span reading as in (39):

(39) *Korna sesi beni biraz sinirlendiriyor, ama sinirim çok uzun sürmüyor.
'*The sound of horn annoys me a little bit, but my anger does not last too long.'

This shows that "a little bit" gets the degree reading with object experiencer verbs.

iv. Compatibility with *happen*

As seen in (41), object experiencer verbs cannot be followed by *ol-* "happen":

(40) Korna ses-ler-i ben-i sinirlen-dir-iyor.
horn sound-PL-CM I-ACC get annoyed-CAUS-IPFV.3PL

*Bu trafik-te ol-uyor.
this traffic-LOC happen-IPFV.3SG

'The sound of horn annoys me. *This happens in the traffic.'

The incompatibility of object experiencer verbs with *happen* shows that this sub-class is stative rather than eventive.

3.1.1.3 The *threaten* class

This sub-class includes verbs such as *tehdit et-* "threaten" and *gerektir-* "require". This sub-class shows ambiguity as exemplified in (41) and (42). The sentence in (41) gets the eventive reading, whereas the one in (42) gets the stative reading. The difference in interpretations is due to the semantic properties of the subject NP. That is, the sentence

in (41) has an animate human being; i.e. an agent, whereas the one in (42) has an inanimate being as the subject NP:

(41) Nina threatens to kiss Paul.
(42) The rock threatens to fall.

(Rothmayr, 2009, p. 68)

The same ambiguity is observed in Turkish as well. When the subject NP is animate, the interpretation is eventive, as in (43). In contrast, when the subject NP is inanimate, the interpretation is stative, as in (44):

(43) Adam karı-sı-nı boşan-mak-la tehdit ed-iyor.
Man wife-3SG.POSS-ACC divorce-INF-with threaten-IPFV.3SG
'The man threatens his wife with divorce.'

(44) Kuraklık mahsul-ler-i tehdit ed-iyor.
Drought crop-PL-ACC threaten-IPFV.3SG
'Drought threatens the crops.'

Contrary to instrumental alternation and object experiencer verbs, adverbial modification or viewpoint aspect markers do not affect the interpretation of the verbs in this sub-class.

i. Manner adverbials

The *threaten* class in Turkish is ungrammatical when modified by manner adverbials, as observed in (45):

(45) *Alev-ler yerleşim alan-lar-ı-nı kasten/hızlı hızlı tehdit ed-iyor.
Flame-PL settlement-CM-ACC deliberately/ fast threaten-IPFV.3PL
'*Flames threaten the settlements deliberately/ fast.'

There are instances such as the sentence in (46) where the adverbial does not cause ungrammaticality. Yet, the adverbials in (46) are in fact degree adverbials rather than manner adverbials:

(46) Kuraklık mahsul-ler-i şiddetli bir biçimde / yavaş yavaş/ azar azar
Drought crop-PL-ACC severely/ slowly/ little by little

tehdit ed-iyor.
threat AUX-IPFV.3SG

'Drought threatens the crops severely (a lot)/ slowly/ little by little.'

This shows that the *threaten* class behaves as K-states do with respect to manner adverbial modification, being ungrammatical with manner adverbials.

ii. Locative modifiers

When locative phrases are used as frame-setters in s-initial position, the sentences are grammatical with locative phrases as in (47):

(47) Türkiye-de kuraklık mahsul-ler-i tehdit ed-iyor.
Turkey-LOC drought crop-PL-ACC threat AUX-IPFV.3SG
'In Turkey, drought threatens the crops.'

However, it is seen that locative phrases are acceptable in different positions as well due to the scrambling property of Turkish. In (48), for instance, when the locative phrase is between the subject and the object NP, the sentence is acceptable. Similarly, when the locative phrase is in pre-verbal position as in (49), the sentence can be acceptable with a contrastive focus:

(48) Kuraklık Türkiye-de çiftçi-ler-i tehdit ed-iyor.
drought Turkey-LOC farmer-PL-ACC threat AUX-IPFV.3SG
'Drought threatens the farmers in Turkey.'

(49) ?Kuraklık mahsul-ler-i Türkiye-de tehdit ed-iyor.
drought crop-PL-ACC Turkey-LOC threat AUX-IPFV.3SG
'*Drought threatens the crops in Turkey.'

This shows that locative adverbials can be used as frame-setters when topicalized. However, due to the scrambling property of Turkish, whether the locative adverbial is event-related or not cannot be identified clearly, contrary to German data

discussed in Maienborn (2001). Therefore, it is not possible to state whether the *threaten* class behaves as K-states or not with respect to locative adverbial modification.

iii. Degree readings of *ein bisschen* "a little bit"

When *biraz* "a little bit" modifies the *threaten* class, it gets the degree reading, as in (50):

(50) Kuraklık mahsul-ler-i biraz tehdit ed-iyor.
Drought crop-PL-ACC a little threat AUX-IPFV.3SG
'Drought threatens the crops a little bit.'

With an additional context that favors time-span reading, the sentence is rendered as ungrammatical, as given in (51):

(51) *Kuraklık mahsulleri biraz tehdit ediyor, ama sonra tehdit etmiyor.
'*Drought threatens the crops a little bit, but then it does not threaten them.'

This demonstrates that the t*hreaten* class behaves as K-states do with respect to "a little bit" modification.

iv. Compatibility with *happen*

When the *threaten* class is followed by the verb *ol-* "happen", the result is ungrammatical, as in (52):

(52) Kuraklık mahsul-ler-i tehdit ed-iyor.
Drought crop-PL-ACC threat AUX-IPFV.3SG

*Bu Türkiye-de ol-uyor.
This Turkey-LOC happen-IPFV.3SG

'Drought threatens the crops. *This happens in Turkey.'

This indicates that the *threaten* class is stative rather than eventive based on its behavior in this diagnostic tool.

3.1.1.4 Dispositional verbs

Dispositional verbs includes verbs such as *yardım et-* "help", *tehdit et-* "endanger", *kolaylaştır-* "ease", *geliştir-* "improve", *kötüleş-*"get worse" and so on[64](Engelberg, 2005). Engelberg (2005) claims that verbs such as "help" are ambiguous between two readings as eventive and stative based on the subject NPs in the sentence. The sentence in (53) represents the eventive variant and the subject NP is animate. On the other hand, the sentence in (54) represents the stative variant and the sentence has a sentential subject NP[65]:

(53) Rebecca half Jamaal in der Küche.
'Rebecca helped Jamaal in the kitchen.'

(54) Dass Rebecca sein Motorrad repariert hatte, half Jamaal sehr.
'That Rebecca had fixed his motorbike helped Jamaal a lot.'
(Engelberg, 2005, p. 45-6)

[64] As dispositional verbs, I only focus on "endanger" and "help" since the other members of the class such as *improve, get worse, ease* etc include a change-of-state interpretation.
[65] To substantiate the claim that sentences which have sentential subject NPs have the stative reading, Engelberg (2005) utilizes certain diagnostic tools, namely manner adverbial modification, locative modifier and the degree reading of *ein bisschen* "a little". Regarding the results of the tests, he illustrates that the sentences including dispositional verbs with sentential subject NPs are stative.

Turkish exhibits this ambiguity of dispositional verbs as well:

(55) Adam karı-sı-na mutfak-ta yardım ed-iyor.
Man wife-3SG.POSS-DAT kitchen-LOC help AUX-IPFV.3SG
'The man is helping his wife in the kitchen.'

(56) Kızı-nın bebek-e bak-ma-sı
Daughter-3SG.POSS-GEN baby-DAT look after-GER-3SG.POSS

anne-ye yardım ed-iyor.
mother-DAT help AUX-IPFV.3SG

'That her(the mother's) daughter looks after the baby helps the mother.'

Similar to the *threaten* class, only the semantic property of the subject NP affects the stative interpretation of dispositional verbs.

i. Manner adverbials

Dispositional verbs do not allow for manner adverbials, as seen in (57) and (58):

(57) *Kızı-nın bebek-e bak-ma-sı anne-ye
Daughter-3SG.POSS-GEN baby-DAT look after-GER-POSS mother-DAT

kasten/yavaşça yardım ed-iyor.
deliberately/slowly help AUX-IPFV.3SG

'*That her(the mother's) daughter looks after the baby helps the mother deliberately/slowly.'

(58) *Kimyasal-lar-ın yak-ıl-ma-sı çevre-yi
Chemical-PL-GEN burn-PASS-GER-3PL.POSS environment-ACC

kasten tehlikeye sok-uyor.
deliberately endanger-IPFV.3PL

'*That the chemicals have been burned endangers the environment deliberately.'

The observation above illustrates that dispositional verbs behave like K-states.

ii. Locative modifiers

When topicalized, locative modifiers can co-occur with dispositional verbs as frame-setters as seen in (59):

(59) Ev-de kızı-nın bebek-e bak-ma-sı
Home-LOC daughter-3SG.POSS-GEN baby-DAT look after-GER-POSS

anne-ye yardım ed-iyor.
mother-DAT help AUX-IPFV.3SG

'That her(the mother's) daughter looks after the baby helps the mother at home.'

However, it is seen that due to the scrambling property of Turkish, locative adverbials can appear in different positions. With locative adverbials in the pre-verbal position, the sentence in (60) is ungrammatical, whereas the sentence in (61) is acceptable when the locative phrase is between the subject NP and dative-marked object NP:

(60) *Eş-i-nin salata-yı yap-ma-sı kadın-a
Husband-3SG.POSS-GEN salad-ACC make-GER-3SG.POSS woman-DAT

mutfak-ta yardım ed-iyor.
kitchen-LOC help AUX-IPFV.3SG

'That her (the woman's) husband makes salad helps the woman in the kitchen.'

(61) Arkadaş-ım-ın not tut-ma-sı okul-da ban-a
friend-1SG.POSS-GEN note take-GER-3SG.POSS school-LOC I-DAT

yardım ed-iyor.
help AUX-IPFV.3SG

'That my friend takes note helps me in the school.'

Overall, it is shown that locative adverbials can be used as frame-setters when topicalized. However, due to the scrambling property of Turkish, whether the locative adverbial is event-related or not cannot be stated clearly, unlike German data discussed

in Maienborn (2001). As a result, it is not possible to determine whether dispositional verbs behave as K-states or not with respect to locative adverbial modification.

iii. Degree readings of *ein bisschen* "a little bit"

Biraz "a little bit" gets only the degree reading when it co-occurs with dispositional verbs as in (62):

(62) Öğrenci-ler-in sınıf-ta İngilizce konuş-ma-lar-ı dil
student-PL-GEN class-LOC English speak-GER-PL-3PL.POSS language

gelişim-ler-i-ne biraz yardım ed-iyor.
development-PL-CM-DAT a little bit help AUX-IPFV.3SG

'That the students speak in English in the class help their language development a little bit.'

The fact that "a little bit" only gets only the degree reading can be validated by the sentence in (63). When followed with an additional context that favors time-span reading, the sentence is still ungrammatical:

(63) *Öğrencilerin sınıfta İngilizce konuşmaları dil gelişimlerine biraz yardım ediyor, ama biraz sonra yardım etmiyor.

'*That the students speak in English in the class helps their language development a little bit, but after a while it does not help them.'

This illustrates that dispositional verbs behave as K-states do as for "a little bit" modification.

iv. Compatibility with *happen*

Dispositional verbs cannot be followed by the verb *ol-* "happen" as shown in (64):

(64) Öğrenci-ler-in İngilizce konuş-ma-lar-ı dil
student-PL-GEN English speak-GER-PL-3PL.POSS language

gelişim-ler-i-ne yardım ed-iyor. *Bu sınıf-ta ol-uyor.
development-PL-CM-DAT help AUX-IPFV.3SG this class-LOC happen-IPFV.3SG

'That the students speak in English helps their language development. *This happens in the class.'

This shows that dispositional verbs are stative rather than eventive.

3.1.1.5 Perception verbs

This sub-class includes verbs such as *gör-* "see", *duy-* "hear", *hisset-* "feel" and so on. Similar to the other sub-classes, perception verbs may get both stative and eventive interpretation as well. However, the ambiguity is due to the viewpoint aspect marker on the verb. When inflected with the perfective marker, perception verbs are interpreted as eventive, as exemplified in (65). They get achievement interpretation with the perfective marker. In contrast, when they are inflected with the imperfective marker, they are interpreted as stative, as in (66):

(65) Oda-ya gir-ince duvar-da bir örümcek gör-dü-m.
Room-DAT enter-CVB wall-LOC a spider see-PFV.1SG
'I saw a spider when I entered the room.'

(66) Duvar-da bir resim gör-üyor-um.
Wall-LOC a picture see-IPFV.1SG
'I see a picture on the wall.'

A similar case is observed in Russian such that perception verbs have the stative interpretation with the imperfective form, whereas they are eventive with the perfective form:

(67) Videt': uvidet'
$see_{imperfective}$: $see_{perfective}$

(Smith, 1997, p. 249)

In addition, even when the verb is inflected with the imperfective marker, the sentence may get an eventive interpretation in a narrative context such as the sentence in (68), interpreted as achievement when modified by a momentary adverbial such as *birden* "suddenly"[66]:

(68) Şoför birden yol-un orta-sı-nda yat-an köpeğ-i
Driver suddenly road-GEN middle-3SG.POSS-LOC lie-REL dog-ACC

gör-üyor ve dur-uyor.
see-IPFV.3SG and stop-IPFV.3SG

'The driver suddenly sees the dog lying in the middle of the road and stops.'

i. Manner Adverbials

Perception verbs do not allow for manner adverbials, as seen in (69):

(69) *Kız duvar-da-ki örümceğ-i kasten/ kazara gör-üyor.
Girl wall-LOC-ADJ spider-ACC deliberately/accidentally see-IPFV.3SG
*The girl sees the spider deliberately/accidentally.'

Yet, if what is seen is a negative thing or event, the sentence would be grammatical with a manner adverbial *kazara* "accidentally", as in (70):

[66] Even without *birden* "suddenly", the sentence can be interpreted as eventive.

(70) Kız işlen-en cinayet-i kazara görüyor.
Girl commit-REL murder-ACC accidentally see-IPFV.3SG
'The girl sees the murder accidentally.'

This illustrates that perception verbs are context-dependent with respect to manner modification, similar to instrumental alternation verbs. In other words, perception verbs can allow for manner adverbials depending on the context in which they appear.

ii. Locative modifiers

When topicalized, locative modifiers can co-occur with perception verbs as frame-setters, as given in (71):

(71) Duvar-da bir örümcek gör-üyor-um.
Wall-LOC a spider see-IPFV.1SG
'On the wall, I see a spider.'

However, locative adverbials can be seen in other positions in the sentence such as pre-verbally as in (72) or between the subject and the object NP as in (73) and they are acceptable in both positions:

(72) Ben o adam-ı market-te gör-üyor-um.
I that man-ACC market-LOC see-IPFV.1SG
'I see that man in the market.'

(73) Aylin okul-da o çocuğ-u gör-üyor.
Aylin school-LOC that child-ACC see-IPFV.3SG
'Aylin sees that child at school.'

The observation above illustrates that locative adverbials can be used as frame-setters when topicalized; yet due to the scrambling property of Turkish, whether the locative adverbial is event-related or not cannot be stated clearly. Therefore, it is not possible to state whether perception verbs behave as K-states or not with respect to locative adverbial modification.

iii. Degree readings of *ein bisschen* “a little bit”

Biraz “a little bit” gets the degree reading when it modifies a perception verb, as in (74):

(74) Cam-dan bak-ınca köşe-de bekle-yen adam-ı
Window-ABL look-CVB corner-LOC wait-REL man-ACC

biraz gör-üyor-um.
a little bit see- IPFV.1SG

‘Looking at the window, I see the man waiting in the corner a little bit.’

Yet, “a little bit” may get the time-span reading, as in (75):

(75) Köşe-de bekle-yen adam-ı her gün biraz gör-üyor-um.
corner-LOC wait-REL man-ACC every day a little bit see-IPFV.1SG
‘I see the man waiting in the corner for a short while every day.’

This shows that perception verbs do not always behave as K-states do as for “a little bit” modification. Based on the contextual information, “a little bit” may get both interpretations and therefore, perception verbs are context-dependent in terms of “a little bit” modification.

iv. Compatibility with *happen*

Perception verbs cannot be followed by the verb *ol-* “happen”, as exemplified in (76):

(76) Duvar-da bir resim gör-üyor-um. *Bu oda-ya gir-diğ-im-de
Wall-LOC a picture see-IPFV.1SG This room-DAT enter-NOM.1SG-LOC

ol-uyor.
happen-IPFV.3SG

‘I see a picture on the wall. *This happens when I enter the room.’

This shows that perception verbs are stative.

3.1.2 The group of non-ambiguous stative verbs in Rothmayr (2009)

3.1.2.1 Subject experiencer verbs

This sub-class includes verbs referring to both psychological and mental states as follows:

i. *Subject-experiencer verbs (psychological states): beğen-* "like", *sev-* "love", *bayıl-* "adore", *özle-* "miss", *güven-* "trust", *kork-* "fear" etc.

ii. *Subject-experiencer verbs (mental states): bil-* "know", *hatırla-* "remember", *iste-* "want", *um-* "hope", *inan-* "believe" etc.

The examples including these verbs in Turkish are given below:

(77) Ahmet Berna-yı sev-iyor.
Ahmet Berna-ACC love-IPFV.3SG
'Ahmet loves Berna.'

(78) Ben dondurma-ya bayıl-ıyor-um.
I ice cream-DAT adore-IPFV.1SG
'I adore ice cream.'

(79) Ahmet tüm gerçek-i bil-iyor.
Ahmet all truth-ACC know- IPFV.3SG
'Ahmet knows all the truth.'

(80) Berna Ahmet-e inan-ıyor.
Berna Ahmet-DAT believe- IPFV.3SG
'Berna believes Ahmet.'

The presence of the perfective marker on the verb may lead to stative/eventive ambiguity as in (81).

(81) Berna Ahmet-e inan-dı.
Berna Ahmet-DAT believe-PFV.3SG
'Berna believed Ahmet.'

The sentence in (81) can be disambiguated via adverbial use such that a durative adverbial such as *yıllarca* "for years" renders the sentence stative, as given in (82). In

contrast, modification by a momentary adverbial such as *o an* "at that moment" yields eventive reading as in (83):

(82) Berna Ahmet-e yıllarca inan-dı.
Berna Ahmet-DAT for years believe-PFV.3SG
'Berna believed Ahmet for years.'

(83) Berna Ahmet-e o an inan-dı.
Berna Ahmet-DAT that moment believe-PFV.3SG
'Berna believed Ahmet at that moment.'

i. Manner Adverbials

When subject experiencer verbs in Turkish are modified by manner adverbials, the result is ungrammatical, as in (84) and (85):

(84) Ahmet Berna-yı *kasten/ *titizlikle sev-iyor.
Ahmet Berna-ACC deliberately/ studiously love- IPFV.3SG
'Ahmet loves Berna *deliberately/*studiously.'

(85) Berna Ahmet-e *kasten/ *titizlikle inan-ıyor.
Berna Ahmet-DAT deliberately/ studiously believe- IPFV.3SG
'Berna believes Ahmet *deliberately/*studiously.'

Yet, there are also some cases where subject experiencer verbs can be seen with manner adverbials such as the one in (86):

(86) Ahmet Berna-yı bütün kalbi-yle / saf bir şekilde sev-iyor.
Ahmet Berna-ACC all heart-WITH/ purely love- IPFV.3SG
'Ahmet loves Berna with all his heart/purely.'

The adverbials in (86), however, refer to the degree of loving Berna rather than manner adverbial, and therefore, this sentence is not contradictory.

All these observations demonstrate that subject experiencer verbs get only Kimian stative reading with respect to manner adverbial modification.

ii. Locative modifiers

Locative modifiers cannot co-occur with subject experiencer verbs even when they are topicalized and used as frame-setters, as seen in (87):

(87) *Ev-de/ Okul-da Ahmet Berna-yı sev-iyor.
home-LOC/ school-LOC Ahmet Berna-ACC love- IPFV.3SG
'*Ahmet loves Berna at home/ in the school.'

With locative adverbials in different positions in the sentence, the sentences are still unacceptable such as the sentence in (88) with a locative adverbial in pre-verbal position. Further, when the locative is placed between the subject and the object NP, the sentence is not acceptable as well:

(88) *Ali Ayşe-yi okul-da sev-iyor.
Ali Ayşe -ACC school-LOC love- IPFV.3SG
'*Ali loves Ayşe in the school.'

(89) *Ali okul-da Ayşe-yi sev-iyor.
Ali school-LOC Ayşe -ACC love- IPFV.3SG
'*Ali loves Ayşe in the school.'

This shows that subject experiencer verbs behave as K-states do with respect to locative modification.

iii. Degree readings of *ein bisschen* "a little bit"

When *biraz* "a little bit" co-occurs with subject experiencer verbs, the adverbial gets only the degree reading, as observed in (90) and (91):

(90) Ahmet geçmiş-i biraz hatırla-ıyor.
Ahmet past-ACC a little remember- IPFV.3SG
'Ahmet remembers the past a little bit.'

(91) Berna Ahmet-e biraz inan-ıyor.
Berna Ahmet-DAT a little believe- IPFV.3SG
'Berna believes Ahmet a little bit.'

With an additional context that favors time-span reading, the sentence is ungrammatical as seen in (92), which substantiates the degree reading of "a little bit":

(92) *Ahmet Berna-ya biraz inan-ıyor, ama sonra
Ahmet Berna-DAT a little believe- IPFV.3SG but later

inan-mı-yor.
believe-NEG- IPFV.3SG

'*Ahmet believes Berna for a short time, but then he does not believe her.'

This shows that subject experiencer verbs behave as K-states do with respect to "a little bit" modification.

iv. Compatibility with *happen*

Subject experiencer verbs cannot be followed by the verb *ol-* "happen" as seen in (93):

(93) Ahmet İngilizce bil-iyor. *Bu mülakat-ta
Ahmet English know- IPFV.3SG. This interview-LOC

ol-uyor.
happen- IPFV.3SG

'Ahmet knows English. *This happens in the interview.'

This illustrates that subject experiencer verbs are not eventive, but stative.

3.1.2.2 Measure verbs

This sub-class includes verbs such as *(50 lira) et-* "cost (50 TL)", *(2 metre/50 kilo) gel-* "measure (2 metres)/ weigh(50 kilos)", *(1 saat) sür-* "last (1 hour)", *içer-* "contain" , *(1*

saat) al- "take (1 hour)", , (x) *yaz-* "read" and so on. The sentences in (94) and (95) illustrate the examples in Turkish:

(94) Bu paket 20 kilo gel-iyor.
This package 20 kilo come- IPFV.3SG
'This package weighs 20 kilos.'
(Literal meaning: This package is coming 20 kilos.)

(95) Kitap 50 lira ed-iyor.
book 50 liras cost- IPFV.3SG
'The book costs 50 liras.'

Note that the measure phrase cannot be omitted from the sentence; otherwise, the sentence would be ungrammatical, as illustrated in (96):

(96) *Bu paket gel-iyor.
This package come- IPFV.3SG
'*This package weighs.'

The presence of perfective marker on the verb may result in an eventive interpretation in the appropriate context. See the sentence in (97):

(97) (Bir elma daha koy-unca) poşet iki kilo gel-di.
(one apple more put-CVB) carrier bag two kilo come-PFV.3SG
'(When I put one more apple) The carrier bag weighed 2 kilos.'

The sentence in (97) gets achievement reading since the contextual information preceding the verb implies that at the moment of weighing apples on a scale, I put one more apple and the moment I put it, apples weighed 2 kilos.

i. Manner adverbials

Measure verbs in Turkish cannot be modified by manner adverbials felicitously, as seen in (98) and (99):

(98) *Bu film epik olarak iki saat sür-üyor.
This film epically two hour last- IPFV.3SG
'*This film lasts 2 hours epically.'

(99) *Kitap ucuz bir şekilde 50 lira ed-iyor.
book in a cheap way 50 liras cost- IPFV.3SG
'*The book costs 50 liras in a cheap way.'

The ungrammaticality of the sentences above shows that measure verbs behave as K-states do with respect to manner adverbial modification.

ii. Locative modifiers

Locative phrases can be used with measure verbs as frame-setters when they are topicalized as in (100) and (101):

(100) Sinema-da bu film 3 saat sür-üyor.
cinema-LOC this film 3 hour last- IPFV.3SG
'This film lasts 3 hours in the cinema.'

(101) Internet alışveriş-i-nde bu kitap 50 lira ed-iyor.
internet shopping-CM-LOC this book 50 liras cost- IPFV.3SG
'This book costs 50 liras in online shopping.'

However, locative phrases can follow the measure phrase immediately as well, as given in (102) and (103):

(102) Bu film sinema-da 3 saat sür-üyor.
this film cinema-LOC 3 hour last- IPFV.3SG
'This film lasts 3 hours in the cinema.'

(103) Bu kitap internet alışveriş-i-nde 50 lira ed-iyor.
this book internet shopping-CM-LOC 50 lira cost- IPFV.3SG
'This book costs 50 liras in online shopping.'

