ON THE LINGUISTIC REALIZATION OF SITUATION TYPES IN TURKISH

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ABSTRACT

This paper focuses on the linguistic realization of five idealized situation types, namely states, semelfactives, activities, achievements and accomplishments, in Turkish within the framework of Smith's (1997) theory of aspect where two components are distinguished, namely viewpoint aspect and situation type. Three temporal/aspectual features, namely dynamism, duration and telicity, which are based on human cognitive and perceptual capabilities, will be illustrated to distinguish among the five situation types in Turkish within a number of semantic and syntactic environments constituting the linguistic correlates of these temporal/aspectual features.

Key Words: Situation type, Temporal/Aspectual features, Dynamism, Telicity, Durativity.

HAL TÜRLERİNİN TÜRKÇE'DE İFADESİ ÜZERİNE

ÖZET

Bu çalışmada devinim, sürerlik ve ereklilik gibi zaman/görünüş özelliklerinden yola çıkılarak tanımlanan beş hal türünün (durum, edim, bir anlık edim, erişme ve tamamlama) Türkçe'de nasıl ifade edildiği üzerinde durulmaktadır. İncelemeye Smith (1997)'nin iki bileşenli (hal türü ve bakış açısı) görünüş kuramı temel alınmıştır. Zaman/görünüş özellikleri insan doğasının bilişsel ve algısal özelliklerinden kaynaklanmakta ve farklı doğal dillerde farklı dilsel biçimlerle ifade edilebilmektedir. Bu çalışmada bu zaman/görünüş özelliklerine dayanan beş hal türünün Türkçe'de nasıl anlatıldığı gösterilmeye çalışılmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Hal türü, Zaman/Görünüş özellikleri, Devinim, Ereklilik, Sürerlik.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Aspect is a universal linguistic category defined as "the semantic domain of the temporal structure of situations and their presentation" (Smith, 1997: 1). Since aspect can be expressed both grammatically and lexically, two distinct but interrelated types of aspect, namely grammatical aspect and lexical aspect, have been distinguished in the literature (Comrie, 1976; Dahl, 1985; Dik, 1989; Binnick, 1991; Smith, 1997 among others). The former type of aspect refers to how a speaker presents a situation (e.g. as on-going, completed or habitual), using grammatical means (e.g. inflectional morphemes), whereas the latter type refers to the internal temporal structure of a situation in terms of its endpoints and/or internal stages, if any, i.e. how a situation is linguistically instantiated by the verb, its arguments and/or adverbs. In this paper, our aim will be to focus on lexical aspect and its linguistic realization in Turkish within the framework of Smith (1997).

2. LEXICAL ASPECT

Lexical aspect, also referred to as Aktionsart, mode of action, state of affairs (Dik, 1989) or situation type (Smith, 1997) in various frameworks, has attracted the attention of both philosophers and linguists alike. Aristotle was the first to mention about a typology of events based on their internal temporal properties. Vendler's (1967) four-way classification of verbs into states, activities, achievements and accomplishments based on properties such temporal duration, termination and internal temporal structure initiated extensive research in lexical semantics in the subsequent years (Johanson, 1971; Mourelatos, 1981; Dik, 1989; Smith, 1997; Rothstein, 2004 among others).

One of the most influential approaches to aspect has been the two-component theory of aspect developed in Smith (1997), where grammatical aspect is referred to as viewpoint aspect and lexical aspect as situation type. 'Situation' is a cover term that refers to both (dynamic) events and (non-dynamic) states. Smith (1997) defines situation type (henceforth ST) as an idealized class of situations distinguished in terms of three binary-valued temporal/aspectual features (henceforth T/A), namely dynamism, duration and telicity. These features, which underspecify basic-level ST prototypes with a cluster of properties, are basic and universal because they are based on human perceptual and cognitive capabilities. In other words, basic-level ST categories represent prototypical situations, while the so-called derived-

level STs are departures from the unmarked prototypes because they either focus part of a situation or involve multiple instances of situations (Smith, 1997: 22).

Smith (1997) argues that each individual situation can be categorized as a member of one of the five basic-level STs, namely states, activities, semelfactives, achievements and accomplishments, at the verb constellation (henceforth VC) level, which includes not only the verb but also its internal and external arguments that determine its semantics (cf. Table 1). VCs are categorized into STs by using a number of syntactic and semantic tests, associated with the semantic properties implicit in the three T/A features. In what follows, we shall consider the three T/A features and their universal and/or language-specific linguistic correlates that become evident in the linguistic expression of STs.

