

IDIOMATICITY, FORMULAICITY AND
SEMI-FIXED CONSTRUCTIONS IN TURKISH

ALİ YAĞIZ ŞEN

BOĞAZİÇİ UNIVERSITY
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ALİ YAĞIZ ŞEN

BOĞAZİÇİ UNIVERSITY

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ABSTRACT

Idiomaticity, Formulaicity and Semi-Fixed Constructions in Turkish

This study investigates idiomaticity, formulaicity and constructions in Turkish, limiting the analysis to semi-fixed multiword constructions. These concepts have been independently studied for this language, however, never within a constructionist approach or in systematic relation to each other. In this regard, this is arguably the first study that shows that beyond canonical idioms such as *ayranı kabarmak* ‘burst with anger’, one finds how varying degrees of idiomaticity and formulaicity relate with each other and how widespread they are in the language. In doing this, the analysis is founded upon three theoretical pillars: Wray’s theory of formulaicity (2002, 2008); Wulff’s (2008) definition of idiomaticity, and Goldberg’s Cognitive Construction Grammar (CCG) (2005). A thorough analysis of form and function, particularly modal function, is provided for semi-fixed constructions such as $[V_i-(y)A V_i(y)A X mI V_i]$ (e.g. *gele gele sen mi geldin?! ‘Of all the people YOU came (complaining tone)?!’*). The main findings are: i) in the spirit of their holistic and non-transparent nature, SFCs tend to denote modality implicitly; ii) boulomaic modality is the most commonly expressed; iii) the prevalent discourse functions of SFCs are dismissing, criticizing, and/or complaining. It is hoped that this exploratory and preliminary study contributes to the studies of modality, the scalar nature of idiomaticity and formulaicity, and the status of the concept of *construction* in CCG sense for Turkish and cross-linguistically. It is believed that Turkish lexicography and pedagogy can benefit from giving a more central role to semi-fixed constructions.

ÖZET

Türkçe’de Deyimsellik, Kalıplaşma ve Yarı-Belirlenmiş Yapılanmalar

Bu çalışma, Türkçe’de deyimsellik, kalıplaşma ve yapılanma (construction) kavramlarının durumunu, yarı-belirlenmiş yapılanmalarla (YBY) sınırlı olacak şekilde incelemektedir. Bu kavramlar Türkçe’de birbirinden bağımsız olarak incelenmiştir ancak yapım-merkezli bir yaklaşım içerisinde veya sistematik bir biçimde derinlemesine araştırılmamıştır. Bu anlamda, muhtemeldir ki, bu çalışma, ‘ayranı kabarmak’ türünden temel deyimlerin ötesini görmeye çalışarak deyimsellik ve kalıplaşmanın sürem arz eden olgular olduğunu ve dilin ne kadar her yerine yayılmış olduğunu, Türkçe bağlamında, gösteren ilk çalışmadır. İnceleme, bu amaçla, üç kuramsal payanda üzerine inşa edilmektedir: Wray’ın (2002) kalıpsallık kuramı, Wulff’un (2008) deyimsellik tanımı ve Goldberg’ün Bilişsel Yapılanma Dilbilgisi (BYB) (2005). Yarı-belirlenmiş, [Fiil_i-(y)A Fiil_i(y)A X *mI* Fiil_i] (ör. ‘Gele gele sen mi geldin?’) türünden yapılanmalar, hem biçim hem işlev açısından, özellikle de kiplik işlevi bakımından, derinlemesine incelenmektedir. YBY’lere dair ana bulgular şu şekildedir: i) bütünsel ve saydamsız doğaları gereği, kiplik üstü kapalı bir şekilde ifade edilmektedir; ii) en yaygın ifade edilen kiplik türü duysaldır (boulomaic); iii) YBY’lerin söylem içerisindeki temel işlevleri savuşturmak, eleştirmek ve/veya şikayet etmektir. Kiplik, deyimsellik ve kalıpsallığın süremlilikleri ve BYB’deki yapılanma kavramının Türkçe’deki durumunun ve diller arasındaki yerinin araştırılması bağlamında, keşif mertebesinde ve başlangıç niteliğindeki bu çalışmanın katkı sağlayacağı ümit edilmektedir. Benzer şekilde, sözlükbilgisi/sözlükçülük ve Türkçe’nin yabancı dil olarak eğitimi alanlarında, yarı-belirlenmiş yapımların ön plana taşınmasının yararı olacağına inanılmaktadır.

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constructionist/formulaicity-driven ideas, his direction toward Firthian and other usage-based approaches was a cornerstone in the forming of my subject matter.

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ABBREVIATIONS

1PL	First Person Plural
2PL	Second Person Plural
1SG	First Person Singular
2SG	Second Person Singular
3PL	Third Person Plural
3SG	Third Person Singular
ABIL	Abilitive
ABL	Ablative Case Marker
ACC	Accusative Case Marker
ADJ	Adjectival
ADV	Adverbial
AOR	Aorist
CAUS	Causative
CM	Compound Marker
ADM	Admirative
CCG	Cognitive Construction Grammar
COM	Comitative Case Marker
COND	Conditional
CONS	Consultative
COP	Copula
CVB	Converbial
DAT	Dative Case Marker
DEC	Declarative

DER	Derivational Suffix
EVID	Evidential Marker
FUT	Future
GEN	Genitive Case Marker
EXH	Exhortative
GMOD	Generalizing Modality Marker
IMP	Imperative
IMPF	Imperfective
INF	Infinitival
INST	Instrumental Case Marker
INT	Interrogative Marker
LOC	Locative Case Marker
NEC	Necessitative
NEG	Negation
NOM	Nominalizer
NPrt	Negation Particle
NOM	Nominative Case Marker
NONF	Nonfinite
ONOM	Onomatopoeia
OPT	Optative
OREL	Object Relativizer
PASS	Passive
PAST	Past
PastCop	Past Copula
PL	Plural

POSS	Possessive Marker
PRES	Present Tense
PRF	Perfective
PROG	Progressive
PSB	Possibility
REC	Reciprocal
SFC	Semi-fixed Construction
SREL	Subject Relativizer
SUB	Subordination Maker
SUB1	Subordination Marker 1
SUB2	Subordination Marker 2
TAM	Tense-Aspect-Modality
TOP	Topic Marker
VIS	Visual Evidential

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The present study is an exploration into formulaicity and idiomaticity in Turkish with a focus on semi-fixed idiomatic constructions. A constructionist approach is adopted basing the analysis on one particular version of Construction Grammar: Cognitive-Construction Grammar (CCG) of Goldberg (2005). Throughout the study, linguistic units that function as a whole rather than a sum of parts, i.e. *constructions* are described and analyzed. Although constructions of varying complexities and sizes are discussed, the main focus will be on semi-fixed construction (SFC), i.e. constructions that exhibit non-predictable function, partial-specification, and are made of multiple words. The rest of this chapter sets the scene for the analysis by introducing preliminary concepts such as formulaicity, idiomaticity, and construction. Sections 1.1, 1.2 and 1.3 provide a brief overview of the defining history of linguistic research that gave way to the particular theoretical background adopted in the present study. Section 1.4 outlines the data and methodology utilized in the analysis. Section 1.5 presents the aim of the present study, while Section 1.6 outlines the organization of the remaining chapters.

1.1 Setting the scene: background

Of two constructions made according to the same pattern, one may be an ad hoc construction of the moment and the other may be a repetition or reuse of one coined long ago . . . This may be reflected in a number of ways other than that of their grammatical structure, which is presumed constant. (Lounsbury 1963: 561)

Linguistics in post-WWII Britain and the United States took separate paths, placing importance on different aspects of language. In tolerably general terms, when

Hopper (1988) was pointing out that linguists of his time had two main approaches to grammar, he was in fact also placing each attitude of thought to one side of the Atlantic. Hopper describes the first attitude as A Priori Grammar Postulate, which sets off from the assumption that grammar is a “discrete set of rules logically and mentally presupposed by discourse” (Hopper 1988: 118); that is, grammar can, in abstract terms, be detached from discourse and precedes discourse.

The second attitude, Emergence of Grammar, sees grammar as a vaguely and imperfectly “defined set of sedimented and recurrent partials whose status is constantly being negotiated in speech” (Hopper 1988: 118). Significantly, in principle, “[the grammar] cannot be distinguished from strategies for building discourse” (Hopper 1988: 118). Adopting Firthian approaches to linguistics (Firth 1957), the study of formulaicity in language developed in the 20th century within British corpus linguistics. As the work of linguists from various fields of study pointed to the significance of prefabricated, or in Generative terms, lexically (partially) pre-specified qualities of actual language use, formulaic phenomena drew increasing attention from American linguists as well.

1.2 The centrality of formulas and idiomaticity

The study of formulaic language is based around the idea that some linguistic sequences, which could potentially be analyzed into smaller units are, for one reason or another, better treated holistically (Durrant 2013: 1). These sequences have been argued to be prefabricated lexical chunks that are simply retrieved from the lexicon at the time of use rather than being generated from scratch (Wray 2008). Examples include idioms (e.g. ‘see eye to eye’), ‘formulaic sequences’ (e.g. ‘let alone’ constructions) in Wray’s (2002) model of the lexicon, ‘formal idioms’ (e.g. ‘The X-

er the Y-er') by Fillmore et al. (1988) in Construction Grammar, and 'schematas' in Goldberg (2006). These units can be defined by four distinctive properties: i) relatively more frequency in use ii) fixedness of form, iii) a varying degree of non-compositionality, and iv) lexical under-specification.

Apart from the definition of formulaicity laid out above, which emphasizes its formal properties, there have been other understandings of formulaic language, which bring into prominence different factors. Cognitively-oriented studies tend to describe formulaic phenomena with regard to their holistic storage in the mental lexicon. Among these studies, Wray (2008) postulates (even though her approach is too well-rounded to be deemed only cognitive) a strategy for first language acquisition that she calls Needs-Only-Analysis (NOA). According to NOA linguistic material does not go through the process of analysis by the child (or adult speaker) unless there is a specific reason to do so. The native speaker aims at minimizing the processing burden by producing and receiving language as holistically as possible. This understanding of linguistic cognition resonates with findings concerning other faculties of the brain. Recently it has been shown that visual input is not analyzed by the visual cortex unless there is a need to know the details (Anstis 1992). While the first preference of the brain is to get a rough draft of the visual input, analysis of the input and working out the details occur only when we need to do so for a specific reason.

Other studies gave consequence to the predilection aspect of formulaicity. Two linguists, Pawley and Syder juxtaposed naturalness and Chomskyan creativity in a number of studies where they emphasize the observation that only a tiny fraction of all the *possible* constructions that is allowed by creativity is actually *likely*, i.e. accepted as 'natural' (Pawley 1985, 1991, 1996; Pawley and Syder 1983, 2000).

According to these frameworks formulaic language is defined as language that is preferred by and seen as ‘native-like’ by the native speaker. It is also in these frameworks that idiomaticity, that is being idiomatic, is in effect synonymous with formulaicity, and the two terms are used interchangeably. Fillmore et al.’s (1988) seminal work on formal idioms that set the scene for Construction Grammar (Goldberg 1995, 2004) could also be evaluated under this predilection approach. The formal idioms are idiomatic multi-word constructions that are fully or partially fixed.

Related to formulaicity, the other much-discussed concept, idiomaticity, on the other hand, comes mainly in two distinct yet compatible definitions: 1) likely/normal ways of saying things, i.e. native-likeness in social interaction as opposed to simply possible (native speakers’ predilection of ‘How are you doing?’ instead of ‘How is your life proceeding right now?’) 2) a degree of non-compositionality/non-predictability in semantic & discourse function. As the traditional usual suspect of ‘whole-ness’ and prefabrication, idiomatic expressions in general and idioms in particular have been at the center of the discussion on idiomaticity. Many of the aforementioned approaches, however, observe that all linguistic expressions are ‘idiomatic’ to some degree, that is to say idiomaticity is a continuum.

1.3 Formulaic phenomena in Turkish

Formulaicity is a rather under-investigated concept in Turkish. Accounts exist that describe speech formulas such as idioms, collocations, proverbs, as well as speech acts (Tannen and Öztürk 1989, Doğançay 1990). However, to the author’s knowledge, there has not been a thorough analysis of the role of formulaicity in this language. This thesis will be an attempt to explore formulaicity in Turkish.

Linguistic sequences of Turkish that appear to be formulaic, in that prefabricated and idiomatic, will be identified. In contrast to formulaicity literature which is mostly based around English, the author envisions, identifying single-word and polymorphic formulaic constructions in Turkish (e.g. ‘Adj-*cAnA*’ as in *iyicene* ‘thoroughly’ and *bolcana* ‘in plenty’) along with numerous multi-word strings. Section 2.3 in Chapter 2 discusses studies on Turkish in detail with a focus on constructionist approaches.

1.4 Data and methodology

The purpose of this section is to describe and provide a rationale for the collection of the data and the methods implemented in this thesis. Adopting the emergent view of language (Hopper 1988, Hoey 2005), the view that patterns of linguistic forms and functions emerge from language use in natural contexts rather than instances of lexical insertions into an abstract and innate a priori grammar requires a methodological framework that acknowledges the importance of empirical investigations of language use. The inductive approach to empirical data analysis and theory-building is crucial in ensuring that explanations are sought to “fit the evidence, rather than adjusting the evidence to fit a pre-set explanation” (Sinclair 1991: 36)

1.4.1 The inductive approach

The present study is based around an inductive analysis of data that has been collected by the author over a four-year period. The source of data is limited neither to a specific register/genre nor to spoken or written Turkish. Instead, bearing in mind the intersection of the definitions for *construction* and *formulaic sequence*, a liberal

approach is taken to data collection. In this regard, the starting point has chosen to be, to a large extent, highly observational and subjective.

The preference for an inductive approach that relies on subjective observation does, however, not suggest that the employed methodology has not been a consistent one. On the contrary, by starting from an observational, heuristic and in that sense subjective point, it was made possible to develop a fresh method for the identification of instances of the particular linguistic species that, to the author's knowledge, hitherto have never been investigated for this particular language.

Furthermore, it is crucial to note that the analysis here relies on the exposure and experience of *one* particular native speaker of Turkish, i.e. the author. From one point of view, this could be deemed a risky choice on the grounds of objectivity in scientific theory-making. At a second and more careful thought, one that puts emphasis on the theoretical framework this study falls into which was outlined in previous chapters, it becomes evident that this choice is in fact an advantage. Ultimately, the theoretical background on which this study is constructed, has an epistemological property of not postulating a single abstract *LANGUAGE* for all speakers of a Language community but a multiplicity of overlapping languages for each speaker that are the product of the attempt to generalize (Hoey 2005) linguistic material they are exposed to.

The initial detection of constructions and formulaic sequences is described in Section 1.4.2.1. Subsequent to this initial step, a number of techniques (Step 2,3, and 4) have been implemented in order to identify candidates of construction-hood and to cross-check the ontological status of identified material, including but not limited to corpora, complex online searches using Regular Expressions, and informal conversational surveys.

1.4.2 Identification of constructions

The procedure followed for the identification of constructions is described step-by-step in the sub-sections below.

1.4.2.1 Step 1: Detection

In an attempt to identify parts of Turkish that

- exhibit formal and/or semantic idiosyncrasies,
- are traditionally not included in accounts of Turkish grammar,
- have not been documented or described in lexicographic or

idiomatic/formulaic sources; a certain routine has been utilized which is more of a *modus operandi* rather than a full-fledged methodology. Prior to laying out the sequential techniques of operation, a description of some foundational characteristics of the *modus operandi* adopted here are in order.

One important aspect of the adopted *modus operandi* is the perpetual effort to see Turkish through the non-native speaker's eyes. The effort of putting oneself in the non-native speaker's shoes entails two main parts. The first one is pertains to mimicking the advanced student of Turkish finding equivalents of English idiomatic (synonymous with 'native-like') expressions. The second consists of the author's own collection of Turkish expressions from his own teaching experience. In years of foreign language teaching, the author identified the existence of certain expressions, fully- or otherwise partially-specified, that seem to be the gap between the linguistic knowledge¹ of the advanced student of Turkish and that of the near-native speaker of Turkish. This observation is reminiscent of the findings in formulaic language studies such as Wray (2002, 2008), Karabacak and Qin (2012).

¹ It is worth noting that within the theoretical framework in which this study operates, there is no ontological distinction made between 'competence' and 'performance' in linguistic knowledge.

The first part took as a setoff point, the descriptive studies such as Fillmore et al. (1988), Wray (2002, 2008), (*a few others*) have been referred to find for English formulaic sequences and constructions². Later a direct/literal translation into Turkish is performed on the expression followed by a quest to find a more idiomatic (native-like) equivalent in Turkish.

With the two translations in hand, there are two possible scenarios that need to be treated differently. In one scenario, the two translations turn out to be very close to each other, in fact in some cases almost non-distinguishable. In the second scenario translations differ from each other substantially. The former scenario points to the possibility that the idiomatic translation of the English expression is probably a construction on its own right in Turkish too. The latter, however, does not suggest an immediate conclusion but rather gives the researcher the opportunity to compare the idiomatic translation to its grammatical/lexical kins in an effort to see if it exhibits some formal and/or semantic idiosyncrasy. In the case that an idiosyncrasy is detected the expression is added to the data as a candidate construction, otherwise is eliminated from the data.

The final characteristic of the *modus operandi* pertains to only one particular type of formulaic sequence, i.e. fully-specified bundles, and does not apply to more abstract constructions with partial specification. It has been found in formulaic language research that prefabricated material in language tends to be articulated faster and between pauses in as compared to novel material that is produced on the spot by the speaker. The informal application of this articulation aspect that has solely been observational and has not been subjected to test or experiment has also yielded potential candidates of formulaic sequences or constructions for the data.

² In later stages of this study the author, especially after starting to live within an English-speaking community, started to collect English examples himself as well.

1.4.2.2 Step 2: Identification strategies

A first strategy relates to the criterion of formal non-predictability for the identification of constructions, i.e. formal idiosyncrasies. As the present analysis will show, formal idiosyncrasy is rather irrelevant to constructionhood in Turkish, as clear, virtually undisputable cases of formal deviation are rare. Nevertheless, this strategy, highly relevant for English constructions is described below, as it is put to use in an effort to identify semi-fixed constructions for the present study.³ When a linguistic expression exhibits formal characteristics that deviate from more canonical grammatical patterns, there is enough motivation for calling that expression a construction (Hilpert 2014, Goldberg 2003). Formal deviation from canonical patterns can be identified in different ways. Take for instance the expression *by and large*. A first observation would be that a phrase consisting of a preposition (*by*), a conjunction (*and*), and an adjective (*large*), in that order, is not commonly found in English. This is not to suggest that these parts of speech do not occur in phrasal expressions such as *acquainted with and supportive of the school aims*. One significant difference is however noteworthy here. In this example *with and supportive* does not form a symbolic unit à la Langacker (1987).

A second piece of evidence for the construction-hood comes from the observation that *by and large* becomes significantly unintelligible once the adjective *large* is replaced with the adjective that is traditionally taken to be its near-synonym if not synonym, namely *big*. Taken together, these pieces of evidence point to the apparent possibility that, in the production and perception of the expression *by and large*, speakers of English do not draw from paradigmatic associations or broader abstract generalizations in English phrasal formation. The rest of this section

³ As a precursor to this topic see the study by Göksel and Öztürk (2019), which explores the formal idiosyncrasy exhibited by a group of idiomatic constructions in Turkish.

discusses further examples of formal idiosyncrasy in English and moves on to discussing Turkish formal idiosyncrasy. Consider (1) below.

(1) *is-plural* constructions

Examples: (1.1) Jeremy *is* best friends with Tara.

(1.2) Tara *is* partners with Hannah.

The co-occurrence of plural on *best friends* and *partners* and singular agreement on the verb *be* in these constructions constitutes a formal idiosyncrasy.

(2) Measure-as-modifier constructions

Examples: (2.1) 16-year old boy

(2.2) 2-hour meeting

(2.3) 5-foot sandwich

The idiosyncrasy that is observed here is that the nouns *year*, *hour*, and *foot* are in the singular, despite the fact that plural use might be expected, due to the fact that they are modified by numbers larger than 1. This peculiarity appears to be systematic as it is all-pervasive in English.

(3) Grinding constructions

Examples: (3.1) There was cat all over the road

(3.2) I have rabbit all over my windshield.

In grinding constructions canonically count noun would be coerced into being interpreted as a mass noun. In English, mass nouns such as *food* can be used in expressions such as *You've got food all over your face*. In an analogy to this type of expressions, nouns that are otherwise considered count nouns, such as *rabbit* or *cat* can be used in a similar way as in the examples below. See (4) for an example of formal idiosyncrasy in Turkish:

- (4) çok doktor-lar tanı-dı-m
much doctor.PL know-a-person.PRF.1SG
Lit. 'I've known many doctors'
Idiom. 'you have no idea...I've come to know many doctors in my life'

In this example, the stem, *doctor*, takes a plural suffix in the presence of *çok*, an intensifier that is canonically used as an adverb in the traditional sense and does not trigger plurality on what it intensifies.

- (5) bir zaman-lar ben de sen-in gibi-y-di-m
a/one time.PL I also you(SG).GEN similar.COP.PRF.1SG
'once upon a time I too was like you'

Similar to (4) the stem, *zaman*, is pluralized in a non-predictable way in a unity it enters into with *bir*, a word that can be used as a cardinal number or an indefinite article. Consider the next example given in (6).

- (6) (en/hiç) ol-ma-dı biz onlar-a gid-er-iz
 (most/not at all) happen-NEG-PRF3SG we they-DAT go-AOR.1PL
 Lit. ‘the most didn’t work out we’ll go to them’
 Idiom. ‘if nothing works out we’ll go to them’

This construction is idiosyncratic on two levels; first, *en*, a word that prevalently modifies adjectives into superlative interpretation, here is observed to be modifying a finite verb, *olmadı*. Second, a verbal expression, *en olmadı*, is used in an adverbial function.

The next strategy to be discussed is seeking non-predictable meaning.

Certain constructions are less salient than idioms in the traditional sense but will still have a certain degree of non-compositionality/non-predictability in their function.

Examples: (7.1) It wasn’t *much of a surprise*.

(7.2) Debbie broke *a finger* during the game.

Taken literally, *much of a surprise* means ‘a big part of surprise’ in which case the literal meaning of the expression would be ‘It was not a big part of surprise’. Taylor (2012) categorizes this type of expressions under a MUCH OF NOUN construction. The particular meaning paired with this particular form is ‘not at all’.

Crucially, in example (7.2) it is observed that even though there is nothing in the expression per se that rules out the possibility that Debbie broke someone else’s finger, this particular syntagmatic pattern is usually interpreted as accidentally (and crucially, not purposefully either) breaking one’s own finger. This particular construction is indeed the conventional and hence idiomatic way of reporting

someone breaking her own finger. Although some expressions like the one in (7.2) have a passing degree of compositionality though with ambiguity, their interpretation in the linguistic community will be primed towards one particular meaning.

Consider the following utterance as an example of non-predictable function in Turkish:

- (8) Şimdi kim bakkal-a gid-ecek?
 now who grocery-store.DAT go.FUT.3SG
Lit. ‘Who will now go to the grocery store?’
Idiom. ‘I can’t be bothered to go to the grocery store right now’

The literal meaning that is given under (8) is in fact an available interpretation as well. Crucially though, there is a second meaning that is paired with this form, one that is non-compositional. This expression is used to convey laziness or lack of willingness to perform some action. In a closer inspection, as will be shown in Chapter 4, it becomes evident that this expression is in fact an instantiation of a partially-filled construction, ŞİMDİ KİM ____FUT, rather than a frozen expression.

A general note regarding the scope of the present study remains worth noting here. Similar to functional non-predictability and formal (morpho-syntactic) deviation, deviation from canonical prosody should also be regarded as sign of constructionhood in Turkish. Although utilized as an intuitive tool in the identification of constructions, the present study intentionally spares analysis of prosodic and phonological form. Nonetheless, as a precursor, it is worth noting that the two interpretations (literal and idiomatic) given for (8) may differ by their

prosodic form. Under closer laboratory scrutiny of their prosodies this point may be made more confidently, however, at this point it should be considered an intuition.

1.4.2.3 Step 3: Cross-check with corpora

Biber (2012) differentiates between two types of corpus utilization in linguistic studies. Corpus-based studies use the corpus to put to test *a priori* postulated theories. The researcher sets off with a theory on some aspect of language and analyzes the corpus to demonstrate whether the predictions of her theory are supported by actual language use or not. Corpus-driven studies, on the other hand, in a spirit that could be described as radically empiricist, rely on the corpus as the sole source for theory-making. During the course of this study corpora have been utilized in a unique way which can neither be collapsed under corpus-driven nor as corpus-based categories, although the overall approach is closer to being corpus-based if anything.

Subsequent to the completion of steps 1 and 2 described above, the author referred to two corpora of Turkish, namely Turkish National Corpus (henceforth TNC) and SketchEngine. The inclusion of corpus analysis was not motivated by the will to find new data for analysis. Rather, it has been a strategic choice motivated by the willingness to rule out the valid possibility that the author's findings are mere mirages. It is in this sense that the present study approximates being corpus-based.

1.4.2.4 Step 4: Filter out fully-specified idiomatic constructions

Following the completion of steps 1,2, and 3 the remainder data was further filtered out by tests of coercion. Each piece of data has been put to this coercion test to see whether use of other lexical material interferes with the immediacy of the idiomatic meaning. For some expressions it was observed that substitution of lexical material

in its form was causing a significant loss in its particular meaning disrupting the fundamental property of productive construction-hood, namely form-meaning pairing. Change in overall idiomatic meaning due to change in form points to the possibility that a particular linguistic expression is a fully-specified construction on its own rather than an instantiation of a more abstract construction.

1.5 The aim of the study

As noted earlier, formulaicity and idiomaticity, particularly in the context of constructions are two understudied concepts in Turkish. In this sense, the main aim of the study is to set off a “maiden” investigation of these concepts for Turkish, a language that is typologically rather different than the languages often discussed in the context of formulaic expression and constructions, namely Western Indo-European languages such as the Germanic branch and the Romance languages. Apart from this major aim, this thesis hopes that this initial discussion of idiomatic function with a constructionist approach will contribute to research and practice in numerous areas.

First, as to the practice side of the coin, it is hoped that in contributing to the identification of idiomatic semi-fixed units that behave holistically two areas in particular will benefit: lexicography and the teaching of Turkish as a second language. The different perspective the present study brings to the understanding of idiomaticity, particularly the all-pervasiveness and scalar quality of this notion can contribute to lexicography of idiomatic expressions, which appears to be substantially limited to canonical idioms, Turkish equivalents of *kick the bucket*, *spill the beans* etc. Insofar as idiomaticity is viewed as native-like predilection, the student of Turkish can also benefit from a more construction-based, formulaically-

aware approach to the pedagogy of Turkish. The author argues, based on personal pedagogical experience, that the traditional and dominant approach to view lexicon and grammar as distinct components in how language is structured and put into function (A Priori Grammar) limits the speed and ease of becoming fluent in Turkish for the nonnative student. Second, on the more theoretical side of the coin, there is much benefit from the study of semi-fixed holistic units of language in the discussion of the architecture of language as a cognitive process. In particular, the widespread presence of holistic, semi-fixed, larger units evidences how large and significant the gray area is between “irregularity” and pre-specification (lexicon) and systematic abstract patterning (grammar).

The third minor aim of the present study is to contribute to research on the expression of modality in Turkish. In Chapters 4 and 5 it is shown that there is an asymmetry in terms of the particular modal categories expressed through semi-fixed constructions. Furthermore, much of modality in these constructions is expressed rather implicitly in the absence of designated mood markers or other modal elements. In this regard, it is hoped that the categorization of constructions in terms of modality (Chapter 4) will provide a new perspective on the study of modality in Turkish; in particular research on modal categories such as Boulomaic, Admirative as well as more granular deontic subcategories such as Propositive and Desiderative.

