

INFLECTED DOUBLED VERBS IN TURKISH

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INFLECTED DOUBLED VERBS IN TURKISH

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DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

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ABSTRACT

Inflected Doubled Verbs in Turkish

This study investigates aspectual, morpho-syntactic and prosodic properties of Inflected Doubled Verbs (DVs) in Turkish with the aim of providing a systematic analysis of the data based on a grammaticality judgment experiment and our own examples. DVs include two adjacent copies of a finite verb stem, where ‘finite’ means a verb stem with a verb root, a tense-aspect marker and a subject agreement marker. DVs express event iteration or duration based on lexical aspect of DVs, temporal adverbs and the main verb. We argue that DVs are adverbs termed as Continuous Adverbs (ContAdv) with three features specified in their lexical entry: a +copy feature on the head of ContAdv, a Tense Phrase (TP) complement and a specification stating that the +copy feature copy a Phonological Phrase (PPh). The copied PPh corresponds to an Aspectual Phrase (AspectP) within the TP complement, shown by the non-doublability of temporal adverbs with the verb stem. Evidence for a complement TP of ContAdv comes from the discussion of whether: (i) phrase levels below TP can be doubled with the verb stem, (ii) material below TP can modify or be the argument of DVs, (iii) levels above TP exist in DVs. Evidence for PPh copying comes from the observation that items other than the verb stem can only be doubled with the verb stem if they are in the same PPh. This study points to two generalizations: (i) Turkish adverbs form two major groups lexically—those with +copy and without +copy-, (ii) phrase-level copying targets PPhs.

ÖZET

Türkçe’de Çekimli Fiil İkilemeleri

Bu çalışma Türkçe’de İkilenmiş Fiillerin görünüşsel, biçimbilimsel-sözdizimsel ve bürünsel özelliklerini sistematik bir analiz sunmak amacıyla incelemektedir. Analiz verisi bir dilbilgisellik yargısı deneyine ve bizim kendi örneklerimize dayanmaktadır. İkilenmiş Fiil yapılarında birbirini takip eden iki bitimli fiil gövdesi vardır. İkilenmiş Fiiler, fiilin sözlüksel görünüşüne, zaman belirteçlerine ve ana fiile bağlı olarak tekrarlama ve devamlılık ifade ederler. Bu çalışmada İkilenmiş Fiillerin, sözlüksel kayıtlarında Devamlılık Belirteçleri’ni üreten bir kopyalama özelliği, bir Zaman Öbeği tümleci ve bu tümlecin içinde bir Sezdizim Öbeği kopyalanmasını belirleyen bir komut şeklinde üç ana özelliği olan Devamlılık Belirteci adında bir tür belirteç oldukları iddia edilmektedir. Zaman belirteçlerinin fiille ikilenememesi, Devamlılık Belirteçleri’nde kopyalanan Sezdizim Öbeği bir Görünüş Öbeği’ne denk geldiğini gösterir. Devamlılık Belirteci’nin bir zaman öbeği tümleci olması (i) Zaman Öbeği altında kalan ögelerin fiille birlikte ikilenip ikilenemediği, (ii) Zaman Öbeği altında kalan ögelerin İkilenmiş Fiilleri niteleyip nitelemedikleri veya İkilenmiş Fiillerin kendi eylem ögelerinin olup olmadığı, (iii) Zaman Öbeği üstünde kalan ögelerin var olup olmadığı konularının tartışmalarına dayanmaktadır. Sezdizim Öbeği’nin kopyalanması gerekliliği de fiil dışındaki ögelerin sadece aynı Sezdizim Öbeği içinde oldukları zaman ikilenebilmeleri gözlemi ile desteklenmektedir. Bu çalışma, (i) Türkçe’de belirteçler ikileme özelliklerine göre sözlükçede ikileme özelliği olanlar ve olmayanlar şeklinde iki gruba ayrılırlar, (ii) öbek seviyesinde kopyalama her zaman bir Sezdizim Öbeği kopyalar şeklinde iki genellemeye de işaret etmektedir.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Abil: Abilitative	Imp: Imperative
Abl: Ablative	Loc: Locative
Acc: Accusative	Neces: Necessitative
AN: Actor Voice	Neg: Negation
Aor: Aorist	Nom: Nominalizer
Caus: Causitive	Opt: Optative
Con: Converbial	Pl: Plural
Cond: Conditional	Poss: Possessive
Cop: Copula	Pres: Present
Dat: Dative	Prog: Imperfective/ Progressive
Exp: Experiential	Q: Question marker
Evid: Evidential	Rel: Relativizer
Fut: Future	Sg: Singular

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In this thesis, semantic and structural properties of Inflected Doubled Verbs (DVs)¹ in Turkish and the matrix clause they appear in are analyzed with the aim of developing a systematic and comprehensive analysis of the data. Special attention is paid to the morpho-syntactic and prosodic structure of DVs, with the additional discussion of their aspectual properties, as well as the implications of these structures for Turkish linguistics.

DVs look like repetitions² in that a verb stem appears more than once. They tend to occur more often in colloquial language with fewer instances of occurrence in formal language. Possibly due to these reasons, DVs have mostly been ignored in formal linguistic literature on Turkish. We hope to show that DVs are very much related to Turkish grammar and that they are, in fact, the result of a grammatical means of adverb formation rather than being a case of mere repetition.

The main argument of the present work is that DVs are formed by doubling a Phonological Phrase (PPh) within a Tense Phrase (TP), which is in the complement position of a Continuous Adverb (ContAdv) formed by DVs. The head of the ContAdv phrase is the feature +copy. The doubling process takes place because the +copy feature in the head position of ContAdv requires that a PPh within the TP complement of ContAdv be copied. It will be shown that this proposal fits into the

¹‘(Total) reduplication’ (Stolz et al., 2011) and ‘doubling’ are used interchangeably in this thesis to refer to cases where a linguistic item is copied once, but the latter is used more often. A definition for reduplication is provided partly in Footnote 2 and in further detail in Chapter 2.

²See Chapter 2 for criteria in defining repetitions. Just to give a general idea, let us state that repetitions include copying of a stem once or more (usually more) for pragmatic reasons. This contrasts with reduplication, where a stem can be copied only once (rarely twice) for a grammatical function such as plurality.

other doubling cases in Turkish, hence pointing to a more unified analysis of the doubling process in the language.

In (1) are examples of DVs.³ A schema for DVs is provided in (2). The indices used in this schema show that the two verb stems within the square brackets are morphologically and segmentally the same.

(1) a. *Kitab-ı oku-du-lar oku-du-lar bitir-e-me-di-ler*⁴
 book-Acc. read-Past-3Pl read-Past-3Pl finish-Abil-Neg-Past-3Pl
 ‘They kept reading the book (but still) they could not finish (it)’

b. *Çalış-tı çalış-tı sınıf-ı geç-ti*
 study-Past study-Past class-Acc pass-Past-1Sg
 ‘S/he kept studying (and thus) s/he passed the class’

c. *Ye-m-iyor-um ye-m-iyor-um kilo al-ıyor-um*
 eat-Neg-Prog-1Sg eat-Neg-Prog-1Sg weight gain-Prog-1Sg
 ‘I keep not eating (but still) I put on weight’

d. *Oku-ma-dı-m oku-ma-dı-m anla-ma-dı-m*
 read-Neg-Past-1Sg read-Neg-Past-1Sg understand-Neg-Past-1Sg
 ‘I kept not reading (and thus) I did not understand it’

(2) $[[V_i V_i] V]_{\text{matrix clause}}$

³Throughout the thesis, the doubled elements are in italics.

⁴There are some DV-like structures which are not included in DVs. In one of those, a particle or conjunction appears between the identical verb stems. There can also be overt conjunctions such as *ama* ‘but’ and *ve* ‘and’ between the DVs and the following verb. See Chapter 5 for a discussion of these.

DVs require that two identical verb stems appear adjacent to each other. The verb stems include a verb root, at least one tense-aspect marker and a subject agreement marker. In that sense, the verb stems in DVs are finite (as defined in Banguoğlu, 1974; Sezer, 2001 and Taylan, 2001).

DVs essentially express event iterativity or durativity depending on various factors (Chapter 4). The non-doubled verb represents the end of this iterative or durative process. If the end result is an expected one (mainly based on world knowledge), DVs are interpreted as ‘leading to that end result’. This is expressed as ‘and thus’ in translations of DVs as in (1b) and (1d). If the end result is not expected, DVs are interpreted as ‘leading to a surprise end’, which is translated as ‘but still’ as in (1a) and (1c). For instance, in (1a), an activity verb is doubled and it has the interpretation that the agent performed the reading action for some time with the aim of finishing the book. At the end, s/he could not finish the book, hence the ‘but still’ translation. (1b) also has the doubling of the activity verb *çalış-* ‘study’, where the agent studies for some time in order to pass the class. At the end, s/he achieves this aim. Hence, there is an expected result since studying led to passing the class. This fulfillment of expectations is translated as ‘and thus’.

1.1 The aim

The aim of the present work is threefold. The major aim is to investigate both semantic and structural properties of DVs so that a comprehensive and systematic analysis can be put forward. Related to that aim, we also hope to contribute to the literature, where studies on reduplication of parts of a stem dominate (see Chapter 2).

We also aim to show that there are different types of inflected verb doubling in Turkish.

The analysis in the present work will show that:

- (i) The matrix clauses that include DVs have three inflected verb stems in one clause (two doubled verbs and one main verb).
- (ii) DVs are a kind of adverb (Continuous Adverb (ContAdv)) that modifies the main verb.
- (iii) The head of the ContAdv phrase is the feature +copy.
- (iv) DVs are formed by copying a Phonological Phrase (PPh) within the Tense Phrase (TP) that is the complement to the head of the ContAdv.

1.2 The data collection process

The preliminary data collection process included a review of 262 interviews by the popular interviewer and journalist Ayşe Arman of the *Hürriyet* daily newspaper from the beginning of October 2012 to the end of September 2013 (see Appendix A).

Turkish grammar books (Banguoğlu, 1990; Ergin, 1981; Kornfilt, 1997; Göksel & Kerslake, 2005; Lewis, 1967; Underhill, 1976) also provided some data, though limited in type and range.

The main data collection procedure was a grammaticality judgment experiment conducted to understand the (un)acceptability of certain DV structures. The structures tested were those which were not encountered in the preliminary data

search through interviews or grammar books but which were, in principle, possible. More information about the experiment is provided in Chapter 3.

The data collected during preliminary and main data collection processes are used for different purposes: data from the interview and grammar book review are used in presenting different types of inflected verb stem doubling in Turkish. Data from the experiment are used in building an analysis. These sources will be indicated with the examples with which they are used. If no source is indicated, this means that the example is our own example.

1.3 The data

In this thesis, data such as those in (1) above, in which finite verb stems are doubled, are examined. This excludes data such as (3), in which only the verb root (not the affixes) is doubled as in (3a) and in which non-finite verbs are doubled (3b):

- (3) a. Orhan *git-ti gid-eli* on-dan haber al-a-ma-dı-k (Underhill, 1976, P.382)
Orhan go-Past go-since he-Abl news get-Abil-Neg-Past-3Pl
'Since Orhan went away, we have been unable to hear from him'
- b. *Yaz yaz bitir-e-me-di-m* ödev-i (Yıldız, 2014)
write.IMP write.IMP finish-Abil-Neg-Past-1Sg homework-Acc
'I could not finish the homework (although) I worked on it for hours'

The verb stems used in DVs are finite verbs that can act as the main verb of a sentence in their non-doubled forms (4a). But when that same verb stem is doubled

to form DVs, they syntactically depend on the main verb (4b)-(4c). Note that the verb that DVs depend on is the main verb since it can stand on its own to head a sentence (4d):

(4) a. *Kitab-ı oku-du-m*
 book-Acc read-Past-1Sg
 ‘I read the book’

b. **Kitabı oku-du-m oku-du-m⁵*
 book-Acc read-Past-1Sg read-Past-1Sg

c. *Kitab-ı oku-du-m oku-du-m bitir-e-me-di-m*
 book-Acc read-Past-1Sg read-Past-1Sg finish-Abil-Neg-Past-1Sg
 ‘I kept reading the book (but still) I could not finish it’

d. *Kitab-ı bitir-e-me-di-m*
 book-Acc finish-Abil-Neg-Past-1Sg
 ‘I could not finish the book’

⁵(4b) is ungrammatical as a DV and the asterisk is intended to show this. It is grammatical as a declarative sentence (in which case it has a different prosodic contour). The following is an example from the interview data (Appendix A), where an inflected doubled verb structure is grammatical when there is no other verb:

March 20, 2013, Wednesday [‘Komik unutmama hikâyeleri’](#)

Sakin ol Ayşe, sakin ol, hepsi-n-i *yap-ar-sın yap-ar-sın...*

calm be Ayşe calm be all-Gen-Acc do-Aor-2Sg

‘Calm down, Ayşe, calm down, you will do all for sure’

These examples are shown to be different from DVs later in this chapter (see (17B)).

DVs can occur with any tense-aspect marker. In (5), there are examples of DVs with the past tense marker *-DI* (5a), the evidential marker *-miş* (5b), the aorist *-Ar/-Ir* (5c), the imperfective/progressive marker *-(I)yor* (5d), the abilitative/possibility marker *-Abil* (5e), the conditional marker *-sA* (5f), the necessitative marker *-mAll* (5g) and the optative marker *-A* (5h). Note also in (5) that all subject agreement markers can be used in DVs:

(5) a. Dün epey *gez-di-m* *gez-di-m* rahatla-dı-m
 yesterday a lot wander.around-Past-1Sg wander.around-Past-1Sg relax-
 Past-1Sg
 ‘Yesterday, I kept wandering around (and thus) I relaxed’

b. Dün epey *gez-miş* *gez-miş* rahatla-mış
 yesterday a lot wander.around-Evid-3Sg wander.around-Evid-3Sg relax-
 Evid-1Sg
 ‘Yesterday, s/he kept wandering around (and thus) s/he relaxed’

c. *Gez-er-sin* *gez-er-sin* rahatla-r-sın
 wander.around-Aor-2Sg wander.around-Aor-2Sg relax-Aor-2Sg
 ‘You (can just) wander around (and thus) relax’

d. *Gez-iyor-lar* *gez-iyor-lar* rahatl-ıyor-lar
 wander.around-Prog-3Pl wander.around-Prog-3Pl relax-Prog-3Pl
 ‘They keep wandering around (and thus) they are relaxing’

e. İste-r-ler-se *gez-ebil-ir-ler* *gez-ebil-ir-ler*
want-Aor-3Pl-Cond wander.around-Abil-Aor-3Pl wander.around-Abil-
Aor-3Pl

rahatla-yabil-ir-ler
relax-Abil-Aor-3Pl

‘If they want, they may keep wandering around (and thus) they may relax’

f. Keşke orada dur-acağ-ınız-a *gez-se-niz* *gez-se-niz*
if only there stay-Fut-2Pl-Dat wander.around-Cond-2Pl wander.around-
Cond-2Pl

rahatla-sa-nız
relax-Cond-2Pl

‘If only, instead of staying there, you would keep wandering around (and thus) relax’

g. Bu kadar çalış-tık-tan sonra artık *gez-meli-yiz*
this much work-Nom-Abl after now wander.around-Neces-1Pl

gez-meli-yiz *rahatla-malı-yız*
wander.around-Neces-1Pl relax-Neces-1Pl

‘After working so much, we should now keep wandering around (and thus) we should relax’

h. Bu kadar çalış-tık-tan sonra artık *gez-e-yim*
this much work-Nom-Abl after now wander.around-Opt-1Sg

gez-e-yim rahatla-ya-yım
wander.around-Opt-1Sg relax-Opt-1Sg

‘After working so much, let me now wander around (and thus) relax’

The aspectual properties of DVs will be investigated in Chapter 4 in more detail but let us note here that DVs contribute either an iterative (i.e. carrying out some action multiple times) or an extended duration interpretation (i.e. carrying out some action continuously during some stretch of time) depending on various factors such as the lexical aspect⁶ of DVs and the main verb. In this way, DVs express a process of carrying out some action.

To illustrate how the lexical aspect plays a role in the interpretation of DVs, let us look at (6)-(7). In (6) and (7), we see the semelfactive verb *öksür-* (‘cough’) and the activity verb *yüz-* (‘swim’), respectively. (6a) primarily means I coughed once⁷ while (6b) can *only* mean that I coughed more than once, in fact several times. As for (7), in which there is the activity verb *yüz-* ‘swim’, one gets the feeling that (7b) expresses a duration of action:

⁶Lexical aspect (or its German counterpart *Aktionsarten*, which literally means ‘manners of action’) refers to the *inherent* aspect of the verb itself. That is, it refers to whether an action has a natural end-point or not; whether it is durative or not; etc. In this work, the classification by Vendler (1957) is adopted with some additions. Vendler classifies verbs into four groups according to their lexical aspect: Achievements, Accomplishments, Activities and Stat(iv)es. See Chapter 4.

⁷ In proper contexts, one can interpret this as repeated coughing.

- (6) a. Boğaz-ım-a kaç-an şey-i öksür-dü-m çıkar-a-ma-dı-m
throat-1Sg Poss-Dat escape-Rel thing-Acc cough-Past-1Sg take.out-Abil-
Neg-Past-1Sg

‘I coughed in the house yesterday (but) I could not get the thing that escaped to my throat out’

- b. Boğaz-ım-a kaç-an şey-i öksür-dü-m öksür-dü-m
throat-1Sg Poss-Dat escape-Rel thing-Acc cough-Past-1Sg cough-Past-1Sg

çık-ar-a-ma-dı-m
take.out-Abil-Neg-Past-1Sg

‘I coughed in the house yesterday (but still) I could not get the thing that escaped to my throat out’

- (7) a. Bugün yüz-dü-m rahat-la-ya-ma-dı-m
today swim-Past-1Sg relax-Abil-Neg-Past-1Sg

‘I swam today (but) I could not relax’

- b. Bugün yüz-dü-m yüz-dü-m rahat-la-ya-ma-dı-m
today swim-Past-1Sg swim-Past-1Sg relax-Abil-Neg-Past-1Sg

‘I kept swimming today (but still) I could not relax’

If DVs express a process, the main verb expresses the end-point of the process.

Consider the examples in (8):

- (8) a. Telefon-u *ara-dı-m* *ara-dı-m* bul-du-m
 telephone-Acc look.for-Past-1Sg look.for-Past-1Sg find-Past-1Sg
 ‘I kept looking for the phone (and thus) I found it’
- b. Telefon-u *ara-dı-m* *ara-dı-m* bul-a-ma-dı-m
 telephone-Acc look.for-Past-1Sg look.for-Past-1Sg find-Abil-Neg-Past-1Sg
 ‘I kept looking for the phone (but still) I could not find it’

In (8a) and (8b), DVs express the process of searching for the phone in order to find it. The agent either finds it as in (8a) or cannot do so and gives the searching process up as in (8b). This indicates that the main verb expresses the endpoint/result of the searching process.

Major prosodic properties of DVs include the H* on the last syllable of both of the identical verb stems (though on the second one it is perceptually more prominent) and the prohibition of a pause within the DVs (that is, DVs need to be pronounced without any pause between them).

Having briefly introduced DVs and the matrix clause in which they occur, let us present other inflected verb doubling types that were encountered in the data search.

1.3.1 Verb doubling types gathered in data collection

The data search revealed other types of inflected verb doubling which have been excluded from the present analysis based on their incompliance with the schema

provided for DVs in (2) above (i.e. they do not have the schema $[[V_i V_i] V]_{\text{matrix}}$ clause). The data in this section show that inflected verb doubling can be used for various functions in Turkish. By presenting these various types of inflected verb doubling here, we hope to bring them to attention for future studies:

(i) *[Particle_j + Verb Stem_i + Particle_j + Verb Stem_i] Template*

(9) *Ne oku-du ne oku-du şiir-i*
 what read-Past what read-Past poem-Acc
 ‘How s/he read the poem! (Irony)’

(10) *Şiir-i bi oku-du bi oku-du hayran kal-dı-m*
 poem-Acc. one read-Past one read-Past admired stay-Past-1Sg
 ‘S/he read the poem so nicely that I really admired her/him’

(ii) *[Verb Stem_i+Particle+Verb Stem_i] Template⁸*

(11) *Bu kitab-ı oku-r mu-yum oku-r-um ama sana anlat-ma-m*
 this book-Acc. read-Aor Q-1Sg read-Aor-1Sg but you tell-not-1Sg

⁸This group differs from DVs because, unlike DVs (see Chapter 5), its members require an obligatory particle between the identical verb stems. The deletion of the question particle leads to ungrammaticality:

(11)’ **Bu kitab-ı oku-r oku-r-um ama san-a anlat-ma-m*
 this book-Acc read-Aor read-Aor-1Sg but you-Dat tell-Neg-1Sg
 ‘I am surely going to read this book, but I am not going to tell it to you’
 (lit. ‘Do I read this book? I read it, but I do not explain it to you’)

As for (12), Yıldız (2014) suggests that with the overt particle between the identical verb stems, the identical verb stems can stand on their own, with no need for another verb (cf. (4b) in this chapter):

(12)’ *Kitab-ı oku-du-m Allah/anam/babam oku-du-m*
 book-Acc read-Past-1Sg God/my mother/my father read-Past-1Sg
 ‘I kept reading the book’

‘I am surely going to read this book, but I am not going to explain it to you’
(lit. ‘Do I read this book? I read it, but I do not explain it to you’)

- (12) *Kitab-1 oku-du-m Allah/anam/babam oku-du-m (bitir-e-me-di-m)*
book-Acc read-Past-1Sg God/my mother/my father read-Past-1Sg (finish-able-
Neg-1Sg)
‘I kept reading the book (but still I could not finish (it))’

(iii) [Verb Stem_i + Verb Stem_i + Clause] Template⁹

- (13) *Şimdi git-ti-n git-ti-n yoksa bi daha gid-e-me-z-sin*
now go-Past-2Sg go-Past-2Sg if not one more go-able-not-Aor-2Sg
‘If you don’t go now, you will never be able to go again’

- (14) *Söz ver-iyor ver-iyor da hiç tut-m-uyor*
promise give-Prog give-Prog Part never hold-Neg-Prog
‘It is true that s/he makes promises, but s/he never keeps them’

- (15) *Uyu-yor-um uyu-yor-um ama iyileş-e-m-iyor-um*
sleep-Prog-1Sg sleep-Prog-1Sg but get.well-Abil-Neg-Prog-1Sg
‘I keep sleeping, but I cannot get well’

⁹(13) and (14) are different from DVs because they require an obligatory particle following the doubled verb stems. The particles are obligatory because eliding *yoksa* in (13) makes it unacceptable. In (14), eliding *da* results in a different meaning. When it is elided, it no longer means ‘It is true that s/he makes promises, but s/he never keeps them’ but it means ‘S/he keeps making promises (but still) s/he never keeps them’ and it becomes similar to DVs. This indicates that *da* is obligatory and the structure in (14) is different from DVs. (15) and (16) are very similar to DVs. However, they are taken as conjunction structures in this study, hence they have a different structure than that of DVs, which are word-like units (Chapter 5). Since this differentiation will be elaborated in Chapter 5, we just note here that, despite the apparent resemblance of (15) and (16) to DVs, they have a different structure.

- (16) (Hasta ol-du-ğ-um zaman) *uyu-yor-um uyu-yor-um* ve iyileş-iyor-um
 (sick be-Past-Comp-1Sg time) sleep-Prog-1Sg sleep-Prog-1Sg and get.well-
 Prog-1S
 ‘(When I am sick) I keep sleeping and I get well’

(iv) $[V_i V_j]$ Template¹⁰

- (17) a. (When somebody calls another person on the phone, one of the first questions is)

A: *Müsait mi-sin ?*
 available Q-2Sg
 ‘Are you available (to talk)?’

B: *Müsait-im müsait-im*
 available-1Sg available-1Sg
 ‘(Yes, you can be sure that) I am available’

- b. (from *İki Aile* TV Series, Star TV, 08.18.2013)

A: *Bahçe-de bi adam-lar var bi bak-sana*
 garden-Loc one man-Pl exist one look-Opt
 ‘There are some men in the garden, can you have a look at them?’

¹⁰The kind of examples in (17) do not fit into the structural schema because they do not need a non-identical verb following the identical verb stems and thus the copied verbs do not depend on another verb, unlike DVs (Chapter 5). The examples in (17) actually resemble the structures used for polarity purposes in European Portuguese as discussed by Martins (2007). As discussed in Chapter 2, their derivation is proposed to be a result of syntactic movement for topicalization, polarization, etc. (Kandybowicz, 2006; Martins, 2007). Therefore, they have a different structure than DVs, which are not related to a syntactic movement for topicalization, polarization, etc. (Chapter 5). The example mentioned in Footnote 5 in this chapter (and other similar data in Appendices) may also fall within this group.

B: *Gör-dü-m gör-dü-m*
see-Past-1Sg see-Past-1Sg
'(Yes, sure) I saw them'

(v) *The structures used in more restricted contexts:*

(18) *Ya ol-acak ya ol-acak*¹¹
or be-Fut or be-Fut
'It must happen this way and no other way'

(19) *Oku-du ki oku-du*¹² (Lewis, 1967, p. 214)
read-Past that read-Past
'How (beautifully) she read (it)'

(20) Ben *yan-ar-ım yan-a-rı-m* Enka-ya *gid-e-me-me-sin-e yan-ar-ım*¹³
I burn-Aor-1Sg burn-Aor-1Sg Enka-Dat go-Abil-Neg-Inf-Pos-Dat burn-
Aor-1Sg
'I keep feeling sad about it'

(21) *Üstelik bun-u yap-sa yap-sa kaçak çalışan veteriner hekim-ler*
besides this-Acc do-Cond do-Cond illegally working vet doctor-Pl

¹¹ This is a sentence associated with a former Prime Minister of Turkey, Tansu Çiller, who uttered it in 1997 (see, for instance, the following link: <http://arsiv.sabah.com.tr/1997/04/23/f07.html>)

¹³ *Hukuk sistemimiz kadın düşmanı*, Interview by Ayşe Arman, September 12, 2013, www.hurriyet.com.tr

yap-ıyor-dur¹⁴

do-Prog-DIr

‘Besides, the only people who do this are (possibly) the veterinarians who work illegally.’

With this, we conclude the discussion of data and move onto presenting our theoretical assumptions and background.

1.4 Theoretical background

The main focus of the current work is on the morpho-syntactic structure of DVs.

Hence, this section provides an overview of our syntactic and prosodic assumptions.

We aim to offer a syntactic representation for DVs. In doing this, we follow the Generative framework in a general sense by assuming that syntactic structures are binary and heads have certain features. These features may drive movement by some linguistic item that can satisfy the feature.

Rizzi (1997)’s Left-Periphery analysis is crucial to the syntactic analysis of DVs because we will have to make a differentiation between left-peripheral and non-left-peripheral elements.¹⁵

¹⁴*Valizlerde getiriliyorlar ses çıkarmasın diye uyuşturuluyorlar*, Interview by Ayşe Arman, November 04, 2012, www.hurriyet.com.tr

¹⁵Rizzi (1997)’s Left-Periphery is adopted with the exclusion of FocusP, about whose nature and position various proposals exist in Turkish linguistics. For instance, Turkish is proposed to have a lower focus position as well. Şener (2010) and Göksel & Özsoy (2000) argue that Focus can project anywhere in the pre-verbal area in Turkish. Hence, it is difficult to say that Focus is located at a Left-Peripheral phrase in Turkish.

Rizzi (1997) splits the CP domain similar to what Pollock (1989) does for IP and, according to his analysis, the Left Periphery (i.e. the CP domain) is divided into ForceP>TopicP*>FocusP>TopicP*>FinP>IP. ForceP hosts the illocutionary force of a clause and clause-typing elements like questions (Cheng, 1997). TopicP hosts whatever the topic of the clause is or could be in different positions (i.e. above and below FocusP). (The * sign stands for the ability of TopicP to appear multiple times in a clause. That is, a clause can have multiple topics.) FocusP hosts the contrastive focus of the clause and FinP marks the IP below as either finite or non-finite.

Since we will look into what kind of modifiers DVs can be modified by, Cinque (1999)'s adverbial hierarchy is an important study for the present analysis. The division between lower (below TP) and higher adverbs (modifying sentences, clauses, etc.) is an especially important distinction.

Cinque (1999) proposes a universal hierarchy of adverbs (including “mood, modality, tense, aspect and voice distinctions (Cinque, 2001)”), which are considered to project their own phrases and occupy the Specifier positions of their phrases. This hierarchy determines a strict order that all languages adopt, though a language may not use each and every level every time. The same adverb may appear in distinct positions due to a feature-driven movement such as the wh-movement for the question feature. Other than obligatory dissociations like this, adverbs appear in a strict ordering in all languages. The following is how Cinque's hierarchy looks:

MoodP_{Speech act}> MoodP_{evaluative}> MoodP_{evidential}>ModP_{epistemic}> TP_{Past}> TP_{Future}>
 MoodP_{irrealis}> TP_{anterior}> ModP_{aletic}> AspP_{habitual}> AspP_{repetitive(I)}> AspP_{frequentative}
 (I)> ModP_{volition}> AspP_{celerative(I)}> AspP_{terminative}> AspP_{continuative}> AspP_{perfect}>
 AspP_{retrospective}> AspP_{proximative}> AspP_{durative}> AspP_{progressive}> AspP_{prospective}>
 AspP_{inceptive(I)}> ModP_{obligation}> ModP_{ability}> AspP_{frustrative/success}> ModP_{permission}>
 AspP_{conative}> AspP_{completive(I)}> VoiceP> AspP_{repetitive (II)}>AspP_{frequentative(II)}>
 AspP_{celerative(II)}> AspP_{inceptive(II)}> AspP_{completive(II)}>V

We will not utilize each and every level in the adverbial hierarchy above and will sometimes use differing labels that we think are more suitable in our context. We will, however, keep the basic logic of Cinque's hierarchy, such the fact that modality generally precedes (i.e. to the left of and higher than) time, which in turn precedes aspect, etc. Furthermore, based on Cinque's hierarchy, we will take manner and frequentative adverbs as lower (below TP) adverbs. Since there are only a few studies that try to determine the ordering of Turkish adverbs within Cinque's model (see Wilson & Saygın, 2001), we will essentially assume that the universal hierarchy of Cinque holds for Turkish as well.

We also offer some prosodic constituency restrictions on the syntactic representation of DVs and that the prosodic constituency hierarchy we assume based on Selkirk (1986) and Nespor & Vogel (1986) is the following (from lowest to the highest in the hierarchy):

Syllable, Foot, Phonological Word, Phonological Phrase, Intonational Phrase, Utterance

The most important prosodic constituent for the purposes of the present work is the Phonological Phrase (PPh). The rest of the hierarchy does not play a significant role in the analysis.

1.5 Thesis organization

The thesis is organized as follows:

In Chapter 2, a literature review in which a discussion of the concepts of repetition and reduplication is provided with the addition of a wide range of examples of different types of repetition and reduplication in different languages and in Turkish.

In Chapter 3, information about the methodology and the results of the experiment that have been conducted is given.

In Chapter 4, the aspectual properties of DV data in terms of the following questions are investigated:

- (i) What factors are effective in the semantic interpretation of DVs?
- (ii) What semantic relationship does the main verb have with DVs?

In Chapter 5, the morpho-syntactic and prosodic structures of DVs are investigated in light of the following questions:

- (i) Do DVs and the main verb fall into the same matrix clause or do they form separate matrix clauses?
- (ii) If DVs and the main verb are within one single matrix clause, what syntactic function do DVs serve (and what is their syntactic position) in that clause? If

DVs and the main verb form two separate matrix clauses, what kind of a structural relationship is there between these clauses?

(iii) What is the internal structure of DVs?

Chapter 6 includes a summary of the main points of the current work.

Finally, appendices of the data collected through the means mentioned in Section 1.2. and the experiment instructions are provided at the end of the thesis.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter provides a literature review focusing on the following points: (i) how the concepts of repetition and reduplication have been defined in the literature, (ii) where DVs fit into those definitions, (iii) how and where reduplication structures have been proposed to be generated, and (iv) the commonality of verb copying in Turkish and some other languages.

2.1 Repetition versus reduplication

The line between repetition and reduplication structures is somewhat blurry because in both cases the same linguistic item appears more than once in the same structure. Hence, there is a great deal of difficulty in differentiating the two concepts in the literature. However, there have been some attempts, which are presented below.

Hurch et al. (2008), citing the example in (1), point out that in repetitions, linguistic items are repeated for pragmatic and rhetorical reasons and that repetition may exist universally. (p.3)

- (1) *Language: German* (Rilke, 1899, cited in Hurch et al., 2008)
Reiten, reiten, reiten, durch die Nacht, durch den Tag. Reiten, reiten, reiten
'Riding, riding, riding, through the night, through the day, riding, riding,
riding'

Reduplication forms, however, are usually taken to be a word-level phenomenon that usually serves as a derivational or inflectional process (Inkelas, 2014). To that end, the most commonly attested function associated with reduplication is plurality, with other functions such as case and possession also being possible (Inkelas, 2014). The fact that reduplication is a word-level phenomenon is indicated in the definition by Haspelmath & Sims (2010), where reduplication is defined as a process in which “part of the base or the complete base is copied and attached to the base (either preceding or following it)”. (p. 38) (2) below is a partial reduplication example in which part of the base is copied, while (3) exemplifies a case of total reduplication (term adopted from Stolz et al., 2011) where a whole base is copied:

- (2) *Language:* Chamorro (Inkelas, 2014, p. 387)
Function: Intensifying

bunìta ‘pretty’
 bunìtata ‘very pretty’

- (3) *Language:* Guyanese Creole (Devonish, 2003, p. 51)
Function: Distributive/Dispersive

Dee gatu *hâid-hâid* laik tifmaan an miit hoom seem iivnin
 they have to hide-hide like thief and meet home same evening
 ‘They had to hide from time to time, like thieves, and arrive home the same evening’

Gil (2005) also attempts to put forward some criteria by which to distinguish between repetition and reduplication as shown in Table 1:

Table 1: Gil (2005)'s criteria to distinguish between repetition and reduplication

	Criterion	Repetition	Reduplication
1	unit of output	greater than word	equal to or smaller than word
2	communicative reinforcement	present or absent	absent
3	interpretation	iconic or absent	arbitrary or iconic
4	intonation domain of output	within one or more intonation group	within one intonation group
5	contiguity of copies	contiguous or disjoint	contiguous
6	number of copies	two or more	usually two

As noted in Table 1, there is a good amount of overlap in the criteria put forward by Gil (2005). For instance, in Criteria 6, both repetitions and reduplications could possibly have two copies. Thus, according to this criterion, if a copied item has three copies, it is a clear repetition structure. But when there are only two identical linguistic items (i.e. one base and one copy), it is difficult to describe this structure as repetition or reduplication. The same situation holds for Criteria 2, 3, 4, 5 since in all of these, repetition and reduplication have overlaps.