Table 1: Smith's (1997) typology of situation types distinguished on the basis of three temporal/aspectual features

SITUATION TYPES				
STATE [-dynamic]	EVENT [+dynamic]			
[-telic] [+durative]	[-telic] [-durative]	[+durative]	[+telic] [-durative]	[+durative]
state	**semelfactive**	**activity**	**achievement**	**accomplishment**
know the answer, be happy	tap, knock	laugh, swim	win a race, reach the top	walk to school, knit a sweater

3. LINGUISTIC CORRELATES OF TEMPORAL/ASPECTUAL FEATURES

The first T/A feature distinguished in Smith (1997) is [+/- dynamic]. This feature serves to distinguish between states and the rest of the STs. States do not involve any energy or endpoints and obtain unless a change of state occurs to interrupt their undifferentiated span. On the other hand, events require energy to start and to continue and they stop when there is no more energy. Therefore, they have initial and final endpoints. Some events also have successive internal stages. Moreover, although a state, e.g. *know*, does not exclude the possibility of change, it does not inherently involve change, whereas a non-state, e.g. *run*, by definition involves change over time.

In English, pseudo-cleft structures such as *what he did was V* and the progressive aspect have been associated with dynamism (Binnick, 1991: 173-175; Smith, 1997: 39-41). Imperatives and control structures involving predicates such as *persuade*, *command*, *force* and *promise* are other syntactic structures that imply dynamism. Dynamism seems to be closely related to the semantic concepts of agency and volition as well. Volition adverbs such as *deliberately* and *intentionally*, manner adverbs such as *carefully* and instrumental structures such as *with a key* all seem to suggest an agentive subject with volition.

The second T/A feature in Smith's framework is [+/- durative]. A durative situation "lasts for a certain period of time," whereas a non-durative/punctual situation is "a situation that does not last in time, it takes place momentarily" (Comrie, 1976: 41-43). Within the framework of Functional Grammar, durativity vs. punctuality are viewed as two opposing values of the same feature, i.e. [+/- momentaneous] (Dik, 1989: 94-95). Semelfactives and achievements are conceptualized as instantaneous events, consisting of a single stage with no internal structure. On the other hand, states, activities and accomplishments are understood as taking up time, i.e. durative.

Durativity seems to be evident in the semantic behavior of direct durative adverbs such as *for an hour* and *in an hour*, momentary adverbs such as *at noon* and *at five o'clock* and indirect durative adverbs such as *slowly* and *quickly* when they interact with durative vs. non-durative STs. Super-lexical morphemes (aspectual auxiliary verbs for (Binnick, 1991: 174)) such as the inceptive *begin/start*, the terminative *stop* and the completive *finish* also imply a stage that extends over a time period (Binnick, 1991: 177-178; Smith, 1997: 41-42).

The last T/A feature Smith (1997) distinguishes is the feature [+/- telic]. A telic situation "involves a process that leads up to a well-defined terminal point, beyond which the process cannot continue" (Comrie, 1976: 45). Achievements and accomplishments are telic because they involve a change of state culminating in an outcome, i.e. the natural endpoint (Smith, 1997) or the set terminal point (Krifka, 1989). States, activities and semelfactives do not involve such a culmination point and stop at an arbitrary time, i.e. the final endpoint (Smith, 1997) or terminal point (Krifka, 1989). Completion, delimitedness and total affectedness are all other terms for telicity in various frameworks.

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Telicity seems to correlate with the semantic concepts of completion, change of state and non-detachability (Smith, 1997: 42-44). Completion is realized by the super-lexical morpheme *finish,* the so-called *in an hour* adverbs or structures such as *It took me an hour to V* in English, all of which imply a preliminary period (which may or may not be included in the basic-level ST). Once a telic event reaches its natural endpoint, it cannot continue any further. Change of state does not seem to have any direct linguistic correlates (Smith, 1997: 42), while non-detachability distinguishes accomplishments, which include both a process and a result, from achievements, which only include a result. Activity [+ dynamic, + durative, - telic] vs. accomplishment [+ dynamic, + durative, + telic] sentences have been observed to differ in their logical entailments as well (Binnick, 1991: 175-176).

