Turcology and Linguistics

Éva Ágnes Csató Festschrift

Edited by
Nurettin Demir
Birsel Karakoç
Astrid Menz

HACETTEPE
ÜNİVERSİTESİ
YAYINLARI
2014

Turcology and Linguistics
Éva Ágnes Csató Festschrift

Edited by
Nurettin Demir
nurettindemir64@gmail.com
Tel: 0312 297 85 10

Birsel Karakoç
birsel.karakoc@lingfil.uu.se

Astrid Menz
menz@oidmg.org

ISBN: 978-975-491-367-5

Kitap İsteme Adresi
Hacettepe Üniversitesi
Kitap Satış Ofisi
Sıhhiye 06100, Ankara
Tel: (0 312) 305 14 87

Hacettepe Üniversitesi tarafından Hacettepe Üniversitesi Basımevi'ne
500 adet bastırılmıştır.

İçindekiler / Contents

Complications in Turkish complementation: for Éva

Gerjan van Schaaik

Leiden University. E-Mail: g.j.van.schaaik@hum.leidenuniv.nl

0. Introduction

Some fifteen years ago a paper[1] was published in which I defended the view that differences in suffixation in sentential objects of certain Turkish matrix verbs can best be accounted for in terms of the linguistic entity being expressed by the embedding as a whole: *proposition* or *predication*. A propositional embedded verb requires suffixation with *−TIK* or *−(y)EcEK* (depending on temporal reference), but a predicational embedding goes with suffixation by *−mE*. In both constructions the embedded verb contains a possessive suffix which agrees with its subject. Furthermore, certain matrix verbs can take only propositional complements (often associated with the notion *fact*), others take only predicational complements (often associated with *event* or *action*), and some take both. And that is precisely where the confusion starts for many a student of the language. An important question, then, is how the division between the two types of complements is motivated and which characteristics can be given for matrix verbs, preferably in terms of their semantics. Not only in the aforementioned paper, also in a recent study[2] the same conclusion is reached about what both types of complement clause express. And again, the choice of the suffix is thought to be based on semantic properties of the matrix verb.

In addition to all this, it is at the same time clear that these constructions belong to a larger system (*three* rather than two types of complement clause) in which also infinitives are to be included. Being an eternal student of Turkish myself, I have gathered extensive data in order to determine place and status of the aforementioned embeddings in the greater collection of constructions. And what is more, this enables us to check whether semantic properties are really the decisive factor for the choice of the suffix. The results of the present analysis form the core of this paper: first, a classification of matrix verbs in terms of their complement type will be proposed, and second, for matrix verbs that allow for more than one complement the rules that determine the choice of the suffix involved will be formulated.

1 See Van Schaaik (1999).
2 See Csató (2010).

1. The problem

Whereas the papers referred to in the introductory section are merely about the opposition between propositional and predicational embeddings, both coded as finite expressions, the constructions to be included in the current study are based on infinitives, and hence, the question arises how these three types of construction relate to one another. In other words, in this survey we will address the following questions: 1) how do they differ in terms of their embedded morphology, 2) what semantic factors determine the choice between certain suffix combinations, and last but not least, 3) how can we arrive at a proposal for a classification of matrix verbs by means of which all phenomena involved are adequately reflected.

As for the first question, the constructions under scrutiny can be exemplified by (1), but the answers to the questions posed under 2) and 3) will be provided for in Sections 4 and 5 respectively.

(1) a *Temsilci, onlar-la oracıkta vedalaş-mak-tan memnun ol-du.*
agent they-INS there say.goodbye-INF-ABL be.happy-PAST1
'The representative was happy to say goodbye to them on the very spot.'

b *Komiser-in ona güven-ip yardım iste-me-sin-den memnun ol-du.*
inspector-GEN she-DAT trust-CV help want-NOM-POSS3S-ABL be-happy-PAST1
'She was happy that the inspector trusted her and that he wanted her to help.'

c *Bakan, on-un beğen-me-diğ-in-den memnun ol-ma-dı.*
minister she-GEN like-NEG-PRT-POSS3S-ABL be.happy-NEG-PAST1
'The minister wasn't happy with the fact that she didn't like it.'

The sentences in (1a-c) all consist of a matrix clause and an embedded clause. The matrix clauses are based on the verb stem *memnun ol-* 'to be happy' which allows for three types of complement. In the examples above the structure of the matrix clauses is different from that of the embedded clauses. Although the (covert) subject of the matrix clause in (1b) is left unspecified, its referent can be retrieved on the basis of the absence of a personal ending, corresponding to *o* 's/he'. The overt subject of an embedded clause is marked by the genitive, as in (1b-c). More on these constructions will be discussed in Section 4.

2. Some background

The following linguistic notions are relevant for a clear understanding of the subject matter. First, what are matrix verbs? In terms of their valency there are two types of verb: intransitive verbs (having one argument) and transitive verbs (having two or three arguments). Intransitive verbs do not play a role in the present argumentation, because only transitive verbs can have sentential objects, depending on whether they allow for subordination. Transitive verbs allowing for subordination are also called matrix verbs. Embedded verbs take nominal properties, symbolized by NOM in (2) below, and the shape of this nominalizer depends on the construction involved. Non-

finite (infinitival) sentential objects lack an overt or covert subject and, hence, they do not contain a possessive marker. The morphology of non-finite and finite sentential objects follows the general patterns represented by (2a) and (2b) respectively.

