MERSİN **ÜNİVERSİTESİ**

CONCEPTUALIZATIONS OF *CİĞER* 'LIVER-LUNG' IN TURKISH FIGURATIVE EXPRESSIONS

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Abstract: This study investigates the conceptualizations of the body part term *ciğer* (liver-lung) as it is used in the conventionalized expressions, i.e. idioms and compounds, figuratively from the cognitive linguistic perspective. Data are collected from several dictionaries, and the idiomatic expressions that include the word *ciğer* are analyzed in relation to the cognitive theory of metaphor and metonymy (Kövecses, 2000; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). The findings reveal an embodied cultural model for *ciğer* that is conceptualized as A METONYMY FOR THE PERSON, A LIVING ORGANISM, AN OBJECT OF VALUE and A CONTAINER, each of which includes diverse sub-folk models. Findings also demonstrate *ciğer* as A LOCUS FOR EMOTIONS expressing sadness, pity, liking/love, fear, affectivity, disliking/hate and happiness. The study highlights the supremacy of metaphors, metonymies and image schemas in the conceptualization of experiences in Turkish as well as supports the view that embodiment is culturally motivated.

Key words: *Liver-lung, cultural conceptualizations, metaphor, metonymy, Turkish idioms*

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CİĞER SÖZCÜĞÜNÜN TÜRKÇE DEĞİŞMECELİ İFADELERDE KAVRAMSALLAŞTILIRILMASI

Özet: Bu çalışma, bir beden bölümü sözcüğü olan 'ciğer'in Türkçe kalıplaşmış ifadelerdeki değişmeceli kullanımını bilişsel dilbilimsel bir açıdan incelemektedir. Veriler çeşitli deyimler sözlüklerinden toplanmış ve içinde *ciğer* sözcüğü geçen deyimler ve sözcük grupları, kavramsal metafor ve metonimi kuramı (Kövecses, 2000; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980) çerçevesinde incelenmiştir. Bulgular, 'ciğer'in, her biri farklı alt modeller içeren KİŞİ, CANLI BİR VARLIK, DEĞERLİ BİR NESNE ve KAP olarak kavramsallaştığı bedenleşmiş bilişsel-kültürel bir model ortaya koymaktadır. Bulgular, ayrıca 'ciğer'in, üzüntü, acıma, sevgi, korku, duygusallık, hoşlanmama/nefret ve mutluluk ifadelerinde sıklıkla kullanılıp DUYGULARIN MERKEZİ olarak kodlandığını göstermektedir. Çalışma, Türkçede deneyimlerin kavramsallaşmasında metafor, metonimi ve imge şemalarının egemen olduğunu vurgulamakta ve kültürün bedenleşmiş bilişin ortaya çıkışında etkili bir rol oynadığı görüşünü desteklemektedir.

Anahtar sözcükler: *Ciğer, kültürel kavramsallaşmalar, metafor, metonimi, Türkçe deyimler*

1. INTRODUCTION

Our bodies' interaction with the environment plays a significant role in our understanding of the world we live in. Because bodies are not isolated from society, all bodies are situated in a context, that is, a cultural environment. For this reason, cognition is embodied in cultural situations (Gibbs, 1999). In recent years, the role of the human body and its internal and external parts as a source domain has been widely investigated for the understanding of abstract concepts via their metaphoric and metonymic uses (Brenzinger & Kraska-Szlenk, 2014; Maalej & Yu, 2011; Sharifian, Dirven, Yu & Niemeier, 2008). These studies have provided support for the view that although the human body poses a universal source domain for metaphors in modeling abstract concepts, cultural or folk models provide particular panoramas through which specific body parts become marked and meaningful in understanding specific abstract concepts (Gibbs, 1999; Kövecses, 2000, 2008; Maalej & Yu, 2011; Yu, 2001, 2002). In this regard, the present study explores the embodiment through the body part word

"ciğer" (liver/lung) in Turkish figurative expressions to come up with a cognitive-cultural model of it.