1.6 The outline of the study

Chapter 2 outlines the fundamental concepts of constructionist/cognitive approach. Chapter 3, discusses the status of and previous work on construction-hood, idiomaticity and formulaicity in Turkish. Chapter 4 provides a literature survey of modality with an orientation towards covert/implicit expression of modality, an area

that has recently drawn wider attention. In the context of Turkish, the concept of covert modality is discussed in terms of constructions in an effort to motivate a closer consolidation between the two concepts in this chapter as well. Chapter 5 analyzes thirty-five semi-fixed constructions from a modal perspective and provides a modal categorization. Chapter 6 is, essentially a case study where a small number of semi-fixed constructions are analyzed thoroughly in terms of their formal and functional properties. Chapter 7 provides a general discussion of the results, concluding with notes on possible avenues for further research.

CHAPTER 2

SEMI-FIXED CONSTRUCTIONS:

A CONSTRUCTION GRAMMAR APPROACH

2.1 Introduction

The previous chapter laid out the overarching approach adopted in the present study. Through the lens of what has been discussed in the previous chapter, in particular the concepts of idiomaticity and formulaicity, this chapter delves deeper into the concept of ‘construction’ and presents the basic tenets of the constructionist frameworks. The chapter is designed as follows: Section 2.2 starts off with a brief discussion of the basic definition of construction and the conception of ‘construction-hood’, which is followed by an outline of the fundamentals and the organizing tenets of the constructionist approach on which the present study bases its analysis: Adele Goldberg’s constructional approach. This approach has been originally presented in her early work *Constructions: A construction grammar approach to argument structure* (1995), influenced by Lakoff’s work in the 70’s and 80’s (Lakoff, 1977, 1987), and later improved into Cognitive Construction Grammar (CCG) in her publication of *Constructions at Work* (2006). Section 2.3 discusses other central concepts that are not referred to in the seven tenets: idiomaticity, ambiguity, and non-compositionality/non-predictability. Section 2.4 provides a literature survey of these concepts in Turkish.

2.2 “Construction-hood”

Linguists working in different frameworks have different definitions for ‘construction’. As it is most commonly defined in various versions of Construction

Grammars such as Berkeley Construction Grammar (Fillmore et al. 1988), Radical Construction Grammar (Croft 2001), Cognitive Construction Grammar (CCG) (Goldberg 1995, 2003, 2006), Constructional Morphology (Booij 2010) as well as their cousin framework Cognitive Grammar (Langacker 1987), constructions are the basic units of language that are language-specific form-function pairings available at all levels of linguistic complexity. The formal exponent of the pairing covers syntactic, morphological as well as phonological information including prosody and intonation. The functional exponent is also multifarious, covering semantic as well as pragmatic meaning. (In some constructionist approaches, there is no differentiation between semantic and pragmatic meaning but instead a single function.) In this respect, constructions are unilateral representations of multiple layers of information encompassing linguistic information at all domains in a unified manner. Goldberg (2003: 219) outlines seven basic tenets that are shared by most constructionist approaches. Each tenet quoted from Goldberg (2003: 219) is respectively explained below.

Tenet 1. All levels of description are understood to involve pairings of form with semantic or discourse function, including morphemes or words, idioms, partially lexically filled and fully abstract phrasal patterns.

Any linguistic pattern is recognized as a construction as long as some aspect of its form or function is not strictly predictable from its component parts or from other constructions recognized to exist (Goldberg: 219). This includes morphemes or words, canonical idioms, partially lexically filled and fully general phrasal patterns. Examples are given from Goldberg (1995, 2006: 5) in Table 1. In this way, lexicon and grammar are not distinct jurisdictions but instead form a constructional continuum.

Table 1. Examples of Constructions Varying in Size and Complexity

Construction	Form/Example
Simplex Word	Avocado, anaconda, and
Word (partially filled)	pre-N, V-ing
Complex word	Daredevil, shoo-in
Idiom (filled)	Going great guns
Idiom (partially filled)	Jog (someone's) memory
Covariational-Conditional construction	The Xer the Yer (The more you think about it the less you understand)
Ditransitive (double-object construction)	Subj [V Obj1 Obj2] (He gave her a Coke; He baked her a muffin)
Passive	Subj aux VPpp (PPby) (The armadillo was hit by a car)

Tenet 2. An emphasis is placed on subtle aspects of the way we conceive of events and states of affairs.

In CCG, different forms are typically associated with slightly different semantic or discourse functions (Goldberg 2003: 221). Consider for example, the 'ditransitive' construction, which involves the form [Subject-Verb-Object1-Object2] as in (1b) and (2b) below. (Examples taken from Goldberg 2003: 221.)

- (1) a. Liza bought a book for Zach.
b. Liza bought Zach a book.

- (2) a. Liza sent a book to storage.
b. Liza sent Stan a book.
c. ??Liza sent storage a book.

The ditransitive form denotes a notion of transfer or some act of ‘giving’. This contrasts with the possible paraphrases given above: For example, while “(1a) can be used to mean that Liza bought a book for a third party because Zach was too busy to buy it himself, (1b) can only mean that Liza intended to give Zach the book” (Goldberg 2003: 221). Similarly “whereas (2a) can be used to entail caused motion to a location (the book is caused to go to storage), the ditransitive pattern requires that the goal argument be an animate being, capable of receiving the transferred item (cf. 2b, 2c)” (Goldberg 2003: 221). The paraphrases clearly show that the implication of transfer is not an independent property of the words. Rather the very source of the meaning of ‘transfer’ is implied through the ditransitive construction itself.

Tenet 3. A ‘what you see is what you get’ approach to syntactic form is adopted: no underlying levels of syntax or any phonologically empty elements are posited.

CCG does not operate with the assumption that surface realizations derive from underlying structures. Instead, the epistemological stance is that constructions are based on the *principle of no synonymy* (Bolinger 1977) which, put in simple terms, states that when form is changed, change in meaning follows. In this perspective, for instance, active and passive voice instances of the same proposition are not derived from a single underlying structure but are instead simply instances of two different constructions. As constructions are pairings of form and meaning, these two versions of the same proposition are in no way synonymous, in that they display differences

in pragmatic meaning. “An actual utterance involves the combination of [several (usually) at least half a dozen] different constructions” (Goldberg 2003: 221). This is exemplified in (3); the utterance in (3a) involves the list of constructions given in (3b).

(3a) What did Liza buy the child?

- (3b)
1. Liza, buy, the, child, what, did constructions (i.e. words)
 2. Ditransitive construction
 3. Question construction
 4. Subject-Auxiliary inversion construction
 5. VP construction
 6. NP construction

Tenet 4. Constructions are understood to be learned on the basis of the input and general cognitive mechanisms (they are constructed), and are expected to vary cross-linguistically.

The significant cross-linguistic observation made here is that every language has a wide repertoire of semi-idiosyncratic constructions that cannot be predicted from other constructions nor can they be accounted for by referring to universal, general, intrinsic or innate principles and constraints. Constructionist theories do not differentiate between a core and periphery in terms of how we learn language. In fact, as Goldberg (2003: 222) affirms, they argue that language must be learnable from positive input together with general cognitive abilities (Culicover, 1999, Culicover and Jackendoff 1999). In this sense, *language* is not taken to be a separate cognitive faculty that is hard-wired with universal principles and parameters as it widely accepted in generative approaches; instead the mechanisms of language acquisition,

structure and use are treated and discussed in analogies to findings from cognitive/psychological research.

Tenet 5. Cross-linguistic generalizations are explained by appeal to general cognitive constraints together with the functions of the constructions involved.

Studies adopting a constructionist approach often explain cross-linguistic generalizations by grammar-external observations. In doing that, they turn to “universal functional pressures, iconic principles, and processing and learning constraints to explain empirically observable cross-linguistic generalizations.” (Goldberg 2003: 222) For example, Givón (1991) and Lambrecht (1994) utilize iconic principles and/or analogical processes to explain certain generalizations about how form and meaning tend to be linked cross-linguistically.

Tenet 6. Language-specific generalizations across constructions are captured via inheritance networks much like those that have long been posited to capture our non-linguistic knowledge.

Generalizations within a given language are expressed with hierarchical inheritance networks, which relate constructions to each other. Within these hierarchies, “more abstract and productive constructions are directly related to their more idiomatic instantiations” (Goldberg 2010: 468). For instance, consider the English construction [*What’s X doing Y?*] (Fillmore and Kay 1999) whose form is partially-specified and whose function is that of expression of dissatisfaction sourcing from witnessing an unexpected state-of-affairs. To the extent that [*What’s X doing Y?*] is the idiomatic construction that was described in the previous sentence, it also exemplifies a general pattern in English. It inherits properties from other more schematic constructions such as the Subject-Auxiliary Inversion, the Subject-Predicate, and the Verb-Phrase.

Tenet 7. The totality of our knowledge of language is captured by a network of constructions: a ‘construct-i-con’.

Put in simplest terms, everything in a language is a construction. One of the widely-cited concepts in constructionist approaches in the description and cognitive architecture of the relation between constructions is ‘prototype formation’ (Rosch 1973, 1978). This term, borrowed by CCG as well as its older cousin Cognitive Grammar (Langacker 1987) connotes how superordinate categories and their instantiations (members) are cognitively organized. A prototype, used in this sense, is a stimulus, which takes salient position in the formation of a category, due to the fact that it is the first stimulus to be associated with that category. In an experiment with American undergraduate students, Rosch and Mervis (1975) find that the concept of *chair* is typically the first thing they think of when prompted with the superordinate category *furniture*. The theory of prototype formation has a crucial place in constructionist approaches in so far that it postulates that linguistic categories as well as constructions are no different than other general cognitive categories.

2.3 The status of the preliminary concepts in CCG

This section discusses the preliminary concepts central to CCG, namely compositionality, formulaicity, idiomaticity and their relation as well as schematicity.

2.3.1 (Non-)compositionality - Meaning is often not entirely compositional but holistic

Semantic compositionality refers to the availability of internal bi-unique symbolic links between formal and functional units, that is to say the meaning of every expression in a language must be the sum of the meaning of its building units

(Bache 1997, Bussmann 1998, Szabo 2004). It has been source of much debate whether this concept refers to a principle of language, a mere methodological tool in studying function and meaning or a scalar notion where a particular linguistic expression will lie somewhere in the continuum that fetches from *fully-compositional* to *fully-non-compositional*. (Goldberg 2015, Szabo 2004). Pelletier (2016: 1) argues that one of the sources of this debate is the fact that “much of the discussion of semantic compositionality takes place in three arenas that are rather insulated from one another: (a) philosophy of mind and language, (b) formal semantics, and (c) cognitive linguistics and cognitive psychology”.

Similarly, within constructionist approaches, compositionality has been used in conflicting ways as well. On the one hand, it must be a definitional property of any construction since constructionhood involves being “more than just a sum of parts and thus having a meaning that cannot be derived compositionally from the properties of its constituents” (Fried 2015: 980). Insofar as constructions are symbolic units (i.e. signs) they are never compositional. On the other hand, in many constructionist studies the compositional status of specific constructions are discussed and placed in different points along a continuum stretching from fully compositional to fully non-compositional. In such approaches, (Fillmore et al. 1988, Gries and Stefanowitsch 2003, Wulff 2008) it is clearly the case that compositionality is taken to be a scalar notion.

In the latter understanding of compositionality, constructions often have holistic, not-strictly-compositional meaning. In their discussion of English construction [N *waiting to happen*] (as in ‘*It was accident waiting to happen*’), Gries and Stefanowitsch (2003) observe that although the constituting parts of the construction do not necessarily suggest a negative or positive meaning, the overall

meaning of the construction happens to be on the negative side. Using a corpus-linguistic method, collostructional analysis, that they have developed, they demonstrates that the most common fillers of the open slot in the [N *waiting to happen*] construction are negatively-loaded words such as *accident*, *disaster*, and *crisis*. Moreover, this negative holistic meaning takes over the interpretation of otherwise neutral words like *event* when used in the N slot.

Another example of the latter approach is Wulff's (2008) quantitative analysis of compositionality. Basing her analysis around the significance of the notion of collocates in the forming of constructions and idiomaticity in language, she addresses the problem of how the degree of semantic and syntactic irregularity of constructions can be measured quantitatively. Drawing on corpus data and focusing in canonical idioms and highly idiomatic constructions, she proposes a quantitative measure that numerically expresses the degree of semantic similarity, which can be considered a numerical measure of compositionality itself.

The next section discusses the concept of idiomaticity and how it has influenced constructionist approaches and how they have used it in turn.

2.3.2 Idiomaticity - a continuum from most figurative to most literal

As established in Chapter 1, essentially, idiomaticity has been used in three related yet distinct ways in the literature⁴: first, as an umbrella term of various kinds of non-compositional *figurativeness* in meaning (Wulff 2008, Howarth 1998), the traditional antonym of *literal*; second, all the knowledge that one has to have on top of what is more regular in a language (Fillmore et al. 1988, Nurnberg et al. 1994)), and third as a synonym of native-like-ness of linguistic expression, (Pawley and Syder 1983,

⁴ It is important to note that some of the studies mentioned have either used the term idiomaticity as an amalgamation of the three definitions (e.g. Wray 2002) while some others acknowledged the three interpretations yet focused on one as their working definitions, (e.g. Wulff 2008).

Wray 2002). When CCG, as well as most other constructionist approaches, use the term *idiomaticity* they most often refer to the first definition of the term and to that of being idiom-like in the traditional/canonical sense.

While a canonical idiom example in its traditional sense such as *spill the beans* is fully figurative because all its parts are used figuratively; the commonly used expression to denote the opening of a door for someone, *answer the door*, is more literal as *the door* does indeed refer to the actual physical entity, the door; on the other hand, *answer* is used in a more figurative sense compared to its perhaps more canonical meaning of answering a question. Like idioms, all constructions lie somewhere along the idiomaticity continuum. As evidenced by the contrast between these two expressions, a substantive description of the notion of idiomaticity requires a nuanced approach that factors in the subtleties of figuration, metaphor, and metonymy rather than simply basing it on the non-compositionality of particular expressions.

Numerous studies took on the task of describing idiomaticity in this sense: Fillmore (1989) and Fillmore et al. (1988) discusses idiomaticity on the background of *the Xer the Yer and let-alone* constructions, Bender and Kathol (2001) does the same around the construction *Just because X, doesn't mean Y*, while Kay and Fillmore (1999) analyzes *What's X doing Y* for the same purpose, and finally with a more general and thorough discussion of the problem in Wulff (2008). What all these studies have in common is the acknowledgment that it is rather difficult to draw the line between what should count as an idiom and a productive linguistic pattern.

Fried (2015) presents of one the subtle ways that the challenge in addressing this distinction in addressing this distinction manifests itself with a seemingly simple construction:

For example, *blue ink*, *blue sweater*, or *blue paper* are evidently instances of a regular modification structure [Mod – N]; semantically, the modifier slot could be filled not only by other color terms, but also by any other semantically compatible adjective, and the meaning would also be a composition of the meaning of the adjective and the meaning of the noun, the former restricting the eligible referents of the latter. (p. 975)

In this way, the [Mod – N] construction appears to be fully compositional: the meaning of an actual instantiation of it, e.g. *blue paper*, can be figured out if we know what *blue* means and what *paper* means regardless of context. Take the expression *blue moon*, however; the function is not strictly predictable from the functions of *blue* and *moon*: it must be an idiom in the canonical sense. Simultaneously, it has the identical syntactic structure [Mod – N]. But then, Fried argues (2015), in expressions like *blue eyes*, the state of affairs is more complicated:

On the one hand, this phrase still has the same syntactic structure and even a certain degree of productivity (*blue/hazel/green/dark/etc. eyes*) (...) On the other, it has idiosyncratic properties of its own: the interpretation of the whole is not quite the same as with the combinations *blue ink/sweater/paper* in that the color modifier conventionally applies only to a particular part of the object denoted by the noun (the iris). (p. 976)

These cases demonstrate how a simple binary categorization into canonical idioms on the one hand and fully transparent compositional patterns becomes impossible. CCG, by the merits of the concept of construction, treats “all these different types of expressions as related along identifiable shared properties, while also keeping in focus the dimensions in which they constitute distinct grammatical entities” (Fried 2015: 976). The next section recaps what has been discussed on idiomaticity and its relation to formulaicity.

2.3.3 The relation between idiomaticity and formulaicity

Idiomaticity, essentially has two definitions. First, it pertains to being idiom-like, that is figurative, whole, and non-predictable/non-compositional in semantic and discourse function. Second, it is about being “idiomatic” in the colloquial understanding of the term. The second definition related to native speakers’ preferred ways to convey certain messages such as the more commonly used English routine ‘Good night’ compared to, say a near-synonym like ‘I wish you a pleasant night’s sleep’ before going to bed. In this sense, idiomaticity is about what is *likely* in apposition to what is *possible* in language. Although there are numerous possible utterances with essentially the same function languages tend to rely on routine expressions to utilize in some of the most common everyday situations.

In the latter meaning of the term idiomaticity, it should be considered synonymous with formulaic language, thus formulaic sequences are, by definition idiomatic. When used in the former sense, however, i.e. being similar to canonical idioms, it only constitutes a subtype of formulaic sequence, as canonical idioms are only one way in which language ‘formulaicizes’.

In the next section a brief discussion is in order on the notion of schematicity before the definition of semi-fixed construction is laid out in Section 2.4.

2.3.4 The notion of schema and schematicity

It can be argued the question of what schematicity refers to is perhaps the least debated among the concepts that have been discussed thus far. Langacker (1987: 132) describes the notion of schematicity as what “(...) pertains to the level of specificity, i.e. the fineness of detail with which something is characterized.” In this way, a schema is an abstract template that provides specifications for one or more

slots, and the quality and degree of restrictions that are imposed on the possible values that can occupy these slots. Thus, schematicity encompasses both the binary question of whether a slot is pre-filled or not and also the level of flexibility on a given slot. In CCG terms, it can be argued that a schema is synonymous with the form of a construction where schematicity, is a cline for all constructions. The more abstract (i.e. the less specified) a construction is, the more schematic it is. In this regard, schematicity is analogous to the traditional lexicon-grammar divide as it bridges the two as a continuum. Table 2 (based on Fried 2015: 977), exemplifies this continuum.

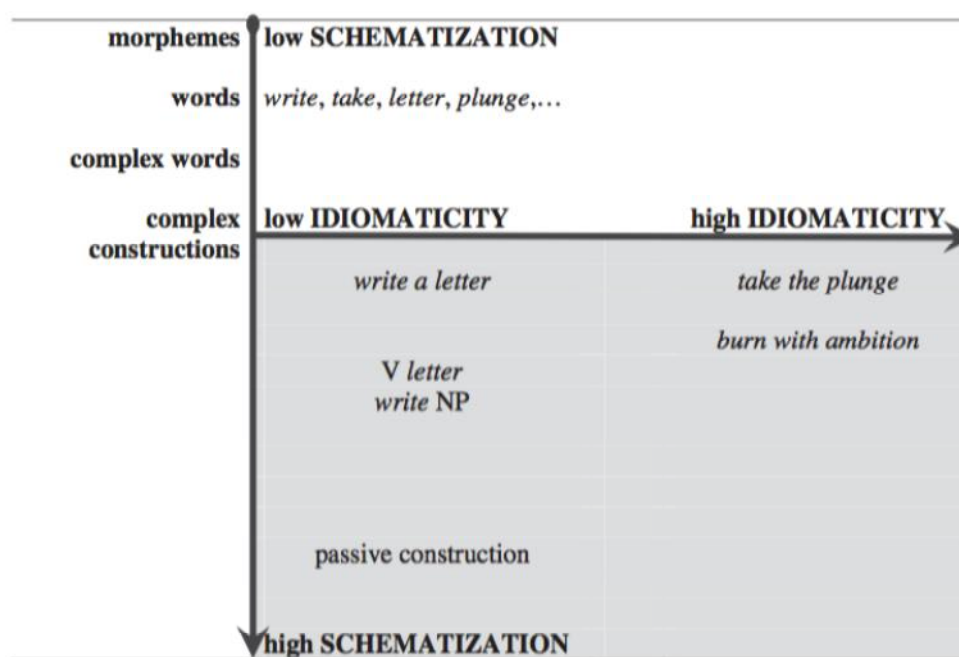
Table 2. Examples of Constructions on the Lexicon-Grammar Continuum

Degrees of schematicity	Examples
Fully filled and fixed	<i>blue moon, by and large, children, ink, blue</i>
Fully filled and partially flexible	<i>go[+tense] postal, hit[+tense] the road</i>
Partially filled	the [AdjP] (e.g. <i>the rich/hungry/young</i>) [time expression] ago (e.g. <i>six days/beers ago</i>) Adjective-ly (e.g. <i>richly, happily</i>)
Fully schematic	[V NP] _{VP} , [NP VP] _S stem _V -PAST (e.g. <i>walk-ed, smell-ed</i>)

The left column in Table 2 shows different degrees of schematicity in ascending order where the most schematic is in the bottom, i.e. the most abstract, and the least schematic, i.e. the most substantive, is on the top. As an example of fully schematic construction the past tense verb form is given [stem_V-PAST]. For an example of no schematicity consider the example *blue moon*. As discussed earlier, *blue moon* is a

fully filled expression with virtually no flexibility. *Children* is in the same category as *blue moon*, however note the difference between the two in terms of idiomaticity. It can be argued that *blue moon* is more figurative or semantically less transparent than *children* as the former is a non-compositional combination of two separately meaningful items, namely *blue* and *moon* while the latter is the plural form of *child* that is formed with an archaic and effectively frozen suffix that does not readily provide a meaning as much as any of the two words in the former. Wulff (2008: 167) provides a tentative table, given in Table 3, which brings together the concepts of schematicity and idiomaticity as defined in this chapter.

Table 3. Constructions on the Two-Dimensional Continuum of Schematicity and Idiomaticity



The X-axis in Table 3 shows the level of idiomaticity, which ascends from left to right, while the Y-axis is the continuum of schematization with schematicity increasing from top to bottom. Note that although *write a letter* shares the same

syntagmatic pattern of verb phrase (V Det N) with the more idiomatic *take the plunge*, the former has a more transparent function.

2.4 Previous works on Turkish idioms, formulaicity, and constructions

This section discusses relevant research to the concepts presented so far, of which there are three categories: formulaic language, idioms, and constructions. First, it is important to note that there has been to this date no comprehensive research in Turkish that is based on the framework of CCG or any other theory of construction grammar.⁵ In the sense it is used in constructionist approaches, it would be correct to assert that the concept of construction has not been investigated for this language. Nonetheless, there exists, though minimal, research on Turkish that is based indirectly around the concept of *construction*. Section 2.4.3 discusses such research while Section 2.4.2 presents research on idiomaticity from a cognitive/functional perspective, but first, the next section (2.4.1) expands the scope of the literature survey to formulaicity, that is, prefabricated chunks and holistic units where one finds an abundance of research for this language.

2.4.1 Works on formulaicity

As described in Chapter 1, formulaicity connotes a wide array of research topics and units of analysis with various names and definitions; however, in studies of formulaicity a focus on prefabrication and wholeness is shared. Turkish, research exists that describe formulaic units or phraseological routines such as canonical idioms, proverbs, formulaic expressions (Tannen and Öztekin 1981; Doğançay 1990,

⁵ Research in other usage-based theories, however, exists: the FL Education-oriented Bozdağ and Badem (2017) that uses Pattern Grammar; Oktar and Değer (1999, Oktay and Can Bakırlı (2007), Akerson and Özil(1998), van Schaaik (1999), and Taylan (2001) on the Turkish verb based on Functional Grammar (Dik 1978).

Gökdayı 2008, 2012, 2016; Darıcı 2012, Zülfikar 2007, İpek Eğilmez 2017); corpus-based/corpus-driven research that investigates multi-word units and lexical bundles (Çalışkan to appear I; Şahin 2015, Aksan et al. 2016, Karaback and Qin 2012, Cangır et al. 2017, Aksan and Aksan 2015) and more recently, explorations of morphological formulaicity (Durrant 2013, Çalışkan to appear II). Investigation of formulaicity in Turkish has typically been done from sociolinguistic or pragmatic perspectives based on speech act theory (Searle 1976), from a computational standpoint for the improvement of natural language processing of for this language, or with a SLA (second language acquisition) approach. As mentioned above, morphological formulaicity has recently started to be explored with Durrant's corpus-based work (2013) where colligational relations between suffixes and roots are analyzed (See Kaneyasu 2012 for a similar study of Japanese, another language with rich morphology).

2.4.2 Works on idiomaticity and idioms

The history of lexicographic and phraseological works for Turkish that describe idiomatic expressions, in particular canonical idioms (*deyim*) and proverbs (*atasözü*), go back to Vecihe Hatipoğlu's 1964 publication *Atasözleri ve Deyimler* ('Proverbs and Idioms') and the first published dictionary of idioms (Emir 1974). In the following years, numerous dictionaries have been published that compile and describe canonical idioms (Aksoy 1984, Karlı 1999, Sözer 2000, Püsküllüoğlu 2003, Parlatur 2011) as well as studies on various subtypes of canonical idioms such as body-part idioms (Baş 2015) and a very recent study analyzing 'head'-idioms (Mutlu et. al 2019). Another study that relates to the holistic and idiosyncratic nature of idiomatic expressions is Göksel and Öztürk (2019) where they show that a group of

idiomatic constructions with body part idioms exhibit formal idiosyncrasies compared to non-idiomatic constructions.

The rest of this section focuses on two studies (Gökdayı 2012 and Baş 2015). First, adopting Wray's (2002) approach to formulaicity, Gökdayı (2012) provides a schematic categorization of Turkish formulaic sequences based on their level of fixedness and restrictions on flexibility, one that takes into account Turkish morphology. In this way, Gökdayı (2012) is particularly relevant to the constructionist approach adopted in the present study. He argues that Turkish formulaic sequences (FSs) can be described in two main groups: fully-fixed and the bigger group, substantially-fixed. Fully-fixed FSs are proverbs, sentence-form idioms, reduplication and conversational routines (4).

(4) a. Proverb – *Balık baş-tan kok-ar.*

fish head-LOC smell-AOR.3SG

Lit. 'The fish stinks from the head'

Idio. 'When the leaders of a social group go corrupt, the entire group starts to go corrupt'

b. Sentence-form idiom – *Geç-ti Bor- 'un pazar-ı,*

pass-PRF Bor-GEN market-POSS.3SG

sür eşeğ-in-i Niğde- 'ye.

ride donkey-POSS.2SG-ACC Niğde-DAT

Lit. 'The farmer's market of Bor has passed, ride your donkey to Niğde'

(Bor and Niğde are names of two adjacent towns in Turkey)

Idio. ‘You’ve missed the opportunity, but don’t lose hope go find the next one!’

c. Reduplication – *hüngür hüngür (ağla-)*

ONOM ONOM cry

‘cry one’s eyes out’

d. Conversational routine – *Toprağ-ı bol ol-sun*

soil-POSS.3SG plenty be-OPT.3SG

Lit. ‘May her soil be plenty’

Idio. ‘(May she) rest in peace’

Substantially-fixed FSs on the other hand, can have two types of flexibility: inflectional and lexico-syntactic. The inflectional flexibility an FS exhibits can be verbal or nominal:

(5) a. Nominal – *ağız-POSS-GEN tad-ı kaç-tı*

mouth

taste-POSS.3SG escape-PRF3SG

e.g. *Ağzı-mız-ın tadı kaçtı.*

POSS.1PL-GEN

Lit. ‘The taste of our mouth has escaped.’

Idio. ‘Now that spoiled the fun! Such a downer!’

b. Verbal – *fitil fitil burn-un-dan getir-*

rib(textile) rib(textile) nose-POSS.3SG.ABL bring

e.g. *Fitil fitil burnundan getir-eceğ-im.*

FUT-1SG

Lit. 'I'll bring it from her nose in ribs (rib-by-rib).'

Idio. 'I'll make her suffer (kill her in inches).'

Gökdayı lists three types of lexico-syntactic flexibility: addition/extraction, lexical substitution, word order. These are exemplified in (6).

(6) a. Addition/Extraction

e.g. *Allah (gani.gani) rahmet eyle-sin.* (gani gani is optional)

God in.abundance mercy perform-OPT.3SG

'May God rest her soul (greatly)'

b. Lexical substitution

e.g. *Ağaç yaprağ-ı-yla güzel-dir/gürle-r.*

tree leaf-POSS.3SG-with beautiful-COP.MOD/rumble-AOR.3SG

Lit. 'A tree is beautiful with its leaves'

Idio. 'A person can succeed with a little help from her friends and family'

c. Word order

e.g. *Diken-siz gül ol-maz/Gül dikensiz olmaz.*

thorn-without rose be-AOR.NEG.3SG

Lit. 'There exists no rose without thorns'/The rose cannot be without thorns.