The structures that are more difficult to categorize as repetition and reduplication are usually cases of full stem doubling. Doubling of syllables, such as the Turkish example of *masmavi* ('very blue') where the first syllable of the base *mavi* ('blue') is copied and attached to the beginning of the base, is regarded as a

reduplication structure. However, in examples such as the Italian *bella bella* ('beautiful beautiful') cited by Hurch et al. (2008), this distinction is not as clear-cut, as the authors have stated as well. This is because *bella bella* resembles repetition on the surface but it has also started to be grammaticalized with a meaning similar to 'very beautiful', which is closer to the derivational/inflectional process associated with reduplication.

Complicating things even further, Hurch et al. (2008) state, citing an idea by Maas (2005), that "reduplication can also be seen as a formal linguistic device that can be used at all levels of linguistic structure" (Maas, 2005, p. 395; cf. Pott, 1862)".(p.2) According to this view, the bases that are used for reduplication are different and can range from a syllable to a sentence,¹⁶ but the underlying process that produces them is essentially the same. This view, although it provides a more unified viewpoint of repetition and reduplication, blurs the line between repetition and reduplication even more because then both are considered to be the same process.

2.1.1 Where DVs stand

Given the vague distinguishing criteria between repetition and reduplication and the fact that DVs are a case of total reduplication (which has been known to pose more problems for this type of distinction), here only 'the safest' criteria will be used to define the status of DVs. These criteria are identity, the number of copies, and adjacency, all of which are indicated in the definition of reduplication by Haspelmath & Sims (2010) given above. According to these criteria, total reduplication requires

¹⁶ 'Repetition' structures are sometimes called 'syntactic reduplication' in this view (Gil, 2005, Hurch et al., 2008).

two and only two identical copies. Repetition, on the other hand, can allow for more copies as well as non-identical ones. Regarding adjacency, reduplication, being an inflectional or derivational process, requires its copies to be strictly adjacent, given their status as a word. Repetition does not have such a requirement.

DVs require the copied verb stems to be strictly identical and to be copied only once (hence, two identical verb stems) as in (4a). This makes DVs resemble reduplications. In contrast to DVs, repetition structures need not be identical nor do they have to be copied only once as in (4b):

(4) a. Her yıl yaz-ın çalış-tı-m yaz-ın çalış-tı-m yorul-du-m
 every year summer-in work-Past-1Sg. summer-in work-Past-1Sg. get tired-
 Past-1Sg.

‘I kept working in summer every year (and thus) I got tired’

b. Her yıl yaz-ın çalış-tı-m kış-ın çalış-tı-m bahar-da
 every year summer-in work-Past-1Sg. winter-in work-Past-1Sg. spring-in

çalış-tı-m yorul-du-m
 work-Past-1Sg get tired-Past-1Sg.

‘I kept working in summer, winter, and spring every year (and thus) I got tired’

(4a) is a DV structure where a verb is doubled with an adverb. Keeping everything else the same (especially the prosodic properties, such as the H* on the identical verb stems and the necessary lack of pause, see Chapter 1), one cannot have three or more

identical verb stems in (4a). In (4b), on the other hand, there is a repetition structure in which a verb stem is copied more than once (hence resulting in more than two identical verb stems), with possible pauses after the copied verb stems. Crucially, notice that the adverbs that accompany the copied verbs need not be identical in repetitions as shown in (4b).

The fact that no perceptible pause is possible between DVs (Chapter 1) shows that DVs have prosodic constituency and morpho-syntactic unity.

The following example, also discussed in Chapter 5, shows that the copied verb stems in DVs need to be strictly adjacent:

- (5) **Oku-du-m* kitab-1 bugün *oku-du-m* bitir-e-me-di-m¹⁷
 read-Past-1Sg book-Acc today read-Past-1Sg finish-Abil-Neg-Past-1Sg
 ‘Intended: I kept reading the book (but still) I could not finish it’

When an overt linguistic item is inserted between the members of DVs, the identical verb stems can act as the main verb (6b) (Yıldız, 2014), which makes them structurally different from DVs:

- (6) a. *Kitab-1 oku-du-m Allah/anam/babam oku-du-m bitir-e-me-di-m*
 book-Acc read-Past-1Sg God/my mother/my father read-Past-1Sg finish-able-not-
 1Sg
 ‘I kept reading the book (but still) I could not finish (it)’

¹⁷(5) is ungrammatical as DVs although it is grammatical if it is used to confirm the truth of an event with the meaning of ‘I certainly read the book (but still) I could not finish it’.

b. Kitab-ı *oku-du-m* Allah/anam/babam/da *oku-du-m*
book-Acc. read-Past-1Sg God/my mother/my father/da read-Past-1Sg
'I kept reading the book'

In contrast, there can be intervening words and phrases between the identical verb stems in a repetition structure. In (7), *işte* ('at work') intervenes between the first and second identical verb stems:

(7) Her yıl *yaz-in çalış-tı-m* iş-te *kış-in çalış-tı-m*
every year summer-in work-Past-1Sg. work-Loc. winter-in work-Past-1Sg.

bahar-da çalış-tı-m yorul-du-m
spring-in work-Past-1Sg get tired-Past-1Sg.

'I kept working in summer, winter, and spring every year (and thus) I got tired'

Based on these properties, DVs are assumed to be a case of full stem, or total, reduplication. Therefore, in the following section, a literature review on reduplication is provided. Note that in this work, partial and total reduplication are assumed to result from the same underlying process, following the definition by Haspelmath & Sims (2010) (see Marantz, 1982; to a certain extent Inkelas & Zoll, 2005; Inkelas, 2008, 2014) for the idea that partial and total reduplication may be different processes). In the view adopted in the present work, then, it is not the quality of the process that differs in partial and total reduplication but the quantity (part versus

whole of the bases). Naturally, following that assumption, the analyses posited for partial reduplication in the literature also apply to total reduplication.

2.2 Different views on reduplication

Reduplication is often analyzed as a phenomenon that is in the domain of phonology and/or morphology. In this respect, Marantz (1982) is an influential study. Drawing on McCarthy's (1979, 1981) analysis of the Arabic verbal system, and with support from what conditions phonological and morphological rules (especially which applies where), Marantz argues that reduplication is an affixation form. That is, reduplicative affixes are just like any other affix. Reduplicative affixes differ from other types of affixes in that they are the affixation of a skeletal morpheme. An abstract morpheme, RED, copies 'the string of segments', whose substance is then filled by the material borrowed from the base. The following is an example of his representation of reduplicative affixes (the word *taktakki* from Agta, Marantz (1982), p. 446, example 20):

$$(8) \quad \begin{array}{ccccccc} & & & t & a & k & k & i & & t & a & k & k & i & & t & a & k & k & i \\ & & & | & | & | & | & | & & | & | & | & | & | & & | & | & | & | & | \\ \text{CVC} & + & \text{CVCCV} & \rightarrow & \text{CVC} & & \text{CVCCV} & & \text{CVC} & & \text{CVCCV} & & \text{CVCCV} & & \text{CVC} & & \text{CVCCV} & & \text{CVCCV} & & \text{CVCCV} \end{array}$$

In (8), the base for reduplication is *takki*. Due to reduplication, the first CVC part of this base, *tak*, is copied and attached to the beginning of the base. This creates the reduplicated form, *taktakki*.

McCarthy & Prince (1986, 1996), though their analysis is similar to that of Marantz (1982), differ from the latter in one way: They suggest that prosodic constituency plays the central role in reduplication. They argue that what matters for reduplication is not segment copying (the first CVC, for instance) but rather the closest prosodic constituent, which can be a mora, foot or prosodic word depending on the construction and language.¹⁸ The inside of that prosodic constituent is then filled by the material within the base. They come up with this analysis because “No language process, however, is known to depend on the raw number of segments in a form: a robust finding, given the frequency and pervasiveness of counting restrictions. It should come as no surprise that templatic morphology can’t count segments either.” (p. 2) In this line of thought, the following unattested pattern in languages should be attested if it were segments that mattered rather than prosodic constituency (example (6) from McCarthy & Prince, 1996):

(9) Hypothetical XXX Reduplication

- a. badupi → BAD badupi
- b. bladupi → BLA bladupi
- c. adupi → ADU adupi

As stated by McCarthy & Prince (1996), incoherency in (9) stems from “the segmental equation monomoraic BLA with bimoraic BAD and ADU” . (p.2) That is, the made-up copying process in (9) does not target a specific prosodic constituent and thus is unattested in languages of the world.

¹⁸They also suggest that there could be language-specific restrictions and/or phenomena such as extra segments left out or added to the prosodic constituent.

Other studies have focused more on the semantics of reduplication. Inkelas (2014), which is largely based on the ‘Morphological Doubling Theory’ of Inkelas and Zoll (2005), is an example of this. She adopts ‘the Dual Theory of Reduplication’ in which there is a sharp distinction between phonological reduplication and morphological reduplication. The former serves purely phonological purposes, such as providing an onset, and is restricted to the domain of sounds, moras, feet or syllables. The latter marks a change in meaning and/or creates a new word via ‘double insertion’ of a stem or word or affix. What matters for morphological doubling is semantic similarity between the inserted elements. That is, the two inserted elements need not be phonologically identical. The following is an example from Khmer which Inkelas (2014) uses as a morphological doubling/reduplication case citing Ourn & Haiman, 2000, p. 485) (p. 355, example (5b)):

(10) cɑmnəj- ʔahaa (r) ‘food’ < food + food

Notice that in (10), two segmentally non-identical words with the same or similar meanings are brought together to form a bigger morpho-semantic unit. This process is similar to reduplication in that, in total reduplication, two identical stems are brought together to form a bigger morpho-syntactic unit. That is why Inkelas (2014) takes (10) as a morpho-semantic reduplication case. (See Yıldız (2014) for examples of similar structures in Turkish).

Inkelas admits that there are fuzzy areas between the two types of doubling, especially at the level of syllable, since both can target syllables. She suggests that this is natural because, historically, partial (e.g. syllable level) reduplication derives from total reduplication. Hence, this fuzzy area represents the transmission state from total to partial reduplication.

Travis (2001, 2003) focuses on the syntactic structure of reduplication structures. She argues that all reduplication phenomena have syntactic triggers. She states that “all reduplication is phonological copying that is triggered in syntactic environments”. (Travis 2003, p. 236) This trigger is a Quantifier Phrase (QP), realized just above the material to be copied. The difference between (morpho)phonological and syntactic reduplication is one of quantity: (Morpho)phonological reduplication targets X heads, copies only once, has a fixed form (due to the smaller –i.e. word-level- domain it applies to) and has a left-right mapping. Syntactic reduplication, on the other hand, targets XPs, may copy more than once, is variable in shape, and seems to be derived bottom-up.

The discussion of the studies mentioned above shows that almost all parts of grammar have been held to be responsible for reduplication. However, we do not yet seem to have a consensus on a definition for reduplication, its function(s), or the process(es) that produce reduplicative forms. In fact, we still do not know whether it is only one part of grammar that produces reduplicative forms or whether it is an interface phenomenon. In addition, if reduplication is an interface phenomenon, how do different parts of grammar interact? This is one question addressed in the present work through an investigation of how DVs are perceived in different parts of grammar and how these perceptions relate to each other.

2.3 Partial reduplication versus total reduplication in the literature

A major gap in the literature on reduplication is the lack of attention paid to total reduplication. Despite the claims that total reduplication could be universal (Moravcsik, 1978), whenever reduplication is mentioned or analyzed in the literature, it is usually partial reduplication. Total reduplication is only mentioned in passing or is not mentioned at all. Hence, there are few analyses of total reduplication and most are extensions of an analysis based on partial reduplication. This is what led Stolz et al. (2011) to devote a whole book to offering an analysis and typology of total reduplication in various languages. They suggest that total reduplication is a grammatical way of expressing certain meanings and/or serves certain functions rather than being a purely stylistic expression type.

Some studies try to give more or less equal weight to different levels of reduplication. Hurch et al. (2008) discuss repetition (i.e. sentence-level copying), reduplication (both partial reduplication and total reduplication) and many other different phenomena such as repetition in child (language) acquisition and language games. They highlight the idea that whether we call the phenomenon of the same stem appearing several times in a text or structure reduplication, repetition, iteration, doubling etc., they can in fact be different aspects of the same phenomenon.

One of the contributions of the present work is that it deals with a total reduplication case in a detailed and systematic manner. Turkish utilizes full (finite and non-finite) verb stem doubling for various purposes. In fact, the language utilizes full stem doubling in other parts of speech, such as nouns, productively as well (see Göksel & Kerslake, 2005; Göksel & Haznedar, 2007; Hatiboğlu, 1971; Lewis, 1967; Sebüktekin, 1971; Underhill, 1976 among others for how Turkish uses full stem

reduplication of various parts of speech).¹⁹ However, instead of offering systematic analyses of these doubling phenomena, the existing studies on full stem reduplication in Turkish give descriptions of them. Therefore, this work constitutes one of the first attempts to systematically analyze a total reduplication case (preceded only by Göksel et al. (2013) and Yıldız (2014)).

2.4 Full stem doubling in Turkish

As stated earlier, there is a scarcity of systematic studies on Turkish reduplication and even fewer on Turkish verb reduplication despite the commonality of the process (e.g. Göksel & Kerslake, 2005; Göksel & Haznedar, 2007; Hatiboğlu, 1971; Lewis, 1967; Sebüktekin, 1971; Underhill, 1976). There are a few of such studies that are relevant to the present work and these studies are presented in this section.

Demircan (1988) provides a wide range of examples of different reduplication phenomena in Turkish. His examples range from verbal to nominal reduplication and from phonemic-level to clause-level reduplication. His view of reduplication is essentially in line with Hurch et al. (2008) in that he considers reduplication to be a phenomenon that applies at various levels of grammar (i.e. at the phonemic, syllable, word and clause level). Demircan's main focus is on 'identical reduplication' in which the two parts of the whole reduplication unit are segmentally and meaningwise the same. This definition also includes DVs. Demircan (1988) categorizes different

¹⁹The following is an example of a noun doubled to form an adverb.

Kapı kapı dolaş-tı-lar
door door go-Past-3Pl
'They went from house to house'

types of identical reduplication types based on their meaning and some structural properties, such as availability of a pause, rather than providing a systematic explanation for this wide range of reduplication structures. Some of the examples he gives include the following: (p.232)²⁰

(11) D. Clause level: Hava açar açmaz yola çıkalım: As soon as the weather clears, let's set out.

(Literally: Weather opens, does not open, let us go on road)

C. Word level: Açık açık anlat: Explain it clearly.

(Literally: Open open explain)

B. Syllable level: AP.açık: very clear.

sü.RÜM sü.RÜM sürün: intensely suffer

(Literally: suffering suffering suffer)

A. Phonemic level : yaşa yaş.ŞA / yaş.ŞAAA

live (You)live+emphasis

olmaz oll.MAZ / oll. MAAAz

impossible impossible+emphasis

By presenting examples as in (11), Demircan (1988) aims to show that reduplication occurs at various levels of grammar, from small units like phonemes to full clauses.

²⁰The representations in (11) are taken as they are in the original work, with our addition of literal translations. Capital letters represent stressed syllables.

Yıldız (2014) focuses on non-finite verb stem doubling types in Turkish; non-finite verbs are those without tense-aspect and subject agreement markers. Examples of the structures Yıldız investigates are the following:²¹

- (12) a. *Yaz yaz bitir-e-me-di-m ödev-i*
write.IMP write.IMP finish-Abil-Neg-Past-1Sg homework-Acc
'I could not finish the homework (although) I worked on it for hours'
- b. *Yaz-a yaz-a ezberle-di-m*
write-Opt write-Opt memorize-Past-1Sg
'I memorized (it) by writing and rewriting (it)'
- c. *Mesaj yaz-ıp yaz-ıp kız-ı sinirlen-dir-di*
message write-Con write-Con girl-Acc make.angry-Caus-Past
'S/he made the girl angry by texting her again and again'

Drawing on evidence from the structural requirements of verbs and what they can and cannot be modified by, Yıldız proposes that these structures are reduplication structures formed by reduplicating Vs, forming a duoV (Baker, 1988; Baker et al., 2005). The phrases above this duoV are VP, vP, Aspectual Phrase (AspectP) and an Adverb Phrase (AdvP), in that order, from bottom to top.

Yıldız's analysis can be summarized as below:

²¹It is also possible to use segmentally non-identical verbs in Yıldız's structure, and she looks into those. However, these will not be exemplified here.

$V_i V_i \longrightarrow \text{duoV} \longrightarrow \text{ADV}_{\text{CONTINUOUS}}$

2.5 Verb copying in other languages

This section provides an overview of finite verb stem copying of two different sorts in different languages in order to point to the widespread use of the copying process in languages. These copying processes are Non-Adjacent Verb Doubling and Adjacent Verb Doubling.

2.5.1 Non-adjacent verb doubling

Non-adjacent Verb Doubling is frequently believed to stem from requirements such as topicalization and focus, namely for functions associated with projections above vP (Kandybowicz, 2006). Examples of Non-Adjacent Verb Doubling forms from typologically different languages are as follows:

(13) *Language:* Nupe (Kandybowicz, 2006)

Function: Polarity

Musa è *gibisegi*

Musa Pres. eat hen eat

‘Musa IS eating the hen’

- (14) *Language:* European Portuguese (Martins, 2007)
Function: Emphatic Affirmation/Polarity

O João *comprou* o carro, *comprou*
The João bought the car bought
'John did buy the car'

- (15) *Language:* Mandarin Chinese (Cheng, L.L. & Vicente, L., 2013)
Function: Affirmation/Verum Focus

Question: Have you eaten already?

Answer: *Chī*, wō shì *chī*-guò, búguò
eat, I Cop eat-Exp but
'As for eating, I have indeed eaten, but...'

- (16) *Language:* Afrikaans (Biberauer, 2009)
Function: Topicalization/Verum Focus

Sukkel sukkel ek!
struggle struggle I
'Struggle, I certainly do!'

The identical verb stems in these structures are argued to be within the same syntactic clause, and the realization of two identical copies of the same item is proposed to be syntactically driven (Biberauer, 2009; Cheng & Vicente 2013; Kandybowicz 2006; Martin 2007).

The derivation of the two identical verbs is usually analyzed in the relevant literature in two main steps:

First, a movement during syntactic derivation takes place. The movement is triggered by uninterpretable features of the relevant syntactic head (e.g. Focus Phrase, Topic Phrase, Sigma Phrase) when it enters the derivation. Since the verb has the features to satisfy the features of that head, it starts moving to the Specifier position of the attracting head. As the attracted item (i.e. the verb) moves up in the syntactic tree, it may stop at certain positions depending on the necessity of satisfying uninterpretable features of other heads if the verb has the features to satisfy them. Based on the Copy Theory of Movement (Chomsky, 1993), wherever the attracted item stops, it leaves an exact copy of itself.

After the first step (syntactic movement) is completed, the structure is handed over to PF and *Fusion or Morphological Reanalysis*, following Nunes (1995, 2004), takes place, allowing the structures (14)-(17) to escape from the problem of pronouncing the same item twice in the same clause. The process of Fusion or Morphological Reanalysis is one in which two items in a sisterhood relationship are fused together or reanalyzed to form one unit.

2.5.2 Adjacent verb doubling

Adjacent Verb Doubling requires that the two identical verb stems be immediately adjacent to one other. This type of verb doubling is usually seen as a lexical process that pluralizes/iterates the action or the event denoted by the verb (Booij, 2005; Stolz et al., 2011; Travis, 2001, among many others), hence it is a kind of action/event pluralization. Examples from different languages are as follows:

(17) *Language:* Guyanese Creole (Devonish, 2003)

Function: Distributive/Dispersive

Dee gatu *hâid-hâid* laik tifmaan an miit hoom seem iivnin
They have to hide-hide likethief and meet home same evening
'They had to hide from time to time, like thieves, and arrive home the same evening'

(18) *Language:* Madurese (Davis, 2000)

Function: Repeated Events

Hasan *kol-mo-kol(-an)* Ali
Hasan hit-Av-hit-An Ali
'Hasan hit Ali several times'

(17)-(18) exemplify what is usually understood when the term 'reduplication' is used in the literature. Interestingly, it is these types of widely known examples that lead to the most confusion. As mentioned in the previous section, although they are analyzed mostly as morphological processes (e.g. Haspelmath & Sims, 2010; Marantz, 1978), they are also analyzed as interacting with prosody (McCarthy & Prince, 1986), as syntactic processes (Travis, 2001; 2003), morpho-semantic and/or phonological processes (Inkelas & Zoll, 2005; Inkelas, 2014).

2.6 Verb copying in Turkish

In this section, examples of Non-Adjacent Verb Doubling and Adjacent Verb Doubling in Turkish are provided.

2.6.1 Non-adjacent verb doubling

Turkish has one seemingly Non-Adjacent Verb Doubling structure, exemplified in (19). It resembles the polarization examples such as those in (14) and (15) since it is formed by two identical verb stems and it is used to confirm a proposition. Göksel et al. (2013) propose that examples like (19B) are generated by copying a PPh and putting it on the end of a clause.²²

(19) A: Ali okul-a git-ti değil mi ?
 Ali school-Dat go-Past not Q
 ‘Ali went to school, right?’

B: Evet, *git-ti* bugün ora-ya *git-ti*
 yes go-Past today there-Dat go-Past
 ‘Yes, he went there today (don’t worry)’

In (19B), there are two identical verb stems which do not appear adjacent to one other since there is a temporal adverb and a locative phrase between the identical verb stems.

2.6.2 Adjacent verb doubling

The only example of Adjacent Verb Doubling in Turkish are finite verb stem doubling, which is investigated in the present work, and non-finite verb doubling,

²²See Chapter 5 for a more detailed summary of Göksel et al. (2013) and how it relates to the present study.

which is investigated by Yıldız (2014). Since adjacent doubling of finite verb doubling will be discussed in detail in later chapters, no examples of these are given here. The following are examples of non-finite verb doubling, which Yıldız (2014) investigates, are also provided previously as examples in (12) in this chapter:

(20) *Yaz yaz bit-ir-e-me-di-m ödev-i*
write.IMP write.IMP finish-Caus-Abil-Neg-Past-1Sg homework-Acc
'I could not finish the homework (although) I worked on it for hours'

(21) *Yaz-a yaz-a ezberle-di-m*
write-Opt write-Opt memorize-Past-1Sg
'I memorized (it) by writing and rewriting (it)'

(22) *Mesaj yaz-ıp yaz-ıp kız-ı sinirlen-dir-di*
message write-Con write-Con girl-Acc make angry-Caus-Past
'S/he made the girl angry by texting her again and again'

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter has provided an overview of the literature on repetition and reduplication as well as different types of verb copying in different languages and in Turkish. The next chapter gives information about the experiment conducted for data collection for the present work.

CHAPTER 3

THE EXPERIMENT

This chapter describes the experiment that was briefly mentioned in Chapter 1 and that was conducted for the present work. Information about the aim, data, participants, data collection process and the results of the experiment as well as a discussion of the results are provided. The data from the experiment will be used mainly in Chapter 5, where an analysis for DVs is presented.

3.1 The aim

The experiment was designed to test data which were theoretically possible but not encountered in the preliminary data search through interviews and grammar books. Therefore, we decided to design an experiment to see if the expected data could be attested.

Two groups of DVs were tested (full data are in Appendix C):

- (i) DVs in which objects and modifiers are doubled with the verb stem
- (ii) (within DVs where objects and modifiers are doubled with the verb stem), DVs with overtly case-marked objects and adverbs of different lengths (i.e. syllable numbers)

The overall aim of these tests was to understand what can and cannot be doubled so that an analysis can be proposed based on these findings,²³ although each of these testing points had different aims.

²³It should be noted here that understanding what is really doubled is a crucial point since, in most canonical and common cases, it is only the verb stem that is doubled in DVs. The experiment was

The first group was meant to answer the question of what is actually doubled (only the verb stem or verb stem and its arguments). This helped to better understand what the morpho-syntactic structure of DVs looks like.

The second group aimed to answer the question of whether there was any restriction of syllable length on the doubling of internal arguments and modifiers. This was meant to clarify whether (and if yes, how) there were any prosodic or length restrictions on the doubling of DVs.

The doubled items were introduced in the form of a natural dialogue between discourse participants and were recorded by using a Sony Xperia P.

The following are examples of data that were used in the experiment. The part that is actually tested is italicized:

(1) A: Aysu size atıp tutmuş yine.

B: Ben zaten Aysu'yu hiç anlayamıyorum. Üniversitedeyken iki yıl kalacak yer bulamadım diye *bizde kaldı bizde kaldı*, şimdiyse o zamanlar kimse benimle hiç ilgilenmedi diyor. Bu devirde kimseye güvenmeyeceksin.

“A: Apparently, Aysu talked behind your back again.

B: I don't really understand this girl. When she was at the university, *she kept staying with us* because she did not have anywhere else to stay at (but still) she now says nobody cared for her then. Never trust anybody at this age.”

intended to either justify this observation by showing that no other elements can be doubled with the verb stem or to refute it by showing that it is not only the verb stem that is doubled.

(2) A: Mine'ye çok özeniyorum.

B: Ben de ya. Kız yıllarca hem okulda hem işte *çok çalıştı çok çalıştı* zam alamadı. Ama şimdi paraya para demiyor. Ben hep savsakladım. Biraz çalışsaydım aslında böyle olmazdı.

“A: I envy Mine a lot.

B: So do I. The girl *kept working a lot* both at work and at school (but still) she did not get a raise. But now she is making good money. I always delayed things. If I had worked a little bit, things would not be as they are now.”

The kinds of data exemplified in (3) and (4) were excluded from the experiment because these structures seemed to be acceptable to everyone who was asked about them. In (3), there are DVs in which only the verb stem is doubled (with no other lexical items such as an object or an adverb that are doubled with the verb stem) and in (4), there are DVs in which the zero-marked (incorporated) object is doubled together with the verb stem:

(3) Kitab-ı *oku-du-lar oku-du-lar* bitir-e-me-di-ler
book-Acc read-Past-3Pl read-Past-3Pl finish-Abil-Neg-3Pl
'They kept reading the book (but still) they could not finish (it)'

(4) Her gün *araba sür-üyor araba sür-üyor* yorgunluk-tan öl-üyor
every day car drive-Prog car drive-Prog tiredness-Abl die-Prog
'S/he keeps driving everyday (and thus) s/he gets exhausted'

Finally, there were three groups of items in the experiment: actual test items, fillers and trial items. Fillers were used in order to prevent the participants from patterning their answers by understanding the testing point of the experiment. The trial items were used at the beginning of the experiment in order to familiarize the participants with the format of the experiment.

3.2 Participants

The participants were 30 undergraduate and graduate students with little or no linguistic background from various universities in Turkey. Their ages ranged from 18 to 29. There were 18 female and 12 male participants.

3.3 Conducting the experiment²⁴

Before the experiment, a pilot study was conducted in which three university students were given 10 questions and two trial items.

In order to complete the experiment task, the participants had a total of 71 questions to answer, 23 actual test items, 46 fillers and 2 trial items. To complete the task, they had to listen to an audial text first and then judge this text as ‘Yes’, ‘Maybe’ or ‘No’ by clicking on the relevant button below the text. ‘Y(es)’ means ‘Yes, this is a dialogue I could come across in my daily life’, ‘N(o)’ means ‘No, people do not speak like that in Turkish’ and ‘M(aybe)’ means ‘I am not sure’ (see Appendix B for experiment instructions).

²⁴Before conducting our experiment, we applied for approval by INAREK, the unit of ethical considerations at Boğaziçi University, and received it. In addition, the participants signed an agreement regarding their voluntary participation in the experiment and their freedom to quit the experiment whenever they so chose.

3.4 Results and discussion

The results of the experiment show that objects and modifiers can actually be doubled together with the verb stem if certain conditions are met. In other words, it is not only the verb stem that is doubled in all cases. Therefore, an analysis of DVs should include not only the verb stem but also whatever can be doubled with that verb stem.

The main conditions that affect the judgments of people in the experiment will be discussed shortly. Before doing so, however, let us first note that there were no absolute judgments for any of the test items, although there were some high percentages. Differences in judgments were expected at the very beginning due to the various factors at play in judging DVs such as length, case type, context etc.

At this point, the answers to fillers are crucial because some of them were expected to definitely be grammatical and some of them definitely ungrammatical. Some fillers were given clear-cut answers. For instance, the following filler was found acceptable by 29 participants out of 30. This came out as expected:

(5) A: Yine mi uyuyacaksın?

B: Evet, *gece sürekli ders çalışıyorum uyuyamıyorum*. Şimdi biraz uyusam iyi olacak. Yoksa düşüp bayılacağım.

“A: Are you going to sleep again?

B: Yes, *I keep studying at night (and) I cannot sleep*. I had better sleep now. Otherwise, I am going to faint here.”

The following is a filler which 25 participants out of 30 found unacceptable (3 Maybe, 2 Yes), as expected:

- (6) A: Sizin şirkette kavga mı vardı bugün?
B: Sorma. Merve'yle patron çok fena tartıştı. Merve haklıydı aslında ama derdini patrona *o kadar denemesine rağmen anlatabildi*. Patron kovacak gibi Merve'yi.

“A: Was there a fight in your company today?
B: Don't even ask. Merve and her boss had a big argument. Merve was actually right but *despite the fact she tried to explain her problem, she was able to explain it*. It seems that the boss is going to fire Merve.”

But some fillers were not so clear-cut, contrary to expectations. It seems that unexpected reasons were at play in such examples. Take the following filler, which includes a DV with an achievement verb meaning ‘arrive’ and which was expected to be ungrammatical due to the lexical aspect of the doubled verb (Chapter 4):

- (7) A: Merve'yi gördün mü Ankara'da?
B: Yok göremedim. İlk gün Kızılay'da buluşalım dedi. *Ben de Kızılay'a vardım vardım hiç göremedim Merve'yi falan*.

“A: Did you see Merve in Ankara?
B: No, I could not. She told met to meet her in Kızılay on the first day. *And I kept arriving in Kızılay (but still) I never saw Merve or anyone.*”

Out of 30 participants, 19 found (7) unacceptable, while nine said ‘Maybe’ and two people said ‘Yes’. The reason not all participants ruled out (7) could be the fact that the verb for ‘to arrive’ in Turkish can also mean ‘to go’ in some dialects of Turkish (including the researcher’s own dialect). If it is interpreted to mean ‘to go’, then it is no longer an achievement verb and it is acceptable. Thus, dialectal judgments might act as intervening factors here.

Based on these considerations, in the discussion of the results, high percentages (more than 50%) will be taken as an indicator of the (un)acceptability of a structure. It should also be acknowledged, however, that different grammar-structures and dialects exist. In terms of the interpretation of ‘Maybe’s, if there are more ‘No’s as an answer to an item, the ‘Maybe’ sayers will be considered closer to ‘No’. Likewise, if there are more ‘Yes’ answers, the ‘Maybe’ sayers will be considered closer to accepting this structure as grammatical.

The results indicate that two main factors affect the grammaticality judgments of the participants: length and case marking, which we now turn to.

3.4.1 Role of length

The first factor to notice is the role of the length of both verbs and objects, where length means the number of syllables. Table 1 gives the data with objects and verbs with different numbers of syllables. The syllable numbers are indicated, for instance, as (3+1), where 3 and 1 are syllable numbers of the root of the object and the verb, respectively:

Table 1: Data by syllable number

Test Item	Percentages		
	Yes	Maybe	No
1+1			
1+1 bizde kal-	40%	50%	10%
1+1 Vana git	40%	50%	10%
1+1 Mar'dan al-	70%	20%	10%
1+1 Can'ı duy-	30%	10%	60%
2+1			
2+1 okula koş-	60%	10%	30%
2+1 okulda kal-	20%	60%	20%
2+1 okuldan kaç-	60%	20%	20%
2+1 Ali'yi sor-	60%	20%	20%
1+2			
1+2 bana uğra-	50%	30%	20%
1+2 evde otur-	70%	20%	10%
1+2 yurttan getir-	40%	20%	40%
1+2 Nur'u ara-	30%	40%	30%
2+2			
2+2 İzmir'e kaçır-	30%	70%	0%

2+2 şehirde yaşa-	10%	30%	60%
2+2 dalından kopar-	30%	30%	40%
2+2 Ali'yi çağır-	0%	20%	80%
3+1			
3+1 arabaya bin-	80%	20%	0%
3+1 Ankara'da dur-	70%	30%	0%
3+1 kucağımdan in-	40%	20%	40%
3+1 pencereyi aç-	20%	30%	50%
3+2			
3+2 Alperen'e bağır-	50%	20%	30%
3+2 Antalya'da çalış-	10%	60%	30%
3+2 merdivenden atla-	60%	10%	30%
3+2 kimliğini unut-	40%	30%	30%
4+2			
4+2 Kararların- da diren-	20%	10%	70%

Looking at Table 1, one can say that the longer the object and verb combination gets, the less acceptable the structure is. For instance, the (1+1) combination has the lowest percentage of 'No' answers (except for the doubling of accusative-marked object, which will be shown to be adversely effective in judgements). The longest combination, (4+2), on the other hand, has one of the lowest percentages of

acceptance and one of the highest percentages of unacceptability. Other combinations in the middle are a bit more complicated, but still, a tendency for higher unacceptability can be observed as the combinations get longer.