To conclude, locative adverbials can be used as frame-setters when topicalized. However, because of the scrambling property of Turkish, whether the locative adverbial is event-related or not cannot be stated clearly. Thus, it is not possible to determine whether measure verbs behave as K-states or not with respect to locative adverbial modification.

iii. Degree readings of *ein bisschen* “a little bit”

Measure verbs cannot co-occur with “a little bit”, as seen in (104) and (105). Therefore, the result is ungrammatical:

(104) *Bu film biraz 2 saat sür-üyor.
This film a little 2 hour last- IPFV.3SG
‘*This film lasts 2 hours a little.’

(105) *Kitap biraz 50 lira ed-iyor.
book a little 50 lira cost- IPFV.3SG
‘*The book costs 50 liras a little.’

This shows that “a little bit” modification is unavailable for measure verbs.

iv. Compatibility with *happen*

When measure verbs are followed by the verb *ol-* “happen”, the result is ungrammatical:

(106) Film 2 saat sür-üyor. *Bu ev-de izler-ken ol-uyor.
film 2 hour last-IPFV.3SG This home-LOC watch-CVB happen-IPFV.3SG

‘The film lasts 2 hours. *This happens while watching it at home.’

This shows that measure verbs are stative.

3.1.2.3 Capacity verbs

This sub-class includes verbs such as (*5 kişi) ağırla-*/ misafir et- “host (5 people)”, *(5 kişi) al-* “seat (5 people)”, *sığ-* “fit into”, *taşı-* “carry” and so on. Capacity verbs provide information about the capacity of an entity/a thing, as given in (107) and (108):

(107) Bu otel 100 kişi ağırl-ıyor.
This hotel 100 person host-IPFV.3SG
‘This hotel hosts 100 people.’

(108) Bu araba-ya yedi kişi sığ-ıyor.
This car-DAT seven person fit into- IPFV.3SG
'Seven people fit in this car.'

Similar to measure verbs, capacity verbs cannot be used without the measure phrase, as exemplified in (109) and (110):

(109) *Bu otel ağırl-ıyor.
This hotel host- IPFV.3SG
'*This hotel hosts.'

(110) *Bu araba-ya sığ-ıyor.
This car-DAT fit into- IPFV.3SG
'*This car seats.'

The presence of perfective marker may result in eventive interpretation in the appropriate context, as in (111):

(111) İki yetişkin yerine üç çocuk bin-ince bu araba-ya
Two adult instead three child get on-CVB this car-DAT

yedi kişi sığ-dı.
seven person fit into-PF.3SG

'When three children got on the car instead of two adults, seven people fitted in this car.'

i. Manner adverbials

Similar to measure verbs, capacity verbs are ungrammatical when modified by manner adverbials:

(112) *Bu otel hızlı hızlı/yavaş yavaş/ sabırlı bir şekilde 100 kişi
This hotel fast fast/slow slow/ patiently 100 person

ağırlı-yor.
host- IPFV.3SG

'*This hotel hosts 100 people fast/slowly/ patiently.'

(113) *Bu araba-ya hızlı hızlı/yavaş yavaş/ sabırlı bir şekilde
This car-DAT fast fast/slow slow/ patiently

yedi kişi sığ-ıyor.
seven person fit into- IPFV.3SG

'*This car seats seven people fast/slowly/ patiently.'

There are cases in which a capacity verb may allow for adverbials such as rahatlıkla/ rahat bir şekilde "comfortably", as seen in (114):

(114) Bu araba-ya rahatlıkla/ rahat bir şekilde yedi kişi sığ-ıyor.
This car-DAT comfortably seven person fit into- IPFV.3SG
'This car seats seven people comfortably.'

What is understood is that the capacity of the car is pretty enough to seat seven people, which is a kind of degree adverbials[67].

This observation shows that capacity verbs disallow for manner adverbials and hence, behave as K-states do with respect to manner modification.

ii. Locative modifiers

When locative phrases are topicalized and used as frame-setters, they can co-occur with capacity verbs, as seen in (115):

(115) Tatil-ler-de bu araba-ya yedi kişi sığ-ıyor.
holiday-PL-LOC this car-DAT seven person fit into- IPFV.3SG
'On holidays, this car seats seven people.'

In contrast to measure verbs, when the locative phrase immediately follows the measure phrase, the sentence is unacceptable, as in (116):

(116) *Bu araba tatil-ler-de yedi kişi al-ıyor.
this car holiday-PL-LOC seven person take- IPFV.3SG
'*This car takes seven people on holidays.'

This indicates that capacity verbs behave as K-states do with respect to locative adverbial modification.

[67] The adverbial *rahatlıkla* "comfortably" may also be employed as a domain/viewpoint adverb.

iii. Degree readings of *ein bisschen* "a little bit"

Similar to measure verbs, capacity verbs cannot co-occur with "a little bit" and hence, the result is ungrammatical, as seen in (117) and (118):

(117) *Bu otel biraz 100 kişi ağırl-ıyor.
This hotel a little 100 person host- IPFV.3SG
'*This hotel hosts 100 people a little.'

(118) *Bu araba-ya biraz yedi kişi sığ-ıyor.
This car-DAT a little seven person fit into- IPFV.3SG
'*This car seats seven people a little.'

This shows that "a little bit" modification is unavailable for measure verbs.

iv. Compatibility with *happen*

Capacity verbs cannot be followed by the verb *ol-* "happen", as in (119):

(119) Bu araba-ya yedi kişi sığ-ıyor. *Bu tatil-e
This car-DAT seven person fit into-IPFV.3PL This holiday-DAT

çıkar-ken ol-uyor.
go for-CVB happen- IPFV.3SG

'This car seats seven people. *This happens while going for a holiday.'

This indicates that capacity verbs are stative.

3.1.2.4 Dative experiencer verbs

This sub-class includes verbs such as *yakış-* "suit", *denk gel-* "fit", *uy-* "fit", *dokun-* "disagree with" and so on. Below are the examples of this sub-class:

(120) Bu elbise o-na yakış-ıyor.
this dress she-DAT suit- IPFV.3SG
'This dress suits her.'

(121) Ayakkabı-lar ban-a uy-uyor.
Shoe-PL I-DAT fit- IPFV.3SG
'The shoes fit me.'

When these verbs are inflected with the perfective marker and presented in a certain context, the sentences may get eventive reading. For instance, imagine that you were trying pairs of shoes, but could not find the one which fits you. Finally, you came up with a new one and the moment you put iton, it fit you. In such a context, the sentence gets the eventive reading:

(122) Bu elbise o-na yakış-tı.
this dress she-DAT suit-PFV.3SG
'This dress suited her.'

(123) Ayakkabı-lar ban-a uy-du.
Shoe-PL I-DAT fit-PFV.3SG
'The shoes fitted me.'

i. Manner adverbials

It seems that dative experiencer verbs can be used felicitously with certain adverbials such as the ones given in (124) and (125). However, these adverbials seem to be degree adverbials, which are predicted to be compatible with stative verbs:

(124) Bu elbise o-na muhteşem bir şekilde yakış-ıyor.
this dress she-DAT perfectly / loosely suit- IPFV.3SG
'This dress suits her perfectly.'

(125) Ayakkabı-lar san-a tıpatıp/ harika (bir şekilde) uy-uyor.
Shoe-PL you-DAT exactly/ perfectly fit- IPFV.3SG
'The shoes fit you exactly/ perfectly.'

However, when dative experiencer verbs are used with manner adverbials, the result is ungrammatical, as seen in (126) and (127):

(126) *Bu elbise o-na zarif bir şekilde yakış-ıyor.
This dress she-DAT elegantly suit-IPFV.3SG
'*This dress suits her elegantly.'

(127) *Ayakkabı-lar san-a zarif bir şekilde uy-uyor.
Shoe-PL you-DAT elegantly fit-IPFV.3SG
'*The shoes fit you elegantly.'

This shows that dative experiencer verbs behave as K-states do as for manner modification.

ii. Locative modifiers

Locative adverbials can be used as frame-setters in s-initial position when they co-occur with dative experiencer verbs, as exemplified in (128) and (129):

(128) Özel gece-ler-de/Ev-de bu elbise o-na yakış-ıyor.
special night-PL-LOC/ home-LOC this dress her-DAT suit- IPFV.3SG
'At special nights/at home, this dress suits her.'

(129) Özel gece-ler-de bu ayakkabı-lar san-a uy-uyor.
special night-PL-LOC this shoe-PL you-DAT fit- IPFV.3SG
'At special nights, these shoes fit you.'

It is seen that when the locative phrase is pre-verbally positioned, the acceptability varies depending on the contextual information such that the sentence in (130) is acceptable whereas the one in (131) is unacceptable:

(130) Bu elbise Ayşe-ye özel gece-ler-de yakış-ıyor.
This dress Ayşe-DAT special night-PL-LOC suit- IPFV.3SG
'This dress suits Ayşe at special nights.'

(131) ??Bu ayakkabı-lar san-a özel gece-ler-de uy-uyor.
this shoe-PL you-DAT special night-PL-LOC fit- IPFV.3SG
'??These shoes fit you at special nights.'

Further, when the locative phrase is placed between the subject and the object NP, the result is also grammatical, as seen in (132):

(132) Bu elbise özel gece-ler-de Ayşe-ye yakış-ıyor.
This dress night-PL-LOC Ayşe-DAT suit- IPFV.3SG
'This dress suits Ayşe at special nights.'

This shows that because of the scrambling property of Turkish, locative adverbials can be placed in different positions. When they are s-initial, they are used as frame-setters. However, in any other position, it is not possible to state that the adverbial is frame-setter or not. Therefore, it is not possible to determine whether measure verbs behave as K-states or not with respect to locative adverbial modification.

iii. Degree readings of *ein bisschen* "a little bit"

"a little bit" gets the degree reading when it co-occurs with a dative experiencer verb, as given in (133):

(133) Bu elbise o-na biraz yakış-ıyor.
this dress she-DAT a little suit- IPFV.3SG
'This dress suits her a little.'

The ungrammaticality of the sentence in (134) substantiates that "a little bit" does not get the time-span reading even with an additional context referring to the time-span reading:

(134) *Bu elbise ona biraz yakışıyor, ama sonra yakışmıyor[68].
'*This dress suits her for some time, but then it does not.'

This indicates that dative experiencer verbs behave as K-states do with respect to "a little bit" modification.

[68] In this example, it is supposed that there is no change in the person's weight.

iv. Compatibility with *happen*

Dative experiencer verbs cannot be followed by the verb *ol-* "happen", as given in (135):

(135) Bu gömlek san-a yakış-ıyor. *Bu yeşil kravat
this shirt you-DAT suit-IPFV.3SG this green tie

tak-tığı-nda ol-uyor.
wear-CVB-LOC happen- IPFV.3SG

'This shirt suits you. *It happens when you wear the green tie.'

This shows that dative experiencer verbs are not eventive, but stative.

3.1.2.5 Verbs of emission

The verbs in this sub-class are described as internally caused eventualities and these eventualities "come about as a result of internal physical characteristics of their argument" (Levin&Rappaport, 1995, p. 92)[69]. The verbs under this sub-class are divided into four further sub-groups as for what is emitted as follows (Levin&Rappaport, 1995, p. 91):

(136)

a. Light: flash, flicker, gleam, glitter, shimmer, shine etc.

b. Smell: reek, smell, stink

c. Substance: bubble, gush, ooze, puff, spew, spout etc.

d. Sound: burble, buzz, clang, crackle, hoot, hum, jingle etc.

In this study, I examine these verbs under the name "Verbs of Emission" for the sake of simplicity. This sub-class includes the verbs such as *gıcırda-* "grind", *cızırda-*

[69] These verbs have only one non-agentive argument, which shows that they lack intentionality or control. In addition, since eventualities described by these verbs come about as the result of the argument's internal physical characteristics, they do not undergo any change of state.

"sputter", *parla-* "shine", *ışılda-* "sparkle", *çağılda-* "babble", *gurulda-* "rumble", etc.

Below are the examples of this sub-class:

(137) Ayakkabı-lar parl-ıyor.
Shoe-PL shine- IPFV.3SG
'The pair of shoes is shining.'

(138) Televizyon cızırd-ıyor.
Television sputter- IPFV.3SG
'TV is sputtering.'

Note that verbs of emission may get ambiguous readings in terms of durativity when inflected with the perfective marker, as in (139). The sentence gets a durative reading when modified by a durative adverbial and a non-durative/punctual reading by a momentary adverbial as in (140) and (141) respectively:

(139) Televizyon cızırda-dı.
Television sputter-PFV.3SG
'TV sputtered.'

(140) Televizyon bir saat boyunca cızırda-dı.
Television one hour during sputter-PFV.3SG
'TV sputtered for an hour.'

(141) Televizyon aniden cızırda-dı.
Television suddenly sputter-PFV.3SG
'TV sputtered suddenly.'

In addition, they may get eventive interpretation when modified by certain adverbials such as *aniden* "suddenly". They undergo aspectual shift and become achievements, as illustrated in (142):

(142) Televizyon aniden cızırdı-yor.
Television suddenly sputter- IPFV.3SG
'TV suddenly sputters.'

i. Manner adverbials

Verbs of emission in Turkish are compatible with manner modifiers, as in (143), (144) and (145):

(143) Ayakkabı-lar bir tuhaf / güzel/ ışıl ışıl parla-ıyor.
Shoe-PL strangely/ beautifully/ brightly shine- IPFV.3SG
'The pair of shoes is shining strangely/ beautifully/ brightly.'

(144) Kapı çok gürültülü bir şekilde / yavaş yavaş gıcırdı-yor.
door very noisily/ slow slow creak- IPFV.3SG
'The door creaks very noisily/ slowly.'

(145) Televizyon gürültülü bir biçimde/ ritmik bir şekilde/ melodik/ kesik kesik
Television noisily/ rhythmically/ melodically/ intermittently

cızırdı-yor.
sputter- IPFV.3SG

'TV is sputtering noisily/ rhythmically/ melodically/ intermittently.'

This implies that verbs of emission behave differently from K-states.

ii. Locative modifiers

As frame-setters, locative adverbials can co-occur with verbs of emission, as seen in (146):

(146) Mutfak-ta televizyon cızırda-ıyor.
kitchen-LOC television sputter- IPFV.3SG
'In the kitchen, TV is sputtering.'

However, locative adverbials pre-verbally are acceptable as well:

(147) Televizyon mutfak-ta cızırda-ıyor.
Television kitchen-LOC sputter- IPFV.3SG
'TV is sputtering in the kitchen.'

This illustrates that locative adverbials can be placed in different positions because of the scrambling property of Turkish. When they are s-initial, they are used as

frame-setters. Yet, in any other position, it is not possible to state that the adverbial is frame-setter or not. Following from this, it is not possible to determine whether verbs of emission behave as K-states or not with respect to locative adverbial modification.

iii. Degree readings of *ein bisschen* "a little bit"

In terms of "a little bit" modification, the adverbial in (148) gets both readings:

(148) Rüzgar es-ince kapı biraz gıcırdı-yor.
Wind blow-CVB door a little bit creak- IPFV.3SG
'When the wind blows, the door creaks a little bit.'

With additional contexts, however, the reading can be disambiguated. For instance, "a little bit" gets only the time-span reading in (149) and only the degree reading in (150):

(149) Rüzgar esince kapı biraz gıcırdıyor, çok uzun sürmüyor.
'When the wind blows, the door creaks for a while, but it does not last long.'

(150) Rüzgar esince kapı biraz gıcırdıyor, çok değil!
'When the wind blows, the door creaks a little bit, not much!'

This shows that verbs of emission do not behave as K-states with respect to "a little bit" modification. Further, it seems that context-dependency plays a role. Whether they are eventive or stative will be understood when they are followed by the verb *happen*.

iv. Compatibility with *happen*

Verbs of emission can be followed by the verb *ol-* "happen", as shown in (151):

(151) Televizyon cızırdı-yor. Bu mutfak-ta ol-uyor,
Television sputter-IPFv.3SG This kitchen-LOC happen- IPFV.3SG

salon-da değil!
living room-LOC not

'TV is sputtering. This is happening in the kitchen, not in the living room!'

Compatibility with the verb *happen* indicates that verbs of emission are eventive rather than stative.

3.1.2.6 Verbs of position

This sub-class includes verbs such as *otur-* "sit", uzan- "lie", *uyu-* "sleep", *bekle-* "wait", *dur-* "stop/stand", *yaşa-* "live", *dikil-* "stand", etc. These verbs assume a position of the subject NP and therefore, the locative phrase is the complement of these verbs.

(152) Anne-m koltuk-ta otur-uyor.
Mother-1SG.POSS armchair-LOC sit- IPFV.3SG
'My mother is sitting in an armchair.'

(153) Adam köşe-de bekli-yor.
man corner-LOC wait- IPFV.3SG
'The man is waiting on the corner.'

(154) Araba otopark-ta dur-uyor.
car car park-LOC stop- IPFV.3SG
'The car is in the car park.'
(Literal meaning: My car is stopping in the car park.)

When the verbs under this sub-class are inflected with the perfective marker, they preserve their stative interpretation:

(155) Anne-m koltuk-ta otur-du[70].
Mother-1SG.POSS armchair-LOC sit-PFV.3SG
'My mother is sitting in an armchair.'

(156) Araba otopark-ta dur-du.
car car park-LOC stop-PFV.3SG
'The car was in the car park.'
(Literal meaning: My car stopped (for some time) in the car park.)

Recall that Rothmayr (2009) argues that verbs of position get the stative interpretation with inanimate subject NPs, but the eventive interpretation with animate subject NPs. However, Maienborn (2005, 2007) claims that these verbs are stative regardless of the animacy property of the subject NP. How these verbs in Turkish behave is illustrated below by applying the diagnostics.

i. Manner adverbials

When modified by manner adverbials, verbs of position in Turkish are grammatical regardless of the animacy feature of the subject NP. (157) and (158) stand for the animate subject NP and inanimate subject NP variants respectively:

(157) Anne-m koltuk-ta sessizce/ mutlu bir şekilde/
Mother-1SG.POSS armchair-LOC silently/ happily/

hareket etmeden otur-uyor.
immobile sit- IPFV.3SG

'My mother is sitting in an armchair silently/ happily/ immobile.'

[70] Note that regardless of the viewpoint aspect marker, the verb otur- "sit" getsthe eventive interpretation when the location phrase is dative case-marked:

i. Kadın koltuğ-a otur-du.
Woman armchair-DAT sit-PFV.3SG
'The woman sat into the armchair.'
ii. Kadın koltuğ-a otur-uyor.
Woman armchair-DAT sit-IPFV.3SG
'The woman is sitting into the armchair.'

Here, the dative marker on the locative phrase renders the interpretation eventive.

(158) Araba otopark-ta hareket etmeden/ tehlikeli bir biçimde dur-uyor.
car car park-LOC immobile / dangerously stop- IPFV.3SG
'The car is in the car park silently/ immobile/ dangerously.'

This shows that verbs of position in Turkish do not behave as K-states do with respect to manner modification.

ii. Locative modifiers

Since the verbs in this sub-class assume a position, they naturally have a locative phrase. This means that locative phrase is an argument of these verbs. Therefore, locative modifier cannot be used as a diagnostic tool for these verbs.

iii. Degree readings of *ein bisschen* "a little bit"

In cases where verbs of position are modified by "a little bit", the modifier gets only the time-span reading, as in (159) and (160):

(159) Anne-m koltuk-ta biraz otur-uyor (sonra kalkıyor).
Mother-1SG.POSS armchair-LOC a little sit- IPFV.3SG
'My mother is sitting in an armchair for a while (and then she is standing up).'

(160) Araba otopark-ta biraz dur-uyor.
car car park-LOC a little stop- IPFV.3SG
'The car is in the car park for a while.'

This shows that verbs of position do not behave as K-states do regardless of the animacy of the subject NP.

iv. Compatibility with *happen*

Verbs of position cannot be followed by the verb *happen* regardless of the animacy property of the subject NP, as seen in (161) and (162):

(161) Anne-m oda-da uyu-yor. *Bu yarım saat önce
Mother-1SG.POSS room-LOC sleep-IPFV.3SG This half hour ago

ol-uyor.
happen-IPFV.3SG

'My mother is sleeping in the room. *This is happening half an hour ago.'

(162) Araba otopark-ta iki yıl-dır dur-uyor[71]. *Bu kaza-dan
car car park-LOC two year-for stop-IPFV.3SG This accident-ABL

sonra ol-uyor.
later happen-IPFV.3SG

'The car has been in the car park for two years. *This has been happening after the accident.'

The incompatibility with the verb *happen* shows that verbs of position are stative rather than eventive, as argued in Maienborn (2005, 2007).

3.2 Forming a stative verb classification for Turkish

Based on the Turkish data discussed above, I conclude that Turkish stative verbs fall into two main groups as ambiguous and non-ambiguous, similar to Rothmayr's system. If the subject NP is animate in the verb sub-classes of the ambiguous group, the interpretation will be eventive, but if inanimate, the interpretation will be stative. This systematic ambiguity is not observed in non-ambiguous group.

However, there is a mismatch between the classification I propose for Turkish and the one offered in Rothmayr (2009) such that perception verbs in Turkish are in the non-ambiguous group whereas they are in the ambiguous group in Rothmayr (2009). This is because Rothmayr (2009) argues that the ambiguity observed in the ambiguous

[71] The verb *dur-* can be used in two senses: one of them is "stand/be in a place", which is stative and the other one is "stop" which is eventive. To use *dur-* in the first sense, a durative adverbial is added to the context here, but it does not affect or change the interpretation.

group is due to agentivity and consequently, the presence of the DO operator in the lexical semantic structure. This implies that there is an agent in the eventive interpretation whereas stative interpretation lacks such an agent in the sentence. However, the problem is that Rothmayr (2009) contrasts active perception verbs such as *look at* with cognitive perception verbs such as *see* in the analysis of perception verbs[72]. She does not focus on the same verb in terms of eventive and stative reading as she does in other sub-classes of ambiguous group, which leads to misinterpretation. In contrast, I have made use of a cognitive perception verb such as *gör-* "see" and showed that the animacy property of a subject NP does not affect the stative interpretation. Therefore, perception verbs are listed under non-ambiguous group.

Another point is that at the very beginning of this chapter, one further sub-class was included and checked whether they are statives: *capacity verbs*. It has been observed that capacity verbs cannot be followed by the verb *happen*, which indicates that they are stative and therefore, they are included in the classification in Figure 4.

A further point is related to two sub-classes, namely *verbs of emission* such as *gleam* and *verbs of position* such as *sit* with an animate subject NP. Recall that both sub-classes are claimed to be eventive in Rothmayr (2009), but stative in Maienborn (2005, 2007). Based on their compatibility pattern with the verb *happen*, the former sub-class; i.e. verbs of emission, is found to be eventive, which supports Rothmayr (2009). However, the latter sub-class; i.e. verbs of position with animate subject NP, is found to be stative since it cannot be followed by the verb *happen*, regardless of the animacy property of the subject NP, which supports Maienborn (2005, 2007) and contradicts with

[72] Active perception verbs are always eventive whereas cognitive perception verbs are stative.

Rothmayr (2009). Therefore, verbs of emission, being eventive, are not included in the classification; however, verbs of position are included in the stative verb classification[73].

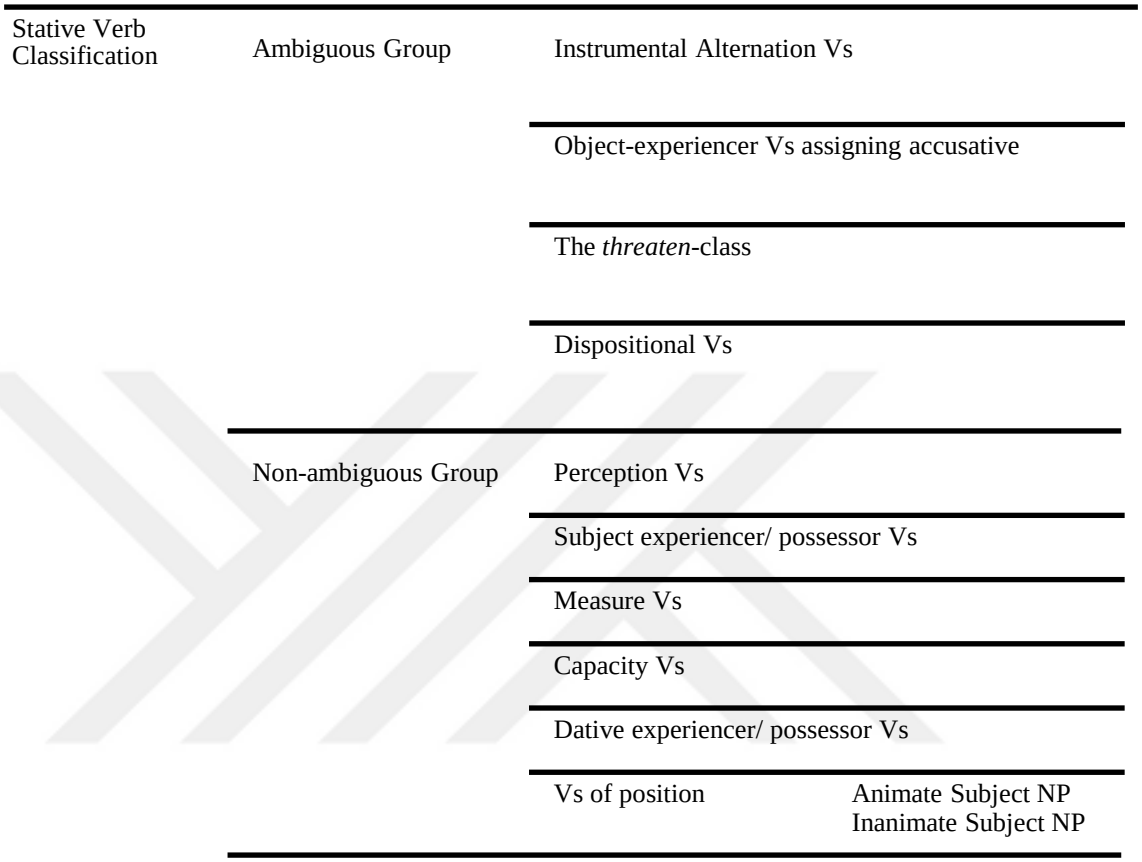

Fig. 4 The stative verb classification offered for Turkish

In forming the classification in Turkish, the factors which affect the stative interpretation have been taken into consideration and this is illustrated in Table 6[74]. The factors which affect the stative interpretation of a sentence include (i) the animacy property of the subject NP, (ii) plurality of the subject NP, (iii) the perfective marker on the verb and (iv) adverbial modification. However, specifically (i) and (ii) differ from (iii) and (iv) in that the former factors in fact determine which class the verbs have to be placed in at the lexical level, whereas the latter factors operate on the lexical level

[73] For the sake of unity and coherence, verbs of emission will be included in the rest of the analysis and examined in what other ways they are different from statives.
[74] In the table, "√" means that the relevant factor affects the stative interpretation of the relevant sub-class; "X" means that the relevant factor does not affect the stative interpretation of the relevant sub-class.

interpretation and give rise to aspectual type-shifting into another aspectual class at the derived level. That is, there arises a derived level categorization via viewpoint aspect and adverbial modification, as argued in Smith (1997). Therefore, it would not be wrong to state that (i) and (ii) are core elements in determining the lexical level categorization of a verb.