Idio. 'Every rose has its thorn.'

Recently, in a comprehensive study, Baş (2015) analyzes the relation between embodiment and idioms in Turkish from the perspective of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff and Johnson 1989). Significantly, although the theoretical framework she adopts is cognitively/functionally-oriented, arguably, her analysis is constructionist as what she describes are essentially a subtype of idiomatic constructions of Turkish, those that involve body part metaphors/metonymies. Baş demonstrates the particular roles that body parts play in the conceptualization of particular emotions by use of productive idiomatic constructions such as those given in (7) below.

(7) a. *ciğer-POSS yan-*

lung/liver⁶ burn

e.g. *Ciğer-im yan-ıyor.*

lung/liver-POSS.1SG burn-PROG.3SG

Lit. ‘My lung/liver is burning’

Idio. ‘I’m suffering from intense pain’

b. *boğaz-ın-dan geç-me-*

thorat-POSS.3SG-ABL pass-NEG

Lit. ‘not passing from one’s throat’

Idio. ‘to feel sad to eat food alone because of the absence of the loved ones
or poverty’

⁶ When uttered on its own, *ciğer* is ambiguous between liver and lung. Specifically, lung is referred to as *akciğer* ‘white *ciğer*’ and liver as *kara ciğer* ‘black *ciğer*’.

c. *göğs-ü-nü ger-e ger-e*

chest-POSS.3SG-ACC stretch-CVB stretch-CVB

Lit. ‘by stretching one’s chest’

Idio. ‘boastingly, feeling proud of oneself (Adv.)’

The thorough analysis of 488 idioms compiled from lexicographic sources, yields that particular body parts typically denote particular emotions in Turkish. While SADNESS is expressed through idiomatic constructions involving body parts such as *ciğer*-liver/lung, *boğaz*-throat, *kalp*-heart (cf.(7a) and (7b)), PRIDE is typically denoted by *burun*-nose, *göğüs*-chest, *alın*-forehead idioms (cf. 7c). A general observation Baş makes is that the expression of negative emotions such as distress, fear and anger are more prominent among body part idioms.

2.4.3 Construction-centered studies

To the best of the author’s knowledge, A. Seza Doğruöz is the only linguist who has explicitly based her Turkish-related research on the concept of *construction*. In a number of works (Doğruöz 2014, Doğruöz 2007, Doğruöz and Backus 2009; 2007) Doğruöz (and in two of the studies, Backus) investigates how Dutch constructions influence the Turkish spoken by bilingual Turkish speakers in the Netherlands. In particular, the main finding in Doğruöz and Bakus (2009) is that contact-induced change occurs everywhere in the schematicity continuum, but with a higher rate in less schematic and smaller constructions mostly due to direct translations of smaller and substantial constructions from Dutch to Turkish such as the example given in (8). The Dutch-Turkish speaker substitutes the verb that is conventionally used in the verb phrase construction for the expression of vehicle transportation. While the

conventional Dutch pairing for taking a vehicle (bus, plane, train, ferry etc.) is [*nemen* DET {vehicle}] with the verb *nemen* ‘take’, Standard Turkey Turkish uses [{vehicle}-DAT *bin-*] with *bin-* ‘get on’.

- (8) Dutch: *Ik nam gister-avond de trein om 21.30 uur*
 I take.PAST yesterday-evening the train at 9:30 hour
 Lit.(=Idio.) ‘I took the train at 9:30 PM’
- NL-Turkish: *Dün akşam 21.30 tren-i-ni al-dı-m.*
 yesterday evening 9:30 train-POSS.3SG-ACC take-PAST.1SG
 Lit. (=Idio.) ‘I took the train at 9:30 PM yesterday.’
- TR-Turkish: *Dün akşam 21.30 tren-i-ne bin-di-m.*
 yesterday evening 9:30 train-POSS.3SG-DAT get.on-PAST-1SG
 Lit. ‘I got on the 9:30 PM train yesterday evening.’
 Idio. ‘I took the train at 9:30 PM last night.’ (p. 41)

Another study of *construction* in Turkish, though the authors do not explicitly base their analysis on a constructionist framework is Göksel and Kabak (2012). The author argues that this study can be considered the pioneer work for the identification and analysis of higher order idiomatic/idiosyncratic constructions in Turkish. In their discussion of what they call the *perplexive* construction, Göksel and Kabak (2012:106) analyze an idiosyncratic form denoting a highly opaque function: “The perplexive is used when narrating a past event that has left the narrator in perplexity,

surprise, disbelief, and sometimes annoyance or irritation.” An instantiation of the perplexive is shown in (9), take from Göksel and Kabak (2012: 107) (modifications are the author’s).

- (9) Sen Ayşe-ye sormadan ver eski eşyalar-ı.!!
 you Ayşe-DAT without.asking give.away old furniture-ACC

Lit. ‘Give away the old furniture without asking Ayşe.’

Idio. ‘(Would you believe it?!) S/he gave away the old furniture without asking Ayşe!!’

The idiosyncrasies of this construction can be described as follows:

- (i) It is string-identical to the imperative construction (as is clear from the literal translation in (9), in that it is potentially ambiguous between the perplexive and the imperative; however the perplexive reading requires an overt pronoun (*sen* ‘you’).
- (ii) Although all the verb forms are marked for the 2nd person, it is interpreted for the 3rd.
- (iii) Although the verb is in imperative mood the interpretation is past tense and perfective aspect which otherwise have their own marker, namely ‘–*DI*’

In constructionist terms the perplexive can be represented as in (10):

- (10) PERPLEXIVE-Construction

[Sen (tut/git) [____(IMP)]_{VP}]

‘Would you believe it?! She went and...(perplexed, upset, complaining)’

See Chapter 4 (Section 4.6) for a discussion of the perplexive in terms of its modal qualities.

This section discussed research done on formulaic/idiomatic phenomena in Turkish as well as directly or indirectly constructionist studies. In order to pave the way to an analysis of Semi-Fixed Constructions (SFCs) for this language, the next chapter goes back to Goldberg's tentative table, given in Table 1, which exemplified English constructions of varying size, schematicity and complexity. How Turkish fits into the continua will be discussed briefly before delving into a particular range in the continua, that of the Semi-Fixed Construction (SFC).

CHAPTER 3

THE STATUS OF THE *CONSTRUCTION* IN TURKISH

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the status of the concept of construction in Turkish. First, in Section 3.2, examples of Turkish constructions are given of varying sizes and complexity analogous to Goldberg's table (2006:5) from Chapter 2. Section 3.3 provides a definition for the present study's subject of analysis, namely Semi-fixed Construction (SFC) as a subtype of Construction in the CCG sense. This definition leads to the filtering out of those constructions that have been collected originally but do not conform to the definition of SFCs. Ultimately, the dataset reduces into 106 SFCs. Section 3.4 makes two clarifications before the analysis in the coming chapters.

3.2 Turkish constructions

As discussed in Chapter 2, CCG claims that a language is a constructi-con, that is, a hierarchical network of constructions that inherit properties from each other. In this way, all linguistic units, from morpheme to ditransitive construction, are constructions. A complex construction is an amalgamation of various constructions. Goldberg's table (2006: 5), given originally in Chapter 2 as Table 1, which exemplifies constructions of varying sizes and complexities, is iterated in Table 4. It should be noted that this table is not intended to be an exhaustive table describing the entire continua of schematicity, idiomaticity, complexity and size but rather is an exploratory effort with rather arbitrarily chosen 'stops' on the construction continua. From top to bottom, the table proceeds from small and simplex to large and complex.

Table 4. English Constructions of Varying Sizes and Complexities

Construction	Form/Example
Simplex Word	Avocado, anaconda, and
Word (partially filled)	pre-N, V-ing
Complex word	Daredevil, shoo-in
Idiom (filled)	Going great guns
Idiom (partially filled)	Jog (someone's) memory
Covariational-Conditional construction	The Xer the Yer (The more you think about it the less you understand)
Ditransitive (double-object construction)	Subj [V Obj1 Obj2] (He gave her a Coke; He baked her a muffin)
Passive	Subj aux VPpp (PPby) (The armadillo was hit by a car)

In the rest of this section, Goldberg's table is applied to Turkish. For every category given on the left-hand column, examples are presented from Turkish in separate sections below.

3.2.1 Simplex word

Simplex word constructions are orthographic and morphological words that consist of a single morpheme. Deciding whether a word is simplex or not is not necessarily a trivial task, as been discussed in the literature (Di Sciullo and Williams 1987, van Marle 1985), due to various factors. Nevertheless, see (1-4) for a few examples that can confidently be claimed to be simplex.

- (1) *deniz* ‘sea’
- (2) *tilki* ‘fox’
- (3) *bak-* ‘look at/after, be in charge of’
- (4) *Bülent* ‘Bülent (name)’

3.2.2 Word (partially filled)

Partially filled words are single-word constructions that have open slots in them.

Inflectional and derivational suffixes in Turkish constitute such constructions. (2-4) are examples of this subtype.

- (2) Manner converb construction - [V-(y)*ArAk*]
e.g. *yap.arak* ‘by doing’, *di.yerek* ‘by saying’
- (3) Plural construction - [N-*lAr*]
e.g. *kuş.lar* ‘birds’, *kuzen.ler* ‘cousins’
- (4) Adverbial construction - [Adj-*cA-nA*]
e.g. *iyi.cene* ‘thoroughly, very well’, *bol.cana* ‘plentifully’

3.2.3 Complex word

Complex words are constructions that are compounds or lexicalized derivational words. (5) is the country name Albania, which is derived by combining the simplex word construction *Arnavut* ‘Albanian’ with the derivational suffix *-lık*. (6) is an adverb that is a reduplicative compound word meaning ‘however’. (7) is a lexicalized complex verb stem that is composed of the verb root *al-* ‘take’ combined with the causative suffix *-Dir* followed by the negation suffix *-mA*. What is noteworthy about this construction is that the idiomatic meaning of paying attention

only arises in its negated form. In other words the affirmative form, *aldır*- by itself is not generally used to mean ‘to pay attention’. This meaning is associated only with the negated form.

- (5) *Arnavut.luk* - Albanian.DER ‘Albania’,
- (6) *gel.gel.elim* - come.come.OPT.IPL ‘however’,
- (7) *al.dır.ma-* take.CAUS.NEG ‘to not pay attention’

3.2.4 Idiom (filled)

This category represents idiomatic constructions that are fully filled and can be single- or multi-word. (8-12) exemplify fully filled idioms.

- (8) *boş.ver* - empty.give ‘let it go/slide’ (lit. ‘give empty’)
- (9) *ciğer.im.in köşe.si* – liver.POSS.ISG.GEN corner.POSS.3SG ‘my beloved one’ (lit. ‘the corner of my liver’)
- (10) *hiç sor.ma!* – never ask.IMP.NEG ‘don’t even go there!’ (used in response to questions) (lit. ‘never ask!’)
- (11) *laf söyle.di balkabağı* – word say.PAST.3SG pumpkin ‘(upset) what (s)he said was completely and ridiculously unrelated’ (lit. ‘(s)he said a word: pumpkin’)
- (12) *bu kaç.ıncı!* – this how.many.th ‘(upset) this happened too many times!’ (lit. ‘for the how manyth time!’)

3.2.5 Idiom (partially filled)

Partially filled idioms are equivalent to canonical idioms. Some examples are given for this category in (13-16).

- (13) *ayva.yı ye-* - quince.ACC eat ‘get into trouble’ (lit. ‘eat the quince’)
- (14) [*person*]+*DAT açıl-* ‘bare one’s heart to someone’ (lit. ‘to open up to someone’)
- (15) *son şaka.sı.nı yap-* last joke.POSS.3SG.ACC make ‘to die’ (used for a playful/jocular person) (lit. ‘to make one’s last joke’)
- (16) *iki ara.da bir dere.de kal-* two in.between one river.LOC be.stuck ‘to be torn between two options’ (lit. ‘to be stuck in two breaks one river’)

3.2.6 Idiom (minimally filled)

Minimally filled idioms are larger idiomatic constructions with more open slots. Examples in (17-20) are such constructions. (17) is what this study calls the Congestion/Overabundance construction that denotes an action is performed in abundance and in a congested manner by too many agents.

- (17) Congestion/Overabundance construction - [*VP_i-(y)An VP_i-(y)An-DAT*]
 (e.g.) *kaç-an kaç-an-a*
 run.away.SREL run.away.SREL.DAT
 Lit. ‘Those who are running away to those who are running away’
 Idio. ‘Everybody is running away!’ (too many people are running away)

Bi-not-as construction (18) is used to express that an entity does not compare to another entity in some respect in which the other entity is accepted as a canonical example. This construction is analyzed in detail in Chapter 6 for its functional properties.

(18) *Bi-not-as construction* - [*Bi X değil*]

(e.g.) *Bi Rusya değil.*

A/an Russia not

Lit. 'It's not a Russia'

Idio. 'It's not as X as Russia' (where Russia is a canonical example of having property X)

Of-all-the-things constructions (19) denote dissatisfaction with a state of affairs, claiming that the current state is not preferable and it could have been significantly better. This construction is also one of the semi-fixed constructions that is analyzed in depth in Chapter 6 as a case study.

(19) [*V_i-(y)A V_i(y)A NP mI V_i-*] (of-all-the-things construction)

(e.g.) *Yap.a yap.a bu.nu mu yap.ti.n?!*

do.CVB do.CVB this.ACC INT do.PRF.2SG

Lit. 'By doing by doing is this what you did?'

Idio. 'Of all the things this is what you did?! (upset)

Finally, (20) is equivalent to 'Just because X doesn't mean Y' constructions in English described in Construction Grammar literature (Bender and Kathol 2001). This construction is analyzed for its modal properties in Chapter 5.

(20) 'Just because X doesn't mean Y' construction - [*X dediysek Y demedik*]

(e.g.) *Açık fikir.li.yiz de.di.yse.k her yol.a*

open idea.DER.COP.1PL say.PAST.COND.1PL every way.DAT

gel.ir.iz de.me.di.k!

come.AOR.1PL say.NEG.PAST.1PL

Lit. If we said ‘we are open-minded’, we didn’t say ‘we are OK with anything’

Idio. Just because we are open-minded doesn’t mean we’ll be OK with just anything.

3.2.7 Ditransitive construction: larger, complex, and more schematic

The ditransitive construction (21) in Turkish is built of a subject a verb that is functionally compatible with the ditransitive meaning of ‘transfer’, a direct object that optionally takes on the Accusative marker (usually depending on definiteness and specificity), and finally, a oblique object with the Dative marker.

(21) [N_{subj} V N_{ObjDirect}(-ACC) N_{ObjOblique}-DAT]

a. *anne-m-e kitap gönder-di-m*

mother-POSS.1SG-DAT book send-PAST-1SG

‘I sent a book to my mom.’

b. *abla-m-a araba-yı ver-di-m*

elder.sister-POSS.1SG-DAT car-ACC give.PAST.1SG

‘I gave the car to my older sister.’

3.2.8 Passive construction

The Turkish passive construction is built by a passive marker on the verb and an optional by-phrase (*tarafından*), which literally translates as ‘from its/his/her side’.

The utterance given in (22) exemplifies this construction.

(22) [NP *tarafından* V_i-PASS]

e.g. YSK (tarafından) bir açıklama yap-ıl-dı.

YSK by a/an statement make-PASSw-PAST

‘A statement was given by YSK’

3.2.9 Zooming into the center of the continua

All constructions lie somewhere in the two-dimensional continua shown in Figure 1.⁷

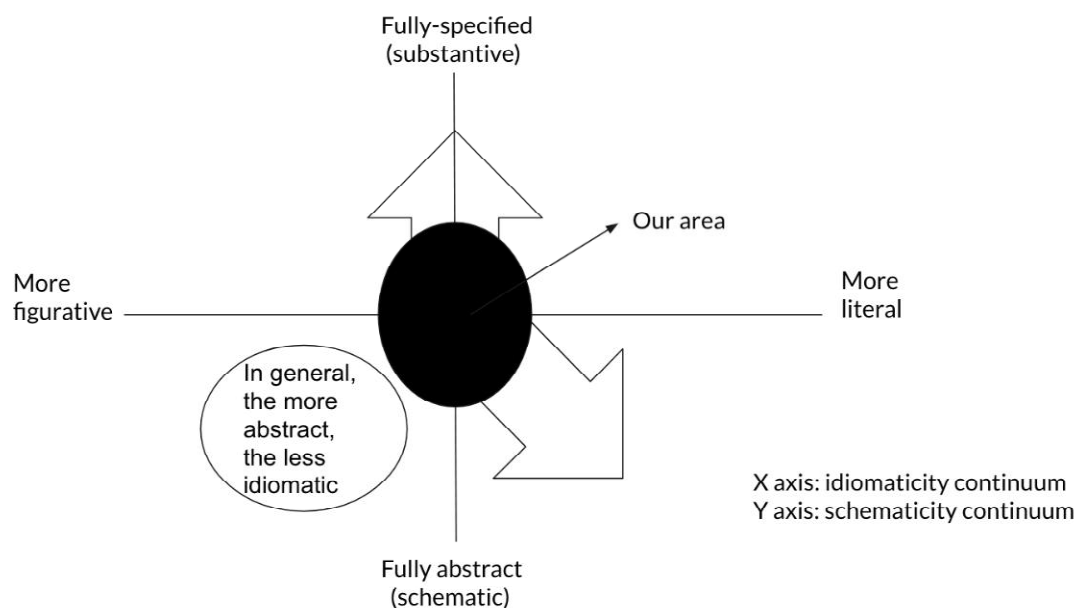
For example, while the ditransitive construction described above should be found somewhere closer to more literal in the idiomaticity axis and closer to fully abstract in the schematicity axis, the simplex word *deniz* ‘sea’ will be on the top of the latter and closer to more literal on the former axes. The present analysis narrows its focus onto the center of the graph: the specific subject matter of the rest of the present study will be Semi-Fixed Constructions that lie in the middle of both continua.

Figure 1 shows the area where the analysis is zooming into in the continua. The circled area in the middle in Figure 1 represents the following:

- Not fully-specified, not fully-abstract either: lies somewhere between prefabrication and abstract insertion
- Idiomatic in both senses: idiom-like - higher degree of non-compositionality/non-predictability of function); native-like - what native speakers prefer to utilize for certain functions.

⁷ It should also be noted that a general observation is that the more abstract a construction gets the less idiomatic its function becomes. Constructions with more figuration (canonical idioms, conversational routines etc.) tend to have more pre-specification.

Figure 1. The domain of the SFC



The next section defines what occupies this area (Semi-Fixed Constructions) and prepares the ground for analysis. In terms of the constructions discussed in this section, this area encompasses minimally/partially filled idiomatic constructions.

3.3 Semi-fixed constructions

As a subset of constructions, the definition for Semi-Fixed Constructions (henceforth SFCs) is rather straightforward. To recap the core defining properties of constructions in general: Any linguistic pattern is recognized as a construction as long as some aspect of its form or meaning (semantic or discourse function) is not strictly predictable from its component parts or from other constructions that are recognized to exist. SFCs are form-function pairings that are formally neither fully-specified nor fully-abstract; they are discontinuous and exhibit some level of prefabrication. Functionally, SFCs are idiomatic in both senses of the word that has been discussed: idiom-like (higher degree of non-compositionality/non-predictability

of function), and also native-like (what native speakers prefer to utilize for conveying of particular functions). Defining properties of SFCs can be recapped as follows:

- Composed of morphemes
- Lexically partially-specified, i.e. semi-fixed
- Idiomatic, i.e. native-like and idiom-like
- Non-predictable/idiosyncratic in form and/or non-compositional/non-predictable in function
- Larger in size (phrasal, clausal, multi-clausal)
- Function is holistic
- Usually discontinuous

Narrowing the scope of the analysis onto Semi-Fixed Constructions means filtering out fully-fixed/fully-specified constructions with relatively more predictable functions. Once this filtering out is completed, the dataset of idiomatic constructions that has been collected is reduced to 106 constructions. Out of these 106 SFCs, 46 are discussed in the next chapters. The remaining 60 SFCs are presented in Appendix.

3.4 Two clarifications before the analysis

Two points are to be clarified prior the analysis of the data. These are taken in turn in the following subsections. First, the basic analytical unit of the present study is discussed; second, functional ambiguity is taken up.

3.4.1 Morpheme as the basic unit of constructions

Analysis of constructions in Turkish, a language with a strikingly rich morphology,

calls for abandoning words as the building blocks of constructions and adopting morphemes instead. The choice of morphemic treatment is motivated by another factor as well. In the upcoming sections the reader may observe that some constructions identified in this study exhibit a degree of morphological pre-specification. English, a language that lies closer to the isolation pole of the morphological typology continuum of isolating vs. synthetic languages, compared to Turkish where individual words take on a significant portion of meaning in linguistic realization. In most partially-filled constructions of English described in literature, the open slots take on full words; whereas in Turkish, most partially-filled constructions exhibit inflectional specification in their open slots (cf. the English and Turkish examples given below).

English sample SFC 1: Just because X, doesn't mean Y (Bender and Kathol 2001)

Ex: (1) Just because I have a house, doesn't mean I'm rich.

English sample SFC 2: X let alone Y

Ex: (2) I didn't get a call from her let alone a text.

Turkish sample SFC 1: Biz ne N-PL gördük!

Ex: (3) Biz ne başbakan.lar gör.dük!

we what prime.minister.PL see.PRF.1PL

Lit. What prime ministers have we seen!

Idio. Oh, the prime ministers we have seen! (degrading the current prime minister by expressing that terms under many prime ministers have been experienced)

Turkish sample SFC 2: X-COND *n'olur* X-NEG-COND *n'olur*?

Ex: (4) *Mezun ol.sa n'olur ol.ma.sa n'olur*?

graduate be.COND.3SG what.happens be.NEG.COND.3SG

what.happens?

Lit. What would happen if (s)he graduated, what would happen if (s)he didn't graduate?

Idio. It doesn't make any difference whether (s)he graduates or not!

While the English SFCs above bear fully open slots with no specification, the Turkish ones exhibit morphological specification on their slots. The variable slot in the first Turkish sample SFC is specified for number, i.e. plural. On the other hand, the variable slots on the second sample have pre-specified conditional markers, as well as affirmation/negation markers.

3.4.2 Semantic/Pragmatic Ambiguity

This section extends the idea of homographs to constructions in an attempt to drive home the point that was originally made in the very beginning of the present study. Remember the quote by Lounsbury (1963:561) reiterated below, originally given in Section 1.1 in the Introduction.

Of two constructions made according to the same pattern, one may be an ad hoc construction of the moment and the other may be a repetition or reuse of one coined long ago.... This may be reflected in a number of ways other than that of their grammatical structure, which is presumed constant. (Lounsbury 1963:561)

Homographs are words that are spelled the same but have different meanings. In a very similar way to how some canonical idioms also have a potential literal reading, many SFCs can have different, less idiomatic and more compositional meanings as

well. The idiom spill the beans (‘disclose a secret’) can actually be used for someone literally spilling some beans that they just put in their mouth. The latter use, according to our definition, would be a homograph of the idiom spill the beans. The equivalent of homography in the context of SFCs is when an instantiation of a more schematic and less idiomatic construction is homographic with a SFC. Note the difference between the two functions of the same form in (5).

- (5) *Ne yi-yor belli değil.!*
 what eat-PROG.3SG clear not
- Lit. (non-SFC reading): What (s)he is eating isn’t clear.
- Idio.(SFC-specific reading): You have no idea how much (s)he eats!/how terrible her/his nutrition is! (derived from SFC [*Ne V+PROG belli değil*])

When the utterance is an instantiation of the SFC [*Ne V+PROG belli değil*] which has a highly idiomatic function along the lines of ‘You have no idea how much(/how well/how terrible etc.) the action denoted by V is!’, the function is to draw attention to some property of someone’s nutrition. Used more literally, the same form can be a straightforward assertion that ‘What (s)he is eating isn’t clear’.⁸

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter presented examples of Turkish constructions from varying sizes, complexities as well as varying degrees of idiomaticity and schematicity. A subtype of construction, the focus of the present study, semi-fixed construction has been

⁸ As discussed briefly in Section 1.4.2.2, prosodic form is left out of analysis in the present study. However, it should be noted that when prosodic form is taken into account, this utterance may not turn out to be ambiguous between two interpretations (SFC-specific and non-SFC) after all.

located in the continua of schematicity and idiomaticity. The notion semi-fixed construction has been defined and in this context two points have been touched upon as well: the status of morpheme as the basic unit of SFC and the relation between homography and functional ambiguity. As discussed in Section 1.4.2.2 in the first chapter, an important feature of idiomatic constructions in English, formal idiosyncrasy is far from relevant for constructions in Turkish, and hence for SFCs. The next chapter discusses modality and its expression in constructions.

CHAPTER 4

MODALITY

4.1 Introduction

One of the widely researched topics in the linguistics literature is modality. In simple terms, modality refers to a semantic category, which denotes the speaker's attitude towards the proposition (s)he expresses in an utterance. Researchers from various traditions work with differing definitions for modality. It appears that due to various difficulties including differentiation of modality from mood and in some cases, tense and aspect, also the diversity that languages exhibit when marking modality, there is often no agreed-upon conception nor definition for it. At best, modality appears to be a loosely-structured linguistic super-category. Nevertheless, linguists such as Lyons (1977), Palmer (1986, 2001), Bybee et al. (1994), Papafragou (2000) and Nuyts (2005) have conceptualized modality as a separate category than tense, aspect, and (though related) mood.

4.2 Defining modality

Before delving into the aforementioned researchers' definitions of modality, a glossary definition is given below. The online SIL Glossary of Linguistic Terms (<https://glossary.sil.org/term/mood-and-modality>) defines modality as:

Modality is a facet of illocutionary force, signaled by grammatical devices that expresses:

- the illocutionary point or general intent of a speaker

- a speaker's degree of commitment to the expressed proposition's believability, obligatoriness, desirability, or reality.

In the introductory chapter of *The Oxford Handbook of Modality and Mood* (2016), on the other hand, Nuyts (2016) provides a literature survey in which he emphasizes that the notion of “modality” has been used in different ways in the literature. First of all, one needs to distinguish between a broad and a narrow definition. Broadly defined, modality includes any modification a speaker makes on the proposition that expresses state of affairs. This approach, rooted in philosophy includes aspect and tense too. In this sense the broad definition is synonymous with TAM (Tense-Aspect-Modality) in linguistics. The narrow definition, on the other hand, treats Modality as a separate category than tense and aspect. It is then a functional (that is semantic or pragmatic) subfield of the wider domain of modification on a state of affairs in general.

With regard to TAM, Palmer (2001) acknowledges that in notional terms all three are, in some way, concerned with the event or situation that is reported by the utterance. Tense, rather obviously, “is concerned with the time of the event, while aspect is concerned with the nature of the event, particularly in terms of its 'internal temporal constituency'” (Comrie 1976). Modality, on the other hand, is concerned with the status of the proposition that describes the event. In other words, as Palmer (2001) puts it “modality differs from tense and aspect in that it does not refer directly to any characteristic of the event, but simply to the status of the proposition.”

4.3 Mood vs. modality

It is often not quite clear how to make a clear distinction between mood and modality. Indeed the two term concepts have been used in the literature in different, conflicting, overlapping and even synonymous ways. According to Bybee (1985: 169), “Modality designates a conceptual domain which may take various types of linguistic expression, while mood is the inflectional expression of a subdivision of this semantic domain.” Adopting a typological approach, Palmer (2001: 4) makes a similar distinction between the two in terms of formal features versus the typologically relevant semantic categories of which they are the exponents. Mood then, refers to the inflections on the verb to denote modality while modality is a semantic concept where various types of modification is made linguistically on the proposition that expresses a state of affairs.