Cultural models are "holistically structured conceptual units" (Kövecses, 2003, p. 312) or conceptualizations that incorporate a network of conceptual metaphors, schemas, blends and categories, and reflect the collective cognition of a group of people living together (Holland & Quinn, 1987; Sharifian, 2003, 2008, 2011). In Sharifian's terms, these cognitive networks are conceptualizations that "hierarchically characterize higher nodes of our conceptual knowledge" (2008, p. 119), emerging from the interactions between the members of a cultural group. In this sense, conceptualizations reveal how experiences are culturally constructed across time and space within a given society.

In cognitive linguistic framework, metaphor is generally defined as "the cognitive mechanism whereby one experiential domain is partially 'mapped', i.e. projected, onto a different experiential domain, so that the second domain is partially understood in terms of the first one" (Barcelona, 2003, p. 3). The metaphorical connection between the two domains is described as THE TARGET DOMAIN IS SOURCE DOMAIN formula, in which complex abstract concepts (target) are construed in terms of simpler and more concrete concepts (source) that are more closely linked with our physical experiences (e.g. PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS, etc.). On the other hand, metonymy is a conceptual mapping in which one experiential domain (the target) is partially understood in terms of another experiential domain (the source) within the same experiential domain, which can be formulated as THE SOURCE DOMAIN FOR TARGET DOMAIN (e.g. PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT). Metaphors are based on image schemas like containment, bodily orientation, verticality, etc., whereas the basis of metonymy is formed by bodily, especially physiological experiences.

As patterns of sensory-motor experiences, image schemas play a key role in the emergence and explanation of the embodied origins of human meaning and thought. They are generally defined as "preconceptual structures, which arise from, or are grounded in, human recurrent bodily movements through space, perceptual interactions, and ways of manipulating objects" (Hampe, 2005, p. 1). Image schemas

form the basis for abstract concepts and different facets of linguistic meaning and provide structures for certain cultural conceptualizations. For instance, the container image schema defines concepts such as IN, OUT and ENTER; the source–path–goal schema defines concepts such as JOURNEY, ARRIVE, TRAVEL, and LEAVE; and the force schema outlines concepts such as PUSH, PULL, RESIST and EMOTION (Kövecses, 2015, p. 35).

Idioms and compounds, as products of language, are collective memory banks of a society; therefore, they are important tools to investigate cultural conceptualizations. They are also vehicles for the transmission of the socio-culturally embodied conceptualizations from one generation to the next. In this respect, they are commonly employed in cognitive linguistic studies that concentrate on figurative language uses and the identification of metaphoric and metonymic conceptualizations (e.g. Charteris-Black, 2003; McPherson & Prokhorov, 2011; Occhi, 2011; Radic-Bojanic & Silaški, 2012; Yu, 2002). Similarly, the idiomatic expressions, which include the Turkish body part term *ciğer,* have been selected for the focus of the present study. *Ciğer* is the name of one of the internal organ terms in Turkish, which is frequently found in conventionalized expressions. As a borrowed word from Persian, it is used in Turkish as a general label that can be further specified as lungs (*akciğer*, white-ciğer) and liver (*karaciğer*, black-ciğer), thus it refers to either of the organs depending on the context.

We know from human anatomy that both liver and lungs have vital roles in the operation of the body. While the liver helps to clean the blood from unwanted substances, lungs help oxygen from the air we breathe enter the red cells in the blood. Depending on the embodiment thesis, it is possible to claim that the anatomical characteristics of the organs and their specific functions in the body can provide the conceptual basis for the mental representation and understanding of the organs, which tends to be consistent across languages. On the other hand, cross-cultural studies have demonstrated that liver and lungs have varying conceptualizations in different languages, though lungs seem to take less attention or to play a smaller role in constructing meaning. For instance, in two related languages Indonesian (Siahaan, 2008) and Malay (Goddard, 2008), the liver is the central body organ for emotion concepts, as a result of the old ritual of liver divination that sees liver as the central inner organ through which spiritual beings interact with

humans. In the Australian language Kuuk Thaayorre, the liver, which is conceptualized as both within and a part of the belly, has strong conceptual links with emotion and character (Gaby, 2008). In Basque, the liver word *gibel* is connected with negative feelings and attitudes which tend to arise from the conceptualization of *gibel* as 'back side' (Ibarretxe-Antuñano, 2008, 2012). In Chinese, Yu (2002) demonstrates that the liver and lungs can be associated with the emotions sadness and anger. Dogon languages of Mali encode emotions and character traits in expressions containing the word 'liver' (McPherson & Prokhorov, 2011).