(2) a [X Y Verb-NOM]-CASE non-finite
b [Subject-GEN X Y Verb-NOM-POSS]-CASE finite

As said, some matrix verbs take propositional embeddings (denoting a Possible Fact), others take predicational embeddings (denoting an Event), yet others can take both. Within predicational embeddings the distinction between finite and non-finite embeddings is relevant. Propositional embeddings are by default finite. In this way, a threefold opposition can be distinguished:

(3) FACT (Possible Fact, finite) – ACT (Event, finite) – INF (Event, non-finite)

The second issue pertains to the question what kind of morphological variation can be expected in embeddings? For the variety in suffixes of embedded verbs, three classes of endings can be set up:

(4) Type I *-mE* + case marker
Type II *-mE* + possessive suffix + case marker
Type III *-TIK* / *–(y)EcEK* + possessive suffix + case marker

There are three types of matrix verb, named after the number of suffix combinations they can take. This allows us to classify matrix verbs in terms of seven groups:

(5)

matrix type	*number of suffix combinations per verb*	
monadic	1	I / II / III
dyadic	2	(I & II) / (II & III) / (I & III)
triadic	3	I & II & III

The dependency between the type of matrix verb and morphological variation in embeddings can be depicted as follows:

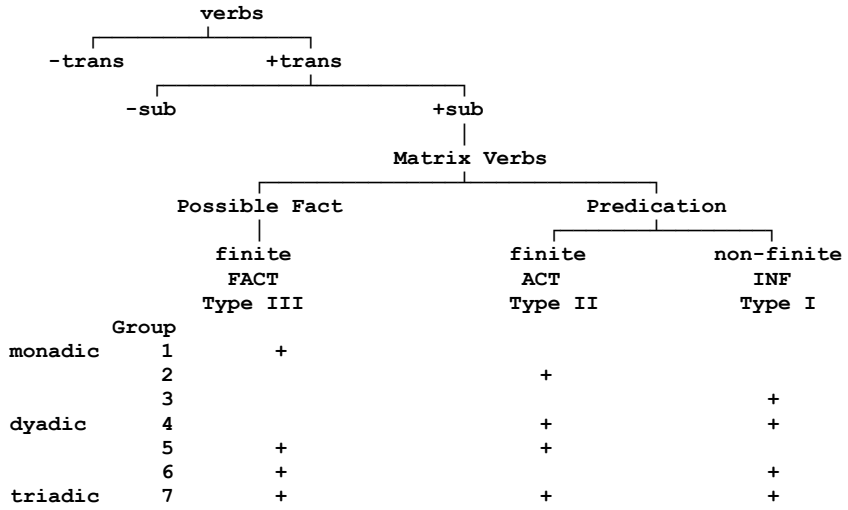

Figure 1: Matrix predicates of Turkish: types and the expression of their complement

3. On classifying verbs

The classification proposed in the current paper is truly all-embracing, since the point of departure is the threefold form variation in complementation. All matrix verbs of Turkish are by default to be included, and hence, all other classifications for matrix verbs can be considered subsets or cross-sections of the one presented here.

Over the past five decades several approaches have been followed in setting up classificatory systems of verbs. Fundamental work has been done by Vendler (1957, 1967), Verkuijl (1972), and Dowty (1979, 1985) – work which was most influential to that of others.

Let me briefly outline three such approaches to a classification of matrix verbs. Firstly, one is based on their semantics; in other words, on what they denote: *perceptions*, *feelings*, *emotions*, et cetera. Secondly, another way of looking at matrix verbs is the type of complement they take. Thirdly, the notion of control is said to be relevant in the description of embeddings based on a bare infinitive. These matters will briefly be discussed below.

3.1 Semantics. In traditional works such as Wendt (1979), Banguoğlu (1990), Lewis (2000) and that of many others, verbs taking verbal complements are not treated at all, and in a few others they are at the very most treated as a poor relation. An example of such an exception is Göksel & Kerslake (2005: 408), in which the following verbal categories are mentioned in connection to subordination: 1) *verbs of communication* (e.g. *demek* 'to say', *sormak* 'to ask'); 2) *verbs of perception* (e.g. *duymak* 'to hear', *işitmek* 'to hear'); 3) *verbs of cognition* (e.g. *düşünmek* 'to think, to

speculate', *beklemek* 'to expect'); and 4) *verbs of emotion* (e.g. *sinirlenmek* 'to be annoyed', *korkmak* 'to be afraid').

3.2 Complement Type. Another important type of distinction for matrix verbs is the opposition between "facts" and "acts" (or events), as originally proposed by Vendler (1967). This distinction has long been accepted in many an approach to theoretical linguistics, particularly in theories that support the idea of a layered structure of the clause, as for instance advanced by Hengeveld (1989) and applied by Dik (1997a/b). A direct corollary of this distinction between fact and act (or Possible Facts and State of Affairs[3] in the terminology of the latter two scholars), is that matrix verbs can be divided into two groups: verbs taking a *propositional* complement and verbs taking a *predicational* complement. A propositional complement denotes a fact: a linguistic entity which can be said to be *believed*, *known*, or *thought*, they can be *reason for surprise or doubt*, they can be *mentioned*, *denied*, and *remembered*, and they can be said to be *true* or *false*. A predicational complement denotes an *act* or *event*: an entity which can be said to *occur*, *begin*, *last* and *end*, and furthermore, facts and events can be perceived: *watched*, *heard*, and *felt* et cetera. According to Dik (1997b: 106), using many of the distinctions set forth in Noonan (1985), *propositional* complements can be categorized on four and *predicational* complements on eight main classes of matrix predicates. These are as follows:

Propositional predicates are: 1) predicates of propositional *attitude*. They comprise predicates of: a) *intellectual* attitude, e.g. to believe, to presume, to know (factive), to believe (non-factive), to pretend (contra-factive); b) *emotional* attitude, e.g. to fear, to hope; 2) predicates of propositional *manipulation*, e.g. to convince, to persuade, to deceive someone into believing something (both contra-factive); 3) predicates of *acquisition or loss of knowledge*, e.g. to learn, to know, to forget; 4) predicates of *mental perception* (indirect perception or inference), e.g. to see, to hear.