In the shape of the distinction described above, mood is only one of the ways modality can show itself in a language. The difference between the two can also be thought of along the lines of expressions of temporality in language. Modality is similar to time where mood is closer to tense, the grammatical expression of time. The present study follows this common practice and uses ‘mood’ to refer to a notion that denotes modality, which has been grammaticalized in the form of verb inflection. Thus, modality as a semantic domain finds a variety of expressions through moods such as subjunctive and indicative, lexicalized items such as adverbs, and designated particles.

4.4 Types of modality

There is no unanimity among researchers as to what the categorization of different types of modality should look like. Different researchers use different terms, make

different categorizations, spare some borderline situations for aspect while for instance, some include evidentiality as a type of modality. In this section two of the most commonly referenced classifications, that of Bybee et al. (1994) and Palmer (2001) will be given. Bybee et al. (1994) makes a two-way distinction at the macro level and cuts the main line between epistemic and non-epistemic modality. Non-epistemic modality, in turn, has two subcategories, namely ‘agent-oriented modality’ and ‘speaker-oriented modality’. The former covers any meaning, which “predicate conditions on an agent with regard to the completion of an action referred to by the main predicate, e.g. obligation, desire, ability, permission and root possibility” (Bybee and Fleischman 1995: 6). ‘Speaker-oriented modality’, on the other hand, covers markers of directives, such as imperatives, optatives or permissives.

Similarly, Palmer (2001) also starts out with a two-way macro-classification, but from another angle: ‘propositional modality’ and ‘event (root) modality’. Propositional modality arises when an utterance is concerned with the speaker’s judgment of a proposition whereas utterances that exhibit event modality are concerned with the speaker’s attitude towards a potential future event. Consider the following pairs of examples:

(1) Kate may be at home now.

(2) Kate must be at home now.

(3) Kate may come in now.

(4) Kate must come in now.

The first pair is concerned with the speaker's judgment of the proposition that Kate is at home, whereas the second pair is concerned with the speaker's attitude towards a potential future event, that of Kate coming in. Palmer (2001) mentions that the distinction is usually illustrated by the use of paraphrases involving the words 'possible' and 'necessary':

(1') It is possible (possibly the case) that Kate is at home now.

(2') It is necessarily the case that Kate is at home now.

(3') It is possible for Kate to come in now.

(4') It is necessary for Kate to come in now.

The crucial distinction between these two pairs is, notably, indicated by the words 'that' and 'for'. The former pair exemplifies propositional modality whereas the latter are instances of event modality.

4.4.1 Palmer's classification: Propositional modality

Palmer makes a further distinction and suggests two subcategories for propositional modality, 'epistemic' and 'evidential' (although the author admits that the status of 'evidentials' as to where they stand in the mood and modality distinction and in fact also in the demarcation of modality from aspect is arguable and potentially dependent on the particular language). The main difference between these two types is that while epistemic modality pertains to speakers' expression of their judgments about the factual status of the proposition, with evidential modality they indicate the evidence they have for its factual status. While (1) (iterated below) is an example of

epistemic modality, (5) below is an example of evidential modality from Central Pomo:

(1) Kate may be at home now. (taken from Palmer 2001, p. 7)

(5) čhéemul-ya

rain fell-VIS

'It rained' (I saw it) (taken from Palmer 2001, p. 6)

Palmer (2001) documents the elaborate system of evidentials in Central Pomo where there are five different suffixes to denote different sources of evidentiality: general knowledge, visual experience (example 5 above), auditory evidence, hearsay and inference.

The general status of modality in Turkish will be dealt with in Section 4.5, however, this is an appropriate place to discuss evidentials in Turkish briefly. One of the strategies Turkish uses to denote evidential modality is the perfective/evidential marker *-(y)mİş* that attaches to the verb or the subject complement. Slobin and Aksu (1982: 187) mention that it “is used for a range of functions encoding events to which the speaker was not a direct or fully conscious participant” such as Inference, Hearsay or Surprise.

(6) Kemal gel-miş.

come-EVID

‘Evidently Kemal came’

- a) INFERENCE: The speaker sees Kemal’s coat hanging in the front hall, but has not yet seen Kemal.

- b) HEARSAY: The speaker has been told that Kemal has arrived, but has not yet seen Kemal.
- c) SURPRISE: The speaker hears someone approach, opens the door, and sees Kemal – a totally unexpected visitor.

In his typological categorization of evidentials, referring to numerous languages of the world, Palmer collapses certain sub-functions of evidentials under certain others in an effort of economy of description and argues for two main types of evidentials: Reported and Sensory. Accordingly, the Hearsay function of the Turkish perfective/evidential marker can be included under Reported evidentiality. The status of this marker when used to denote Inference, however, is uncertain. Palmer deems this use of evidentials Deductive, which is a category he includes under epistemic modality ‘purely for the purpose of discussion and exemplification’ (p. 9).

As to the other type of propositional modality, epistemic modality, Palmer postulates that there are three subcategories: Speculative, Deductive and Assumptive. These are exemplified below for English:

- (7a) SPECULATIVE John may be in his office. (a possible conclusion)
- (7b) DEDUCTIVE John must be in his office. (the only possible conclusion)
- (7c) ASSUMPTIVE John’ll be in his office. (a reasonable conclusion)

As can be seen in the examples above, Speculative modality indicates uncertainty, while Deductive modality arises when the speaker makes an inference from observable evidence, and lastly, Assumptive modality expresses inference from what is generally known, or at least from what the speaker appears to believe that what is

generally known. (7a) indicates that the speaker is uncertain as to whether John is in his office although it appears that she has reason to believe it is definitely a possibility. In the Deductive example (7b) the speaker makes a firm judgment about the same proposition (that John is in his office), most probably on the basis of certain evidence, e.g. that office lights are on. The Assumptive example, on the other hand, indicates a judgment that the speaker is making based on what is generally known about John, e.g. that he always starts at eight or he's workaholic (Palmer 2001: 25). .

4.4.2 Palmer's classification: Event (root) modality

Deontic and Dynamic are the two main types of Event modality in Palmer's work. These two are distinguished by the externality/internality of the conditioning factors with respect to the relevant individual. With deontic modality the conditioning factors arise from an external source, whereas dynamic modality is about ability and willingness, which comes from the individual concerned. This distinction is exemplified below:

Deontic modality

- | | |
|--|--------------|
| (8a) You may go now. | (permission) |
| (8b) You must go now. | (obligation) |
| (8c) You shall have the book tomorrow. | (commission) |

Dynamic modality

- | | |
|---|---------------|
| (9a) He can run a mile in five minutes. | (ability) |
| (9b) Will you stand by the anchor? | (willingness) |

The examples in (8) illustrate the three subcategories of deontic modality, namely Permissive (8a), Obligative (8b) and Commissive (8c). The latter of the three is distinct from the other two by the fact with Commissive we commit ourselves to do things whereas with Permissive and Obligative we try to get others to do things. This classification resonates with two of Searle's (1976) categories of speech acts: Directives and Commissives. In fact, perhaps unsurprisingly, Palmer collapses Permissive and Obligative kinds of deontic modality under an immediate middle category 'Directive'. The examples in (9) on the other hand exemplify the two kinds of dynamic modality: Abilitive (9a) and Volitive (9b).

4.4.3 Other types of modality

In addition Palmer's classification outlined in Section 4.4, this section presents other modal categories that are relevant to the present analysis. These subtypes either specify deontic modality further (Section 4.4.3.1) or are simply out of the scope of propositional-event modality distinction (Sections 4.4.3.2/3/4/5/6).

4.4.3.1 Other types of deontic modality

There exists in the literature more granular modalities that have been categorized under the super category Deontic: Consultative (Bliese 1981), Necessitative (Göksel and Kerslake 2005, Pakendorf 2009), Propositive (Lee 1990; 1994), Imprecative (Yadav 1996), Benedictive (Maurer 2005), Desiderative (Benjamin 2004), Hortative and its subtypes Adhortative and Dehortative (van der Auwera et al. 2005), Directive (Leech 2014) (as a subtype of deontic modality, not the umbrella term of Permissive and Obligative used by Palmer (2001). Consultative (also called Deliberative (Palmer 1986, Magni 2010) modality is a directive modality that denotes the

speaker's request for consultation from the addressee as to whether to do the proposition expressed in the utterance. Bliese (1981) observes a unique modal marker, i.e. a mood, for consultation in Afar exemplified below:

(10) ak'm-oo

I.eat-CONS

‘Shall I eat?’ (taken from Bliese 1981, p. 146)

Turkish denotes this modality, somewhat implicitly through the use of the conditional marker *-sA* in an SFC:

(11) CONSULTATIVE SFC: [VP+sA+1SG/PL INT]

Yemek ye-se-m mi?

food eat-COND-1SG INT

Lit. ‘If I eat?’

Idio. ‘Shall I eat (Do you think I should eat)?’

The consultative construction in Turkish can be considered a daughter construction of another construction that can be called Desiderative (12). The former is essentially an interrogative version of the Desirative, using again the conditional marker *-sA*. Benjamin (2004) classifies Desiderative as a type of Deontic modality observed in Japanese and perhaps (hypothetically) in Proto-Indo-European. Desiderative used in this sense, is distinct from Volitive as a type of Dynamic modality in that the former denotes sudden desires/wishes rather than solidified wants.

- (12) DESIDERATIVE SFC [(Keşke) VP+sA+Person]

Eylül- 'de Berlin- 'e git-se-m.

September-LOC Berlin-DAT go-COND-1SG

Lit. 'If I go to Berlin in September.'

Idio. 'I wish to go to Berlin in September.'

Göksel and Kerslake (2005) list the Turkish inflectional suffix *-mAİ* as a marker of Necessitative modality, a type of deontic modality that denotes that something is necessary in a way that combines obligation and self-urging:

- (13) Git-meli-yim.

go-NEC-1SG

'I need/must to go.'

Propositive modality expresses proposals or suggestions to the addressee. Some authors accounts for Propositive as a subtype of Hortative modality, namely Cohortative (Wymann 1996). Lee (1990, 1994) discusses Propositive for Korean as a distinct mood in contrast to the declarative. Pak (2004) exemplifies this as follows:

- (14a) İcey cemsim-ul mek-ca. Propositive

Now lunch-ACC eat-EXH

'Now let's eat lunch' (taken from Pak 2004, p. 3)

- (14b) Na-nun cemsim-ul mek-ess-ta. Declarative

I-TOP lunch-ACC eat-PAST-DEC

'I ate lunch.' (taken from Pak 2004, p. 2)

Yadav (2016) observes Imprecative modality in Maithili as a type of deontic modality (15). Imprecatives are expressions of curses and obscene wishes on another person, typically the addressee. In this sense, Imprecative can be understood as the opposite of Optative. Turkish is widely cited for Imprecatives as well (Lewis 1967: 115). See (16) in Appendix for an example.

- (15) Ok-er beta meir ja-o
 She-GEN son die go-OPT.3

‘May her son die’ (taken from Yadav 2016, p. 300)

Benedictive (also called Precative) is commonly discussed in the context of moods in Sanskrit (Mauer 2005, Goldman and Sutherland 1999: 250). It is used mainly for uttering blessings or prayers such *May you live long!*. Hortative modality is one of the widely investigated categories. Opinions differ as to classify it under deontic or dynamic or to demarcate it as its own category. Hortative modality pertains to propositions presented by the speaker to encourage or discourage an action. In this sense Hortatives are reminiscent of Imperatives and Optatives, however they differ from each by one important aspect: Hortatives are not commands but rather strong, urging suggestions; Hortatives are not only wishes like optatives are but they also convey an appeal to the addressee (van der Auwera et al. 2005). Various sub-types of hortatives have been suggested, however, for the purposes of the present study two sub-types needs to be mentioned: Adhortatives and Dehortatives. Utterances that denote Adhortative modality express the speaker’s encouragement towards the addressee’s performing of a proposition. Dehortative modality denotes the opposite; they discourage the addressee’s from performing an action. See (16) for examples.

(16a) *Adhortative*

You might wanna start early, traffic gets real bad on the bridge.

Maybe you should consider taking some time off.

(16b) *Dehortative*

You might not want to park your car there.

You might want to reconsider your decision about drinking another beer.

Lastly, Directive modality connotes utterances where the speaker makes a request (Leech 2014). Some examples of requests in English are given in (17).

(17a) Would you mind turning the volume down?

(17b) Could you please send me that picture?

(17c) I would like another beer please.

4.4.3.2 Boulomaic modality

Boulomaic modality (Kratzer 1978, Hengeveld 1989, Nuyts 2005) also called emotional attitude (Nuyts 2001) is found in utterances that indicate the degree of the speaker's (or someone else's) liking or disliking of a state of affairs emotively (Nuyts 2016). Boulomaic examples are given in (18) (taken from Nuyts 2016).

(18a) He has won the game. Great!

(18b) Unfortunately I can't come to your party tomorrow.

(18c) I'm glad the academic year is over again.

Nuyts (2016) highlights that Boulomaic modality has not been a regular part of the discussion in the modality literature and suggests that it may be due to the fact that emotive meaning is not very prominent in the modal auxiliaries of English or other Western European languages (though these languages are abundant with other means of conveying boulomaic modality). There is unfortunately no systematic analysis or categorization suggested in the literature for this type of modality. This notion should not be confused with bouletic modality discussed in formal semantic approaches to modality (Lyons 1977), which is equivalent to volitive modality (wishes, desires etc.).

4.4.3.3 Admirative

Admirative is a long-debated modal category whose place in modal classification is not clear either. This type of modality encodes the speaker's surprise, be it negative (annoyance) or positive (admiration), in witnessing/infering new and unexpected information (Dozon 1879). Admirative is sometimes used synonymously with Mirative, originally proposed as a distinct mood found in languages such as Sunwar, Korean and Turkish by DeLancey (1997), and sometimes as distinct from Mirative but instead a subtype of Evidentiality (Friedman 2004). Eastern European languages such as Albanian (Breu, 2014, Demiraj 1986), Bulgarian (Lindstedt (2014), Friedman 1986) Turkish (DeLancey 1997 based on Slobin and Aksu 1982) and Romanian (are some of the widely studied languages for this type of modality, sometimes in the context of the Eurasian evidential belt (Aikhenvald 2018, Friedman 1986) and its surprise-denoting functions. Admiratives in Albanian are used with ironic or dubitative (disbelief) functions according to Abdiu (2014) and Friedman (2004). The following example in (19) from Breu (2014) demonstrates the use of Admirative mood in Albanian.

(19) Sqoll i thënkën shqip lavamanit.

sink it-DAT say.3PL.PRES.ADM Albanian sink

‘Oh they call the sink “sqoll” in Albanian!’ (taken from Breu 2014, p. 465)

DeLancey argues that the surprise-denoting use of the evidential marker *-miş* in Turkish constitutes an example of mirative modality based on the analysis provided by Slobin and Aksu (1982: 187) with the following example:

(20) *Kemal gel-miş.*

Kemal come-EVID.3SG

‘Kemal came.’

One of the possible uses of this utterance is when the speaker hears someone approach, opens the doors and sees Kemal, a totally unexpected visitor.

4.4.3.4 Alethic

Alethic modality connotes the speaker’s estimation of the necessity and possibility of a proposition in a strictly logical sense such as in the examples given in (21). Kiefer (1994) argues that one does not come across clear cases of alethic modality frequently in everyday discourse.

(21) Jack is 70 years old so he must be over 60.

(Door buzzes) We must have a visitor.

It has been questioned whether this modality should be considered distinct from epistemic modality. The criticism commonly is based on the observation that there is no real difference between "the truth in the world" (alethic) and "the truth in an individual's mind" (epistemic) (Crystal 1985). Palmer (1986:11) affirms: "there is no distinction between [...] what is logically true and what the speaker believes, as a matter of fact, to be true". There has not been an account of a language that formally distinguishes between the two by any grammaticalized markers. It has also been argued, based on the example given in (22), that it is in fact necessary to treat alethic as a distinct modality. (22) has two potential readings; alethic or deontic modalities which are disambiguated through different prosodies.

- (22) You can't give these plants too much water.
- i) It is impossible to give too much water to these plants because they can survive in most moist situations. (alethic)
 - ii) You are not allowed to/you shouldn't give too much water to these plants (it could hurt them). (deontic)

This example shows that, although there may be no designated marker for alethic modality, it may still be useful to treat this type of modality as a separate category.

4.4.3.5 Presumptive modality

Another category that has been discussed in the literature is Presumptive that denotes presuppositions either to make a point that something is so close to be true that it could well be deemed true as in Hindi (Kachru 2006) or to express a meaning of 'even if' or 'as if'. It has been observed that in Romanian Presumptive mood is also

used to express that even if X was true it would not cause a significant change in the current state of affair (Friedman 1997, Mihoc 2012). When used in the former sense it can be classified as a subtype of deontic modality. The latter can be paraphrased with [Even if] constructions such as those in (23)

(23a) Even if you were not sick you would still not go.

(23b) Even if I were rich I wouldn't lend you money.

Mihoc (2012) classifies Presumptive under Epistemic modality as a subtype distinct from Assumptive, Deductive or Speculative modality discussed in Section 4.4.1.

4.4.3.6 The status of Conditional as modality

Lewis (1973) and Kratzer (1981, 2012) have been two of the most prominent linguists who argue for the categorization of conditional as a modal notion. Palmer (2001) and Nuyts (2016) do not count conditionals as a subtype of modality. It appears that it is common practice to represent the notion of conditionality as conditional *mood* in languages that have a marker for conditionals however this usually does not involve an explicit argumentation for the modal quality of conditionals.

4.5 Expression of modality in Turkish

Turkish utilizes different means to denote modal notions; namely, it employs mood markers (*-(y)AbII*, *-mAll*, etc.), adverbs (*üstelik* 'and what's more', *kesinlikle* 'certainly', etc.), verbal and non-verbal predicates (*dile-* 'to wish', *lazım* 'be necessary', etc.) and moreover, a specialized set of lexemes which function as modal

adverbs (*meğer* ‘it turns out’, *güya* ‘as though’, *acaba* ‘I wonder’) (Erguvanlı-Taylan 2000).

In a comprehensive study of grammatical concepts in relation to their statuses in Turkish, Dilaçar (1971: 106-109) uses the Turkish term ‘*kip*’ to denote the expression of modality. Having demarcated *kip* from aspect ‘*kılınıs*’ and tense ‘*zaman*’, Dilaçar disagrees with the *kip* categories in traditional grammars of Turkish:

Nowadays in grammar books taught in schools one comes across differentiations such as *bildirme kipi* ‘indicative’, *emir kipi* ‘imperative’, *dilek-şart kipi* ‘desiderative, conditional, subjunctive’, *gerekirlik kipi* ‘necessitative’, *istek kipi* ‘optative’ . . . *Kip* denotes psychological states (moods). Accordingly, it is unimaginable to think that *kip* would be dependent on particular morphemes or affixes. *Kip* can arise with certain affixes, but what is important here is that *kip* is the denotation of psychological states under certain *formulaic expressions* [author’s emphasis]. . . As to the number of different *kips*, the number is neither five nor ten, there are as many *kips* as the number of different psychological states. (p. 106, own translation)⁹

Dilaçar goes on to provide a tentative chart on different *kips* that can occur with the verb *git-* ‘go’ in Turkish, which number at sixty-one. This chart includes on top of all the traditional ones, categories such as *tumturak kipi* ‘emphatic mood’, *şüphe kipi* ‘dubitative mood’, *oylaşım, tereddüt kipi* ‘deliberative, hesitant mood’, and *takdir kipi* ‘appreciative mood’. The sample utterances of these moods taken from Dilaçar are given below. The glosses and the translations are provided for the present study.

⁹ The original text reads as follows: “Şimdi okul dilbilgisi kitaplarında *bildirme kipi* (indicatif), *emir kipi* (impèratif), *dilek-şart kipi* (dèsidèratif, conditionnel, subjonctif), *gerekirlik kipi* (nècessitatif), *istek kipi* (optatif, subjonctif) gibi ayrımlara rastlanmaktadır . . . *kip* yalnız ruh durumunu, zaman da sadece zamanı, vakti anlatır. Buna göre, *kipin* belli bir morfeme, eke bağlı bulunması zorunluğu düşünemez. *Kip*, çeşitli eklerle de yapılabilir, önemli olan ruh durumunun herhangi bir anlatım kalıbına girerek belirtilmesidir . . . Kiplerin sayısına gelince, bu sayı ne beştir ne de ondur, ruh durumları sayısınca *kip* vardır.” (Dilaçar 1971: 106)

(24a) git-ti mi git-ti

go-PRF INT go-PRF

‘as for going, (s)he did that part well’

(24b) acaba git-ti mi

I.wonder go-PAST INT

‘I wonder if (s)he left’

(24c) gid-e-y-im mi, git-me-ye-y-im mi

go-OPT-COP-1SG INT go-NEG-OPT-COP-1SG INT

‘I’m not sure if I should go’

(24d) git-se-m ne ol-ur, git-me-se-m ne

go-COND-1SG what happen-AOR.3SG go-NEG-COND-1SG what

ol-ur

happen-AOR3.SG

‘it doesn’t matter whether I go or not’

The present study agrees with the view Dilaçar takes above with regard to the expression of modality. In an effort to accommodate this view of modality with the definition of modality that this study follows and also to reconcile this pluralistic (and arguably limitlessly so) approach to types of modality, what Dilaçar is describing can be deemed, in more recent terms, covert modality. The next section (4.6) addresses this concept and paves the way (along with the section after it (3.7)) to an analysis of idiomatic/formulaic semi-fixed constructions from the perspective of covert modality.

4.6 Covert modality

In a volume dedicated to complex and non-obvious patterns that denote or imply modality in a diverse selection of languages, Abraham and Leiss (2012) express a theoretical and typological necessity to see beyond the traditional cases of modality and look for yet undiscovered patterns with an approach that prioritizes functional definitions over formal ones. In the introductory chapter of the same volume Abraham and Leiss exemplify covert modality in German and English through certain constructions expressing modalities of possibility and necessity. These constructions do not express modality directly by lexical or grammaticalized elements but rather modality arises from in them by implication or implicature. Three of their examples from English (owed to Bhatt (2006)) are given below. Note that the paraphrases involve canonical modal verbs ‘must’, ‘supposed to’, ‘could’ and ‘should’.

(25a) The monument is to fall

= The monument *must* fall

(25b) Will is to leave tomorrow

= Will is *scheduled/supposed* to leave tomorrow

(25c) Jane found a book to draw cartoons in for Sara

= Jane found a book for Sara in which one *could/should* draw cartoons

In the same volume, Göksel and Kabak (2012) investigate, for the first time in the literature, the covert modal properties of a Turkish construction, which they call the *perplexive*. This construction is structurally identical to the imperative construction using a 2nd person subject. See the example taken from their study:

(26) Sen Ayşe-ye sormadan ver eski eşyalar-ı./!!

you Ayşe-DAT without.asking give.away old furniture-ACC

(i) ‘Give away the old furniture without asking Ayşe.’ [Imperative]

(ii) ‘[Would you believe it?!] S/he gave away the old furniture without asking Ayşe!!’ [Perplexive]¹⁰

The perplexive construction exemplifies the concept that is the focus of the present study and that has been defined in Chapter 1, namely semi-fixed construction. In fact this construction is a member of the data that the present study analyzes and is addressed in the Appendix accordingly.

To sum, the previous sections of the current chapter have presented the concepts of modality and mood while defining both and demarcating the former from the latter and its neighboring concepts. In Sections 4.2 and 4.3 the issue of defining modality has been addressed while Section 4.4 provided classifications of modality focusing on the categories suggested by Palmer (2001). Section 4.5 briefly touched upon expression of modality in Turkish paving the way to this section and the next one. The next section deals with the limited research spared to modality within traditions of construction grammars. As will be illustrated in this section, however, although constructionist approaches do not necessarily utilize the term modality in their research, some aspects of constructions they refer to can be seen as compatible or even tantamount to modality. Some of these will be argued to be suitable for the concept “covert modality”.

¹⁰ It should be noted once again that instead of polysemy, the discussion can be made around prosodic form differentials. There is a clear prosodic difference for this utterance between when marking obligation (Imperative) and expressing unpreparedness of mind (Perplexive).

4.7 Modality in Construction Grammar

Within the frameworks of Construction Grammar, modality remains a rather underexplored linguistic domain. The label “construction grammar” covers various frameworks within linguistics that share the postulate that language is a network of symbolic units, that is, constructions, which are conventionalized pairings of form and function as described in Chapter 2. Patterns that seem to have functions and/or forms that are non-predictable based on other paradigmatic patterns that exist in the language and patterns that appear to be not fully compositional in the functional sense have often been the focus of studies within these traditions.

Diessel (2004) and Thompson (2002) observe that in non-finite complementation in English with semi-fixed formulaic sequences such as “I wanna + INF” the matrix (wanna) functions like a formulaic modal modifier rather than being the instantiation of the more abstract infinitival complementation (AUX+ *to* + INF). Similarly Diessel and Tomasello (2001) affirm that in finite complement clauses such as “*I think (that) VP*” the main clause (*I think*) functions as a marker of epistemic modality. Furthermore, Evans (2007) and Nuyts (2001) both observe that, at least in German and Dutch, which employ -the typologically not-so-common- modal verbs, like English does, the epistemic reading of modal verbs is correlated with the particular pattern of complementation in such clauses. This observation can be made about Turkish as well:

- (27a) Leyla'nın gel-diğ-i doğru.
Leyla-GEN come-SUB1-POSS3.SG true
'It is true that Leyla came/is coming'

(27b) Leyla'nın gel-me-si doğru.

Leyla-GEN come-SUB2-POSS3.SG true

'It is right for Leyla to come (Leyla did/is doing the right thing by coming)'

Two of the strategies that Turkish uses for subordination are the suffixes *–DIK* (SUB1) and *–mA* (SUB2). Different labels have been given to these suffixes by different grammarians: Lees (1965) calls *–DIK* factive nominal and the latter action nominal; Kornfilt (2003) labels the former as indicative and *–mA* as subjunctive etc. (See more about the distinction in a recent study by Predolac (2018)). In (13a) the reading is epistemic, relating to the status of the propositions (that Leyla is coming/came); where in (13b) the modal status is deontic: the speaker is making a judgment about the potential event (whether it has been already actualized or yet to be) of Leyla's coming. In more simple terms, modally, (13a) expresses that the proposition 'Leyla came/is coming' is *definitely true*; (13b) on the other hand, has a covert modality in it, one which essentially sources from the speaker's belief that can be expressed as 'Leyla *should* go'.

A second observation is made by Evans (2007), where he further notes that in some languages, complement clauses have a function on their own when they are used independently, a phenomenon that is usually referred to as "insubordination". (See 28a for an example from English). As to this observation as well Turkish is certainly one of those languages (cf. 28b).

(28) a. That it should have come to this! (taken from Boogart and Fontuin
 2016, p. 529)

b. Her sabah 5'te kalk-ma-sı!!

Every morning 6-LOC get.up-SUB2-POSS.3SG

‘That she wakes up at 5 every morning!’

It can be argued that in general the use of complement clauses on their own in Turkish involves a function of criticism of a 3rd person’s actions. In the example above, the speaker is addressing a habit of a 3rd person in a complaining tone that expresses her dissatisfaction with this repeating action, that this person gets up at 5 am every morning, a time possibly is found too early (or perhaps too late) or inappropriate for other reasons.

Within constructionist studies of modality, one of the prominent ideas has been that modal constructions effectively functions as constraints on modal ambiguity and polysemy. This idea is a reaction to the widely accepted claim that modal forms (particularly modal verbs in Germanic languages) are textbook examples of polysemy (Talmy 1985, Sweetser 1990). One of the commonly given examples in this regard is the deontic and dynamic readings of English modal verb *can*. Boogart (2009), working in a constructionist framework argues that modal constructions (at least in Dutch), being the pairings of function and form as they are, are in fact never polysemous: change in meaning always correlates with change in form. This is resonant of the principle of no synonymy (Bolinger 1977) that states that when form is changed, change in meaning follows as mentioned in Chapter 2. With regard to Boogart’s (2009) claims, the present study argues for the existence of various counterexamples. First, as given in examples (1-4) English modal verbs ‘may’ and ‘must’ can have deontic and epistemic uses (see also (32) for an example of modal verb polysemy). Second, consider the example of polysemy with the modal Turkish word *lazım* below.

- (29) Ev-de ol-ma-sı lazım.
home-LOC be-SUB2-POSS.3SG necessary

Lit. It is necessary that she is/be at home.