The previous studies show that although liver and lungs have certain similarities across languages especially in terms of their association with emotions, there are considerable differences in their conceptualizations in other respects. Due to its particular linguistic use, the conceptualization of *ciğer* may show peculiarity in Turkish, which results in a distinct schema, specific to Turkish language users. Within this framework, the main purpose of the present study is to investigate the role of the body part word *ciğer* in Turkish idioms as it is used in a figurative way in expressing abstract concepts, and to analyze how it is categorized and schematized in the minds of Turkish speakers to shed a light on some aspects of the prevalent cultural conceptualizations. Exploring this cultural model will help us to illuminate the particular outlook of Turkish speakers and to make a contribution to a better understanding of different cultural universes.

2. METHOD OF DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

The dataset is derived from several online and hardcopy dictionaries of idioms, which reflect the standard Turkish use from past to present. These dictionaries include Aksoy (2007), Bezirci (1998), Çotuksöken (2004), Emir (1974), Karlı (1999), Parlatır (2011), Püsküllüoğlu (2006), Şahin (2004), Ünlü (1976), and the online Dictionary of Proverbs and Idioms by Turkish Language Association. Dictionaries were first scanned, and a database of conventionalized expressions that include the word *ciğer* was formed. Idioms with active and passive constructions (e.g. someone's liver/lung to be pierced / to pierce through one's liver/lung), which have the same meaning, were considered to be a single entry in the study. In this way, the database that is made up of 43 *ciğer*-expressions was recorded.

In the next step, the expressions and their definitions were examined in terms of their figurative uses, and 34 *ciğer*-expressions were identified in which *ciğer* is used figuratively. For instance, the idiom "*ciğeri yanmak*" (*lit.* one's liver-lung to burn) figuratively expresses sadness, as it is not the internal organ that actually burns.

In the final step, the conceptual metaphors and metonymies encoded in the conventionalized expressions were identified and analyzed in relation to the cognitive theory of metaphor and metonymy (Barcelona, 1997, 2003; Kövecses, 2000, 2010; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). As a practical technique, Kövecses (2010, p. 174) describes the 'is like' test of Gibbs (1994) to distinguish metaphor from metonymy. Accordingly, if one thing can be said to 'be like' another, then it is a metaphor. If it does not make sense to say this, then it is a metonymy. The mappings between the source and target domains can be formulated as *A is like B* for conceptual metaphors, and *A stands for B* for conceptual metonymies. The expressions were then categorized according to the generic level metaphorical and metonymical mappings.

A small-scale questionnaire was administered to 20 Turkish native speakers to check whether *ciğer* is conceptualized as lungs, liver or both for each *ciğer* expressions, and found that the distribution of the participants' choices is almost equal, and there is not a consensus on which organ is referred to in each idiom. Depending on the definitions and the results of the survey, the word *ciğer* is used to refer to either lungs or liver in this study.

3. FINDINGS

Data analysis reveals four basic categories to which the idiomatic expressions are related. Since idioms are complex structures, they may include more than one metaphorical or metonymical construction, hence can be considered as falling into more than one category. The idioms, their underlying conceptualizations and the sub-folk models are discussed under each category. The idiomatic expressions are presented with their literal English translations and definitions.