These factors have been observed to vary for different stative verb sub-classes. For instance, all the determinants are at play only in instrumental alternation verbs. Contrastively, none of them are effective in verbs of position. Furthermore, the perfective marker on the verb results in ambiguity in most of the stative verb sub-classes of both groups and this ambiguity can be resolved via adverbial modification. Nevertheless, the stative interpretation is preserved only in the *threaten* class, dispositional verbs and verbs of position even when the verbs have the perfective marker[75]. The only sub-class which gets only the eventive reading with the perfective marker is perception verbs. Contextual information or the adverbial modification cannot produce a stative reading in perception verbs when they have the perfective marker. This implies that whether a perception verb is interpreted as a stative depends on the presence of the perfective marker such that if the perfective marker is valid, perception verbs cannot be interpreted as stative. All these observations illustrate that all the factors are not always at play in all the stative verb sub-classes.

A further implication is that the stative interpretation does not always come from the lexical aspectual category of the verb only. Instead, each constituent in the sentence is influential in the aspectual interpretation and as a result of the interaction among the factors, the stative or eventive interpretation is obtained at the end. Such an

[75] Assuming that the *threaten* class and dispositional verbs have an inanimate subject NP, these sub-classes have the stative reading.

argumentation has already been made for other aspectual classes (Ritter&Rosen, 1996; Rothstein, 2008; Tenny, 1994; Verkuyl, 1972, 1993 among others) but that the properties of the arguments of a stative verb, specifically the properties of the subject NP, may be effective in the aspectual interpretation of a sentence has not been noted. Following Rothmayr (2009), this study has indicated the importance of the properties of the arguments of a stative verb in obtaining the stative interpretation.

It is a well-known fact that adverbial modification and viewpoint aspect may trigger aspectual type shifting, as stated before (Rothstein, 2008; Smith, 1997; Vendler, 1957; Verkuyl, 1972, 1993 among others). Therefore, it is already predicted that when the stative verb sub-classes which get the eventive or ambiguous readings with the perfective marker can be modified by momentary adverbials such as *birden* "suddenly" and consequently interpreted as eventive, namely achievement. What is interesting in Turkish is that some of the stative sub-classes may get the eventive interpretation via adverbial modification although they have the imperfective marker; i.e. instrumental alternation verbs and perception verbs. Both instrumental alternation and perception verbs undergo type shifting from stative to eventive; i.e. achievement, via momentary adverbials such as *birden* "suddenly". To exemplify, the sentences in (11) and (68) are repeated here as (163) and (164):

(163) Tıpa deliğ-i aniden tık-ıyor.
Tap hole-ACC suddenly obstruct- IPFV.3SG
'The tap suddenly obstructs the hole.'

(164) Şoför birden yol-un orta-sı-nda yat-an köpeğ-i
Driver suddenly road-GEN middle-CM-LOC lie-REL dog-ACC

gör-üyor ve dur-uyor.
see- IPFV.3SG and stop- IPFV.3SG

'The driver suddenly sees the dog lying in the middle of the road and stops.'

This implies that the imperfective marker on a stative verb does not guarantee the stative interpretation of a sentence as for these two sub-classes.

Table 6. The Factors Affecting the Stative Interpretation of the Stative Verb Classification in Turkish

		Animacy of the Subject NP	Plurality of Subject NP	Perfective Marker	Imperfective marker + Adverbial Modification
Instrumental Alternation Vs		√	√	√ (Context-dependent)	√ (eventive)
Object Experiencer Vs		√	X	√ (Context-dependent)	X
The *threaten* class		√	X	X	X
Dispositional Vs		√	X	X	X
Perception Vs		X	X	√ (eventive)	√ (eventive)
Subject Experiencer Vs		X	X	√ (Context-dependent)	X
Measure Vs		X	X	√ (Context-dependent)	X
Capacity Vs		X	X	√ (Context-dependent)	X
Dative Experiencer Vs		X	X	√ (Context-dependent)	X
Vs of Position	Animate Subj NP	X	X	X	X
	Inanimate Subj NP	X	X	X	X

3.3 Interpreting the key results for an analysis of stative verbs in Turkish

This section compares the Turkish data with the existing analyses and discusses what Turkish tells about the theories. To recall, K-states are not compatible with manner

adverbials and locative adverbials. In addition, "a little bit" gets only the degree reading when used with K-states.

As for the diagnostic tools, it has been observed that in Turkish locative modification does not work as in German. This is because it interacts with other variables in the sentence, namely the scrambling property of Turkish. Locative adverbials in Turkish can be used as frame-setters when topicalized, which is observed in K-states. However, the locative adverbial can also be placed in other positions in the sentence in Turkish. In such cases, whether the adverbials are used as frame-setters or not cannot be determined. In German, on the other hand, locative adverbials have certain fixed syntactic positions and accordingly, they can be divided into several groups regarding their syntactic behavior and consequently, which type the adverbial corresponds to is determined clearly. Therefore, this tool does not help to state whether a verb is K-state, D-state or D-event and cannot be used in analyzing the Turkish data.

Excluding locative adverbials, the results of the diagnostic tools applied to stative verbs in Turkish are presented in Table 7 below[76]. As stated previously, none of the sub-classes in Table 7 can be followed by the verb *happen*, which illustrates that all of them are stative rather than eventive.

In terms of manner modification and the presence of time-span reading of *biraz* "a little bit", Table 7 illustrates that there are three different patterns Turkish reflects. Firstly, a group of verbs; i.e. the *threaten* class and dispositional verbs from the ambiguous group, and subject experiencer, measure, capacity and dative experiencer verbs from the non-ambiguous group, are incompatible with both manner modification

[76] In the table, "C.D" stands for context-dependent; "*" stands for incompatibility; "√" stands for compatibility.

and the time-span reading of *biraz* "a little bit" and therefore, they behave as K-states do. Therefore, these sub-classes are labeled as K-states, as done in Rothmayr (2009)[77].

Table 7. The Results of the Diagnostic Tools Applied to Stative Verbs in Turkish

			Manner Modification	Time-span (T.S) reading of *biraz* "a little bit"	Compatibility with *happen*
Ambiguous Stative Verbs	Object Experiencer Vs		*	*	*
	The *threaten* class		*	*	*
	Dispositional Vs		*	*	*
	Instrumental Alternation Vs		C.D	C.D	*
Non-ambiguous Stative Verbs	Perception Vs		C.D	C.D	*
	Subject Experiencer Vs		*	*	*
	Measure Vs		*	unavailable	*
	Capacity Vs		*	unavailable	*
	Dative Experiencer Vs		*	*	*
	Vs of Position	Animate Subj NP	√	√	*
		Inanimate Subj NP	√	√	*

Secondly, verbs of position are totally compatible with both manner modification and the time-span reading of *biraz* "a little bit" regardless of the animacy property of the subject NP. In fact, verbs of position are one of the controversial sub-classes in the existing analyses such that Rothmayr (2009) divides these verbs into two sub-classes and claims that verbs such as *sit, stand, lie* with animate subject NPs are eventive; i.e. D-events, rather than stative. This is because these verbs are different from K-states in terms of their behavior regarding the diagnostic tools[78]. In fact, Maienborn (2005, 2007) argues that these verbs are D-states and they are not eventive, but stative regardless of

[77] Capacity verbs are not included and examined in Rothmayr (2009).
[78] Rothmayr (2009) applies only manner and locative modification to verbs of position with animate subject NP without providing any reason why *ein bisschen* "a little bit" and *happen* are not applied.

the subject NP. She supports her argument via the verb *happen* such that both K-states and D-states cannot be followed by the verb *happen,* but eventives can be. As suggested in Rothmayr (2009), verbs of position in Turkish are different from K-states in terms of their behavior in manner modification and "a little bit" modification. However, regardless of the animacy property of the subject NP, they are stative based on their behavior with the verb *happen*. All these observations illustrate that verbs of position behave as D-states do. In other words, verbs of position are the only stative verb sub-class which corresponds to D-states in Turkish. In this way, the conclusion to be drawn here is that Turkish exhibits the division as K-states and D-states, as argued in Maienborn (2005, 2007).

Thirdly, there are two stative verb sub-classes; i.e. instrumental alternation vebrs and perception verbs, which show context dependency. That is, instrumental alternation verbs can co-occur with manner adverbials with the appropriate choice of adverbial, and depending on the additional contextual information, "a little bit" may get the time-span reading when used with this sub-class. Similarly, perception verbs may be compatible with manner adverbials depending on the context, and when modified by "a little bit", this adverbial may get the time-span reading depending on the additional contextual information which follows the verb. In addition, as pointed out above, both sub-classes may get the eventive interpretation when modified by a momentary adverbial even when they have the imperfective marker. Furthermore, these sub-classes are not eventive since they cannot be followed by the verb *happen* and consequently, they cannot be labeled as D-events. Yet, it seems that they cannot be labeled as K-states or D-states, either. This suggests that these two sub-classes may form another type of states other than K-states and D-states, but this requires further support for such an argumentation.

Another controversial sub-class is verbs of emission, which are argued to be D-events in Rothmayr (2009), but D-states in Maienborn (2005, 2007). It has been observed that verbs of emission can be followed by *happen* in Turkish. In addition, they are compatible with manner adverbials and the temporal reading of "a little bit" is available in this sub-class. Therefore, verbs of emission are labeled as eventive, similar to what is argued in Rothmayr (2009).

Taking all these into consideration, the conclusion to be drawn is that stative verbs are a heterogeneous class in themselves. In addition, Turkish seems to have a a third type of statives in addition to the bipartite division proposed by Maienborn (2005, 2007), which needs to be supported further.

3.4 Conclusion

With the aim of revealing whether stative verbs in Turkish form a heterogeneous class, the main objectives in this chapter were to form a stative verb classification and contrast the applications of two different approaches analyzed in Chapter 2 to stative verbs in Turkish.

The major findings of this chapter are as follows:

- A stative verb classification for Turkish has been proposed, where stative verbs are divided into two as ambiguous and non-ambiguous group. The sub-classes under the ambiguous group are interpreted as eventive with an animate subject NP, but stative with an inanimate subject NP, whereas the sub-classes under the non-ambiguous group are always interpreted as stative regardless of the (in)animacy of the subject NP. An additional stative verb sub-class, not present n Rothmayr (2009), is included in the non-ambiguous group, which is referred as

capacity verbs. Although this classification is based on Rothmayr (2009), it tries to go beyond it by being more systematic in the application of the diagnostic tools.

- The factors which affect the stative interpretation of a sentence contain the properties of the subject NP, the viewpoint markers and the adverbials. That the viewpoint markers and adverbials affect or change the overall aspectual interpretation has already been pointed out regarding lexical aspectual classes. Yet, the semantic properties of a subject NP in the sentence have not aroused a lot of interest with respect to statives. Following Rothmayr (2009), this study has demonstrated that the animacy property and plurality of the subject NP are essential in determining the stative vs. eventive interpretation.
- As a result of applying the diagnostic tools in the Davidsonian and the anti-Davidsonian approaches to Turkish data, it has been observed that all the diagnostics do not work as they do in German data, namely compatibility as infinitival complements of a perception verb and locative modification, due to the different realization of the structure or different variables at play in Turkish respectively. Nevertheless, the working diagnostics have revealed that there exist K-states as argued both in Maienborn (2005, 2007) and Rothmayr (2009).
- Considering the behavior of verbs such as *gleam* on the one hand and *sit* with an animate subject NP on the other hand, Turkish has illustrated that verbs of emission are eventive as claimed in Rothmayr (2009). However, verbs of position have been detected to behave similarly regardless of the animacy property of the subject NP, which supports Maienborn's argument and they correspond to D-states. As a result, it has been concluded that the distinction

drawn by Maienborn (2005, 2007) between K-states/ D-states manifests itself in Turkish. This observation contradicts with the argumentation in Rothmayr (2009) that all statives are K-states.

- More importantly, Turkish puts forward a seemingly further type of statives, which includes instrumental alternation and perception verbs. These sub-classes can be compatible with manner adverbials depending on either the context or the manner adverbial, and the time-span reading of "a little bit" can be obtained depending on the additional context. Both sub-classes can get the eventive interpretation in the presence of a momentary adverbial even when the verb has the imperfetive marker –Iyor. Therefore, unlike Rothmayr (2009), it would be too strong to claim that they behave as K-states do. These observations suggest that these sub-classes behave more flexibly than both K-states and D-states and form a new type of statives in Turkish. To propose a further type, however, further investigation is required, which will be provided in Chapter 4, but still the variety observed in the behavior of stative verbs in Turkish demonstrates that statives form a heterogeneous class in themselves.

CHAPTER 4

HOW TURKISH REFLECTS THE TAXONOMY OF STATIVE VERBS INTO SYNTAX AND SEMANTICS

This chapter aims to investigate possible semantic and/or syntactic reflexes of the stative verb classification offered in Chapter 3. To this end, it concentrates on the (in)compatibility of stative verbs with two post-verb constructions formed by the post verbs *-(y)Adur* and *-(y)Iver* and two different adverbial clauses formed with the converbial suffixes *-(y)A….-(y)A*, and *-(A/I)r….-mAz*. These constructions have specifically been opted since they convey certain aspectual information such that *-(y)Adur* and *-(y)A….-(y)A* express durativity/continuity, whereas *-(y)Iver* and *-(A/I)r….-mAz* express change of state, implying telicity. Data were collected through an experiment designed specifically to test native speakers' judgments on the use of stative verbs with these four different constructions. Based upon how stative verbs in Turkish behave in these different constructions, it will be proposed that Turkish maintains the division of K-state vs. D-state. Evidence for this proposal comes from the fact that all sub-classes labeled as K-states in Chapter 3 are incompatible with *-(y)Adur* and *-(y)A….-(y)A* whereas the ones labeled as D-states in Chapter 3 are compatible with these constructions. Furthermore, *-(y)Iver* and *-(A/I)r….-mAz* are noted to be incompatible with a stative interpretation. In addition, it will be shown that *-(y)Iver* has an additional non-aspectual use, which is why its distribution differs from the distribution of *-(A/I)r….-mAz* in certain cases. Furthermore, the existence of a further type of statives will be supported via the experiment.

The organization of this chapter is as follows: 4.1 and 4.2 provide a brief introduction to the post-verb constructions and the adverbial clauses respectively. In 4.3, the aspectual meanings denoted by the morphological units are validated by observing their distribution in aspectual classes offered in Smith (1997), except for stative verbs. Section 4.4 provides the details of the experimental study. 4.5 presents the results of the experiment. In 4.6, the results are discussed and interpreted. Section 4.7 highlights the findings of the experiment in brief.

4.1 Post-verb constructions in Turkish

In Turkish, "post-verb constructions"[79] are made up of a lexical verb and a post-verb which follows the lexical verb (Banguoğlu, 2007; Gabain, 1953; Korkmaz, 2009). In these constructions, a post-verb, which is in fact a lexical verb on its own, goes beyond the sense of its literal meaning and functions as an auxiliary verb. As a result, the post-verb incorporates a variety of new meanings into the meaning of the lexical verb[80]. For instance, the verb *ver-* "give" loses its meaning in *-(y)Iver* construction and expresses the suddenness, quickness or easiness of the action denoted by the lexical verb. Among the post-verbs, the most commonly used ones are as follows: *-(y)Iver, -(y)Adur, -(y)Abil, -(y)Agel, -(y)Akoy, -(y)Adur, -(y)Ayaz, -(y)Akal*[81].

[79] There does not seem to be an agreement on how to name these constructions and therefore, one encounters terms such as *tasviri fiil* "descriptive verb", *kurallı birleşik fiil* "regular compound verb", *ekleşik fiil* "adjoint verb", *art-fiil* "post-verb" in the literature (Aslan Demir, 2013, p. 68) both in Turkish and English. Throughout the study, I will stick to the term "post-verb" and "post-verb construction".
[80] These verbs have also been called "descriptive verbs" since they describe the manner of the event denoted by the lexical verb after compounding (Korkmaz, 2009, p. 811).
[81] To see all the descriptive verbs in Turkish, the reader is referred to Gedizli (2013, p. 904-6).

In this study, I specifically concentrate on two post-verbs, namely *-(y)Adur* and *-(y)Iver*[82] since they convey certain aspectual information with which stative verbs may interact. Accordingly, descriptive studies (Göksel and Kerslake, 2005; Korkmaz, 2009) have noted that *-(y)Adur* denotes continuity/durativity whereas *-(y)Iver* denotes quickness, suddenness or easiness. In other words, *-(y)Adur* expresses that the event denoted by the lexical verb keeps doing what it does. On the other hand, *-(y)Iver* expresses that the event denoted by the lexical verb occurs suddenly or swiftly. See the examples below:

(1) Sen bank-ta *otur-a-dur*, ben gid-ip bir şişe su
You bench-LOC sit-CVB-PV.IMP.2SG I go-CVB a bottle water

al-acağ-ım.
buy-FUT.1SG

'(You) Keep sitting on the bench and I will go and buy a bottle of water.'

(2) Bardağ-ı tezgah-a *koy-u-ver-di-m.*
Glass-ACC counter-DAT put-CVB-PV-PFV.1SG
'I put the glass on the kitchen counter quickly.'

The durativity/continuity meaning of *-(y)Adur* can be supported by paraphrasing the sentence with the verb *devam et-* "go on", as given in (3):

(3) Sen bank-ta *otur-ma-ya* *devam et*, ben gid-ip bir şişe
You bench-LOC sit-GER-DAT go on-IMP.2SG I go-CVB a bottle

su al-acağ-ım.
water buy-FUT.1SG

'(You) Keep sitting on the bench and I will go and buy a bottle of water.'

On the other hand, *-(y)Iver* denotes suddenness/quickness and the sentence which hosts this post-verb can be used with manner adverbials such as *aniden* "suddenly" or

[82] Among the most commonly used post-verbs, *-(y)Abil* is excluded since it expresses modal, and not aspectual information. In addition, *-(y)Agel, -(y)Ayaz* and *-(y)Akal* are highly restrictive in selecting for the verbs which they are attached to and therefore, have been excluded.

hızlı hızlı "quickly" felicitously as in (4) and not with manner adverbials such as *yavaş yavaş* "slowly" as in (5):

(4) Anahtar-lar aniden *düş-ü-ver-di.*
Key-PL suddenly drop-CVB-PV-PFV.3SG
'The keys suddenly dropped.'

(5) *Anahtar-lar yavaş yavaş düş-ü-ver-di.
Key-PL slow slow drop-CVB-PV-PFV.3SG
'*The keys slowly dropped.'

Note that attaching-*(y)Iver* to the verb implies a change-of-state meaning. In (4), for instance, there is a change from not falling to falling.

Lastly, with respect to -*(y)Adur* and its inflectional properties, a crucial point is that the most natural and frequent use of -*(y)Adur* is in imperative or optative form, as noted in Korkmaz (2009). Therefore, in the rest of the chapter, all the examples with -*(y)Adur* will be provided in the imperative form. As for -*(y)Iver* and its inflectional properties, there are no such restrictions. Therefore, in the experiment the sentence having -*(y)Iver* construction will be provided both in imperative form and with perfective and imperfective markers.

4.2 The converbial suffixes -*(y)A*….-*(y)A* and -*(A/I)r*….-*mAz*

The other two constructions chosen are the adverbial clauses formed by the converbial suffixes -*(y)A*….-*(y)A* and -*(A/I)r*….-*mAz.* Both constructions are non-finite adverbial clauses formed by a reduplication process in Turkish. The difference between the two structures in terms of their formation is that the former structure can be attached to the same, similar or antonymous verbs that immediately follow one another, as exemplified in (6), (7) and (8) respectively:

(6) Genç kadın *ağla-ya* *ağla-ya* hikaye-si-ni anlat-tı.
Young woman cry-CVB cry-CVB story-3SG.POSS-ACC tell-PFV.3SG
'The young woman told her story by weeping continually.'
(Göksel and Kerslake, 2005, p. 411)

(7) Herkes birer birer *bağır-a* *çağır-a* ev-ler-i-ne
Everyone one by one shout-CVB call-CVB house-PLU-3PL.POSS-DAT

gid-er. (O. Akbal, GS, 9)
go-AOR.3SG

'At the top of their voice, everyone goes to their houses one after another.'
(Korkmaz, 2009, p. 986)

(8) *Düş-e* *kalk-a* Hacı Hüseyin-in ev-i-ne
fall-CVB stand up-CVB Hacı Hüseyin-GEN house-3SG.POSS-DAT

gel-di-ler.
come-PFV.3PL

'They arrived at Hacı Hüseyin's house in fits and starts.'
(lit. Falling and standing up, they arrived at Hacı Hüseyin's house.)
(Korkmaz, 2009, p. 987)

The latter structure, on the other hand, is made up of two identical verbs following one another, the former verb inflected with the aorist and the latter verb inflected with the negative form of the aorist without any person markers (Göksel and Kerslake, 2005). See the example below:

(9) Su kayna-r kayna-ma-z alt-ı-nı kıs.
Water boil-AOR boil-NEG.AOR bottom-CM-ACC turn down-IMP.2SG
'As soon as the water boils, turn down the heat.'
(Göksel and Kerslake, 2005, p. 416)

Regarding their function and meaning, *-(y)A….-(y)A* and *-(A/I)r….-mAz* convey similar aspectual information as *-(y)Adur* and *-(y)Iver* do respectively. *-(y)A….-(y)A*[83] expressed that the event denoted by the verb in the adverbial clause happens

[83] Note that there are several lexicalized adverbs formed by *–(y)A…-(y)A* such as *bile bile* "on purpose", *göz göre göre* "with your eyes open", *seve seve* "with pleasure", *bata çıka* "with difficulty" which are not included in this analysis.

continuously as in (10) or repeatedly as in (11)[84]. The latter meaning; i.e. the one in (11), is not available for *-(y)Adur*:

(10) Berk *konuş-ma-ya* *konuş-ma-ya* İngilizce-yi unut-tu.
Berk speak-NEG-CVB speak-NEG-CVB English-ACC forget-PFV.3SG
'By not speaking continually, Berk forgot English.'
(Lit. Not practicing for a long time, Berk forgot how to speak English.)

(11) Tahta-ya *vur-a* *vur-a* öğrenci-ler-in
Board-DAT tap-CVB tap-CVB student-PL-GEN

ilgi-si-ni çek-ti-m.
attention-3SG.POSS-ACC get-PFV.1SG

'Tapping on the board repeatedly, I got the students' attention.'

Note that with respect to the verb in the main clause, *-(y)A…-(y)A* adverbial clause functions as a manner adverbial (Göksel and Kerslake, 2005; Korkmaz, 2009). It expresses how the event denoted by the verb in the main clause is carried out.

The *-(A/I)r….-mAz* construction, on the other hand, denotes that the semantic relation between the main clause and adverbial clause is one of sequentiality and immediacy:

(12) Alarm *çal-ar* *çal-ma-z* uyan-dı-m.
Alarm go off-AOR go off-NEG.AOR wake up-PFV.1SG
'The moment the alarm went off, I woke up.'

As seen in (12), the alarm's going off and my waking up took place one after another immediately. Furthermore, *-(A/I)r….-mAz* adds an end point reading in the event of the adverbial clause, such that the event in the main clause immediately follows the realization of this end point. Therefore, a change-of-state meaning arises when *-(A/I)r….-mAz* is used, which is similar to the case in *–(y)Iver*.

[84] This continuity or repetition meaning depends on whether the verb to which *–(y)A…-(y)A* is attached can be used iteratively or not.