Within the Functional Grammar framework, Dik (1989) distinguishes two other features (semantic parameters in his terms), namely [+/- control] and [+/- experience]. A situation is said to be [+ controlled] if it is within the power of the external argument to determine whether the situation will be realized or not. Thus, based on this feature, further subcategories of states of affairs are distinguished. For example, *Ali kept his books in his office.* is different from *Ali's books are in his office.* in that the external argument *Ali* has determined the position of the books in the former sentence categorized as "Position," whereas in the latter, categorized as "State", the books themselves have no control over their actual state (Dik, 1989: 96-98). The feature [+ experience] seems to distinguish those situations which hold as a function of the mental or sensory capabilities of an animate entity such as perceiving, feeling, wanting something, etc. (Dik, 1989: 98). However, this feature does not seem to have any specialized grammatical correlates in English (Dik, 1989: 99).

4. LINGUISTIC REALIZATION OF SITUATION TYPES IN TURKISH

In this section, we shall apply to Turkish data those syntactic and semantic tests of T/A features which prove to be distinctive in the linguistic realization of STs in Turkish. This is crucial since universal semantic concepts though T/A features and STs may be, their actual expression may differ crosslinguistically depending on the grammatical and/or lexical means offered by the particular language involved.

4.1. Non-dynamic Situations: States

State is the non-dynamic, durative and atelic ST. States are further distinguished as individual-level and stage-level states (Carlson, 2002). The former group of states as in (1) refers to those inherent and permanent properties which do not normally change, while the latter in (2) describes a transient property which is compatible with a potential change over time. In Turkish there is a further distinction between verbal states, i.e. those expressed by lexical verbs and non-verbal states which may co-occur with the (evidential) copula *–DIr* and require the auxiliary verb *ol-* to render an inceptive reading, i.e. a change into a new state. Both of these distinctions seem to affect the felicity of Turkish states with the syntactic and semantic tests to be discussed below.

(1) Gana Afrika'da-dır.
Ghana-NOM Africa-LOC-COP-3sg
'Ghana is in Africa.'
(2) Nil bugün ofis-te.
Nil-NOM today office-LOC-3sg
'Nil is in the office today.'

There seems to be lexical variation among particular stative verbs as illustrated by the difference between *beğen-* 'like' and *sev-* 'love' in (3) and (6) in the imperative and control structures. *Beğen-* exhibits a non-dynamic behavior more typical of states (as in (6) as well), while *sev-* seems to allow a more agentive reading in (3), marked though the structure may be. In (4) and (5), non-verbal states appear in the imperative mood where the auxiliary *ol-* is not semantically empty but has the meaning 'to become' in an inceptive reading. For the stage-level states in (5) and (8) to be acceptable, it must be within the control of the subject to bring about those states. Consequently, being a transient, uncontrollable state, *keyifli* 'in a good mood' is infelicitous, while being at a place at some time is felicitous. As for the individual-level states in (4) and (7), those uncontrollable and persistent properties, e.g. being tall or blue eyed, are ungrammatical both in the imperative (as in (4)) and the control structure with the main predicate *söz ver-* 'promise' (commissive) in (7), whereas *tertipli* 'tidy' is grammatical because adopting the property of being tidy is within the control of an agentive subject.

(3) Ali, ?Nil'i beğen!/ülke-n-i sev!
Ali-NOM Nil-ACC like-IMP-2sg/country-2sg-ACC love-IMP-2sg

'Ali, ?like Nil!/love your country!'
(4) Ali, tertipli/*uzunboylu/*mavi gözlü ol!
Ali-NOM tidy/tall/blue eyed be-IMP-2sg
'Ali, be tidy/*tall/*blue-eyed!'
(5) Ali, saat dokuz-da burada/*keyifli ol!
Ali-NOM hour nine-LOC here/*in a good mood be-IMP-2sg
'Ali, be here at 9/*in a good mood!'
(6) Ahmet, Nil'i ?beğen-me-ye/sev-me-ye söz ver-di.
Ahmet-NOM   Nil-ACC   like-NOMN-DAT/love-NOMN-DAT
promise-PST-3sg
'Ahmet promised to ?like/love Nil.'
(7) Ali tertipli/*uzunboylu/*mavi gözlü ol-ma-ya söz ver-di.
Ali-NOM tidy/tall/blue eyed be-NOMN-DAT promise
give-PST-3sg
'Ali promised to be tidy/*tall/*blue eyed.'
(8) Ali burada/?keyifli ol-ma-ya söz ver-di.
Ali-NOM here /?in a good mood be-NOMN-DAT promise
give-PST-3sg
'Ali promised to be here/?in a good mood.'