3.1. CİĞER FOR THE PERSON

PART FOR WHOLE metonymy underlies the conceptualizations of the idioms in this group, where the body part word *ciğer* metonymically represents the whole body, hence stands for the person. This category can be characterized as the underlying basis for all the other categories to be discussed. Within this category, we can find other interrelated sub-models, each of which explicates a different aspect of meaning.

CİĞER FOR THE PERSON
CİĞER IS A CONTAINER / A RECORD BOOK

In the first group of idioms, *ciğer* is an immediate representation of the person; therefore, knowing everything about a person including his/her inner feelings and thoughts is considered as knowing or reading his/her liver-lung:

(1) ciğerini(n içini) bilmek *lit*. "knowing (the inside of) someone's liver-lung" - knowing someone very well

(2) ciğerini okumak *lit*. "reading someone's liver-lung" - knowing the inner thoughts of the person one knows well

The idioms also entail that liver-lung is A CONTAINER or A RECORD BOOK where one's secrets, characteristic features, thoughts and emotions are contained or recorded, thus being close with someone is seen as going inside this private and inner realm and being able to read the contents.

CİĞER IS THE SEAT OF LIFE
THE OBJECT OF LOVE IS ONE'S CİĞER

The substitution between the body part *ciğer* and the person leads to more complex conceptualizations including metaphors from metonymies including the expressions of endearment:

(3) ciğerim *lit*. "my lung-liver" - my beloved (child)

(4) ciğerpare *lit*. "liver-lung piece" - someone who is loved a lot

(5) ciğerimin köşesi *lit*. "the edge of my liver-lung" - my beloved (child)

(6) ciğer parçası *lit*. "liver-lung piece" - the loved person

Because of their functions in the body, liver and lungs are vital internal organs for human beings to remain alive, which can be considered as THE SEAT OF LIFE. In this sense, the loved person is viewed as a vital organ or a part of it without which it is impossible or very hard to survive. Seeing the beloved person as one's ciğer, or a part or edge of his/her *ciğer* shows how valuable the beloved person/child is, and emphasizes the attachment to them, yielding the metaphor from the metonymy THE OBJECT OF LOVE IS ONE'S VITAL ORGAN (CİĞER).

THE OBJECT OF LOVE IS ONE'S CİĞER

LOSING ONE'S BELOVED IS PHYSICAL DAMAGE ON ONE'S CİĞER

Since *ciğer* is a very sensitive and vulnerable organ, it is important to protect it from harmful outside factors, as it is important to protect loved ones. In this sense, the harmful and destructive effect of grief due to losing one's child or beloved one is mapped with the wound or pain on one's liver-lung as in the following examples:

(7) ciğer yarası *lit*. "liver-lung wound" - the grief of losing a child

(8) ciğer acısı *lit*. "liver-lung pain" - the pain caused by the death of one's child or a close friend

THE OBJECT OF LOVE IS ONE'S CİĞER

LOVE IS A UNITY

Similar to the heart, *ciğer* is commonly used to communicate the positive emotion love; however, unlike the heart, which is used to express romantic love more frequently, *ciğer* expresses the love of a child or a close friend. 'C*iğerim*' (my liver-lung) is a relatively common term of address in Turkish used to show sincerity and closeness.

Close friends who share everything, and who are always together are seen as "soul and liver-lung" which entails the UNITY metaphor of love:

(9) canciğer olmak *lit*. "being soul and liver-lung" - being very close friends

(10) canciğer kuzu sarması *lit*. "soul and liver-lung lamb wrap" - being bosom friends, being chummy

The expressions are examples of the metonymy for the unity and harmony of two people whereby soul and liver-lung stand for the two people as a whole. According to Kövecses, LOVE IS A UNITY OF TWO COMPLEMENTARY PARTS is the central metaphor for a model of love that suggests perfect harmony, attachment, and a symbiotic relationship (1986, 1988). Love, in our case, is not romantic but a general one including the related concepts friendship, affinity and sincerity; still, the psychological unity between two close people is conceptualized as a physical unity.