Note that continuity or repetition meaning of *-(y)A…-(y)A* is supported by the compatibility of this structure with durative adverbials such as *yıllardır* '"for years" and adverbials that convey repetition such as *art arda* "again and again" or *tekrar tekrar* "repeatedly", as illustrated in (13) and (14). In contrast, momentary adverbials such as *aniden* "suddenly" are infelicitous when used with *–(y)A…-(y)A*, as illustrated in (15):

(13) Berk yıl-lar-dır *konuş-ma-ya* *konuş-ma-ya* İngilizce-yi
Berk year-PL-FOR speak-NEG-CVB speak-NEG-CVB English-ACC

unut-tu.
forget-PFV.3SG

'By not speaking continually for years, Berk forgot English.'

(14) Tahta-ya art arda *vur-a* *vur-a* öğrenci-ler-in
Board-DAT repeatedly tap-CVB tap-CVB student-PL-GEN

ilgi-si-ni çek-ti-m.
attention-3SG.POSS-ACC get-PFV.1SG

'Tapping on the board repeatedly, I got the student's attention.'

(15) *Berk aniden *konuş-ma-ya* *konuş-ma-ya* İngilizce'yi
Berk suddenly speak-NEG-CVB speak-NEG-CVB English-ACC

unuttu.
forget-PFV.3SG

'*By not speaking continually suddenly, Berk forgot English.'

On the other hand, since *-(A/I)r….-mAz* denotes immediacy and/or suddenness, it cannot be used with durative adverbials like *bir haftadır* "for a week", *aylardır* "for months", *iki gün boyunca* "during/for two days", but prefer completive adverbials such as *iki gün içinde* "in two days", *bir yılda* "in a year" as seen in the example (16) below:

(16) Müteahhit iki ay iç-i-nde / *iki ay boyunca ev-i
Builder two month in-CM-LOC/ two month during house-ACC

inşa ed-er et-mez satış-lar-a başla-dı.
build AUX-AOR AUX-NEG.AOR selling-PL-DAT start-PFV.3SG

'As soon as the builder built the house in two months/*for two months, he started selling.'

4.3 The interaction between the constructions and aspectual classes

To validate that these selected morphological units convey the aspectual information attributed to them so far, all aspectual classes offered in Smith (1997), except for statives, need to be checked with these four morphological units.

I start with *-(y)Adur*. Since structures formed with this post-verb express durativity/ continuity, I would expect activities and accomplishments to be compatible with it. This is supported by the following examples:

(17) Sen çocuk-la oyna-ya-dur, ben de (activity)
You kid-WITH play-CVB-PV-IMP.2SG I too

bulaşık-lar-ı yıka-ya-yım.

dish-PL-ACC wash-OPT.1SG
'Keep playing with the kid, and I wash the dishes at the same time.'

(18) Sen kitab-ı oku-ya-dur, ben de (accomplishment)
You book-ACC read-CVB-PV-IMP.2SG I too

sen-i dinle-ye-yim.
you-ACC listen-OPT.1SG

'Keep reading the book and I listen to you at the same time.'

However, achievements are observed to be incompatible with *-(y)Adur* since they are not durative, but punctual:

(19) *Çocuğ-un el-i-nde-ki balon (achievement)
Child-GEN hand-3SG.POSS-LOC-ADJ balloon

patla-ya-dur-sun, çocuk arkadaş-lar-ı-yla oyna-ma-ya
burst-CVB-PV-IMP.3SG kid friend-PL-3SG.POSS-WITH play-GER-DAT

devam ed-iyor.
go on-IPFV.3SG

'*Let the balloon in the child's hand keep bursting and the child is going on playing with his friends at the same time.'

Interestingly, semelfactives are observed to be compatible with *-(y)Adur* as well, as given in (20):

(20) Bebek anne-si-ne göz kırp-a-dur-sun, (semelfactive)
Baby mother-3SG.POSS-DAT wink-CVB-PV-IMP.3SG

anne-si de o-na gülümsü-yor.
mother-3SG.POSS too he-DAT smile-IPFV.3SG

'Let the baby keep winking at his mother and his mother is smiling at him at the same time.'

Based on the observations above, the hypothesis is that *-(y)Adur* requires durative and/or atelic situations to be felicitously used. This is substantiated by its compatibility with activities, accomplishments and semelfactives, and incompatibility with achievements.

Likewise,*-(y)A…-(y)A* has been noted to denote durativity/ continuity as well as repetition. Following from this, activities, accomplishments and semelfactives are expected to be compatible with *-(y)A…-(y)A* whereas achievements are not. This is supported by the following examples:

(21) Anne-m-le konuş-a konuş-a o-nu (activity)
Mother-1SG.POSS-WITH speak-CVB speak-CVB she-ACC

İstanbul-a gel-me-ye ikna et-ti-m.
İstanbul-DAT come-GER-DAT persuade-PFV.1SG

'Speaking with my mother continually, I persuaded her to come to İstanbul.'

(22) Şiir-i oku-ya oku-ya ezberle-di-m. (accomplishment)
Poem-ACC read-CVB read-CVB memorize-PFV.1SG
'Reading the poem repeatedly, I memorized it.'

(23) Tahta-ya vur-a vur-a öğrenci-ler-in (semelfactive)
Board-DAT tap-CVB tap-CVB student-PL-GEN

ilgi-si-ni çek-ti-m.
attention-3SG.POSS-ACC get-PFV.1SG

'Tapping on the board (repeatedly), I got the student's attention.'

(24) *Ünlü aktor öl-e öl-e herkes-i (achievement)
Famous actor die-CVB die-CVB everybody-ACC

üz-dü.
sadden-PFV.3SG

'*Dying continually/repeatedly, the famous actor saddened everybody.'

Consequently, the hypothesis that *-(y)A…-(y)A* requires durative and/ or atelic situations has been substantiated by the examples above.

On the other hand, *-(y)Iver* has been noted to require telicity and thus accomplishments and achievements would be expected to be compatible with it whereas activities and semelfactives would not. However, semelfactives are observed to be compatible with *-(y)Iver* as well:

(25) *Profesyonel yüzücü-ler yüz-ü-ver-di. (activity)
Professional swimmer-PL swim-CVB-PV-PFV.3SG
'Professional swimmers quickly swam.'

(26) Profesyonel yüzücü-ler Avrupa yaka-sı-ndan (accomplishment)
Professional swimmer-PL European side-CM-ABL

Asya-ya sadece onbeş dakika-da yüz-ü-ver-di.
Asian-DAT only fifteen minute-LOC swim-CVB-PV-PFV.3SG

'Professional swimmers swam from Europe side to Anatolian side just in fifteen minutes.'

(27) Öğle-den sonra anahtar-lar-ı bul-u-ver-di-m. (achievement)
Noon-ABL after key-PL-ACC find-CVB-PV-PFV.1SG
'I just found the keys in the afternoon.'

(28) Ali göz-ü-nü kırp-ı-ver-di. (semelfactive)
Ali eye-3SG.POSS wink-CVB-PV-PFV.3SG
'Ali quickly winked.'

What the compatible situations have in common is that accomplishments and achievements are telic whereas both semelfactives and achievements are punctual. Based on this fact, the hypothesis is that *-(y)Iver* requires either telic and/or punctual situations.

Lastly, as stated above, *-(A/I)r….-mAz* denotes immediacy and/or suddenness of the event expressed in the adverbial clause. This morphological unit also implies that the end point of the event is reached. Thus, *-(A/I)r….-mAz* is expected to be compatible with telic and/or punctual situations, similar to *-(y)Iver*. This expectation is substantiated by the following examples (29), (30) and (31):

(29) Atlet üç kilometre koş-ar koş-maz (accomplishment)
Athlete three kilometers run-AOR run-NEG.AOR

beş dakika-lığına ara ver-di.
five minute-FOR break give-PFV.3SG

'As soon as the athlete ran three kilometers, he took a break for five minutes.'

(30) Ayla ev-e var-ır var-maz (achievement)
Ayla house-DAT arrive-AOR arrive-NEG.AOR

anne-si-ni ara-dı.
mother-3SG.POSS-ACC call-PFV.3SG

'As soon as Ayla arrived home, she called her mother.'

(31) Ben kapı-yı çal-ar çal-maz Esin (semelfactive)
I door-ACC knock-AOR knock-NEG.AOR Esin

kapı-yı aç-tı.
door-ACC open-PFV.3SG

'As soon as I knocked at the door, Esin opened it.'

On the other hand, since activities are durative and atelic, *-(A/I)r….-mAz* is not compatible with them, as seen in (32):

(32) *Zeynep koş-ar koş-maz vücud-u sıkılaş-tı. (activity)
Zeynep run-AOR run-NEG.AOR body-ACC tighten-PFV.3SG
'*As soon as Zeynep ran, her body tightened.'

Thus far, it has been shown that *-(y)Adur* and *-(y)A…-(y)A* are compatible with durative and/or atelic situations; i.e. activities, semelfactives and accomplishments, due to their durative and/or atelic nature. On the other hand, *-(y)Iver* and *-(A/I)r….-mAz* are compatible with telic and/or punctual situations; i.e. accomplishments, achievements and semelfactives due to their telic and/ or sudden nature.

4.4 The experimental study

I designed an experiment in order to investigate whether stative verbs are compatible with these particular constructions. In addition, I wanted to see whether the division which seemed to appear in Chapter 3 would further be supported by the experimental data.

For this experiment, 30 native speakers of Turkish, all from similar educational but diverse regional backgrounds were chosen. The participants were all prep class students, aged between 17 to 22, who were going to study Business Administration at Istanbul University. They were chosen randomly and they had no background in linguistics. They were presented with the tasks in a classroom environment.

The experiment was designed in the form of four grammaticality judgment tasks. In the experiment, participants were asked to state their judgments on short dialogues which employed a stative verb and one of the four constructions. Each morphological unit constituted one of the tasks and participants were presented with 24 short dialogues in each task, half of which were fillers. In total, there were 48 dialogues employing stative verbs in the constructions and 48 dialogues provided as fillers. The details regarding the tasks are provided in Table 8 below:

Table 8. The Overall Data of the Experiment

	Total # of Test Items			# of Participants	
	Stative Verbs	Fillers		Female	Male
		Grammatical	Ungrammatical		
TASK 1 *-(y)Adur*	12	6	6	15	15
TASK 2 *-(A/I)r….-mAz*	12	6	6	17	13
TASK 3 *–(y)Iver*	12	6	6	18	12
TASK 4 *–(y)A…-(y)A*	12	6	6	18	12
TOTAL #	48	24	24		
		48			

For each dialogue, participants were asked to decide whether they thought there was a grammatical and/or semantic error in the dialogue. An example is provided from Task 1 below (for all the tasks, see the Appendices):

(33) A: Çocuklar nerede?
B: Onları filme soktuk. Film 2 saat süredursun, biz de gidip alacaklarımızı halledelim.

‘Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?’
a.Evet b. Emin değilim c. Hayır

‘A: Where are the kids?
B: We have left them in the cinema. Let the film keep lasting two hours and we will go and buy the things we need.

Is there any grammatical or semantic error in the dialogue above?
a.Yes b. I am not sure c. No'

Regarding the post-verb constructions, as stated above, the most frequent and natural use of the post-verb *-(y)Adur* is in the imperative form and consequently, all the test items which hosted *-(y)Adur* were used in the imperative form. On the other hand, as for *-(y)Iver* and its inflectional properties, since no such restriction exists, this post verb was used with both the perfective and the imperfective markers as well as in the imperative form in the experiment.

On the basis of the considerations above, the experiment was designed to test the following hypotheses:

Regarding *-(y)Adur* and *-(y)A…-(y)A*,

a. Stative verbs are expected to be compatible with both constructions since stative verbs are both atelic and durative.
b. However, whether these constructions are sensitive to the dynamicity feature or not has to be investigated. If they are sensitive to dynamicity and thus compatible with dynamic situations, then K-states and D-states are expected to behave differently such that the former would be incompatible and the latter would be compatible with these constructions.

Regarding *-(y)Iver* and *-(A/I)r...-mAz*,

a. Stative verbs are expected to be incompatible with both constructions since they are not telic.
b. These units might be compatible with instrumental alternation and perception verbs since these sub-classes were shown to get an achievement interpretation easily (see Chapter 3).

4.5 Results

Before presenting the results on the use of stative verbs with the selected constructions, I would like to touch upon certain essential points about the results from a broader perspective.

The first point is that both some test items including stative verbs and some fillers[85] obtained less clear and/or very close ratings in the experiment although most of the responses got absolute judgments. To exemplify, out of 48 test items testing stative verbs with the related units, the number of test items whose percentages are between 40% and 50% is only 7. From these 7 test items, in addition, only three of them obtained very close ratings in the experiment. In contrast, the number of test items which obtained absolute judgments; i.e. at least 70%, is 26 out of 48 test items. The rest of the test items, namely 15 test items including stative verbs, obtained judgments between 50% and 70%. The reason for close ratings in the judgments may be due to inattention, loss of concentration, dialectal differences or interpretive differences among participants as well as some other factors that I have not foreseen. Yet still, as can be understood from the information above, most responses give a clear preference.

Second, the experiment was based on three-scale grammaticality judgment task rather than a finer-detailed measuring instrument. Bearing all these in mind, it is not surprising not to obtain an absolute value in the judgments. Yet, the results still showed

[85] Even some of the fillers were observed to show unexpected results in the experiment due to misreading and lack of attention. There were four cases out of 48 fillers which obtained unexpected results. To exemplify, the following is an example of an ungrammatical filler, which was rated to be ungrammatical by 14 participants and grammatical by 12 participants:

i. A: Sen pek meyve sevmezdin.
B: Valla, spor yapmaya başlar başlamaz yemek yeme alışanlıklarım da değiştirmeye başladı.

'A: You did not use to like fruit.
B: Actually, as soon as I started exercising, my eating habits started being changed, too.'

In fact, only four fillers out of 48 seemed to be insignificant in that such a low rate could even be encountered only because of misreading.

certain strong patterns regarding the behavior of stative verbs in these constructions. Additionally, I am aware that the number of participants was low. Therefore, the results obtained should be taken as tendencies and not as strict rules. If more than 50% of the participants gave the same response, it will be taken as the preferred judgment.

4.5.1 *-(y)Adur* and *-(y)A…-(y)A*

In this section, the results regarding the units *-(y)Adur* and *-(y)A…-(y)A* will be presented together since both units provide similar aspectual information (for the tasks employing stative verbs and *-(y)Adur* and *-(y)A…-(y)A*, see Appendix A and Appendix B respectively).

4.5.1.1 "Putative" K-states with *-(y)Adur* and *-(y)A…-(y)A*

Figure 5 below shows the percentages of (un)grammaticality pattern obtained from the task in which *-(y)Adur* and "putative" K-states co-occurred. Accordingly, except for subject experiencer verbs, all the stative verbs under "putative" K-states obtained high percentages of ungrammaticality.

In addition, object experiencer verbs represent a borderline case in that the percentage of ungrammaticality of these verbs was 50%. For the sake of convenience, the possible reason for non-grammatical judgments will be presented in Section 4.6.3, but since the test item obtained at least 50% of ungrammaticality, it will be taken as ungrammatical.

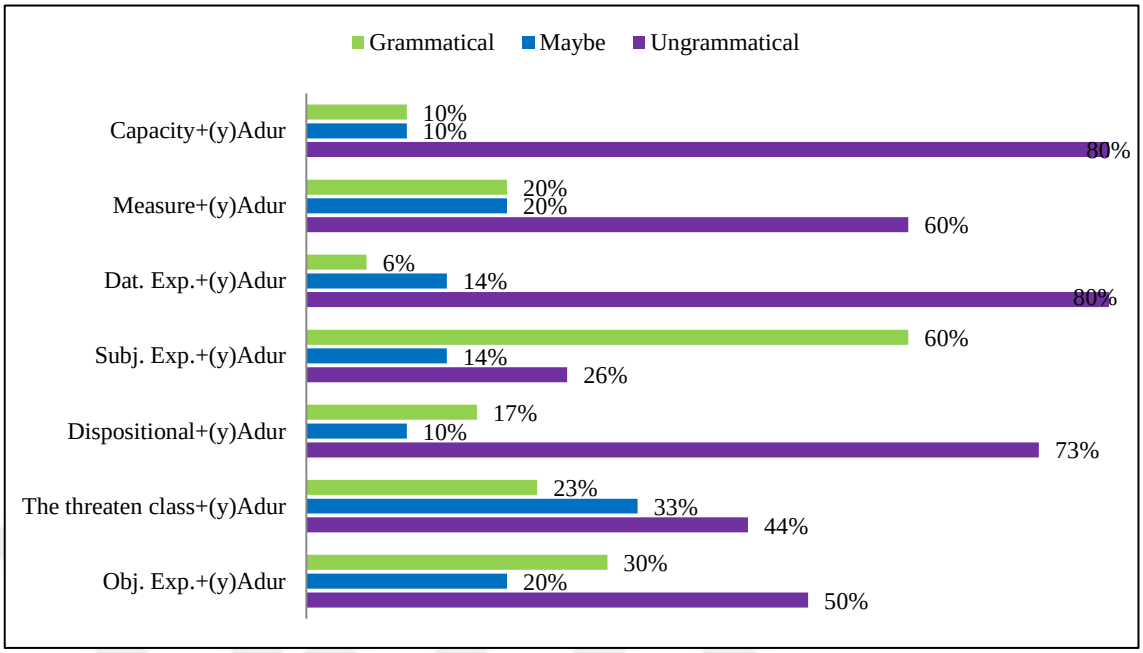

Fig. 5 The findings regarding the interaction between *-(y)Adur* and "putative" K-states

One point to note here is that the percentage of ungrammaticality of the *threaten* class when it co-occured with *-(y)Adur* was 44%, which is below 50%. In addition, the percentage of "Maybe"s may look high in the clause in which *-(y)Adur* and the *threaten* class co-occurred (33%). See the test item (34) below:

(34) *The* threaten *class*

(?)Salgın hastalık köy halk-ı-nı tehdit ed-e-dur-sun,
Epidemic disease village people-CM-ACC threat AUX-CVB-PV-IMP.3SG

çiftçi-ler bir de kuraklık-la mücadele et-ti-ler.
farmer-PL one more drought-WITH struggle AUX-PFV.3PL

'(?)Let the epidemic keep threatening the villagers and the farmers also struggled with the drought at the same time.'

The reason for the high percentage of the "Maybe"s could be due to the fact that a sentence which has the verb *tehdit et-* "threaten" with an inanimate subject NP, as in (34), is generally encountered in formal usages or literary texts such as news, researches or scientific reports. In contrast, post-verb constructions, including *-(y)Adur*, are dialectal forms and thus, they are generally encountered in daily speech and informal

usages (Gabain, 1953; Şahin, 2017; Yapıcı, 2013). This difference in their pragmatics might have led to a semantic clash and thus, the high rating of the "Maybe" answer[86].

Figure 6 presents the results of the cases in which *-(y)A…-(y)A* is attached to "putative" K-states. Accordingly, all the "putative" K-states obtained very high percentages of ungrammaticality when they occurred with *-(y)A…-(y)A.* However, the percentage of ungrammaticality obtained from object experiencer verbs with *-(y)A…-(y)A* was just below 50% and the percentage of grammaticality was rather high (33%). See the test item below:

(35) Object Experiencer Verb

(?)Dizi süre-ler-i-nin çok uzun ol-ma-sı
TV series duration-PL-CM-GEN very long be-GER-3SG.POSS

oyuncu-lar-ı sık-a sık-a sonunda isyan et-tir-di.
star-PL-ACC bore-CVB bore-CVB finally rebel AUX-CAUS-PFV.3SG

'(?)Boring the stars again and again, the TV series' lasting long caused them to rebel.'

The reason for the relatively high percentage of grammaticality could be the fact that *-(y)A…-(y)A* has also the iterative interpretation and the verb in the test item may have allowed for the iterative reading for these participants. Yet, this interpretation leads to a change-of-state meaning; i.e. an eventive reading. As a result, the stative interpretation cannot be preserved. However, since the percentage of the ungrammaticality is higher than the grammatical one, the test item will be taken to be closer to being ungrammatical.

[86] This is surely one possible explanation, yet there may be some other unexpected reasons at play, which need to be investigated thoroughly.

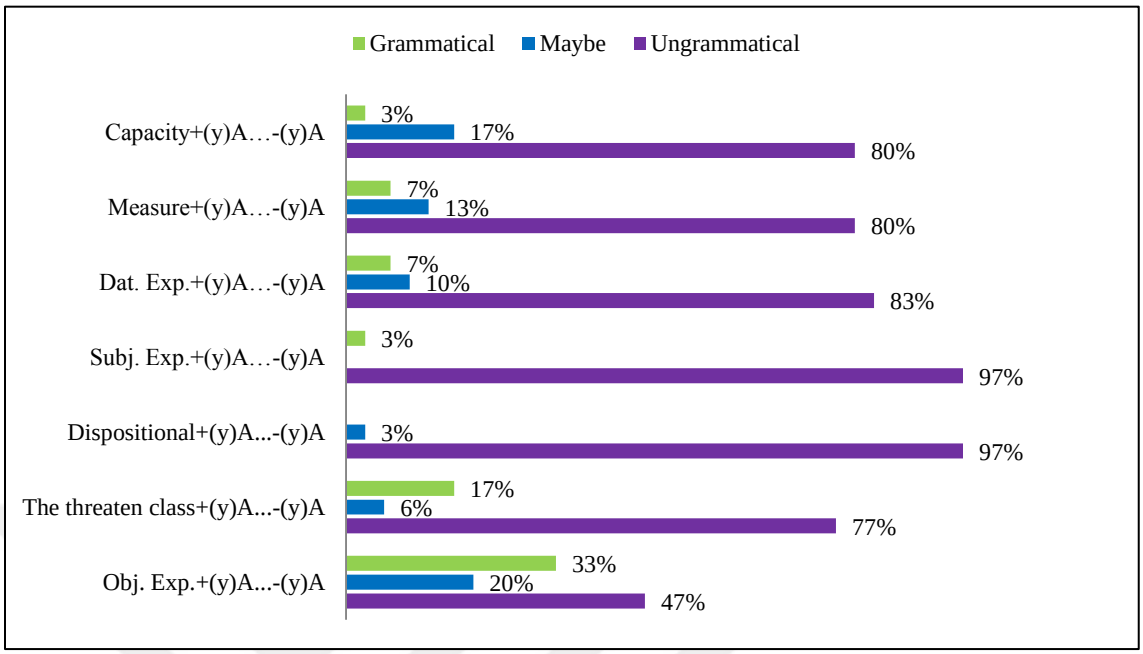

Fig. 6 The findings regarding the interaction between *-(y)A...-(y)A* and "putative" K-states

The overall (in)compatibility pattern for both morphological units with verbs in "putative" K-states is given in Table 9[87]. The pattern in Table 9 shows that "putative" K-states are incompatible with both *-(y)Adur* and *–(y)A…-(y)A.*

Table 9. The Overall (Un)Grammaticality Pattern Regarding "Putative"K-states and *-(y)Adur* and *–(y)A…-(y)A*

	-Adur	*–(y)A…-(y)A*
Capacity Vs	*	*
Measure Vs	*	*
Dative Experiencer Vs	*	*
Subject Experiencer Vs	√	*
Dispositional Vs	*	*
The *threaten* class	(?)*	*
Object Experiencer Vs	*	(?)*

[87] "*" means that the related sub-classes are totally ungrammatical with the constructions, while "(?)*" means that the percentage of ungrammaticality is not higher than 50%, but very close to it and it is much higher than the percentage of grammaticality. "?" means that the (un)grammaticality judgments are very close to each other and therefore the result is ambiguous.

4.5.1.2 "Putative" D-states with *-(y)Adur* and *-(y)A…-(y)A*

The cases where "putative" D-states and *-(y)Adur* co-occurred showed that "putative" D-states in Turkish are compatible with *-(y)Adur* regardless of the animacy property of the subject NP, as seen in Figure 7 below.

One point to note here is that the percentage of "Maybe"s is rather high in verbs of position with an inanimate subject NP and the percentage of ungrammaticality was just under 50%. The reason for this case could be the fact that both the lexical verb and the post-verb used in the task item were *dur-* "stop". See the task item below:

(36) Verbs of position- Inanimate Subject NP

Kitap-lar-ım	burada	iki	dakika	dur-a-dur-sun,	ben
book-PL-1SG.POSS	here	two	minute	stop-CVB-PV-IMP.3PL	I

lavabo-ya	gid-ip	gel-eceğ-im.
loo-DAT	go-CVB	come-FUT.1SG

'Let my book keep lying here and I will just go to the loo and come back.'

Attaching *-(y)Adur* to the lexical verb *dur-* "stop" may sound strange; therefore, 9 participants might have been unsure about (36).