    With indirect durative adverbs such as *hızla* 'quickly' and *yavaş yavaş* 'slowly,' verbal states are infelicitous (even in an inceptive (change of state) reading) as in (9), while both kinds of non-verbal states are ungrammatical as in (11) and (12). Subject agency/volition adverbials such as *bile bile* 'intentionally,' are more felicitous with those stage-level states which are within the control of a subject as in (12). As was observed in (5) and (8) above, *keyifli* differs from *burada* because it refers to an uncontrollable mood, which may have come into existence not due to the experiencer subject himself/herself but to other factors. The lexical variation between *sev-* and *beğen-* is further observed in (9) vs. (10) with respect to the volition adverb as well.

(9) Ali Nil'i ?hızla/?yavaş yavaş/?bile bile beğen-di.
Ali-NOM Nil-ACC quickly/slowly/intentionally like-PST-3sg
'Ali came to like Nil ?quickly/?slowly/?intentionally.'
(10) Ali Nil'i ?hızla/?yavaş yavaş/bile bile sev-di.
'Ali came to love Nil ?quickly/?slowly/intentionally.'
(11) Nil *hızla/*yavaş yavaş/*bile bile uzunboylu/tertipli.
Nil-NOM quickly/slowly/intentionally tall-3sg/tidy-3sg
'Nil is*quickly/*slowly/*intentionally tall/tidy.'

(12) Nil *hızla/*yavaş yavaş/?bile bile burada/keyifli.

'Nil is*quickly/*slowly/intentionally here/in a good mood.'

Being durative, states are predicted to be felicitous with direct durative adverbs rather than momentary adverbs. However, the nature of the state involved and the particular kind of adverb affect the felicity of the co-occurrence. Independent adverbial bounds do not seem to be felicitous with the verbal state in (13) unless it receives an inceptive reading with the *bir saatte* 'in an hour' adverb: it took Ali an hour before he started liking Nil. With the *bir saat boyunca* 'for an hour' adverb, the state is limited to that temporal span only. The momentary adverb suggests that the change of state into liking Nil coincides with that moment. Individual-level states as in (14) cannot be qualified by durative adverbs, either. This is because such predicates are assumed to hold infinitely in their unbounded span, but the adverbs imply independent bounds. However, stage-level states do allow independent adverbial bounds as in (16) as long as it is within the control of the subject to actualize them. Otherwise, uncontrollable stage-level states as in (15) are not felicitous with durative adverbs, either.

(13) Ali Nil'i ?bir saat boyunca/?bir saat-te/?saat onda beğen-di.

Ali-NOM Nil-ACC one hour along/one hour-LOC /at ten like-PST
    3sg

'Ali liked Nil ?for an hour/in an hour/?at 10.'

(14) Nil *bir saat boyunca/*bir saatte/*saat onda uzunboylu/tertipli.

'Nil is tall/tidy *for an hour/*in an hour/*at 10.'

(15)Nil ?bir saat boyunca/?bir saatte/?saat onda keyifli.

'Nil is in a good mood ?for an hour/?in an hour/?at 10.'

(16) Nil bir saat boyunca/bir saatte/saat onda burada.

'Nil is here for an hour/in an hour/at 10.'

With the super-lexical morphemes in (17-22), the individual-level state in (18) is again distinct from the stage-level and verbal states in (19) and (17) respectively, both of which allow an inceptive reading. There is lexical variation in (18) where world knowledge tells us that there can be no (natural) change in being blue-eyed, but a child may become taller. The completive *bitir-* is ungrammatical with all types of states as in (20-22), while the terminative is only partially felicitous with the verbal state in (20).

(17) Ali Nil'i beğen-me-ye başla-dı.

Ali-NOM Nil-ACC like-NOMN-DAT start-PST-3sg

'Ali began liking Nil.'