Let us now exemplify these observations. When we have a one-syllable verb root (8), the structure is more acceptable than when we have a two-syllable verb root (9). Note that the length of objects or adjuncts is the same (no big difference was observed in judgements for doubling of internal arguments and adjuncts). So, the judgment difference results from the length of the verb root (when it is one-syllable, it is more acceptable):

- (8) A: Hale İstanbul'a mı taşınmış?
B: Aklımın ucundan bile geçmezdi ama evet. Kız yıllarca *Ankara'da durdu* *Ankara'da durdu* hiçbir yeri öğrenemedi. Ankara'ya alışamadı. Sonra da dayanamayınca bırakıp İstanbul'a gelmiş.
(70% Y, 30 % M, *Second Group*)²⁵

“A: Is it true that Hale moved to Istanbul?”

B: I would never have thought that would happen, but yes. The girl *kept staying in Ankara for years* (but still) she could not get to know the place. She could not get used to Ankara. And finally, when she could not bear it, they say she came to Istanbul.”

- (9) A: Mustafa dün neler dedi öyle.
B: Ayıp oldu ama bunca yıl *Antalya'da çalıştı* *Antalya'da çalıştı* şehre alışamadı. Buradayken de hep alışamadığını söylerdi zaten. Ama keşke dün biraz daha saygılı konuşsaydı. Sonuçta Antalya'dan misafirler vardı.

²⁵The part in italics below the examples from the experiment from now on indicate the answers and the group of participants that answered this question. Y stands for 'Yes', M stands for 'Maybe' and N stands for 'No'.

(10% Y, 50% M, 30% N, Third Group)

“A: The things Mustafa said yesterday!

B: It was a shame but he *kept working in Antalya for all these years* (but still) he could not get used to the town. He used to say he could not get used to it when he was here as well. But I wish he had talked more carefully yesterday. After all, there were guests from Antalya.”

When the syllable number of the verb root is kept constant and the syllable number of the internal argument is diversified, there is a similar result, such as the fact that the longer the object, the less acceptable was considered:

(10) A: Bir sorunun var galiba. Anlatsana.

B: Benim Tuğba dinleneceğim diye bu yıl hep *evde oturdu evde oturdu* hiç çalışmadı. Ama şimdi “Ben niye bu kadar ayı boşuna harcadım, herkes iş buldu” diye yakınıp duruyor.

(70%Y, 20%M, 10%N, Second Group)

“A: I think you have a problem. Tell me about it.

B: My Tuğba *kept sitting at home* (and thus) she did not work at all, saying that she was going to have a rest. But now she complains, saying “Why did I waste all these months? Everybody has found a job”.

(11) A: Duydun mu haberlerde akşam, bir Mustafa Amca vardı.

B: Hayır, nolmuş?

A: Bu adam geçen yıla kadar hep *şehirde yaşamış şehirde yaşamış* şehre hiç alışmamış. Geçen yıl da Karadeniz’de bir köye taşınmış. Ben kendimi düşündüm de mahalleden ayrılısam ölürüm.

(10%Y, 30%M, 60%N, First Group)

“A: Did you hear on the news last night about a man named Uncle Mustafa?

B: No, what happened?

A: That man *kept living in the city until last year* (but still) he could not get used to it. Last year, he moved to a village in the Black Sea Region. I thought of myself then; if I ever left my neighbourhood, I would die.”

Examples in (10) and (11) show that when the length of the verb root is kept constant (in this case, two syllables), the doubling of a one-syllable long object, as in (10), is more acceptable compared to a two-syllable object, as in (11). Therefore, the length of the object has a similar role in grammaticality judgments to that of the verb stem. As the object gets longer, the structure gets less acceptable. The following is an example of a combination of a very long object and a two-syllable verb root, with a high percentage of unacceptability:

(12) A: Biz niye istediğimizi alamıyoruz?

B: Burada hak alma işini unutun. Bak mesela M sınıfına ne oldu?

Kararlarında direndiler kararlarında direndiler hiçbir şey elde edemediler.

Siz daha baştan su koyuverirken hiç alamazsınız.

(20%Y, 10%M, 70% N, First Group)

“A: Why can't we get what we want?

B: Forget about having your rights here. Look, for example, at the M class.

They *kept insisting on getting what they decided on* (but still) they could not get anything. If you just give up at the very beginning, you can never ever get anything.”

In (12), there is a two-syllable long verb root and a four-syllable long object. The doubling of such long items yields a low percentage of acceptability.

In contrast, the combination of a one-syllable object and a one-syllable verb root yields highly acceptable structures as shown in (13):

(13) A: Yine mi yanlış yaptım?

B: Evet. Hiç şaşırmadım. Sana kaç kere dedim lor peyniri Koma'dan al diye.

Sen gidip hep *Mar'dan alıyorsun Mar'dan alıyorsun* beni sinir ediyorsun.

Oranın peyniri hiç iyi değil işte.

(70%Y, 20%M, 10%N, *Second Group*)

“A: Did I get it wrong again?

B: Yes. I am not surprised at all. How many times have I told you to buy the ricotta from Koma! *But you go and keep buying it from Mar* (and thus) you make me angry. The cheese there is no good!”

The discussion shows that the syllable numbers of both the doubled verbs and their objects play a crucial role in their acceptability. It indicates that as the doubled elements get longer (i.e. more syllable number), they become less acceptable. The length of both the object and the verb has some effect to this same end.

3.4.2 Role of case markers

Another factor that was observed to be effective in judging the grammaticality of sentences containing DVs is the case marker of the doubled object. Table 2 presents data sorted by case markers:

Table 2: Data by Case Marker

Test Item	Percentages		
	Yes	Maybe	No
DATIVE CASE			
1+1 Vana git	40%	50%	10%
3+2 Alperen'e bağır-	50%	20%	30%
2+1 okula koş-	60%	10%	30%
2+2 İzmir'e kaçır-	30%	70%	0%
3+1 arabaya bin-	80%	20%	0%
1+2 bana uğra-	50%	30%	20%
2+2 kekime bayıl-	40%	30%	30%
LOCATIVE CASE			
1+1 bizde kal-	40%	50%	10%
2+1 okulda kal-	20%	60%	20%
2+2 şehirde yaşa-	10%	30%	60%
3+1 Ankara'da dur-	70%	30%	0%
1+2 evde otur-	70%	20%	10%
3+2 Antalya'da çalış-	10%	60%	30%
4+2 Kararlarında diren-	20%	10%	70%

ABLATIVE CASE			
1+1 Mar'dan al-	70%	20%	10%
3+2 merdivenden atla-	60%	10%	30%
3+1 kucagımdan in-	40%	20%	40%
1+2 yurttan getir-	40%	20%	40%
2+1 okuldan kaç-	60%	20%	20%
2+2 dalından kopar-	30%	30%	40%
ACCUSATIVE CASE			
1+1 Can'ı duy-	30%	10%	60%
3+2 kimliğini unut-	40%	30%	30%
2+1 Ali'yi sor-	60%	20%	20%
2+2 Ali'yi çağır-	0%	20%	80%
3+1 pencereyi aç-	20%	30%	50%
1+2 Nur'u ara-	30%	40%	30%

Table 2 shows that the accusative case yields less acceptable structures compared to other case markers, among which there seems to be no great difference in terms of their effect on grammaticality.

Let us exemplify the role of case markers. To this end, let us take the shortest items (i.e. (1+1)), which are predicted to be acceptable based on the discussion in the previous section. If it turns out that not all (1+1) combination of objects and verbs

are accepted to be grammatical, we can look for other factors that affect the acceptability of these structures.

(14) a. A: Bir şeye mi canın sıkıldı?

B: Ya geçen gün Merve'yi gördüm. Maddi durumu çok kötüleşmiş. Kız her hafta arkadaşlarını ziyaret etmek için uçakla *Van'a gitti Van'a gitti* bütün parasını bitirdi tabi.

(40%Y, 50%M, 10%N, First Group)

“A: Are you upset about something?

B: Well, I saw Merve yesterday. She has real financial problems. That girl *kept going to Van* in order to visit her friends (and thus) she ran out of money.”

b. A: Aysu size atıp tutmuş yine.

B: Ben zaten Aysu'yu hiç anlayamıyorum. Üniversitedeyken iki yıl kalacak yer bulamadım diye *bizde kaldı bizde kaldı*, şimdiyse o zamanlar kimse benimle hiç ilgilenmedi diyor. Bu devirde kimseye güvenmeyeceksin.

(40%Y, 50%M, 10%N, Second Group)

“A: Aysu keeps talking badly about you.

B: I never understand Aysu anyway. She *kept staying with us* while she was at university because she could find no other place to stay at (but still) she now says nobody took care of her then. You can't trust anybody these days.”

c. A: Yine mi yanlış yaptım?

B: Evet. Hiç şaşırmadım. Sana kaç kere dedim lor peyniri Koma'dan al diye. Sen gidip hep *Mar'dan alıyorsun Mar'dan alıyorsun* beni sinir ediyorsun. Oranın peyniri hiç iyi değil işte.”

(70%Y, 20%M, 10%N, Second Group)

“A: Did I get it wrong again?

B: Yes. I am not surprised at all. How many times have I told you to buy ricotta from Koma! But you go and *keep buying it from Mar* (and thus) you make me angry. The cheese there is no good!”

e. A: Bugün çok sinirlendin mi Asu’yla Can’ı görünce?

B: Yok. Onları görünce sinirlenirim sandım hemen kafeden çıkıp dışarıda bekledim. Can’ın neşeli sesi geliyordu dışarıya. O yüzden ordayken sürekli *Can’ı duydum Can’ı duydum* sinirlenmedim. Sadece üzuldüm. Can’dan ayrılığa biraz alışmışım sanırım.

(30%Y, 10%M, 60%N, First Group)

“A: Did you get very angry when you saw Aysu and Can today?

B: Nope. I thought I would be angry when I saw them and I went out and waited outside the cafe. I could hear Can’s happy voice from outside. That is why *I kept hearing Can* (but still) I did not get angry. I was just sorry. I think I am somewhat used to the break-up with Can.”

(14a)-(14c) all have very low percentage of unacceptability (10%). This indicates that the case markers of the objects (dative, locative and ablative) do not act as a barrier for doubling. In contrast to those, (14d) has a high percentage of unacceptability (60%). Given that all the doubled objects and the verb roots are one-syllable long (so length cannot be a factor), the reason for the unacceptability of (14d) must be the accusative marker on the doubled object.

Now compare the following examples in order to see the role of the accusative marker. ((15) is a repetition of example (8)):

(15) A: Hale İstanbul'a mı taşınmış?

B: Aklımın ucundan bile geçmezdi ama evet. Kız yıllarca *Ankara'da durdu* *Ankara'da durdu* hiçbir yeri öğrenemedi. Ankara'ya alışamadı. Sonra da dayanamayınca bırakıp İstanbul'a gelmiş.

(70% Y, 30% M, Second Group)

“A: Is it true that Hale moved to Istanbul?

B: I would never have thought that would happen, but yes. The girl *kept staying in Ankara for years* (but still) she could not get to know the place. She could not get used to Ankara. And finally, when she could not bear it, they say she went to Istanbul.

(16) A: Dün komşudan gelen sesler neydi?

B: Ya bizim Ali, araba çok benzin yakıyor ve biraz da borçları var diye Zeyneb'in işe otobüsle gitmesini istiyormuş. Zeynep de rahat etmek için her gün *arabaya binmiş arabaya binmiş* parayı bitirmiş, Ali de buna kızmış.

(80%Y, 20%M, Third Group)

“A: What was the noise coming from the neighbour's house yesterday?

B: Apparently, Ali wanted Zeynep to go to work by bus because the car uses a lot of gasoline and they are short on money. But Zeynep *kept using the car in order to be comfortable* (and thus) she used up their money. Ali was angry about that.”

(17) A: Bu aralar herkes hasta. Senin oğlan nasıl?

B: İyi, ona bir şey olmaz. Benim oğlan bu soğukta sürekli *pencereyi açar pencereyi açar* hasta falan olmaz. Bana çekmiş sağlamlığı.

(20%Y, 30%M, 40%N, Third Group)

“A: Everyone is sick these days. How is your son?

B: Fine, nothings happens to him. My son *keeps the windows open all the time in this cold weather* (but still) he does not get ill. He is just as strong as I am.”

In (15)-(17), there are DVs in each of which a three-syllable long object and a one-syllable long verb are doubled. Despite their length being equal, the unacceptability percentages are different. The doubling of an object with an accusative case as in (17) yields less acceptable structures compared to other case markers such as locative (15) and dative (16).

Another point regarding case markers is the following: Objects with an inherent case (as in (18)) are less acceptable when they are doubled as opposed to structural case markers like in (19):

(18) A: Senin yeğen Nihat hiç uğramıyor bu ara sanki.

B: Bizim yan komşu var ya onun bi köpeği var. Çocuk her geldiğinde *köpekten korktu köpekten korktu* hiç rahat oynayamadı bizim bahçede sürekli havlıyodu çünkü. Artık bizim bahçede oynamak istemediği için aşağıdaki parka gidiyor.

(20%Y, 10%M, 60%N, Third Group)

“A: Your nephew Nihat never comes around here these days, I suppose?

B: You know our next-door neighbor, she has a dog. Every time the child came here, he *kept fearing the dog* (and thus) he was never comfortable playing in our garden, the dog was barking all the time. Now he goes to the park because he does not want to play in our garden.”

(19) A: En büyük pişmanlığın ne Birol Abi?

B: Ömer, bak benden sana tavsiye, kim ne derse desin okulu asma. Daha yolun başındasın. Ben sürekli *okuldan kaçtım okuldan kaçtım* doğru dürüst bir iş sahibi olamadım, çok pişmanım.

(50%Y, 20%M, 20%N, Third Group)

“A: What is your biggest regret, Brother Birol?

B: Ömer, this is my advice to you. Never cut school. You are just beginning. I *kept cutting school* (and thus) I could not get a proper job. I regret this a lot.”

The ablative case in (18) is an inherent case marker since it is lexically required by the verb *kork-* (‘fear’).²⁶ The ablative case in (19) is not an inherent case since the verb *kaç-* (‘escape’) does not require it lexically (e.g. we can also use the dative case with the verb *kaç-* (‘escape’) with the meaning of direction of escaping). Given that the object and verb length in (18) and the one in (19) are the same, the difference in grammaticality percentages is a curious point. (18) is much less acceptable than (19). We can then say that doubling of objects with inherent case markers is less acceptable than other case types.

The contrast between (18) and (19) may stem from the fact that the verbs that assign inherent cases usually express emotions and this is incompatible with the meaning of DVs, which are dynamic (Chapter 4). The following contrast indicates that this may indeed be the case:

(20) A: Bugün çok sinirlendin mi Asu’yla Can’ı görünce?

B: Yok. Onları görünce sinirlenirim sandım hemen kafeden çıkıp dışarıda bekledim. Can’ın neşeli sesi geliyordu dışarıya. O yüzden ordayken sürekli

²⁶ The dative case required by the verb *kork-* (‘fear’) is taken here as an inherent case due to the reason explained. Haspelmath (2009) also points out that inherent case assignment “is tied to a particular semantic role (“theta role”), or to lexical properties of the governing head (e.g. dative case assigned by the German verb *helfen* ‘help’).” (p.3) Since the use of dative case marker with the verb *kork-* (‘fear’) is lexically dependant on the governing verb, this term is chosen in this work to define it. The dative case marker used with the verb *kork-* (‘fear’) can also be referred to as an oblique case, which is the term used for case markers other than the basic case marker in a language (Haspelmath, 2009, p. 508). However, this definition does not seem to provide a clear-cut definition for case markers selected by a specific verb. Due to this lack of specificity and for sake of simplicity, we assume that case markers are either structural or lexical and the distinction between the two is dependant on whether a case marker is selected by a specific structure or by the lexical specification of the verb, respectively.

Can'ı duydum Can'ı duydum sinirlenmedim. Sadece üzüldüm. Can'dan ayrılığa biraz alışmışım sanırım.

(30%Y, 10%M, 60%N, First Group)

“A: Did you get very angry when you saw Aysu and Can today?

B: Nope. I thought I would be angry when I saw them and I went out and waited outside the cafe. I could hear Can's happy voice from outside. That is why *I kept hearing Can* (but still) I did not get angry. I was just sorry. I think I am somewhat used to the break-up with Can.”

(21) Aylin biz-e her gel-diğ-in-de Ali-yi sor-du Ali-yi sor-du

(Accusative Case: 60%Y, 20%M, 20%N, Second Group)

Aylin we-Dat every come-Nom-2SgGen-Loc Ali-Acc ask-Past Ali-Acc ask-Past

bul-a-ma-dı

find-Abil-Neg-Past

‘Aylin kept asking for Ali every time she came to our house (but still) she could not find him’

In (20) and (21), there are DVs in which an object with an accusative case is doubled with a verb stem. Given the previous discussion about the negative effect of the accusative marker on object doubling in DVs, one would expect both (20) and (21) to be unacceptable. However, (21) has a high percentage of acceptability while (20) does not. An account for this point is required.

One potential explanation for this pattern concerns lexical aspects of verbs. It is shown in Chapter 4 that non-dynamic and agentless verbs cannot be doubled, which has just been pointed out as a potential reason for the non-doublability of

inherent case markers based on examples like (18) and (19). This can be extended to (20) and (21) as well. For that, keep in mind that Turkish has two verbs that mean ‘hear’. One is the one in which a person hears without an attempt to do so, hence it is agentless hearing. The word with this meaning is *duy-* (‘hear (naturally)’). The other is the one in which a person hears something on purpose and this word is close in meaning to ‘listen’. The word with that meaning is *işit-* (‘hear (purposefully)’), which has an agent. In (20), *duy-* (‘hear (naturally)’ is used as a DV and is agentless, therefore it cannot be a DV. Coupled with the effect of the accusative-marked object, this structure has a high unacceptability rate. In (21), a verb with a clear agent and a dynamic event is used as a DV. It seems that this dynamicity overrides the effect of the accusative marker and the structure is highly acceptable. Note that *duy-* can sometimes be used with the meaning of *işit-*, in which case (20) would be more acceptable.

This means that agentive and dynamic verbs can be more easily doubled, which overlaps with the pattern presented in Chapter 4.

Generally speaking, then, the accusative case and inherent case markers yield less acceptable structures than other (structural) case markers such as dative, locative and ablative. Moreover, DVs requires a dynamic and agentive verb.

The findings discussed in this section will be relevant in Chapter 4 and in the analysis presented in Chapter 5. Specifically, the role of length will be linked to a prosodic restriction on DVs while the role of the case marker will be attributed to the position where the object is derived.

3.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, the aim, data organization process, participants, data collection process and the results of the experiment have been presented with a discussion of the results following them. The discussion showed that length and case marker type (especially accusative and inherent case markers) are two major factors determining the structure of DVs. The availability of an agent and dynamicity in an event also has a positive effect on the doubling of verbs.

CHAPTER 4

SEMANTIC INTERPRETATION OF DVs

This chapter gives a detailed description of the semantic interpretation of DVs and of the semantic relationship between the DVs and the main verb in the matrix clauses that host DVs. DVs will be shown to contribute iterative and extended durative meanings, combined later under the term ‘continuity’. The following questions will build on the discussion of the iterative and extended durative meanings contributed by DVs:

- (i) What factors are effective in the semantic interpretation of DVs?
- (ii) What semantic relationship does the main verb have with DVs?

The description and discussion in this chapter will help establish a background for the main analysis presented in the next chapter. Before starting with the description, though, let us provide some background on the concepts that will be crucial in this chapter.

4.1 Background on crucial concepts

One of the concepts to be clarified here is ‘lexical aspect’ (or its German counterpart, *Aktionsarten*, which literally means ‘manners of action’). The lexical aspects that are considered here are mainly based on Vendler (1957).

Lexical aspect refers to the inherent aspect of the verb itself as well as its arguments. That is, it refers to whether an action has a natural end-point or not, whether it is durative or not, etc. Vendler (1957) classifies verbs into four lexical aspects based on their relationship with time. These lexical aspects are Activities,

Accomplishments, Achievements and Stat(iv)es. Activities are events that go on in time but do not have a specified end-point (e.g. running, drawing). Accomplishments also go on in time but until a specified or a natural end-point is reached (e.g. running a mile, drawing a circle). Achievements and Statives cannot be used in the continuous form in English (Vendler, 1957). Achievements happen at a single point in time (e.g. reaching the top) and they are accompanied by questions such as ‘At what time did you reach the top?’, which require a single point in time as an answer (Vendler, 1957, p. 146-147). Statives can extend over a period of time but they do not involve any action (e.g. love). Thus, Achievements and Statives cannot be used in the continuous form in English (Vendler, 1957).

Rothstein (2004) looks into these lexical aspects from a different perspective and suggests that Vendler classes be expressed through features +/-telic and +/-stages. +telic refers to an event with a natural or specified end-point and –telic refers to an event that has no end-point and can continue indefinitely (Rothstein, 2004, p. 7). If an event has stages (i.e. [+stages]), it is dynamic and can be analyzed as progressive or developing (Rothstein, 2004). Based on these definitions of features, Vendler classes can be expressed as the following (Rothstein, 2004, p.12):

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| States:[-telic, -stages] | (e.g. know, believe, be happy) |
| Activities:[-telic, +stages] | (e.g. run, swim, drive a car) |
| Achievements:[+telic, -stages] | (e.g. recognize, reach, die) |
| Accomplishments:[+telic, +stages] | (e.g. paint a picture, draw a circle, build a house) |

In addition to Vendler's classes, there is the class of semelfactives as well, which can be defined as non-durative (instantaneous) dynamic single (minimal) events with no clear internal structure (no clear beginning point or result, for example) (Comrie, 1976; Güven, 2004; Smith, 1997). Some examples of semelfactives are 'cough', 'knock' and 'tap'. In fact, since semelfactives are instantaneous minimal events, they are easily shifted to an activity reading when used with temporal adverbs with a longer duration than a single point in time (e.g. coughing for hours) (Güven, 2004; Smith, 1997).

There is also a further distinction of statives into 'Kimian statives' and 'Davidsonian statives'. The former is closer to states and defined as "abstract objects for the exemplification of a property P at a holder x and a time t (Maiernborn, 2007, p. 112)" while the latter is more like eventualities, where 'eventuality' is defined as "particular spatiotemporal entities with functionally integrated participants (Maiernborn, 2007, p. 110)". 'Know, weigh, own, be tired' are examples of Kimian statives. 'Sit, stand, sleep, lie, gleam' are, on the other hand, are examples of Davidsonian statives/eventualities.

Some studies also have a class called 'degree achievements', including verbs like *widen, lengthen, cool, dry*, etc. (Dowty, 1979).

Another concept is that of iteration versus duration: the former refers to performing an event multiple times, with possible time intervals between performances. The latter refers to events that take a period of time with no observable intervals. But both are similar to one other in that both express some kind of continuity, i.e. they fill a time span either through multiple occurrence or through long duration.

Lastly, ‘agents’ refer to entities that initiate and/or perform an event. The concept of agentivity will be important in the discussion of verb types that can be used as DVs.

4.2 How are DVs interpreted?

This section seeks an answer to the following question:

- (i) What factors are effective in the semantic interpretation DVs?

This is done in two steps. First, the points made regarding the interpretation of DVs in Chapter 1 are summarized with some additional data and explanations. Second, the factors affecting this interpretation are presented.

4.2.1 What DVs express

As suggested in Chapter 1, DVs express iterativity or extended durativity. For the iterativity meaning, see (1) below. (1a) primarily means the coughing event took place once while (1b) can only mean that it took place more than once:

- (1) a. Boğaz-ım-a kaç-an şey-i öksür-dü-m çıkar-a-ma-dı-m
throat-1Sg.Poss-Dat escape-Rel thing-Acc cough-Past-1Sg take.out-Abil-Neg-Past-1Sg
‘I coughed in the house yesterday (but) I could not get the thing in my throat out’

b. Boğaz-ım-a kaç-an şey-i öksür-dü-m öksür-dü-m
throat-1Sg.Poss-Dat escape-Rel thing-Acc cough-Past-1Sg cough-Past-1Sg

çıkar-a-ma-dı-m
take.out-Abil-Neg-Past-1Sg

‘I kept coughing in the house yesterday (but still) I could not get the thing
in my throat out’

Here are some more examples of DVs with an iterative meaning:

(2) a. Dün park-ta düş-tü-m yaralan-ma-dı-m
yesterday park-Loc fall-Past-1Sg get.wounded-Neg-Past-1Sg
‘I fell in the park yesterday (but) I did not get wounded’

b. Dün park-ta düş-tü-m düş-tü-m yaralan-ma-dı-m
yesterday park-Loc fall-Past-1Sg fall-Past-1Sg get.wounded-Neg-Past-1Sg
‘I kept falling in the park yesterday (but still) I did not get wounded’

(3) a. Bu iş-i yap-acağ-ım de-di yap-ma-dı
this job-Acc do-Fut-1Sg say-Past do-Neg-Past
‘S/he said she would do this job (but) s/he did not’

b. Bu iş-i yap-acağ-ım de-di de-di yap-ma-dı
this job-Acc do-Fut-1Sg say-Past say-Past do-Neg-Past
‘S/he kept saying that she would do this job (but still) s/he did not’

A systematic difference of semantic interpretations of the ‘a’ examples on the one hand and ‘b’ examples on the other in (2)-(3) can be noted. When there are no DVs in a clause, we primarily interpret it to mean that the action is done only once (though interpreting it in terms of multiple numbers of actions is also possible in certain contexts). Conversely, when there is a DV, we interpret that the action is done more than once. For example, (2a) primarily means I fell only once while (2b) cannot mean that I fell once. Rather, it can only mean that I fell more than once and most probably more than twice. This interpretation is ‘iteration’ or ‘iterative meaning’.

The paraphrases that can be used for (2b) and (3b) provide support for the iterative meaning of DVs. Note that DVs in both (2b) and (3b) can be translated using *kaç kere* ‘(so) many times’, which indicates the multiple performance of an event:

Paraphrase for (2b)

(2b’) Dün park-ta kaç kere düş-tü-m yaralan-ma-dı-m
 yesterday park-Loc how many time fall-Past-1Sg get wounded-Neg-Past-1Sg
 ‘I fell (so) many times in the park yesterday (but still) I did not get wounded’

Paraphrase for (3b)

(3b’) Kaç kere bu iş-i yap-acağ-ın-ı söyle-di yap-ma-dı
 how many time this job-Acc do-Fut-3Sg.Poss-Acc say-Past do-Neg-Past
 ‘S/he said she would do this job (so) many times (but still) s/he did not do it’

Moving to the extended durative meaning of DVs, consider (4). In (4a), we cannot be sure whether the swimming action lasted a long time or a short time, but (4b) gives a clear interpretation that the swimming action was a long-lasting one. This difference of meaning is indicated by the translation difference between the two. Note that in (4b), the DVs are translated as ‘keep doing something’, indicating durativity. This translation does not fit (4a):

(4) a. Bugün yüz-dü-m rahatla-ya-ma-dı-m
 today swim-Past-1Sg relax-Abil-Neg-Past-1Sg
 ‘I swam today (but) I could not relax’

b. Bugün yüz-dü-m yüz-dü-m rahatla-ya-ma-dı-m
 today swim-Past-1Sg swim-Past-1Sg relax-Abil-Neg-Past-1Sg
 ‘I kept swimming today (but still) I could not relax’

Here are some more examples of DVs with an extended duration meaning:

(5) a. Gez-di-m rahatla-dı-m
 wander.around-Past relax-Past-1Sg
 ‘I wandered around (and) I relaxed’

b. *Gez-di-m* *gez-di-m* rahatla-dı-m
 wander.around-Past-1Sg wander.around-Past-1Sg relax-Past-1Sg
 ‘I kept wandering around (and thus) I relaxed’

- (6) a. Dün uyu-du-m ödev-i yap-a-ma-dı-m
 yesterday sleep-Past-1Sg homework-Acc do-Abil-Neg-Past-1Sg
 ‘I slept yesterday (and) I could not do the homework’
- b. Dün uyu-du-m uyu-du-m ödev-i yap-a-ma-dı-m
 yesterday sleep-Past-1Sg sleep-Past-1Sg homework-Acc do-Abil-Neg-Past-1Sg
 ‘I kept sleeping yesterday (and thus) I could not do the homework’

In (5a), one does not know whether the swimming action was performed for a long time or not but one can be sure that (5b) expresses a long-lasting swimming action (although iterative reading is also possible in proper contexts). The same explanation holds for (6). This interpretation is referred to as ‘extended duration’ or ‘extended durative meaning’.

The paraphrases of DVs in (5) and (6) also provides a supporting piece of evidence for the extended duration meaning of DVs. Consider the following, in which DVs are rephrased by using *sürekli/devamlı* ‘constantly/non-stop’, which indicate duration:

Paraphrase for (5b)

- (5b’) *Sürekli/devamlı* gez-di-m rahatla-dı-m
 constantly/non-stop wander-Past-1Sg relax-Past-1Sg
 ‘I wandered around constantly (and thus) I relaxed’

Paraphrase for (6b)

- (6b') Dün *sürekli/devamlı* uyu-du-m ödev-i yap-a-ma-dı-m
yesterday constantly/non-stop sleep-Past-1Sg homework-Acc do-Abil-Neg-Past-1Sg
'I slept constantly yesterday (and thus) I could not do the homework'

Having shown that DVs contribute an iterative or extended duration meaning, let us take another look at some of the examples in (1)-(6), where DVs are compared with their non-doubled counterparts, in order to see the make-up of the meaning of DVs.

Let us take the example in (1), repeated here as (7).

- (7) a. Boğaz-ım-a kaç-an şey-i öksür-dü-m çıkar-a-ma-dı-m
throat-1Sg.Poss-Dat escape-Rel thing-Acc cough-Past-1Sg take.out-Abil-
Neg-Past-1Sg
'I coughed in the house yesterday (but) I could not get the thing that escaped to my throat out'

- b. Boğaz-ım-a kaç-an şey-i *öksür-dü-m öksür-dü-m*
throat-1Sg.Poss-Dat escape-Rel thing-Acc cough-Past-1Sg cough-Past-1Sg

çıkarmadı-m
take.out-Abil-Neg-Past-1Sg

'I coughed in the house yesterday (but still) I could not get the thing that escaped to my throat out'

Both (7a) and (7b) assert that an event of coughing took place. DVs in (7b) conventionally implicate that the coughing event took place more than once. That is,

the coughing event not only took place, it actually took place ‘iteratively’. This can be verified by (7b) entailing (7a), but not vice versa.

The same explanation holds for (2), repeated here as (8), in which the durative meaning is at the core:

(8) a. Bugün yüz-dü-m rahatla-ya-ma-dı-m
today swim-Past-1Sg relax-Abil-Neg-Past-1Sg
‘I swam today (but) I could not relax’

b. Bugün yüz-dü-m yüz-dü-m rahatla-ya-ma-dı-m
today swim-Past-1Sg swim-Past-1Sg relax-Abil-Neg-Past-1Sg
‘I kept swimming today (but still) I could not relax’

Both (8a) and (8b) assert that the swimming event took place. In addition to this, (8b) conventionally implicate that the swimming event took place ‘duratively’. Again, this can be verified by (8b) entailing (8a), but not vice versa.

This discussion about what DVs entail shows that doubling indicates iteration or extended duration. That is, when a DV statement is uttered, the assertion is that a certain action is performed. The implication is that the event took place iteratively or duratively. Thus, doubling is used as a means to indicate iterativity or extended durativity depending on the verb.

4.2.1.1 Semantic conditions for forming DVs

This section discusses two semantic conditions for forming DVs: continuity and agentivity/dynamicity.

4.2.1.1.1 Continuity

In this section, it will be shown that iterative and durative readings of DVs can be associated with the notion of ‘continuity’, which means that an event extends over a time period. The lexical aspects of verbs will be a crucial point in supporting the observation that ‘continuity’ is an umbrella term that can combine iterativity and durativity. Lexical aspects that are compatible with DVs are in fact those that can ‘continue’.²⁷ There will be another piece of support for the continuity interpretation of DVs regarding the use of other adverbs as well.

Let us start with different kinds of achievements exemplified in (9). Example (9) shows that achievement verbs that are scalar or that can continue, i.e. degree achievements as in (9a), can be doubled. In fact, (9a) expresses a durative cooling event. But instantaneous achievements such as (9b) cannot be doubled. This shows that for a verb to be doubled, it needs to be able to extend over time:

- (9) a. Hava-lar soğu-yor soğu-yor kar yağ-m-ıyor (*Degree Achievement*)
weather-Pl cool-Prog cool-Prog snow fall-Neg-Prog
‘The weather keeps getting colder (but still) it does not snow’

²⁷The continuity interpretation of DVs will be combined with dynamicity requirement of DVs and it will be shown that what DVs actually have the [+stages] feature of Rothstein (2004).