3.1. CİĞER AS A LIVING ORGANISM

Ciğer in this category is conceptualized mainly as AN ENTITY WHICH EXPERIENCES EMOTIONS, and is negatively affected by them. Expressions in this category generally denote negative emotions dominated by sadness. The other types of emotion are pity, fear and the neutral emotion affectivity. This category takes the biggest part in the data with 17 expressions, consisting of diverse and interrelated sub-folk models.

PITY/SADNESS IS PHYSICAL DAMAGE OF CİĞER

(THE CAUSE OF) PITY/SADNESS IS A SHARP OBJECT

CİĞER IS A VULNERABLE ENTITY

Examining the idioms closely reveals different schematizations of emotion types. Sadness and pity are commonly conceptualized as PHYSICAL DAMAGE that hurts the internal organ and damages its physical integrity as in the following idioms:

(11) ciğeri parçalanmak *lit*. "someone's liver-lung to part" - pitying somebody a lot

(12) ciğeri parça parça olmak *lit*. "someone's liver-lung to break into pieces" - pitying somebody a lot

(13) ciğeri paralanmak *lit*. "someone's liver-lung to be torn into pieces" - feeing pity for someone

(14) ciğeri delinmek *lit*. "someone's liver-lung to be pierced" - a tragic situation causing sadness for somebody

(15) ciğerini sökmek *lit*. "tearing someone's liver-lung" - hurting or damaging someone a lot, to make someone unviable

(16) ok gibi ciğerine işlemek *lit*. striking one's liver-lung as if by an arrow - being negatively affected by something, to agonize, to be in pain

Both liver and lungs possess soft tissue and are protected by other organs surrounding them. Based on their biological structure, they are conceptualized as sensitive parts of the body that can be hurt by outer factors. In the idioms, the unity of the liver-lung is seen as damaged metaphorically by the negative emotions, sadness and pity. The concept of harm usually refers to the nonliteral negative effects of the emotion, which is comprehended in terms of physical damage. This leads to the general conceptual metaphor of EMOTIONAL HARM IS PHYSICAL DAMAGE (Kövecses, 2000, p. 46). Physical damage denotes a visible damage as a result of one physical object knocking into another. The sub-folk models (THE CAUSE OF) PITY/SADNESS IS A SHARP OBJECT and CİĞER IS A VULNERABLE ENTITY lie behind these expressions. For the idiom "someone's liver-lung to part", "yürek" (heart) can be used in place of *ciğer* with the same emotional meaning; thus, *ciğer* and *yürek* (heart) are interchangeable in this idiom.

CİĞER BLOOD IS INTENSE SADNESS
CİĞER IS A CONTAINER FOR EMOTIONS

Ciğer blood is used in the expressions to indicate the intensity of sadness:

(17) ciğer kanı içmek *lit*. "drinking liver-lung blood" - suffering in great pain

(18) ciğeri kan dolmak *lit*. "someone's liver-lung to fill up blood" - being in pain and sorrow

Blood, as a bodily liquid, is a frequently used term in idioms to express sadness. For example, *crying blood* (kan ağlamak) and *shedding bloody tears* (kanlı yaşlar dökmek) refer to having deep sadness and pain and crying with sorrow. Blood usually appears as a result of physical damage of a body part. When it is used with internal body parts, it expresses the depth of the damage, namely, the intensity of sadness yielding the LIVER-LUNG BLOOD IS INTENSE SADNESS metaphor. Idiom (18) also accounts for the fluid component in the

CONTAINER image schema (Johnson, 1987) as explained in part 3.4. *Ciğer,* in this idiom, is seen as a container that is filled with blood, and when it is damaged due to negative feelings, blood comes out.