Predicational predicates are: 1) *directive* predicates, e.g. to order, to ask; 2) predicates of *practical manipulation*, e.g. to force, to cause; 3) *volitional* predicates, e.g. to want; 4) predicates of *direct perception*, e.g. to see, to hear; 5) *achievement* (implicative) predicates, e.g. to manage, to fail; 6) *phasal* predicates, e.g. to begin, to continue, to stop; 7) *commentative* predicates, e.g. (it is) funny (that); 8) *objective modal* predicates, e.g. (it is) (im)possible (that).

That most of these descriptions, as quoted here from Dik (1997b: 106), are appreciated by other scholars as well is clearly demonstrated by the work of Csató (2010: 116), who presents a similar semantic classification by stating that *verbs of saying*, *verbs expressing mental perception*, *verbs of knowledge* and the like often take a complement of the *–TIK* type, whereas *verbs of practical manipulation*, and *volitional verbs* et cetera usually take a complement with the suffix *–mE*. However, Csató (2010: 117) emphasizes "that these lists do no render any rules of usage", but "rather they suggest tendencies, i.e. frequency patterns'. This claim should however

[3] The complement of verbs which are *factive* (e.g. to know), *non-factive* (e.g. to believe) or *contra-factive* (e.g. to pretend) always expresses a Possible Fact.

be taken *cum granum salis*, for there is no theoretical underpinning for a mapping of predicate type and its frequency of usage. As has been set out in the previous section, a strict division based on suffixation is a more realistic option, because semantic properties of matrix verbs as such do unfortunately not bring us any further in resolving the question which matrix verbs take more than one complement and how the difference in meaning between several suffix types can be accounted for.

3.3 Infinitives. The type of categories touched upon in 3.1 have much in common (if not all) with the subdivisions presented in 2.2 under the 'higher node' of a division in terms of complement type. As will become clear on inspection of the data in Section 4, many a label of this kind can be applied to matrix verbs in Groups 4 and 5 internally, as well as for certain verbs in Groups 6 and 7.

Also in recent studies on the role of infinitives in control phenomena in Turkish a plethora of different labels is being used for matrix verbs, but the origin of these labels in most cases hard to trace. On the one hand it seems attractive to distinguish between control verbs and non-control verbs, but on the other hand, as if that is not enough, some scholars apparently feel also a strong need to classify control verbs in much further detail. For instance, embroidering on work done by Erguvanlı Taylan (1996), by Haig & Słodowicz (2006) and on that of Słodowicz (2007), six different predicate types for matrix verbs of Turkish taking an "actional" complement are distinguished in several studies by Yücel (2007, 2008, 2009). These are: 1) predicates of the "intend-class", e.g. *niyet etmek* 'to intend', *karar vermek* 'to decide', *ikna etmek* 'to persuade'; 2) predicates expressing "obligation", e.g. *emretmek* 'to order', *söz vermek* 'to promise', *yemin etmek* 'to swear'; 3) the class of "force-dynamic" predicates, e.g. *zorlamak* 'to force', *yardım etmek* 'to help', *izin vermek* 'to allow'; 4) a class described as "be able", which is exemplified in Yücel (2007) by *öğrenmek* 'to learn' and *öğretmek* 'to teach'; 5) a predicate type called "should", under which verbs are subsumed such as *hatırlamak* 'to remember' and *unutmak* 'to forget'; 6) a type referred to as "request", as exemplified by *rica etmek* 'to request' and *talep etmek* 'to require'.

As will be clear from a comparison with those of 3.1 and 3.2, also these labels have a number of shortcomings: they are based on semantic similarities (and apparently often inspired by the English translations of Turkish verbs sharing certain properties, e.g. the *intend-class* is obviously named after *niyet etmek* 'to intend'. Needless to say that such classifications seem to have been set up in a rather *ad hoc*-ish fashion. Furthermore, they hardly match with the distinctions set up in the present analysis, and what is more, since the subtypes quoted above are intended for control verbs, the question arises what one should do with those not sharing this property.

As indicated above, infinitives play a role in the study of control phenomena. The quintessence of the notion of control can be traced back to the question as to how the subject of an embedded verb can be identified. If that subject can be found on the basis of some argument of the matrix verb, one speaks of a control construction. Or more technically, as Słodowicz (2007: 125) puts it: *"An argument of the matrix verb must be co-referential with an argument of the embedded verb"*. Now, 2-place matrix

verbs have two arguments: one that ends up as the subject and one as its (sentential) direct object. As a corollary, the subject of a 2-place matrix verb and that of its embedded verb are necessarily co-referential, since the first argument of the matrix verb is the only one that qualifies for having a co-referent. This can be shown by:

(6) a *Çay* *iç-mek* *iste-di*.
tea drink-NOM want-PAST1
'S/he wanted to drink tea.'

b *Kapı-yı* *aç-ma-ya* *çalış-tı*.
door-ACC open-NOM-DAT try-PAST1
'S/he tried to open the door.'

c *Ali, yakında* *öl-mek-ten* *kork-ma-ya* *başla-dı.*
Ali soon die-NOM-ABL fear-NOM-DAT begin-PAST1
'Ali began to fear of dying soon.'

Now, saying that 2-place matrix verbs exhibit subject control is like saying that propositional expressions are finite: in both cases we are dealing with an intrinsic property that cannot count as a distinctive feature. Thus, the notion of control can be regarded irrelevant for 2-place matrix verbs. For 3-place matrix verbs the situation is different since there is always a third argument (not to be embedded as a direct object, though), and precisely this circumstance creates the possibility for this argument to be co-referential with the subject of the embedded verb. So, theoretically speaking, two types of control can be envisaged: one expressing the co-referentiality of the subjects of matrix and embedded verbs, and one expressing that the third argument (some object, mostly referred to as indirect object) of the main verb is co-referential with the subject of the embedded verb. In Section 5 we will go into these matters in some more detail.