- b. *Ankara-ya *var-di-m* *var-di-m* ev-e ulaş-a-ma-dı-m (*Achievement*)
 Ankara-Dat arrive-Past-1Sg arrive-Past-1Sg house-Dat reach-Abil-Neg-Past-1Sg
 ‘*I kept arriving in Ankara (but still) I was not able to reach home’

Another argument in support of the continuity sense of DVs comes from the semantic clash caused by the co-occurrence of adverbs with a perfective meaning and DVs. In examples (10a) and (10b) below, *çoktan* (‘already’), which indicates that an event has ended, is used in the same matrix clause as DVs, which indicate that an event happens iteratively or duratively. The structure is pragmatically infelicitous due to the clash between the perfective meaning of *çoktan* and continuous/imperfective meaning of DVs:

- (10) a. # Kitap-ı çoktan *oku-du-m* *oku-du-m* bitir-e-me-di-m
 book-Acc already read-Past-1Sg read-Past-1Sg finish-Abil-Neg-Past-1Sg
 ‘Intended: I already kept reading the book (but still) I could not finish it’

- b. #İş-te çoktan *çalış-tı-m* *çalış-tı-m* kazan-dı-m
 work-at already work-Past-1Sg work-Past-1Sg earn-Past-1Sg
 ‘Intended: I already kept working at work (and thus) I earned (that much)’

The observations that only events that can continue can be used as DVs and that adverbs with a perfective meaning cannot co-occur with DVs in the same matrix clause indicate that, for a verb to be doubled, it needs to be able to extend over time. In other words, such an event should be able to continue. Therefore, iteration and duration meanings of DVs can be combined under the term ‘continuity’. In such an

approach, an iterative event continues because it repeats itself and a durative event continues because the event is not over yet.

4.2.1.1.2 Agentivity/Dynamicity

It is not only continuity but also agentivity/dynamicity that is indicated by DVs. Let us start with (11), where verbs with different lexical aspects are exemplified:

(11) a. Orada *dur-du-m dur-du-m* bir şey ol-ma-dı(*Davidsonian Stative*)
there stand-Past-1Sg stand-Past-1Sg one thing be-Neg-Past
'I kept standing there (but still) nothing happened'

b. *Çocuk-lar anne-sin-e *benz-iyor benz-iyor* tembel değil-ler(*Kimian Stative*)
child-Pl mother-Poss.Dat resemble-Prog resemble-Prog lazy Neg-3Pl
'*The children keep resembling their mothers, (and thus/but still) they are not lazy'

c.*Hep *hasta-y-ım hasta-yı-m* okul-a gid-e-m-iyor-um (*State*)
always ill-Cop-1Sg ill-Cop-1Sg school-Dat go-Abil-Neg-Prog-1Sg
'I keep being in the state of illness (and thus) I cannot go to school'

Notice in (11) that the Kimian statives and states cannot be doubled, indicating that agentless verbs are not suitable for this process. This contrasts with Davidsonian

statives,²⁸ which can be used as DVs. Thus, as a first approximation, let us say that in order for a verb to be used as a DV, it needs to have some kind of agent. But the availability of an agent will prove to be insufficient by itself in explaining the semantic meaning of DVs and an additional notion of dynamicity is called for.

Benze- ('resemble'), a Kimian stative exemplified in (11b), is an action outside the control of an agent. But *dur-* ('stand') in (11a), a Davidsonian stative, is initiated by an agent. The fact that the latter can be doubled while the former cannot indicates that agentivity is required by DVs.

Let us provide more examples on types of statives (and states), starting with Kimian ones:

(12) a. *Bu kitap pek çok örnek *içer-iyor* *içer-iyor* konu-yu iyi
 this book very many example include-Prog include-Prog topic-Acc well

anlat-ıyor

tell-Prog

‘*This book keeps including so many examples (and thus) it explains the topic well’

b. *Sen-in torun anne-sin-e *benze-miş* *benze-miş*
 you-Gen grandchild mother-3SgPoss-Dat resemble-Rep resemble-Rep

ela göz-lü ol-muş

hazel eye-with be-Rep

²⁸This is, to our knowledge, the first piece of evidence showing a differentiation between Kimian and Davidsonian statives in Turkish.

‘*Apparently, your grandchild kept resembling his/her mother (and thus)
s/he has become hazel-eyed.’

c. *Kitap okuma-yı sev-er-im sev-er-im pek çok şey
book reading-Acc love-Aor-1Sg love-Aor-1Sg very many thing

öğren-ir-im
learn-Aor-1Sg

‘Intended: I keep loving reading book(s) (and thus) I learn many
things’

d. *Bu konu-yu bil-ir-im bil-ir-im anlat-a-ma-m
this topic-Acc know-Aor-1Sg know-Aor-1Sg tell-Abil-Neg-1Sg
‘*I keep knowing this topic (but still) I cannot explain (it)’

e. *Bu günler-de hasta-yı-m hasta-yı-m okul-a gid-e-m-iyor-um
this days-Loc ill-Cop-1Sg ill-Cop-1Sg school-Dat go-Abil-Neg-Prog-1Sg
‘Intended: I keep being in the state of illness these days (and thus) I cannot
go to school’

(12) shows that Kimian statives ((12a)-(12d)) as well as states (12e) cannot be used as DVs. This can be attributed to the fact that both Kimian statives and states lack an initiation of an event by an agent. Unlike the ‘Kimian statives’ and states exemplified in (12a)-(12e), the stative verbs known as ‘Davidsonian statives’ are allowed as DVs since they are like eventualities and thus have an initiation of an event by an agent:

- (13) a. Bütün gün *uyu-yor-um uyu-yor-um uyku-m-u al-a-m-iyor-um*
 all day sleep-Prog-1Sg sleep-Prog-1Sg sleep-1Sg.Poss-Acc get-Abil-Neg-
 Prog-1Sg
 ‘I keep sleeping all day (but still) I cannot get (enough) sleep’
- b. Aylardır *ev-de otur-uyor-sun otur-uyor-sun iş bul-a-m-iyor-sun*
 for months house-Loc sit-Prog-2Sg sit-Prog-2Sg job find-Abil-Neg-
 Prog-2Sg
 ‘You keep sitting at home for months (and thus) you cannot find a job’
- c. Bütün gün ayak-ta *dur-uyor-sun duru-yor-sun yorul-uyor-sun*
 all day foot-Loc stand-Prog-2Sg stand-Prog-2Sg get tired-Prog-2Sg
 ‘You keep standing (on foot) all day (and thus) you get tired’
- d. Bütün gün kargo-yu *bekle-di-m bekle-di-m gel-me-di*
 all day cargo-Acc wait-Past-1Sg wait-Past-1Sg come-Neg-Past
 ‘I kept waiting for the cargo all day (but still) it did not come’

(12) and (13) provide further evidence that actions outside the control of an agent are unavailable for doubling. For instance, one can initiate and have control over the waiting action (13d) since one can start waiting, wait, or end waiting whenever one wants. However, one cannot control resembling one’s mother by inheriting her eye color (12b). Therefore, (13d) is grammatical while (12b) is not.

Interestingly, it is possible to make an otherwise non-doublable stative verb eligible for doubling. Let us take *benze-* (‘resemble’), which cannot be doubled as shown in (11b), as an example. *Benze-* can be used as a DV when an agent is

introduced into the structure: the addition of an agent through the causative marker *-t* makes an otherwise non-doublable stative eligible for doubling (14):

(14) Çocuk-lar kendi-ler-in-i anne-ler-i-ne *benze-t-miş*
 child-Pl self-3Pl.-3SgPoss-Acc mother-3Pl-3SgPoss-Dat resemble-Caus-
 Rep

benze-t-miş tembelleş-miş-ler
 resemble-Caus-Rep become.lazy-Rep-3Pl

‘Apparently, the children kept making themselves resemble their mother (and thus) they became lazy’

If we take agentivity to mean the initiation of or the having control over an action, we can expect that things that cannot control anything, or things that lack volition, should not be used as DVs. This prediction is not necessarily true, however, indicating that there is more to the issue. Trees, earthquakes and flowers are assumed to be things that cannot control anything themselves or initiate an action but they can be used as DVs:

(15) a. Ağaç-lar *devril-di devril-di* yol-u kapat-tı
 tree-Pl fall-Past fall-Past road-Acc close-Past
 ‘Trees kept falling (on the road) (and thus) they covered and closed the road’

b. Sürekli deprem *ol-du ol-du* şehir-de bina kal-ma-dı
constantly earthquake happen-Past happen-Past city-Loc building stay-Neg-
Past

‘Earthquakes kept happening constantly (and thus) there are no buildings left
in the city’

c. Ayna *parl-ıyor parl-ıyor* göz-üm-ü rahatsız ed-iyor
mirror shine-Prog shine-Prog eye-1Sg.Poss-Acc disturbed make-Prog

‘The mirror keeps shining (and thus) it bothers my eyes’

d. Çiçek-ler *aç-tı aç-tı* etraf-ı güzelleş-tir-di
flower-Pl blossom-Past blossom-Past environment-Acc become beautiful-
Caus-Past

‘The flowers kept blossoming (and thus) it made the environment
beautiful’

e. Oda-da-ki çiçek *aç-tı aç-tı* bütün duvar-ı kapla-dı
room-Loc-that flower blossom-Past blossom-Past all wall-Acc cover-Past

‘The flower in the room kept blossoming (and) it covered the whole wall’

Based on examples like (15), it is assumed that what DVs need is not only an agent
per se, but also dynamicity. In (15), there is no clear agent that initiates the event
(although one may assume an external agent that initiates the event), but there is
certainly a dynamic event going on that involves the themes. The structure is
grammatical.

4.2.1.1.2. [+stages]

The discussion so far shows that two main concepts are important in understanding the meaning of DVs: continuity and agentivity/dynamicity. Both the continuity meaning and the agentivity/dynamicity requirements seem to reveal themselves in DVs that are formed with verbs described as [+stages] from Rothstein (2004). For ease of discussion, let us repeat the categorization by Rothstein here:

States:[-telic, -stages] (e.g. know, believe, be happy)

Activities:[-telic, +stages] (e.g. run, swim, drive a car)

Achievements:[+telic, -stages] (e.g. recognize, reach, die)

Accomplishments:[+telic, +stages] (e.g. paint a picture, draw a circle, build a house)

[-stages] category refers to states and achievements, which have been shown to be unavailable for doubling. Rothstein (2004) states that “states do not go on or progress because they are inherently non-dynamic, and achievements do not go on or progress, because they are near instantaneous, and are over as soon as they have begun”.(p. 12) This means that ‘non-doublable’ events are ones that lack stages; therefore, they are non-dynamic. The [+stages] category, however, includes dynamic events.

In fact, if we exemplify all lexical aspects, we can see that only the [+stages] verbs in Rothstein’s categorization (i.e. Degree Achievements, Davidsonian Statives, Semelfactives, Accomplishments and Activities) can be doubled in Turkish:²⁹

- (16) a. Hava-lar soğu-yor soğu-yor kar yağ-m-ıyor (*Degree Achievement*)
 weather-Pl cool-Prog cool-Prog snow fall-Neg-Prog
 ‘The weather keeps getting colder (but still) it does not snow’
- b. Orada dur-du-m dur-du-m bir şey ol-ma-dı (*Davidsonian Stative*)
 there stand-Past-1Sg stand-Past-1Sg one thing be-Neg-Past
 ‘I kept standing there (but still) nothing happened’
- c. Ayşe öksür-dü öksür-dü hastala-n-ma-dı (*Semelfactive*)
 Ayşe cough-Past cough-Past get ill-Neg-Past
 ‘Ayşe kept coughing (but still) she did not get ill’
- d. Para kazan-dı-m kazan-dı-m harca-ma-dı-m (*Accomplishment*)
 money earn-Past-1Sg earn-Past-1Sg spend-Neg-Past-1Sg
 ‘I kept earning money (but still) I did not spend (it)’
- e. Tüm gün gez-di-m gez-di-m rahatla-dı-m (*Activity*)
 all day wander.around-Past-1Sg wander.around-Past-1Sg relax-Past-1Sg
 ‘I kept wandering around all day (and thus) I relaxed’

²⁹Degree achievements also have stages since they can continue. Semelfactives can easily be interpreted as activities as noted before. Davidsonian statives can also continue. Therefore, (16a)-(16b) are also included in [+stages].

- f. *Ankara-ya *var-dı-m var-dı-m* ev-e ulaş-a-ma-dı-m (*Achievement*)
 Ankara-Dat arrive-Past-1Sg arrive-Past-1Sg house-Dat reach-Abil-Neg-Past-1Sg
 ‘*I kept arriving in Ankara (but still) I was not able to reach home’
- g. *Çocuk-lar anne-sin-e *benz-iyor benz-iyor* tembel değil-ler (*Kimian Stative*)
 child-Pl mother-Poss.Dat resemble-Prog resemble-Prog lazy Neg-3Pl
 ‘*The children kept resembling their mothers (and thus/but still) they are not lazy’
- h. *Hep *hasta-y-ım hasta-yı-m* okul-a gid-e-m-iyor-um (*State*)
 always ill-Cop-1Sg ill-Cop-1Sg school-Dat go-Abil-Neg-Prog-1Sg
 ‘Intended: I keep being in the state of being ill (and thus) I cannot go to school’

Thus, DV formation is contingent on verbs whose aspectual meaning can be categorized as [+stages].

The discussion about the meaning of DVs has shown that DVs mainly express iterativity and durativity, both of which can be combined under the term ‘continuity’. It also has shown that in addition to continuity, agentivity and dynamicity are also crucial concepts. [+stages] concept introduced by Rothstein (2004) can be appealed to in order to simplify the description of the semantic contribution of DVs since it can combine continuity and agentivity/dynamicity. In the section to follow, the interaction with the main verb, the adverb and the DVs will be investigated.

4.2.2 Conditions on DV occurrence in a sentence

This section will show that the sentential environment DVs appear in regulates the meanings displayed by DVs, namely the iterative/durative distinction. Two such factors will be investigated and these are the temporal adverb and the main verb.

4.2.2.1 Temporal adverb

The duration expressed by temporal adverbs may affect the interpretation of DVs.

Consider the following:

(17) a. *Yüz-dü-m yüz-dü-m rahatla-dı-m* (*Durative/Iterative*)
swim-Past-1Sg swim-Past-1Sg relax-Past-1Sg

‘I kept swimming (and thus) I relaxed’

b. *Bu ay yüz-dü-m yüz-dü-m rahatla-dı-m* (*Iterative/*Durative*)
this month swim-Past-1Sg swim-Past-1Sg relax-Past-1Sg

‘I swam this month (and thus) I relaxed’

c. *Bugün sabah yüz-dü-m yüz-dü-m rahatla-dı-m* (*?Iterative/Durative*)
today morning swim-Past-1Sg swim-Past-1Sg relax-Past-1Sg

‘I swam in the morning today (and thus) I relaxed’

(17a) can be interpreted both duratively and iteratively. Under normal circumstances, (17b) has an iterative interpretation. It indicates that the swimming action was performed iteratively for a month. (An example context would be swimming every

day in the mornings in a month.) This interpretation is made possible especially due to the temporal adverb *bu ay* ('this month'), which is too long a time to swim non-stop. But (17c) primarily has a durative interpretation since *bugün sabah* ('this morning') is a temporal adverb with a relatively short duration and it is possible to swim during this time non-stop (though it is possible to imagine swimming several times in a morning, making the iterative reading available as well). Therefore, the same action may be interpreted differently depending on the temporal adverb.

The following is a similar example. Note again the role played by the temporal adverbs *dün* ('yesterday') and *geçen sene* ('last year') similar to (17b)-(17c) in that the temporal adverb with the longer duration as in (18a) allows for an iterative reading while disallowing the durative one because it is unlikely that one can perform an event for such a long period of time:

- (18) a. Geçen sene *uyu-du-m* *uyu-du-m* sınıf-ta kal-dı
 (Iterative/*Durative)
 last year sleep-Past-1Sg sleep-Past-1Sg class-Loc stay-Past-1Sg
 'I kept sleeping (and thus) failed the class last year'
- b. Dün *uyu-du-m* *uyu-du-m* ödev-i yap-a-ma-dı-m
 (??Iterative/Durative)
 yesterday sleep-Past-1Sg sleep-Past-1Sg homework-Acc do-Abil-Neg-
 Past-1Sg
 'I kept sleeping yesterday (and thus) I could not do the homework'

4.2.2.2 The main verb

Apart from the role played by temporal adverbs, it seems that the semantics of the main verb are also relevant in the interpretation of DVs. Compare (19a) and (19b), but keep in mind that in order to understand the role played by the main verb in the interpretation of DVs, we use the accusative marked object *kitabı* ('the book') to mean the whole book in both examples:³⁰

- (19) a. *Kitab-ı oku-du-m oku-du-m anla-ma-dı-m (Iterative/Durative)*
book-Acc read-Past-1Sg read-Past-1Sg understand-Neg-Past-1Sg
'I kept reading the book (but still) I did not understand it'
- b. *Kitab-ı oku-du-m oku-du-m bitir-e-me-di-m (*Iterative/Durative)*
book-Acc read-Past-1Sg read-Past-1Sg finish-Abil-Neg-Past-1Sg
'I kept reading the book (but still) I could not finish it'

The verb *anla-* ('understand') can allow both an iterative and durative reading of DVs (the choice of which is context-bound). The iterative reading arises if we assume that the reader read the same whole book several times but s/he still did not understand it. The latter is available if we assume that the reader continued to read the same book in order to understand its main point: Although s/he read most of it, s/he still did not understand it. In other words, *anla-* ('understand') creates ambiguity since it can lead to both iterative and durative readings. With the verb *bitir-* ('finish')

³⁰This is a necessary point to make since in (19b), the interpretation that 'parts of the book were read but still the book was not finished' is also possible, which makes understanding the role of the main verb in interpretation more complicated.

in (19b), however, no such ambiguity arises since one cannot read the whole book several times with the implication of completion but still not be able to finish it.

One can conclude from the discussion in this section that some factors, such as temporal adverbs and the main verb, are effective in deciding between the iterative or durative interpretation of DVs.

4.2.3 Interim summary

The discussion so far allows us to come up with the following generalizations:

- (i) DVs are used for event iteration or duration.
- (ii) Iteration and duration are ways to represent the core meaning of ‘continuity’.
- (iii) A verb that is used as a DV must have agentivity and/or dynamicity.
- (iv) [+stages] provides a simplified and comprehensive description of the meaning of DVs since it covers the terms of continuity and agentivity/dynamicity.
- (v) External elements, such as temporal adverbs and the main verb, reveal that the iterative and durative meanings of DVs, hence continuity, are at the core meaning of DVs (along with agentivity/dynamicity).

4.3 Semantic function of DVs

This section seeks an answer to the question of what the semantic relationship between the main verb and DVs is. We show that DVs are like adverbs in a sentence.

Consider the following examples:

- (20) a. Telefon-u *ara-dı-m* *ara-dı-m* bul-du-m
 telephone-Acc look.for-Past-1Sg look.for-Past-1Sg find-Past-1Sg
 ‘I kept looking for the phone (and thus) I found it’
- b. Telefon-u *ara-dı-m* *ara-dı-m* bul-a-ma-dı-m
 telephone-Acc look.for-Past-1Sg look.for-Past-1Sg find-Abil-Neg-Past-1Sg
 ‘I kept looking for the phone (but still) I could not find it’

In (20), DVs express the process of searching for the phone in order to find it. The agent either finds it, as in (20a), or cannot do so and gives up the search process, as in (20b). Therefore, DVs express a process at the end of which the result expressed by the main verb is achieved. In that sense, DVs act as a modifier to the main verb since they explain ‘how’ the result expressed by the main verb is achieved (or not achieved). In sum, the main verb represents the end-result of a process expressed by DVs and thus DVs act as a modifier expressing the way the end-result is achieved. This point will complement the discussion of the syntactic function of DVs as adverbs in a clause in Chapter 5.

(21a) is a matrix clause that includes DVs. The temporal adverbs used in (21b) indicate that DVs and the main verb follow each other on the timeline since they represent a process and a result that comes about after this process. That is, in (21b), there is the interpretation that a reading event, which bears a durative reading, is followed by the verb *anlat-* (‘tell’):

(21) a. Kitab-ı oku-r oku-r anlat-ır
book-Acc read-Aor read-Aor tell-Aor
'S/he keeps reading the book (and thus/then) s/he tells it'

b. Kitab-ı önce oku-r oku-r sonra anlat-ır
book-Acc first read-Aor read-Aor then tell-Aor
'First, s/he keeps reading the book (and) then s/he tells it'

(21a)-(21b) show that the default interpretation of DVs and the main verb is that they are in a sequential relation, where sequentiality indicates that one event follows (or precedes) the other in time.

Some matrix clauses with DVs, on the other hand, do not indicate only sequentiality. They also have an emotional interpretation. To understand what an emotional interpretation in matrix clauses with DVs refers to, let us provide examples (20a)-(20b) with more context:

20a'. ... O yüzden yeniden telefon almak zorunda kalmadım, rahatladım *oh be*
'So, I did not have to buy a phone again (and) I am relaxed, *what a relief!*'

20b'. ... Sanki yer yarıldı da içine girdi. Şimdi yeniden telefon alacağım *ya öf*
'It is as if the ground swallowed it up. Now I must buy a phone again, *damn!*'

In (20a), there is a desirable result at the end since the phone is found at the end of the search process. Having reached the aim s/he had set, the agent feels satisfied. In

(20b), on the other hand, with the aim being unfulfilled and thus having an undesirable result, there is a sense of dissatisfaction and complaint. Therefore, what determines how the following contexts are provided is the presence or lack of ‘Satisfaction’. When there is a desirable result after a long process, as in (20a), we get the implication of ‘Satisfaction’ on the part of the speaker because the whole process of performing the action is interpreted as worthwhile based on the end result. When there is an undesirable result, as in (20b), ‘Satisfaction’ is not available (which will be termed as ‘Dissatisfaction’ in the examples to follow) because the time and energy spent to achieve this result are interpreted as wasted. This means that the combination of the semantic contribution of DVs (i.e. a long-lasting process) and the main verb (i.e. end result) determines the interpretation of a matrix clause with DVs in terms of Satisfaction/Dissatisfaction. In other words, the length of the action as well as the end result are decisive on the interpretation of this matrix clause with regard to the satisfaction factor since one expects a good result if one has spent a lot of time performing an action. For further examples of this point, consider (22):

- (22) a. *Çalış-tı-m çalış-tı-m sınıf-ı geç-ti-m Satisfaction*
 study-Past-1Sg study-Past-1Sg class-Acc pass-Past-1Sg
 ‘I kept studying (and thus) I passed the class’
- b. *Çalış-tı-m çalış-tı-m sınıf-ı geç-e-me-di-m Dissatisfaction*
 study-Past-1Sg study-Past-1Sg class-Acc pass-Abil-Neg-Past-1Sg
 ‘I kept studying (but still) I could not pass the class’

c. *Çalış-ma-dı-m çalış-ma-dı-m sınıf-1 geç-ti-m*³¹ *Satisfaction*
 study-Neg-Past-1Sg study-Neg-Past-1Sg class-Acc pass-Past-1Sg
 ‘I kept not studying (but still) I passed the class’

d. *Çalış-ma-dı-m çalış-ma-dı-m sınıf-1 geç-e-me-di-m* *Dissatisfaction*
 study-Neg-Past-1Sg study-Neg-Past-1Sg class-Acc pass-Abil-Neg-Past-1Sg
 ‘I kept not studying (and thus) I could not pass the class’

Examples in (22) show that when the end result is a desirable one, as in (22a) and (22c), there is a feeling of Satisfaction. Conversely, when there is an undesirable result, there is Dissatisfaction, as in (22b) and (22d).

At this point, one can say that this same interpretation of desirability of the end result can be observed in similar clauses without DVs and that it is simply the sentential negation that yields the dissatisfaction interpretation, which indicates that this is not a property specific to the relationship between DVs and the main verb. See examples in (23) for a discussion of this point:

(23) a. *Çalış-tı-m sınıf-1 geç-ti-m* *Satisfaction*
 study-Past-1Sg class-Acc pass-Past-1Sg
 ‘I studied (and) I passed the class’

b. *Çalış-tı-m sınıf-1 geç-e-me-di-m* *Dissatisfaction*
 study-Past-1Sg class-Acc pass-Abil-Neg-Past-1Sg
 ‘I kept studying (but) I could not pass the class’

³¹Imagine a context in which a lazy student is boasting to hardworking ones by saying that although s/he did not study for his/her exam, s/he passed it.

c. Çalış-ma-dı-m sınıf-ı geç-ti-m³² *Satisfaction*
study-Neg-Past-1Sg class-Acc pass-Past-1Sg
'I kept not studying (but) I passed the class'

d. Çalış-ma-dı-m sınıf-ı geç-e-me-di-m *Dissatisfaction*
study-Neg-Past-1Sg class-Acc pass-Abil-Neg-Past-1Sg
'I kept not studying (and) I could not pass the class'

In (23), although there are no DVs, there is a sense of satisfaction and dissatisfaction as well, though with a difference in degree of these feelings compared to DVs in (22). It seems that when there are DVs, the event lasts longer and therefore that there is continuity. The continuity meaning leads to a denser expectation for a good result. Hence, in this case, if this expectation is fulfilled at the end, the feeling of satisfaction is more extreme. Likewise, if this expectation is not fulfilled (and if it would be good if this expectation were fulfilled), the feeling of dissatisfaction is also more extreme. That is, the continuity interpretation of DVs makes expectations bigger, therefore, the feelings associated with the endresult are felt more deeply. We express this difference through the translations: In (23), we use 'and' and 'but' instead of 'and thus' and 'but still' as we have done in (22) and other DVs.

We can then say that the prominent relationship between DVs and the main verb is sequentiality, i.e. the event expressed by the main verb follows the event expressed by DVs in time. In that sense, DVs have a modifying function in that they express how the end result is meant to be achieved. Satisfaction/Dissatisfaction results from the interpretation of the continuous process and the desirability of the

³²Imagine a context in which a lazy student is boasting to the hardworking ones by saying that although s/he did not study for his/her exam, s/he passed it.

end result together and therefore is a pragmatic consequence or conversational implication of this relationship. If the end result is not satisfactory, the previous continuous event expressed by DVs is interpreted as a waste of time and energy, hence Dissatisfaction. If the following event is satisfactory, then the time and energy spent on performing the continuous action is interpreted as worthwhile, hence Satisfaction. Therefore, the relationship between DVs and the main verb is essentially one of sequentiality. The interpretation of these sequential events in terms of what is gained or not gained in real world, however, regulates the Satisfaction/Dissatisfaction interpretation.

These points show that there is an intricate relationship between the elements in a clause that contain DVs. Not only does the result expressed by the main verb make a difference in terms of interpretation but also how it relates to DVs plays a role.

4.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, the semantic contribution of DVs has been investigated and the following generalizations have been made:

- (i) DVs assert that an event takes place and their implicational meaning is iteration or duration of events, both of which express ‘continuity’.
- (ii) External factors, such as temporal adverbs and main verbs, play a role in revealing the iterative or durative interpretation of DVs.
- (iii) [+stages] is a comprehensive term that can describe the meaning of DVs since it includes both Continuity and Agentivity/Dynamicity.

- (iv) DVs and the main verb have a sequential relationship in that the latter follows the former in time.
- (v) Some DVs have an emotional interpretation based on the continuity of the event expressed by DVs and the desirability of the end result expressed by the main verb. The primary emotion associated with the matrix clauses with DVs is the presence or lack of Satisfaction.

CHAPTER 5

MORPHOSYNTACTIC STRUCTURE of DVs

In this chapter, the morpho-syntactic and prosodic structures of DVs are analyzed in light of the following question:

- (iii) What is the internal structure of DVs?

To establish a background for answering that question, the following questions must be answered first:

- (i) Do DVs and the main verb fall into the same matrix clause or do they form separate matrix clauses?
- (ii) If DVs and the main verb are within a single matrix clause, what syntactic function do DVs have (and what is their syntactic position) in that clause? If DVs and the main verb form two separate matrix clauses, what kind of a structural relationship is there between these clauses?

It will be argued that, since DVs are dependent structures and do not form their own matrix clause, they function as a kind of adverb termed as a Continuous Adverb (ContAdv). ContAdvs are formed by copying a Phonological Phrase (PPh) within the Tense Phrase (TP), which is the complement of the ContAdv.

5.1 DVs and the main verb in a single clause

The discussion in this section is centered around the following question:

- (i) Do DVs and the main verb fall into the same matrix clause or do they form separate matrix clauses?

The answer to this question will play a crucial role in establishing a background for the analysis to be presented. This is because different analyses will be needed depending on whether DVs and the main verb are in the same clause or not. If they are proven to be in a single matrix clause, their syntactic position and function need to be understood. If they are proven to form separate matrix clauses, on the other hand, we will need to understand the relationship between these two separate clauses and the reason(s) that they tend to occur together.

There are two potential answers to this question: Either DVs and the main verb are within the same matrix clause or they belong to different matrix clauses. Several pieces of evidence seem to favor the former option.

Let us reiterate example (4) in Chapter 1:

(1) a. *Kitab-1 oku-du-m*
 book-Acc read-Past-1Sg
 ‘I read the book’

b. **Kitabı oku-du-m oku-du-m* (ungrammatical as DVs³³)

c. *Kitab-1 oku-du-m oku-du-m bitir-e-me-di-m*
 book-Acc read-Past-1Sg read-Past-1Sg finish-Abil-Neg-Past-1Sg
 ‘I kept reading the book (but still) I could not finish it’

³³As stated in Chapter 1, (1b) can be grammatical with a different intonation and interpretation, but not as DVs.

- d. *Kitab-ı bitir-e-me-di-m*
 book-Acc finish-Abil-Neg-Past-1Sg
 ‘I could not finish the book’

In terms of their form and function, DVs like those in (1) are finite verbs, which need to be inflected for tense-aspect and subject agreement (Banguoğlu, 1974; Sezer, 2001; Taylan, 2001). Thus, the verb stems used in a DV should be able to act as the main verb of a sentence. However, DVs can only do so in their non-doubled forms, such as in (1a). When that same verb stem is doubled to form a DV structure with the interpretation of iteration/duration, DVs become syntactically dependent on the main verb, as in (1b)-(1c). This is unlike the main verb, which can head a sentence without DVs, as in (1d). This constitutes the first piece of evidence that the non-doubled verb is the main verb and that DVs depend on this main verb syntactically, indicating that DVs do not form a separate matrix clause.

The second piece of evidence comes from the observation that there can only be one element that is questioned in matrix clauses that have DVs such as in (2), similar to what happens in simple matrix clauses as exemplified in (3):

- (2) a. *Çok çalış-tı-m çalış-tı-m bol kazan-dı-m*
 a lot work-Past-1Sg work-Past-1Sg much earn-Past-1Sg
 ‘I kept working a lot (and thus) I earned a lot’
- b. *Çok mu çalış-tı-n çalış-tı-n bol kazan-dı-n?*
 a lot Q work-Past-2Sg work-Past-2Sg much earn-Past-2Sg
 ‘Is it the case that you kept working a lot (and thus) you earned a lot?’

c. Çok *çalış-tı-n* *çalış-tı-n* bol mu kazan-dı-n?
a lot work-Past-2Sg work-Past-2Sg much Q earn-Past-2Sg
'Is it the case that you kept working a lot (and thus) you earned a lot?'

d. * Çok mu *çalış-tı-n* *çalış-tı-n* bol mu kazan-dı-n?³⁴
a lot Q work-Past-2Sg work-Past-2Sg much Q earn-Past-2Sg
'Intended: Is it the case that you kept working a lot and is it the case
that (by doing so) you earned a lot?'

(3) a. Ali çok çalış-tı
Ali a lot work-Past
'Ali worked a lot'

b. Ali çok mu çalış-tı ?
Ali a lot Q work-Past
'Is it a lot that Ali worked?'

c. Ali mi çok çalış-tı ?
Ali Q a lot work-Past
'Is it Ali who worked a lot?'

d.*Ali mi çok mu çalıştı ?
Ali Q a lot Q work-Past
'Intended: Is it Ali who worked a lot and did Ali work a lot?'

³⁴Note that we have already pointed out that DVs themselves cannot be questioned just like other higher adverbs in Footnote 39. Hence, we question other elements in (2).

The syntactic dependency and question tests show that DVs do not form a matrix clause and that they depend on the main verb. This is because DVs cannot form their own matrix clauses and because there can only be one element that is questioned in the matrix clause that contain DVs.

This means that DVs should be assumed to be in the same matrix clause as the main verb. This gives rise to the question of what syntactic function DVs serve in that clause, naturally followed by the question of what syntactic position they occupy. This is the topic of the next section.

5.2 Syntactic function of DVs

In this section, an answer to the following question is sought:

- (ii) If DVs and the main verb are within a single matrix clause, what syntactic function do DVs serve (and what is their syntactic position) in that clause?³⁵

Three possibilities are entertained due to their similarity to DVs. The possibilities are the following:

- (i) DVs and the main verb are conjuncts of a coordination structure.
- (ii) DVs and the main verb form a serial verb construction (SVC).
- (iii) DVs are adverbs that modify the main verb.

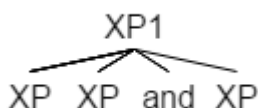
³⁵Note that DVs are assumed to form one morpho-syntactic unit here. See Section 5.3 for arguments in favor of this suggestion.

Each of these possibilities is discussed in Sections 5.2.1., 5.2.2. and 5.2.3., respectively.

5.2.1 DVs and the main verb are conjuncts in a coordination structure

In some (especially earlier) studies (e.g. Chomsky, 1981; Hudson, 1988; Jackendoff, 1977; Peterson, 2004), coordination structures are assumed to be flat structures:

(4)

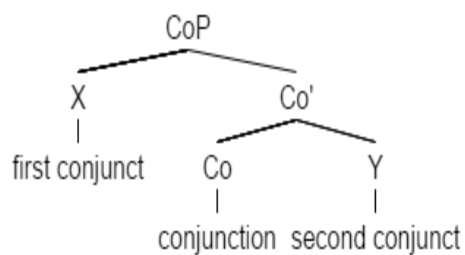


However, Munn (1993) points to certain problems with such an analysis in his framework: First, this kind of a flat structure is a structure specific to coordination while most versions of X-Bar Theory assume a binary structure in syntactic representation. A flat structure goes against the assumption that language utilizes the same mechanism in all structures. Second, the structure in (4) would either be multi-headed or headless, which is again against the assumption that every phrase has a head. Third, the conjunction in (4), although it is the head, does not project to a phrasal level.