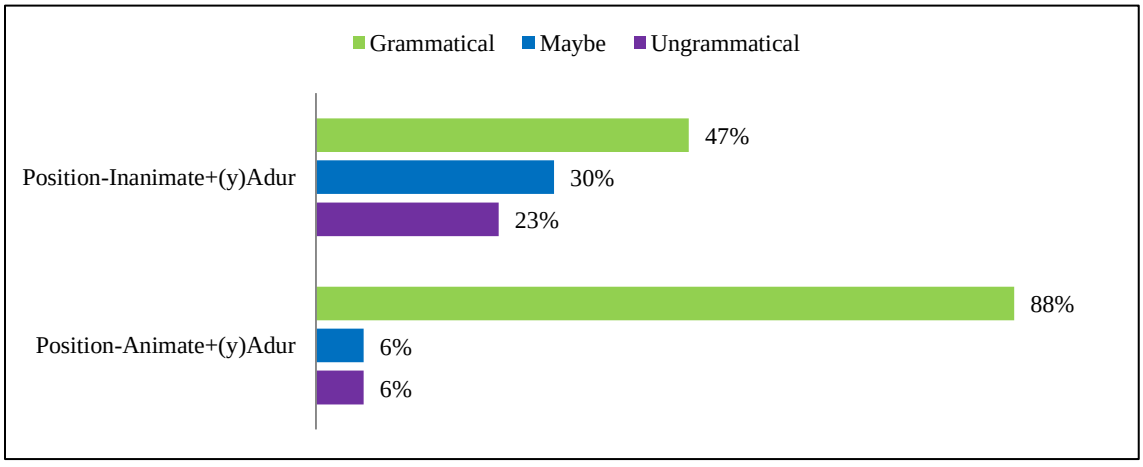

Fig. 7 The findings regarding the interaction between *-(y)Adur* and "putative" D-states

Figure 8 below presents the results of the cases in which *-(y)A…-(y)A* and "putative" D-states co-occur. Accordingly, "putative" D-states were found to be totally grammatical with *-(y)A…-(y)A.*

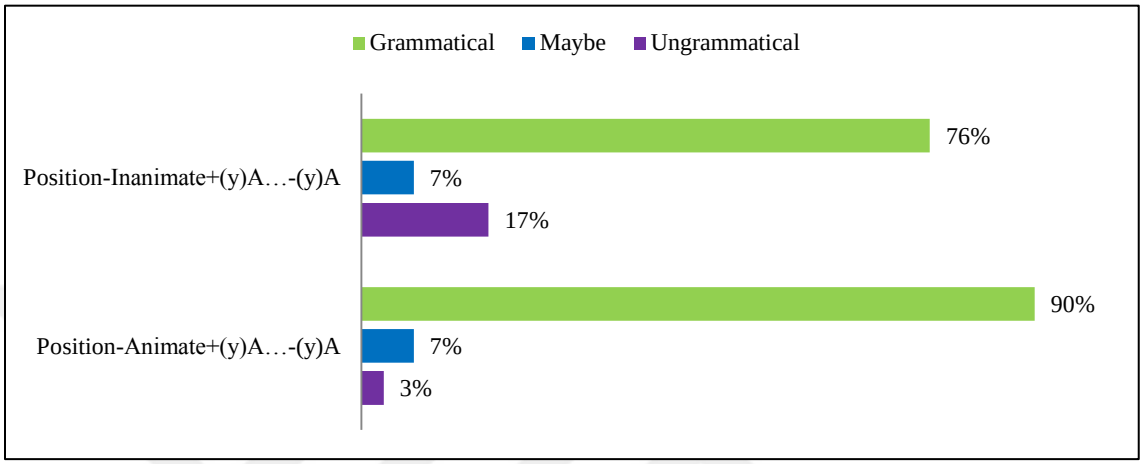

Fig. 8 The findings regarding the interaction between *-(y)A…-(y)A* and "putative" D-states

Table 10 shows the overall result of the (in)compatibility pattern for both *-(y)Adur* and *-(y)A…-(y)A* as for "putative" D-states in Turkish:

Table 10. The Overall (Un)Grammaticality Pattern Regarding "Putative" D-states and *-(y)Adur* and *–(y)A…-(y)A*

		-Adur	*–(y)A…-(y)A*
Vs of Position	Animate Subject NP	√	√
	Inanimate Subject NP	√	√

4.5.1.3 A "putative" third type with *-(y)Adur* and *-(y)A…-(y)A*

The cases where a possible third type of statives co-occur with *-(y)Adur* showed that both sub-classes are incompatible with this morphological unit, as in Figure 9. Interestingly, they behaved as "putative" K-states do.

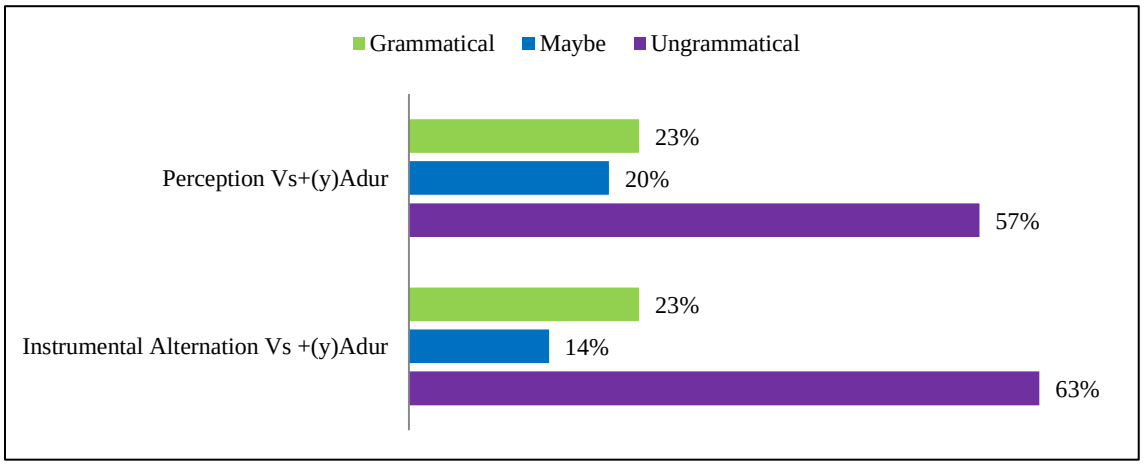

Fig. 9 The findings regarding the interaction between a "putative" third type and *-(y)Adur*

Figure 10 below illustrates the results of the interaction between a possible third type and *-(y)A…-(y)A.* Accordingly, instrumental alternation verbs were found to be totally incompatible with *-(y)A…-(y)A*, yet perception verbs obtained very close ratings of (un)grammaticality.

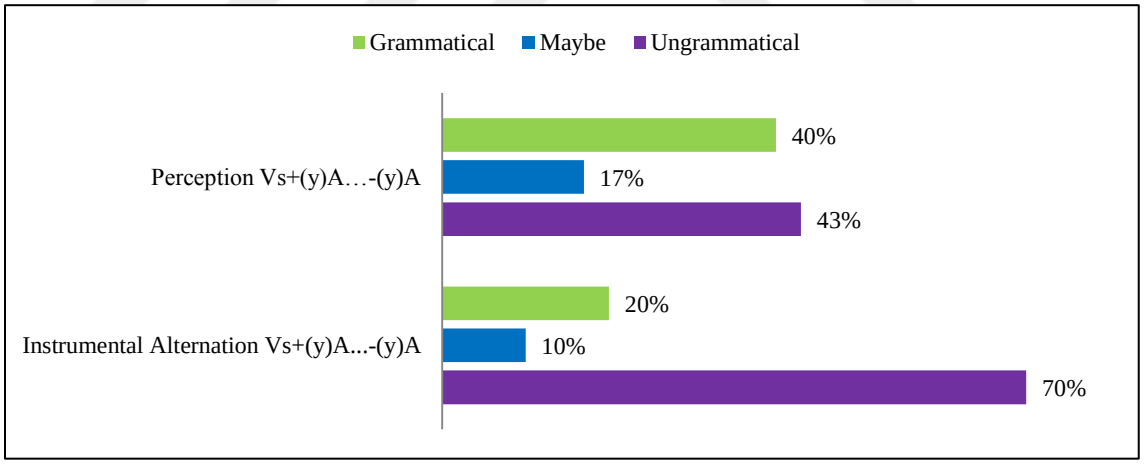

Fig. 10 The findings regarding the interaction between a "putative" third type and *-(y)A…-(y)A*

Table 11 shows the overall result of the (in)compatibility pattern for both morphological units as for a "putative" third type of statives.

Table 11. The Overall (Un)Grammaticality Pattern Regarding "Putative" Third Type and *-(y)Adur* and *–(y)A…-(y)A*

	-Adur	*–(y)A…-(y)A*
Perception Vs	*	?
Instrumnetal Alternation Vs	*	*

4.5.1.4 The behavior of *-(y)Adur* and *-(y)A…-(y)A* with verbs of emission

Verbs of emission were included in the experiment so as to see the difference between this eventive class and stative verbs more clearly. Figure 11 illustrates that verbs of emission were found to be grammatical with both *-(y)Adur* and *-(y)A…-(y)A*:

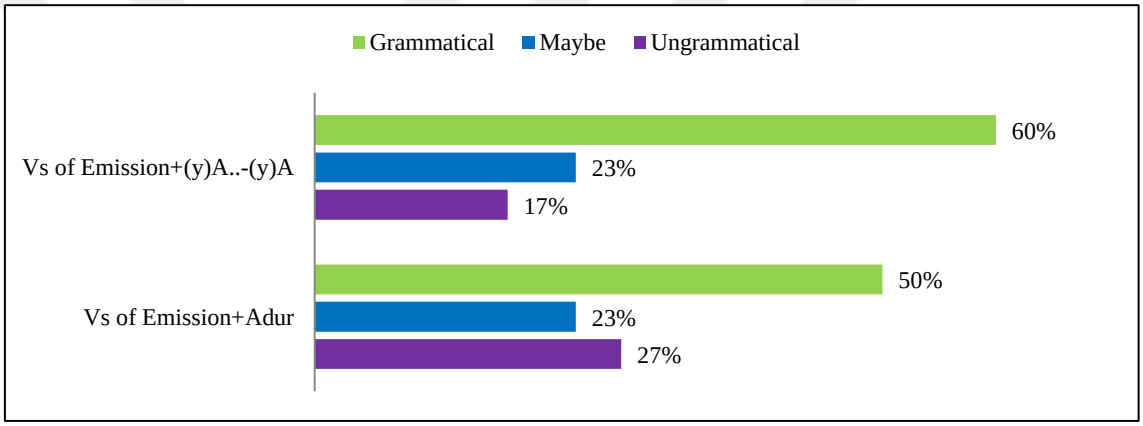

Fig. 11 The findings regarding the interaction of *-(y)Adur* and *-(y)A…-(y)A* with verbs of emission

The observation that verbs of emission are compatible with *-(y)Adur* and *-(y)A…-(y)A* substantiates that these morphological units entail dynamicity.

4.5.2 -(y)Iver and *-(A/I)r….-mAz*

In this sub-section, the interaction of *-(y)Iver* and *-(A/I)r….-mAz* with stative verbs in Turkish is presented. The results of these two morphological units are given together since both provide similar aspectual information (for the tasks employing stative verbs and *-(y)Iver* and *-(A/I)r….-mAz*, see Appendix C and Appendix D respectively.)

4.5.2.1 "Putative" K-states with *-(y)Iver* and *-(A/I)r….-mAz*

The distribution of *-(y)Iver* in "putative" K-states varies depending on the sub-class to which it was attached. Figure 12 illustrates the percentages of (un)grammaticality of cases in which "putative" K-states and *-(y)Iver* co-occurred. Accordingly, measure verbs, the *threaten* class and dispositional verbs had a very high percentage of ungrammaticality (67%, 70% and 63% respectively) when used with *–(y)Iver*, whereas capacity verbs, dative experiencer verbs and object experiencer verbs had a very high percentage of grammaticality (70%, 63% and 87% respectively) with this morphological unit. On the other hand, subject experiencer verbs obtained very close ratings of (un)grammaticality.

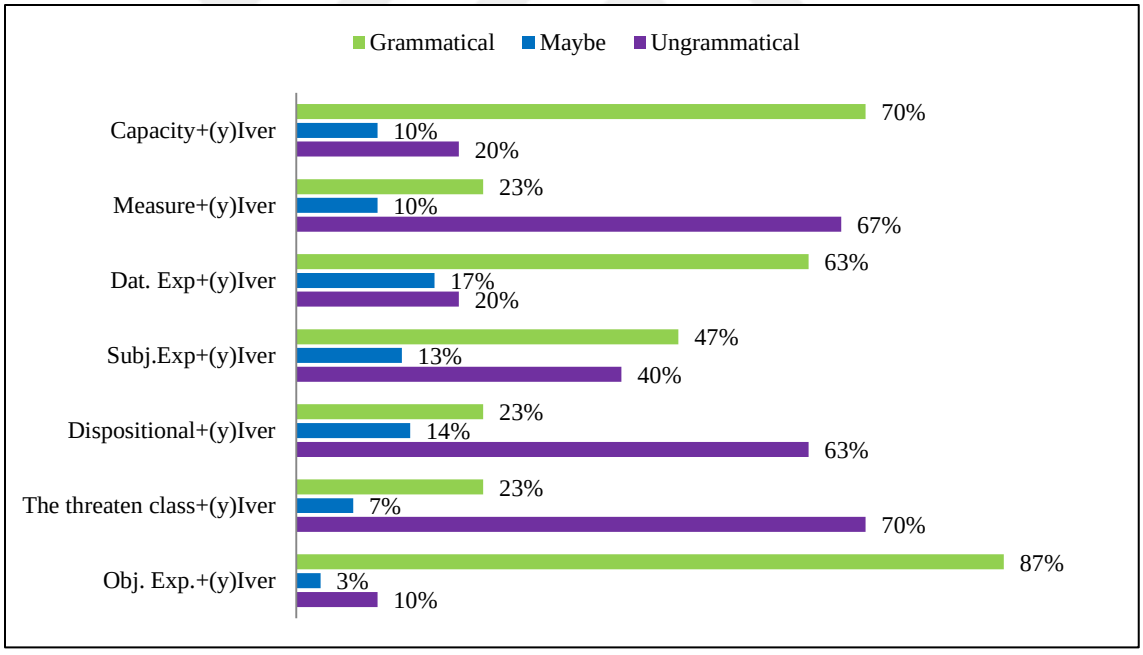

Fig. 12 The findings regarding the interaction between *-(y)Iver* and "putative" K-states

Contrary to what was observed in the ineraction with *-(y)Iver*, "putative" K-states were found to be totally incompatible with *-(A/I)r….-mAz* when they co-occur with each other, as seen in Figure 13 below. Most of the sub-classes obtained very high percentages of ungrammaticality when they are used with *-(A/I)r….-mAz.*

Moreover, note that the *threaten* class obtained nearly the same percentages of (un)grammaticality, 47% being ungrammaticality rating and 40% being grammaticality rating, contrary to my expectation. Therefore, I asked some participants about what triggered their choices in order to find out the reason for their grammaticality judgments:

(37) *The* threaten *class*

?*Bu salgın insan sağlığ-ı-nı *tehdit ed-er* *et-me-z*
This epidemic human health-CM-ACC threat AUX-AOR AUX- NEG-AOR

Dünya Sağlık Örgütü acil toplantı çağrı-sı yap-mış.
World Health Organization urgent meeting call-CM make-PRF.3SG

'?*As soon as this epidemic threatened human health, WHO apparently called a meeting on short notice.'

The participants who judged (37) grammatical put forward the following argumentation: what is meant by saying "Bu salgın insan sağlığını *tehdit eder etmez"* is "the moment people realized that this epidemic threatens human health". That is, the participants concentrated on the realization of moving into the state rather than the state itself. In such an interpretation, the compatibility of *-(A/I)r….-mAz* with the verb is plausible since the verb is "realize" underlyingly, which is an achievement[88],[89]:

[88] In my judgment, such an interpretation is not valid and the sentence in (38) is totally ungrammatical.
[89] Due to the closer ratings, the overall result for this sub-class is represented with a question mark (?) next to an asterisk (*), as will be seen in Table 12.

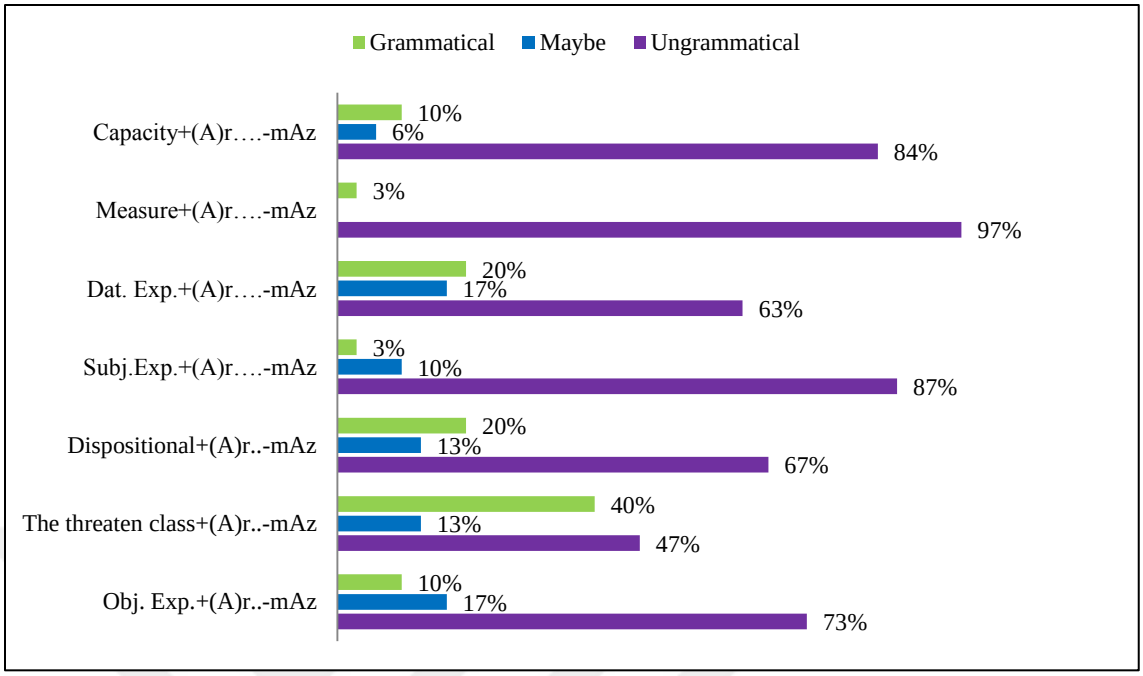

Fig. 13 The findings regarding the interaction between *-(A/I)r….-mAz* and "putative" K-states

The overall results of the (un)grammaticality pattern of both morphological units with "putative" K-states is provided in Table 12. All the sub-classes under "putative" K-states were ungrammatical with *-(A/I)r...-mAz*, whereas they behaved differently regarding *-(y)Iver*. That certain sub-classes; i.e. capacity verbs, dative experiencer verbs, subject experiencer verbs and object experiencer verbs, were compatible with *-(y)Iver* and incompatible with *-(A/I)r….-mAz* seems to imply that there is a difference in the semantics of *-(y)Iver* and *-(A/I)r….-mAz*:

Table 12. The Overall (Un)Grammaticality Pattern Regarding "Putative" K-states and *-(y)Iver* and *-(A/I)r….-mAz*

	-(y)Iver	*-(A/I)r….-mAz*
Capacity Vs	√	*
Measure Vs	*	*
Dative Experiencer Vs	√	*
Subject Experiencer Vs	(?)√	*
Dispositional Vs	*	*
The *threaten* class	*	(?)*
Object Experiencer Vs	√	*

4.5.2.2 "Putative" D-states with *-(y)Iver* and *-(A/I)r….-mAz*

"Putative" D-states in Turkish behaved differently in terms of their (un)grammaticality patterns with respect to *-(y)Iver* and *-(A/I)r….-mAz.* Accordingly, they were found to be grammatical when attached to *-(y)Iver* regardless of the animacy property of the subject NP in the sentence. Figure 14 below provides the results for each verb type:

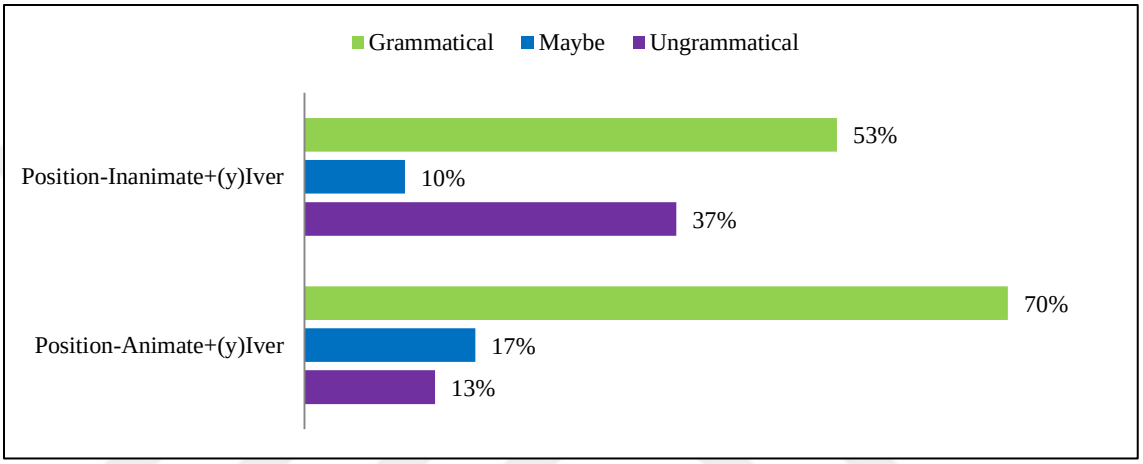

Fig. 14 The findings regarding the interaction between *-(y)Iver* and "putative" D-states

In contrast, "putative" D-states behaved differently when they were attached to *-(A/I)r….-mAz*, as observed in Figure 15. They were judged to be totally ungrammatical with *-(A/I)r….-mAz.*

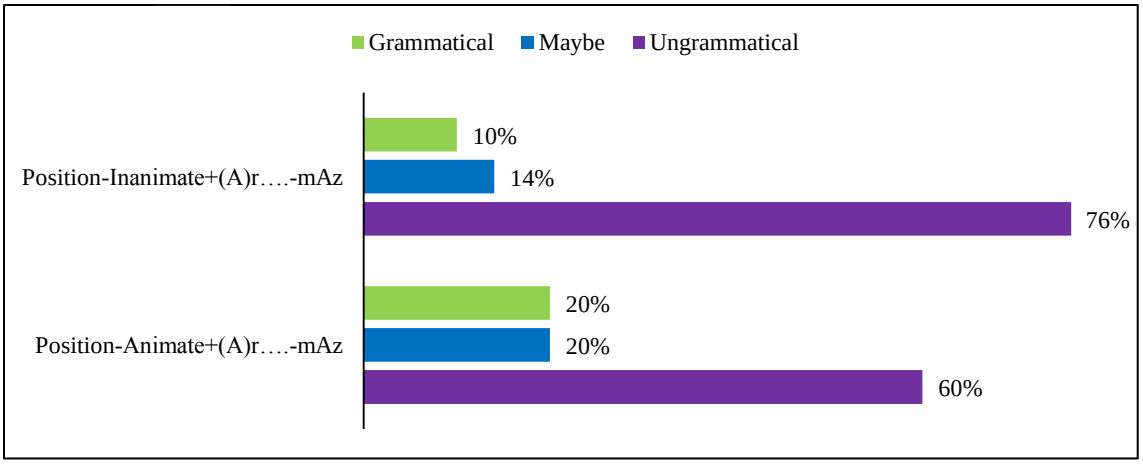

Fig. 15 The findings regarding the interaction between *-(A/I)r….-mAz* and "putative" D-states

Lastly, the overall results both for *-(y)Iver* and *-(A/I)r….-mAz* with respect to the "putative" D-states are presented in Table 13. Similar to some sub-classes of "putative" K-states, that "putative" D-states are compatible with *-(y)Iver* and incompatible with *-(A/I)r….-mAz* seems to imply that there is a difference in the semantics of *-(y)Iver* and *-(A/I)r….-mAz*:

Table 13. The Overall (Un)Grammaticality Pattern Regarding "Putative" D-states and *-(y)Iver* and *-(A/I)r….-mAz*

		-(y)Iver	*-(A/I)r….-mAz*
Vs of Position	Animate Subject NP	√	*
	Inanimate Subject NP	√	*

4.5.2.3 A "putative" third type with *-(y)Iver* and *-(A/I)r….-mAz*

The sub-classes under a "putative" third type behaved differently from both K-states and D-states in Turkish. That is, both perception and instrumental alternation verbs were found to be compatible with *-(y)Iver*, as seen in Figure 16. Note that instrumental alternation verbs obtained much higher grammaticality judgments though the percentage of the grammaticality is just below 50%:

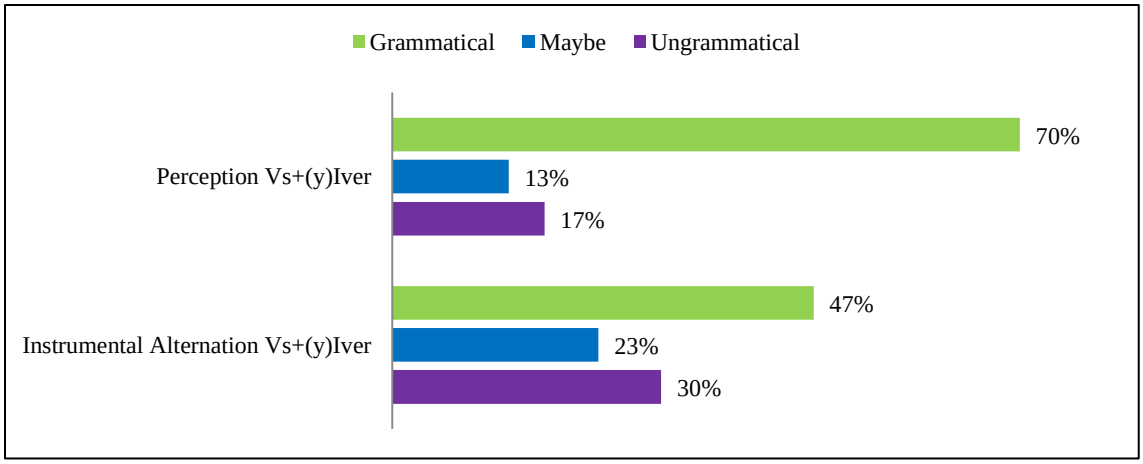

Fig. 16 The findings regarding the interaction between *-(y)Iver* and a "putative" third type

Similarly, these sub-classes were found to be totally compatible with *-(A/I)r….-mAz*, as seen in Figure 17.