3.4 Summary. As will follow from the data to be presented in the next section, there is quite a large number of verbs that is ambivalent as regards the opposition *propositional* versus *predicational* complement, for the mere reason that they can take complements of either kind. Their overall distribution is:

(7)

Group	*Complement*
1	propositional
2, 3, 4	predicational
5, 6, 7	propositional & predicational

For the analysis of Turkish subordinate clauses based on matrix verbs falling in Group 5 (taking complements of Type III and Type II) it was argued in Van Schaaik (1999) that the opposition *proposition–predication* is relevant. This is confirmed by Csató (2010).

As a fact of matter, many of the labels referred to above cannot be associated with coherent classes of matrix verbs, in such a way that they contribute to an explanation of the choice between certain complements. For Groups 1, 2, and 3 such labels or category names are not necessary since they occur with one complement type only.

For matrix verbs in Group 5 the opposition *proposition–predication* is sufficient. For Group 4 we could say that it comprises matrix verbs allowing for predicational complement only (Types II & I). Also for Group 6 (complements of Types III & I) and Group 7 (Types III & II & I) the differences in expression can be accounted for in terms of the opposition *proposition–predication*.

For the sake of brevity I will in the remainder of this paper use the terms FACT to refer to 'propositional expressions', ACT for 'finite predicational expressions' and INF for 'infinitival (non-finite) predicational expressions'.

4. Some data

As has been demonstrated in the previous section, a really wide variety of labels, all based on semantic similarities, can be attached to matrix verbs. In the survey below we will not use such labels for the mere reason that too many verbs under certain labels have become spread over the seven groups our system consists of. There is one exception – in Group 4 we do so, because exactly this rather large group shows that such labels do not provide sufficient grounds to explain the variety of complements referred to in the introduction.

Group 1. Facts only [FACT] – Type III. These verbs can only take a fact as a complement, so the expected suffix combination is of Type III: *–TIK / –(y)EcEK*, which in turn is followed by a possessive suffix and a case marker. Examples are: *bilmek-1 (-i)* 'to know that' (having knowledge) and *ispat etmek (-i)* 'to prove' are:

(8) *Şiir yaz-dığ-ın-ı bil-iyor-du*. III
'He knew that she writes/wrote poetry.'
At-ım-a bin-meye lâyık ol-up ol-ma-dığ-ın-ı bana ispat ed-ecek-sin. III
'You shall prove me that you are worthy of mounting my horse.'

Group 2. Acts only [ACT] – Type II. The suffixation of the embedded verb is always *–mE* + possessive + case marker. The examples are based on: *rica etmek (-i)* 'to request' and *tembih etmek (-i)* 'to caution, to warn, to admonish'.

(9) *Mihail, hepsi-nin dışarı çık-ma-sın-ı rica et-ti.* II
'Michael requested that everybody get out.'
Bu konuda Mehmet'e bir şey söyle-me-me-m-i tembih et-ti. II
'She admonished me not to say anything to Mehmet about this matter.'

Group 3. Infinitives only [INF] – Type I. These verbs take a complement of Type I. The embedded verb gets: *–mE(k)* + case marker. For some verbs the subject is always co-referential with that of the embedded verb (subject control – group 3a), and for other matrix verbs one of its objects (object control – 3b) is co-referential with that of the embedded verb.

Subject control is found among 2-place matrix verbs and can be exemplified by *ihmal etmek (-i)* 'to neglect' and *denemek (-i)* 'to try, to attempt'. Object control

occurs with 3-place predicates such as *davet etmek (-i,-e)* ‘to invite, to summon’ and *zorlamak (-i,-e)* ‘to force’.

(10) *Tuz koy-ma-yı ihmal et-me-yin.* I
‘Don’t omit to put salt in it.’
Kol-un-u baş-ın-ın üst-ün-e kıvır-arak yer-de yat-ma-yı dene-di. I
‘With her arm curled up over her head she tried to sleep on the floor.’
İvan, bir el hareket-i-yle bay Goladkin’i otur-ma-ya davet et-ti. I
‘With a gesture Ivan invited mister Goladkin to sit down.’
Birkaç yağmur damla-sı Napoleon’u boyun eğ-me-ye zorla-dı. I
‘A few rain drops forced Napoleon to bow his head (to give in).’

Group 4. The opposition [ACT–INF] – Types I & II. Taking some of the ‘loosely’ used semantic labels mentioned in Section 3, six subgroups can be distinguished.

4a. Directive verbs. These are 3-place predicates and can be exemplified by *buyurmak (-e,-i)* ‘order, to command’ and *yasaklamak (-e,-i)* ‘to forbid, to prohibit’.

(11) *Aliye, bundan böyle her gün gel-me-m-i buyur-uyor.* II
‘Aliye ordered / urged me to come every day from now on.’
Fakat gerçek böyle yap-ma-yı buyur-ur. I
‘But reality dictates (us) to do (it) this way.’
Henri de bunu çak-tığ-ı için on-un başkent-e gir-me-sin-i yasakla-mıştır. II
‘And because Henry had understood that, he forbade her to go to the capital.’
Bu da çok normal: Hazret-i İsa boşan-ma-yı yasakla-mış-tı. I
‘That is quite normal: the prophet Jesus had forbidden to divorce.’

4b. Manipulative verbs. Also these are 3-place verbs and examples are: *tavsiye etmek (-e,-i*) ‘to recommend, to advise’ and *izin vermek (-e,-e)* ‘to allow, to approve’.