(18) Ali *mavi gözlü/?uzunboylu ol-ma-ya başla-dı.

'Ali began being *blue-eyed/?tall.'

(19) Ali ?burada ol-ma-ya başla-dı.

'Ali began being ?here.'

(20) Ali Nil'i beğen-me-yi ?bırak-tı./*bitir-di.

Ali-NOM Nil-ACC like-NOMN-ACC stop-PST-3sg/finish-PST-3sg

'Ali ?stopped/*finished liking Nil.'

(21) Ali uzunboylu olmayı *bırak-tı./*bitir-di.

'Ali *stopped/*finished being tall.'

(22) Ali keyifli olmayı *bırak-tı./*bitir-di.

'Ali *stopped/*finished being in a good mood.'

4.2. Dynamic Situations: Events

While states are non-dynamic, the rest of the STs are dynamic. Dynamic events are further distinguished with respect to telicity and duration. Semelfactives and activities are atelic events, whereas achievements and accomplishments are telic. Semelfactives and achievements are non-durative while activities and accomplishments are durative. In what follows, we will try to illustrate how these STs differ from one another with respect to the relevant syntactic and semantic tests.

4.2.1. Non-durative Atelic Events: Semelfactives

Semelfactive is the dynamic, non-durative and atelic ST which consists of a single stage (Smith, 1997: 29). Semelfactives are felicitous in dynamic structures such as imperatives in (23) and control in (24) as long as there is an agentive subject that can act as a source of energy and volition. For example, hiccupping is less felicitous than ringing the bell in (23-24) because it is an involuntary act which cannot usually be controlled by the subject.

(23) Ali zil-i çal/?hıçkır!

Ali-NOM bell-ACC ring-IMP-2sg/hiccup-IMP-2sg

'Ali, ring the bell!/?hiccup!'

(24) Ali zil-i çal-ma-ya/?hıçkır-ma-ya söz ver-di.

Ali-NOM bell-ACC ring- NOMN-DAT /hiccup-NOMN-DAT

promise-PST-3sg

'Ali promised to ring the bell/?hiccup.'

Semelfactives are acceptable with volition adverbs as in (25) and momentary adverbs as in (26). The most felicitous reading of the indirect

durative adverbs in (25) is one where they do not have scope within the VC itself. The subject may have acted quickly or slowly before ringing the bell, but the actual event of ringing the bell cannot be qualified as being quick or slow because a semelfactive event is only made up of a single moment rather than internal successive stages. With direct durative *for an hour* adverbs, semelfactives get shifted into multiple-event activity, i.e. a derived-level ST, as in (26), because the positive value of the durativity feature clashes with the negative value of that feature in the momentaneous semelfactive. With the *in an hour* adverbial, it is understood that it was a difficult task for Ali to ring the bell; therefore, his attempts might have taken an hour finally ending with a single instantaneous occurrence of the event, i.e. an inceptive interpretation. Semelfactives in Turkish do not seem to be constrained with respect to inceptive and terminative verbs as in (27) and (28). With the completive *bitir-*; however, semelfactives are not acceptable because they do not involve a preparatory process.

(25) Ali *hızla/*yavaş yavaş/bile bile zil-i çal-dı.
'Ali rang the bell *quickly/*slowly/intentionally.'
(26) Ali bir saat boyunca/?bir saatte/saat onda zil-i çal-dı.
'Ali rang the bell for an hour/?in an hour/at ten.'
(27) Ali hıçkır-ma-ya/zil-i çal-ma-ya başla-dı.
'Ali began hiccupping/ringing the bell.'
(28) Nil zil-i çal-ma-yı bırak-tı/*bitir-di.
'Nil stopped/finished ringing the bell.'

4.2.2. Durative Atelic Events: Activities

Activity is the dynamic, durative and atelic ST with an arbitrary terminal point, typically involving a physical or mental process. Activities are most felicitous with forms that involve energy, volition, control, and duration, especially with agentive subjects. Accordingly, the imperative in (29) and the control structure in (31) are grammatical. However, as illustrated in the contrast between *tekerlek* 'wheel' and *dansçı* 'dancer' in (30) and (32), an inanimate (and thus non-agentive) subject results in a semantically anomalous structure. This is not to say that this prevents an activity reading of the whole VC in (30) and (32). In fact, *Tekerlek/Dansçı döndü.* would still be categorized as an activity VC. This only suggests that dynamism is independent from animacy or volition and that it is actually motion and energy that distinguish dynamic events from non-dynamic states.