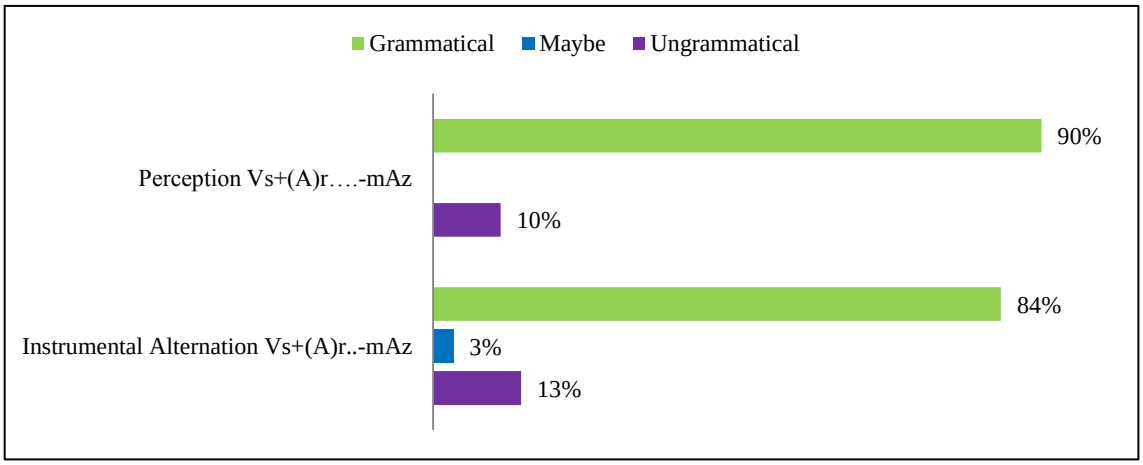

Fig. 17 The findings regarding the interaction between *-(A/I)r….-mAz* and a "putative" third type

Lastly, Table 14 presents the overall pattern of a "putative" third type with *-(y)Iver* and *-(A/I)r….-mAz*

Table 14. The Overall (Un)Grammaticality Pattern Regarding "Putative" Third Type and *-(y)Iver* and *-(A/I)r….-mAz*

	-(y)Iver	*-(A/I)r….-mAz*
Perception Vs	√	√
Instrumnetal Alternation Vs	(?)√	√

4.5.2.4 The behavior of *-(y)Iver* and *-(A/I)r….-mAz* with verbs of emission

Verbs of emission can felicitously co-occur with *-(y)Iver* and *-(A/I)r….-mAz*, as seen in Figure 18:

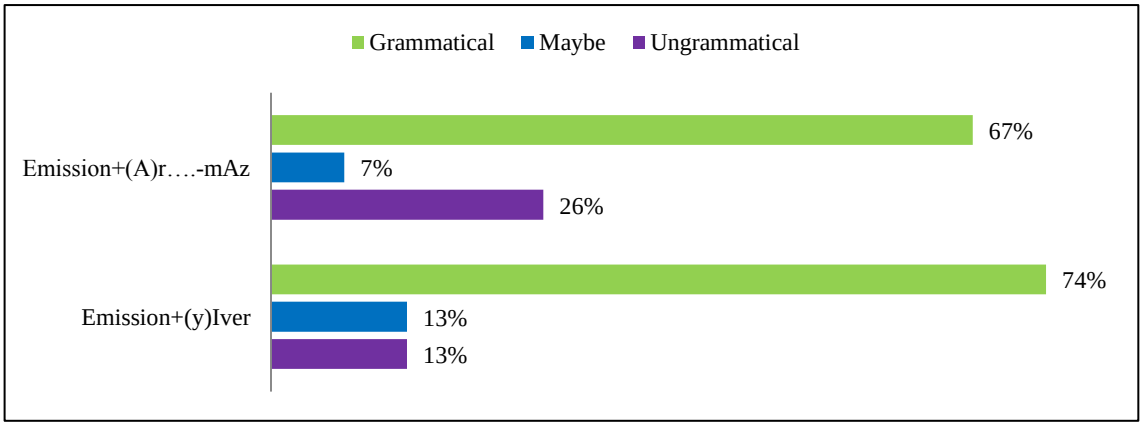

Fig. 18 The findings regarding the interaction *-(y)Iver* and *-(A/I)r….-mAz* with verbs of emission

This observation substantiates the claim that *-(y)Iver* and *-(A/I)r….-mAz* entail dynamicity.

4.6 Discussion

This experimental study has validated that the morphological units chosen here convey certain aspectual information. Therefore, the prediction that these units interact with aspectual classes has been borne out via the present experiment.

As for *-(y)Adur* and *-(y)A…-(y)A*, it was hypothesized that stative verbs would be compatible with both units since they are both atelic and/or durative. Nevertheless, whether *-(y)Adur* and *-(y)A…-(y)A* show sensitivity to the dynamicity semantic feature was not known and therefore, this experiment has investigated this issue, too. The results have shown that except for subject experiencer verbs with *-(y)Adur*, all the sub-classes under "putative" K-states are totally ungrammatical when they co-occur with *-(y)Adur* and *-(y)A…-(y)A*, contrary to expectation. In contrast, "putative" D-states, namely verbs of position, are totally grammatical when they occur with *-(y)Adur* and *-(y)A…-(y)A*, as expected.

On the other hand, it must be acknowledged that object experiencer verbs, the *threaten* class and perception verbs exhibit an ambivalent behavior. That is, object experiencer verbs obtained less clear judgments when used with *-(y)A…-(y)A* although the percentage of ungrammaticality (47%) outweighs that of grammaticality (33%). In contrast, while the *threaten* class is totally ungrammatical with *-(y)A…-(y)A*, it obtained less clear (un)grammaticality judgments with *-(y)Adur* although the percentage of ungrammaticality (44%) is higher than the percentage of grammaticality (23%).

Perception verbs, on the other hand, are ungrammatical with *-(y)Adur,* but obtained very similar (un)grammaticality judgments with *-(y)A…-(y)A*, which leads to ambiguity (43% ungrammatical; 40% grammatical). All of these cases are also contrary to expectation.

Based on the pattern stative verbs showed, it can be concluded that *-(y)Adur* and *-(y)A…-(y)A* entail dynamicity as well as durativity and/or atelicity. This is because the only "putative" D-state in Turkish with respect to the diagnostics in Chapter 3, namely verbs of position, is totally compatible with both *-(y)Adur* and *-(y)A…-(y)A*. Contrastively, almost all other stative verbs are incompatible with these units although some of them, namely object experiencer verbs, the *threaten* class and perception verbs, obtained less clear judgments[90]. Based on the (un)grammaticality pattern of the stative verb sub-classes with these two units in the experiment, I suggest that *-(y)Adur* and *-(y)A…-(y)A* are new diagnostic tools in Turkish which illustrate that the division as K-states and D-states is maintained in Turkish such that D-states are compatible with both *-(y)Adur* and *-(y)A…-(y)A,* while K-states are not. In other words, Turkish grammar provides us with the division as K-states vs. D-states proposed by Maienborn (2005, 2007). This result also supports the findings obtained in Chapter 3.

There are two further points which need to be highlighted. Firstly, note that the only exceptional case to the conclusion above is subject experiencer verbs which were judged to be grammatical (with 60%) when attached to *-(y)Adur,* but totally ungrammatical (with 97%) when attached to *-(y)A…-(y)A*. This contradictory case observed in subject experiencer verbs calls for an explanation since subject experiencer verbs behaved as K-states do with respect to the diagnostics in Chapter 3 and therefore

[90] The only exceptional case is subject experiencer verbs since this sub-class is a seemingly K-state with respect to the diagnostic tools in Chapter 3; yet, it has behaved differently from the other seemingly K-states with respect to *-(y)Adur*.

are expected to obtain similar results when combined with both *-(y)Adur* and *-(y)A…-(y)A* as well[91]. Secondly, recall that instrumental alternation and perception verbs behaved differently from "putative" K-states and D-states with respect to the diagnostic tools in Chapter 3. Yet, these two sub-classes have not shown a significant difference in terms of their distributional properties with *-(y)Adur* and *-(y)A…-(y)A* when compared to K-states.

As for *-(y)Iver* and *-(A/I)r….-mAz,* on the other hand, it was hypothesized that stative verbs would be incompatible with both *-(y)Iver* and *-(A/I)r….-mAz* since these units entail telicity and stative verbs are not telic. The results of the experiment have revealed that there are only three stative verb sub-classes which are totally incompatible with *-(y)Iver*: the *threaten* class, dispositional verbs and measure verbs. All the other sub-classes are compatible with *-(y)Iver* although instrumental alternation and subject experiencer verbs obtained less clear judgments, which is contrary to the expectation[92].

On the other hand, only instrumental alternation and perception verbs are compatible with *-(A/I)r….-mAz,* but only under achievement reading, which validates the hypothesis. That is, in cases where these two sub-classes are compatible with these units, they are interpreted as achievements. This implies that compatibility with *-(A/I)r….-mAz* cannot be available under stative interpretation and therefore, *-(A/I)r….-mAz* can be suggested as a further diagnostic tool which differentiates statives from eventives. Apart from instrumental alternation and perception verbs, all the other stative verbs are totally ungrammatical with *-(A/I)r….-mAz.*

[91] For the sake of convenience, the distinctive behavior of subject experiencer verbs will be given later in this section after the results are discussed from a broader perspective.

[92] Note that instrumental alternation and perception verbs are expected to be compatible with both *-(y)Iver* and *-(A/I)r….-mAz* since these two sub-classes may easily get achievement interpretation as well. Yet, not only these two sub-classes but also other stative verb sub-classes from both ambiguous and non-ambiguous group were judged to be compatible with *–(y)Iver,* which was not expected.

What is not expected is that the distributional pattern of stative verbs with *-(y)Iver* differs from the one with *-(A/I)r….-mAz.* That is, stative verbs allow for *-(y)Iver* much more easily than *-(A/I)r….-mAz.* This suggests that the semantics of *-(y)Iver* and *-(A/I)r….-mAz* are different from one another and this difference is unveiled by their (in)compatibility with stative verbs, which will be discussed in 4.6.4 below.

There were also cases where certain sub-classes obtained close ratings of (un)acceptability in the experiment although most sub-classes were judged to be either grammatical or ungrammatical in a more clear-cut way. These unclear cases include the following sub-classes: perception verbs and subject experiencer verbs[93]. For perception verbs, such an ambiguity in judgments is already expected since this sub-class can also get achievement interpretation easily. For instance, (38) presents the test item in which a perception verb and *-(y)A…-(y)A* co-occurred. This sentence was judged to be grammatical with 40% and ungrammatical with 43%:

(38) Perception Verbs

?(Ayşen'in)	Takın-dığ-ı	çocuksu	tavr-ı	gör-e
Ayşen-GEN	strike-NOM-REL-3SG.POSS	childish	attitude-ACC	see-CVB

gör-e	o-nu-nla	iletişim-i	kes-ti-m.
see-CVB	she-ACC-WITH	communication-ACC	cut-PFV.1SG

'?Seeing her childish attitude that she strikes continually/repeatedly, I stopped keeping in touch with her.'

Although (38) was not judged to be totally grammatical, it could be suggested that such a higher percentage of grammaticality stems from the fact that *-(y)A…-(y)A* conveys repetition meaning when attached to this sub-class, which triggers an achievement interpretation.

[93] For the sake of convenience, the close ratings observed in subject experiencer verbs with *–(y)Iver* will be given later in Section 4.6.4.

This suggestion could further be supported by the contrastive behavior of *-(y)Adur* and *-(y)A…-(y)A* with perception verbs. If the repetition interpretation of *-(y)A…-(y)A* were not valid and *-(y)A…-(y)A* had only one interpretation as *-(y)Adur* does; i.e. durativity, perception verbs would behave similarly with respect to both units in the experiment. However, this was not the case: perception verbs were found to be totally ungrammatical with *-(y)Adur,* and ambiguous with *-(y)A…-(y)A.* Therefore, I suggest that the higher ratings of grammaticality for perception verbs when used with *-(y)A…-(y)A* are due to the repetition meaning of *-(y)A…-(y)A.* Under such an interpretation, perception verbs will definitely lose its stative interpretation and be interpreted as achievement.

This experimental study has certain limitations as well. First, there were only 30 participants in the experiment. If the tasks had been conducted with more participants, the results might have been somewhat different and especially the unclear cases might have obtained more clear-cut results.

Second, as noted before, the most natural and frequent use of *-(y)Adur* is the imperative form and therefore, *-(y)Adur* was given in that form. However, since *-(y)Iver* does not have such a restriction, whether it is used with the (im)perfective marker or in the imperative form was not taken into consideration. In analyzing the results, it was realized that most of the test items; 10 out of 13, were used with the perfective marker, unluckily. There were only two test items which were used with the imperfective marker and one in the imperative form. This reflects my bias as a native speaker. Although I did not aim to test whether the viewpoint marker affects the distribution of *–(y)Iver,* an equal distribution of inflectional marker could have been better to make a more reliable observation.

So far, I have tried to present tendencies observed in the data from a broad perspective, but there are certain other aspects which also have crucial implications to be discussed.

4.6.1 A third type of statives

Recall that instrumental alternation verbs and perception verbs behaved differently from other stative verb sub-classes with respect to the diagnostic tools in Chapter 3. That is, these sub-classes were more context-dependent in that they were found to be compatible with manner adverbials depending on the context or the manner adverbial in the sentence. In addition, it was observed that when a further context was added, the adverbial "a little" could get the temporal reading.

Apart from these considerations, it was illustrated that both sub-classes may get an eventive interpretation easily; i.e. achievement, with a momentary adverbial even when these verbs have the imperfective marker -Iyor. These observations illustrated that these sub-classes behave more flexibly than both K-states and D-states. Therefore, I pointed out that these two sub-classes can be taken neither as K-states nor as D-states.

In this chapter, the results of the experiment have shown that these two sub-classes are similar to K-states in that they are incompatible with both *-(y)Adur* and *-(y)A…-(y)A.* However, contrary to K-states and D-states, they are compatible with both *-(y)Iver* and *-(A/I)r….-mAz,* but only under an eventive interpretation. Since these two sub-classes can easily get achievement interpretation, attaching *-(y)Iver* and *-(A/I)r….-mAz* to these sub-classes triggers eventive interpretation. As a result, they are compatible with *-(y)Iver* and *-(A/I)r….-mAz* and are interpreted as achievements.

Taking this different behavior of instrumental alternation and perception verbs with respect to *-(y)Iver* and *-(A/I)r….-mAz* and their behavior in Chapter 3 into consideration, I would like to propose that these two stative verb sub-classes represent the third type of statives. Since these sub-classes are more vulnerable to multiple interpretations and can get achievement reading easily as well as stative reading, I will call them "Equivocal states" (henceforth E-states). All in all, I suggest that there are three types of statives in Turkish: K-states, D-states and E-states.

4.6.2 The eventive class in the experiment: verbs of emission

Although verbs of emission were shown to be eventive based on their behavior with the verb *happen* in Chapter 3, they were not excluded in order to make a better and full-fledged comparison between this sub-class and stative verbs. As for *-(y)Adur* and *–(y)A…-(y)A,* verbs of emission were found to be compatible with both units.

As for *-(y)Iver* and *-(A/I)r….-mAz,* similarly, these verbs were found to be compatible with both units. This compatibility with both units validates that these verbs do not have stative reading.

4.6.3 The availability of two contexts in *-(y)Adur*: the case in subject experiencer verbs

As stated before, subject experiencer verbs, which behaved as K-states do with respect to the diagnostic tools in Chapter 3, had a very high percentage of grammaticality (60%), whereas the other sub-classes which are seemingly K-states did not. The test item is given below:

(39) Subject Experiencer Verbs

Ali	daha	iş-i-ne	bayıl-a-dur-sun,	şirket	o-nu
Ali	still	job-3SG.POSS-DAT	adore-CVB-PV-IMP.3SG	company	he-ACC

iş-ten	çıkar-acak	haber-i	yok.
work-ABL	dismiss-FUT.3SG	news-3SG.POSS	not exist

'Let Ali keep adoring his job and he does not even know that the company will dismiss him.'

In fact, before conducting the experiment, it was not foreseen that *-(y)Adur* might be used in two different contexts, namely in a contrastive context and a context in which two events happen/are happening at the same time, which I call "the non-contrastive context". In (39), *-(y)Adur* is presented in a contrastive context.

When this sub-class and *-(y)Adur* co-occur in a non-contrastive context, however, the result is ungrammatical. (40) exemplifies such a case:

(40)

*Ali	öğretmen	ol-ma-yı	iste-ye-dur-sun,		ben	de
Ali	teacher	be-GER-ACC	want-CVV-POSTV-	IMPER.3P	I	too

bunun	için	dua	ed-iyor-um.
this	for	pray	AUX-IPFV.1SG

'*Let Ali keep wanting to be a teacher and I pray for this.'

Thus, it seems that one factor which affects the (un)grammaticality of a sentence including *-(y)Adur* is whether the context is contrastive or not. As observed in subject experiencer verbs, the sentence survives in a contrastive context, but does not in a non-contrastive context. In fact, the grammaticality of (39) does not pose a problem to the analysis here since a contrastive context does not entail any aspectual information or condition. A non-contrastive context, on the other hand, entails dynamicity since in such a context, two events that happen/are happening at the same time are expressed. As a stative verb lacks dynamicity, (40) is ungrammatical. To conclude, a non-contrastive context blocks the co-occurrence of *-(y)Adur* and subject experiencer verbs.

This suggestion has certain implications for the other stative verb sub-classes, however. Figure 19 illustrates which sub-classes were presented in which contexts when they were attached to *-(y)Adur* in the experiment. Accordingly, when the stative verb sub-classes which are "putative" K-states; i.e. the *threaten* class, dispositional verbs and measure verbs, are attached to *-(y)Adur* in a non-contrastive context, they are ungrammatical, similar to subject experiencer verbs as in (40). In contrast, the only seemingly D-state; i.e. verbs of position, survives in a non-contrastive context when attached to *-(y)Adur.* These results are already expected since K-states lack dynamicity, whereas D-states involve some sort of dynamicity and consequently, the former type will be ungrammatical when attached to *-(y)Adur* in a non-contrastive context while the latter type will be grammatical.

On the other hand, when the sub-classes which are "putative" K-states are attached to *-(y)Adur* in a contrastive context, namely object experiencer, dative experiencer and capacity verbs, they are ungrammatical, contrary to subject experiencer verbs as in (39). The only stative verb sub-class which survives in a contrastive context is subject experiencer verbs.

In addition, perception and instrumental alternation verbs; i.e. E-states, are ungrammatical in either context.

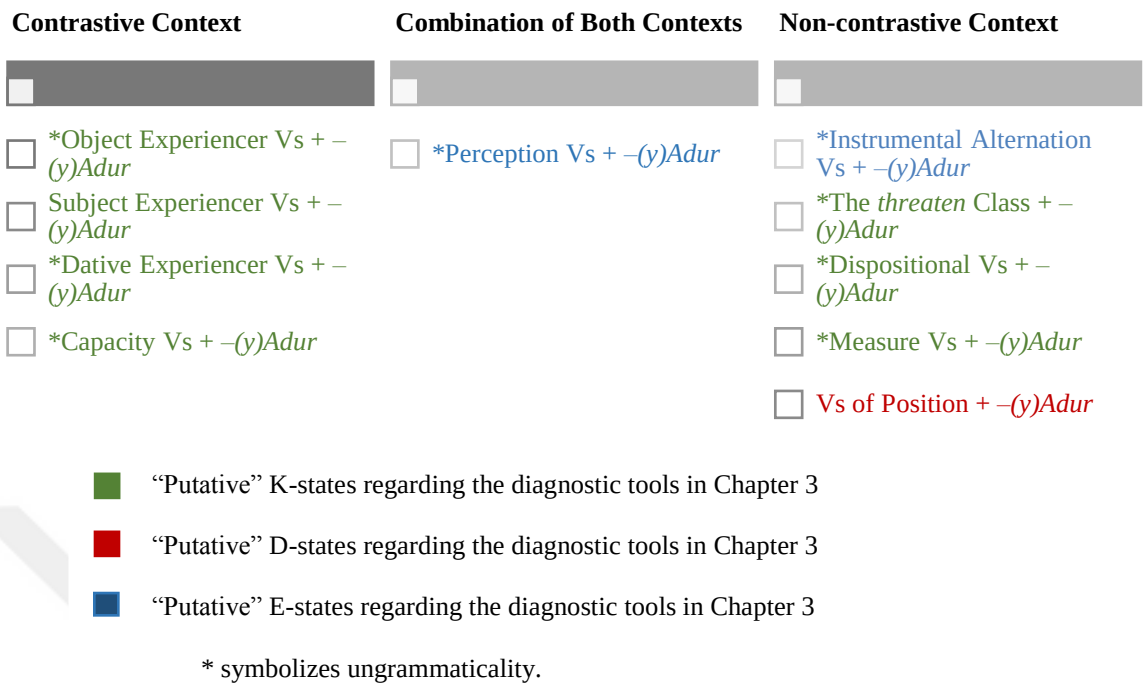

Fig. 19 The presentation of the contexts in which stative verbs in Turkish and *-(y)Adur* co-occurred in the experiment

There arise two questions: (i) whether the "putative" K-states given in a non-contrastive context would be grammatical in a contrastive context, similar to subject experiencer verbs; and (ii) whether the "putative" K-states given in a contrastive context are still ungrammatical in a non-contrastive context.

Regarding the first question, a "putative" K-state such as a measure verb is observed to survive in a contrastive context when attached to *-(y)Adur*, as given in (41):

(41) Bu kitap kitapçı-lar-da yirmi lira ed-e-dur-sun, ben
This book bookshop-PL-LOC twenty lira AUX-CVB-PV- IMP.3SG I

o-nu internet-te on lira-ya bul-du-m.
it-ACC internet-LOC ten lira-DAT find-PFV.1SG

'Let this book keep costing 20 TL in bookshops, I have found it on the Internet for 10 TL.'

Regarding the second question, it is seen that all the other "putative" K-states given in a contrastive context in the experiment are ungrammatical in a non-contrastive context:

(42) Object Experiencer Verbs

*Korna ses-i ben-i sinirlen-dir-e-dur-sun, sokak-ta
Beep sound-CM I-ACC anger-CAUS-CVB- PV- IMP.3SG street-LOC

bir çocuk da arkadaş-ı-na bağır-ıyor-du.
a kid also friend-3SG.POSS-DAT shout-IPFV- PAST.3SG

'*Let the beep keep angering me and a kid on the street also was shouting at his friend.'

(43) Dative Experiencer Verbs

*Acı ban-a dokun-a-dur-sun, aşırı
Hot I-DAT disagree with- CVB- PV- IMP.3SG excessive

tüket-ir-se-m de hastane-lik ol-uyor-um.
consume-AOR-COND.1SG also hospital-ADJ be-IPFV.1SG

'*Let hot keep disagreeing with me and I am also hospitalized when consuming excessively.'

(44) Capacity Verbs

*Tiguan-a yedi kişi sığ-a-dur-sun, ayrıca yakıt
Tiguan-DAT seven person fit-CVB-PV-IMP.3SG also fuel

tüketim-i de en düşük araç-lar-dan biri.
consumption-CM too most low vehicle-PL-ABL one of

'*Let seven people keep fitting into Tiguan and it is also one of the most fuel efficient cars.'

Additionally, one more point which needs to be mentioned is the case of object experiencer verbs. Recall that the percentage of non-grammaticality obtained from object experiencer verbs was 50% when these verbs were attached to *-(y)Adur* in a contrastive context. See the test item below[94]:

[94] The sentence in (45) is totally acceptable to me.

(45) *Şehit haber-ler-i biz-i üz-e-dur-sun, bu
Martyr news-PLU-3SG.POSS we-ACC upset-CVB-PV- IMP.3PL this

ölüm-ler-e yol aç-an-lar daha da mutlu ol-uyor-lar.
death-PL-DAT cause-REL-PL more too happy be-IPFV.3PL

'*Let the news on martyr keep upsetting us, the ones who cause these deaths are becoming happier.'

The reason for such a high percentage of non-grammaticality in (45) could be the fact that the contrastive context in which the verb *üz-* "upset" appeared might have survived the sentence for these participants, as in subject experiencer verbs in (39). That is why, this resulted in the borderline case observed in here.