(12) *Hassas tip-ler-den uzak dur-ma-nız-ı tavsiye ed-iyor-uz.* II
‘We advise you to avoid sensitive people.’
İki defa suistimal ed-il-diğ-in-i hatırlat-arak, ihtiyatlı ol-ma-yı tavsiye et-ti. I
‘He reminded her that there had been abuse twice before and advised her to be cautious.’
*Şu tüfeğ-i yan-ım-a al-ma-m-a {**bana**} izin ver-ir mi-sin*? II
‘Will you give me permission to take this rifle with me?’
Bir-den çok kadın al-ma-ya izin ver-me-z-ler. I
‘They don’t give permission to take more than one wife.’

4c. Facilitative verbs. These verbs can be exemplified by: *kolaylaştırmak (-i)* ‘to simplify, to facilitate’ and *kesmek (-i)* ‘to interrupt, to stop’.

(13) *Bu, Lübnan’ın Mehmet Ali’ye karşı ayaklan-ma-sın-ı kolaylaştır-dı.* II
‘This made Lebanon’s revolt against Mehmet Ali much simpler.’
Bu, oku-ma-yı ve net gör-me-yi kolaylaştır-ıyor. I
‘This makes reading and clear seeing easy / easier.’
Recep bağır-dı: Şu orospu döl-ün-e söyle de gül-me-sin-i kes-sin. II
‘Recep yelled: Tell that bastard to stop laughing.’

Köpek-ler havla-ma-yı, horoz-lar öt-me-yi kes-ti-ler. I
'The dogs stopped barking and the cocks stopped crowing.'

4d. Volitional verbs. This group can be exemplified by: *yeğlemek (-i)* 'to prefer' and *planlamak (-i)* 'to plan, to intend'.

(14) *Hatta, zeki ol-ma-ma-sın-ı yeğle-r-im.* II
'I'd rather see that she were not intelligent.'
Biz yok-muş-uz gibi davran-ma-yı yeğle-di. I
'She preferred to behave as if we weren't there.'
Wilson, birlik-ler-in yoğun bir saldırı-ya geç-me-sin-i planla-dı. II
'Wilson planned that the units would engage in a massive attack.'
Sen el-in-i tut-ma-yı planlı-yor-sun, konuşma sırasında. I
'So you are planning to hold hands with her during the lecture.'

4e. Emotive verbs. Examples: *sevmek (-i)* 'to love; to like' and *nefret etmek (-den)* 'to hate'.

(15) *Mutfak-ta biri-nin ben-i izle-me-sin-i sev-me-m.* II
'I don't like when someone in the kitchen is watching what I'm doing.'
Yüz-me-yi, koş-ma-yı sev-er-im. I
'I love swimming and running.'
Sor-ul-ma-sın-dan nefret et-tiğ-iniz bir soru var mı? – Bil-emi-yor-um. II
'Is there a question that you detest if being asked? – I wouldn't know.'
Böyle durum-lar-a düş-mek-ten nefret ed-er-im işte. I
'I hate it to get involved in such situations.'

4f. Implicative verbs. By implication it is expressed that the event described by the embedded verb has taken place, as is shown by:

(16) *Bütün bun-lar-dan açıkça ortaya çık-ıyor ki, yalnızca proletarya gerçek insanlık kültür-ün-ün yarat-ıl-ma-sın-ı başar-abil-ir.* II
'From all this it follows clearly that only the proletariat will be able to bring the creation of a really humane culture to a successful conclusion.'
Petrov, kadın-ın kan-ın-ı durdur-ma-yı başar-dı. I
'Petrov succeeded in stopping the woman's bleeding.'

4g. Other verbs. Verbs that do not belong to any other group. Examples: *yetmek (-e)* 'to be enough, to be sufficient' and *alışmak (-e)* 'to get used; to become familiar'.

(17) *İşte o dalış-lar gerçeğ-i anla-ma-m-a yet-ti.* II
'And delving into it was enough for me to understand how it was.'
Bu iş-in büyü-sü ben-i iç-in-e çek-me-ye yet-ti. I
'The charm of this thing was (strong) enough to drag me in.'
O, Necat-ın nasıl ol-duğ-un-u sor-ma-ma-sın-a da alış-mış-tı. II
'He was also used to the fact that Necat never ever asked him how he was.'
Dur-madan ora-dan ora-ya topalla-ma-ya alış-mış-tı. I
'He was used to limp from pillar to post all the time.'

Group 5. The opposition [FACT–ACT] – Types III & II. Subgroup 5a comprises 3-place verbs with a modal meaning for Type II: "***how*** *something is carried out*", "*that / how something* ***must*** *be carried out*". Examples are: *göstermek (-i,-e)* 'to show; to indicate, to prove' and *anlatmak (-i,-e)* 'to explain; to tell'.

(18) *Bu da en az bir milyar yıl daha yaşlı ol-duğ-un-u göster-iyor.* III
'And this proves/indicates that this is at least a billion years old.'
Hele dur bak-ayım, ben san-a et pişir-me-sin-i göster-ir-im! II
'Hey stop it, I'll show you **how** one **should** prepare meat!'
Demirel, her alan-da büyük gelişme-ler ol-duğ-un-u anlat-tı. III
'Demirel explained that there were great developments in every field.'
Sonra biz-e diferansiyel denklem-ler-in çözül-me-sin-i anlat-ma-ya başla-dı. II
'Then she started to explain to us **how** differential equations **must** be solved.'

Verbs of subgoup 5b are neutral with respect to modality when complemented by Type II. Examples are: *beklemek-1 (-i)* 'to wait for' and *aldırmak (-e)* 'to mind, to pay attention'.