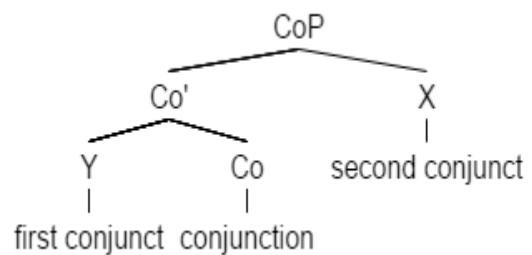
In more recent studies (Johannessen, 1998; Munn, 1993), coordination structures are taken as hierarchical and asymmetrical. According to these, a coordination structure can be assumed to be a hierarchical structure where one

conjunct is higher than the other. Drawing mainly on evidence from the behavior of inflection markers from various languages, Johannessen (1998) argues that CoP is a phrase headed by a conjunction marker. The specifier and complement positions of CoP are filled by the conjuncts. As to the question of which conjunct occupies the Spec position and which one is the complement, Johannessen posits the following structures:

(5) a.



b.



Head-initial languages have the structure in (5a) and head-final ones have the one in (5b). This is because the first conjunct in Spec undergoes agreement with another head in head-initial languages and the second one does so in head-final languages (see the relevant discussion and the answers regarding the right-branching of Specifiers head-final languages (as in (5b)) in Johannessen (1998, p. 109)).

Let us now see if a coordination analysis can be applied to DV data. That is, let us see if we can indeed use a coordination marker between the DVs and the main verb:

Although it is difficult to rephrase DVs, one possible way to do so is discussed in the following examples:

(6) a. Telefon-u *ara-dı-m* *ara-dı-m* bul-du-m
telephone-Acc look.for-Past-1Sg look.for-Past-1Sg find-Past-1Sg
'I kept looking for the phone (and thus) I found it'

b. Telefon-u *ara-dı-m* *ara-dı-m* bul-a-ma-dı-m
telephone-Acc look.for-Past-1Sg look.for-Past-1Sg find-Abil-Neg-Past-1Sg
'I kept looking for the phone (but still) I could not find it'

(6a) and (6b) can easily be expressed through a conjunction marker:

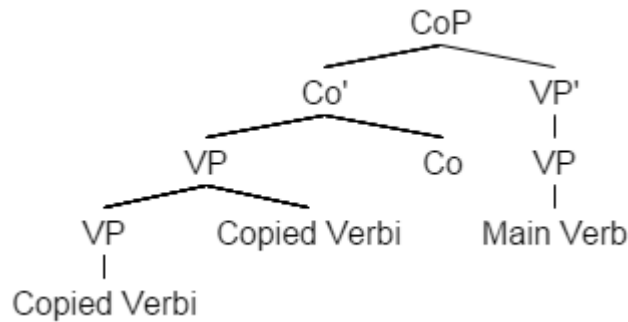
a'. Telefon-u *ara-dı-m* *ara-dı-m* ve bul-du-m
telephone-Acc look.for-Past-1Sg look.for-Past-1Sg and find-Past-1Sg
'I kept looking for the phone and I found it'

b'. Telefon-u *ara-dı-m* *ara-dı-m* ama bul-a-ma-dı-m
telephone-Acc look.for-Past-1Sg look.for-Past-1Sg but find-Abil-Neg-Past-1Sg
'I kept looking for the phone but I could not find it'

Therefore, one can argue that there is a covert conjunction between the DVs and the main verb. Indeed, Johannessen argues that overt and covert conjunctions are realizations of the same phenomenon. However, Wagner (2008) argues that in English the overt and covert conjunctions yield different structures. Here, (6c) below

is taken to be an approximation of the representation for the examples in (6a') and (6b'):

(6c):³⁶



In (6c), a CoP joins the copied and non-copied verb stems in (6a') and (6b'). It takes the main verb as its second conjunct and the first one (VP) is in its Spec position and VP is recursive (that is, one can have as many VPs as one wants).

One of the implications of (6c) is that the main verb and the copied verb stems are separate VPs. In light of that, consider the following example:

- (7) a. Tez-e *çalış-tı-m* *çalış-tı-m* ama savun-a-ma-yacağ-ım
thesis-Dat study-Past-1Sg study-Past-1Sg but defend-Abil-Neg-Fut-1Sg
‘I kept studying for the thesis but I will not be able to defend it’

³⁶One can also use TPs instead of VPs, but this does not relate to the argument here. VP is chosen for simplicity.

- b. *Tez-e *çalış-tı-m* *çalış-tı-m* savun-a-ma-yacağ-ım
thesis-Dat study-Past-1Sg study-Past-1Sg defend-Abil-Neg-Fut-1Sg
‘I kept studying for the thesis (but still) I will not be able to defend it’

Remember that in Chapter 4 it was suggested that DVs express a process and the main verb expresses the end of this process. Therefore, a tense-aspect dependency is expected in DVs. That is, the process and the end follow each other on timeline. In (7b), the process is marked by the past marker *-DI* and the end is marked by the future marker *-AcAK*, skipping parts of the past and the whole of the present on the time axis. This may be what makes (7b) unacceptable. In (7a), on the other hand, it seems that the studying process and the defence result are conceptualized as (more) separate events. That is, there is a less clear (if any) process-end interpretation in (7a). Rather, the two are different events.

Considering this, it is possible that the conjunction somehow breaks the dependency between the process and the end, possibly rendering the copied verbs and the main verb as semantically and structurally more independent as well. DVs, however, are dependent on the main verb both semantically (Chapter 4) and syntactically (Section 5.1.).

Another indication of (6c) is that it must be possible to have an infinite number of VPs since they can be recursive in (6c). Indeed, it seems that the difference between verb stem copying with a conjunction that follows the copied verbs and DVs is that the former resemble repetitions, unlike DVs, which resemble reduplications (Chapter 2). In the former, the verb stem can be copied infinitely in principle, but in DVs, a verb stem can only be doubled once (see Chapter 2, also later

in this chapter). This means that the two verb stems form a single morpho-syntactic unit (again, see Chapter 2 and later in this chapter). In the former, on the other hand, all verbs seem to make up different morpho-syntactic (and prosodic) domains (as indicated by the possibility of a pause of perceivable length, which is not the case with DVs).

These differences indicate that DVs cannot be linked to the main verb through a conjunction. Thus, it is concluded that DVs and the main verb do not form a coordination structure.

5.2.2 DVs and the main verb form a serial verb construction (SVC)

SVCs are “constructions in which a sequence of verbs appears in what seems to be a single clause”. (Baker, 1989, p. 513) An example of SVCs from the Yoruba language is the following (Bamgboṣe, 1974, cited in Baker 1989, p. 513):

- (8) Ó mú iwé wá
he take book come
'He brought the book'

Though much variety is found in the definition of SVCs, Dixon (2011) states the following diagnostics:

- A. The predicate of a SVC consists of two or more verbs, each of which could function as the sole verb of a clause.

B. There is no mark of coordination or subordination between the verbs in an SVC.

C. The SVC is conceived as describing a single activity or state.

D. The SVC functions as a single predicate. It generally falls within one intonation unit, so that no pause is likely in the middle of an SVC.

Grammatical categories that apply to a predicate in the language of study have the complete SVC as their scope. These may include tense, aspect, evidentiality, modality, mood, negation, and markers of subordination (including relative clause). In most instances, only a complete SVC can be negated or questioned, not just one of its components.

E. There must at least be one core argument shared by all the verbs in an SVC.

This is typically the subject (embracing S and A functions). Sometimes, all core arguments are shared. (p. 188)

Applying these diagnostics to the relationship between DVs and the main verb shows that they may not be SVCs despite the fact that they have similarities.

Criterion A does not hold for DVs because they cannot function as the main verb of a clause when used as DVs (see previous section).

Criterion B may hold because there is no overt mark of coordination between DVs and the main verb (and when there is one, there is a different structure). There is no mark of subordination, either.

DVs and the main verb refer to the process and result parts of an event, respectively. Therefore, they refer to different parts of an event; hence, C is a common point between DVs and SVCs.

As for D, it is true that DVs and the main verb share tense-aspect markers most of the time. This is not always the case, however. See Section 5.3.2.5. for examples in which DVs and the main verb have different tense-aspect markers.

Regarding negation, most examples that we have had so far show that it is possible (actually most common) that only one verb (either the DV or, more likely, the main verb) is negated. Take the following example repeated from (1c) of this chapter, where only the main verb (but not the DV) is negated:

- (9) Kitab-ı *oku-du-m* *oku-du-m* bitir-e-me-di-m
book-Acc read-Past-1Sg read-Past-1Sg finish-Abil-Neg-Past-1Sg
'I kept reading the book (but still) I could not finish it'

Besides, there is prosodic evidence: it is possible to pause after DVs, unlike SVCs, and both DVs and the main verb seem to make up separate prosodic units (PPhs) (see Section 5.4).

E is not applicable to DVs because DVs may have their own internal and external arguments and modifiers, which are different from those of the main verb. This point is discussed in Section 5.3.

The application of the five criteria of SVCs proposed by Dixon (2011) shows that, despite sharing some properties, DVs and the main verb are not like canonical SVCs. Thus, they do not form SVCs.

5.2.3 DVs are adverbs that modify the main verb

The iterative/durative sense conveyed by DVs suggests that they are adverbs. In

Cinque (1999), there are several positions for adverb-like elements expressing these concepts, given in *italic* below:

MoodP_{Speech act}> MoodP_{evaluative}> MoodP_{evidential}>ModP_{epistemic}> TP_{Past}>
TP_{Future}> MoodP_{irrealis}> TP_{anterior}> ModP_{aletic}> AspP_{habitual}>AspP_{repetitive(I)}>
AspP_{frequentative (I)}> ModP_{volition}> AspP_{celerative(I)}>
AspP_{terminative}>AspP_{continuative}> AspP_{perfect}> AspP_{retrospective}>
AspP_{proximative}>AspP_{durative}>AspP_{progressive}> AspP_{prospective}> AspP_{inceptive(I)}>
ModP_{obligation}> ModP_{ability}> AspP_{frustrative/success}> ModP_{permission}>
AspP_{conative}> AspP_{completive(I)}> VoiceP>AspP_{repetitive (II)}>AspP_{frequentative(II)}>
AspP_{celerative(II)}> AspP_{inceptive(II)}> AspP_{completive(II)}>V

Now further evidence will be presented to support this argument.

The paraphrases that can replace DVs (also see Chapter 1) can be taken to indicate their adverbial function. As stated before, DVs can be rephrased with the converbial markers *-ArAk* ‘by (do)ing something’ as in (10b) and with *rağmen* ‘although/despite’, as in (11b):³⁷

³⁷-*ArAk* and *rağmen* do not give the emotional load expressed by DVs. See Footnote (39) for a potential answer that can give rise to the emotional load in DVs.

- (10) a. *Kitab-1 oku-du-m oku-du-m bitir-di-m*
 book-Acc read-Past-1Sg read-Past-1Sg finish-Past-1Sg
 ‘I kept reading the book (and thus) finished it’
- b. *Kitab-1 sürekli oku-yarak bitir-di-m*
 book-Acc (constantly) read-Con finish-Past-1Sg
 ‘I finished the book by constantly reading it’
- (11) a. *Kitab-1 oku-du-m oku-du-m bitir-e-me-di-m*
 book-Acc read-Past-1Sg read-Past-1Sg finish-Abil-Neg-Past-1Sg
 ‘I kept reading the book (but still) I could not finish (it)’
- b. *Kitab-1 (o kadar) oku-ma-m-a rağmen bitir-e-me-di-m*
 book-Acc (that much) read-Nom-1Sg-Dat despite finish-Abil-Neg-Past-1Sg
 ‘Although I kept reading the book, I could not finish (it)’

Given that the main verb expresses the end-result of the iterative/durative process expressed by DVs, then DVs express how this end-result was expected to be achieved during this process. This means that DVs indicate some kind of manner by which an end- result was meant to be accomplished.

Furthermore, as pointed out earlier in the literature (e.g. Göksel & Kerslake, 2005; Göksel & Haznedar, 2007; Lewis, 1967), Turkish uses reduplicated forms of nouns and adjectives in forming adverbs.³⁸ Following Haspelmath (1995), Yıldız (2014) suggests that reduplicated forms of non-finite verbs can be used as adverbs in

³⁸An example of a noun reduplication used as adverbs is the following:

Ev ev sen-i ara-di-m
 house house you-Acc look for-Past-1Sg
 ‘I looked for you in many houses (literally ‘I looked for you (by going from) house (to) house’)’
 For more examples, see Section 5.6.

Turkish because they form a converb. Coupled with the claim that reduplication (or doubling) has a semantic function but no fixed phonological form (e.g. Marantz, 1982), using reduplication of finite verbs as an adverb-formation process in Turkish should not be surprising.

As to what kind of adverbs they are, there are several pieces of evidence that suggest that DVs are lower adverbs (i.e. below TP):³⁹

First of all, since DVs express iterativity and/or durativity as discussed in Chapter 4, they are likely to belong to the aspectual adverb domain in Cinque's hierarchy. Since the aspectual adverb domain is below TP in this hierarchy, DVs are possibly lower adverbs (i.e. below TP).

³⁹However, DVs differ from canonical lower adverbs in some respects, which are here attributed to their pragmatic implicature of Dissatisfaction (or modal sense) discussed in Chapter 4. First of all, DVs cannot answer a question on their own. Actually, there is no single question word that can target DVs:

- | | | |
|-----|---------------------------|--------------------------------|
| (1) | A: Kitabı nasıl bitirdin? | 'How did you finish the book?' |
| | B1: (Sürekli) okuyarak | 'By reading it (constantly)' |
| | B2: <i>*okudum okudum</i> | '*By keeping reading it' |

In their inability to stand alone and not having a question word targeting them, DVs are more like higher adverbs, which are the adverbs that modifies sentences, propositions or speech acts (Ernst, 2009; Jackendoff, 1977; Potsdam, 1999, among many others):

- | | | |
|-----|------------------------------|---------------------------|
| (2) | A: Ayşe buraya nasıl gelmiş? | 'How did Ayşe come here?' |
| | B1: <i>*Malesef</i> | '*Unfortunately' |
| | B2: yürüyerek | 'By walking' |
| | B3: <i>*yürümüş yürümüş</i> | '*By keeping walking' |

In fact, higher adverbs cannot be questioned with a question marker either, neither can DVs (the questioned part is in italics):

- | | |
|-----|--|
| (3) | A: <i>*Ayşe buraya malesef mi gelmiş?</i> 'Is it unfortunately that Ayşe came here?' |
| | (or <i>*Malesef mi Ayşe buraya gelmiş?</i>) |

cf.

A: <i>?*Ayşe sınavı çalıştı çalıştı mı kazandı?</i> 'Is it by keeping working that Ayşe passed the exam?'

A: Ayşe sınavı <i>çalışarak</i> mı kazandı? 'Is it by working that Ayşe passed the exam?'

Another way to test the position of a linguistic element in a clause is to use neutral intonation (e.g. Şener, 2010). The fact that DVs follow temporal adverbs (assumed to be in Spec TP (Tosun, 1998) or Spec IP/TP (Şener, 2010)) in neutral intonation (i.e. as an answer to questions like ‘What happened today?’) shows that they are likely to be generated in a below TP/IP position (Note that it is assumed that whatever is to the left is higher in the structure):

(12) A: Bugün naptın?

‘What have you done today?’

B: Öğle-den önce çalış-tı-m çalış-tı-m para kazan-dı-m.
noon-Abl before work-Past-1Sg work-Past-1Sg money earn-Past-1Sg

Öğle-den sonra...

noon-Loc later

‘In the morning, I kept working (and thus) I earned money. In the afternoon...’

In (12B), which is an answer given to the question requiring neutral intonation in (12A), the temporal adverb *öğleden önce* (‘in the morning, before noon’) precedes the DVs.

The following examples show that DVs are generated above manner adverbs such as *güzelce* (‘beautifully, well’), which are assumed to be in VoiceP in Cinque (1999):

- (13) a. Dün Ayşe-yi ara-dı-m ara-dı-m güzelce konuş-tu-k
 yesterday Ayşe-Acc. call-Past-1Sg call-Past-1Sg well speak-Past-1Pl
 ‘Yesterday, I kept calling Ayşe (and thus) we spoke nicely’
- b. *Ayşe-yi ara-dı-m ara-dı-m güzelce dün konuş-tu-k
 Ayşe-Acc.call-Past-1Sg call-Past-1Sg well yesterday speak-Past-1Pl
 ‘Intended: Yesterday, I kept calling Ayşe (and thus) we spoke nicely’
- c. Ayşe-yi güzelce ara-dı-m ara-dı-m dün konuş-tu-k
 Ayşe-Acc. well call-Past-1Sg call-Past-1Sg yesterday speak-Past-1Pl
 ‘I kept calling Ayşe nicely (and thus) we spoke yesterday’
 ‘*I kept calling Ayşe (and thus) we spoke nicely yesterday’

In (13a), the manner adverb *güzelce* modifies the main verb and the structure is acceptable. (13b) exemplifies an ungrammatical structure in which the adverbs are scrambled such that DVs appear to the left of both the manner adverb and the temporal adverb. (13c) also exemplifies a structure in which the adverbs are scrambled such that the manner adverb appears to the left of DVs. (13c) is grammatical only if the manner adverb modifies the DVs. In other words, when it appears to the left of the DVs, the manner adverb cannot modify the main verb, which means that manner adverbs need to follow the DVs in order to be able to modify the main verb.

This means that DVs are below TP and above VoiceP in Cinque’s adverbial hierarchy. The following example specifies the syntactic position of DVs further:

(14) a. Bu şarkı-yı *dinle-r-im* *dinle-r-im* asla anla-ma-m
 this song-Acc. listen-Aor.-1Sg listen-Aor.-1Sg never understand-Neg-1Sg
 ‘I keep listening to this song (but still) I never understand (it)’

b. *Bu şarkıyı asla *dinlerim dinlerim* anlamam

(15) a. ?Ben *uyu-r-um* *uyu-ru-m* nadiren dinlen-ir-im
 I sleep-Aor-1Sg sleep-Aor-1Sg rarely rest-Aor-1Sg
 ‘I keep sleeping (but still) I rarely rest’

b. Ben nadiren *uyu-r-um* *uyu-ru-m* dinlen-ir-im
 I rarely sleep-Aor-1Sg sleep-Aor-1Sg rest-Aor-1Sg
 ‘I rarely keep sleeping (and thus) I rest’
 ‘?* I keep sleeping (but still) I rarely rest’

In (14), there is the frequentative adverb *asla* ‘never’, which is assumed to be in $\text{AspP}_{\text{frequentative (I)}}$ of Cinque’s hierarchy. The fact that it can follow but not precede DVs shows that DVs are somewhere between TP and $\text{AspP}_{\text{frequentative (I)}}$.

Similarly, in (15), the frequentative adverb *nadiren* ‘rarely’ can modify the main verb only when it follows the DVs as in (15a). When it precedes the DVs, it can modify only the DVs but not the main verb, making it a modifier for the DVs but not the main verb as in (15b). This is indicated in the translations in (15b). Note that in the first translation in (15b), *rarely* modifies sleeping, which are DVs, and (15a) indeed has such an interpretation. The second translation is intended to use *rarely* as a modifier for the main verb, in which case the structure is ungrammatical.

Hence, DVs occupy a position between TP and AspP_{frequentative (I)}. There are three candidates in this position and these are ModP_{aletic}, AspP_{habitual} and AspP_{repetitive(I)}. Given the iterative and durative meaning of DVs, the most likely position is AspP_{repetitive(I)}. For the purposes of the present work, this position will be retermed as ContinuousAdverbs (ContAdv) since both durativity and iterative express continuity (Chapter 4).

5.3 Internal structure of DVs

In this section, we investigate the following question:

(iii) What is the internal structure of DVs?

To do this, it is first shown that DVs form one morpho-syntactic unit. Then the internal structure of this single unit is investigated and it is shown that DVs are formed by copying a PPh within the TP complement of the ContAdv.

5.3.1 DVs as a unit

The grammaticality of (16a) as opposed to the ungrammaticality of (16b) indicates that DVs are strictly adjacent:

- (16) a. Bugün kitab-ı oku-du-m okudum bitir-e-me-di-m
 today book-Acc read-Past-1Sg read-Past-1Sg finish-Abil-Neg-Past-1Sg
 ‘I kept reading the book (but still) I could not finish it’

b. **Oku-du-m* kitab-1 bugün *oku-du-m* bitir-e-me-di-m
 read-Past-1Sg book-Acc today read-Past-1Sg finish-Abil-Neg-Past-1Sg
 ‘Intended: I kept reading the book (but still) I could not finish it’

(16b) can only be grammatical if it means ‘I certainly read the book (but still) I could not finish it’, hence used to confirm the truth of an event (see Footnote 17). In that case, a pause and a conjunction such as *ama* ‘but’ are necessary between the second identical verb stem and the main verb. But as DVs, it is ungrammatical.

As a result of the adjacency requirement, DVs cannot be separated by linguistic material inserted between the two DVs. When there is an overt linguistic item between the members of DVs, the identical verb stems can act as the main verb (17b) (Yıldız 2014), rendering them structurally different from DVs:

(17) a. *Kitab-1 oku-du-m Allah/anam/babam oku-du-m*
 book-Acc.read-Past-1Sg God/my mother/my father read-Past-1Sg

bitir-e-me-di-m
 finish-able-not-1Sg

‘I kept reading the book (but still) I could not finish (it)’

b. *Kitab-1 oku-du-m Allah/anam/babam/da oku-du-m*
 book-Acc. read-Past-1Sg God/my mother/my father/da read-Past-1Sg
 ‘I kept reading the book’

Hence, DVs are assumed to form one morpho-syntactic unit.

5.3.2 What is doubled?

After establishing the necessary background, now we look into the nature of the linguistic unit that is doubled. Although at first glance, DVs look as if they are formed by verb stem doubling, the argument here will be that DVs are formed by a process which doubles PPhs in the TPs in the complement position of ContAdvs.

First it will be shown that DVs are TPs. This is done by showing that levels below TP⁴⁰ can be overtly realized since internal arguments and (lower) adverbs can be doubled overtly in addition to the verb stem, and since DVs can have internal arguments and adverbs which are different from those of the main verb. We try to provide evidence for both points for each phrase level below TP.

Second, it will be shown that phrase levels above TP⁴¹ do not exist in DVs at all because the matrix clause that hosts DVs can have only one position for those

⁴⁰The phrase levels assumed to be below TP are VP, which hosts internal arguments of the verb (Öztürk, 2005), MannerP (or VoiceP in Cinque, 1999), which hosts manner adverbs (and quantificational adverbs) (Cinque 1999), FrequentativeP hosting frequentative adverbs (adapted from Cinque 1999), AgentP hosting NP subjects (Öztürk, 2005) and TP hosting the tense-aspect markers. Note that vP is excluded here following Öztürk (2005), who argues that there is no syntactic motivation for vP in phrase structure of Turkish. Instead, AgentP is used as the phrases level to host NP subjects. But the choice between either does not affect our main argument here since our ultimate intention is to show that levels below TP are doubled in DVs and both vP and AgentP are below-TP phrase levels.

⁴¹The levels assumed to be above TP are those proposed by Rizzi (1997) with the exclusion of FocusP (see the explanation below). These are TopicP, which hosts topics (also see Göksel, 2013 for a review of different views on topics in Turkish), questions, which are assumed to be in CP/ForceP (Cheng, 1991; Rizzi, 1997, among others) and Higher Adverbs, all of which are assumed to be in above-TP projections (Rizzi 1997, among others).

As for Focus, we do not include Focus here since there are various views on its nature. Although Rizzi (1997) takes it to be a feature in syntax, Selkirk (1986 and subsequent work), Nespor & Vogel (1986), among others, assume prosody (which interacts with focus) to have separate constituent structures that need to undergo alignment relation with syntactic constituents. Although some studies on Turkish focus are in line with Rizzi (1997) in assuming FocusP has a specific position in Turkish (e.g. Erguvanlı, 1984), Göksel & Özsoy (2000, 2003) argue that Focus can project anywhere in the pre-verbal area in Turkish and it is prosodically conditioned. Turkish is also proposed to have a left-peripheral as well as a lower focus position as well (Şener, 2010). See İşsever (2003) for a review of different opinions on Turkish focus.

Based on the vagueness of what and where Focus is, we exclude it from our analysis. Besides, there are cases in which there seem to be more than one focus in matrix clauses DVs appear in and we

levels. This means that one of the fully inflected verbs in those clauses must be lacking the left-peripheral positions.

Lastly, the restrictions on the doubling of TPs in DVs will be discussed with a focus on the role of prosodic constituency. Basically, it will be shown that doubling targets only need to be TPs in syntax but also PPhs prosodically in forming DVs. Some other restrictions will also be investigated.

5.3.2.1 Verb phrase (VP)

The first phrase level to be looked into is the VP layer, where object complements (Öztürk, 2005) and subject agreement (Öztürk, 1999; 2001)⁴² are assumed to reside.

Starting with object complements, consider (18)-(19):

(18) a. Her gün gün boyu araba sür-üyor sür-üyor yorgunluk-tan öl-üyor
every day day during car drive-Prog drive-Prog tiredness-Abl die-Prog
'S/he keeps driving the whole day everyday (and thus) s/he gets very
exhausted'

b. Her gün gün boyu araba sür-üyor araba sür-üyor yorgunluk-tan öl-üyor
(*Bare Internal Argument*)
every day day during car drive-Prog car drive-Prog tiredness-Abl
die-Prog

do not yet know how these can be explained (we will point out to those in relevant places). That is, we are not certain whether they can be integrated into the syntactic structure of DVs or DVs have a separate Focus structure. This kind of an analysis falls outside the scope of this work.

⁴²Subject agreement markers can also be assumed to be in the head position of AgentP, where it undergoes Spec-Head agreement with the nominal subject. Whether the subject agreement is in VP or in AgentP does not make a difference in my analysis here since both positions are below TP.

‘S/he keeps driving a car the whole day everyday (and thus) s/he gets very exhausted’

- (19) a. Aylin biz-e her gel-diğ-in-de Ali-yi sor-du sor-du
Aylin we-Dat every come-Nom-2SgGen-Loc Ali-Acc ask-Past ask-Past

bul-a-ma-dı
find-Abil-Neg-Past

‘Aylin kept asking for Ali every time she came to our house (but still) she could not find him’

- b. Aylin biz-e her gel-diğ-in-de Ali-yi sor-du Ali-yi sor-du
(Accusative Case: 60%Y, 20%M, 20%N, Second Group)
Aylin we-Dat every come-Nom-2SgGen-Loc Ali-Acc ask-Past Ali-Acc ask-Past

bul-a-ma-dı
find-Abil-Neg-Past

‘Aylin kept asking for Ali every time she came to our house (but still) she could not find him’

In (18b), the bare internal argument of the DVs is doubled with the verb stem while in (19b), the internal argument with the accusative case is doubled with each one of the DVs. This means that there is a position for internal arguments in DVs and (18b) and (19b) are examples of overt realizations of these positions.

As a second piece of evidence that there is a position for internal arguments in DVs, consider (20):

- (20) *Kitab-ı oku-du-m oku-du-m konu-yu anla-dı-m*
 book-Acc read-Past-1Sg read-Past-1Sg topic-Acc understand-Past-1Sg
 ‘I kept reading the book (and thus) I understood the topic’

Kitabı ‘the book’ is the internal argument of the DVs while *konuyu* ‘the topic’ is the internal argument of the main verb. *Kitabı* ‘the book’ cannot be the internal argument of the main verb. Therefore, DVs have their own internal arguments, one which is different from that of the main verb.

Moving hierarchically upwards, the next element to look into is subject agreement markers, assumed to be in Spec VP in Öztürk (1999, 2001):⁴³

- (21) a. *Yürü-dü-m yürü-dü-m kilo ver-e-me-di-m*
 walk-Past-1Sg walk-Past-1Sg weight give-Abil-Neg-Past-1Sg
 ‘I kept walking (but still) I could not lose weight’

- b. **Yürü-dü-m yürü-dü kilo ver-e-me-di-m*
 walk-Past-1Sg walk-Past weight give-Abil-Neg-Past-1Sg
 ‘I kept walking (but still) I could not lose weight’

The ungrammaticality of (21b) as opposed to the grammaticality of (21a) shows that subject agreement is obligatorily doubled.

⁴³The question of ‘How is the subject agreement incorporated into the verb?’ is answered by Öztürk (1999) like the following: The subject agreement marker may be generated in Spec VP as a bundle of features, but after vocabulary insertion in the sense of Halle & Marantz (1993), the agreement markers get incorporated into the verb.

Again, DVs can have their own subject agreement markers as shown in (22), where the DVs have the first person singular marker *-(I)m* and the main verb has the second person plural marker *-(s)(I)n*:

- (22) Dün ev-de öksür-dü-m öksür-dü-m duy-ma-dı-n⁴⁴
 yesterday house-Loc cough-Past-1Sg cough-Past-1Sg hear-Neg-Past-2Sg
 ‘I kept coughing in the house yesterday (but still) you did not hear (me)’

5.3.2.2 Manner phrase (MannerP)

The next level is MannerP, in which manner⁴⁵ and quantificational adverbs reside.⁴⁶

(23)-(24) shows that this level is also doubled:

- (23) a. Sarma-yı hep güzel sar-ar sar-ar dün
 stuffed vine leaves-Acc always nice wrap-Aor wrap-Aor yesterday
 yap-a-ma-dı⁴⁷
 make-Abil-Neg-Past

⁴⁴To make sense of this example, imagine a context in which one person tries to convey some piece of information (e.g. that somebody unwanted has just arrived) to another person by coughing. In this case, (22) is just like a DV and the matrix clause can be translated as ‘I kept coughing in the house yesterday (but still) you did not hear (me)’.

If the end-result was positive and the ‘hearer’ heard the person after s/he kept coughed, we could say *öksürdüm öksürdüm duydun* ‘I kept coughing (and thus) you heard me’. For this example, the context can be extended like the following: *Öksürerek haber vermesem ikimiz de yanmıştık* ‘If I had not let you know about it by coughing, we would be in great trouble’.

⁴⁵Cinque (1999) assumes manner adverbs are in or around VoiceP, also below TP.

⁴⁶No distinction is made here between manner and quantificational adverbs because they both answer the question ‘How’. We use the shortcut term ‘MannerP’ for both. This unification does not affect our argument since they are both below TP.

⁴⁷This is also interpreted like a DV because it can be easily translated like one: ‘S/he always keeps making sarma’s very well (but still) s/he made them awfully yesterday’

‘S/he always keeps making stuffed vine leaves very well (but still) s/he could not make them yesterday’

b. Sarma-yı hep güzel sar-ar güzel sar-ar dün
(Manner Adverb: 50%Y, 40%M, 10%N, Second Group)
stuffed vine leaves-Acc always nice wrap-Aor nice wrap-Aor yesterday

sar-a-ma-dı⁴⁸
wrap-Abil-Neg-Past

‘She always makes stuffed vine leaves well (but still) she could not do so yesterday.’

(24) a. Kız yıllarca hem okul-da hem iş-te çok çalış-tı çalış-tı
girl for years both school-Loc and work-Loc a lot work-Past work-Past

zam al-a-ma-dı
increase get-Abil-Neg-Past

‘The girl kept working a lot both at school and at work for years (but still) s/he could not get a salary rise’

⁴⁸ We keep this example the way it was used in the experiment. But in other examples with the verb *sar-* ‘to wrap’, we have changed the main verb into *yap-* ‘to do/make’. This change was aimed at a unification in the data. In the rest of the data, examples included DVs and a main verb which are lexically different from each other. However, in (23b), the DVs and the main verb are the same. Since we used (23b) as it is in there in the experiment, we kept it the way it was used but changed the others, i.e. (23a) and (25).

b. Kız yıllarca hem okul-da hem iş-te çok çalış-tı çok çalıştı
(Quantificational Adverb: 30%Y, 40%M, 30%N, First Group)⁴⁹
girl for years both school-Loc and work-Loc a lot work-Past a lot work-Past

zam al-a-ma-dı
increase get-Abil-Neg-Past

‘The girl kept working a lot both at the school and the work for years (but still) she could not get a salary rise.’

In (25) is an example in which the manner adverb modifies only the DVs and not the main verb:

(25) Sarma-yı hep güzel sar-ar sar-ar dün berbat
stuffed vine leaves-Acc always nice wrap-Aor wrap-Aor yesterday awful

yap-tı
make-Past

‘S/he always keeps making stuffed vine leaves very well (but still) s/he made them awfully yesterday’

⁴⁹The percentage of ‘No’s and ‘Maybe’s may look high in (24b). We also expected a lower percentage for ‘No’s and ‘Maybe’s. However, clear ‘No’ is 30%. Those who judge (24b) as ‘Maybe’ may be affected by some external factors (remember from Chapter 3, where we discussed some of the possible influences on judgments). We take the fact that those who responded as ‘Maybe’ did not immediately rule out (24b) as indicating that they think (24b) can be used in Turkish. One can also think that the ‘Maybe’ sayers did not immediately accept (24b) as grammatical, therefore, (24b) is ungrammatical. However, given the many factors affecting the grammaticality judgments (length of the doubled material, contexts, dialects etc), the former option seems to be more likely.

5.3.2.3 Frequentative phrase (FrequentativeP)

Example (26) shows that frequentative adverbs, which are aspectual heads in Cinque (1999) and which are called ‘FrequentativeP’ here, can be doubled with the verb stem:

- (26) a. Spor-u her gün yap-tı yap-tı fayda-sın-ı gör-dü⁵⁰
sport-Acc every day do-Past do-Past benefit-Poss-Acc see-Past
‘S/he kept doing exercises everyday (and thus) s/he benefited from it’
- b. Spor-u her gün yap-tı her gün yap-tı fayda-sın-ı gör-dü⁵¹
sport-Acc every day do-Past every day do-Past benefit-Poss-Acc see-Past
‘S/he kept doing exercises everyday (and thus) s/he benefited from it’

Frequentative adverbs can also modify only the DVs and not the main verb. In (27), both the DVs and the main verb have their own frequentative adverbs, indicating that DVs can have their own frequentative adverbs which are different from that of the main verb’s:

⁵⁰We in fact used a different frequentative adverb, *Pazarları* ‘on Sundays’, exemplified in the following:

A: Sen Pazarları hep ders mi çalışıyordun?