- i) It is necessarily the case that she is home. ('She must be home'; epistemic, deductive reading)
- ii) It is necessary for her to be home. ('She should be home'; deontic, obligative reading)

Expressions with the modal non-verbal predicate *lazım* typically avail both epistemic and deontic readings. As can be seen in (16), when the reading is epistemic it has a strong deductive interpretation; whereas when the used in the deontic sense it typically denotes obligation. Another modal example can be given by what occurs when the future marker *-AcAK* combines with the past/perfect marker *-DI*.

- (30) Gid-ecek-ti-n.
go-FUT-PAST-2SG

Lit. 'You were going to go.'

- i) 'You were gonna go' (simple statement of past knowledge)
- ii) 'You should have gone' (judging the addressee's not going)

The two interpretations of '*Gidecektin*' are given above. These different interpretations arise from an identical form, both morphologically and prosodically; yet they avail different modal readings. (17i) illustrates the epistemic reading of '*Gidecektin*': the speaker asserts that it was certainly the case that the addressee was

going to go. (17ii), on the other hand exemplifies the deontic modal reading that arises with *-AcAK* and *-DI* combinations.

The polysemy of some modal constructions in Turkish also creates conversational situations where ambiguity of a modal utterance can give a participant ground for humorous interaction. When the modal suffix *-(y)Abil* combines with the aorist *-Ir/Ar* it can denote epistemic or dynamic modality (abilitive or volitive):

- (31) Mary: Su-yu uzat-abil-ir mi-sin?
 water-ACC pass-ABIL-AOR INT-2SG
 ‘Can you pass the water?’
- Jack: Bil-me-m, uzat-abil-ir mi-yim?
 know-NEG.AOR-1SG pass-ABIL-AOR INT-1SG
 ‘I don’t know, can I?’

The combination *-(y)Abil* followed by the aorist is intended as a volitive (request) modal expression by Mary. Jack plays on the ambiguity of this expression and returns the question to Mary implying a dynamic (abilitive) and/or an epistemic reading of the question instead of the intended volitive. In other words, when Mary asks Jack if he can pass the water to her; Jack humorously questions Mary back asking her if she thinks he has the ability to do so or not.

Some cognitive-oriented linguists such as Dancygier and Sweetser (2005) on the other hand, also disagree with the claim that modal forms are polysemous, however on the basis of different arguments. One argument they bring into prominence, for instance, is that the different meanings of the notoriously polysemous English modal verb *must* in fact arise crucially at different mental

metalinguistic spaces that represent different speech-act levels. The following utterance with *must* can have two different additions:

- (32) Joe must be home by ten...
- i) ...because I say so. (deontic)
 - ii) ...I always see his light go on then. (epistemic)

While the first denotes a compulsion on the front of action that the speaker obligates Joe to take, in the second interpretation the compulsion is not at the level of action but rather at the level of reasoning. In other words, it ‘compulsorily’ follows from the speaker’s reasoning that John’s being home is the right conclusion based on the evidence that (s)he consistently sees that Joe’s light go on by ten every day.

As indicated in the beginning of this section, up to this date, constructionist studies of modality, focused on modal verbs or other overt modal units that have been grammaticalized in the language (Hilpert 2013, Boogart 2009, Sweetser 1990, Talmy 1985, Wärensby). The present study argues that much benefit can be gained from looking away from overt modality such as modal verbs and particles and instead explore modal covertness in constructions. Furthermore, such an approach may also be more in line with the spirit of construction grammars with their focus on non-compositionality, construction-driven meaning in other areas of research. The next section will present such an analysis: semi-fixed idiomatic constructions of Turkish from the perspective of covert modality. This is not to say that, although not explicitly called that, covert modality has never been investigated within construction grammars. In fact, in the study mentioned above, constructional linguists Dancygier and Sweetser (2005) also discuss the rather noteworthy use of

imperative mood in the conditional paratactic construction of English (Culicover and Jackendoff 1997) exemplified below.

(33) Break that vase and I will break your neck.

Paraphrase: ‘If you break that vase, I will break your neck.’

In such constructions, as can be seen in the paraphrase, a unique conditional meaning arises, not a function that is traditionally considered within the jurisdiction of imperatives. These constructions can be represented as [[IMP clause] *and* [*will* clause]]. Similar constructions where modal functions arise from familiar yet unconventional forms are abundant in Turkish. These should be considered instances of covert modality. A few introductory examples with the verb root *git-* ‘go’ are given below:

(34a) *TUT-DISCONTENT* constructions

Sample Utterance:	Gid-eceğ-i	tut-tu
	leave-SUB-POSS.3SG	hold-PAST.3SG
Lit.	‘His/her leaving held’	

The semi-fixed construction called *TUT-DISCONTENT* can be represented as follows: [V+*AcAK*+POSS *tut-*]. This functions as a modal construction that expresses the speaker’s discontent/disappointment with the sudden/uncalled for/untimely action of another person. With the use of this SFC in (19a), the speaker expresses that (s)he is dissatisfied with the fact that the person went away, of all the things she could have potentially done instead. In terms of covert modality, this utterance could

be paraphrased as *She shouldn't have left*. As can be seen in the modal verb of the English paraphrase, this SFC implies a deontic modality of the type Obligative.

(34b=24a) Git-ti mi git-ti (example taken from Dilaçar 1971: 107)

go-PF INT go-PF

‘as for going, (s)he did that part well’

Touched upon above in Section 4.5, this construction [V_i +Tense/Aspect_i mI V_i +Tense/Aspect_i] referred to as *Tumturak Kipi* (Emphatic Mood) by Dilaçar also has a covert modal function of emphasizing the completed-ness and significance of an action.

(34c) Git-se git-se o gid-er

go-COND.3SG go-COND.3SG (s)he go-AOR.3SG

‘If somebody’s gonna go, that somebody has to her/him’

Perhaps self-explanatory from the English translation, this SFC has a modal function that can be Dynamic (specifically Abilitive) or Epistemic (specifically Assertive). Paraphrasing this utterance in more modal terms yields the following (note the modal adverb *ancak* ‘only’):

(34c’) Ancak o gid-ebil-ir.

Only (s)he go-ABIL-AOR.3SG

‘Only (s)he can go’

The two available modal interpretations are:

- i) Dynamic: ‘The only person who has the necessary skills to go is her/him.’
- ii) Epistemic: ‘If it is true that somebody is going, it must be her/him.’

As Göksel and Kabak (2012) also note, the perplexive construction (see Section 4.5) iterated below is another instance of covert modality in Turkish:

(34d) (=26) *Sen Ayşe-ye sormadan ver eski eşyalar-ı.!!*

you Ayşe-DAT without.asking give.away old furniture-ACC

‘[Would you believe it?!] S/he gave away the old furniture without asking Ayşe!!’

One last example of covert modality before ending this section is what can be called the ‘Consolative’ construction.

(34e) *Gid-eceğ-i var-mış.*

go-SUB-POSS.3SG exist-EVID

Lit. ‘Evidently, there was his/her going.’

Idio. ‘[I guess] (s)he was destined (bound) to go.’

This SFC, which can be represented in more abstract terms as [V+AcAK+POSS *var+DI/mİş*], functions as a consolatory mechanism for an event that has been completed. The consolation is attained at through a reasoning, which implies that the speaker believes that one way or another the event (somebody’s going in this case) had to happen as in ‘there was no other way things would have gone’.

This chapter discussed modal categories along with their covert expression in Turkish. In the next chapter, a selection of SFCs (37 examples) that represents different functions will be analyze for the covert modality they express.

CHAPTER 5

A CATEGORIZATION OF SFCs IN TERMS OF MODALITY

5.1 Introduction

This chapter analyses SFCs from a functional perspective. Due to their often multi-clausal and complex nature as well as the covert expression of modality observed in SFCs, identification of modality requires a two-step functional classification process. First, Section 5.2 provides a semantic classification of SFCs with reference to the semantic categories in Göksel and Kerslake (2005) used for the classification of connectives and adverbials. Second, under these semantic categories, this classification is instrumentalized for the ultimate identification of modality in SFCs. In other words, the semantic classification from Göksel and Kerslake (2005) is applied to SFCs, and in turn it paves the way to a discussion of modality expressed covertly in these SFCs. Section 5.3 presents the resulting modal categorization. It should be emphasized that throughout this chapter, what is dealt with is covert modality rather than modality expressed through traditional, grammaticalized mood markers. In some cases, literal paraphrases of SFCs will evidence the implicit nature of modality in these constructions through modal adverbs or mood markers.

5.2 Turkish SFCs: a modal classification

Göksel and Kerslake (2005) uses a sixteen-way semantic classification in relation to connectives and adverbials in Turkish: Addition, Agreement, Concession, Condition, Conjunction, Dismissal, Information Base for an Utterance, Manner, Means, Preference, Proportionality, Purpose, Quantity or Degree, Reason, Substitution, and Time. Not all of these categories are modal categories themselves, however, they

help uncover the covert modalities denoted in the SFCs. This section attempts at describing and categorizing Turkish SFCs using their classification with one addition: Intensification. Under every SFC example, the expression of different modalities is discussed.

Most of these SFCs carry a particular presupposition. It is this presupposition that renders them appropriate within a particular previous context. In other words, the context is encoded in these SFCs themselves. To illustrate this point better, take for instance the modal category Dismissal. Instead of looking for dismissive meaning in the propositional content of the utterance, the present categorization looks for dismissive meaning as a presupposition, which allows it to be uttered as a response to a previous utterance uttered in discourse. Each semantic category is exemplified and analyzed in turn below. Literal Turkish paraphrases are provided as well when it is deemed necessary for identifying the modal category presented in the SFC.

5.2.1 Addition

SFCs under this category present multiple and related information by adding them together. In presenting additional information, from the perspective of the speaker, these SFCs tend to express surprise or unpreparedness of mind as well.

Example SFC 1: [V_iN+COM *kalma*- ... dA ... V_{ii}]

Sample Utterance: *Spor yapmakla kalmadı bir de diyetle başladı.*

Spor yap-mak-la kal-ma-dı bir.de diyet-e
 sports do-INF-COM stay-NEG-PRF.3SG also diet-DAT
 başla-dı.
 start-PRF.3SG

Lit. ‘(S)he didn’t stay with exercising but also started dieting.’

Idio. 'Not only did (s)he exercise, (s)he also started dieting.'

Literal Paraphrase: *Halihazırda spor yapıyordu şimdi üstelik (daha önemlisi veya şaşırtıcı olanı) bir de diyet yapmaya başladı.*

‘(S)he was already exercising. On top of that (what’s maybe more important or remarkable is that) now on top of exercising, (s)he started dieting.’

This SFC is very similar in its function to the English [*not only ... but also ...*] construction. It is used to assert (usually) two related propositions about an entity/event at once, emphasizing the fact that there is more than one quality/aspect of the entity/event. In doing that, it also suggests that the speaker finds the latter quality/aspect perhaps more noteworthy or surprising. Note the Turkish adverb *üstelik* ‘on top of that’ in the paraphrase provided above. In the example given above the speaker, arguably, finds it noteworthy that the person she is talking about has started dieting on top of already exercising. Put together, the two events (exercising and dieting) seem to have been deemed related by the speaker, perhaps as a personal project towards healthier living.

In terms of covert modality, the category that fits the best with this SFC is Admirative due to its surprise/unexpectedness-denoting function. It is important to note, however, that on top of Admirative modality, depending on the particular TAM markers that the verbs in the SFC can take, it can also denote other types of modalities such as Necessitative (Deontic) as in *Spor yapmakla kalmayıp bir diyeteye başlaman lazım* ‘You need to not only exercise but also start dieting’.

Regardless of the particular TAM markers, the overarching modal function is invariably Admirative: the speaker expresses unpreparedness of the mind.

Example SFC 2: [Bırak X+ACC Y bile]

Sample Utterance: *Bırak öğle yemeğini, kahvaltı bile etmedim.*

Bırak öğle.yemeğ-in-i, kahvaltı bile
set.aside lunch-CM-ACC breakfast even
et-me-di-m.
do-NEG-PRF-1SG

Lit. ‘Set aside lunch, I didn’t even have breakfast.’

Idio. ‘I didn’t even have breakfast let alone lunch.’

Literal Paraphrase: *Öğle yemeği yemedim. Hatta, (üstelik) kahvaltı bile etmedim.*

‘I didn’t eat lunch. Furthermore, (on top of that), I didn’t even have breakfast.’

As for the modal qualities of Example SFC 2, it is observed that it is very similar to Example SFC 1. In fact, while they both express Admirative modality, they also appear to be the two poles in a scale of unpreparedness. While SFC 2 negates two propositions forefronting one before the other, SFC 1 affirms two forefronting one before the other.

Example SFC 3: [(Sanki) X yetmiyormuş/yetmezmiş gibi bir de/daha Y (dA)]

Sample Utterance: *Onca sorun yetmezmiş gibi şimdi bir yenisi daha eklendi.*

Onca sorun yet-mez-miş gibi şimdi
all.these problem suffice-AOR.NEG.3SG-EVID similar now

bir yeni-si daha ek-le-n-di.

one new-CM also addition-DER-PASS-PRF.3SG

Lit. ‘As if all these problems were not enough now a new one got added.’

Idio. ‘As if all these problems were not enough here is another one!’

Literal Paraphrases: *Birçok sorunla uğraşıyordum. Artık bir de (üstelik) uğraşmam gereken bir sorun daha var.*

‘I was dealing with a lot of problems. Now, (on top of that) there is another problem I need to deal with’

The prominent modality that is expressed in this SFC, again implicitly, is Boulomaic as it has an emotive complaining tone where the speaker expresses his/her discomfort in coming across another problem in his/her life on top of all the others.

Example SFC 4: [*Şimdi/bir de X çıktı (baş+POSS+DAT)*]

Sample Utterance: *Bir de Murat çıktı başımıza.*

Bir de Murat çık-tı baş-ımız-a!

also Murat show.itself-PRF head-POSS.1PL-DAT

Lit. ‘Moreover Murat showed up on our head.’

Idio. ‘And now we have to deal with Murat on top of all the other things!’

Literal Paraphrase: *(Bizi meşgul eden birçok şey vardı.) Şimdi bir de (üstelik) Murat’la uğraşmamız gerekiyor.*

‘Now (on top of what already exists), there is Murat (as a newly added problem) to deal with.’

Similar to Example SFC 3, the modal category that represents this SFC is Boulomaic. In fact, the two are near-synonyms of each other: in both the speaker expresses how (s)he is negatively affected in feeling obligated to deal with yet another problem.

Example SFC 5: [... *neyse, ama bi de ...*]

Sample Utterance: *Hadi eşiyile gelenler neyse ama bir de çocuklarını da alıp gelenler var.*

Hadi	eş-i-yile		gel-en-ler
Come.on	partner-POSS.3SG-COM	come-SREL-PL	
neyse	ama bir.de	çocuk-lar-ın-ı	da
anyway but	moreover	child-PL-POSS.3SG-ACC	also
al-ıp		gel-en-ler	var!
take.with-CONJ	come-SREL-PL	existent	

Lit. ‘Come on, those who came with their partners are understandable, but there were also some who brought their kids.’

Idio. ‘OK, maybe it’s understandable that some people would bring their partners but what about those who brought their kids!?’

Literal Paraphrase: *Eşiyile gelenler belki çok büyük bir sorun teşkil etmiyor, fakat bir de (üstelik) çocuklarını da getirenler var ve bu ikinci grup kesinlikle daha büyük bir sorun teşkil ediyor.*

‘The ones who brought their partners may not constitute too big a problem, but on top of bringing their partners some people brought their kids too and the latter definitely constitutes a bigger problem.’

Boulomaic modality is again the best fit for this SFC similar to Example SFCs 3 and 4. It has a clear function of emotively complaining about an event that was witnessed.

Note that the Turkish adverb *üstelik* ‘on top of that’, ‘what’s more’ is common in all the paraphrases provided under each SFC. This suggests not only that new and related information is presented but also that the speaker expresses surprise or unpreparedness of the mind. Furthermore, this adverb can also connote an emotional (positive or negative) attitude towards the proposition expressed in the utterance. Thus, while the first two SFCs are examples of Admiratives, SFCs 3,4 and 5 are Boulomaic cases, Negative Boulomaic in particular.

5.2.2 Agreement

SFCs under this category are used to express a planned action agreed upon by two or more parties. Of all the SFCs in the data, there is only one SFC whose immutable function, regardless of what information occupies the variable slots, is to propose a future action.

Example SFC: [(En) *olmadı/olmazsa* . . . (AOR)]¹¹

Sample Utterance: *bize gideriz.*

¹¹ This same SFC is also given as an example for *Conditional* category below. It is commonly used to suggest a plan to another person but regardless of whether having an *Agreement* sense or not it always has a *Conditional* sense due to the initial expression *Olmazsa/(en) olmadı*. See *Conditional* category below.

	En ol-ma-dı biz-e gid-er-iz.
	most work-NEG-PRF.3SG we-DAT go-AOR-1PL
Lit.	‘It didn’t work the most, we can go to our place.’
Idio.	‘If nothing works (worst case scenario/last resort) we can go to our place.’

This SFC proposes a plan to the addressee in the context of having discussed other options for a future action in the spirit of “if nothing works out” or “if all fail”.

Unlike other potential proposal-like constructions this SFC is usually a final word in a given context of discussing future scenarios. In this regard it doesn’t really expect an answer from the addressee. In the example above, the speaker suggests to the addressee that as a last resort, implying “if the plans we discussed previously do not work out for some reason or we cannot reach an agreement on any of those”, “we can go to our place”.

Insofar as understood as framing a proposal, this SFC can be categorized as a Propositive, a subtype of Deontic modality discussed in Section 4.4.3. On the other hand, it can also be used to express an encouragement to the addressee(s) either including the speaker themselves or not, in which case this SFC should be understood as a hortative. Regardless of the inclusion of hortative function or not, this SFC is invariably used to make a proposal for a future action. While this SFC is a clear case of Propositive modality, it is perhaps not as covert as other SFCs discussed due to its use of Aorist. Nonetheless, there are at least two important points that make this an example of covert Propositive modality. First, the optionality of the Aorist shows that with other TAM markers the propositive meaning is preserved (e.g. Consider the Imperative mood but the same modal meaning in *En olmadı sen gel* ‘If

nothing works YOU can come’. Second, when used with *En olmadı* instead of the conditional variant *Olmaz-sa* the worst-case scenario propositive content is preserved.

5.2.3 Concession

SFCs under this category entail two related propositions where it is emphasized that one of the propositions is unexpected in the light of the other. It is important to note that all three examples below of this kind bear the conditional marker *-sa*.

Example SFC 1: [(X+GEN) *her tarafı Y olsa n’olur/ne çıkar!* (____+ABL *sonra!*)]

Sample Utterance: *Serpil’in her tarafı yetenek olsa n’olur? Bu kadar yalancı olduktan sonra!*

[Serpil-’in her taraf-ı yetenek ol-sa
Serpil-GEN every side-POSS.3SG talent be-COND what-
n-’ol-ur? Bu kadar yalancı ol-duk-tan sonra!]
happen-AOR.3SG This much liar be-NOM-ABL after

Lit. ‘If all of Serpil’s sides were talent what would happen? After being such a liar!’

Idio. ‘Who cares if she is super-talented! She’s such a liar, that’s what matters!’

Literal Paraphrase: *Evet belki Serpil’in yetenekli olduğu doğru olabilir ve hatta çok yetenekli de olabilir ancak bunun bir önemi yoktur. Önemliolan çok yalancı olmasıdır. Bu kadar yalancı olan bir insanın yetenekli olup olmadığının önemi yoktur.*

‘Yes it may be correct that Serpil is talented and she may even be highly talented, nonetheless, this is of no importance.

What’s important is that she is a liar. It doesn’t matter how talented a person is when she is such a liar. ‘

This SFC is usually used after the addressee or a third party has noted that X has the property Y. The speaker wants to draw their attention to another property that X has or lacks and at the same time emphasize that, in the light of what the speaker is trying to focus on, it does not matter whether X has the property of Y. In the example above, it is understood that the speaker is responding to a previous proposition in the discourse, which asserted that Serpil is talented. Unhappy with this proposition and willing to emphasize some other property (s)he believes Serpil has, the speaker brushes off that proposition by asking a rhetorical question, namely *What would come out of it even if Serpil was all about talent?*. (S)he continues with emphasizing how much of a liar Serpil is and that is what matters not whether she is talented or not.

Determining a modal category for this SFC is not a straightforward task, however, due to its negative emotive connotation it should be considered an instance of negative Boulomaic modality. In expressing this emotional attitude the SFC also uses an unreal conditional *ol-sa* (be.COND) ‘if it was’ which is used in an ‘even if’ sense, there is also covert expression of Presumptive modality. The negative emotion is expressed based on a presumption that is best translated as ‘even if X was true..’

The next example constitutes a case of Propositional modality, specifically Epistemic of the Speculative type.

Example SFC 2: [Hiç Vi+NEG+PRF+PERSON+COND NUMBER kere
Vi+PRF]

Sample Utterance: *Hiç gitmedimse on kere gitmişimdir.*

Hiç git-me-di-m-se on kere
never go-NEG-PRF-1SG-COND ten times
git-miş-im-dir¹².
go-EVID-1.SG-GMOD

Lit. ‘If it’s the case that I’ve never been there, I must have been
there ten times.’

Idio. ‘I’m not sure how many times I’ve been there but it must have
been quite a few, at least ten for sure.’

The speaker is not sure about how many times (s)he has been to a place and uses this SFC to make a guess that is not –at least explicitly- based on evidence and (s)he is not very confident about. There is also an expression of emotion, one of boasting that usually accompanies guessing. Interestingly, this SFC is usually used as a defense when the speaker feels threatened by the addressee (or another person) because (s)he thinks that the other person thinks (s)he has not done the action enough times. In

¹² Göksel and Kerslake (2005) call this marker ‘generalizing modality marker’. It has a rather interesting status in Turkish with asymmetries in spoken and written usage and two perplexing functions among others; one of denoting generalized certainty (a) (in a way that functions as stating an officialized fact or one that is believed to be an established), and one with guessing, presuming (b). The use in the sample utterance exemplifies the second function, guessing. See Tura (1986) and Ketrez (2012) for more on the functions of this marker and its interactions with other nominal and verbal markers, and modal adverbs.

a) Salon.umuz klima.lı-dır.

hall.POSS1PL A/C.has-GM

‘It is the case that our hall has air condition.’

b) Serpil ev.de-dir.

Serpil at.home-GM

‘It must be the case that Serpil is home’.

other words, there is a tendency for this SFC to be used when the speaker thinks that the addressee is underestimating the total number of times (s)he has done X.

Example SFC 3 ['X' *dediyse*+PERSON_i 'Y' *demedi*+PERSON_i]

Sample Utterance: *Alingan değiliz dediysek küfür edin demedik!*

'Alingan değil-iz' de-di-yse-k
easily.offendable not-1PL say-PRF-COND.COP-1PL

'küfür ed-in' de-me-di-k!
curse do-IMP.2PL say-NEG-PRF-1PL

Lit. 'If we (I) said "we are (I am) not easily offendable", we (I) didn't say "curse at us (me)"!'

Idio. 'Just because we (I) said "we are (I am) not easily offendable", doesn't mean you can curse at us (me)',¹³

¹³ The markers of first person plural and its pronoun '*biz*' ('we') can be used to denote first person singular in Turkish. This can be preferred for various reasons but at least two of the most common are: first, almost as a 'formal I', reciprocating the formal use of 2nd person plural in a conversation to denote 2nd person singular as in (a); and second, getting support for stance or boosting (Holmes 1984), i.e. modifying the illocutionary force of one's own previous utterance in a conversation as in (b)

a) Speaker A: *Nasıl.sınız?*

how.2PL

'How are you (formal)'

Speaker B: *İyi.y.iz, siz nasıl.sınız?*

fine.COP.2PL how.2PL

'We are good, how are you (formal)?'

b) A and B are having a drink at A's place, they are both getting hungry:

Speaker A: *Doğru.düzgün bir yemek yeme.ye gidelim, bir restorana.*

Proper a/an meal eating.DAT go.OPT.1PL a/an restaurant.DAT

'Let's go to a restaurant and eat a proper meal.'

Speaker B: *Yan.da.ki kafe iyi olur.*

The.one.next.door cafe good be.AOR.3SG

'The café next door would be good.'

'Let's go

Speaker A: *Biz ne di.yor.uz sen ne di.yor.sun!?*

We what say.PROG.1PL you what say.PROG.2SG

Lit. 'What are we saying what are you saying?'

Idio. 'You are not addressing what I'm saying at all!' (in more detail: 'My suggestion was better and your suggestion was not appropriate for the situation and you didn't address what I suggested at all.'

As can be seen in the idiomatic English translation above, this SFC is akin to [*Just because X, doesn't mean Y*] constructions of English (Bender and Kathol 2001) in that they both function as 'denials of inference'. The functional components of [*Just because X, doesn't mean Y*] constructions hold for [*'X' dediyse+PERSON_i 'Y' demedi+PERSON_i*] as well:

1. X holds.
2. Y cannot be inferred from X.
3. Not Y.
4. Someone (by default the addressee) believes that Y can be inferred from X.
5. The speaker is dissatisfied with the state of affairs.

With its clear complaining tone and negative emotional attitude, this SFC should be considered an instance of Boulomaic modality. It should also be noted that the reasoning that the speaker resorts to in making a point and showing the dissatisfaction is an instance of Alethic modality. Alethic modality, as discussed in Chapter 4, denotes logical necessities/possibilities. In this SFC, while expressing his/her dissatisfaction, the speaker also delivers a warning to the addressee that it is a logical necessity that Y cannot be inferred from X.

Example SFC 4: [*Hadi bak X+sA anlarım ama Y dA*]

Sample Utterance: *Hadi bak çok iyi gitar çalıyor olsa anlarım ama onu da yapamıyor.*

Hadi bak çok iyi gitar çal-ıyor

come.on look very good guitar play-PROG.3SG

ol-sa anla-r-ım ama o-nu da
 be-COND understand-AOR-1SG but that-ACC either
 yap-a-m-ıyor.
 do-ABIL-NEG-PROG.3SG

Lit. Come on, look if she played the guitar very well I'd get it
 but she can't do that either.

Idio. OK, maybe if she was good at guitar, I'd get it (what you are
 saying) but she can't seem to be that either.

The functional components of this SFC can be summarized as follows:

(From the perspective of the speaker)

1. Y is one of the necessary conditions of X.
2. X would be acceptable if Y was true.
3. Y is not true.
4. X is not acceptable/reasonable.

This SFC is a particularly complex in terms of modality due to the fact that the SFC consists of three verb clauses. It can be argued that this SFC expresses multiple modalities at once: Necessitative (Deontic), Deductive (Epistemic), and Presumptive (Epistemic). The deontic expression in this SFC can be represented as follows: It is necessary for Y to be true for X to be true. However, note that what is embedded in the deontic expression is an epistemic deduction. Moreover, the 'if it was the case

that Y is true' is an example of Presumptive modality.¹⁴ All in all, the overall modal quality is epistemic.

5.2.4 Condition

SFCs under this category express a proposition whose validity or applicability is dependent on some condition.

Example SFC 1: [Vi+PRF/AOR Vi+PRF/AOR (V+i+NEG+PRF/AOR)]

Sample Utterance: *Onbeş dakika içinde geldiler geldiler, gelmediler polisi arıyorum.*

Onbeş dakika içinde [gel-di-ler gel-di-ler,
fifteen minute inside come-PRF.3PL come-PRF.3PL
gel-me-di-ler] polis-i ar-ıyor-um.
come-NEG-PRF.3PL police-ACC call-PROG-1SG

Lit. 'They came they came in within fifteen minutes, they didn't come, I'm calling the cops.'

Idio. 'If they don't show up in fifteen minutes, I'll call the cops.'

Literal Paraphrase: *Onbeş dakika veriyorum onlara. Onbeş dakika içinde gelmezler ise, polisi arayacağım.*

'I'm giving them fifteen minutes. If they don't show up in fifteen minutes, I'll call the cops.'