(19) *Aydan, adam-ın ne cevap ver-eceğ-in-i bekli-yor-du.* III
'Aydan waited to hear what kind of answer the man would give.'
Şimdi okul-lar-ın kapan-ma-sın-ı bekli-yor-uz. II
'Now we wait for the schools to shut down.'
Artık öyle ol-up ol-ma-dığ-ın-a aldır-mı-yor-um. III
'I do not care anymore whether it is true or not.'
Anne-m-in şaşır-ma-sın-a aldır-ma-dan dedi ki... II
'Without paying attention to my mother's surprise, he said...'

Group 6. The opposition [FACT–INF] – Types III & I. This group distinguishes between expression of *fact* and *inf*. Examples are: *unutmak (-i)* 'to forget' and *kabul etmek (-i)* 'to accept; to consent, to agree'.

(20) *Dimi'nin ev-de kal-arak yıl-lar-ca ihtiyar ana-mız-a bak-tığ-ın-ı unut-tu.* III
'He forgot that at home Dimi had taken care of our old mother for years.'
Um-ar-ım ki oğlu-m, Allah'a şükret-me-yi unut-ma-dı-n. I
'I hope, my son, that you have not forgotten to thank the Lord.'
Yenil-diğ-in-i kabul et-mek iste-me-di. III
'S/he would not accept that s/he had lost.'
Hafta-da dört gün Ankara'ya gel-me-yi kabul et-ti-m. I
'I agreed upon going to Ankara for four days per week.'

Also 3-place verbs such as *ikna etmek (-i,-e)* 'to convince; to talk s.o. into; to persuade', *söz vermek (-e,-e)* 'to promise' allow for two types of complement only.

(21) *Anne-m-i, bun-un zorunlu bir evlilik ol-ma-dığ-ın-a ikna et-me-m gerek-miş-ti.* III
'I had to convince my mother that this was not a forced marriage.'
Ben-i geri dön-me-ye ikna et-mek için her şey-i yap-abil-ir. I
'S/he may do everything to persuade me to come/go back.'
Yakında biz-e uğra-yacağ-ın-a söz ver-di. III
'He promised that he would soon drop in on us.'

Tekrar gel-me-ye söz ver-iyor-um. I
'I promise to come back.'

Group 7. The opposition [FACT–ACT–INF] – Types III & II & I. The examples given here are based on *ümit etmek (-i)* 'to hope that/for' and *memnun olmak (-den)* 'to be happy'.

(22) *Bu şey-in ne ol-duğ-un-u açıkla-yabil-eceğ-im-i ümit ed-iyor-du.* III
'She hoped that I would be able to explain what this thing was.'
İlişki-miz-in devam et-me-sin-i ümit ed-iyor-um. II
'I hope that our relationship will continue.'
Bir gün siz-in-le de bir kahve iç-ip sohbet et-me-yi ümit ed-er-im. I
'One day I hope to have coffee and a chat with you.'
Bakan, on-un beğen-me-diğ-in-den memnun ol-ma-dı. III
'The minister wasn't happy with the fact that she didn't like it.'
Komiser-in ona güven-ip yardım iste-me-sin-den memnun ol-du. II
'She was happy that the inspector trusted her and that he wanted her to help.'
Temsilci, onlar-la oracıkta vedalaş-mak-tan memnun ol-du. I
'The representative was happy to say goodbye to them on the very spot.'

5. The results

1. In a moderately sized text corpus, all theoretically possible and hence predictable groupings (as shown by Figure 1) have been found to occur in abundance for some 210 matrix verbs.[4] Their distribution is as follows: Group 1: 26, Group 2: 11, Group 3: 57, Group 4: 69, Group 5: 17, Group 6: 7, and Group 7: 21.

2. ***Monadic*** matrix verbs can be split up in three groups. The type of complementation can be explained in terms of the semantics of the matrix verb, namely FACT, ACT or INF. Verbs of Group 1 take a FACT (proposition, finite, with Type III), those of Group 2 take an ACT (predication, finite, Type II), and those of Group 3 take INF (predication, infinitival (=non-finite), Type I) as their object. Interestingly, Group 3 comprises 3-place predicates in two subclasses: firstly, subgroup (3a) consists of matrix verbs the subject of which is always co-referential with the *subject* of the complement, and secondly, subgroup (3b) consists of matrix verbs some *object* of which is always co-referential with the subject of the embedded verb. This entails that the complement of a matrix verb of Group 3a/b is without exception shaped as an infinitive (*–mEk* or *–mE*) plus case marker.

3. ***Dyadic*** matrix verbs allow for a twofold variation in the suffixation of the embedded verb. As was stated at the end of Section 3, Group 5 can solely be accounted for in terms the linguistic entity expressed by the complement: *proposition – predication*. An important semantic difference between the two subclasses 5a and 5b is that the 3-place verbs of 5a convey a modal meaning for Type II, whereas the verbs of (5b), all being 2-place, are neutral in regard to modality. In this class some

[4] A list of all matrix verbs analyzed for this survey can be obtained from the author.

of the labels discussed in Section 3.4 are applicable: *verbs of perception and observation* fall in 5b and *verbs of saying* in 5a, to mention only a few.