B: Evet, maalesef. İyi bir ortalamam olsun istiyordum ve iki yıldır *Pazarları çalıştım Pazarları çalıştım* ortalamayı düzeltemedim. Boşa eğlencesiz geçti yani onca Pazar günü.

“A: Did you always use to study on Sundays?

B: Yes, unfortunately. I wanted my GPA to be good and I kept studying on Sundays (but still) I could not make a good enough GPA. So, all those Sundays passed by with no fun.”

But we got more ‘No’ answers than we expected, which is probably due to the high syllable number of the temporal adverb *Pazarları* ‘on Sundays’. See Chapter 3 for the role of syllable number on the acceptability of a DV unit. Due this, we used another temporal adverb here.

⁵¹ To make (26b) more understandable, imagine the speaker of (26b) continues the context by saying *Sen arada bir yapmayla bir yere varamazsın* ‘By doing it just now and then, you cannot achieve anything’.

- (27) Pazarları *çalış-ır-ım* *çalış-ır-ım* Pazartesileri dinlen-ir-im
 on Sundays work-Aor-1Sg work-Aor-1Sg on Mondays rest-Aor-1Sg
 ‘I keep working on Sundays (and thus) I rest on Mondays’

5.3.2.4 Agent phrase (AgentP)

AgentP is the phrase the NP subject resides in (Öztürk, 2005). (28) shows that they can be doubled with the verb stem as well:

- (28) a. *Ben çalış-tı-m* *çalış-tı-m* o rahat et-ti⁵²
 I work-Past-1Sg work-Past-1Sg s/he comfort do-Past
 ‘I kept working (and thus) s/he lived comfortably’

- b. *Ben çalış-tı-m* *ben çalıştım* o rahat et-ti
 I work-Past-1Sg I work-Past-1Sg s/he comfort do-Past
 ‘It was me who kept working (and thus) it was him/her that lived comfortably’

The example in (28) also indicates that DVs can have their own NP/DP subjects.

⁵²Imagine a context in which a wife complains that she has kept working and her husband lived a comfortable life. Despite this, he left her and the wife utters (28a) and/or (28b) in such a context while speaking to a friend of hers.

5.3.2.5 Tense phrase (TP)

The tense marker is necessarily doubled with the verb root since its deletion leads to ungrammaticality (29b). Note that we utilize an example with two tense-aspect⁵³ markers here:⁵⁴

(29) a. *Kitab-1 oku-yor-du oku-yor-du bitir-e-m-iyor-du*
book-Acc read-Prog-Past read-Prog-Past finish-Abil-Neg-Prog-Past
'S/he was keeping reading the book (but still) s/he could not finish it'

b. **Kitab-1 oku-yor-du oku-yor bitir-e-m-iyor-du*
book-Acc read-Prog-Past read-Prog finish-Abil-Neg-Prog-Past
'S/he was keeping reading the book (but still) s/he could not finish it'

Assuming that tense markers occupy the T head, the obligation to double the tense marker –*DI* shows that we double the TP layer.

As observed in other phrases in TP in the analysis so far, DVs can also have their own tense-aspect markers as shown in the following example, where DVs have the past marker while the main verb has the imperfective/progressive marker:

⁵³ For now, we assume tense and aspect markers together, but they will be dissociated later.

⁵⁴ If there was one tense-aspect marker on the verb stem in a DV structure such as *oku-du oku-du* 'S/he kept reading (it)', the deletion of the past marker would lead to ungrammaticality as in **okudu oku*. But then it would not be clear whether this example is ungrammatical because DVs require that the TP layer be doubled or because *oku* (without an imperative interpretation) is not a possible word in Turkish. But *okuyor* in (29b) is a morphologically well-formed word in Turkish, hence it illustrates our point that TPs need to be doubled.

- (30) *Koş-tu-m* *koş-tu-m* (şimdi) *uyu-ya-m-ıyor-m*
 run-Past-1Sg run-Past-1Sg (now) sleep-Abil-Neg-Prog-1Sg
 ‘I (have) kept running (and thus) I cannot sleep (now)’

A note regarding temporal adverbs is needed here. Temporal adverbs are assumed to be in Spec TP in Turkish (Tosun, 1998). (31) shows that those adverbs cannot be doubled in DVs:

- (31) * *Kitab-ı* *bugün oku-du-m* *bugün oku-du-m* *bitir-e-me-di-m*
 book-Acc today read-Past-1Sg today read-Past-1Sg finish-Abil-Neg-
 Past-1Sg
 ‘Intended: I kept reading the book today (but still) I could not finish (it)’

This seems to raise questions regarding the proposal that DVs have a TP layer. However, the fact that temporal adverbs can modify only the DVs but not the main verb indicates that DVs are a TP:

- (32) *Dün* *şiiir-i* *oku-du-m* *oku-du-m* *bugün unut-tu-m*
 yesterday poem-Acc read-Past-1Sg read-Past-1Sg today forget-Past-1Sg
 ‘I kept reading the poem yesterday (but still) I forgot it today’

Hence, the impossibility of doubling temporal adverbs with the verb stem should be due to some other restriction, which will be clarified when the prosodic properties of

DVs are discussed. But here, based on examples like (32), DVs will be assumed to possess a TP layer.

Let us now look into left-peripheral elements such as topics, questions and higher adverbs. Here, it will be shown that DVs do not have these positions at all. The line of thought of the analysis to follow is the following: If DVs are formed by doubling a TP, they should not have any positions for topics, questions or higher adverbs. Therefore, only the main verb should have a position for these elements. This means that there should be only one position for these elements in the matrix clause DVs appear in. If we can show that there is indeed one position for above-TP level projections in the matrix clause DVs are in, this will further support our proposal.

5.3.2.6 Complementizer phrase (CP)/force phrase (ForceP)

As an element residing in CP (or ForceP (Rizzi, 1997)), examples (2) in Section 5.1. show that there can only be one question element in the clauses that contain DVs. This is because when there are two question particles in a matrix clause that contain DVs, the structure is ungrammatical. This indicates that DVs do not have a position for questions.

5.3.2.7 Topic phrase (TopicP)

DVs and the main verb can share a single topic, which indicates that they must be embedded under a single TopicP.⁵⁵ In (33), the common topic of DVs and the main verb is *insanları* ‘people’:⁵⁶

- (33) İnsan-lar-ı o kadar araştır-dı-m araştır-dı-m (hala) anla-ya-ma-dı-m
human-Pl-Acc it (as) much search-Past-1Sg search-Past-1Sg (still) understand-Abil-
Neg-Past-1Sg
‘I kept researching people so much (but still) I have not been able to
understand them’

The repetition of this topic yields ungrammatical structures:

- (34) *İnsan-lar-ı o kadar araştır-dı-m araştır-dı-m insan-lar-ı
human-Pl-Acc it (as) much search-Past-1Sg search-Past-1Sg human-Pl-Acc

(hala) anla-ya-ma-dı-m
(still) understand-Abil-Neg-Past-1Sg

‘Intended: I kept researching people so much (but still) I have not been able to
understand them’

One can argue that (34) is ungrammatical because of a restriction on the repetition of the same topic. After all, in Turkish, if a topic is constant, it is not repeated in each

⁵⁵There is no obligatory marker for topics in Turkish (though some markers such as *-(y)sA* may signal topichood). Topics usually appear sentence initially though other positions are also possible (see Göksel, 2013 and the references therein).

⁵⁶Note that in (33), *insanları* ‘the people’ is the internal argument of both the DVs and the main verb.

and every structure in a certain context in Turkish. It suffices to say it at the beginning (see Öztürk, 1999 for an example of this with pronoun topics). To see that this is not the case, consider (35):

- (35) *Kitap-lar-ı ara-dı-m ara-dı-m defter-ler-i bul-du-m*
 book-Pl-Acc look.for-Past-1Sg look.for-Past-1Sg notebook-Pl-Acc find-Past-1Sg
 ‘I kept looking for the books (but still/but instead of the books) I found the notebooks’

Kitapları (‘the books’) and *defterleri* (‘the notebooks’) in (35) cannot be interpreted as different topics but only as contrastive foci.⁵⁷ The speaker contrasts the books with the notebooks and the notebooks totally replace the books. That is, if *kitapları* (‘the books’) and *defterleri* (‘the notebooks’) were contrastive topics rather than contrastive foci, they would be able to answer a conjunctive question (Şener, 2010). But here they answer a disjunctive question such as *Kitapları mı buldun defterleri mi?* ‘Did you find the books or the notebooks?’ or *Neyi aradın neyi buldun?* ‘What did you look for and what did you find?’. Therefore, it is not possible for DVs and the main verb to have different topics that are overtly realized without having contrastive focus. Thus, there can only be one topic in the matrix clause DVs appear in.

⁵⁷(36) is one of the points that shows that a single clause may have two different foci in Turkish. As noted before, there are different views on focus in Turkish (see Göksel & Özsoy, 2000; İşsever, 2003; 2006; and Şener, 2010 for different views on the nature of focus in Turkish).

5.3.2.8 Modification by higher adverbs

If DVs are TPs, it should not be possible for them to be modified by higher adverbs since they modify propositions. (36) shows that this is indeed the case:

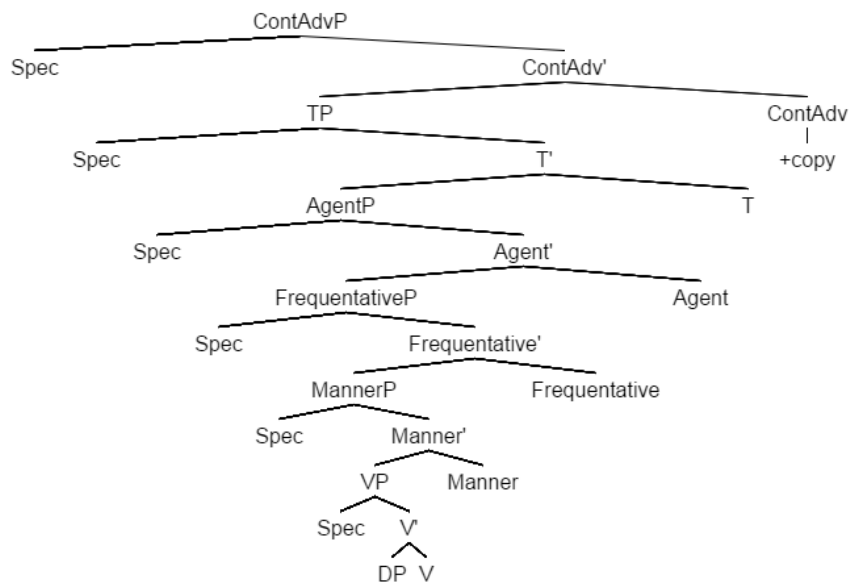
- (36) a. *Maalesef kazan-a-ma-dı-m*
unfortunately win-Abil-Neg-Past-1Sg
'Unfortunately, I could not win'
- b. *Maalesef kazan-dı-m*
unfortunately win-Past-1Sg
'Unfortunately, I won'
- c. *Maalesef çalış-ma-dı-m çalış-ma-dı-m kazan-a-ma-dı-m*
unfortunately work-Neg-Past-1Sg work-Neg-Past-1Sg win-Abil-Neg-
Past-1Sg
'Unfortunately, I did not study (and thus) I could not win'
'Unfortunately, I could not win (because) I kept not studying'
- d. *Maalesef çalış-ma-dı-m çalış-ma-dı-m kazan-dı-m*⁵⁸
unfortunately work-Neg-Past-1Sg work-Neg-Past-1Sg win-Past-1Sg
'It is unfortunate that I won although I kept not studying'
'*It is unfortunate that I did not keep studying (but still) I won'

⁵⁸Imagine a context in which there is a schoolboy who really wants to join a competition in English schoolwide. Every class needs to choose a representative and this boy wants to be the representative of his own class. Since his friends know that he has self-confidence problems and needs to gain some self-confidence, they want to tell him pass the exam in which the class representative will be chosen. Some of these friends are really good at English and they deliberately don't study for the exam in order to let the boy win. But still, it is those friends who are good at English that pass the exam rather than the boy. One of the winners can utter (36d) in such a context.

In (36a), the speaker regrets not having won while in (36b), s/he regrets having won. In (36c) the speaker regrets not having won as well as not studying, hence the different interpretations. In (36d), s/he regrets having won. But it cannot be the case that in (36d), the speaker regrets not having studied. This means that *maalesef* ‘unfortunately’ cannot modify the DVs, which in turn means that DVs do not have a position for higher adverbs.

Having motivated the doubling of all levels in a TP and eliminated the possibility of doubling of levels above TP, the following is the first version of what is suggested here as the structure of DVs (to be slightly modified):

(37)



The structure in (37) entails that ContAdv is an adverb that takes a TP as its complement and copies it due to the +copy feature it has. The lexical specification of

ContAdv states that it has a TP complement and a +copy feature on its head to derive it. The whole structure (ContAdvP) corresponds to the DV *okudum okudum* ‘I kept reading’, where the first *okudum* is the TP complement and the second one is the copy.

Regarding how (37) can possibly be derived, let us assume a bottom up derivation. Let us also assume that all phrase levels from VP to TP are introduced into the derivation one by one. When ContAdv comes into the derivation, it looks for a TP because it has a lexical specification stating that its complement should be a TP. When it finds the already-formed TP in the derivation, it takes this TP as its complement. Since it also has a +copy feature on its head, already specified in its lexical entry as well, it copies the TP complement (to be slightly changed).

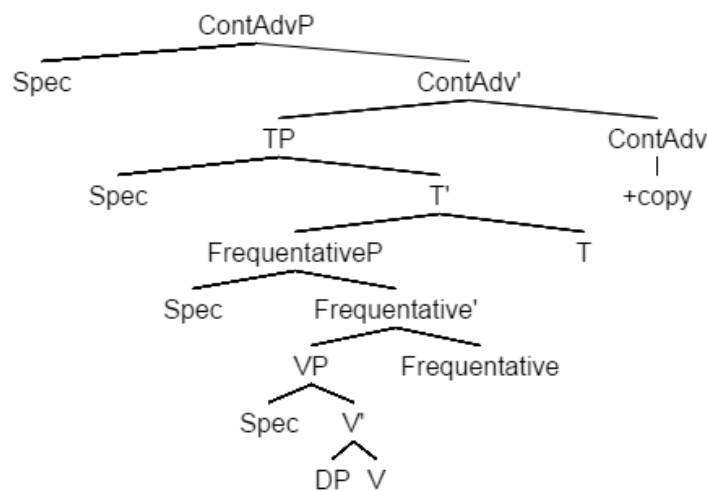
Hence, one can say that the copy feature in the head position of ContAdv requiring that a TP is copied is what derives a ContAdv. Given that copy feature is a common adverb-maker in Turkish (see Section 5.6.), this is an expected function. This means that there are two crucial items for deriving a ContAdv, a TP complement and a copy feature on the ContAdv head to copy that TP complement.

Note that (37) is the structure when all below-TP levels are realized. That is, when there is a tense-aspect marker (TP), a nominal subject (AgentP), a frequentative adverb (FrequentativeP), a manner adverb (MannerP), subject agreement (Spec VP), an internal argument (DP) and a verb (V). However, not all TPs have all of these elements. For instance, not all of them may have a manner adverb. In such a case, the phrase level hosting the manner adverb is not projected. Regarding this point, note that the verb root, subject agreement marker and the tense-

aspect marker are obligatory since these are the minimal elements for a verb stem to be finite (Banguoğlu, 1974; Sezer, 2001; Taylan, 2001).

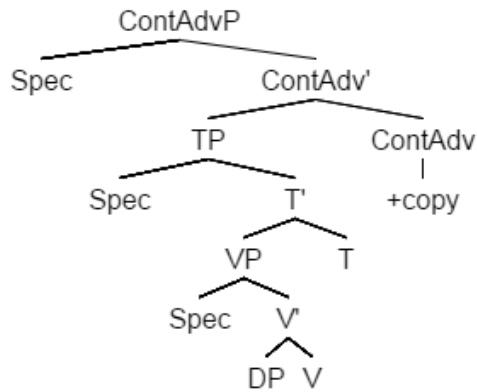
Let us exemplify the derivation of DVs. (38a) below is the representation of examples like (26b) above, in which there is no manner adverb or nominal subject but only a tense-aspect marker, frequentative adverb, verb root, object DP and subject agreement marker. Note that the lacking phrase levels (MannerP and AgentP) are not projected in (38a):

(38) a.



(38b) below is the representation of examples like (18)-(19), where only an object/internal argument is doubled with the verb stem (i.e. no nominal subjects or modifiers are doubled). V and DP host the verb root and the complement (i.e. object, internal argument) of the verb, respectively. The tense marker is on T and the subject agreement marker is in Spec VP:

b.

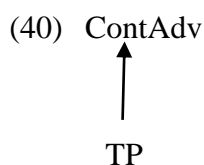


One curious point about the usage of TPs in ContAdv is the question of how one can ever use an inflected verb stem as an adverb. That is, what kind of mechanism can be used to make a TP a complement of ContAdv. Here, we do not aim to come up with a full-fledged explanation for this issue. We will just point out to certain solutions posited for similar structures in other languages and this will hopefully indicate that the problem of using a TP within an adverb is not an unavoidable problem.

It can be assumed that there is some kind of morphological reanalysis going on in the sense of Di Sciullo & Williams (1986). Within the reanalysis approach, DVs would enter the derivation as phrases (TPs, in our case) and then they would be reanalyzed as aContAdv by Turkish morphology:

(39) ContAdvP \longrightarrow TP TP

Or alternatively, it can be assumed that there is some kind of insertion, where insertion is described as “a relation of feature matching between two nodes in different representations” (Ackema & Neelaman, 2004, p. 90):



One other question that comes to mind regarding (37) is that it must be possible to overtly realize each and every level below TP (AgentP, FrequentativeP, MannerP, VP) if this whole TP is copied. However, as discussed in Section 5.4., in most cases, this is not the case. That is, not all of the levels in (37) are overtly realized in DVs. Several factors external to morpho-syntax which will be discussed below affect the overt realization of the whole TP in ContAdv. (37) is what the specifications in lexicon and lexical insertions in morpho-syntax provide us with. However, other parts of grammar such as prosody and semantics also have a role to play. In fact, even syntax itself has a role to play such that after the TP is formed for DVs, the elements in this TP can undergo further syntactic movement for topicalization etc. These points are discussed in Section 5.4. and 5.5.

Before going on in more detail with the analysis, let us now show why other possible analyses that could have been suggested instead of (37) have been eliminated.

5.3.3 What DVs are not

In this section, the reasons for why some other possible analyses are not tenable for DVs are presented. Some of these options are the same options that were investigated for the discussion of how DVs are related to the main verb in Section 5.2. (for example, serial verb constructions and coordination). But this time, what is supposed to form a serial verb construction or a coordination structure is not the DV+main verb unit but the $[V_i+V_i]_{DV}$ unit.

5.3.3.1 DVs are not serial verb constructions (SVCs)

One can argue that DVs themselves are actually SVCs formed by two identical verb stems. SVCs and DVs are similar in that both verbs in both clauses share the subject, possibly object, and tense-aspect markers (Baker, 1989); both refer to a single process and both verb stems can function as a main verb on their own (Dixon, 2011).

However, there are also differences between the two. First, whereas the two verbs in a SVC refer to different subparts of an event, possibly a process and a result (Seuren, 1990), those in DVs make reference to the same subpart (i.e. process) (Chapter 4). Second, it has been proposed that SVCs cannot include the serialization of the same verb (Awoyale, 1987, p. 22, cited in Schiller, 1990, p. 38):

Avoid Tautology Principle: No verb can serialize itself or its synonyms.

Hence, DVs are not SVCs.

5.3.3.2 DVs are not the result of syntactic movement

DVs may be argued to stem from some kind of syntactic movement with the two identical verb stems being remnants of that movement (assuming the Copy Theory of Movement (Chomsky, 1993)). But if we assume this, we need to be careful about the following points:

First, what sort of movement could there be to produce DVs? In most analyses of clauses with two identical verbs in them, it is assumed that the movement is done for reasons of topicalization, focus or affirmation (Cheng & Vicente, 2013; Kandybowicz, 2006; Martin, 2007). DVs do not seem to be related to such movement types.

Second and more importantly, DVs need to be adjacent while in multiple copies of the same verb, there may be different elements (e.g. adverbs) between the two identical verbs.

The following are some examples of the verb doubling structures resulting from syntactic movement,⁵⁹ also mentioned in Chapter 2:

(41) a. European Portuguese (Martins, 2007)

Function: Emphatic Affirmation/Polarity

O João *comprou* o carro, *comprou*

The João bought the car bought

‘John did buy the car’

⁵⁹Kandybowicz (2006) calls these constructions ‘verbal repetitions’. See Hurch et al (2008) and the references therein for different views on repetition and reduplication.

b. Nupe (Nigeria, Africa)

(Kandybowicz, 2006)

Function: Polarity

Musa è *gibisegi*

Musa Pres. eat hen eat

‘Musa IS eating the hen’

The examples in (41a) and (41b) illustrate a case in which a verb stem undergoes movement for feature checking in an A'-Domain (or 'above the vP layer' as stated by Kandybowicz, 2006, p. 66). Not surprisingly, the identical verb stems can be separated from each other in syntactic doubling, which is not possible in DVs. Therefore, DVs must be different from syntactic verb doubling structures in that in DVs, a type of 'word' (which is an adverb) is formed by doubling while this is not the case in syntactic doubling.

One has to account for this difference if we are to argue that DVs result from syntactic movement.

5.3.3.3 DVs are not coordination structures

DVs can be claimed to be coordination structures since they can be translated like a coordination structures (42a). Assuming this to be correct, the obligatory lack of a coordinate marker between them is a curious point, since we cannot overtly pronounce *ve* 'and' without leading to ungrammaticality (42b):

(42) a. Yol *git-ti-m* *git-ti-m* bit-me-di
 road go-Past-1Sg go-Past-1Sg finish-Neg-Past
 ‘I kept going along the road (but still) it did not finish’
 Alternatively: ‘I *went and went* along the road but it just did not finish’

b. *Yol *git-ti-m* ve *git-ti-m* bit-me-di
 road go-Past-1Sg and go-Past-1Sg finish-Neg-Past
 ‘Intended: I *went and went* along the road but it just did not finish’

It is also the case that DVs form one morpho-syntactic unit called ‘ContAdv’ while in coordination, the coordinated elements are still different words that are brought together by a conjunction marker. For instance, in the following structure, *gittim ve geldim* is not a word as a unit, but rather *gittim* and *geldim* are still separate words:

(43) Okul-a *git-ti-m* ve *gel-di-m*
 school-Dat go-Past-1Sg and come-Past-1Sg
 ‘I went to the school and I came back’

This can be supported by the fact that other element can be inserted between *gittim* and *geldim*:

(44) *Git-ti-m* dün ora-ya ve *gel-di-m*
 go-Past-1Sg yesterday there-Dat and come-Past-1Sg
 ‘I went there yesterday and I came back’
 ‘(Literally: I went yesterday there and I came)’.

This contrasts with DVs, which we showed to be unbreakable units at the beginning of this section.

Moreover, the prosodic patterns observed in coordination and DVs are different: In the former, each conjunct preserves its lexical stress while in the latter they do not. Rather, in DVs we can observe a rising pitch at the ends of both verbs, with the one on the second verb stem being radically more prominent.

It is therefore concluded that DVs are not formed by coordination.

5.3.3.4 DVs are not compounds

DVs can be argued to be compounds but the fact that more than a verb stem can be doubled makes this assumption less likely. That is, in DVs, arguments and modifiers can be doubled with the verb stem, which means that DVs have more material than that assumed for compounds. For instance, take the examples in Section 5.3.2., where internal arguments and adverbs are doubled with the verb stem. As an example, see (45), repeated from (19b):

- (45) Aylin biz-e her gel-diğ-in-de Ali-yi sor-du Ali-yi sor-du
(Accusative Case: 60%Y, 20%M, 20%N, Second Group)
Aylin we-Dat every come-Nom-2SgGen-Loc Ali-Acc ask-Past Ali-Acc ask-Past

bul-a-ma-dı
find-Abil-Neg-Past

‘Aylin kept asking for Ali every time she came to our house (but still) she could not find him’

It is unlikely that *Aliyi sordu* ‘(S/he) asked for Ali’ forms a word in Turkish, although *Aliyi* and *sordu* may do so separately. If compounds are assumed to be Word+Word structures that in turn form Words (Selkirk, 1982), this indicates that DVs are not compounds.

The suggestion that DVs are unlikely to be compounds goes against the proposal by Yıldız (2014), who suggests that non-finite verb doubling forms a co-compound in Turkish and we will give more detailed discussion about her work in Section 5.6.

5.4 Role of prosody

Having argued that DVs are formed by copying a TP, the following questions remain to be answered:

- (i) If DVs include two full TPs, why is it the case that in most cases only the verb stem (but not objects and modifiers) is overtly realized?
- (ii) Why is it the case that in most DVs, at most one constituent other than the verb stem is doubled?
- (iii) Is it ever possible to double more than one constituent other than the verb stem in DVs? If so, what are the conditions that govern these cases?

Note that in Turkish, syntactic phrases are left-aligned in prosody since they are syntactically right-headed (Göksel et al., 2013). Among prosodic constituents,⁶⁰ PPhs are signaled by phrase stress on the leftmost Phonological Word (PW) within the PPh⁶¹ as opposed to word stress, which is assigned to the right-most syllable in Turkish (Kabak & Vogel, 2001; Kan, 2009; Sezer, 1983, among others).⁶²

Now consider the following examples:

(46) *Kitap oku-du-m kitap oku-du-m konu-yu anla-dı-m*
 book read-Past-1Sg book read-Past-1Sg topic-Acc understand-Past-1Sg
 ‘I kept reading books (and thus) I understood the topic’

(47) *Çok oku-du-m çok oku-du-m konu-yu anla-dı-m*
 a lot read-Past-1Sg a lot read-Past-1Sg topic-Acc understand-Past-1Sg
 ‘I kept reading a lot (and thus) I understood the topic’

⁶⁰ To remind, the prosodic constituency we assume here is that by Selkirk (1986) and Nespor & Vogel (1986), which have the following constituents bottom-up: Syllable, Foot, Phonological Word, Phonological phrase, Intonational Phrase, Utterance.

⁶¹ A point not directly related to the argument here is the following: Kan (2009) also suggests pause is never observed at the end of PPhs in her data while there is one at the end of I(ntonational)P(hrase). But she also indicates that this does not exclude the possibility of pause at the end of PPhs. Rather, it shows that the pause at the end of PPhs must be qualitatively different from that in IPs.

⁶² Kabak & Vogel (2001) define a PW in Turkish like the following:

Turkish Phonological Word

The PW consists of a root-(most) suffixes.(p. 324)

They suggest that the following rule operates in PWs in Turkish:

Word Stress Assignment in Turkish (WSA)

Stress the final syllable of a PW.(p. 324)

(48) (Kitab-ı) *Her gün oku-du-m her gün oku-du-m konu-yu*
(book-Acc) every day read-Past-1Sg every day read-Past-1Sg topic-Acc

anla-dı-m
understand-Past-1Sg

‘I kept reading (the book) every day (and thus) I understood the topic’

In (46)-(48), various TP-internal materials are doubled with the verb stem and all are acceptable. Then, one wonders why (49), in which one frequentative adverb, one quantifier (or in a different reading, one quantificational adverb) and one object are doubled with the verb stem, is much less acceptable:

(49) ?**Her gün çok kitap oku-du-m her gün çok kitap oku-du-m*
every day a lot book read-Past-1Sg every day a lot book read-Past-1Sg

konu-yu anla-dı-m
topic-Acc understand- Past-1Sg

‘Intended: I kept reading a lot of books every day (and thus) I understood the topic’

Or ‘Intended: I kept reading books a lot every day (and thus) I understood the topic’

Or why is (50), in which one frequentative adverb and one object are doubled with the verb stem, not readily acceptable?

(50) ?*Her gün kitap oku-du-m her gün kitap okudum konu-yu
every day book read-Past-1Sg every day book read-Past-1Sg topic-Acc

anla-dı-m

understand-Past-1Sg

‘Intended: I kept reading books every day (and thus) I understood the topic’

There could be a single answer to all questions posited at the beginning of this section: If we assume Göksel et al. (2013)’s suggestion that doubling forms PPhs in Turkish, we can suggest that in DVs, which are also doubling constructions, the original and copy TPs need to be PPh. If that is the case, that (49)-(50) are unacceptable follows because they include more than one PPh. It also means that internal arguments and modifiers are doubled with the verb stem only if they are in the same PPh as the verb stem.

In fact, when one tries to sort out the conditions under which internal arguments and modifiers are doubled with the verb stem and when they are not, one notices that the suggestion that DVs are PPhs is on the right track. Given that PPhs in Turkish are left-prominent and that in (46)-(48), it is the doubled internal arguments or modifiers that bear the phrase stress due to their focus feature, this is a promising suggestion.

In relation to this point, compare the following:

- (51) a. *Ye-di-m ye-di-m kilo al-dı-m*
 eat-Past-1Sg eat-Past-1Sg weight gain-Past-1Sg
 ‘I kept eating (and thus) I put on weight’
- b. *Tatlı ye-di-m tatlı ye-di-m kilo al-dı-m*
 sweet eat-Past-1Sg sweet eat-Past-1Sg weight gain-Past-1Sg
 ‘I kept eating sweet things (and thus) I put on weight’

In (51a), eating, regardless of what is eaten, is shown as the cause for gaining weight. In (51b), on the other hand, eating sweet things (as opposed to, say, eating bread) is shown as the cause of gaining weight. Therefore, ‘sweet’ bears the phrase stress.

Similarly, the example in (47), repeated here as (52), shows that the speaker does not really talk about his/her reading, but about his/her reading a lot. That is, s/he seems to emphasize that she not only read things, but she read a lot. Hence, the modifier is perceptually more prominent.

- (52) *Çok oku-du-m çok oku-du-m konu-yu anla-dı-m*
 a lot read-Past-1Sg a lot read-Past-1Sg topic-Acc understand-Past-1Sg
 ‘I kept reading a lot (and thus) I understood the topic’

One can say then that in (51b), *tatlı ye-* (‘to eat sweet things’) is used contrastively to *ekmek ye-* (‘to eat bread’). Similarly, one can also say that in (52), *çok oku-* (‘to read a lot’) is used contrastively to *az oku-* (‘to read little’). Hence, *tatlı* and *az* bear some kind of focus. This means that they are perceptually prominent. Since they occur to

the left of the DVs, one can make the generalization that objects and modifiers are doubled with the verb stem in DVs only when they fall into the same PPh as the verb stem. This is because by virtue of being perceptually more prominent due to their (contrastive) focus feature, those elements mark the left-edge of the PPh that includes each of the verb stems in DVs.

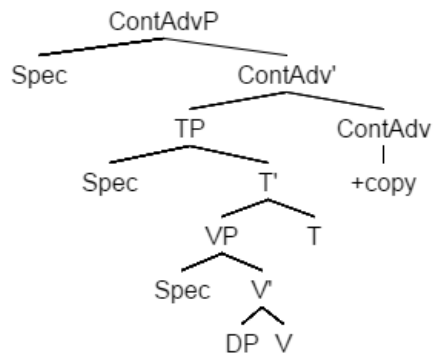
A potential question at this point is the following: If the phrase structure in (37) is correct, how can we have both (53a) and (53b)? That is, if the doubling of objects and modifiers is doubling of a single PPh, how can we have (53a), where the object is not doubled with the verb stem?

(53) a. *Tatl*₁ [*ye-di-m*]_{PPh} [*ye-di-m*]_{PPh} *kilo* *al-d₁-m*
 sweet eat-Past-1Sg eat-Past-1Sg weight gain-Past-1Sg
 ‘I kept eating sweet things (and thus) I put on weight’

b. [*Tatl ye-di-m*]_{PPh} [*tatl ye-di-m*]_{PPh} *kilo* *al-d₁-m*
 sweet eat-Past-1Sg sweet eat-Past-1Sg weight gain-Past-1Sg
 ‘I kept eating sweet things (and thus) I put on weight’

Let us start with (53b). Its representation can look like the following:

(53b')

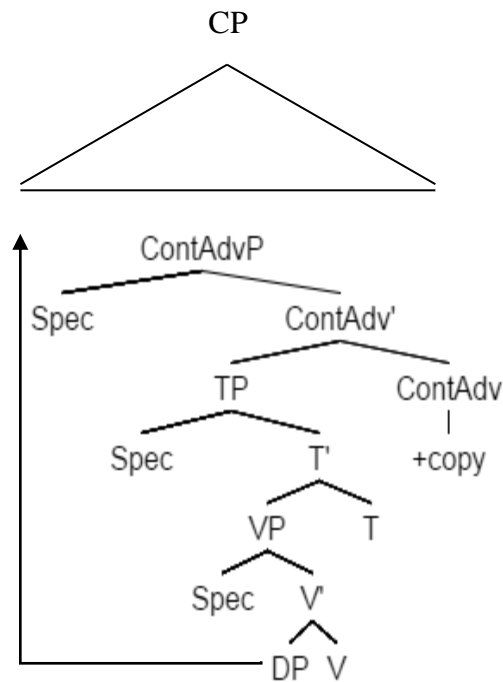


In (53b'), the V head is occupied by the bare verb root *ye-* ('to eat') and its complement position DP is filled by *tathl* ('sweet things'). Spec VP is occupied by the first person singular subject agreement marker *-m* and the T is filled by the past marker *-DI*.⁶³ The +copy feature on ContAdv copies this whole unit and thus we have (53b).