This SFC is a particularly interesting one for at least three reasons: First, it is constructed by trebling of the same verb stem; second, it lacks a conditional marker,

¹⁴ It can also be argued that negative Boulomaic modality is also expressed in this SFC because more often than not the speaker conveys disappointment with the suggestion being made.

however it has a conditional function; and three, it lacks an overt adverbial that could potentially supply a conditional sense.

It is important to note that the third occurrence of the same verb stem is not obligatory for this SFC. The first two, *geldiler geldiler* ‘they came they came’ uttered on its own with a particular prosody indicating after the first word there is till to come and where the stress on the final syllables are more prominent than otherwise, mean “this is their last chance to show up”; which, in turn suggests that there will be consequences if they don’t come (since it is their last chance). The third verb stem *gelmediler* ‘they did not show up’ functions as a “in the case that they don’t advertently or inadvertently utilize this last chance and show up”. To illustrate these points clearer consider this divided version of the example:

Onbeş dakika içinde geldiler geldiler.

fifteen minute within inside come-PRF.3PL come-PRF.3PL

Idio. I give them fifteen minutes to show up. This is their last chance.

Gelmediler, polisi arıyorum.

come.NEG.PR.3PL police.ACC call.PROG.1SG

Idio. ‘If they don’t show up, I’m going to call the police.’

Moreover, it is also important to note that the second component of the SFC cannot readily suggest the conditional meaning without the preceding component’s backing.

This is another example of an SFC whose modal qualities are complex. Arguably, the future-oriented assumption that *the moment X is (most probably) the last chance to do Y* is a case of Assumptive epistemic modality. However, the construction also has properties that should be analyzed under Event modality. First,

The next example SFC has already been discussed under the category Agreement. It is however, independent of the Agreement function, a conditional as it makes a proposal based on certain condition.

Sample Utterance: *Olmazsa yarın gideriz.*

Idio. 'If we can't make it work, we can go tomorrow instead.'

Sample Utterance: *Yapsa yapsa anca Semih yapar.*

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do-COND.3SG do-COND.3SG only Semih do-AOR.3SG

Lit. 'If he did if he did only Semih does it.'

Idio. 'Only Semih could do it.' (If it wasn't for Semih, no one could do it.)

Literal Paraphrase: *Ancak Semih yapabilir.* 'Only Semih could do it.'

In terms of modality, this SFC, essentially is a case of Assumptive: it makes an epistemic assumption regarding a future state of affairs.

Example SFC 4: [Bak o zaman X(PROG INT) (X(NEG-PROG INT))]

Sample Utterance: *Sen bunu bi polise şikayet et. Bak o zaman bi daha yapıyor mu?*

Sen bu-nu bir polis-e şikayet.et.

you this-ACC one police-DAT issue.complaint

Bak o.zaman bi.daha yap-ıyor mu?

look then again do-PROG INT.3SG

Lit. 'You issue a complaint about him/her with the police. Look then does (s)he do it again?

Idio. 'You should issue a complaint with the police! There's no way (s)he'll do it again, I promise! (If you issue a complaint, chances are that (s)he won't do it again.)

Literal Paraphrase: *Eğer polise şikayet edersen, bir daha yapmayacaktır.*

'If you issue a complaint with the police, chances are she'll never do it again.'

This SFC shares the use of imperative in a conditional sense with the English conditional paratactic construction discussed in Chapter 4. As it involves multiple clauses, the status of modality is complex in this SFC. The first clause which can be paraphrased as ‘If you issue a complaint with the police’ is an instance of Conditional, whereas the main clause can be categorized either as Assumptive (epistemic) or Abilitive (dynamic) depending on the particular context. In the example above the main clause is an Assumptive, but when the main clause implies ability rather than possibility the modality will be, accordingly, Abilitive.

Example SFC 5: [X(commonplace) *ara*-AOR+COND.COP+PERSON *çok* (ama/dA/fakat Y yok)]

Sample Utterance: *Manyak ararsan çok ama bir tane düzgün insan yok.*
 Manyak ara-r-sa-n çok ama bir tane
 Maniac look.for-AOR-COND-2SG plenty but one piece
 düzgün insan yok.
 proper human.being non.existent

Lit. ‘If you’d look for a maniac, there is plenty; but there isn’t a single normal person’

Idio. ‘There is plenty of maniacs if that’s what you’re looking for, but there isn’t even one normal person’

This SFC is used to make a point that something commonplace or unpleasant is abundant in a situation while pleasantness, or what is desired, is rare, if not non-existent. Due to its expression of unpleasant feeling in a complaining tone, the prominent modality in Example SFC 5 is Boulomaic, specifically negative.

In all the SFCs exemplified under the category Condition, note that the paraphrase is expressed -perhaps naturally- with an *if*-clause. In this sense, insofar as Conditional is considered a modal category, SFCs under this category can be labeled as Modal-Conditional on top of other modalities that have been discussed.

5.2.5 (Disjunctive) Conjunction

Conjunction SFCs are templates that are used to conjoin multiple linguistic units that are of equal semantic status in the proposition.

Example SFC 1: [Bi N1+Dir bi N2+Dir ...]

Sample Utterance: *Bi çaydır bi kahvedir bi sodadır bir şeyler içeriz.*

Bi çay-dır bi kahve-dir bi soda-dır

a tea-GMOD a coffee-GMOD a sparkling.water-GMOD

bir şey-ler iç-er-iz.

something.PL drink-AOR-1PL

Lit. ‘It’s maybe a tea, maybe a coffee, maybe a sparkling water we can drink something.’

Idio. ‘We could get a drink; you know maybe a tea or coffee or sparkling water or something.’

This SFC resonates with the English construction (*whether*) *be it X or (be it) Y* that is used to list examples or alternatives as in *be it coffee or tea*. In the example above the speaker is making an invitation for a beverage with the addressee. While doing that (s)he names a few examples that they could get as a beverage together. In this sense this SFC exemplifies tokens of a certain type. In this case, the type is the category

DRINK and the exemplified tokens of this type are *kahve* ‘coffee’, *çay* ‘tea’, and *soda* ‘sparkling water’.

In listing possible courses of action that can be taken in a future plan, this SFC is an example of covert deontic modality of the type Propositional.¹⁵ In this sense, this SFC is an instance of inclusive disjunctive conjunction. Its function is similar to that of ‘or’ rather than ‘and’ (disjunctive), and more specifically not the exclusive ‘or’ (either or) but instead the inclusive ‘or’.

Example SFC 2: $[Bi\ V_i\ bi\ V_{ii}]$

Sample Utterance: *Bi uyuyorum bi uyanıyorum.*

Bi uyu-yor-um bi uyan-ıyor-um.

one sleep-PROG-1SG one wake.up-PROG-1SG

Lit. ‘I sleep one I wake up one.’

Idio. ‘I keep falling asleep and then waking up’

It is not possible to stipulate a particular, invariable modality for this SFC.

Expression of modal notions will depend on the particular TAM markers and the content that the open slots bear. To name a few possibilities, the modality expressed can contextually be Admirative when denoting surprise against the alternating quality of the repetitive actions or likewise Boulomaic when expressing dissatisfaction/disappointment with the alternating nature of the event. What is perhaps invariable about this SFC is its aspectual category instead. From the vantage point of grammatical aspect, this SFC denotes a continuous alternation between actions.

¹⁵ Another approach to this SFC would be see a deeper expression of volition in the proposal that is being made, which would draw the cover modality of this SFC towards Volitive (Dynamic) modality.

Similarly, in Example SFC 3, there is no designated modality. The main function of this SFC is to emphasize the wide range of selections or events/actions that were present in a particular state of affairs. The sample utterance is referring to a bar with a wide selection of different styles of beers.

Example SFC 3: [X+ABL *tut da* Y+DAT *kadar*]

Sample Utterance: *Pilsener'den tut da IPA'ye kadar her tür bira vardı.*

Pilsener'-den tut da IPA'-e kadar her tür bira

Pilsner-ABL hold also IPA-DAT until every kind beer
var-dı.

existent.PRF.3SG

Lit. 'Hold from Pilsner but up to IPA, they had all kinds of beer.'

Idio. 'From Pilsner to IPA, they had all kinds of beer.'

Along similar lines to SFC 3, the next SFC emphasizes the large number of the particular subject matter of the proposition that is being made. As can be seen in the sample utterance, the main function of this SFC is to assert that the number of X's is high.

Example SFC 4: [*O X senin bu X benim ...*]

Sample Utterance: *O mahalle senin bu mahalle benim gezdik bütün gün.*

O mahalle sen-in bu mahalle ben-im

that neighborhood you-GEN this neighborhood I-GEN

gez-di-k bütün gün.

wander.around-PRF-1PL all day

- Lit. That neighborhood is yours this neighborhood is mine we
wandered around all day.
- Idio. From one neighborhood to another (a lot of neighborhoods)
we kept wandering around all day.

By the merit of the two consecutive possessive constructions *O mahalle senin* ‘That neighborhood is yours’ and *Bu mahalle benim* ‘This neighborhood is mine’, this SFC suggests at least two things: first, the number of neighborhoods the speaker and her company visited is plenty; and two, the speaker is boasting about this fact, perhaps she is somewhat proud or simply satisfied or positively overwhelmed by their stroll. In this way, this is an instance of positive Boulomaic modality. Additionally, it can be argued that perhaps this SFC has neutral boulomaicity, that is, it certainly denotes an emotional attitude towards the proposition yet the direction (negative or positive) of Boulomaic modality will be determined in discourse.

As been discussed, most SFCs that involve conjunction can be used with various modalities. In this regard, Conjunction is perhaps the most variable category in terms of modality. This may be due to the fact that conjunction is more of a formal phenomenon than functional.

5.2.6 Dismissal

SFCs under this category imply that the proposition that has been suggested previously by either the speaker the addressee/another person is regarded as abortive or, though true, rather insignificant to what the speaker wants to emphasize. The first, second, and fourth SFC examples below overtly express the abortive information

while the third example refers to the abortive information with the demonstrative pronoun *o* ‘that’. Example SFC 5 can do either.

Example SFC 1: [V_i +*mAsInA* V_i (, *dA/ama/fakat*)]

Sample Utterance: *Anlamasına anladım ama sana anlatamayabilirim.*

Anla-ma-sın-a anla-dı-m da
understand-NOM-CM-DAT understand-PRF-1SG but
sana anlat-a-ma-yabil-ir-im.
you.DAT explain-ABIL-NEG-PSB-AOR-1SG

Lit. To understanding, I’ve understood but I may not be able to explain it to you.

Idio. As far as understanding is concerned I’ve got that much covered, but I’m not sure if I can actually explain it to you.

This SFC does not distinctly denote any particular modality; however, the continuation after [V_i +*mAsInA* V_i] tends to involve a confession of a disappointing, unsatisfactory fact. In this sense, in terms of modality, this construction should be categorized under negative Boulomaic. The next SFC is another example of negative Boulomaic:

Example SFC 2: [*Evet belki* ____ (PRF) *ama/dA* ____ (PRF)]

Sample Utterance: *Evet belki profesör olmuş ama insan olamamış.*

Evet belki profesör ol-muş ama insan

yes maybe professor become-EVID.3SG but human.being
ol-a-ma-mış.

become-ABIL-NEG-EVID.3SG

Lit. 'Yes maybe (s)he has become a professor but (s)he hasn't
become a good person.'

Idio. '(S)he may be a professor but (s)he is not a good person.'

This SFC starts off with stating a fact while softening its factuality through the use of *belki* 'maybe' and goes on to another proposition in which some negative (in the eyes of the speaker) quality/aspect of the subject matter is emphasized in contrast. The arguable logic of this SFC is that "Yes it may be true that X has the property Y *but* there is something more important than Y and X lacks it." Importantly, while the speaker says "it may be true" she does not purport that it is possible that it is not true; to the contrary, she asserts that it is indeed inarguably true. The word *belki* 'maybe' does not function to speculate about the truth value of the initial proposition in this construction; instead it functions as a signal to the addressee that there is a concessive argument coming up against the subject matter X. To summarize, the speaker suggests the followings by this SFC:

1. X has Property Y
2. X lacks Property Z
3. Z is more important to have than Y
4. Z is expected to be had by X

Note the modal similarity of this SFC to Example SFC 3 under Concession. They both express negative emotional attitude towards a particular state of affairs by referencing a logical necessity, which is a case of Alethic modality.

Example SFC 3: [O *değil de*, (*esas*) ...]

Sample Utterance: *O değil de esas Elif Ankara'ya gidiyormuş.*

O değil de esas Elif Ankara'ya
that not too more.importantly Elif Ankara-DAT
geliyormuş!
come-PROG-EVID.3SG

Lit. 'It's not that but more importantly Elif is apparently coming to Ankara!'

Idio. 'Forget that! You know what I learned? Apparently, Elif is coming to Ankara!'

The main function of Example SFC 3 is topic-shifting as it is defined in the pragmatics literature: (Brown and Yule 1984: 95) "between two contiguous pieces of discourse which are intuitively considered to have two different 'topics', there should be a point at which the shift from one topic to the next is marked." In this sense it is a topic boundary marker. Other than topic-shifting and in that, backgrounding what has been previously discussed in discourse, it does not have a designated modal function. The following SFC is another instance of negative Boulomaic modality.

Example SFC 4: [V+PRF *dA n'oldu* (*sanki*)]

Sample Utterance: *Gitti de n'oldu sanki?*

	Git-ti de n'-ol-du sanki?
	go-PRF.3SG but what.happen-PRF.3SG as.if
Lit.	‘(S)he went but as if what happened?’
Idio.	‘(Yeah, it’s true.) She did go. But like anything good came out of it!’

On top of its emotive qualities, this construction also suggests disbelief reminiscent of Albanian Admiratives discussed in Chapter 4. The particular doubt that is being expressed is against the assumed proposition that something good came out of it.

Next, SFC 5 expresses multiple modalities:

Example SFC 5:	[time-denoting nominal element+DAT <i>kadar kim öle kim kala!</i>]
Sample Utterance:	<i>Bölümün 2024 hedefleriyle ilgili olarak, “2024’e kadar kim öle kim kala” dedi.</i>
	Bölüm-ün 2024 hedef-ler-i-yile ilgili.olarak, department-GEN 2024 goal-PL-CM-COM in.regard.to ‘2024’e kadar kim öl-e kim kal-a’ de-di. 2024-DAT till who die-OPT who stay-OPT say-PAST
Lit.	‘In regard to the department’s goals for 2024, (s)he said “who shall die who shall stay by 2024”.’
Idio.	‘In regard to the department’s goals for 2024, (s)he said “2024 is so far away that we don’t even know if any of us is gonna be alive then”.’

The implicit modal function connoted here is two-pronged: On the one hand, the speaker makes an assumption (Assumptive as a subtype of epistemic) by implying that ‘X would most probably happen to far in the future’; on the other, it also discourages the addressee from paying attention to X. In this way it is an example of Dehortative (deontic).

Crucially, SFCs under this category share substantial functional properties with Concession discussed in Section 5.2.3, perhaps enough to be categorized under the same label (Concessive-Dismissive). The difference between the two categories can be described as follows: While in Concession the two propositions that are compared are both the speaker’s own, at least to the degree that it is phrased in the utterance, Dismissal involves a more explicit disregarding/dismissing of the proposition made or implied by the addressee’s in discourse.

5.2.7 Manner

SFCs under this category express the manner of an action.

Example SFC: [V_i+PRF V_i+IMPF {PROG/FUT}]

Sample Utterance: *Çıktı çıkacak.*

Çık-tı çık-acak.

exit-PRF3.SG exit-IMPF(FUT).3SG

Lit. ‘(S)he got out she’ll get out.’

Idio. ‘(S)he is about to get out.’

Literal Paraphrase: *Çıkmak üzere, çıkmasına çok az zaman kaldı.*

‘She’s about get out, there is just a little bit of time left for that.’

This SFC iterates the same verb stem in the same grammatical person consecutively. The first instance is in perfective form using the past/perfective *–DI* marker and the second in the imperfective using either PROG or FUT marker. Functionally, this formal unit makes use of bridging these two grammatical aspects as a grammatical metaphor, in conveying the meaning to the addressee that the action signified by the verb is very close to being performed. In other words, a verb stem iterated in this fashion makes up the meaning that the completion of the action is right around the corner; the speaker and the addressee will witness it at any minute.

From the perspective of the expression of temporal, aspectual and modal information, this SFC should be considered an aspectual construction rather than a construction with a predetermined modal function. After all, regardless of the modal context it is used in, the most prominent function of $[V_i + \text{PRF } V_i + \text{IMPF} \{ \text{PROG/FUT} \}]$ is that of ‘about to V’. This aspect is marked by particular designated elements in some languages, a linguistic feature that has been referred to as Imminent Prospective (Schroeder 2011), Proximative (Heine 1994, Nevskaya 2005) or Prospective-Progressive (Ameka and Dakubu 2008) in the literature. Perhaps, it is most appropriate to treat this as a ‘covert/implicit’ aspect in an analogy to covert modality. Nonetheless, perhaps needless to say, in cases where this SFC is used to express an attitude towards the asserted proposition, there will be a modal component involved, which can vary. There is, however, an important point to make: even though this SFC essentially conveys aspectual information, its function tends to be of assuring/appeasing the addressee that the expected action will be completed very soon and perhaps adding that there is nothing to worry about. In this sense, this SFC is an Assurative or at least in terms of what already exists in the modality literature, Commissive, as a subtype of Deontic modality. In addition to the

Assurative modality function, this SFC can also connote Speculative (epistemic) modality as in the following instance:

- (1) Bardağı çok tehlikeli bir yere koy.muş.sun, düş.tü düş.ecek.
 cup.ACC very dangerous a/an spot.LOC place.EVID.2SG fall.PRF.3SG
 fall.FUT.3SG
 ‘You’ve placed the cup on a very dangerous spot, [it has fallen off, it will fall off] (it *may* fall off any second now).’

5.2.8 Preference

SFCs under this category compare multiple options for an agent and express that one is seen as better than the other(s).

Example SFC: $[V_i + cAğInA \quad V_{ii}]$

Sample Utterance: *Sinemaya gideceğime kitap okurum.*

Sinema-ya gid-eceğ-im-e kitap
 movies-DAT go-SUB(FUT)-POSS.1SG-DAT book
 oku-r-um.
 read-AOR-1SG

Lit. ‘Instead of my going to movies (future) I’d read a book.’

Idio. ‘Instead of going to movies I’d rather read a book.’

There is no further example of this category in the SFC data. The most common function associated with this SFC is observed to be volition, which makes it an

instantiation of Volitive, as a subtype of Dynamic modality. It is important to note that Dynamic modality does not constitute a significant part in SFCs analyzed so far.

5.2.9 Proportionality

SFCs under this category indicate that one event happens in proportion to another.

Example SFC: [*Ne kadar X o kadar Y*]

Sample Utterance: *Ne kadar koşarsan o kadar yorulursun.*

Ne kadar koş-ar-sa-n o kadar
What much run-AOR-COND.COP-2SG that much
yorul-ur-sun]
get.tired-AOR-2SG

Lit. ‘What much you run that much you get tired.’

Idio. ‘The more you run the more tired you get.’

This SFC is akin to the widely cited English construction The X-er the Y-er. It is used to assert a proposition that any change in the value of X is associated with, and may even be seen as the cause of, a change in the value of Y. There is no modal category that is invariably expressed by this SFC. The modality of the utterance that uses this SFC will be determined by the particular context, information, and the attitude of the speaker. Nevertheless, it can be argued that the logical nature of the proportional assertion is a type of Alethic modality as it purports to be a logical necessity.

5.2.10 Quantity or Degree

SFCs under this category indicate the degree to which the quality expressed in it.

Example SFC: [Ne kadar (da) _____!]

Sample Utterance: Ne kadar da mutlular!

Ne kadar da mutlu-lar!

What much too happy-COP-3PL

Lit. 'How much happy they are too!'

Idio. 'How happy they are!'

Formulized as a question this SFC is a rhetorical assertion that the speaker uses to express the emotional intensity they are experiencing with respect to a quality/aspect of an entity/event. This emotional intensity could be due to an amazement, fascination, surprise at how good or bad someone is at something, or disgust etc. This SFC is best accounted for under the category Boulomaic modality with undertones of Admirative modality as it can also express surprise.

5.2.11 Reason

SFCs under this category provide reasoning to an action or stipulate a cause for it.

Example SFC 1: [Olur ha _____ (diye)]

Sample Utterance: Olur ha belki gelen olur (diye).

Ol-ur ha belki gel-en ol-ur diye.

Happen-AOR.3SG maybe come-SREL exist-AOR.3SG for

Lit. 'As it so happens, because maybe someone comes.'

Idio. ‘(You know...) Just in case someone shows up, you never know.’

This SFC is best understood as a Turkish equivalent of the English construction [in case X happens...]. In this way, it speculates about the future state of affairs, which puts it under the category Speculative (epistemic) modality.

Example SFC 2: [*Demek X+sA*]

Sample Utterance: [*Demek çirkinsem*]¹⁶

so ugly-COND-1.SG

Lit. So if I’m ugly.

Idio. She must find me ugly. (It’s probably because of that.)

Perhaps not as common as the other SFCs discussed in this section, this particular SFC is used ironically to make an estimation about the causes of the addressee (or another person) acting in a certain way and at the same expressing disbelief against the factual status of the cause that led the person act in that way. In a seemingly limited SFC like this the amount of information encoded is abundant. Perhaps it is best to further explain by referring to the example above. The speaker (called A for convenience) expresses all the following referring to another person’s (called B for convenience) action that has affected the speaker:

- i) B must find me ugly.
- ii) The fact that B finds me ugly is probably the reason why B acted in a certain way.

¹⁶ In this SFC, the word stress on ‘X+sA’ which falls on before the copula (phonologically null in the example ‘*çirkinsem*’) is particularly pronounced, perhaps in an effort to signal an implication.

- iii) B is wrong, I'm not ugly.
- iv) I'm upset that both B finds me ugly, B is wrong, B acts in the way (s)he acted.

Essentially, this SFC is a speculation as it sets forth a reason why someone acted in a certain way. In this sense, it should be considered an Epistemic SFC. However, at the same time, the ironic, disbelieving attitude pulls it towards an Admirative reading. Overall, expression of negative emotions through this SFC, such as fear, sadness or dissatisfaction connotes boulomaic qualities to it. It can be argued that this SFC involves all of these modalities, namely Speculative (Epistemic), Admirative (disbelief), Boulomaic (negatively affected).

Example SFC 3: [Şimdi kim ____ +FUT]¹⁷

Sample Utterance: *Şimdi kim bakkala gidecek!*

Şimdi kim bakkal-a gid-ecek!

now who grocery.store-DAT go-FUT.3SG

Lit. 'Who will go to the grocery store now?'

Idio. 'There is no way I go to the grocery store (because X)'

This SFC is used to express the difficulty/improbability of the performing of an action in the face of or due to the circumstances that are understood by the context. In the example above the speaker emphasizes that he has no intention or willingness to go the grocery store at that point in time. It is implied that the circumstances of herself or her surroundings under which this utterance must have been produced are

¹⁷ See Görgülü (2006) for the negative use of *kim* 'who' as well as other *wh*-words in Turkish.

seen as inappropriate for one reason or another. Insofar as this SFC emphasizes the lack of willingness it denotes Volitive (dynamic) modality. There is another relevant modal category here, however: In the sense that it is used to discourage an action (of oneself or another) [*Şimdi kim ____ +FUT*] should be considered an example of Dehortative (deontic) modality.

Example SFC 4: [*Her zaman V+AOR*]

Sample Utterance: *Ankara'ya her zaman gidersin, sen bu akşam partiye gel.*

Ankara-'ya her.zaman gid-er-sin,

Ankara-'ya always go-AOR-2SG

sen bu.akşam partiye gel.

you tonight party.DAT come

Lit. 'You'll always go to Ankara, you come to the party tonight'

Idio. 'You can go to Ankara whenever you want, you should come to the party (the party doesn't happen every night)'

This SFC expresses a justification/reason for an action. The speaker says 'Do X, don't do Y because you can do Y anytime. This might be your only opportunity to do X. In this case, the speaker expresses that going to Ankara is something that does not take a lot of work and/or it doesn't require especially rare conditions, whereas the party that the speaker is referring to is a special one and the speaker believes that the addressee should not miss it.

In terms of modality, this construction is an instance of Hortatives (deontic). Simultaneously, it encourages once action while discouraging another one; hence it is both an Adhortative and a Dehortative.

5.2.12 Intensification

SFCs under this category increase the illocutionary force of a proposition that has been previously suggested in discourse either by the speaker themselves or the addressee. This usually occurs with suggesting a more dramatic and powerful version of the event by substituting the verb used to denote the event previously with a more intense verb of the same semantic class. The more intense verb covers the semantics of the original verb and also adds to it. While SFCs exemplified below share an emotional attitude, which gives them a boulomaic nature, more significantly they all express Admirativity.

Example SFC 1: [*'V_i+mAk' ne kelime resmen V_{ii}*]

Sample Utterance: *Zayıflamak ne kelime resmen erimiş!*

 ‘Zayıf-la-mak’ ne kelime resmen eri-miş!

 Thin-DER-INF what word clearly/officially melt-EVID.3SG

Lit. ‘What word is “zayıflamak”, (s)he has clearly melted!’

Idio. “Zayıflamak” is too weak a word to capture the situation here,
 (s)he literally melted off!’

This SFC takes the linguistic expression that has been uttered previously by the addressee or some other party and in a dismissive fashion replaces it with another linguistic expression that the speaker deems more appropriate. The new expression is usually a member of the same semantic class with what it replaces and tends to be a illocutionarily stronger member of its class. In the example above, the speaker asserts two propositions: first, ‘losing weight’ is too weak an expression to fully represent

what happened with the third person they are referring to and second, ‘melting off’ is a better way put it.

Example SFC 2: [Ne ‘X’+CM ...]

Sample Utterance: *Ne hortumu! Kanalizasyon borularını bağladılar!*

Ne hortum-u! Kanalizasyon boru-lar-ı-nı bağ-la-dı-lar!

what hose-CM sewage pipe-PL-CM-ACC tie-DER-PRF-3PL

Lit. ‘What hose? They connected the sewage pipes.’

Idio. ‘What do you mean ‘hose’?! They connected literally the sewage pipes!’

The sample utterance here is taken from a speech given by Devlet Bahçeli in 2010, a political leader in Turkey, where he returns a cry from the audience that says ‘they connected the hoses to themselves’ referring to (Video TV 2013). ‘Hose’ and ‘hosing’ in Turkish are terms used for siphoning off money.

Example SFC 3: [Gel de VP]

Sample Utterance: *Gel de şaşırma!*

Gel de şaş-ır-ma!

come but be.confused-DER-NEG.IMP.2SG

Lit. ‘Come but don’t be surprised!’

Idio. ‘It is impossible not to be surprised’

This SFC demonstrates another ironic construction; the interpretation is the negative of what is suggested. As can be seen in the translations, *Gel de şaşırma!* expresses

‘don’t be surprised’ while it precisely means the opposite: ‘You’ll be surprised.’ In this spirit, its affirmative uses, such as *Gel de inan!* ‘Come but believe!’ mean the opposite as well. The idiomatic function of *Gel de inan!* is ‘It is impossible to believe, there is nothing believable about it.’

5.2.14 Other categories and conclusion

There are no examples from SFCs under the categories Means, Substitution, and Purpose. The category Means expresses the means by which some goal is sought or result achieved. Substitution, on the other hand, indicates putting a proposition in place of another one. Finally, Purpose as a category is used for linguistic expressions that denote the objective behind a taken action. The remaining category Information Base for an Utterance, on the other hand is rather ambiguous to be exemplified here as most SFCs rely on some information base rather than being presentational. As was pointed out in the beginning of this chapter, all SFCs express new information/attitude with respect to presupposed information or events. As for the category Time, there are in fact examples, although with no modal qualities. The not-so-common temporal SFCs express how one event relates to the timing of another. There are two SFCs in the data that denote temporality in particular.

Example SFC 1: [V_i+PRF INT V_{ii}+AOR]

Sample Utterance: *Yağmur durdu mu yürümeye başlarız.*

Yağmur dur-du mu yürü-me-ye başla-r-ız.

rain stop-PRF.3SG INT walk-NOM-DAT start-AOR-1PL

Lit. ‘Has it stopped raining, we start walking.’