(29) Ali, park-ta yürü!

Ali-NOM park-LOC walk-IMP-2sg
'Ali, walk in the park!'
(30) Dansçı/*tekerlek, dön!
dancer-NOM/wheel-NOM turn-IMP-2sg
'Dancer/*Wheel, turn!'
(31) Ali park-ta yürü-me-ye söz ver-di.
'Ali promised to walk in the park.'
(32) Dansçı/*Tekerlek dön-me-ye söz ver-di.
'The dancer/*the wheel promised to turn.'

Activities are also acceptable with volitional and indirect durative adverbs as in (33-35), except for the volitional adverb with the inanimate subject *tekerlek* in (34). Activities are compatible with direct durative adverbs as well, as in (36-37). However, with the *in an hour* adverbs an inceptive reading arises: it took some time before the actual activity started as in (36-37). With the momentary adverb in (36-37), the initial endpoint of the activity coincides with the temporal span of the adverb.

(33) Ali park-ta hızla/yavaş yavaş/bile bile yürü-dü.
'Ali walked in the park quickly/slowly/intentionally.'
(34) Tekerlek hızla/yavaş yavaş/*bile bile dön-dü.
'The wheel turned quickly/slowly/*intentionally.'
(35) Dansçı hızla/yavaş yavaş/bile bile dön-dü.
'The dancer turned quickly/slowly/intentionally.'
(36) Ali park-ta bir saat boyunca/?bir saatte/?saat onda yürü-dü.
'Ali walked in the park for an hour/in an hour/at ten.'
(37) Tekerlek/Dansçı bir saat boyunca/bir saatte/saat onda dön-dü.
'The wheel/the dancer turned for an hour/in an hour/at ten.'

Activities are compatible with the super-lexical morphemes *başla-* as in (38) and (40) and *bırak-* as in (39) and (41) because they include an internal stage. The ungrammaticality of (42) is due to the fact that *bırak-* involves agency and volition which is not present in the subject. The same subject is grammatical in (43), this time with *dur-* which expresses termination without intervention by an agent. None of the VCs in (39) and (41-43) is felicitous with the completive *bitir-* or *bit-* because activities are atelic and do not include a natural endpoint.

(38) Ali park-ta yürü-me-ye başla-dı.
'Ali started walking in the park.'
(39) Ali park-ta yürü-me-yi bırak-tı/?bitir-di.
'Ali stopped/?finished walking in the park.'

(40) Tekerlek/dansçı dön-me-ye başla-dı.
'The wheel/the dancer started turning.'
(41) Dansçı dön-me-yi bırak-tı/?bitir-di.
'The dancer stopped/?finished turning.'
(42) Tekerlek dönmeyi *bırak-tı/*bitir-di.
'The wheel *stopped/*finished turning.'
(43) Tekerleğin dön-me-si dur-du/*bit-ti.
'The turning of the wheel stopped/*finished.'

4.2.3. Non-durative Telic Events: Achievements

Achievement is the dynamic, non-durative and telic ST which involves a change of state and a result. Achievements are grammatical with the imperative as in (44), the control structure in (45) and the volition adverb in (46). They are incompatible with indirect durative adverbs such as those in (46) and direct durative *for an hour* adverbs in (47) because there is a clash between the value of the durativity feature in the ST and that in the adverb. Such a durative adverb can only be construed to have scope outside the VC, covering a temporal span anterior to that covered by the achievement. However, they are acceptable with momentary adverbs as in (47). In (47), the *in an hour* adverb refers to a preliminary period before the achievement obtains and this period is not included in the temporal schema of the ST, hence the felicity of the sentence.

(44) Ali tepe-ye ulaş!
Ali-NOM top-DAT reach-IMP-2sg
'Ali, reach the top!'
(45) Ali tepe-ye ulaş-ma-ya söz ver-di.
'Ali promised to reach the top.'
(46) Ali *hızla/*yavaş yavaş/bile bile tepe-ye ulaş-tı.
'Ali reached the top quickly/slowly/intentionally.'
(47) Ali *bir saat boyunca/bir saatte/saat onda tepe-ye ulaş-tı.
Ali reached the top *for an hour/in an hour/at ten.'