For Group 4, however, we need to find sufficient clues to explain the choice between Type II and Type I. This group consists of three major subgroups. In Group 4a/b we find so-called directive and manipulative (3-place) verbs and these are control verbs. The choice between Type I and Type II complementation (non-finite and finite respectively) can be described in terms of the opposition *generic – specific*. Type II complementation is required in case of object control: the embedded subject is co-referential with some object of the matrix verb. For Type I such a connection cannot be established: the subject of the embedded verb cannot be derived from the matrix verbs, nor inferred from the context or situation. Hence, the referent of the embedded verb can be any arbitrary person and the verbal expression is thus non-specific, which in this case can be equalled to generic. Another approach would be to say that finite embeddings (Type II) of verbs in Group 4a/b are *personal* and non-finite constructions (with Type I) are *impersonal*. The latter characteristic cannot be applied to verbs other than those in Group 4a/b. The next five subclasses of Group 4 consist of 2-place verbs (facilitative, volitional, emotive, implicative and others) and these pose no special problems. The subject of a complement with an ending of Type I is co-referential with the subject of the matrix verb, which is not the case in constructions of Type II. Although there is *subject identity* between these 2-place matrix verbs and their embedded verb with suffixation of Type I, we cannot say that there is subject control for the reasons set forth in Section 3.4. The best thing we can come up with at this stage is to say that within predicational constructions the non-possessed infinitive signals subject identity or that the possessed infinitive stands for lack of it.

Next is Group 6 with endings of Type III versus Type I. Looking at the 2-place matrix verbs that go with complements of Type I, it is clear that *subject identity* is the determining factor for its occurrence, a case which is quite similar to that of the 2-place matrix verbs of Group 4. Type III, then, is found to express FACT. Also a very small number of 3-place matrix verbs (e.g. *ikna etmek (-i,-e)* 'to convince; to talk/argue s.o. into s.t.; to persuade', *söz vermek (-e,-e)* 'to promise') allow for two types of complement. Typically, the former example is mostly referred to as a verb of object control, and the latter is said to exert subject control.

4. ***Triadic*** verbs make up Group 7 and they can have complements of types III & II & I. In principle there is the division proposition – predication that separates Type III on the one hand from Type II and Type I on the other. The difference between the latter two types, both expressing predicational complements, can be accounted for by saying that with Type I there is subject identity between matrix and embedded verb, whereas this is not the case with suffixation of Type II.

5. By way of concluding this section, let us spend a few words on the extent to which control is an explanatory factor. The phenomenon of co-referentiality (or subject identity) between the subjects of matrix and embedded verb is not a property that should be solely attributed to infinitival (Type I) complements, since it occurs with

propositional (Type III) and predicational (Type II) complements as well. This can be demonstrated by:

(23) a *Bun-u yap-ma-dığ-ım-ı söyle-me-di-m.* III
'I didn't say that I didn't do it.'
b *Mihael, serbest bırak-ıl-ma-sın-ı rica et-ti.* II
'Michael requested to be released.'

As a matter of consequence, the conclusion is justifiable that co-referentiality is not restricted to the domain of infinitives, but that it occurs in the other predicational environment (*-mE* + POSS) and in propositional embeddings as well. Yet, co-reference is not to be associated with the notion of control *per se*. In my view, it is only useful to speak of control when subject control (Sc) can be *opposed* to object control (Oc). More to the concrete, if a verb can take infinitival complements only, the two subjects are by default co-referential. So, there is no point in saying that the infinitive marks subject control. The notion of control is only relevant for 3-place verbs. Where do we see control phenomena, such that it does account for the choice of suffixes? Consider:

(24) a Group 3a consists of matrix verbs requiring Type I complementation (Sc by default).
b Group 3b consists of matrix verbs requiring Type I complementation with Oc.
c Group 4a/b consists of matrix (directive and manipulative) verbs requiring:
- Type II complementation for Oc.
- Type I complementation for a generic (impersonal) interpretation.
d In Group 6b there are manipulative verbs with Oc for Type I.

This leads to the conclusion that a control verb invokes a complement of Type I except for 4a/b, but reversely, the occurrence of Type I does not imply control. In brief, control has no explanatory power.

6. Evaluation

Are the old labels of 3.2, as based on semantic properties, superfluous then, to the effect that they don't have any use anymore? On the contary, they are certainly useful, but they were designed for quite other purposes than for classifying Turkish verbs in relation to the type of their verbal complements. Their usefulness can easily be demonstrated. Turkish verbs of perception and observation [5] show certain differences in usage between the two groups, due to their underlying semantics. All these verbs allow for complements with endings of Type II and Type III. A suffix combination of Type II is applied when some event is being perceived: an entire event or fragment thereof which is followed with eyes or ears is expressed by *görmek*

[5] Similar phenomena are found with English *verbs of perception* (action verbs: *listen*, *look*, *touch*) and *verbs of observation* (non-action verbs: *hear*, *see*, *feel*). Verbs of the former group can form a progressive tense (e.g. *John is listening to the radio*), but, generally speaking, this tense form is not applied to verbs of the latter group.

'to see' and *duymak* 'to hear' respectively. However, with Type III it is expressed that a mere fact or the result of some action or event is being seen or heard. Turkish verbs of observation (*izlemek* / *seyretmek* 'to watch, to look, to observe, to follow'; *dinlemek* 'to listen') take complements with the same kind of suffixation, but there is an additional feature in constructions with a Type III ending. They focus on the result and/or on some 'anonymous' quality as referred to by a question word rather than by an adverbial expression, as can be shown by:

(25) a *Ne-ler söyle-diğ-in-i ve nasıl söyle-diğ-in-i dinle-yin.*
'Listen to what things he speaks of and how he says it.'
b *Dilli kızıl sarı alev-ler-in kütük-ler-i nasıl sar-dığ-ın-ı seyret-ti.*
'He watched how the red-yellow tongues of fire engulfed the trunk of the trees.'
c *Kağıt-lar-ın neden uçuş-tuğ-un-u izle-miş.*
'He looked at the question why the papers flew about.'

A second case in point is that of *verbs of saying* in Turkish. These too allow for Type III and Type II endings. Now, with a complement of Type III they behave like 'expositives' (describing a FACT) and if expressed with Type II (for ACT), they could be labelled 'excercitives' or 'directives', similar to the verbs of Class 4a. All in all it is clear that labels can stay where they are: they may be useful for anything but classifying complementation.