Based on the observations here, I conclude that the sub-classes which behaved as K-states regarding the diagnostic tools might survive when used with *-(y)Adur*; however, only in a contrastive context, and they cannot in a non-contrastive context. Since the latter context entails dynamicity, the sub-classes which behaved as D-states with respect to the diagnostic tools survive in either context. Also, the availability of two contexts in *-(y)Adur* and its distribution in the stative verbs shows that the pragmatic notion "contrast" has a reflex on syntax and that is why, the compatibility pattern with stative verbs varies.

4.6.4 A difference between the semantics of *-(y)Iver* and *-(A/I)r….-mAz*

It was hypothesized that both *-(y)Iver* and *-(A/I)r….-mAz* entail punctual and/or telic situations. Then the prediction was that their distribution would be similar for each sub-class such that if one sub-class is (in)compatible with *-(y)Iver*, it would also be

(in)compatible with *-(A/I)r….-mAz* and vice versa. However, the experiment revealed that this is not the case.

The distribution of these morphological units varies with respect to the sub-classes such that there arise three distinctive patterns. As expected, one group is compatible with both *-(y)Iver* and *-(A/I)r….-mAz*. Let us call this group G1; this group includes instrumental alternation and perception verbs. In contrast, another group is incompatible with both *-(y)Iver* and *-(A/I)r….-mAz*, as predicted. Let us call this group G2; this group includes the *threaten* class, dispositional verbs and measure verbs. However, I found that there is a third group, which is compatible with *-(y)Iver*, but incompatible with *-(A/I)r….-mAz*. Let us call this group G3 and it includes the sub-classes object experiencer, subject experiencer, dative experiencer, capacity verbs and verbs of position. This variance is presented in Table 15.

The difference in the distribution of these two units in terms of the stative verb sub-classes illustrates that these units cannot entail telicity only. If they did, there would not arise a group like G3. Then, what is responsible for this difference in the distribution of the two units?

Table 15. The Distribution of Stative Verbs with respect to Their Behavior with *-(y)Iver* and *-(A/I)r….-mAz*

			–(y)Iver	*-(A/I)r….-mAz*
G1	Instrumental Alternation		(?)√	√
	Perception Verbs		√	√
G2	The *threaten* class		*	(?)*
	Dispositional Verbs		*	*
	Measure Verbs		*	*
G3	Object Experiencer Verbs		√	*
	Subject Experiencer Verbs		(?)√	*
	Dative Experiencer Verbs		√	*
	Capacity Verbs		√	*
	Verbs of position	Animate Subj	√	*
		Inanimate Subj	√	*

What the sub-classes in G1 have in common is that they are interpreted as achievements when *-(y)Iver* and *-(A/I)r….-mAz* are attached to them. In other words, the lexical semantics of these sub-classes also allow for achievement interpretation, which ensures the presence of [telic] semantic feature. Therefore, the end point sense associated with *-(y)Iver* and *-(A/I)r….-mAz* triggers achievement reading when these sub-classes are attached to *-(y)Iver* and *-(A/I)r….-mAz* and consequently these sub-classes are interpreted as achievements.

On the other hand, the sub-classes in G3 have some duration but lack a natural end point in their lexical semantics. This means that even when *-(A/I)r….-mAz* is attached to G3, it does not trigger any achievement interpretation in this group due to a semantic clash between end point sense of *-(A/I)r….-mAz* and atelic nature of the sub-classes in G3. Following from this, I argue that *-(A/I)r….-mAz* entails telicity[95] and

[95] Note that accomplishments are not punctual, but compatible with *-(A/I)r….-mAz.* Therefore, it is not given as an entailment.

consequently, requires telic situations. The sub-classes in G3 do not have any natural end point in their lexical semantics and therefore, they are never compatible with *-(A/I)r….-mAz*.

Regarding *-(y)Iver* , claiming that this form only entails telicity seems to be too strong because if it only entailed telicity, there would not arise a group like G3 and all the verbs under G3 would behave as the ones under G1 behave. Then, how does *-(y)Iver* differ from *-(A/I)r….-mAz* and what makes G3 compatible with only *–(y)Iver*?

Here, I suggest that this behavior of G3 is due to the applicative[96] use of *-(y)Iver*[97]. Applicatives are valency increasing morphemes which license an additional non-core participant to the event and this participant fulfills a semantic role[98]. In our case here, this non-core participant is either beneficiary or malefaciary; i.e. the former refers to an advantageously affected participant, whereas the latter to an adversely affected one. Consequently, such constructions express that some situation happens for or on behalf of an additional participant, namely beneficiary/malefaciary.

It has been noted that certain morphemes such as case, adposition or an auxiliary verb as well as special word order may express the "benefit" notion (Smith, 2010). As for *-(y)Iver*, it may act as a benefactive auxiliary and adds a benefactive argument to the context. As a result, the interpretation "doing something for or on behalf of someone else" is maintained[99].

[96] The notion benefactive and applicative have been analyzed as different concepts cognitively and therefore separated from each other based on factors such as their syntactic behavior (Shibatani, 1996). However, since this study is semantically-oriented, the difference(s) between the two is outside the scope of this study. For the purposes of this study, I use "benefactive applicative use of *-(y)Iver"* to refer to constructions in which *-(y)Iver* adds a beneficiary sense to the sentence.

[97] I would like to thank Assoc. Prof. Balkız Öztürk-Başaran for pointing out to me that there is such a use of *-(y)Iver* in Turkish.

[98] The most typical additional semantic roles that applicatives license are benefactive and goal.

[99] This use of *-(y)Iver* is not surprising since the grammaticalized "give" verbs (in converbial or serial verb constructions) have been widely recognized as a source of benefactive applicative constructions in many

In fact, this use of *-(y)Iver* is not a new idea in Turkish linguistics literature. This morphological unit has been considered to be a source for applicative constructions in Turkish as well as in other languages (Krueger, 1964; Şahin, 2017).

(46) Ban-a/ ben-im için kapı-yı açı-ver!
I-DAT/ I-1SGPOSS for door-ACC open-CVB-PV-IMP.2SG
'Open the door on behalf of/for me!'

(47) Anne-m ban-a kitap oku-yu-ver-di.
Mother-1SG.POSS I-DAT book read-CVB-PV-PF.3SG
'My mother read a book to me.'

Note that in general, benefactive arguments in Turkish are encoded with dative case marker or adpositions such as *için* "for", *adına* "on behalf of" etc., which is the case in (46) and (47) as well[100].

The main argument here is that the sub-classes in G3 are only compatible with *-(y)Iver* due to its applicative use. *-(y)Iver* acts as a benefactive auxiliary and adds a benefactive argument to the context. Apart from adding a non-core participant to the structure, however, in the applicative literature there are applicatives which do not introduce any extra argument to the structure. Instead, they function as an expletive head above the VP. Therefore, they are called *expletive applicatives* or *raising applicatives*,

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other languages, especially in most Asian and certain African languages, as exemplified in (i), (ii) and (iii). The examples are cited in Creissels (2010):

i. Áská gí-n-ɛ́ é-géí! (Beria)
door open-A2SG-CVB 1SG-give.IMP
'Open the door for me!'(lit. Opening the door give me!)
(Jakobi&Crass, 2004, p. 171)

ii. Janta lukhā khoŋ-an bi-sin! (Dolakha Newar)
1SG.DAT door open-CVB PVgive-IMP
'Open the door for me!'
(Genetti, 2007:334)

iii. Watashi-wa imooto-ni keeki-o yaite yat-ta. (Japanese)
I-TOP younger.sister-DAT cake-ACC bake *give*-PAST
'I baked my younger sister a cake.'
(Ohtani & Steedman,2010, p. 504)

For better comprehension and more details, see Zúñiga & Kittilä, (2010).

[100] Applicatives may be introduced in different positions in the syntactic projection. Therefore, case differences may be due to these different positions that the applicative is introduced as well as other functional heads in the projection which may assign case to the applicative. However, this is beyond this study.

both of which correspond to the same thing. In such applicatives, the argument already available in the VP raises to the specifier position of this expletive head (APPLP) and this head syntactically licenses this raising argument. Thus, APPLP adds "affectedness" semantics to this argument and consequently, this argument is assigned a themetic role; i.e. experiencer, by APPLP (Georgala, Paul, & Whitman, 2008; Paul & Whitman, 2010). *-(y)Iver* in Turkish represents both applicative structures here. The relevant test items regarding G3 are repeated below.

The uses of *-(y)Iver* in (48) and (49) correspond to an expletive or raising applicative structure. The direct object *beni* "me" in (48) and the dative case-marked object NP *ayağıma* "to my foot" in (49) raise to the specifier of the APPLP and "affectedness" semantics is added to these arguments by *-(y)Iver*. Note that in both sentences, the raising arguments have experiencer theta-roles.

(48) Object Experiencer Verbs
Kötü haber-ler ben-i hemen üz-ü-ver-iyor.
Bad news-PL I-ACC at once sadden-CVB-PV-IPFV-3PL
'Bad news easily saddens me.'

Note that in dative experiencer verbs, the object NP with the dative case; i.e. the experiencer, is under the speaker's domain of possessive control, which means that the experiencer is actually the speaker in (49):

(49) Dative Experiencer Verbs
Terlik-ler-i giy-er giy-me-z ayak-ım-a
Slipper-PL-ACC put on-AOR put on-NEG.AOR foot-1SG.POSS-DAT

uy-u-ver-di.
fit-CVB-PV-PFV.3SG

'The slippers easily fitted me the moment I put on them.'
(Literally: they easily fitted my foot.)

Similarly, in subject experiencer verbs and capacity verbs the expletive applicative use of *-(y)Iver* is observed. In (50) and (51), the subject referents, whose

theta roles are experiencer, undergo a pleasant experience. In (50), for instance, resembling his father has certain benefits for Orçun such that he became hard-working. Likewise, in (51), fitting into a small car may have certain benefits for the people who got in the car such that they could go wherever they want all together at once. Therefore, the subject NPs in these sentences raises to the specifier of expletive applicative head and and they get their experiencer theta-role by APPLP:

(50) Subject Experiencer Verbs

?Orçun son zaman-lar-da baba-sı-na
Orçun recent time-PL-LOC father-3SG.POSS-DAT

benze-yi-ver-di, çok çalışkan ol-du.
resemble-CVB-PV-PFV.3SG very hardworking be-PFV.3SG

'?Orçun recently resembled his father (to his benefit) and become hardworking.'

(51) Capacity Verbs

Küçü-cük araba-ya altı kişi sığ-ı-ver-di.
Small-DIM car-DAT six person fit-CVB-PV-PFV.3SG
'Six people easily fitted into the small car.'

Verbs of position, on the other hand, represent the other type of applicatives such that the sentence in (52a) may have an additional benefactive argument in prepositional phrase "for", as given in parentheses, though this benefactive argument can be left unexpressed as well. A similar case is valid in (52b) as well:

(52) Verbs of position

a. Şemsiye-m-i ofis-te unut-muş-um. Sen burada
Umbrella-1SG.POSS-ACC office-LOC forget-PRF.1SG you here

(benim için) bekle-yiver, ben al-ıp gel-eyi-m hemen.
(me for) wait-CVB-PV-2SG I take-CVB come-OPT.1SG at once

'I have left my umbrella in the office. Just wait here (for me) and I will go and get it immediately.'

b. Bavul konferans bit-ene kadar (benim için) vestiyer-de
Luggage conference finish-CVB until (for me) cloak room-LOC

dur-u-ver-di.
stop-CVB-PV-PFV-3SG

'Till the end of the conference, the luggage just stood in the cloak room (for me).'

The variety in the arguments related to the applicative use of *-(y)Iver* indicates that the syntactic and semantic configurations of these arguments are not too restricted; i.e. they may be coded differently both semantically and syntactically in the sentence, but still they are assigned either benefactive or experiencer semantic role, as seen in the examples above[101].

A further evidence to this applicative use of *-(y)Iver* comes from activities. Recall that activities are atelic events and they are shown to be incompatible with both *-(y)Iver* and *-(A/I)r….-mAz*. However, there are instances in which an activity is compatible with *–(y)Iver.* See the example below:

(53) Sen burada (benim yerime) çocuk-lar-la oyna-yı-ver, ben de
You here (me instead) kid-PL-WITH play-CVB-PV-IMP.2SG I too

bulaşık-lar-ı yıka-yay-ım.
dish-PL-ACC wash-OPT.1SG

'Just play with the kids here and I will wash the dishes.'

The sentence in (53) exhibits that attaching *-(y)Iver* to an activity verb *oyna-* "play" does not create any problem. The reason for the compatibility is due to the applicative use of *-(y)Iver.* In this sentence, the presupposition is that I, as the speaker, ask you, as the hearer, to play with the kids on behalf of/ instead of me and I will do some other works.

[101] Such cases can be observed in different languages as well. A list of relevant studies includes Clark (1974), Ohtani & Steedman (2010), Smith (2010), Song (2010).

Though I argue that *-(A/I)r….-mAz* entails telic events, such an entailment is not always valid for *-(y)Iver* since it may be interpreted both aspectually and non-aspectually. It entails telicity aspectually; yet in cases where *-(y)Iver* is used with a non-aspectual interpretation; i.e. applicative use, this entailment does not hold. This non-aspectual use of *-(y)Iver* leads to the variance observed between *-(A/I)r….-mAz* and *-(y)Iver*.

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter investigated the interaction between stative verbs and the constructions formed by the post-verbs *-(y)Adur* and *-(y)Iver* and the converbial suffixes *-(y)A…-(y)A* and *-(A/I)r….-mAz* that form adverbial clauses. These morphological units were chosen since *-(y)Adur* and *-(y)A…-(y)A* denote durativity/continuity while *-(y)Iver* and *-(A/I)r….-mAz* denote telicity and/or punctuality, and therefore, stative verbs were expected to be compatible with the former two units and incompatible with the latter two units.

To test our hypothesis regarding stative verbs, an experiment was carried out and accordingly, the following results in Table 16, 17 and 18 were obtained with respect to "putative" K-states, D-states and a third type respectively:

Table 16. Results from the Experiment regarding K-states and the Constructions

K-states	Morphological Units			
	-Adur	*–(y)A…-(y)A*	*–(y)Iver*	*-(A/I)r….-mAz*
Measure Vs	*	*	(?)*	*
The *threaten* class	(?)*	*	*	(?)*
Dispositional	*	*	*	*
Obj Exp Vs	*	(?)*	√	*
Capacity Vs	*	*	√	*
Dat Exp Vs	*	*	√	*
Subj Exp Vs	*	*	(?)√	*

Table 17. Results from the Experiment regarding D-states and the Constructions

D-states		Morphological Units			
		-Adur	*–(y)A…-(y)A*	*–(y)Iver*	*-(A/I)r….-mAz*
Vs of Position	Animate Subj	√	√	√	*
	Inanimate Subj	√	√	√	*

Table 18. Results from the Experiment regarding a Third Type and the Constructions

A Third Type	Morphological Units			
	-Adur	*–(y)A…-(y)A*	*–(y)Iver*	*-(A/I)r….-mAz*
Instrumental Alternation Vs	*	*	(?)√	√
Perception Vs	*	?	√	√

As a result of this experiment,

- it was found out that *-(y)Adur* and *-(y)A…-(y)A* show sensitivity to the dynamicity as well as durativity and/or atelicity semantic features and consequently require durative or atelic dynamic situations. This sensitivity validated that K-states / D-states division manifest itself in Turkish such that the sub-classes labeled as K-states in Chapter 3 are not compatible with *-(y)Adur* and

-(y)A…-(y)A. On the other hand, the one labeled as D-states is compatible with both of these units. Also, it was suggested that *-(y)Adur* and *-(y)A…-(y)A* are new diagnostic tools in Turkish to distinguish K-states and D-states from one another.

- it was found out that *-(y)Adur* may appear in two different contexts pragmatically as contrastive and non-contrastive based on the interaction between subject experiencer verbs and *-(y)Adur.* It was illustrated that non-contrastive context entails dynamicity and therefore, K-states cannot co-occur with *-(y)Adur* in this context. This exemplifies a case in which pragmatics affects syntax.
- concerning *-(y)Iver* and *-(A/I)r….-mAz*, it was revealed that when stative verbs are compatible with these units, they lose their stative interpretation. In other words, these units trigger achievement interpretation when attached to certain stative verbs and only under this interpretation, the sentences become grammatical. Otherwise, these units are not compatible with stative verbs.
- it was proposed that Turkish presents a third type for statives, namely E-states. This proposal was substantiated by the compatibility of instrumental alternation and perception verbs with *-(y)Iver* and *-(A/I)r….-mAz*. That is, the different behavior of these two sub-classes observed in Chapter 3 has further supported by the fact that they are totally compatible with *-(y)Iver* and *-(A/I)r….-mAz*, contrary to K-states and D-states. This was already expected since these two sub-classes may be interpreted as achievements more easily than the other stative verb sub-classes, which is why I called this third type "Equivocal states (E-states)".
- it was also illustrated that *-(A/I)r….-mAz* entails telicity whereas such an entailment does not always hold for *-(y)Iver.* It was discovered that *-(y)Iver* may be used non-aspectually; i.e. applicative use, as well. Based on this use of -

(y)Iver, these two morphological units differ from one another and thus certain stative verb sub-classes in Turkish behave differently when used with these units. In addition, the observation that -*(A/I)r….-mAz* cannot be compatible with stative verbs under stative reading suggested that -*(A/I)r….-mAz* in Turkish is a further diagnostic tool which differentiates statives from eventives. That is, telic eventives are compatible with -*(A/I)r….-mAz*, whereas statives are not as long as they preserve their stative interpretation.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This study mainly proposed that there are three types of statives in Turkish based on their behavior with respect to certain diagnostic tools: K-states, D-states and E-states. All three are stative based on the criterion that statives cannot be followed by the verb *happen*. Yet, they behave differently with respect to: (i) (in)compatibility with manner adverbials, (ii) availability of the temporal reading of "a little bit", (iii) (in)compatibility with the verb *happen* (see Chapter 3), and (iv) (in)compatibility with *-(y)Adur, -(y)A…-(y)A, -(y)Iver* and *-(A/I)r….-mAz* constructions (see Chapter 4). The first three tools have already been used in the literature, but the fourth one is a new tool based on Turkish data.

One of the main arguments in this study is that the division of statives into K-states vs. D-states offered in Maienborn (2005, 2007) is maintained in Turkish, too. Evidence for this came from the fact that K-states such as *weigh, seat, suit, threaten* etc. are not compatible with manner adverbials whereas D-states such as *sit, stand, lie* etc. are. Also, "a little bit" can only get the degree reading when used with K-states, but may get the temporal reading when used with D-states.

The division between K-states and D-states was also substantiated by an experiment conducted to investigate the compatibility of stative verbs with certain morphological units. These units include *-(y)Adur, -(y)A…-(y)A, -(y)Iver* and *-(A/I)r….-mAz* and they were chosen since they convey certain aspectual meanings such that *-(y)Adur* and *-(y)A…-(y)A* convey durativity and *-(y)Iver* and *-(A/I)r….-mAz* convey telicity. The results of the investigation illustrated that K-states are not compatible with -

(y)Adur and *-(y)A…-(y)A* whereas D-states are. As a result, I proposed that *-(y)Adur* and *-(y)A…-(y)A* are new diagnostic tools for Turkish which provide us with the K-states / D-states division.

In addition to K-states and D-states, a new type of statives is proposed in this study: Equivocal states (E-states), which include verbs such as *see, hear* and *block, obstruct* with inanimate subjects. These verbs are called "equivocal states" since the verbs under E-states can get both stative and achievement interpretations easily. Due to availability of both readings, the verbs under E-states are more vulnerable to external factors such as adverbial modification and may undergo either interpretation easily. This property makes E-states more context-dependent in discourse such that they can be interpreted as achievements even when they have the imperfective marker, especially under modification by momentary adverbials, which is not observed in K-states or D-states. The claim that Turkish offers a new type of statives was validated by the fact that the verbs under E-states can appear with manner adverbials depending on the manner adverbial or the context. This illustrates the context-dependency of this type. In addition, when "a little bit" occurs with E-states, it may get both the temporal reading and the degree reading depending on the additional context which follows the sentence. This also illustrates that E-states are more context-dependent. Another evidence for this claim is that K-states and D-states are incompatible with *-(A/I)r….-mAz*, whereas E-states are compatible with it, but only under eventive reading; i.e. when they are interpreted as achievements. All these observations support the presence of a third type of statives in Turkish, i.e. E-states. Moreover, the fact that E-states were found to be incompatible with *-(y)Adur* and *-(y)A…-(y)A* similar to K-states, but compatible with *-(y)Iver* and -

(A/I)r….-mAz illlustrates that E-states are much more heterogeneous than both K-states and D-states.

With respect to the distributional pattern of *-(A/I)r….-mAz* in stative verbs, it was also suggested that *-(A/I)r….-mAz* is a new diagnostic tool from Turkish which differentiates statives from eventives. Evidence for this comes from the fact that none of the stative verbs can be compatible with *-(A/I)r….-mAz* as long as they preserve their stative reading. The only compatible case is observed in E-states, but only when they are interpreted as achievements.

The overall results of the diagnostic tools regarding stative verbs are presented in Table 19 below.

In this study, I also argued and demonstrated in Chapter 4 that the semantics of *-(y)Iver* and *-(A/I)r….-mAz* are different from each other. It was argued that *-(y)Iver* has a non-aspectual use, namely benefactive, as well as an aspectual use, requiring telicity. In contrast, *-(A/I)r….-mAz* has only aspectual use and requires telicity. This difference between the two morphological units was uncovered by the distributional pattern which stative verbs exhibited.

Again in Chapter 4, based upon the difference in the distribution of subject experiencer verbs in *-(y)Adur,* it was observed that *-(y)Adur* can appear in two different contexts: a contrastive and a non-contrastive context, namely a context in which two events happen/are happening at the same time. It was shown that a contrastive context does not entail any aspectual information or condition, whereas a non-contrastive context entails dynamicity. Therefore, when this morphological unit is employed with a stative verb in a non-contrastive context, the result is ungrammatical. As a result, it was argued that a pragmatic notion such as *contrast* influences the syntactic use.

Table 19. The Behavior of Stative Verbs in TK Regarding All the Diagnostics Discussed in This Study

			Manner adverbial	Temporal reading of 'a little bit'	Followed by *happen*	-*(y)Adur*	-(y)A…-(y)A	-(A/I)r…-mAz	–*(y)Iver*
K-states	Capacity Vs		*	*	*	*	*	?	√
	Subject Experiencer Vs		*	*	*	*	*	*	(?)√
	Dative Experiencer Vs		*	*	*	*	*	*	√
	Object Experiencer Vs		*	*	*	*	(?)*	*	√
	Dispositional Vs		*	*	*	*	*	*	*
	The *threaten* class		*	*	*	(?)*	*	(?)*	*
	Measure Vs		*	*	*	*	*	*	*
D-states	Vs of position	Animate Subj NP	√	√	*	√	√	*	√
		Inanimate Subj NP	√	√	*	√	√	*	√
E-states	Instrumental Alternation Vs		C.D	C.D	*	*	*	√	(?)√
	Perception Vs		C.D	C.D	*	*	?	√	√
Events	Vs of Emission		C.D	C.D	√	√	√	√	√

Note: C.D stands for "context-dependent". (?) stands for borderline cases.

Recall that in the very beginning, the motivation behind this study was to answer (i) whether stative verbs in Turkish form a heterogeneous class; (ii) if yes, how this heterogeneity shows itself, and (iii) how Turkish syntax and/or semantics reflect(s) this heterogeneity. Furthermore, the factors effective in stative interpretation were questioned, too. Regarding these research questions, the tripartite division of statives

proposed in this study suggests that statives form a heterogeneous class rather than a homogeneous one. Similar to other aspectual classes, statives vary in themselves in terms of their syntactic and semantic behavior as pointed out above. This heterogeneity is unveiled by the existing diagnostic tools in the literature. In addition, Turkish provides more tools for us to detect the variety observed in statives. Furthermore, this study illustrated the factors which influence the stative interpretation of the sentence; the stative interpretation may change depending on (i) the viewpoint aspect marker and (ii) the use of adverbials, as noted in Taylan (1996, 2001), Güven (2004) and Aydemir (2006). In addition to these factors, (iii) the animacy property of the subject NP and (iv) the plurality of the subject NP were observed to affect the stative interpretation as well. However, the stative verb classes may interact differently with the various factors effective in the stative interpretation. This is another evidence for the heterogeneity of stative verbs.

Following from this, it could be claimed that statives are much more complicated than it has been discussed in the literature. From this point of view, this study supports the recent analyses on statives such as Maienborn (2005, 2007) and Rothmayr (2009), both of whom claim that statives are a heterogeneous class.

Yet, this study is more inclusive than Maienborn's because the verbs under E-states and some verbs under K-states are not analyzed in Maienborn (2005, 2007). In Rothmayr (2009), on the other hand, all the verbs covered in this study are analyzed and all statives are claimed to be K-states. Yet, especially from the point of view of D-states in this study, this study is more advantageous than Rothmayr (2009) since she does not apply all the tools, which leads to certain gaps in her analysis. Due to these gaps, she claims that D-states do not exist without any justification(s). More specifically, since

compatibility with the verb *happen* is not utilized in Rothmayr's (2009) analysis, the claim that D-states do not exist appears to be too strong and misleading. This study illustrated that when the tools are applied thoroughly, it is seen that D-states, in fact, exist. All in all, by employing the strong sides and developing the weak sides of both analyses, Turkish provides sufficient support for the argument that there is a three-way split among statives.