Achievements are incompatible with the inceptive, terminative or completive super-lexical morphemes as in (48-49) because achievements do not involve an internal stage as implied by those morphemes. This also shows that the *bitir-* test is actually a test for both telicity and duration because although the achievement in (49) involves a natural endpoint, i.e. telic, it is ungrammatical with *bitir-* because it is non-durative, i.e. its

prototypical temporal schema does not include a preparatory stage leading to its natural endpoint.

(48) Ali tepe-ye ulaş-ma-ya *başla-dı.

'Ali *began reaching the top.'

(49) Ali tepe-ye ulaş-ma-yı *bırak-tı./*bitir-di.

'Ali *stopped/*finished reaching the top.'

4.2.4. Durative Telic Events: Accomplishments

Accomplishment is the dynamic, durative and telic ST that brings together a preliminary activity, a change of state and a result. In other words, it is a composite ST which encompasses an activity and an achievement. Accomplishments may appear in imperative and control structures as in (50) and (51). Accomplishments are also compatible with volitional and indirect duration adverbs as in (52). From among the direct duration adverbs, accomplishments are only felicitous with the *in an hour* adverbs as in (53) where it is understood that the entire temporal span of the ST coincides with that of the adverb. With the *for an hour* adverbs as in (53) (telic) accomplishments are shifted into (atelic) activities. With the momentary adverbs they get a derived-level inceptive (activity) reading as in (53), with the temporal span of the adverb overlapping with the initial endpoint of the event.

(50) Ali park-a yürü/duvar-ı boya!

Ali-NOM park-DAT walk-IMP-2sg/wall-ACC paint-IMP-2sg

'Ali, walk to the park/paint the wall!'

(51) Ahmet park-a yürü-me-ye/duvar-ı boya-ma-ya söz ver-di.

'Ahmet promised to walk to the park/paint the wall.'

(52) Ali park-a hızla/yavaş yavaş/bile bile yürü-dü.

'Ali walked to the park quickly/slowly/intentionally.'

(53) Ali park-a *bir saat boyunca/bir saatte/*saat onda yürü-dü.

'Ali walked to the park *for an hour/in an hour/*at ten.'

Accomplishments are compatible with the inceptive, terminative and completive super-lexical morphemes as in (54-55). However, with the inceptive and terminative morphemes, they are shifted to an activity reading because of the non-detachability property inherent in the prototypical accomplishment ST, which says that the culmination in its natural endpoint is the defining property of an accomplishment.

(54) Ali park-a yürü-me-ye/duvar-ı boya-ma-ya başla-dı.

'Ali began walking to the park/painting the wall.'

(55) Ali park-a yürü-me-yi/duvar-ı boya-ma-yı bırak-tı/bitir-di.
'Ali stopped/finished walking to the park/painting the wall.'

5. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This paper has focused on the linguistic realization of five STs in Turkish, namely states, semelfactives, activities, achievements and accomplishments. The three T/A features, namely dynamism, duration and telicity, whose linguistic correlates are reflected in a number of syntactic and semantic tests, have been illustrated to distinguish among the five basic-level STs. Being based on universal semantic concepts, the T/A features have produced similar results in Turkish in comparison to those attested in English, though a number of points in the Turkish data suggest a more critical evaluation of some of the tests and the language-specific correlates of the T/A features.

With respect to the T/A feature [+/- dynamic], imperative and control structures seem to be appropriate tests to distinguish dynamic events from non-dynamic states in Turkish as well. However, as illustrated in (30) and (32), dynamism should be defined by motion and energy rather than volition, animacy, control or agentivity. Although these concepts may have overlapping linguistic correlates with dynamism, they are independent and need to be teased apart by further tests. For example, an animate being, e.g. a dog, is a source of energy and motion but does not have volition in the sense that a human being does. A human being is a source of energy and motion, agentive and has volition, but may not control certain states, e.g. *keyifli*. However, this should not lead to distinguishing further subcategories of STs as in **Dik** (1989) based on the feature [+/- controlled] or [+/- experience]. Note that (30) and (32) are only semantically anomalous, but the VCs involved can still be categorized as a basic-level activity.