(53a') can be proposed to represent the derivation of (53a):

⁶³See Footnote (43) to see how the subject agreement can be incorporated into the verb.

(53a')



Now, we will propose a different structure for (53a) but some discussion is required before positing it.

In (53a'), the same elements occupy the same positions as in (53b'). There is one difference between the two: In (53a'), the DP, the complement of the verb, has undergone left-peripheral movement to the CP of the main verb (that is, movement to TopicP, which is a CP position) while all elements are kept in their base-generated positions in (53b'). This means that the DP *tatlı* in (53a) is taken outside the TP before it is handed to prosody. Therefore, doubling of the DP complement is out of question since it is not within the TP of DVs when prosody takes care of the structure.

There is one problem with (53a'), though. If one assumes a bottom-up derivation, the copying must have taken place before movement for topicalization. This is because TopicP is introduced into the derivation after the ContAdv, which has the +copy feature. But (53a) entails that the DP *tatli* ('sweet') must have been taken outside the TP before overt pronunciation. There is a conflict.

There are some potential solutions to this conflict. We can assume that there is no bottom-up derivation. We can also assume that even after the copying takes place, the copied element can be changed depending on the results of syntactic processes. For instance, if DP undergoes topicalization in (53a'), it is taken outside the TP and the already copied TP can see that there is no DP in the TP that it has copied. Then, the DP is deleted within the copy as well. Both of these solutions look arbitrary and do not explain much.

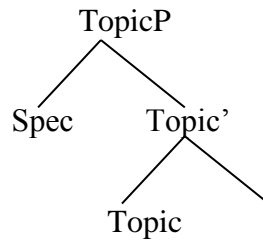
Another possible solution is that the DP in (53a') is generated as a topic rather than undergoing syntactic movement to the topic position from its base-generated position as the complement of the verb. If that is the case, its representation would look like the following (dots indicate that there are some phrase levels in those places but they are irrelevant to the current discussion):

(53a'')

.

.

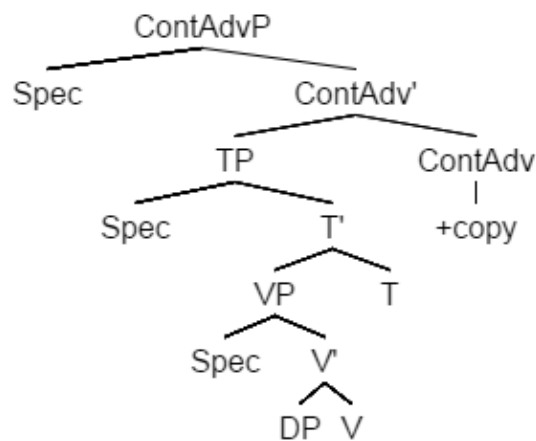
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In (53a''), the DP *tatli* 'sweet' is in Topic position and the verb is without an overt complement (or maybe the topic is related to the complement position of the verb by other mechanisms such as long-distance Agree). Note that the DP in the VP complement position is not deleted in (53a'') since there could be some relation between the topic and this complement position of the verb.

This sounds as if one is going against a common assumption that verbs come with their complements. However, many studies on Turkish topics assume that topics may be generated in different positions in Turkish (Göksel, 2013; Güneş, 2010; Kamali, 2009; Kılıçarslan, 2004). Göksel (2013), in fact, argues that Turkish has a template for a clause, rather than designated positions for each linguistic element. That is, Turkish can be assumed to have a clause structure-prosody pairing like the following:(p. 15)

(54)H*.....V.....

In (54), there are three domains in a clause in Turkish and these are (Göksel & Özsoy, 2003; Göksel 2013, p. 16):

- (55) a. up to and including H*
- b. between H* and V
- c. post V

These positions can be filled by different elements, depending on what is said.

In the same work, Göksel (2013) questions the idea that heads and complements are adjacent in Turkish. For instance, bare objects can appear pre-subject position (56a) or post-verbal position (56b), non-adjacent to the verb it is an object of (Göksel, 2013, p. 12):

(56) a. Kahve Ali de iste-miş-ti. (bare O S V)
 coffee Ali.NOM too want-PF-P
 ‘Ali had also asked for coffee.’

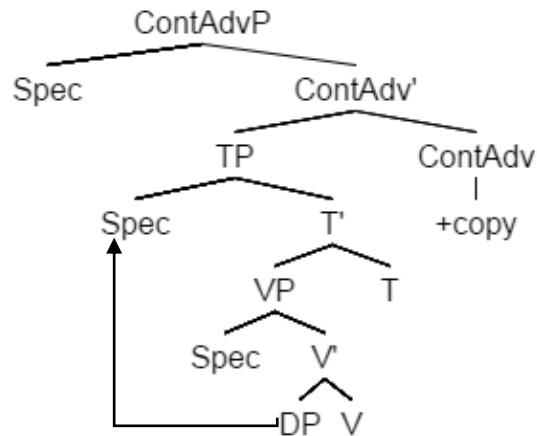
b. Gör-dü-n mü hayatında hiç film? (V bare O)
 see-Past-2Sg Q in.your.life ever film
 ‘Have you ever seen a film/films in your life?’

Therefore, it can indeed be the case that a bare DP complement of a verb is generated as a topic, but it is related to the verb it is an object of by some different mechanism such as Agree.

Although this solution seems tenable, it requires extra mechanisms.

Therefore, we will adopt another solution which does not resort to such extra mechanisms, and therefore more elegant. In this solution, Spec TP is assumed to be the position for “a topic/subject-predication configuration in Turkish”.(Erguvanlı, 1984; Özsoy, (to appear); Öztürk, 2005, p. 179,) That is, Spec TP can host topics in Turkish. This means that DP object in (53a’) does not need to undergo left-peripheral movement to TopicP. Thus, we do not have the problem of associating the DP object in TopicP with the verb in VP. In such a solution, the DP object is generated in the complement position of the verb. Then, it moves to Spec TP for topicalization when the TP level is introduced into the derivation of DVs. The structure then looks like (53a’’):

(53a''')



As will be shown in Section 5.5. below, Spec TP is not included in the doubled part in DVs. Therefore, the fact that topicalized elements in DVs cannot be pronounced follows. In other words, the movement of the object DP to Spec TP enables it to escape being overtly pronounced. Only its trace in its base-generated position is within the doubled part. Hence, this last solution provides a more complementary solution to the problem of non-doubled DP objects in DVs. It also does not require extra mechanisms, which makes it a more attractive solution.

5.5 How to reconcile syntactic and prosodic requirements

The discussions in Section 5.3. and Section 5.4. have shown that ContAdv requires a TP which must correspond to a PPh. Thus, there are two requirements to be satisfied for the copying process if we are to have a ContAdv. In the lexicon, the ContAdv should have three features, a +copy feature, a TP complement, and a lexical specification that +copy copies a PPh within the TP complement.

At this point, remember example (31), repeated here as (57):

- (57) * *Kitab-ı bugün oku-du-m bugün oku-du-m bitir-e-me-di-m*
book-Acc today read-Past-1Sg today read-Past-1Sg finish-Abil-Neg-Past-1Sg
'Intended: I kept reading the book today (but still) I could not finish (it)'

Example (57) shows that temporal adverbs cannot be doubled. Following the suggestion that temporal adverbs occupy Spec TP (Tosun, 1998), (57) shows that Spec TP is not doubled. It cannot be the case that there is no Spec TP in DVs because of examples like (32), repeated here as (58), in which DVs can have their own temporal adverbs:

- (58) *Dün şiir-i oku-du-m oku-du-m bugün unut-tu-m*
yesterday poem-Acc read-Past-1Sg read-Past-1Sg today forget-Past-1Sg
'I kept reading the poem yesterday (but still) I forgot it today'

Instead, a solution covering both the existence and non-doublability of Spec TPs is needed. To this end, a suggestion based on the correspondence between the aspectual domain and PPhs will be proposed here. For this, let us quickly review what an aspectual domain is in Turkish.

Kornfilt (1996) divides Turkish verb stems into two morpho-syntactic domains. First domain includes the root and the low aspect markers (participals) and the second domain includes the copula and high tense-aspect marking. In that

analysis, the verbal stem complex *kaldıysanız* ‘If you have stayed’ is represented like the following (Newell, 2008, p. 73):

- (59) [kal-dı] [y-sa-nız]
stay-Past Cop-Cond.-2Pl.
‘If you have stayed’

The domains in (59) are separate domains for stress assignment. In fact, one of the main reasons for a representation like (59) is to account for ‘exceptional’ stress marking in Turkish. Hence, the fact that the major stress is not on the final syllable but on the past marker in *kaldıysanız* in (59), contrary to the general stress pattern of the language, is explained because it is the leftmost phrasal domain that receives the main stress. Thus, complex verbal words in Turkish are divided into separate domains, among which the leftmost one receives the major stress. This generalization accounts for exceptional stress markers in Turkish.

As discussed in Newell (2008), Kornfilt also provides syntactic evidence for this proposal. The evidence concerns suspended affixation of the left inflection, which is not possible in the inflectional markers belonging to the second domain (60c)-(60d):

- (60) a. gel-miş ve git-miş-tir
come-Evid. and go-Evid.-Cop.
‘S/he has probably come and gone’

b. gel-miş-tir ve git-miş-tir
 come-Evid.-Cop. and go-Evid.-Cop.
 ‘S/he has probably come and gone’

c. *gel-di ve git-ti-k
 come-Past and go-Past-3Pl.
 ‘Intended: We came and went’

d. gel-di-k ve git-ti-k
 come-Past-3Pl. and go-Past-3Pl.
 ‘We came and went’

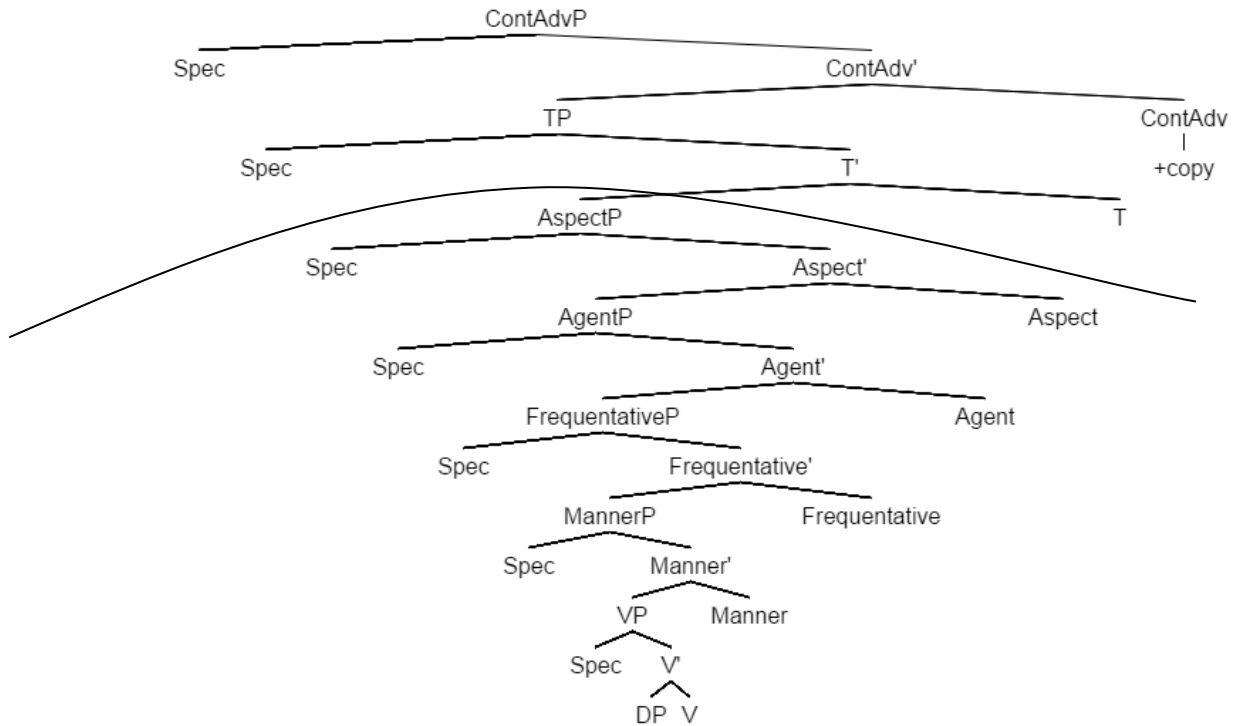
Kornfilt (1996) and Newell (2008) take each of these separate domains to correspond to Phonological Words (PWs) in Turkish.

Also, based on an analysis of accusative case marker, Üntak-Tarhan (2006) assumes Aspectual Phrase and TP as separate spell-out domains in Turkish.

Given these suggestions regarding the aspectual domain in Turkish, it is assumed here that there is indeed a syntactic aspectual domain in Turkish, and this domain corresponds to a prosodic domain as well. We will now look into how these assumptions apply to DVs. In order to be able to do so, however, two points should be kept in mind: (i) no more than a PPh is copied in DVs, and (ii) temporal adverbs that reside in Spec TP cannot be copied.

These points point out a structure like the following, which is the final version of the representation of DVs:

(61)



The structure in (61) has all three lexical requirements of ContAdv's: a +copy feature, a TP complement and a lexical specification that +copy copies only a PPh, which is represented by the line over AspectP in (61). That the PPh corresponds to an AspectP rather than a TP has some evidence. Consider the following examples:

- (62) a. *Kitap-ı oku-yor-du oku-yor-du bitir-e-m-iyor-du*
book-Acc. read-Prog-Past read-Prog-Past finish-Abil-Neg-Prog-Past
'S/he was keeping reading the book (but still) she was not able finish it'

- b. *Kitab-ı oku-yor oku-yor-du bitir-e-m-iyor-du*
 book-Acc. read-Prog read-Prog-Past finish-Abil-Neg-Prog-Past
 ‘S/he was keeping reading the book (but still) she was not able finish it’

In (62a), there are two tense-aspect markers on the DVs, one is the imperfective/progressive marker *-Iyor* and the other one is the past marker *-DI*. (62b) shows that the past marker can be suspended on the first copy in DVs. Given that *-DI* is the only tense marker in Turkish and *-Iyor* is the progressive aspect marker (Yavaş, 1980), the past marker presumably occupies the T head and *-Iyor* occupies the Aspect head. Therefore, Aspect head is necessarily copied but the T head can be suspended.

The structure in (61) also explains why Spec TP cannot be copied in DVs: Note that the copied area does not include Spec TP.

Elegant though it seems, there is one problem with (61): How can we explain cases where T head is also copied, i.e. examples such as (62a), if the T head is not in the copied area?

Kabak & Vogel (2001), in investigating the full and clitic forms of certain items including the past marker, suggest a representation like the following for complex verb stems:

- (63) a. $[gid-ecék]_{PW}[i-di-lér]_{PW}$
 go-Fut. Cop.-Past-3Pl.
 ‘They would go’

- b. [gid-ecék-Ø_(PWA)-ti-ler]_{PW}
 go-Fut. Past-3Pl.
 ‘They would go’

PW and PWA stand for a Phonological Word and a Phonological Word Adjoiner, respectively. PWAs are not included within the PW but rather they mark the right end of it. By doing so, PWAs cause the stress to fall on the syllable that immediately precedes them, i.e. the last syllable of the PW.

As (63) shows, clitic form of the past marker cannot form its own prosodic domain and depends on the previous prosodic constituent while the full form has its own PW.

Likewise, it can be suggested that the past marker in (62) does not have its own prosodic domain but attaches to the prosodic domain that precedes it, i.e. PPh formed from the AspectP. The past marker in examples in (62) is a clitic form and not a full form because it attaches to an aspectual marker. Given their clitic nature, which does not allow them to form their own prosodic constituent, and the fact that AspectP preceding the TP hosting the past clitic corresponds to the prosodic constituent of PPh, it is expected that the clitic past marker depends on this closest PPh prosodically. In other words, prosodic dependency requirement of the clitic past tense marker in (62) makes it unable to stand on its own prosodically without attaching to any prosodic constituent.

5.6 Discussion

That doubling forms adverbs in Turkish is well-known in the literature (e.g. Göksel & Kerslake, 2005; Göksel & Haznedar, 2007; Lewis, 1967; Yıldız, 2014):

- (64) a. *Kapı kapı* dolaş-tı-lar (Manner Adverb)
door door go-Past-3Pl
'They went from house to house'
- b. *Sabah sabah* biz-e gel-miş (Intensified Temporal Adverb)
morning morning we-Dat come-EvidPast
'Apparently, s/he came to us early in the morning'
- c. *Yaz yaz* bitir-e-me-di-m ödev-i (Aspectual –Continuity Adverb)
write.IMP write.IMP finish-Abil-Neg-Past-1Sg homework-Acc
'I could not finish the homework (although) I worked on it for hours'
(Yıldız, 2014)

As can be seen in examples in (64), doubling forms different types of adverbs in Turkish. Although this fact is well-known, how it is possible for the same process to yield different adverbs is a question that has not been addressed in its entirety in the literature. Here, we will point to a more unified explanation for the nature of full stem doubling.

As far as we are aware, there are two systematic analyses on how doubling creates adverbs in Turkish and these are Göksel et al. (2013) and Yıldız (2014).

Although they do not look into all doubling types in Turkish, they offer systematic

analyses of certain doubling structures and these analyses seem to point out to interesting generalizations regarding how doubling behaves in Turkish.

The first of those studies is Göksel et al. (2013), who investigate a doubling process they call Non-Local Doubling (NLD) in Turkish and Greek. In NLD, the two identical constituents need not be adjacent, as opposed to those in (64). An example of this adverb is the following (F and square brackets stands for narrow focus and PPh, respectively):

- (65) [{F *Ayşe*}]_{PPh} Ali-ye vur-muş *Ayşe*.
Ayşe Ali-Dat hit-EvidPast *Ayşe*
 ‘AYŞE hit Ali.’

NLD takes one (or more) constituent(s) (i.e. source) and copies it to the end of the clause. This source has to be a PPh within the IP in a sentence, be it in a prosodic head position or not. Whatever follows the IP cannot be doubled.

NLD serves adverbial functions. Summing up various functions of NLD, Göksel et al (2013) suggest that NLD serves to help the listener to evaluate the propositional content of the sentence and they term this function as EMPH(ATIC). Considering the derivation and functions of NLD, Göksel et al (2013) argue that (66) is a representation of NLD:

- (66) $ADV_{EMPH} : \alpha \dots \alpha$

This indicates that NLD forms ADV_{EMPH} by using doubling as a function that copies a constituent (specifically, PPh) and locates the copy at the end of a clause.

Göksel et al. (2013) provides us with a predecessor study in our claim that DVs are formed by doubling a TP which is also a PPh.

Another systematic analysis of doubling as an adverb formation process is Yıldız (2014), who proposes that reduplication takes place at a very low level unlike the structure in (37) and (61). Two identical verb roots (V heads) form a duoV (a term she uses based on Baker, 1988; Baker et al., 2005), where there are no objects or modifiers but only verb roots. The phrases above duoV are (from bottom to top): VP, vP, Aspectual Phrase and an Adverb Phrase. This Adverb Phrase then acts as a modifier with a continuity interpretation for another verb.

This analysis indicates that a doubled structure (duoV) is used as an adverb although the relation between the adverbial head and the duoV is not entirely clear. Yıldız's analysis is as below:

(67) $V_i V_i \rightarrow duoV \rightarrow ADV_{CONTINUOUS}$

Yıldız (2014) runs into problems in face of examples like (68):

(68) Gün-ler-dir *şiiir yaz şiiir yaz* yorul-du-m valla
 day-Pl-for poem write.IMP poem write.IMP get tired-Past-1Sg swear
 'I got tired because of writing poems (constantly), I swear'

In (68), a bare object is doubled with the verb root. In her proposal that these structures have doubling at V level with nothing but the verb root, examples like (68) do not find an explanation.

A second problem with Yıldız (2014) is that it is not clear how V level doubling relates to the $ADV_{CONTINUOUS}$. It is suggested that the duoV is an adverb in her analysis. But we do not know for sure how this relation comes about (i.e. whether $ADV_{CONTINUOUS}$ selects for a duoV or duoV has an intrinsic feature that forces it to be $ADV_{CONTINUOUS}$).

Despite these shortcomings, though, her syntactic approach and her argumentation based on modification properties of adverbs are still valid and we have so far had a similar approach to the problem. Moreover, both Yıldız (2014)'s nonfinite verb reduplication structures and DVs are similar in their function since they both are Continuous Adverbs. The difference between the two lies in their internal structure such that DVs have a TP layer while nonfinite verb reduplication structures do not.

5.6.1 Two possible generalizations

We will briefly discuss two generalizations of doubling phenomena in Turkish, one regarding the lexicon and one regarding prosody. We hope that these points will be worked on more elaborately in future studies.

Based on Göksel et al. (2013), Yıldız (2014) and the examples in (64), we can make the following generalization: doubling can form different types of adverbs

in Turkish. The next question then is: How is it possible for the same process to yield different adverbs?

As a speculative answer, we suggest the answer to this question lies in the features of what is doubled: When a noun is doubled, it becomes a type of manner adverb as in (64a). When a PPh⁶⁴ is doubled non-locally, it becomes ADV_{EMPH} as in (65)⁶⁵. When a TP is doubled immediately adjacent to the original TP, it becomes a ContAdv as in DVs. Therefore, it seems that adverbs with a copy feature are differentiated from each other mainly by their complements (though some additional requirements such as locality may be necessary as well). Therefore, we can say that there is a class of adverbs with +copy feature in their lexical entry in Turkish, differentiating them from non-doubled adverbs. Each type of these adverbs has a different complement, which differentiates them from other adverbs with the +copy feature.

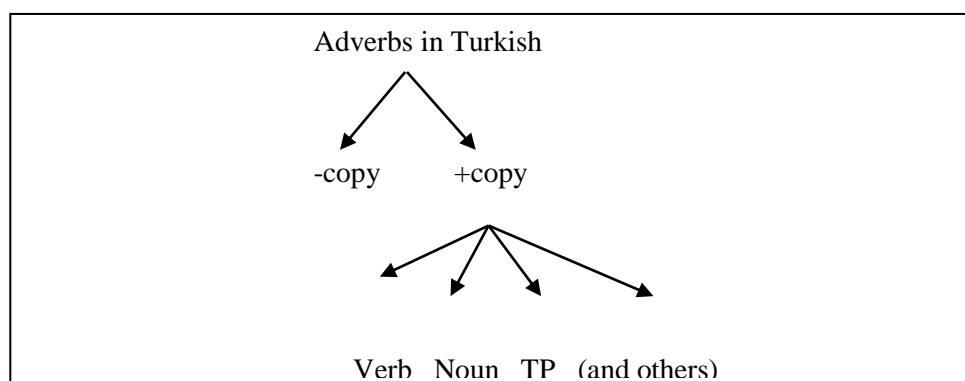


Figure 2: Lexical Grouping of Adverbs in Turkish

If this speculation is on the right track, (37) and (61) fits in the general pattern of doubling easily: the + copy feature of the ContAdv renders it different from adverbs

⁶⁴See Section 5.3.3. for a definitive criteria of PPhs in Turkish.

⁶⁵We do not know what the syntax of NLD looks like since Göksel et al. (2013) do not provide one. Therefore, we just say a PPh, a prosodic constituent.

lacking this feature. Since its complement is a TP, it is differentiated within adverbs with +copy feature as well.

This hopefully provides a more unified account of doubling in Turkish. But this is a point where further research is certainly needed.

Another possible unification of doubling in Turkish is the following: Notice that both NLD and DVs copy a PPh. Potentially, doubled manner adverbs are also PPhs since XPs correspond to PPhs in Turkish (Özçelik & Nagai 2011). Can it be the case that full stem doubling in Turkish always copies a PPh?

If the answer to this question is yes, it points out to a more unified explanation of different doubling phenomena. Indeed, it can be the case that phrase-level doubling in Turkish (such as TP, NP etc.) always form a PPh in prosody. For instance, in DVs, doubling copies a PPh in the TP complement. In doubled manner adverbs, it takes a manner adverb (let us say MannerP) and copies a PPh in it. In NLD, doubling copies a PPh within an IP (since we do not know the syntax of these structures yet).

If we take this restriction that doubling XPs should be doubling of PPhs in prosody as a length restriction, we can posit the syllable-number restriction observed in data from the experiment as a kind of length restriction as well.

Remember the following data from the experiment provided in Chapter 3, where it was observed that as the verb root got longer, the structure became less acceptable. (69) below has a one-syllable long verb root while the one in (70) is a two-syllable long one and (70) is less acceptable:

(69) A: Hale İstanbul'a mı taşınmış?

B: Aklımın ucundan bile geçmezdi ama evet. Kız yıllarca *Ankara'da durdu* *Ankara'da durdu* hiçbir yeri öğrenemedi. Ankara'ya alışamadı. Sonra da dayanamayınca bırakıp İstanbul'a gelmiş.

(70% Y, 30 % M, Second Group)

“A: Is it true that Hale moved to Istanbul?

B: I would never have thought that would happen, but yes. The girl *kept staying in Ankara* for years (but still) she could not get to know the place. She could not get used to Ankara. And finally, when she could not bear it, they say she came to Istanbul.

(70) A: Mustafa dün neler dedi öyle.

B: Ayıp oldu ama bunca yıl *Antalya'da çalıştı* *Antalya'da çalıştı* şehre alışamadı. Buradayken de hep alışamadığını söylerdi zaten. Ama keşke dün biraz daha saygılı konuşsaydı. Sonuçta Antalya'dan misafirler vardı.

(10% Y, 50% M, 30% N, Third Group)

“A: What kind of things Mustafa said yesterday!

B: It was a shame but he *kept working in Antalya for all these years* (but still) he could not get used to the town. He used to say he could not get used to it when he was here as well. But I wish he had talked more carefully yesterday. After all, there were guests from Antalya.”

Similar observations were made regarding the length (i.e. syllable number) of objects as well. It was suggested that keeping the length of the verb root constant, shorter objects as in (71) yielded more acceptable structures compared to longer objects as in (72):

(71) A: Bir sorunun var galiba. Anlatsana.

B: Benim Tuğba dinleneceğim diye bu yıl hep *evde oturdu evde oturdu* hiç çalışmadı. Ama şimdi “Ben niye bu kadar ayı boşuna harcadım, herkes iş buldu” diye yakınıp duruyor.

(70%Y, 20%M, 10%N, Second Group)

“A: I think you have a problem. Tell me about it.

B: My Tuğba *kept staying at home* (and thus) she did not work at all, saying that she was going to have a rest. But now she complains, saying “Why did I waste all these months, everybody has found a job”.

(72) A: Duydun mu haberlerde akşam, bir Mustafa Amca vardı.

B: Hayır, nolmuş?

A: Bu adam geçen yıla kadar hep *şehirde yaşamış şehirde yaşamış* şehre hiç alışmamış. Geçen yıl da Karadeniz’de bir köye taşınmış. Ben kendimi düşündümde mahalleden ayrılısam ölürüm.

(10%Y, 30%M, 60%N, First Group)

“A: Did you hear on the news last night, there was a Mustafa uncle.

B: No, what happened?

A: That man *kept living in the city until last year* (but still) he could not get used to it. Last year, he moved to a village in Black Sea Region. I thought of myself then, if I ever left my neighbourhood, I would die.”

The following is an example of a combination of a very long object and a two-syllable verb root, with a high percentage of unacceptability:

(73) A: Biz niye istediğimizi alamıyoruz?

B: Burada hak alma işini unutun. Bak mesela M sınıfına ne oldu? *Kararlarında direndiler kararlarında direndiler* hiçbir şey elde edemediler. Siz daha

baştan su koyuverirken hiç alamazsınız.

(20%Y, 10%M, 70% N, First Group)

“A: Why can’t we get what we want?

B: Forget about having your rights here. Look, for example, at the M class. They *kept insisting on getting what they decided on* (but still) they could not get anything. If you just give up at the very beginning, you can never ever get anything.”

We hope that future research will provide a more in-depth analysis of this point regarding the role of prosodic length in DVs.

5.7 Some further notes

Prosody is not the only restriction that is effective on the doubled constituents in DVs. We repeat examples (21)-(23) from Chapter 3 here to show one such restriction:

(74) A: Hale İstanbul’a mı taşınmış?

B: Aklımın ucundan bile geçmezdi ama evet. Kız yıllarca *Ankara’da durdu* *Ankara’da durdu* hiçbir yeri öğrenemedi. Ankara’ya alışamadı. Sonra da dayanamayınca bırakıp İstanbul’a gelmiş.

(70%Y, 30 %M, Second Group)

“A: Is it true that Hale moved to Istanbul?

B: I would have never thought that would happen, but yes. The girl *kept staying in Ankara* for years (but still) she could not get to know the place. She could not get used to Ankara. And finally, when she could not bear it, they say she came to Istanbul.”

(75) A: Dün komşudan gelen sesler neydi?

B: Ya bizim Ali, araba çok benzin yakıyor ve biraz da borçları var diye Zeynep'in işe otobüsle gitmesini istiyormuş. Zeynep de rahat etmek için her gün *arabaya binmiş arabaya binmiş* parayı bitirmiş, Ali de buna kızmış.

(80%Y, 20%M, Third Group)

“A: What was the noise coming from the neighbour's house yesterday?

B: Apparently, Ali wanted Zeynep to go to work by bus because the car uses a lot of gasoline and they are short on money. But Zeynep *kept using the car* in order to be comfortable (and thus) she used up their money. Ali was angry about that.

(76) A: Bu aralar herkes hasta. Senin oğlan nasıl?

B: İyi, ona bir şey olmaz. Benim oğlan bu soğukta sürekli *pencereyi açar pencereyi açar* hasta falan olmaz. Bana çekmiş sağlamlığı.

(20%Y, 30%M, 40%N, Third Group)

“A: Everyone is sick these days. How is your son?

B: Fine, nothings happens to him. My son *keeps opening the window* all the time in this cold weather (but still) he does not get ill. He is strong just as I am.”

(74)-(76) show a contrast between case markers such that accusative case marker is less acceptable than locative or dative case. This distinction may be related to Enç (1991)'s analysis of accusative marker as introducing a discourse referent unlike incorporated objects (with no accusative case). The accusative-marked object may be assumed to be outside the TP that forms the DVsin such an analysis. If that is the case, accusative-marked objects can never be doubled. Given that there are some people who can accept the doubling of an object with an accusative case marker, this

is a radical suggestion. However, it can still provide parts of an explanation for the role of the accusative case on doubling of objects in DVs. Whether this is a correct approach or not is yet to be seen.

5.8 Conclusion

In this chapter, the morpho-syntactic structure of DVs has been investigated and it has been suggested that:

- (i) DVs do not form a separate matrix clause.
- (ii) DVs have adverbial functions, termed as Continuous Adverb (ContAdv) here.
- (iii) DVs are formed by copying a PPh within the TP complement of aContAdv.
- (iv) The copied PPh corresponds to an AspectP within the TP complement.

Speculations pointing out to a unified account of doubling in Turkish have also been presented. For example, it can be the case that Turkish adverbs fall into either –copy adverbs and +copy adverbs, the latter differentiated within themselves depending on what is copied. Also, it has been suggested that doubling seems to always copy a PPh in Turkish. If these speculations are on the right track, a unified account of doubling in Turkish may be on its way.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

In this thesis, inflected doubled verbs (DVs) in Turkish, such as the following, have been investigated with respect to their aspectual, morpho-syntactic and prosodic properties and structure with the aim of providing a systematic and comprehensive analysis of doubling that structure:

- (1) *Kitab-ı oku-du-m oku-du-m bitir-e-me-di-m*
book-Acc read-Past-1Sg read-Past-1Sg finish-Abil-Neg-Past-1Sg
'I kept reading the book (but still) I could not finish it'

Data from a grammaticality judgment experiment (presented in Chapter 3) as well as our own examples were used in building an analysis.

As discussed in detail in Chapter 4, DVs express the iteration or duration of events, which are combined here under the term 'continuity'. The interplay between the temporal adverb, the main verb and the DVs is effective in determining whether DVs have an iterative or durative reading. DV formation is contingent on verbs whose aspectual meaning can be categorized as [+stages], and continuity and agentivity/dynamicity can be simply expressed through the [+stages] feature of Rothstein (2004). The non-doubled verb (i.e. the main verb) expresses the end-point of the iterative or durative event. Since DVs include an event that continues for a period of time (due to iteration or duration), they have close relevance to satisfaction. That is, as events take longer, the expectation of a good result increases. If this expectation is not met, there is disappointment. If the expectation is met, there is

satisfaction. Due to this emotional factor, DVs have the conversational implication of satisfaction and dissatisfaction.

In terms of their structural properties discussed in Chapter 5, it was argued that DVs (i) occur in the same matrix clause as the main verb; (ii) are a kind of lower adverb termed as a Continuous Adverb (ContAdv) in the present work; (iii) are formed by copying a Phonological Phrase (PPh) within Tense Phrase (TP) complement of the ContAdv and this PPh corresponds to an AspectP. The requirement for a +copy feature on the head of a ContAdv, a TP complement, that +copy copies a PPh are proposed to be specified to the lexical entry for ContAdv.

Evidence for (i) came from the dependency of DVs and the fact that the matrix clause that contains DVs has only one question position.

Evidence for (ii) came from the iterative/durative meaning of DVs, which corresponds to below-TP adverbs in Cinque (1999)'s adverbial hierarchy, the position of DVs with respect to other adverbs below TP in neutral intonation, and the fact that full-stem reduplication commonly forms adverbs in Turkish.

Evidence for DVs having a TP complement came from what can and cannot be doubled as well as what can and cannot modify DVs. It was shown in Chapter 5 that all phrase levels below TP (i.e. the phrase levels that host the verb stem, internal arguments, manner adverbs, frequentative adverbs, nominal subjects and tense-aspect markers) can be doubled with the verb stem, which we took to be the overt realizations of these positions. We also showed that DVs can have their own (i.e. ones that are different from those of the main verb's) internal arguments or lower adverbs. Phrase levels above TP were shown to be non-existent in DVs. This is

because we showed that there is only one position for these elements in the matrix clause that DVs occur in, which means that only the main verb has these positions.