This study has certain limitations, too. First, it mainly concentrated on the two viewpoint aspect markers: *-Iyor* as the imperfective marker and *–DI* as the perfective marker. An analysis which will include other kinds of verbal morphology and investigate the interaction between these morphemes and statives may lead to slightly different results. Second, I experienced how difficult the process of designing and conducting an experiment is. I am aware that the number of participants in the experiment was low. Moreover, some answers in the tasks were less clear / unclear though the number of such cases is low. Therefore, the results should be considered as illustrating tendencies rather than absolute rules. With more participants, the results could have been somewhat different and less clear cases could have become clearer.

This study has certain implications and further recommendations for future studies as well. First, it implies that an aspectual theory which analyzes statives as a uniform class cannot capture the variety among stative verbs and their distinctive behavior. Secondly, one of the most basic and controversial theoretical question related to aspect is whether the verb itself belongs to a lexical aspectual class or whether other elements in the sentence are effective in deciding the aspectual class. This study provided further support for the claim that aspectual interpretation needs to be compositional. This is because the stative verb classification which I posited for Turkish

showed that the plurality and the animacy properties of the subject NP influence the stative interpretation. In addition, viewpoint aspect markers on a stative verb and adverbial use may lead to ambiguity or eventive interpretation, as observed in Chapter 3. This argument does not contradict with the claim that verbs by themselves belong to a certain lexical aspectual class. Verbs can be lexically classified into an aspectual class, but as a result of the interplay between the verb and the other constituents in the sentence, the overall aspectual interpretation of a sentence may be different from the initial aspectual class.

In addition, the criterion which I used to identify a stative verb is whether the verb can be followed by the verb *happen*. On the other hand, Table 6 in Chapter 3 showed that there are various factors which may result in the change in the stative interpretation. Also, we observed that all the statives, more or less, got affected by some of these factors, except for verbs of position. Verbs of position are the only stative verb class which never undergoes a shift from a state to any event by any of the factors presented in Table 6. I believe that claiming verbs of position are the only lexically stative verb class would be too strong. Yet, the implication is that verbs of position need to have some sort of different properties such that these properties prevent these verbs from being shifted into another aspectual class. At the same time, these properties must be unavailable in other stative verbs and therefore, they undergo aspectual shift anyway. To this observation, I do not have any answer for what is special in verbs of position that makes them shiftless, and it deserves further research.

Another implication is related to the group of ambiguous stative verbs in Chapter 3 and E-states proposed in Chapter 4. It was shown that they are ambiguous and they may get both stative and eventive interpretations depending on various factors.

Therefore, these verbs are more dependent on both grammatical context and the context in discourse. Following from this, the crucial question is how to label these verbs at the lexical base: as eventive or stative? One possible suggestion is that E-states and ambiguous stative verbs are underspecified at the lexical base in terms of being eventive or stative. Depending on the context they are presented, the stative or eventive reading will be specified. However, to argue for this or another view, further detailed research needs to be carried out.

A further implication of this study is related to E-states and K-states. It was observed that although E-states and K-states are different from one another in many respects, they are similar in that both are incompatible with both *-(y)Adur* and *-(y)A…-(y)A*. In contrast, E-states and D-states do not have any similarity in any respect except for being stative. This implies that E-states are much closer to K-states than D-states in terms of their semantics, but this needs more justification. I hope that this study will lead to further research on revealing more of the similarities and differences among all the types of statives.

Another recommendation for future study is to look at the behavior of copular forms, which may contribute to understanding the nature of states more.

In addition, regarding the verbs under E-states, it should be stated that instrumental alternation verbs are already expected to get the eventive reading being among the group of ambiguous stative verbs, as shown in Chapter 3. The intriguing point is that perception verbs may get the eventive reading as well despite being among non-ambiguous stative verbs. This behavior of perception verbs implies that there could be some other ontological or semantic factors which make perception verbs more open or vulnerable to being interpreted as more eventive than other non-ambiguous stative

verbs. Then, it is clear that the structure of perception verbs requires further research for future studies.

Lastly, revealing the availability of two different contexts in *–(y)Adur* and the different semantics of *-(y)Iver* and *-(A/I)r….-mAz*, it would be worthwhile to investigate the semantics of other aspectually related morphemes -especially in a language which is rich in morphology like Turkish- and their interaction with statives as well as the other aspectual classes.

I am fully aware that much work remains to be done in this area such as the ones mentioned above. Yet, I hope that the heterogeneity uncovered in the stative verbs in Turkish will arouse interest in those working on aspect both in other languages and Turkish. It is further hoped that this study will stand as a source which will motivate other scholars in the field to continue work on stative verbs in Turkish.

APPENDIX A

GRAMMATICALITY JUDGMENT TASK TESTING *–(y)Adur*

Aşağıda çeşitli diyaloglar verilmiştir. Diyalogların bazılarında dilbilgisel/ anlamsal hatalar vardır.

Şimdi:

- diyalogları okuyun.
- ve her diyalog için aşağıdaki soruyu doğru şıkkı daire içine alarak cevaplayın.

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. Evet *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Örneğin;

- Tatile ne zaman çıkıyorsun?
- Geçen hafta çıkacağım.

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. Evet *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Katılımınız için teşekkür ederim.

Konuşma 1

- Akşam 7'ye doğru seni aradım, cevap vermedin. Nerelerdeydin?
- Evdeydim ama TV açıktı o saatlerde. Selman tartışma programı izleyedururken ben de bulaşıkları yıkıyordum. O yüzden herhalde duymadık ikimiz de.

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. Evet *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 2

- Dün arkadaşlarla Bebek'te Cafe Nero'da buluşalım dedik. Kafeye tam vardık ki bir de ne görelim! Cafe Nero'yu kapatmışlar.
- Gerçekten mi? Biz de hep orada takılırdık. Neden kapandı acaba?

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. Evet *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 3

- Ali şimdiki işine bayılıyor. Dediğine göre çok mutluymuş, ortamı da gayet güzelmiş.
- O daha işine bayıladursun, şirket onu işten çıkaracak haberi yok.

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. Evet *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 4

- Balonum patlayadururken ben salıncakta sallanıyordum. Hiç oynayamadım onunla.
- Olsun, bir tane daha alırız.

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. Evet *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 5

- Çocuklar nerede?
- Onları filme soktuk. Film 2 saat süredursun, biz de gidip alacaklarımızı halledelim.

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. Evet *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 6

- 7 kişilik bir aileyiz bu yüzden Tiguan bize daha uygun gibi. Siz ne dersiniz?
- Bence Transporter size daha uygun. Tiguan'a en fazla 7 kişi sığadursun, Transporter 10 kişi alıyor.

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. Evet *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 7

- Yaz aylarında en çok karpuza seviyorum. Ya sen?
- Ben incire bayılırım.

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. Evet *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 8

- Sen arkadaşlarınla bahçede top oyna, ben bir markete gidip geleyim. Dönünce beraber çıkarız eve.
- Olur.

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. Evet *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 9

- Kapı gıcırtısından okuduğuma odaklanamıyorum!
- Böyle ufak şeylere takılma. Kapı gıcırdayadursun, sen okumana bak.

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. Evet *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 10

- Sen anahtarı kaybededur, sonra da gel benden yeni anahtar iste.
- Söz, bu son olacak. Bir daha kaybetmeyeceğim.

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. Evet *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 11

- Pantolon giymediğinden bir farklı geldin gözüme ama yakışmış.
- Pantolon bana yakışadursun, ben elbiseden vazgeçmem.

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. *Evet* *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 12

- Ben Aylin'in dürüst olduğunu düşünmüyorum.
- Neye dayanarak bunu söylüyorsun?

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. *Evet* *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 13

- Nereye gidiyorsun?
- Şemsiyemi ofisimde unutmuşum! Sen burada bekleyedur, ben alıp geleyim hemen.

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. *Evet* *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 14

- Kitaplarım burada iki dakika duradursun ben lavaboya gidip geleceğim. Olur mu?
- Olur tabi.

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. *Evet* *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 15

- Sınav kâğıtlarını okudun bitti mi?

- Sınav bitmeden kağıtları okumaya başladık, ama henüz yarılayamadık bile.

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. *Evet* *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 16

- Tıpa deliği tıkayadursun, sen temizlik malzemelerini getir. Bir güzel temizleyelim küveti.
- Tamam, hemen getiriyorum.

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. Evet *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 17

- Bu kan da ne?
- Elimi kestim. Bulaşık yıkarken bardağı kıradurdum. Neyse ki çok derin değil.

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. Evet *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 18

- Yine şehitlerimiz var!
- Şehit haberleri bizi üzedursun, bu ölümlere yol açanlar bu haberlerle daha da mutlu oluyorlar.

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. Evet *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 19

- Uyumadan önce dişlerini fırçalıyorsun değil mi, tatlım?
- Tabi ki anneciğim!

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. Evet *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 20

- Köylüler için zor bir yıl oldu. Salgın hastalık köy halkını tehdit ededursun, çiftçiler bir de kuraklıkla mücadele ettiler.
- Yazık insancıklara!

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. Evet *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 21

- Uzun zamandır Yeşim'i görmedim.
- Biz dün karşılaştık. Saçımı kısacık kestirmiş, ama çok yakışmış ona yeni saç modeli.

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. Evet *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 22

- Memnun kaldın mı bu ilaçtan?
- Çok memnun kaldım! Bu ilacı içmem sivilcelerimi geçirmede bana yardım ededursun, saçlarım da çok canlandı.

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. Evet *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 23

- Ne arıyorsun yerde?
- Senin bana aldığın küpemin teklerini. Bulur bulmaz çıkabiliriz.

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. Evet *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 24

- Öğrenciler artık çok değişti. Sen hoca olarak onun telefonla ilgilendiğini göredur, o hiç aldırmadan devam etsin.
- Yanlış bir şey yaptıklarının farkında değiller mi acaba?

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. Evet *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

APPENDIX B

GRAMMATICALITY JUDGMENT TASK TESTING *–(y)A…-(y)A*

Konuşma 1

- Birden anahtarlar elimden kayıp yere düşüverdi. Tabi, adam da benim saklandığım yöne doğru baktı.
- Gördü mü peki seni?

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. Evet *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 2

- Şirinevler'de araba sahibi olmak büyük sıkıntı. Otopark olmadığı için sokaklar araba yığını. Bir de kötü park edilen arabalar trafiği engelleyiveriyor. Anlayacağın araba başa bela.
- Tüm bunları duyunca neden araba almadığınızı daha iyi anladım.

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. Evet *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 3

- Bu sınavı ancak hiç çalışan öğrenci kazanabilir.
- O zaman biz kazanırsak bu dediğin doğrulanmış olacak.

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. Evet *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 4

- Aslında güçlü bir karaktere sahip değilim. Kötü haberler beni hemen üzüveriyor. Ayrıca olan bitenin etkisinden de hemen kurtulamıyorum.
- Bu şekilde kendini çok yıpratırsın ama…

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. Evet *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 5

- Cambaz iki direk arasına gerilen ipte yürürken düşme tehlikesi atlatmış.
- Deli bu insanlar! Ya ölseydi?

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. Evet *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 6

- Kuraklık son yıllarda çiftçilerin mahsullerini tehdit ediverdi. Durum böyle olunca onlar da Bakanlık'a dilekçe yazdılar.
- Cevap alabilmişler mi?

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. Evet *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 7

- Dün çocuklara çok basit bir soru sordum, her bir öğrenci bilemedi.
- Konuyu mu anlamadılar ki?

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. Evet *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 8

- Öğrencilerin sınıfta sürekli İngilizce konuşmaları dil gelişimlerine yardım ediverdi.
- Bunu gördükçe sen de çok mutlu olmuşsundur.

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. Evet *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 9

- Selman çok yorgun olduğunda canı hiçbir şey yapmak istemiyor.
- Ama bu çok doğal!

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. Evet *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 10

- Seda'ya sürpriz yapabildin mi?
- Hediyeyi çaktırmadan odasına bırakacaktım ama uyanık hemen görüverdi.

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. Evet *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 11

- Fazla kalemi olan varlar mı?
- Benim var. Al!

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. Evet *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 12

- Orçun da son zamanlarda babasına benzeyiverdi, onun gibi çalışkan oldu.
- Babası oğluyla gurur duyuyordur, eminim.

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. Evet *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 13

- Ne zaman bir pamuk helva görsem çocukluğumu hatırlarım.
- Hadi, gidip bir tane alalım o zaman.

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. Evet *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 14

- Dün gittiğimiz film bir buçuk saat sürüverdi, ardından yapmamız gereken işleri de hallettik.
- Verimli bir gün geçirmişsiniz.

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. Evet *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 15

- Fatma iki günde araba sürmek öğrenirken ben daha debriyajın ne olduğunu bilmiyorum.
- Merakın yok da o yüzden bilmiyorsun.

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. Evet *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 16

- Ayy, o ses neydi?
- Korkma korkma. Çocuğun elindeki balon patlayıverdi.

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. Evet *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 17

- Bu elbise adeta senin için dikilmiş. Baksana, giyer giymez sana nasıl da yakışıverdi.
- Ben de çok beğendim!

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. Evet *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 18

- Ben okuldayken kuzenim tüm gün evde kitap bir okumuş.
- Boş durmamış ya gerisi önemli değil.

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. Evet *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 19

- Duydun mu? Rüzgâr esince kapı yine gıcırdayıverdi.
- Kapıyı yağlamamız işe yaramamış demek ki.

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. Evet *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 20

- Bir kişi yalan söyleyince beden dili bunu belli edebiliyormuş.
- İlginç! Nasıl belli oluyor acaba?

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. Evet *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 21

- Nereye gidiyorsun?
- Şemsiyemi ofiste unutmuşum! Sen burada bekleyiver, ben alıp geleyim hemen.

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. Evet *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 22

- Hasan annesinin onu uyardığından odayı topladı.
- Biraz dağınık bir çocuk herhalde bu Hasan?

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. Evet *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 23

- Konferans merkezinde bavulunu nereye bıraktın peki?
- Girişte vestiyer vardı. Konferans bitene kadar orada duruverdi.

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. Evet *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 24

- Şuraya bak! Küçücük arabaya 6 kişi sığıverdi.
- Bu şekilde hiç rahat yolculuk yapılmaz ama!

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. Evet *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

APPENDIX C

GRAMMATICALITY JUDGMENT TASK TESTING *–(y)Iver*

Konuşma 1

- Böyle fevri olma artık. Kendine hâkim ol. İnsanlarla konuşa konuşa orta yolu bulman gerek.
- Deniyorum. Ama olmadık bir şey söyleyiveriyorlar, tepem atıyor.

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. *Evet* b. *Emin değilim* c. *Hayır*

Konuşma 2

- Bravo Ahmet'e!
- Ne yapmış ki?
- Dört dil bile bile uluslararası bir şirketten kabul almış. Önümüzdeki ay yurt dışına taşınacakmış.

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. *Evet* b. *Emin değilim* c. *Hayır*

Konuşma 3

- Şahsıma bir haksızlık yapılmasını düşünüyorum. Olaylar bu şekilde gerçekleşmedi.
- Siz anlatın. Bir de sizden dinleyelim.

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. *Evet* b. *Emin değilim* c. *Hayır*

Konuşma 4

- Yine ne aldın?
- Dayanamayıp bir çift ayakkabı aldım. Ne yapayım, bu ayakkabı bana yakışa yakışa kendini aldırttı.

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. *Evet* b. *Emin değilim* c. *Hayır*

Konuşma 5

- Öğretmen bol bol kitap okuyarak kelime hazinemizi kuvvetlendirebileceğimizi söyledi.
- Çok doğru! Ayrıca bu, anlama kabiliyetini de güçlendirecektir.

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. Evet *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 6

- Bu sene yılın en geniş arabası olarak Transporter seçilmiş.
- Açıkçası Transporter 10 kişi ala ala yılın en geniş arabası seçilse de benim gönlüm Tiguan'da.

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. Evet *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 7

- Danışman bir bölüm dışı dersin seçilmemiz gerektiğini söyledi.
- Sen hangi dersi seçeceksin?

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. Evet *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 8

- Aslı'nın telefonu bozulduğu için annesinin telefonunu kullanıyormuş.
- Yeni telefon alacak mıymış peki?

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. Evet *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 9

- Yaptın mı pazar alışverişini, aldın mı kışlıkları?
- Aldım ama eve gelene dek yorgunluktan öldüm. Pazar çantası 12 kilo gele gele yerden kalkmadı.

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. Evet *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 10

- Hiç kimse bana doğruyu söylüyor.
- Gerçekten inan bana. Ben doğru söylüyorum.

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. Evet *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 11

- Neden uyumadın hala?
- Kolaysa sen uyu. Yattığımdan beri bahçe kapısı gıcırdaya gıcırdaya uyutmadı.

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. Evet *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 12

- Her yer cam kırığı. Ne oldu burada?
- Çocuk top oynarken vazoyu kırmış.

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. Evet *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 13

- Adam köşede bekleye bekleye ağaç oldu. Nerede kaldın?
- Çok trafik vardı. O yüzden geciktim.

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. Evet *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 14

- Büyükada'da piknik harika bir fikir! Kesin ben de gelebilirim.
- Maalesef ben gelemeyeceğim.

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. Evet *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 15

- Tıpa deliği tıkaya tıkaya su sızıntısını kesti. Artık tamirciye gerek kalmadı.
- Adamı arayıp 'Gelme' diyelim o halde.

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. Evet *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 16

- İstanbul'un her bir yanında kentsel dönüşüm projeleri oldukça yoğun bir şekilde devam ediyor.
- Doğru söylüyorsun. Neredeyse her bir sokakta bir inşaat alanı görebilirsin.

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. Evet *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 17

- Dizi sürelerinin çok uzun olması oyuncuları sıka sıka sonunda isyan ettirdi.
- Duydum, bir kampanya başlatmışlar.

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. Evet *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 18

- Yağmur altında yürüdüğünü istiyorum. Dışarı çıkalım mı?
- Tabi olur.

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. Evet *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 19

- Duydun mu, son haftalarda ortaya çıkan bir virüs insan sağlığını tehdit ede ede hastaları yatağa düşüyormuş.
- Evet, hatta bazı hastaların ölümüne yol açtığından da söz ediyorlar.

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. *Evet* b. *Emin değilim* c. *Hayır*

Konuşma 20

- Yüzmeye başladığımdan beri kendimi daha zinde hissediyorum. Bence sen de yüzmelisin.
- Hangi spor salonuna gidiyorsun peki?

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. *Evet* b. *Emin değilim* c. *Hayır*

Konuşma 21

- Sen uzun süre derslere de katılmadın. Nasıl aldın bu yüksek notları?
- Arkadaşımdan ders notlarını almam bana yardım ede ede bu notu aldım. Ama gerçekten çok çalıştım.

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. *Evet* b. *Emin değilim* c. *Hayır*

Konuşma 22

- Ece yaptığı açıklamalarla herkesin beğenmelerini topladı.
- Ne hakkında açıklamalarda bulundu?

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. *Evet* b. *Emin değilim* c. *Hayır*

Konuşma 23

- Keşke bu kapaksız kitaplığı almasaydık. Kitaplar açıkta dura dura tozlanıyor.
- Ne yapacaksın? Kapaklı bir tane mi alacaksın?

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. Evet *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 24

- Konuşmuyor musun Ayşen'le?
- Konuşmuyorum; takındığı çocuksu tavrı göre göre iletişimi kestim.

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. Evet *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

APPENDIX D

GRAMMATICALITY JUDGMENT TASK TESTING *–(A)r…-mAz*

Konuşma 1

- Gerçeklerin farkına varır varmaz Murat'la irtibatımı kestim. Nasıl da körmüşüm, olan biteni hiç görmemişim!
- Üzme artık kendini.

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. *Evet* *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 2

- Suzan uçuyorum resmen. O çocuğu görür görmez âşık oldum.
- Ciddi misin? Anlatsana nasıl biri?

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. *Evet* *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 3

- Annem bitkileri çok sevmesinden en güzel hediye ona canlı bir bitki almak olur.
- O zaman hemen bir botanik bahçesine gidelim!

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. *Evet* *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 4

- Tamirci yarın geliyor mu?
- Tamirciye gerek kalmadı ki. Evde bir tıpa vardı, onu kullandım. Tıpa deliği tıkar tıkamaz boru su damlatmayı kesti.

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. *Evet* *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 5

- Bakıyorum da kitap seni çok sarmış. Elinden bırakmıyorsun.
- Evet, yazarın anlatım tarzını çok beğendim. Elimdekini bitirir bitirmez yeni çıkan kitabını da alacağım.

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. *Evet* b. *Emin değilim* c. *Hayır*

Konuşma 6

- Film iki buçuk saatmiş. Ben daha yarım saat olmadan sıkıldım. Böyle filmler beni sıkar sıkmaz duramıyorum, hemen çıkıyorum sinema salonundan. Nitekim yine kaçtım.
- İyi yapmışsın!

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. *Evet* b. *Emin değilim* c. *Hayır*

Konuşma 7

- Deniz Bey gelecek hafta Almanya'ya gittiğinde ben onunla görüştüm.
- Planımızdan bahsettin mi?

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

b. *Evet* b. *Emin değilim* c. *Hayır*

Konuşma 8

- Bebeği zaten zor uyuttum. Tam uykuya dalmıştı ki TV cızırdar cızırdamaz gözlerini yeniden açtı.
- Çocukları keşke uyarsaydın da TV açmasalardı.

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. *Evet* b. *Emin değilim* c. *Hayır*

Konuşma 9

- Ne oldu?
- Kapıyı kapatır kapatmaz lambaları söndürmediğimi hatırladım. Sen in, ben geliyorum.

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. *Evet* b. *Emin değilim* c. *Hayır*

Konuşma 10

- Öğrencilerin sınıfta İngilizce konuşmaları dil gelişimlerine yardım eder etmez onların derse olan ilgisi arttı.
- Kendilerine olan güvenleri artmış demek ki.

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. *Evet* *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 11

- Kanalizasyon borularının patlaması, yetkililerin gerekli bakımı zamanında yapmamış olduğundan kaynaklanıyor.
- Peki bu durumda bizim yapmamız gereken nedir?

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. *Evet* *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 12

- Bu salgın insan sağlığını tehdit eder etmez Dünya Sağlık Örgütü acil toplantı çağrısı yapmış.
- Umarım bir sonuç alınır.

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. *Evet* *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 13

- Benim bankada küçük bir işim var. Önce onu halletsem, sonrasında buluşsak?
- Olur tabi, senden haber bekliyorum o halde.

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. *Evet* *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 14

- Neden şaşırdın bu kadar?
- Çocuk babasına benzer benzemez onun gibi çalışkan oldu. Hiç beklemezdim doğrusu.

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. *Evet* *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 15

- Serra sadece iki aydır yüzmeye gidiyormuşum. Ama işe yaramış, çok fit gözüküyor.
- Öyle mi? Uzun zamandır onunla karşılaşmadım.

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. *Evet* *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 16

- Senin düğün için hiç mi giyecek elbisen yok? Buna ne gerek vardı şimdi?
- Ne yapayım, dayanamadım. Elbise bana yakışır yakışmaz onu almaya karar verdim.

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. *Evet* *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 17

- Bilgisayarımı yeni almış olmama rağmen daha ilk haftasında bir sıkıntı yaşadım. Açılıp kapanırken garip sesler çıkartıyordu. Hemen servise gönderdim.
- Umarım kullanıcı kaynaklı bir hata demezler.

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. *Evet* *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 18

- Matematik kitabının en son baskısını nasıl buldun?
- Bir önceki baskı sadece konu anlatımlıydı. Bu son baskıysa bol bol örnek içerir içermez konu daha iyi anlaşılıyor.

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. *Evet* *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 19

- Benim odaya girdikten önce benim hakkımda bir şeyler konuşuyorlardı.
- Hiçbir şey duyamadın mı?

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. *Evet* *b. Emin değilim* *c. Hayır*

Konuşma 20

- 2016 yılının otomobil yıllığı çıkmış, inceleyebildin mi?
- Evet, inceledim. Verilere göre Transporter 10 kişi alır almaz yılın en geniş arabası seçilmiş.

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. *Evet* b. *Emin değilim* c. *Hayır*

Konuşma 21

- Ayça Belçika'da yaşamaya başladığından beri aklım onda. Her gün konuşuyoruz ama yine de içim rahat değil.
- Kocaman kız artık o. Senden uzakta olmasına alış artık.

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. *Evet* b. *Emin değilim* c. *Hayır*

Konuşma 22

- Sen pek meyve sevmezdin.
- Valla, spor yapmaya başlar başlamaz yemek yeme alışkanlıklarım da değiştirmeye başladı.

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. *Evet* b. *Emin değilim* c. *Hayır*

Konuşma 23

- Hava yağışlıydı. Neyse ki durakta bekler beklemez otobüs geldi.
- Şanslıymışsın.

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

c. *Evet* b. *Emin değilim* c. *Hayır*

Konuşma 24

- Bu dergi gençler arasında oldukça popülermiş.
- Evet, benim öğrenciler de bunu okuyor. Dikkat ediyorum marketlerde de bu dergi rafta durur durmaz kapış kapış satılıyor.

'Yukarıdaki konuşmada dilbilgisel/anlamsal bir hata var mıdır?'

a. *Evet* b. *Emin değilim* c. *Hayır*

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