Tests suggested for specific languages should also be used with caution. For example, although the progressive is used to distinguish states from non-states in English, it is not a valid test for Turkish because both states and non-states can occur with the progressive marker *–(I)yor* as in (56). Likewise, although the pseudo-cleft structure yields similar results both in English and Turkish, as in (57), it is much less frequently used in Turkish to express the (intentional/volitional) active involvement of the subject in the event.

(56) Ali Fransızca bil-iyor.
Ali-**NOM** French-**NOM** know-**PROG**-3sg

'Ali knows French.' (*Ali is knowing French)
(57) Ali'nin yap-tığ-ı yürü-mek-ti./*uzunboylu ol-mak-tı.
Ali-GEN do-NOMN-3sg walk-NOMN-PST-3sg /tall be-NOMN-PST-3sg
'What Ali did was to walk/*be tall.'

With respect to the T/A feature [+/- durative], direct and indirect duration adverbs felicitously co-occur with durative STs, namely states, activities and accomplishments while they induce derived-level interpretations with the non-durative semelfactives and achievements. In fact, there seem to be default choices of ST for each type of adverb. Durative adverbs also differ with respect to the temporal span they indicate with respect to the ST involved. For example, the *in an hour* adverbs most felicitously occur with accomplishments whose entire temporal span - including the preliminary process and the result - they modify, while they refer to a preparatory stage anterior to the event itself with semelfactives, activities, achievements and a subset of stage-level predicates. The *for an hour* adverbs induce multiple-event interpretations with semelfactives and achievements, shift accomplishment to activity, but they felicitously modify the entire temporal span of activities and some stage-level states. The default choice for momentary adverbs are (non-durative) semelfactives and achievements, but such adverbs trigger inceptive readings with the rest of the STs. Indirect durative adverbs are most felicitous with activities and accomplishments because they both involve dynamism and duration. Super-lexical morphemes also prove to be distinctive for some of the STs depending on the T/A feature involved in each case. The inceptive *başla-* and the terminative *bırak-* seem to be most felicitous with the activity situation type but they are also acceptable with semelfactives and accomplishments as long as they are shifted to derived-level activity. The completive *bitir-* seems to be a composite test specific to accomplishments because of the positive value of the durativity and telicity features involved.

With respect to the T/A feature [+/- telic], the structure in (58-60) often employed as a test to distinguish telic situations from atelic ones in English does not yield a sufficiently distinctive result in Turkish not only because it can ambiguously refer to both the preliminary stage before the culmination of a (non-durative) telic event as in (58) or the entire span of the event including the preliminary process and the result as in (59) but also because the structure can occur with atelic situations as well as in (60). For Turkish, case marking can be a better indicator of telicity in some cases. For

example, non-definite, non-referential bare nouns trigger an atelic reading as in (61a), whereas an Accusative-marked internal argument would result in a telic accomplishment reading as in (61b).

(58) Ali'nin tepe-ye ulaş-ma-sı bir saat sür-dü. (achievement)
Ali-GEN top-ACC reach-NOMN-3sg one hour last-PST-3sg
'It took Ali an hour to reach the top.'
(59) Ali'nin park-a yürü-me-si bir saat sür-dü. (accomplishment)
Ali-GEN park-DAT walk-NOMN-3sg one hour last-PST-3sg
'It took Ali an hour to walk to the park.'
(60) ?Ali'nin yürü-me-si bir saat sür-dü. (activity)
Ali-GEN walk-NOMN-3sg one hour last-PST-3sg
'Ali spent an hour walking.'
(61) a. Nil kitap oku-du. (activity)
Nil-NOM book-NOM read-PST-3sg
'Nil did book-reading.'
b. Nil kitab-ı oku-du. (accomplishment)
Nil-NOM book-ACC read-PST-3sg
'Nil read the book.'

In conclusion, the syntactic and semantic tests discussed above have clearly indicated that Turkish expresses all five of the universal basic-level STs and derived-level STs as well with the contribution of both lexical and structural means provided in the language. However, there seems to be some language-specific variation in the linguistic realization of T/A features and STs, suggesting a need for further semantic/syntactic tests specifically designed for Turkish. From a wider perspective, the behavior of Turkish suggests that aspectual interpretation holds at sentence level where the speaker has access to all the lexical and grammatical means offered by the language so that s/he can choose from among them the relevant means and present the situation in the way that s/he wishes, largely in support of Smith (1997).

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