Evidence for the requirement of copying a PPh came from the observation that elements other than the verb stem are doubled as long as they are in the same PPh as the main verb. Another piece of argument was based on the properties of the aspectual domain in Turkish such that this domain corresponds to a prosodic domain as well. In DVs, the aspectual domain corresponds to a PPh, and this domain (and not the whole TP) is copied in DVs, as evidenced by the non-doubling of temporal adverbs.

Some speculations regarding full stem-doubling structures in Turkish were made. We suggested that lexically, there are two major groups in Turkish adverbs: those with a +copy feature and those with a –copy feature. The former are differentiated within themselves based on what they copied, i.e. their complements. We also suggested that phrase-level full stem doubling may always correspond to PPh doubling in prosody, pointing out to a generalization of the various types of full-stem doubling.

We hope that future studies will focus on the different aspects of DVs and other kinds of inflected verb doubling in Turkish as well as other total reduplication data. We also hope that the generalizations stated in this work are on the right track and will contribute to future work in getting a more comprehensive picture of full stem doubling in Turkish and the system(s) that produce(s) it.

APPENDIX A

AYŞE ARMAN INTERVIEW DATA⁶⁶

- 1- September 28, 2013, Saturday ‘Henüz bir cinayetim yok’⁶⁷

Formu, ertesi gün postayla okula ulaştırmamın imkânı yok. *Durdum durdum*, “Hayatım hep böyle mi olacak!” dedim ve o formu elden götürmeye karar verdim.

- 2- September 24, 2013, Tuesday ‘Vasfiye Teyze’nin kolları Haldun Dormen’den, omuzları Yıldız Kenter’den’

Hasibe ve Füsun Abla, Gülse’nin evine geldiler, sırtımı sıvazlayarak, “*Yaparsın, yaparsın*” dediler.

- 3- September 12, 2013, Thursday ‘Hukuk sistemimiz kadın düşmanı!’

Ben *yanarım yanarım* Enka’ya gidememesine yanarım.

- 4- September 09, 2013, Monday ‘Kurban seçildi’

Didem o kararı *okudu, okudu* sonra, “Nasıl benim aleyhime bu kararı verdiler? Ben onların gördüğü insan mıyım?” diye kendini sorguladı.

- 5- August 16, 2013, Friday ‘Bu gerçekten müthiş bir gelişme’

Yazıyoruz, yazıyoruz bir halt olmuyor.

- 6- August 04, 2013, Sunday ‘Bir annenin, insanın kanını donduran çaresizliği Siz söyleyin... Aysel K, küçük kızını cinsel istismardan nasıl korusun?’

Daha neler neler anlattı, *öldüm, öldüm, dirildim*.

⁶⁶Appendix A provides data from the interview review in the preliminary data collection process. The data from this appendix have been used in displaying different types of inflected verb doubling in Turkish in Chapter 1. We first give the date and the title of the interview and then we give the example(s) of DV clauses in that interview. The interviews are presented from more recent to less recent.

⁶⁷We take the data here as they are found in the source. For instance, if the data is written in Turkish, it is in Turkish here. If it is in English, it is kept in English. This holds for all the databases in the Appendices.

7- May 16, 2013, Thursday ‘Harika bir ödül töreni’

“Ama ben öyle çalıştım!” diyor.

“*Yaparsın, yaparsın*” deyip onu ikna ediyor Feride.

Feride içeri gidiyor.

8- March 20, 2013, Wednesday ‘Komik unutma hikâyeleri’

Sakin ol Ayşe, sakın ol, hepsini *yaparsın, yaparsın...*

9- February 02, 2013, Saturday ‘Yaşasın kötülük!’

Kimlerin ajanısın?

- Ayşe Kulin, Ahmet Altan, Perihan Mağden, Hasan Ali Toptaş, Latife Tekin, Kürşat Başar, Buket Uzuner, Canan Tan, Celil Oker, Murat Somer, Aslı Erdoğan, Hatice Meryem. *Var da var...*

10- December 12, 2012, Wednesday ‘Muhteşem bir kadın Emine Tusavul’

Düşün, kâğıt önce gemi, sonra pantolon, sonra masa, sonra cüzdan, sonra kuş oluyor. *Oluyor da oluyor...*

11- December 04, 2012, Tuesday ‘Siz, ordunun hiç ‘Yanlış yaptık’ dediğine tanık oldunuz mu?’

Kızımınla uğraştılar, uğraştılar, onu itibarsızlaştılar.

Resmen sattılar kızımı! *Yediler, yediler* sonunda da öldürdüler!

12- November 17, 2012, Saturday ‘Dexter’in şeytan tüyü işte burada!’

Öğretmenler, kafalarını sallardı, “*İyisin, iyisin*” diye.

13- November 10, 2012, Saturday ‘Senden bir tane daha yok’

Kadınlar ses vermeye başladı. Meğer bir sürü kadın aynı durumdaymış.

Oh be! *Bir sevindim, bir sevindim.*

14- November 04, 2012, Sunday ‘Valizlerde getiriliyor ses çıkarmasın diye uyuşturuluyorlar’

Üstelik bunu *yapsa yapsa*, kaçak çalışan veteriner hekimler yapıyordur.

APPENDIX B

EXPERIMENT INSTRUCTIONS

Öncelikle deneyimize katıldığınız için teşekkür ederiz. Deneyimizde bağlam ve cümle yapısı ilişkisini inceliyoruz.

Deneyimizin bir saatten fazla zamanınızı almayacağını umuyoruz. Her 10 dakikada bir kaç dakika mola vererek dinlenebilirsiniz. Ayrıca, siz ayrıca mola vermek istediğiniz zaman verebilirsiniz.

Aşağıda ilk ikisi deneye alışmaya yönelik deneme soruları ve 69 tane deney sorusu olacak şekilde toplam 71 soru bulunmaktadır.

Her soruda kısa ikili konuşma şeklinde diyaloglar bulunmaktadır.

Her sorudaki bu diyalogların hemen altında, bir üstteki diyaloga ait soru bulunmaktadır. Bütün diyalogların soruları aynıdır ve soru şudur:

‘Dinlediğiniz ifadeler konuşmada bu şekilde söylenebilir mi? Yani, bu rastlayabileceğiniz bir konuşma mıdır?’

Eğer dinlediğiniz diyalog çevrenizde duyabileceğiniz veya sizin söyleyebileceğiniz bir diyalog ise 'Evet', eğer emin değilseniz 'Belki' ve eğer diyalogun kayıttaki şekline kesinlikle rastlanmaz diye düşünüyorsanız 'Hayır' cevabını işaretleyiniz.

Cevaplarınız bittikten sonra 'Gönder' butonuna basmanız yeterlidir.

Diyaloglarda aynı kişiler farklı insanların konuşmalarını seslendirmişlerdir. Bu yüzden diyaloglardaki ses benzerliklerini göz ardı edin.

Diyalogları daha büyük bir konuşmanın parçası olarak düşünebilirsiniz. Bu size cevaplarınızda yardımcı olacaktır.

Diyalogları birden fazla dinleyebilirsiniz.

Araştırmacıya kafanıza takılan soruları deney sırasında da sorabilirsiniz.

Deneyi istediğiniz takdirde bırakabilirsiniz.

Teşekkürler ve kolay gelsin.

APPENDIX C
EXPERIMENT DATA

Deneme 1

-Valla dün neler oldu anlatsam şaşarsın

-Noldu?

-Piknikte her şey tam iyi giderken herkes eğleniyorken Murat araya bi tartışma konusu attı. Sonra herkes konuştu durdu. Hatta az daha iki kişi kavga edecekti son anda vazgeçirdik.

Deneme 2

-Büşra da yüz­süz çıktı.

-Dün amcası azarlamış yine bunu. Tabi sürekli yurt taksidini harcayıp babasının haberini olmasın diye parayı amcasından istedi amcasından istemedi adamı da sinirlendirdi.

1. Dependant verb doubling

1.1 Case pattern

NOTE: In some examples, there is an alternative context below the original context, and these are written in italics. I will probably use the first ones of these, but if the second is better I may choose it instead. In most of these, the tested area is the same as the original and only the context is somewhat different.

1.1.1 Non-inherent case

1.1.1.1 Dative case

Item 1:

1+1 (Van'a git-)

-Bir şeye mi canın sıkıldı?

-Ya geçen gün Merve'yi gördüm. Maddi durumu çok kötüleşmiş. Kız her hafta arkadaşlarını ziyaret etmek için uçakla *Van'a gitti Van'a gitti* bütün parasını bitirdi tabi.

Item 2:

2+1 (Okula koş-)

-Yine sinirlisin bakıyorum da?

-Sorma ya. Benim oğlana bir türlü söz dinletemiyorum. Okula koşmadan yürüyerek git terlersin diyorum. Ama geçen hafta arkadaşlarıyla yarış yapacağım diye *okula koştu okula koştu* hasta oldu.

Item 3:

3+1 (Arabaya bin-)

-Dün komşudan gelen sesler neydi?

- Ya bizim Ali, araba çok benzin yakıyor ve biraz da borçları var diye Zeyneb'in işe otobüsle gitmesini istiyormuş. Zeynep de rahat etmek için her gün *arabaya binmiş arabaya binmiş* parayı bitirmiş, Ali de buna kızmış.

Item 4:

1+2 (Bana uğra-)

-Özlemle babası niye tartışmış?

- Şimdi Özlem'in babası akşamları işten çıkınca direk eve gelmesini istiyormuş. Ama Özlem de her gün konuşmak için iş çıkışı *bana uğruyor bana uğruyor* babasını iyice kızdırıyor. O yüzden de tartışmışlar.

Item 5:

2+2 (İzmir'e kaçır-)

-Ebru kaynanasına yakalanmış mı dedin?

-Evet, yani, şimdi Ebru'nun annesi İzmir'de yaşıyor. Ebru da kocasıyla ayrılmak üzere. Her tartışmalarında çocukları *İzmir'e kaçırıyor İzmir'e kaçırıyor* nereye

gittiğini kimseye belli etmiyor. Dün akşam da öyle nereye gittiğini söylemeden gitcekti, ama bu sefer takip edip otogarda yakalamışlar.

Item 6:

3+2 (Alperen'e bağır-)

-Sizin şirket bugün karışmış öyle mi?

-Bizim patron buldu Alperen gibi mülayimini. Her hatada *Alperen'e bağırdı* *Alperen'e bağırdı* çocuğu kızdırdı. Bugüne kadar hep susmuştu ama bugün birdenbire istifa etmiş.

1.1.1.2 Locative case

Item 7:

1+1 (Bizde kal-)

-Aysu size atıp tutmuş yine.

-Ben zaten Aysu'yu hiç anlayamıyorum. Üniversitedeyken iki yıl kalacak yer bulamadım diye *bizde kaldı bizde kaldı*, şimdiyse o zamanlar kimse benimle hiç ilgilenmedi diyor. Bu devirde kimseye güvenmeyeceksin.

Item 8:

2+1 (Okulda kal-)

-Nihal neden kazanamamış ki üniversiteyi?

- Lise sonda ders bitince her gün akşamlara kadar ders çalışacağım diye okulda kalırdı okulda kalırdı sınavları geçemezdi o. Meğer okulda ders falan da çalışmıyor boş boş dolaşmış. Bu durumda kazanamaz tabi.

Item 9:

3+1 (Ankara'da dur-)

-Hale İstanbul'a mı taşınmış?

-Aklımın ucundan bile geçmezdi ama evet. Kız yıllarca Ankara'da durdu Ankara'da durdu hiçbir yeri öğrenemedi. Ankara'ya alışamadı. Sonra da dayanamayınca bırakıp İstanbul'a gelmiş.

Item 10:

1+2 (Evde otur-)

-Bir sorunun var galiba. Anlatsana.

- Benim Tuğba dinleneceğim diye bu yıl hep *evde oturdu evde oturdu* hiç çalışmadı. Ama şimdi "Ben niye bu kadar ayı boşuna harcadım, herkes iş buldu" diye yakınıp duruyor.

Item 11:

2+2 (Şehirde yaşa-)

-Duydun mu haberlerde akşam, bir Mustafa Amca vardı.

-Hayır, nolmuş?

-Bu adam geçen yıla kadar hep *şehirde yaşamış şehirde yaşamış* şehre hiç alışamamış. Geçen yıl da Karadeniz'de bir köye taşınmış. Ben kendimi düşündüm de mahalleden ayrılısam ölürüm.

Item 12:

3+2 (Antalya'da çalış-)

-Mustafa dün neler dedi öyle.

-Ayıp oldu ama bunca yıl *Antalya'da çalıştı Antalya'da çalıştı* şehre alışamadı. Buradayken de hep alışamadığını söylediler zaten. Ama keşke dün biraz daha saygılı konuşsaydı. Sonuçta Antalya'dan misafirler vardı.

1.1.1.3 Ablative case

Item 13

1+1 (Mar'dan al-)

-Yine mi yanlış yaptım?

-Evet. Hiç şaşırmadım. Sana kaç kere dedim lor peyniri Koma'dan al diye. Sen gidip hep *Mar'dan alıyorsun Mar'dan alıyorsun* beni sinir ediyorsun. Oranın peyniri hiç iyi değil işte.

Item 14

2+1 (Okuldan kaç-)

-En büyük pişmanlığın ne Birol Abi?

- Ömer, bak benden sana tavsiye, kim ne derse desin okulu asma. Daha yolun başındasın. Ben sürekli *okuldan kaçtım okuldan kaçtım* doğru dürüst bir iş sahibi olamadım, çok pişmanım.

Item 15

3+1 (Kucağımdan in-)

-Yolculuk nasıl geçti?

-İşte, sadece benim küçük oğlan çok sıkıldı. Arabadaki bebek koltuğunda oturamadı pek. Sürekli *kucağımdan indi kucağımdan indi* hepimizi sinirlendirdi. O da haklı tabi, sonuçta 10 saatlik yol.

Item 16

1+2 (Yurttan tuttur-)

-Benzin parası 40 lira tuttu. Yine bitirdim parayı yolda yani.

-Bize okuldan direk gelsen az tutar. Ama sen okul çıkışı yurda gidip arabanı buraya hep *yurttan getiriyorsun yurttan getiriyorsun* paranı bitiriyorsun. Yurt uzak buraya. Direkt gelsen nolur sanki?

Item 17

2+2 (dalından kopar-)

-Bu bahçedeki çiçekler nereye gitti? Yarısı var yarısı yok?

-Benim kız çiçek toplayacağım diye çoğunu *dalından kopardı dalından kopardı* bahçede çiçek bırakmadı. Halbuki ne güzel olurdu hepsi yerli yerinde dursaydı şimdi değil mi?

Item 18

3+2 (Merdivenden atla-)

-Sence çok mu sıkıyorum Merve'yi?

-Evet. Bence çocuğun hareketlerini fazla engelleme ki kendini korumayı öğrensin. Benim Murat istediği gibi koştu, oynadı. Mesela, sürekli *merdivenden atlardı merdivenden atlardı* hiç yaralanmazdı. Rahat ol.

1.1.1.4 Accusative case

Item 19

1+1 (Can'ı duy-)

-Bugün çok sinirlendin mi Asu'yla Can'ı görünce?

- Yok. Onları görünce sinirlenirim sandım hemen kafeden çıkıp dışarıda bekledim. Can'ın neşeli sesi geliyordu dışarıya. O yüzden ordayken sürekli *Can'ı duydum Can'ı duydum* sinirlenmedim. Sadece üzuldüm. Can'dan ayrılığa biraz alışmışım sanırım.

Item 20

2+1 (Ali'yi sor-)

-Ali yanlış anlamış durumu sanırım öyle mi?

-Evet. Aylin bize her geldiğinde *Ali'yi sordu Ali'yi sordu* bulamadı. Ali de bunu duyunca şimdi kendisini sevdiğini sanıyor. Gel de Ali'ye kızın onu ödev için sorup durduğunu anlat!

Item 21

3+1 (Pencereyi aç-)

-Bu aralar herkes hasta. Senin oğlan nasıl?

- İyi, ona bir şey olmaz. Benim oğlan bu soğukta sürekli *pencereyi açar pencereyi açar* hasta falan olmaz. Bana çekmiş sağlamlığı.

Item 22

1+2 (Nur'u ara-)

-Sizin telefon faturası ne kadar çok gelmiş!

- Bizim kız bu ay çıldırttı bizi. Ödevim var diye sürekli *Nur'u aradı Nur'u aradı* telefon faturasını kabarttı. Şimdi gel de düşün bu nasıl ödencek diye.

Item 23

2+2 (Ali'yi çağır-)

-Ahmet dün gece sokakta mı kalmış?

- Yok. Ahmet'in ev sahibi takıntılı, kiracısının evinde kimsenin gelmesini istemiyor, eve zarar verir başkaları falan diyor. Ahmet de projeyi bitirebilmek için son ay sık sık *Ali'yi çağırırdı Ali'yi çağırırdı* yakalanmadı. İnsanlar da yakalandı, ev sahibi de kovdu Ahmet'i sokakta kaldı diye laf ediyor.

Item 24

3+2 (Kimliğini unut-)

-Sinem işlerim var diyordu bugün. Noldu ki?

-Onun aklı epey zamandır bir karış havada. Her gittiği yerde *kimliğini unuttu kimliğini unuttu* bulamadı. Sonra her seferinde birisi buldu getirdi. Ama geçen hafta kaybettiğinde kimse getirmemiş. Artık yeniden çıkarttıracak.

1.1.2 Inherent case

1.1.2.1 Dative case

Item 25

2+2 (Kekime bayıl-)

-Sen bu yeni işi nereden buldun?

- Geçenlerde pastane işleten bir kıza meşhur kekimden bahsetmiştim. Birkaç kere kek ikram ettim. Her seferinde de *kekime bayıldı kekime bayıldı* bir şey demedi. Meğer annesinin onayını bekliyormuş, o evet deyince hemen işe aldı.

1.1.2.2 Locative case

Item 26

4+2 (Kararlarında diren-)

-Biz niye istediğimizi alamıyoruz?

- Burada hak alma işini unutun. Bak mesela M sınıfına ne oldu? *Kararlarında direndiler kararlarında direndiler* hiçbir şey elde edemediler. Siz daha baştan su koyuverirken hiç alamazsınız.

1.1.2.3 Ablative case

Item 27

2+1 (Köpekten kork-)

-Senin yeğen Nihat hiç uğramıyor bu ara sanki.

- Bizim yan komşu var ya onun bi köpeği var. Çocuk her geldiğinde *köpekten korktu köpekten korktu* hiç rahat oynayamadı bizim bahçede sürekli havlıyordu çünkü. Artık bizim bahçede oynamak istemediği için aşağıdaki parka gidiyor.

1.1.3 Different modifiers and NPIs

1.1.3.1 Manner and quantificational adverbs

Item 28

1 (Syllable) (çok)

-Mine'ye çok özeniyorum.

-Ben de ya. Kız yıllarca hem okulda hem işte *çok çalıştı çok çalıştı* zam alamadı. Ama şimdi paraya para demiyor. Ben hep savsakladım. Biraz çalışsaydım aslında böyle olmazdı.

Item 29

2 (güzel)

-E senin kızın sarmaları nasıldı dün?

-Sorma, bizim kız beni şaşırttı dün. Sarmayı hep *güzel sarar güzel sarar* dün saramadı. Sarmalar hep yamuk yumuktu. Heyecan yaptı galiba ama ben yalancı çıktım kızın sarmalarını çok övdüğümünden.

Item 30

3 (yavaşça)

-Size bu cezayı kesmem lazım.

- Kesersen kes! Ben şu ana kadar arabayı hep *yavaşça sürdüm yavaşça sürdüm* üç kere ceza aldım. Canınızın istediği zaman kesiyorsunuz zaten cezayı.

1.1.3.2 Temporal adverbs

Item 31

(pazarları)

-Sen Pazarları hep ders mi çalışıyordun?

-Evet, maalesef. İyi bir ortalamam olsun istiyordum ve iki yıldır pazarları çalıştım pazarları çalıştım ortalamayı düzeltemedim. Boşa eğlencesiz geçti yani onca Pazar günü.

1.1.3.3 NPIs

Item 32

(‘hiçkimse-‘ as the argument of the main verb)

-Buldun mu istasyonda kuzenlerini?

-Nerdeee? İstasyonda hiç kimseyi *baktım baktım* göremedim. Sanki yer yarıldı da içine girdiler. Hala ulaşamıyorum, delireceğim yani.

Item 32 (2)

('kimse-' as the argument of the main verb)

-Buldun mu istasyonda kuzenlerini?

-Nerdeee? İstasyonda kimseyi *baktım baktım* göremedim. Sanki yer yarıldı da içine girdiler. Hala ulaşamıyorum, delireceğim.

2. Main verb doubling

2.1 Non-inherent case

2.1.1 (Overt) caseless object

Item 33

1+1 (ev al-)

-Siz rahatsınız ama gerçekten.

-E tabi. Paranın değerinin bilinmesi gerekir. Mesela babam akıllı adammiş biriktirdi parasını sonra bütün o parasıyla *ev aldı da ev aldı*. Şimdi 20 tane evi var. Biz de onun zekası sayesinde rahatız.”

Item 34

2+1 (balık tut-)

- Hasan'la neden ters ters konuşuyorsun?

- Çünkü köye geldiğinde beraber gezip dolaştık. Ama o gün tüm gün sürekli balık tuttu da balık tuttu. Özlemiş balık tutmayı anlıyorum ama bana verdiği sözü de tutmadı.

Item 35

3+1 (araba sür-)

-Köy nasıldı?

-Çok iyiydi. Rahat rahat bütün gün *araba sürdüm de araba sürdüm*. Ne karışan oldu ne de trafik falan vardı. Bütün yollar benimdi.

Item 36

1+2 (iş ara-)

-İş buldu mu kuzenin?

-Maalesef hayır. Çok üzülüyorum. Çocuk üç dört yıl boyunca *iş aradı da iş aradı*. Bıkmadı. Ama hala iş bulamadı. Var mı senin tavsiye edebileceğin bir iş yeri falan?

Item 37

2+2 (kitap oku-)

- Tamer'le barışmışsınız?

- Sürekli bağırıyordu, atar yapıyordu. Geçen gün ben de bunun atarına sinirlendim, çıkmadım onunla yemeğe. Bütün gün *kitap okudum da kitap okudum*. Bırak özlesin biraz dedim. Hemen o akşam özür diledi barıştık.

Item 38

3+2 (pencere üret-)

-İşler iyi galiba?

- Valla bu aralar siparişlere yetişemiyorum. Hele geçen gün neredeyse aralıksız yirmi saat *pencere ürettim de pencere ürettim*. Artık yanıma bir yardımcı almam şart oldu.

2.1.2 Dative case

Item 39

1+1 (eve bak-)

-Köyü özlemiş mi kızın?

-Hem de nasıl! İlk gittiğimiz gün kız bütün gün bahçede oturup *eve baktı da eve baktı*. Meğer ne kadar özlemişler buraları, hele de köy evini.

Item 40

2+1 (odaya gir-)

-Ne sevimli köpeğin var!

-Sevimli sevimli ama geçenlerde sinir etti beni. Misafirim varken sürekli *odaya girdi de odaya girdi*. Üstüne üstlük bir de gidip milletin tabağındakilere saldırmaz mı! Bu aralar biraz huysuz niyeyse.

Item 41

3+1 (lokantaya git-)

-Siz parayı nasıl bu kadar çabuk bitiriyorsunuz?

- Benim hanım dışarıda yemeye bayılır. Biz ne para harcadık yıllardır. Hanımefendinin zevki için her hafta *lokantaya gittik de lokantaya gittik*. Buna para mı dayanır?

Item 42

1+2 (Nuh'a bağır-)

-Nuh niye hiç gelmiyor?

- Bizim Mehmet Nuh'a çok yanlış yaptı. Yıllarca her gün olur olmadık şeyler için *Nuh'a bağırdı da Nuh'a bağırdı*. Şimdi de Nuh o yüzden adımını atmıyor bu eve, bizimki de kahroluyor pişmanlıktan.

Item 43

2+2 (duvara dayan-)

-Şu Rasim'i mi diyorsun?

-Evet. Biz oyun oynarken hiç bize katılmazdı. Sürekli *duvara dayanırdı da duvara dayanırdı*. Orada öylece dururdu. Kendisine dokundurtmazdı. Bize garip gelirdi ama meğer Asperger sendromu varmış.

Item 44

3+2 (odasına kapan-)

-Bu fotoğraflardan hangisi Deniz?

-İşte şu. Bu çocuk ne zaman yenilsek odasına kapanırdı da odasına kapanırdı. Günlerce çıkmazdı ordan. Yenilgi ağır geliyor derdi. Çok hırslıydı şimdi iyi futbolcu oldu, paraya para demiyor.

2.1.3 Locative case

Item 45

1+1 (evde kal-)

-Niye kızdın Meryem'e?

- Hasta var kaynanamda, kaynanamın arkadaşı. Geçen hafta her gün oraya yardıma gittim. Meryem de dersim var bahanesiyle her gün *evde kaldı da evde kaldı*. Bariz yalan, maksat işten kaçmak.

Item 46

2+1 (dışarda dur-)

-Çetin inatçı galiba.

-Hem de nasıl! Ben markete gittiğimde derim sen de gel benimle kaybolma diye. Ama bu da hep *dışarıda durur da dışarıda durur*. Hayır kaybolsa olan yine ona olacak anlamıyor.

Item 47

3+1 (apartmanda bul-)

-Gizemli olay derken ne demek istiyorsun?

- Geçen ay gümüş bilekliğimi sürekli kaybedip *apartmanda buldum da apartmanda buldum*. Olayı çözemedim ama birisi alıp alıp oraya bırakıyordu. Bu ay da ne hikmetse hiç kaybetmedim.

Item 48

1+2 (evde ara-)

-Nerden buldunuz cüzdanı?

-Hayri cüzdanı sürekli *evde aradı da evde aradı*. Ben bir çıktım baktım, cüzdan bahçeye düşmüş gelirken. Bi çık da bak bahçeye değil mi yani o kadar zaman telaş yapacağına?

Item 49

2+2 (bankada bekle-)

-Senin Ahmet çok sadık valla.

-Evet, mesela benim bankada bi işim vardı dün. Ben ona işim uzayabilir, sen git kafede otur beni bekle dedim. O da ben sensiz gitmem bir yere dedi *bankada bekledi de bankada bekledi*.

Item 50

3+2 (merdivende otur-)

-Dün küs müydü Serpil sana?

- Evet. Babasına çekmiş inadı onun. Bana küstüğü için saatlerce *merdivende oturdu da merdivende oturdu*. Oradan ancak akşam gelince babası indirebildi, yoksa bütün geceyi de orada geçirecekti.

2.1.4 Ablative case

Item 51

1+1 (evden koş-)

-Bir sorun mu vardı?

- Sizin bu oğlana söz dinletemiyorum. Bir de siz konuşun. Gereksiz yere stadyuma gelirken *evden koşuyor da evden koşuyor*, daha antremana başlamadan yoruyor kendini. Olmaz böyle.

Item 52

2+1 (marketten al-)

-Yine niye kızgınsın?

- Ben bu adama kaç kere dedim sebzeyi pazardan al diye. Ama o gidiyor hep *marketten alıyor da marketten alıyor*. Hem daha fazla parası gidiyor hem de taze değil, anlatamıyorum ki!

Item 53

3+1 (İstanbul'dan kaç-)

-Memnun musun oradan?

-Tabi. Burası çok sakin. Ben bunu arıyordum zaten. Öğrenciyken her fırsatta *İstanbul'dan kaçtım da İstanbul'dan kaçtım*. Ama okul için hep geri döndüm. Şimdi öyle bir zorunluluğum yok.

Item 54

1+2 (daldan kopar-)

-Bahçende meyve kalmamış senin?

-Maalesef evet. Daha meyveler olgunlaşmadan benim kız onları *daldan kopardı da daldan kopardı*. Bundan sonra yaz sonuna kadar pazardan alcaz mecburen.

Item 55

2+2 (duvardan atla-)

-Elif'le Musa da tam çılgınmış.

-Evet yani. Musalar'ın evinin etrafında duvar var mesela. Bunlar daha evlenmeden Elif Musa'yı azıcık göreyim diye Musalar'ın bahçeye girmek için *duvardan atlardı da duvardan atlardı*. Şimdi evlendiler iyi oldu.

Item 56

3+2 (mahalleden kaçır-)

-Ahmet napmış duydun mu?

-Duymaz mıyım? Ortak aldığımız bir araba vardı ya onu *mahalleden kaçırmış da mahalleden kaçırmış*. Her seferinde onunla tatile gidecekken yakalamışlar. Şimdi artık mahalleye giremez olmuş.

2.1.5 Accusative case

Item 57

1+1 (Dalı kır-)

-Bu ağacın dalına nolmuş?

- Konağın sahibinin oğlu tam bir canavar. Upuzun bir dalı vardı bunun. Bu çocuk ağacın yanından her geçtiğinde biraz biraz *dalı kırdı da dalı kırdı*. Şimdi işte böyle küçücük kaldı.

Item 58

2+1 (kolumu burk-)

-Niye incittim ki ben bileğimi?

-Bu sporu düzgün yapmak önemli. Ben mesela başta hareketi yanlış yaptığımdan *kolumu burktum da kolumu burktum*. Profesyonel yardım alınca düzgün yapmaya başladım.

Item 59

3+1 (findıkları ye-)

-Nasıl kilo almış Aylin öyle!

- Evet ben de şaşırdım ama yaz boyunca kız *findıkları yemiş de findıkları yemiş*. Fındık ne kadar yağlı bir yiyecek, o kadar yenir mi hiç!

Item 60

1+2 (evi ara-)

-Ne anlatacaksın bana?

- Şimdi beni seven İhsan seni arayacağım diyip duruyordu. Ben de beni cepten aramasını istedim annemler duymasın diye. Ama yine de sürekli *evi aradı da evi aradı*. Az daha yakalanacaktım bugün.

Item 61

2+2 (şiiri oku-)

-Zeynep dün sorun mu çıkarmış provada?

- Sorma. İnadı tuttu biz piyesi prova ederken o *şiiri okudu da şiiri okudu*. Üstelik bağıra bağıra. Bu da bizim dikkatimizi çok fena dağıttı. Amacı bizden daha önemli olduğuna herkesi inandırmak.

Item 62

3+2 (arabayı yıka-)

-Yine evde değil seninki.

-Yılmaz'ın araba takıntısı var. Tatillerde her gün saatlerce *arabayı yıkar da arabayı yıkar*. Bütün zamanını arabasına ayırır bizi unuttur yani.

2.2 Inherent case

2.2.1 Dative case

Item 63

2+2 (Mehmet'e katlan-)

-Anlat bakayım noldu?

- Ben artık pes ediyorum, bu iş yürümez. Ben yıllarca kaprislerine rağmen *Mehmet'e katlandım da Mehmet'e katlandım* iş ortağım diye. Artık pes ediyorum, istifa edeceğim.

2.2.2 Locative case

Item 64

(2+2) (teklifte bulun-)

-Şirketin yurtdışı servisine atanmışsın?

-Evet mecburen. İstemiyordum aslında, ama patron sürekli benim oraya gitmem için *teklifte bulundu da teklifte bulundu*. Bu işi ancak benim becerebileceğimi düşünüyormuş. Artık yapacak bir şey yok.

2.2.3 Ablative case

Item 65

2+2 (sınıftan utan-)

-Bence sen çekingen sayılmazsın. Niye öyle diyosun ki?

-Aslında ben küçükken çok çekingendim. Ne zaman bir iki laf edecek olsam derslerde falan, sürekli *sınıftan utanırdım da sınıftan utanırdım*. Çocukken öyle utangaç olmasaydım şimdi daha da girişken olurdu.

2.3 Different codifiers

2.3.1 Manner and quantificational adverbs

Item 66

1 (Syllable) (az)

-Sen üzülüyor musun oğluna yani?

- Üzülüyorum tabi ama işsiz kalmayı hak etti. Yıllarca hep *az çalıştı da az çalıştı*. Her yazın bir kışı var. Hiç düşünmedi bugünlerini.

Item 67

2 (yavaş)

-Senin eşin de çok yavaş ama.

-Benim bey hep böyleydi. Sürekli *yavaş çalıştı da yavaş çalıştı*. Ama yaptığı her işin hakkını verdi böylece, hiçbir şeyi aceleye getirmeden her şeyi sağlamca yaptı.

2.3.2 Temporal adverbs

Item 68

4 (pazarları)

-Aysun'a çok özenirim.

-Neden?

-Kız hep *pazarları çalıştı da pazarları çalıştı*. O yüzden hafta içi akşamları dinlenmeye zamanı oldu. Ben de ne haftasonu tam rahat ettim biraz ders çalışıp biraz gezdiğim için, ne de hafta içi akşam rahat edebildim haftasonu tam çalışmadığım için.

3. Extra

Extra 1

3+2 (Arabaya bırak-)

-Sinirlenme tamam. Sakin ol.

-Ama şu işi senin oğlan geciktirdi. Çalılıarı sürekli *arabaya bırakıyor arabaya bırakıyor*, uğraştırıyor bizi. Sen bi git de şu oğlana anlat ne yapması gerektiğini de anlasın bize iş çıkarmasın.

Extra 2

3+2 (Amcasından iste-)

-Büşra da yüz­süz çıktı.

-Dün amcası azarlamış yine bunu. Tabi sürekli yurt taksidini harcayıp babasının haberi olmasın diye parayı *amcasından istedi amcasından istedi* adam da artık sinirlendi.

Extra 3

1+2 (Nur'u bırak-)

-Nur bana takmış kafayı.

- Sen de yanlış anlaşılmayı hak etmişsin biraz. Her gün eve giderken arabayla *Nur'u bıraktın da Nur'u bıraktın* ve şimdi kızın seni yanlış anlamamasını umuyorsun. Olacak iş değil.

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