Idio. ‘Once it stops raining we start walking.’

(2) Bir.i.ni sev.di.m mi yap.ma.yacağ.ım şey yok.
 someone.ACC love.PRF.1SG INT do.NEG.FUT.1SG is.non.existent
 Lit. ‘When(if) I love someone there is nothing I won’t do’.
 Idio. ‘I would do anything for the person I love.’

Sample Utterance: *Varır varmaz ara beni.*

Lit.	‘(S)he arrives (s)he doesn’t arrive call me.’
Idio.	‘Call me as soon as you arrive.’

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related to expression of temporality, the cousin of Tense in the same way Modality is the cousin of Mood.

In conclusion, the semantic classification provided in this section signaled the types of modality that can be expressed through the SFCs. Importantly, for most SFCs, there is no single invariable modal function; however, the observations made in this section gave important clues as to the modal qualities of SFCs.

5.3 Results

In the previous section, SFCs were categorized in terms of modality. It has been found that out of the 37 examples discussed in the previous section, there emerges four main classes: while some SFCs have one specific predetermined modality or multiple modalities at once, some SFCs can express various modalities dependent on what occupies the variable slots and some SFCs bear no modality at all. The SFCs that have one invariable modality are named Single-modal, for instance Admirative-denoting Example SFC 3 under Intensification, whereas those SFCs that express multiple modalities at once are Multiple-modal such as Example SFC 4 under Condition. The SFCs whose modality is determined in discourse by the particular linguistic units that their variable slots take are named Any-modal, while those SFCs who cannot be expressed in modal terms are None-modal.

The category Conjunction is where Any-modals are the most common such as Example SFC 3 under Conjunction. None-modal is the least common of all which is only observed in the sole example of the category Proportionality and Example SFC 2 under Time. Across the semantic categories, most SFCs have been shown to be Single-modal. On the other hand, it has also been noted that Multiple-modals tend to coincide with the existence of multiple clauses.

It is not possible to give an exact number of representation for each modal category because of the existence of Multiple-modals. Nonetheless, where possible the most prominent of the multiple modalities that are expressed by an SFC was selected to be the modal category for that SFC. The most common modal category across the board is Boulomaic with 13 instances, close to one third of the 37 examples analyzed. All instances of Boulomaicity except for the unique Example SFC 4 under Conjunction, are of the negative polarity, i.e. they denote disliking/dissatisfaction. The second most common category after Boulomaic is Epistemic with 8 instances. Deontics and Admiratives come third with representations of 5. Under close scrutiny 3 SFCs were found to denote Alethic modality while Dynamic modality is the least common of all with only 2 instances.

Furthermore, it has been observed that at least in one example (Section 5.2.7), it is more relevant to speak of covert aspect rather than covert modality. In this example, the aspect Imminent Prospective, grammaticalized in some languages, is expressed implicitly through an SFC.

In conclusion, it has been found that, as far as modality is concerned, the most prevalent function conveyed by semi-fixed constructions in Turkish is expressing negative emotional attitude towards a proposition or situation. Making suggestions as regarding the factual status of a proposition (Epistemic, what may be) or indicating actions to change the world (Deontic, what ought to be) or expressing volition or ability do not appear to be in the foreground in terms of modal expression in with semi-fixed constructions.

CHAPTER 6

FORMAL AND FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS OF SEMI-FIXED CONSTRUCTIONS: A CASE STUDY

6.1 Introduction

The constructions in the previous chapters can further be analyzed, and, indeed, in this chapter a selection of semi-fixed constructions of Turkish are analyzed in detail. The constructions are treated in two separate subsections. It is important to note that this grouping is not motivated by a quest for theoretical significance but rather by convenience of description. Section 6.2, analyzes SFCs with open slots that bear some pre-specified inflectional suffixes, though what is specified is sometimes only a feature or value of a suffix instead of its particular exponent. Section 6.3, on the other hand, deals SFCs whose open slots predominantly do not exhibit any inflectional pre-specification. SFCs where there are multiple slots and some are fully open and some have inflectional specification are also analyzed in this section. Across both subsections examples will be analyzed for three main aspects. For every SFC, first, the status of idiomaticity will be investigated. Secondly, their formal properties will be discussed. Thirdly, variability and flexibility will be held under the microscope. The SFCs that will be handled in this chapter are as follows:

- (1) OF-ALL-THE-THINGS construction
- (2) NOW-IT’S-THEM construction
- (3) Bi-NOT-AS construction

The motivation for this thorough analysis is to formalize and suggest a guideline for the identification and analysis of SFCs and in fact, constructions in general. The separation of analyses based on three main aspects, namely idiomaticity, morpho-syntactic form, and variability & flexibility is reminiscent of the separate analytical dimensions used by Göksel and Kabak (2012) in their description of the perplexive construction discussed in Chapter 4.

6.2 SFCs I: variable-stem SFCs

This section presents SFCs with open slots that bear some pre-specified inflectional suffixes, though what is specified is sometimes only a feature or value of a suffix instead of its particular exponent. In particular one such SFC will be analyzed in depth:

OF-ALL-THE-THINGS Construction exemplified in (1).

(1) OF-ALL-THE-THINGS CONSTRUCTION

[V_i+A V_i+A NP+CASE mI V_i+TAM+Person]

Ex. [yap-a yap-a bu-nu mu yap-tı-n!]
do.CVB do.CVB this.ACC INT do.PAST.2SG

Lit. ‘By doing by doing is this what you did!’

Idio. ‘Of all the things you could have done, (*I can’t believe that*) this is what you did!’

6.2.1 Idiomaticity

In order to shed light on the idiomatic qualities of (1), the analysis starts with an attempt at paraphrasing (1) as unambiguously and as literally as language permits.

Consider the more literal paraphrase of (1) given in (1').

(1') *Yapılabilecek birçok iyi şeyin olduğu bir durumda senin bu, diğer birçok seçenekten kötü olan şeyi, yapmış olman çok şaşırtıcı ve üzücü.*

'In a situation where you had many great options to pick from, it is highly surprising and disappointing that you chose to do THIS'¹⁸

Note that paraphrasing this SFC requires so much more additional linguistic input in order to approximate literalness and unambiguity. As mentioned in previous sections, so much of natural language, if not all, is non-literal and it is bound to be so. This paraphrase shows how much information is inescapably and holistically, i.e. all-at-once conveyed in an *unambiguous* fashion with the realization of one semi-fixed construction. Now let us take a look at this richness of information encoded in *Yapa yapa bunu mu yaptın?*

First, observe that the paraphrase of (1) given in (1') is an affirmative proposition, and hence unlike the original SFC, not a question. Thus, conceivably the most salient feature of (1) is that, although syntagmatically formulated as a question, it does not necessarily call for a response. In this regard, (1) is a rhetorical question (see Keçeli (2009) for a prosodic determination analysis of rhetorical questions in Turkish)¹⁹. Second, (1) implies that the hearer, i.e. the doer of the action that is being referred to, in reality, although perhaps unbeknownst to her/him, had many fine

¹⁸ Note that the English translation of the paraphrase necessarily substantially deviates from the idiomatic English translation given in (2i). This shows that the English construction for this meaning-form pair exhibits non-predictable semantics as well.

¹⁹ Keçeli (2009) finds that compared to yes/no questions with other TAM markers, rhetorical interpretation is less readily available in yes/no questions that use the *-DI* marker. It is important to note that the example given in this section for OF-ALL-THE THINGS constructions uses this TAM marker and due to its particular idiomatic properties, is seemingly invariably interpreted rhetorically.

options to begin with. In other words, the speaker suggests that a wide menu of promising actions has been available to the hearer.

Third, and last, beyond being rhetorical and implying an array of great options, the SFC has a negative implication. There is nothing strictly predictable in (1) that necessitates that the speaker *does not* mean it in a good way. In other words, there is no linguistic element that specifically and independently prevents the SFC from having a positive reading, one that means ‘Of all the things you could do, look how *wonderful* is what you did!’. Nevertheless, it conversely functions as a depreciating expression, one that means ‘Of all the things you could do, look how *inferior* is what you did’. In sum, the SFC indicates idiomatically the following:

- i) The speaker is asking a rhetorical question
- ii) A wide array of promising options must have been available to the hearer
- iii) The hearer’s (inadvertent or otherwise) selection is significantly inferior

In an effort to investigate these three functional properties of (1) further and inquire the possibility of decomposing it into semantic parts, let us take a closer look at the two clauses SFC (1) consists of; namely the finite-verb clause *bunu mu yaptın* and the converb *yapa yapa*. The question that is to be answered in the remainder of this section is: Is there a specific part of the SFC that produces any of these functional properties?

6.2.1.1 *bunu mu yaptın* = ‘Did you do *this*?’

As given in (1), the question component of the construction, *bunu mu yaptın?*, means ‘did you do *this*?’ with a focus on the direct object *this*. In isolation, this question

might as well be rhetorical or indeed interrogative. Thus, there is no particular aspect of the question that suggests it being a rhetorical one. Pragmatically, however, this formulation is neutral and may be interpreted as positive or negative depending on context and/or prosodic information.²⁰ Nevertheless, although the pragmatic meaning of the object *bunu* could have been positive, it is interpreted negatively. In other words, in a non-predictable fashion, by utilizing the SFC, the speaker expresses a depreciation of the outcome of the hearer's selection as opposed to an appreciation.

The direct object *bunu* immediately precedes the interrogative particle *-mI*. As been observed for Turkish in numerous studies (Lewis 1967, Göksel and Kerslake 2005) the focused element in yes/no questions is the element that occurs immediately preceding the interrogative particle. The fact that the focus of the question is *bunu* implies that it is in some way being contrasted to other potential actions that could occupy the slot of the direct object. In this way, *bunu mu yaptın* clearly contributes to the holistic meaning of 'of all the things' by virtue of guaranteeing that there are other possible courses that could have been taken. As to the third functional property mentioned above, on the other hand, the question does not exhibit any quality that would automatically necessitate a negative interpretation, or positive for that matter. All things considered, then, from the perspective of the speaker, it has been shown that *bunu mu yaptın*:

- i) does not guarantee the holistic rhetorical quality of the SFC
- ii) implies the historic availability of options through contrastive focus on the object
- iii) does not necessarily contribute to the depreciative meaning

²⁰ Even though it is beyond the scope of this study, it is important to note that this aspect of the formulation is mainly prosodically determined.

In Section 6.2.1.2, the other clause, *yapa yapa*, will be analyzed in terms of its functional properties of the SFC.

6.2.1.2 *yapa yapa* = of all the things one could do (no grammatical person specified)

As per the first non-predictable functional property of the SFC, the rhetorical-ness, the author is not aware of any study that shows that the form [V_i+A V_i+A] necessarily contributes a rhetorical reading to questions. Before delving into the other functional properties of [V_i+A V_i+A] when in isolation, let us take a look at how this form is used in Turkish elsewhere in other constructions. Grammars such as Göksel and Kerskale (2005), Özsoy (2001) describe the verbal doubling formulation [V_i+A V_i+A] as a manner converb synonymous with [V-ArAk]. Similar to [V-ArAk], this doubling construction is used in an adverbial function to denote the fashion/manner in which the main verb it modifies. (2) exemplifies this manner converb.

- (2) Koş-a koş-a market-e git-ti-m.
 run-CVB run-CVB grocery.store-DAT go-PAST-1SG.
 ‘I went to the grocery store running’

Özsoy (2001), also lists OF-ALL-THE-THINGS under the functions of this converb, however, does not elaborate on how this otherwise converbial unit functions as the bearer of the of-all-the-things meaning, the concern of this section. Amongst the two studies that investigate verbal doubling in Turkish (Erbaşı, 2015; Yıldız, 2014) only Yıldız (2014) touches upon this construction. In the same spirit of this study, Yıldız calls out the idiomatic nature of this particular use of [V_i+A V_i+A] by pointing out

two properties of it. As the present analysis demonstrated in the introduction of this section, those two properties are: one, the non-predictable, prefabricated nature of its meaning, and two, that this function of [V_i+A V_i+A] requires a third instantiation of the same verb stem, this time as the main verb. Yıldız's investigation of [VV] converbs appears to list another function of [V_i+A V_i+A] which is, though similar to the manner function, also involves a by-means-of aspect analogous to the [by V+ing] construction of English exemplified below.

- (3) Çalış-a çalış-a kazan-dı.
 Work-CVB work-CVB win-PAST.3SG
 'She won by (means of) working hard'

Neither of these two uses of [V_i+A V_i+A] indicates any prospect in the direction of the second and/or third functional properties of the SFC OF-ALL-THE-THINGS. As will be shown below, at least for the second property, the optionality aspect of [V_i+A V_i+A] there is still hope. Once other functions of doubling are investigated, hope is found; not in converbial doubling but instead in another functional realm doubling occurs in Turkish, adjectivals. Consider the following expressions.

- (4) a. Dükkan-da boy boy top var-dı.
 Store-LOC size size ball existent-PAST.3SG
 'There were balls of all size in the store'
- b. Renk renk örtü bul-du-m.
 color color tablecloth find-PAST-1SG
 'I found tablecloths of all colors'

Kerslake (2005) describe this construction as a type of doubling in Turkish where doubled nouns are used in an adjectival role. As seen in (4) these forms indicate a large quantity or a great variety of the item in question. When converted into construction representation, the constructional template for these forms is as follows:

ABUNDANCE CONSTRUCTIONS [[N_i N_i]Adj N_{ii}P]

[N_i N_i] is employed as the adjective of N_{ii} and functionally implies that [N_{ii}P] comes in large quantities or numerous different sorts. What happens with the direct object the verb in the OF-ALL-THE-THINGS constructions appears to be analogous to what happens with the noun (N_{ii}) in ABUNDANCE constructions when preceded by a doubled adjectival noun. This point will be further investigated under the *Flexibility* section.

As to the third functional property, the negative judgment of the speaker that the hearer's (inadvertent or otherwise) selection is significantly inferior, neither in the other converbial functions of [V_i+A V_i+A] nor in the ABUNDANCE constructions there is no negative connotation as an effect of doubling.

6.2.1.3 *bunu mu yaptın* and *yapa yapa* put together

To sum up the discussion in terms of the three functional properties, the results for each property is presented in turn. The first property, i.e. *the speaker is asking a rhetorical question*,

- is not an isolated effect of either *yapa yapa* or *bunu mu yaptın*,
- appears independently from any of the components

- is determined by another mechanism of questions in general that is beyond the scope of the present study.

As to the second property, namely *A wide array of promising options were available to the hearer*, it has been shown that: Even though *bunu mu yaptın* implies availability of other options, the greater weight of the extra meaning of ‘of all the things’ appears to be borne by *yapa yapa*. Crucially though, as shown above, the two clauses of the SFC do not make up the meaning in a strictly compositional fashion. Conversely, the meanings of these components are dependent on each other in such a way that when isolated they do not mean what they mean when they co-occur. This dependence of meaning and the availability of the overall meaning *only* in a holistic, even gestaltic fashion is exactly one of the defining properties of canonical idioms such as *ayvayı yemek* or *gözü tutmak* discussed in previous sections. Lastly, the following observations have been made with regard to the property that *the hearer’s (inadvertent or otherwise) selection is significantly inferior*: It appears impossible to concretize this property in any particular aspect of the construction, other than referring to the construction itself fully. In other words, the negative connotation of OF-ALL-THE-THINGS constructions is a property of the construction *itself* and appears to be strictly non-predictable. As will be discussed in the upcoming sections, this observation seems to be representative of the generalized tendency of idiomatic expressions taking on a negative meaning instead of a neutral or positive one.

Before the SFC is analyzed for flexibility one important aspect of its meaning remains to be discussed. So far the SFC has been analyzed in two parts in a search for (non-)compositionality, one of which is a verbal doubling [V_i+A V_i+A]. Note, however, as is shown in the original representation of the SFC iterated below (1), the same verb stem occurs three times in the SFC.

The literature on Turkish converbs (Lewis 1967, Göksel and Kerslake 2005, Yıldız 2014) observes that while the converb [V_i+A V_i+A] is not marked for grammatical person, the grammatical person of the main verb and the converb are invariably interpreted as the same. This is true regardless of whether the stems used in the main verb of the construction and the converb occurs are identical or not.

(1) [V_i+A V_i+A NP+CASE mI V_i +TAM+Person]

The additional condition imposed by the SFC in question, on top of same-person reading, is that the stems used in the main verb and the converb are required to be the same.

6.2.2 Flexibility

6.2.2.1 Word and clause order

In investigating word order effects, this section follows the same convenience applied under *Idiomacity* and analyzes the OF-ALL-THE-THINGS construction clause-by-clause. The original example is iterated below followed by an inverted version of it where the clauses swap positions.

(1) Yapa yapa bunu mu yaptın

(1') Bunu mu yaptın yapa yapa (1 inverted)

In the preceding section it has been shown that *yapa yapa* is not exactly a converbial form due to its certain dependent idiomatic features that only come about in the context of OF-ALL-THE-THINGS constructions. Nevertheless, it still has a strong

association with its formal twin the converbial ...+A ...+A. Exactly as it happens with any other converbial form in Turkish, *yapa yapa* exhibits a flexibility with clausal order. Consider the following converbial example and its inverted form.

(5) O-nu yap-maktansa bunu mu yaptın?

That-ACC do-CVB

‘Did you do this rather than doing that?’

(5’) Bunu mu yaptın onu yapmaktansa?

‘Did you do this rather than doing that?’ (No apparent semantic difference)

Example (5) is a standard question with a more predictable meaning that uses the converbial construction [V–mAktAnsA] (‘rather than V+ing’). Note that shifting the position of the converbial clause *onu yapmaktansa* does not cause a significant semantic effect although there may be discourse effects that are beyond the scope of this study. As a non-focus element of the expression in (5) the converbial clause may come before (5) or after (5’) the clause *bunu mu yaptın* with no significant semantic effect. In Turkish, questions exhibit a liberal flexibility with the order of clauses *as long as* the questioned element which immediately precedes the interrogative particle –*mI* stays in-situ to keep the focus, i.e. the questioned informational unit constant.

In sum, for OF-ALL-THE-THINGS constructions, the two forms, [V_i+A V_i+A] and [NP+CASE mI V_i+TAM+Person] can swap positions without disturbing the holistic SFC function.²¹

²¹ English behaves in a similar way with its of-all-the-things constructions. ‘Of all the things’ is not strictly tied to the beginning of the construction and can occupy different positions. Consider the following examples:

(1) ‘Of all the things I could have said to him, I can’t believe that’s what I said to him’

(2) ‘I can’t believe that’s what I said to him, of all the things I could have said to him’. (=inverted (1))

As to $[V_i+A \ V_i+A]$ there is no way of investigating word order effects since it is an identical doubling. Prosodically the two V_i+A 's are identical as well. As for within $[NP+CASE \ mI \ V_i+TAM+Person]$, mI cannot go after the verb. This is because when *-mI* is realized after the verb when it is the entirety of a proposition that is questioned (Göksel and Kerslake 2005). Note, however, that by its very nature the SFC in question *has* to have the same verb stem repeated for $[V_i+A \ V_i+A]$ and the finite verb of the main clause. It follows from this that the entirety of the proposition *cannot* be questioned because it is already partially specified.

(6) Yapa yapa bunu yaptın mı?

The particular word order in (6) demonstrates a standard question as in ‘Of all the things you could do, did you this?’ and the idiomatic function is then not accessible. There are two exceptions to this however. First, when the entire expression is used in another construction of Turkish, one that can be conveniently called ‘consecutive self-questioning’. (7) exemplifies this.

- (7) Sana biz yeterli zaman ver-di-k mi? Verdik.
 You.DAT we sufficient time give-PAST-1PL INT give-PAST-1PL
 E sen uğraş-tı-n dur-du-n son-u-nda
 INC you try-PAST-2SG keep-PAST-2SG end-POSS.3SG-LOC
yapa yapa bunu yaptın mı? Yap-tı-n.

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(=6) do-PAST-2SG

E artık daha ne di-ye-lim sana?

INC now more what say-OPT-1PL you.DAT

Lit. ‘Did we give you enough time? We did. And you kept trying and in the end, didn’t you do this of all the things? You did. So, what can I tell you?’

Idio. We gave you enough time, right? Damn, we did. And you kept working on it and then in the end...Did you come up with THIS of all the things? Yes, you did! I don’t know what to tell you.

This SFC, which can be represented as [...V mI, V(AFF)] used in storytelling where the speaker asks herself rhetorical questions, which she consecutively answers by affirming the same predicate.

The second exception occurs when the PAST marker *-(y)DI* is used for its perfect aspect rather than tense information. Consider the following example:

(8) (Sen hiç) yapa yapa bunu yaptın mı?

you ever

‘Have you ever done this where it was the thing you did of all the things?’

Both exceptions include quotative use of *yapa yapa bunu yap-* (note that the interrogative particle is not there), which is itself not exactly an instantiation of the OF-ALL-THE-THINGS construction but still somehow it can be fully questioned at a seemingly more abstract level.

The other possible order variation within [NP+CASE mI Vi+TAM+Person] is *Yapa yapa mı bunu mu yaptın?* which, now, by virtue of the position of the

interrogative particle, is an attempt at specifically questioning [V_i+A V_i+A].

Remember that, as shown in the *Idiomaticity* section, the SFC function of [V_i+A V_i+A] is only available in the SFC. The SFC-specific interpretation is not readily available under this constellation. In fact, in majority of cases this can only be interpreted as the true manner-converbial meaning, namely ‘Did you do this BY DOING IT?’

6.2.2.3 Lexical variability

The first observation is that the most salient feature of the OF-ALL-THINGS construction is the following: in order the particular idiomatic function of it to be readily accessible, one particular verb stem V_i is required to be both:

- doubled in the converbial fashion, i.e. $V_i V_i^{22}$, and
- identical with that of the main verb of the SFC. Consider the examples given in (9) and (10), each diverting from the original example in a different way.

- (9) Yapa yapa bunu mu çizdin?
 do.CVB do.CVB this.ACC INT draw.PAST.2SG
Lit. ‘By doing by doing is this what you drew?’
Intended Idio. ‘Of all the things you could have drawn, (*I can’t believe that*)
 this is what you drew!’

Once the main verb stem is changed, the idiomatic meaning becomes significantly less accessible. The tripling of the same verb stem is not only a cue that primes the

²² This point will not be analyzed further as it has been already established in the previous section that this doubled form, though homophonous, is a distinct construction separate from the manner converb [V_i+A V_i+A].

speakers of Turkish into the SFC-specific function but is also an integral part of this construction. The interpretation that is called for in (9) is the possibility that the verbal doubling is perhaps an instantiation of the manner converb discussed in the preceding section. The particular lexical semantics of (10) demonstrates this point more clearly.

- (10) Çize çize bunu mu yaptın?
draw.CVB draw.CVB this.ACC INT do.PAST.2SG
Lit. 'By drawing by drawing is this what you did?'
Intended Idio. 'Of all the things you could have drawn, (*I can't believe that*)
this is what you did!'²³

Given the right context, a possible interpretation of (10) is 'Is this the one you made by drawing?'.

Next, the lexical variability of the verb stem is examined. First, it appears that the verb stem does not have any functional restrictions. As it so happens with any lexical item occurring in an SFC, expectedly, there will be a varying degree of native-likeness based on the particular functional associations of a verb, however, all in all as long as a verb is semantically compatible with the particular function of the construction it would be expected to occur in the construction. See Appendix for examples with simple verbs. Compound verbs also occur in this SFC. Some examples are given below.

²³ The intended idiomatic translation for English works in a different than it does in Turkish. Note that, when *did* is interpreted as an auxiliary rather than the true action verb *do*, it subrogates for the implied verb *draw*. Turkish does not have auxiliary verbs and the verb *yap-* is invariably interpreted as the content verb *do* in all cases.

(11) *aşık ol-* ‘to fall in love’

Aşık ol-a ol-a Fırat’-a mı ol-du-n?
In.love become-CVB become-CVB Fırat-DAT INT be-PAST-2SG
‘Of all the people, you fell in love with Fırat?’

(12) *‘hasta ol-’* ‘get sick’

Hasta ol-a ol-a bu gün mü hasta ol-muş?
Sick become-CVB become-CVB this day INT sick become-EVID.3SG
‘Of all the days, she found today to be sick!?’

(13) *‘farket-’* ‘notice’

Farked-e farked-e bu-nu mu farket-ti-niz?
Notice-CVB notice-CVB this-ACC INT notice-PAST-2PL
‘Of all the things, this is what you noticed!?’

See effects of omission in Section 6.2.2.4 below for an analysis of examples with incomplete compound verbs.

As far as the choice object is concerned, there is no restriction to what the object or its case can be. The object, which is an NP, can be anything from a simple demonstrative pronoun as in *bunu* to a lengthy complex nominal unit as the one in the following example. The direct object is italicized.

(14) Bul-a bul-a *tanı-dığ-ın* hiç kimse-nin
Find-CVB find-CVB know-OREL-POSS.2SG no one-GEN

hayat-ı-nda *bir kere bile duy-ma-mış*
 life-POSS3.SG.LOC one time even hear-NEG-EVID.3SG
ol-duğ-u *bu grub-u* *mu* *bul-du-n?*
 be-OREL-POSS3.SG this band-ACC INT find-PAST-2SG
 ‘Of all the bands you could find, *I can’t believe that* you found this band
 whom no one you know has heard of even once in their lifetimes’

Similarly to elsewhere in Turkish, the case on the object will be determined by the main verb, which can be anything as shown above, so the case can be anything too. The set of examples given below demonstrate how the SFC works the same with different verb stems and the cases they impose on their objects. It is important to note one thing about the set of examples. As discussed in Chapter 2, CCG does not envision the different categories of transitivity, namely transitive, ditransitive, intransitive, as essential features of the verb but instead as constructions in which semantically compatible verbs may occur. In this sense, the set of examples below does not in any way suggest that the verbs and cases *have* to go together. Distinctively, the examples in (15) are intended as realizations of different verb stems and different grammatical cases that occur in the OF-ALL-THE-THINGS construction.

(15a) DAT, verb *git-* ‘go’

Gide gide oraya mı gitti?

‘Of all the places to go, that’s where she went!?’

(15b) LOC, verb *kal-* ‘stay’

Kala kala Anayurt Oteli’nde mi kaldınız?

‘Of the all the places to stay, y’all stayed in Anayurt Hotel?!’

(15c) ABL, verb *gir-* ‘enter’

Gire gire pencereden mi girmiş eve?

‘Of the all possible entrances she could enter from she entered the house from the window!?’

(15d) INST/COM, verb *konuş-* ‘talk’

Konuşa konuşa Sevim’le mi konuşmuş?

‘Of all the people, he talks to Sevim?!’

(15e) INDEFINITE OBJECTS, verb *oku-* ‘read’ and *aç-* ‘open’

Okuya okuya kitap mı okudun?

‘Of all the things you could read, you read a book?!’

Aça aç restoran mı açtın?

‘Of all the things you could open, you opened a restaurant?!’

Next, lexical variability is analyzed in terms of potential TAM markers and use of different grammatical persons in OF-ALL-THE-THINGS construction. Consider TAM permutations given in (16), each in 2nd person singular:

(16) Yapa yapa bunu mu yap-mış-sın/yap-ıyor-sun/yap-acak-sın/yap-ar-sın

EVID-2SG/PROG-2SG/FUT-2SG/AOR-2G

‘Of all the things, this is what you (evidently) have done/you’re doing/you’re gonna do/you’d do?!’

The observation is that in each of the permutations given above the SFC-function is accessible with the particular TAM marker’s own particular semantic and discourse functions.

Examples in (17) demonstrate that situations of complex tense-aspect also are compatible with the SFC-specific function:

(17) Yapa yapa bunu mu yap-mış-tı-n/yap-acak-mış-sın/

PRF-PAST-2SG/FUT-EVID-2SG

yap-ıyor-muş-sun/yap-ar-mış-sın/yap-acak-tı-n

PROG-EVID-2SG/AOR-EVID-2SG/FUT-PAST-2SG

‘Of all the things, this is what you had done/are apparently gonna do/apparently doing/you turn out to do/you were gonna do?!’

Lastly, other elements that can potentially occur in this SFC are discussed. Adverbial elements can freely intervene in this SFC. When there is an adverbial element used in the construction it is also flexible in order:

(18) Pre-mI: Yapa yapa bu sabah bunu mu yaptın?