7. Complications

With the classification proposed everything seems to go perfectly well and everything looks altogether entirely peachy. So why does the word *complications* figure in the title? Are there problems anyway? Actually, this is not the case. Certain verbs however are polysemous and do not fit in any of the groups just like that. For instance, *bilmek-1 (-i)* in the sense of 'to know' in the sense of having knowledge allows only for Type III suffixation and requires therefore placement in Group 1, but *bilmek-2 (-i)* meaning 'to know how to do s.t.' (have a skill) allows for Type I and II and is therefore a member of Group 4f. Quite similarly, *karar vermek-1 (-e)* of Group 3a means 'to decide' and takes complements of Type I, whereas *karar vermek-2 (-e)* in the sense 'to deduce, to infer, to draw the conclusion', belongs to Group 1 and takes Type III suffixation. Other polysemous verbs are: *beklemek-1 (-i)* 'to wait for; to await' (5b), *beklemek-2 (-i, -den)* 'to expect' (7); *düşünmek-1 (-i)* 'to believe, to think of' (1), *düşünmek-2 (-i)* 'to imagine' (2), *düşünmek-3 (-i)* 'to consider, to think over/out' (3a); *istemek-1 (-i)* 'to want, to wish, to desire' (4d), *istemek-2 (-i, -den)* 'to require, to demand; to expect' (4b); *utanmak-1 (-e)* 'to feel too ashamed to' (3a), *utanmak-2 (-den)* 'to feel ashamed for' (5b); *men etmek-1 (-i, -den)* 'to preclude' (3b), *men etmek-2 (-i, -e)* 'to forbid, to prohibit' (4b); *inanmak-1 (-e)* 'to believe that' (6), *inanmak-2 (-e)* 'to believe in' (2); *öğretmek-1 (-e, -i)* 'to teach' (3b), *öğretmek-2 (-e, -i)* 'to make clear that' (1); *uğraşmak-1 (-e)* 'to strive, struggle, endeavour, work hard to' (3a), *uğraşmak-2 (-le)* 'to be occupied with doing' (3a).

References

Banguoğlu, T. 1973. *Türkçenin grameri*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basım Evi.

Csató, É. 2010. Two types of complement clauses in Turkish. In: J. Rentzsch, & H. Boeschoten (eds.) *Turcology in Mainz / Turkologie in Mainz*. (Turcologica 82.) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. 107–122.

Dik, S. C. 1997a. *The theory of Functional Grammar (Part 1: The structure of the clause)*. Edited by K. Hengeveld. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Dik, S. C. 1997b. *The theory of Functional Grammar (Part II: Complex and derived constructions)*. Edited by K. Hengeveld. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Dowty, D. R. 1979. *Word meaning and Montague Grammar; the semantics of verbs and times in Generative Grammar and Montague's PRQ*. Dordrecht: Reidel.

Dowty, D. R. 1985. On recent analyses of the semantics of control. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 8, 291–331.

Erguvanlı Taylan, E. 1996. Aspects of control in Turkish. In: B. Rona (ed.), *Current issues in Turkish Linguistics. Proceedings of the 5th International Conference of Turkish Linguistics, London, 15-17 August 1990.* 46–60. Ankara: Hitit.

Göksel, A. & C. Kerslake. 2005. *Turkish: A comprehensive grammar*. London: Routledge.

Haig, G. & S. Słodowicz. 2006. Control in Turkish non-finite complements. In: S. Yağcıoğlu et al. (eds.). *Advances in Turkish linguistics*. İzmir: Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi.

Hengeveld, K. 1989. Layers and operators in Functional Grammar. *Journal of Linguistics*. 25, 127–157.

Lewis, G. 1967 [Edition 2000]. *Turkish grammar*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Noonan, M. 1985. Complementation. In: Shopen T. (ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description.* Vol 2, *Complex Constructions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 42–140.

Schaaik, G. van. 1999. The order of nominalizations in Turkish. *Turkic Languages* 3, 87–120. Also available in: Gerjan van Schaaik (ed.). 2001. *The Bosphorus Papers. Studies in Turkish grammar 1996-1999*. İstanbul: Boğaziçi University Press.

Słodowicz, S. 2007. Complement control in Turkish. *ZAS papers in linguistics 47*, 125–157.

Vendler, Z. 1957. Verbs and times. *Philosophical Review* 56, 143–160.

Vendler, Z. 1967. *Linguistics in Philosophy*. Ithaca (New York): Cornell University Press.

Vendler, Z. 1972. *Res Cogitans, an Essay in Relational Psychology*. Ithaca (New York): Cornell University Press.

Verkuijl, H. J. 1972. *On the compositional nature of the aspects*. Dordrecht: Reidel.

Wendt, H. 1972 [7. Auflage: 1979]. *Praktisches Lehrbuch Türkisch. Ein Standardwerk für Anfänger.* Berlin: Langenscheidt.

Yücel, Ö. 2007. The semantic basis of control in Turkish. Paper read at *The 1st Mediterranean Graduate Students' Meeting in Linguistics*, 25-26 October 2007. Mersin University. Unpublished paper.

Yücel, Ö. 2008. Partial control in Turkish. *Mersin University Journal of Language and Literature* 5, 101–117.

Yücel, Ö. 2009. Control relations in Turkish infinitival complements. In: Ay, S. et al. (eds.) *Essays on Turkish linguistics. Proceedings of the 14th International Conference on Turkish Linguistics, 6-8 August 2008*. (Turcologica 79.) Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz. 483–491.
Found as: www.harrassowitz-verlag.de/dzo/artikel/201/003/3751_201.pdf?t=1275485852.