Bu sabah yapa yapa bunu mu yaptın?

this morning

‘Of all the things you could do this morning, THIS is what you did?!’

After-mI: Yapa yapa bunu mu bu sabah yaptın?

Yapa yapa bunu mu yaptın bu sabah?

‘Of all the things you could do, THIS is what you did this morning?!’

- (19) Questioned (with object): Yapa yapa bu sabah mı bunu yaptın?
 Yapa yapa bu sabah mı yaptın bunu?
 ‘Of all the times you could do this, you chose
 to do it THIS MORNING?!’
- Questioned (without object) Yapa yapa bu sabah mı yaptın?
 Bu sabah mı yaptın yapa yapa?
 ‘Of all the times you could do (it), you did (it)
 THIS MORNING?!’

6.2.2.4 Omission effects

Crucially, the SFC-specific meaning of $[V_i+A \ V_i+A]$ is not immediately accessible when used in isolation, even in the exact same context. Consider the following conversation between three speakers X, Y, and Z. X has made something for Y, Z thinks X could have made something else that would be significantly better. In order to convey this meaning Z uses $[V_i+A \ V_i+A]$ to mean ‘of all the things’.

- (20) X: Bak sana bu-nu yap-tı-m!
 Look you.DAT this-ACC make-PAST-1SG
 ‘Look, I made this for you!’
- Y: Aaaa bunu mu yaptın?
 ‘Oh you made this?’
- Z: Bunu mu yaptın yapa yapa?
 ‘Of all the things you could have made this is what you made?’
- Z’: Yapa yapa.
- Int: ‘Of all the things (you made this?)’

Now consider the following conversation where the same form [V_i+A V_i+A] is used as a manner converb.

- (21) X: Bak sana bunu yaptım!
 ‘Look I made this for you!’
 Y: Nasıl yap-tı-n?
 How make-PAST-2SG
 ‘How did you make it?’ (non-rhetorical)
 Z: Çalışa çalışa (converb)
 ‘By working (on it)’

In the context of the SFC, when isolated, *yapa yapa*, is not predicted to have the meaning that there is an array of options. Crucially, the availability-of-options implicature of *yapa yapa* seems to arise only in the context of exactly the formulation in (2i). The contrast between the two conversations further proves that what we are looking at is a construction in its own right.

An analysis of partial omission with compound verbs is in order. As compound verbs that use *ol-/et-* ‘be/do’ are in certain situations realized without the overt expression of the verb stem, omission can be expected to have distinct effects on the SFC. Table 5 shows the different probable permutations when a compound verb is used in this SFC. The examples with *aşık ol-* and *farket-* are repeated from above. It is important to note that, except for cases where the auxiliaries *ol-/et-* are uttered first, all permutations yield natural sounding, that is native-like expressions.

Table 5. Compound Verbs and OF-ALL-THE-THINGS

Verb stem	[V _i +A V _i +A]	NP+Case mI	V _i +TAM+Person	Naturalness
aşık ol-	aşık ola aşık ola	Fırat'a mı	aşık oldun	
			oldun	
	aşık ola ola	Fırat'a mı	aşık oldun	
			oldun	
	ola aşık ola	Fırat'a mı	aşık oldun	*
			oldun	*
	ola ola	Fırat'a mı	aşık oldun	
			oldun	
farket-	farkede farkede	bunu mu	farkettiniz	
			ettiniz	
	farkede ede	bunu mu	farkettiniz	
			ettiniz	
	ede farkede	bunu mu	farkettiniz	*
			ettiniz	*
	ede ede	bunu mu	farkettiniz	
			ettiniz	

6.3 SFCs II: slot(s)=full blank(s)

In this section, two SFCs are analyzed whose variable slots are full blanks, i.e. do not exhibit any specification at all. First, in Section 6.3.1, a SFC that is named *NOW-IT'S-THEM* is analyzed. Section 6.3.2 deals with the *Bi-NOT-AS* Construction.

6.3.1 NOW-IT'S-THEM Construction

(21) [Şimdi X V+IMP.3SG/PL!]

Ex. Şimdi onlar düşün-sün!

Now they think.IMP3SG

Lit. 'Now they should think!'

Idio. 'Now it's time for *them* to worry!'

6.3.1.1 Idiomaticity

The construction in (21) presupposes a certain set of contextual conditions. First, it is in the context of rivalry where there is a competition/game of some sort with multiple players and players are taking turns. When one side has the advantage and is leading, a supporter of this side would say *Şimdi onlar düşünsün!*, meaning 'we are now in the clear, they are the ones who are at a disadvantage and need to do something about it'. The verb *düşün-* is used with the sense of worrying/concern, which even though one of the meanings it is used elsewhere in Turkish, it is not clear that this should be the interpretation based on the construction. In other words, the conventionalized meaning of first

-Now we shouldn't worry anymore

and second,

-Now they are the ones that should be worried

are the unique functional properties of (1) that are not strictly predictable.

6.3.1.2 Formal properties

The construction does not exhibit any formal idiosyncrasy, however, its conventionalized meaning is not strictly predictable. It can be argued that there is

nothing striking about the effects of different word/phrasal order and/or the word choice.

6.3.1.3 Flexibility

First, flexibility of the SFC is examined in terms of word order. Next, lexical variability is investigated.

6.3.1.3.1 Word order

Let's take a look at the flexibility of word order while trying to keep the constructional meaning constant. It is important to note, first, the focused element *onlar* 'they' occurs immediately before the verb. This positional feature is in accord with the systematic tendency of Turkish to have the focused element of a clause to occur right before the verb as observed in various studies (Göksel 2013; Taylan 1984). Below are the six word-order variations of this construction where the capitalized word is the focus.

Word Order Variations of (21)	Relation to SFC meaning
(21) Şimdi ONLAR düşünsün	SFC itself
(21a) ŞİMDİ düşünsün onlar.	Harder to access
(21b) Onlar ŞİMDİ düşünsün.	Different focus, therefore lost
(21c) ONLAR düşünsün şimdi.	close
(21d) Düşünsün şimdi onlar.	No focus, therefore lost
(21e) Düşünsün onlar şimdi.	No focus, therefore lost

As expected, the constructional meaning is safely retained only when *onlar* precedes the verb immediately as in (1c). That is to say, as long as *onlar düşünsün* is an

independent symbolic unit with the given order, the position of *şimdi* does not matter significantly. The next section investigates the limits of lexical variability in this SFC.

6.3.1.3.2 Lexical variability

First, as long as the above-mentioned contextual conditions are met, the open slot, X, can be occupied by any linguistic expression that can assume the role of a subject in the construction. The expression in (22) exemplifies this with a realization of (21) where the subject of the verb *düşün-* is a more complex phrasal unit.

- (22) Şimdi yıl-lar-dır hiçbir hazırlık yap-ma-yan-lar Now
 year-PL-ADV any preparation make-NEG-SREL-PL
 düşün-sün!
 think-IMP.3SG/PL
 ‘Now it’s them for those to worry who haven’t been preparing for all those
 years!’

Second, It appears to be that *şimdi* is the semantic anchor of this SFC. The meaning ‘now it’s their time/turn’ instead of simply ‘now’ is attained by having *şimdi* ‘now’ in the holistic context of the construction. Replacing *şimdi* with other time adverbs, even near-synonyms such as *şu an* ‘(right) now’ makes the constructional meaning difficult to attain. *Şu an onlar düşünsün!* ‘Now THEY should worry’ still lacks both of the functional properties of (21), namely the pragmatics of taking turns as well as the emphasis on how now it is that one side needs to do something *as opposed* to the other.

In terms of the verb stem, a quick n-gram search yields that *düşün* ‘think, worry’ is by far the most common attractee of this construction, however *düşün* can be replaced with other verbs and the constructional meaning is more or less retained. See below for examples.

(23) Near-synonyms: Şimdi onlar kaygılsın/endişelensin/tasalansın!

Now it’s their turn/time to worry/be concerned/feel anxious!

Other verbs: Şimdi onlar konuşsun/gitsin/yemek yapsın/sevinsin!

Now it’s their turn/time to talk/go/cook/cheer!

Now an analysis of the flexibility of the verbal inflectional suffixes is in order.

(24) Negation: Şimdi onlar sevin.me.sin!

cheer.NEG.IMP3SG

Expected meaning: ‘Now it’s their time to not cheer/Now it’s their time not to cheer!’

Once we can think of the right context, the SFC works under negation just the same.

If we are in a soccer game playing against

Person: Şimdi siz düşünün!

TAM: Şimdi siz düşüneceksiniz!

6.3.2 *Bİ*-NOT-AS CONSTRUCTION

This semi-fixed construction can be represented as follows:

(25) [Bi X (NEG) tabii!]

Ex. A: İtalya da çok zengin bir ülke.

Italy also very wealthy a country

‘Italy is also a very wealthy country’

B: [Bi Almanya değil tabii!]

A Germany is not surely

Lit. ‘It’s surely not a Germany’

Idio. ‘It’s surely not (as rich as) Germany’

Prag. making a comparison by referring to a canonical superlative example of the subject matter, in this case wealthy countries.

6.3.2.1 Idiomaticity

A simple attempt at paraphrasing SFC (2) in a more analytical way could yield [Bi X değil tabii!] = [X kadar Y değil tabii] where Y is a property of X, something X is particularly known for or is accomplished in that regard. It is crucial to note that even with This paraphrase is still lacking something that the SFC has. The SFC does not only say ‘it’s not as Y as X’ but also indicates that the speaker thinks that X is exemplary or even the best representative of the property Y.

Still, a morpheme-by-morpheme comparison between the SFC and its near-synonymous paraphrase implies that, compositionally what [Bi X] part of the construction adds to the overall meaning is [X kadar Y]. Interestingly, as yet another evidence for the constructionhood of (2) this use of *bi* seems to be existent only in the context of (2) which points to the fact that (2) is, as a construction would be, a holistic form-meaning pair where the meaning of (2) cannot be constituted by adding together its parts. In this regard, (2) and other SFCs are highly analogous to core idioms.

6.3.2.2 Formal properties

(25) is built as a combination of the NP construction *Bi N*, and *değil* construction.

No idiosyncrasies are observed in (2).

6.3.2.3 Flexibility

6.3.2.3.1 Word order

SFC	Function
[Bi X değil tabii!]	SFC itself
Bi X tabii değil	close
değil bi X tabii	close
değil tabii bi X	close
tabii bi X değil	close
tabii değil bi X	close

As long as [Bi X] sticks together, the constructional meaning can be attained regardless of phrasal order. It points to the fact that the anchor of the constructional meaning is the micro-construction [Bi X]. This observation suggests that perhaps the SFC we are after is not (2) but simply its anchor [Bi X]. Although this seems plausible at first, the fact that [Bi X] conveys this meaning *only* when it occurs in this certain formal constellation verifies that (2) is a SFC in its own right. After all, considering the conversation given in (2) to exemplify the SFC, would not have this effect in the case that speaker B agreed with speaker A's proposition and responded *Bi Almanya tabii* to convey 'Yes, Italy is (at least) as rich as Germany.'

6.3.2.3.2 Lexical variability

X – Can be anything.

Bi – *Bir* also works but that's it.

değil – It is the interaction of [Bi X] and *değil* that sanctions the meaning 'not as Y as'. The affirmative version of this construction [Bi X *tabii*] does not trigger the meaning '(at least) as Y as' and is not found in the corpus either. Interestingly, the meaning of the construction is retained when it is converted into affirmative question form, but only rhetorically and when the answer is expected to be 'No':

(26) Bi Almanya mı? Değil *tabii*.

Negated question form '*Bi Almanya değil' mi?* only retains the holistic meaning when [Bi Almanya *değil*] itself is utilized as a potential or already spoken quotation as in: 'So is it 'not as rich as Germany'?

tabii – *tabii* is an optional element which is used as an emphatic.

Inflection – what happens when the inflection on *değil* is manipulated?

TAM: Bi Almanya *değildi* *tabii*

Bi Almanya *olmayacak* *tabii*.

Bi Almanya *olamaz* *tabii*.

Bi Almanya *olsa iyi olurdu/böyle olmazdı*.

Bi Almanya *değilmiş* *tabii*.

Person: Bi Alex *değilim/değilsin/değiliz/değilsiniz/değiller* *tabii*. All works.

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter investigated three SFCs in detail, analyzing them in their functional and formal properties. It has been shown that the idiomatic functions associated with these SFCs are unique to these SFCs themselves and not strictly predictable from their building parts. This is evidence that these are *constructions* indeed, i.e. pairings of form and function. Along with proving their construction-hood, this chapter also explored the limits of how much these SFCs can be stretched, in terms of their lexical make-up, their clausal/word ordering, while still retaining the construction-specific function. As has been generally observed in CCG and discussed in Chapter 2, as long as the element to fill an open slot is functionally compatible with the holistic function of the SFC, it can occupy the slot without disrupting the holistic function.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

7.1 Concluding remarks

In this thesis, formulaicity and idiomaticity have been investigated for Turkish with a constructionist perspective. In doing that, the concept of construction within the framework of Cognitive Construction Grammar (Goldberg 2005) has been analyzed for Turkish, a language that previously has not been in the center of constructionist studies. A particular attention was given to lexically partially-specified, holistic units with non-predictable function, a category of constructions that has been named Semi-fixed Construction (SFC).

Based on an analysis of SFCs, two main claims have been made. First, the notion of construction as holistic pairing of form and function has been is a valid phenomenon in Turkish. The exhaustive analysis in Chapter 6 showed that the SFCs have their own particular semantic and discourse functions that can only be attained through the use of the particular form the SFC provides. It has been demonstrated that, although each SFC will have its specific formal flexibilities, in order for the particular function to be accessible the form can only change within specific formal limits. Another point that has been made is that formal idiosyncrasies, an essential feature of English constructions is not as common in Turkish constructions. Instead, non-predictable function seems to be more defining. Apart from a few examples discussed in Chapter 1, clear instances of formal idiosyncrasy that can be compared to the classic examples from English such as the coming together of an otherwise preposition and an adjective in *by and large* are virtually absent in Turkish. Perhaps the closest Turkish gets to that is in the SFC given in 5.2.2, [(En) *olmadı/olmazsa* . . .

(AOR)], where the superlative marker ‘*en*’ modifies a finite verb. It can be argued that one of the reasons for the relative insignificance of formal idiosyncrasy in Turkish is that it relies on morphology to encode information more heavily than English does. Due to its more rigid nature both in terms of ordering and variability, morphology seems to be a limiting factor that may be blocking the formation of formal idiosyncrasies.

The second main claim has been that Turkish SFCs tend to express negative Boulomaic modality, in line with the findings of Baş (2015). Most SFCs express negative emotions towards propositions, while expressing dissatisfaction in a complaining and criticizing tone seems to be the most common case. It has also been shown that in many cases, although the particular forms in the SFCs do not suggest an automatic negative connotation, the holistic function tend to be negative, an observation that is in line with cross-linguistic research on idiomaticity such as Lakoff (1987) and Gries and Stefanowitsch (2003). Dynamic modality is significantly under-represented in the realm of SFCs, which implies that when expressing abilities (Abilitive) and wishes/desires (Volitive) Turkish does not prefer using semi-fixed idiomatic constructions. The second most common modal category among SFCs is Epistemic while Deontic modality, elsewhere on par with Epistemic in prevalence, has not been observed to be a common category expressed with SFCs.

7.2 Avenues for further research

The present study has been a first attempt to analyze the status of constructions in Turkish. In this sense, there are many potential avenues that future research can take in reference to the present analysis. First, an area that can be very fruitful is morphological formulaicity, that is, formation of idiomatic speech formulas in

single-word constructions. Durrant (2013) is a preliminary work in this regard that analyzes formulaicity within verbal inflectional suffixes based around a frequency-based corpus-driven approach. Further research can venture into single-word constructions that make use of derivation rather than inflection. It has been shown that the line between derivation and inflection is not always a clear-cut divide (Anderson 1982); however it is highly possible that an exhaustive analysis of formulaicity within the single-word will turn significant results for the status of morphology and word-formation in contrast to inter-word formal relations. In this regard, Kaneyasu's (2013) analysis of formulaic morphology in Japanese, another morphologically-rich language, can be rather influential as a reference point.

Second, as discussed in Sections 5.2.5 and 5.2.7 and, analogous to covert modality, implicit expression of aspect can be investigated further in Turkish and in other languages. As the present analysis has signified thanks to the employment of the concept of covert modality, it is virtually impossible to set a finite number for modal categories unlike when describing modality only by overt modal markers. This may be the case for aspect in Turkish. It is entirely possible that when sought for covert aspect, Turkish may yield other aspectual categories expanding beyond those denoted by progressive, perfective and other grammaticalized markers.

Finally, the present analysis proved that understudied modal categories such as Admirative and Boulomaic could be very useful tools in the expression of modality in Turkish. It appears that research on modality in Turkish has mainly focused on Deontic, Epistemic and Dynamic categories; however, this thesis has shown that, in the context of SFCs, other modal categories are more relevant. Lastly, an exhaustive and comprehensive analysis of formulaicity with a scalar perspective

on idiomaticity can definitely prove useful for Turkish, a language that appears to “tell so much with so little”.

APPENDIX

THE REST OF THE SEMI-FIXED CONSTRUCTIONS

The rest of the dataset that has not been used in the main text is given in this appendix. Example utterances are also given where the SFC is too abstract to be translated as is.

- 1) [*Ney.miş!* X+*miş!*]

what.EVID.3SG EVID.3SG

‘X! my *ss!’

- 2) [*Ne* V+AOR+COND V+OPT]

Ex 1: *ne bul.ur.sa bul.sun beğen.m.iyor.lar.*

what find.AOR.COND.3SG find.OPT.3SG like.NEG.PROG.3PL

‘Whatever (s)he finds they won’t like it.’

- 3) [*V_i*+Tense *V_i*+Tense]

Ex: *Bul.ur bul.ur, dert et.me!*

find.AOR.3SG find.AOR.3SG concern make.NEG.IMP

‘I’m sure (s)he’ll find it, don’t you worry!’

- 4) [*Nere.den* V+*miş/X ol.uyor.muş*]

where.ABL V.EVID/X be. PROG.EVID.3SG?

‘What do you mean V/X!?’

- 5) [*Biraz* V+*mAk gibi ol.acak ama* X]

a.little.bit similar.to be.FUT.3SG but

‘It may sound a bit like V+ing but X’

- 6) [*Ne*+COND *O*+COP]

Ex: *Ne.y.se.m o.y.um.*

what.COP.COND.1SG that.COP.1SG

‘I am what I am (I am real, I am genuine)’

- 7) [V+A.sI ol-/var/yok]

OPT.POSS be/exist/not.exist

‘to feel like V+ing’

- 8) [X ol.ur ya Y de o hesap]

X be.AOR.3SG EXC Y too that calculation

‘You know...X, Y is kinda like that’

- 9) [Eee ne de.miş.ler? “X”miş]

EXC what say.EVID.3PL “X”.EVID

‘You know what they say ... “X”(proverb)’

- 10) [az mi V+PRF]

little INT

‘to have V+PRF a lot’ (boasting)

- 11) [böyle X düşman baş.ın.a]

such X enemy head.POSS.3SG.DAT

‘X should stay away from us!’

- 12) [X+COND ne.ler ol.acağ.ı.nı var sen düşün!]

what.PL be.SUB2.POSS.3SG.ACC reach you think

‘I don’t wanna even think about what would happen if X is true!’

- 13) [X+DAT inat V]

obstinance

‘To V despite X/X’s will’

- 14) [... V+AOR+EVID.3SG]

Ex: *Bir sipariş yarım saat.te kapı.ya mı gel.ir.miş?*

a/an delivery half hour.LOC door.DAT INT arrive.AOR.EVID.3SG

‘This is unheard of! Delivery arriving in only half an hour!’

15) [V+DER+DAT çalış+Tense+Person V+ABIL.NEG+PROG+person dA]

Ex: *Gitmeye çalışıyorsun gidemiyorsun da!*

leave.DER.DAT try.PROG.2SG leave.ABIL.NEG.PROG.2SG too

‘You try leaving and you can’t do that either!’

16) [V+(NEG)+OPT+POSS+DER(cA)]

Ex: *geber.e.si.ce!*

die(slang).OPT.POSS.cA

‘May you/(s)he die!’ (Imprecative)

17) [V+OPT+POSS+DAT]

Ex: *[Öl.e.si.ye] sev.iyor.um.*

die.OPT.POSS.DAT love.PROG.1SG

‘I’m so in love that I could die for it’

18) [X INT X]

Ex: *Bu adam bura.ya gel.di mi? Gel.di.*

this guy here.DAT come.PRF.3SG INT come.PRF.3SG

‘So..this guy came here, correct?’ (rhetorical self-questioning to emphasize the reality of X)

19) [*Hiç X duyulmuş mu?*]

ever X hear.PASS.EVID.3SG INT

‘X is unheard of (X is unappropriate!)’

20) [*Bi de V+sA+Person*]

Ex: *Bir de gol at.abil.se!*

a/an too goal score.ABIL.COND.3SG

‘If only (s)he could score! (no way (s)he can score!)’

21) [Ne varsa X+LOC var]

what exists.COND X+LOC exists

‘X has it all (everything/everybody else is not good enough)!’

22) [X+GEN *neresi* Y]

Ex: *Selçuk’un nere.si sanat.çı?*

Selçuk.GEN where.POSS.3SG artist

‘There is nothing artistic about Selçuk!’

23) [X *nasıl bir* Y?]

Ex: *Bu nasıl bir bayram?*

this how a/an holiday

‘How is this a holiday?!’

24) [X *da* Y INT (be)!]

Ex: *Selçuk da sanatçı mı (be)!*

‘Selçuk, an artist? My *ss.’

25) [*Böyle* X+DAT *böyle* Y]

Ex: *Böyle ülke.ye böyle hükümet!*

such country.DAT such government

‘Such a (negative adjective) country deserves this government!’

26) [V_i+AOR V_i+AOR (*valla*)]

Ex: *Yap.ar yap.ar valla.*

do.AOR.3SG do.AOR.3SG I.swear.to.God

‘What if he does it? You never know!’

27) [X+GEN Y+POSS Z+POSS *yoktur/olmaz*]

Ex: *Cehennem.in iyisi kötüsü olmaz.*

‘There is no good or bad (kind of hell) when it comes to being in hell’

28) [*O kadar da* X NEG]

that much too

‘It’s not really X’

29) [X+GEN dA X+POSS var]

Ex: *İyinin de iyisi var.*

good.GEN also good.POSS.3SG exists

‘There is always a better one’

30) [*V_i*+PRF *V_i*+All]

Ex: *Mezun oldum olalı.*

graduate be.PRF.1SG be.All

‘Ever since I graduated’

31) [*V*+NEG+COND dA olur]

Ex: *Bir.daha hiç bu film.i izle.me.se.m de ol.ur.*

again ever this movie.ACC watch.NEG.COND.1SG too be.AOR.3SG

‘I wouldn’t mind never watching this movie again’

32) [*V_i*+COND *n’olur* *V_i*+NEG+COND *n’olur*]

what.happens

what.happens

‘It doesn’t make any difference (what do I care) whether she V or not’

33) [(Ay) “X” *de.me.sin mi?*]

EXC X say.NEG.OPT.3SG INT

‘Would you believe it? (S)he said “X”.’

34) [*Bu saat.ten sonra* X NEG]

this hour.ABL after

‘It’s too late for X’

35) [X+GEN Y+LOC *ne işi var?*]

what business.POSS.3SG exists

‘What’s X doing in Y?!’

36) [*Ne* V+COND *beğen.ir.sin?* “X”]

Ex: *Ne dese beğenirsin? “Salak” de.di bana.*

what say.COND like.AOR.2SG idiot say.PAST.3SG I.DAT

‘Would you believe it? (S)he called me an idiot.’

37) [V+TAM *da bana* INT V+TAM]

Ex: *Gel.di de bana mı gel.di?*

come.PRF.3SG too I.DAT INT come.PRF.3SG

‘So what (s)he came? Why should I care?’

38) [*Sen* X+DAT *ne bak.ıyor.sun/bakma?*]

you what look.at.PROG.2SG/look.at.NEG.IMP

‘You shouldn’t worry too much about what X is saying’

39) [*O.ndan sonra* “X”]

that.ABL after

‘But then don’t give me “X”’

40) [*Bekle ki* V+OPT.3SG]

Ex: *Bekle ki ara.sin!*

wait so.that call.OPT.3SG

‘(S)he’ll never call.’

41) [*Biraz da* V+IMP]

Ex: *Biraz da kitap oku!*

a.little.bit too book read.IMP

‘You should stop doing X all the time and start reading a book!’

42) [X INT *kal.dı?*]

remain.PRF.3SG

‘X is long gone.’

43) [X+GEN (dA) *böyle*+POSS.3SG]

Ex: Sorunun (da) böylesi!

Such a question (negative or positive)!

44) [*Nasıl da* V+Tense]

Ex: Nasıl da koş.uyor!

how too run.PROG.3SG

‘Look how (s)he runs!’

45) [X yok INT]

not.exist

‘You know, X’

46) [N+POSS *gelmiş*]

Ex: *Sinema.n gel.miş.*

cinema.POSS.2SG come.EVID.3SG

‘I think it’s time for you to catch a movie already’

47) [*Bir.de bak.mış.sın/bak.ar.sın ki* X]

again look.EVID.2SG/look.AOR.2SG that

‘You never know! Wouldn’t it be awesome if X!’

48) [*Bura.da* X+GEN *boru.su* *öt.er*]

here.LOC pipe.POSS.3SG blow.AOR.3SG

‘X is the decision-maker around here’

49) [*V_i* +AOR+COND(NEG) *V_i* (NEG)]

Ex: [*gel.ir.se.n gel*]/[*gel.mez.se.n gel.me*]!

come.AOR.COND.2SG come.IMP/come.AOR.NEG.COND.2SG

come.NEG.IMP

‘I don’t care if you come!/I don’t care if you don’t come!’

50) [*V da rahat.la!*]

too relax

‘V already so you can be done with it!’

51) [*ye.miş.im* X+POSS.3SG.ACC]

eat.EVID.1SG

‘I don’t give a d*mn about X’

52) [*X*+DAT *gelene kadar* *Y var*]

[*Klima.ya gel.en.e kadar tesisat sorun.lar.1 var*]

air.conditioner.DAT come.SREL.DAT until plumbing problem.PL.CM exists

‘We’ve got plumbing problems to solve before moving on to A/C’

53) [*X ne ara.r* *Y*+LOC]

what look.for.AOR.3SG

‘There is no way you would find X in Y (X is unheard of in Y)’

54) [*V*+SUB1/SUB2 *yok*]

Ex: *Gel.eceğ.i yok.*

come.SUB2.POSS.3SG not.exist

‘I don’t think there is any chance (s)he’ll come’

55) [X+GEN ön.de gid.en.i]

front.LOC go.SREL.POSS.3SG

‘Classic example of a X/Such a X!’ (Imprecative, demeaning)

56) [Allah’ın X+POS.3SG]

God.GEN

‘Such a X! (Imprecative, demeaning)

57) [hay X+DAT dA Y+POSS.Person(X)+DAT dA!]

Ex: Hay san.a da özr.ün.e de!

EXC you.DAT too apology.POSS.2SG.DAT too

‘You and your apology!’ (Imprecative, cursing)

58) [X+POSS.DAT başlat.ma (şimdi) (ben.i)]

start(trans.).NEG.IMP now I.ACC

‘Don’t get me started with X now!’ (angry)

59) [X de.me.m V+AOR.1SG]

Ex: Arkadaş.ım.ın arkadaş.ı de.me.m, sil.er.im Facebook.’um.dan!

friend.POSS1SG.GEN friend.POSS.3SG say.NEG.AOR.1SG

delete.AOR.1SG Facebook.POSS.1SG.ABL

‘I don’t care if (s)he’s my friend’s friend, I’m gonna delete him/her from my Facebook!’

60) [Yok (efendi.m) “X”+EVID yok “Y”+EVID]

not.exist ([official addressing) ‘my Sir/Lady’])

‘And then (s)he goes “X” and “Y” (unhappy, dubious, complaining tone

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