SADNESS/AFFECTIVITY IS FIRE/HEAT
CİĞER IS A BURNABLE ENTITY
BEING SAD/EMOTIONAL IS HAVING ONE'S CİĞER COOKED

Based on the INTENSE EMOTIONS ARE HEAT master metaphor listed by Lakoff, Espenson & Schwarts (1991), FIRE metaphor plays an important role in the conceptualization of sadness and affectivity, in which case *ciğer* is construed as A BURNABLE ENTITY:

(19) ciğeri dağlanmak / ciğerini dağlamak *lit.* "one's liver-lung to be cauterized / cauterizing one's liver-lung" - one's inside burning with agony and longing

(20) ciğeri yanmak / ciğerini yakmak (birinin) *lit.* "one's liver-lung to burn / burning someone's liver-lung" - suffering from intense pain

(21) ciğeri kavrulmak *lit.* "one's liver-lung to be roasted" - being in a deep pain

(22) ciğer(i) kebab olmak *lit.* "one's liver-lung to become kebab" - going through a sorrow, to suffer from intense pain

It is clear from the idioms that there is something destructive with sadness, which is mapped onto fire, with its negative potentiality of burning and mutating the internal structure of the body parts. Especially the expressions *roasting, grilling or being kebab* profile a COOKING scenario in which one's ciğer suffers from deep sorrow and pain, similar to the transformation that foodstuff undergoes while being cooked. The roasted or grilled liver-lung evokes the conceptualizations of SADNESS IS FIRE/HEAT and BEING SAD IS HAVING ONE'S CİĞER COOKED; therefore, the emoter is unable to breathe. The idioms "içini yakmak" (burning someone's inside), "içini dağlamak" (cauterizing someone's inside), "yüreğini dağlamak" (cauterizing someone's heart) are found with the same emotional meaning, which shows that *ciğer* and *iç* (inside) can be replaced in some idioms, and ciğer may refer to inside of the body. The idioms provide further support for the view that sadness is one of the "hot" emotions in

Turkish culture, which physically damages the inside organs of the body when it becomes very intense.

(23) ciğeri pişmek *lit.* "someone's liver/lung being cooked" - being full inside with various emotions

Affectivity is an emotional state in which the emoter shows emotional responses as a result of the arousal of emotions. Feeling emotional is viewed as the change of the physical state of the body part *ciğer* by being cooked as in sadness, yielding the metaphors AFFECTIVITY IS FIRE and BEING EMOTIONAL IS HAVING ONE'S CİĞER COOKED.

SADNESS IS A PHYSICAL AGITATION
CİĞER IS A VULNERABLE ENTITY
The negative emotion sadness also physically agitates *ciğer* as in the following examples:

(24) ciğeri sızlamak *lit.* "one's liver-lung to ache" - feeling sorry, deploring, having an ache by heart
(25) ciğerine batmak *lit.* "stinging one's liver-lung" - suffering, being sorry

"Yürek" (heart) can be replaced with *ciğer* in these idioms with the same emotional meaning. The words *ache and prick* exemplify a mapping in which the body-part is physically agitated; hence the person is physically disturbed, which yields the conceptual metaphor SADNESS IS A PHYSICAL AGITATION (Kövecses, 2000). Just like the heart, *ciğer* is seen as the part of the body, which is physically agitated by an external cause, namely, the negative emotion, which entails the conceptualization CİĞER IS A VULNERABLE ENTITY.

CİĞER IS AN ANTHROPOMORPHIZED ENTITY
Ciğer can be personified in a metonymical way, and is seen as AN ANTHROPOMORPHIZED ENTITY as in the following expressions:

(26) ciğeri kan ağlamak *lit.* "one's liver-lung to cry blood" - being distressed and sorrowful

(27) ciğerleri bayram etmek *lit.* "one's liver-lungs having field day" - smoking a better kind of cigarette; going out for fresh air

These expressions imply that *ciğer* is an independent agent, an additional part of the person, or another part of the self, which can rejoice or react to negative feelings by crying. As indicated above, blood is used with internal organs to express the intensity of sadness. An organ personified as crying or rejoicing reflects CİĞER FOR PERSON metonymy as discussed above.

3.3. CİĞER AS AN OBJECT OF VALUE

Because of their vital role in the body, both lungs and liver are conceptualized as something valuable, and can be conceptualized as AN OBJECT OF VALUE. This is reflected in the expressions in which *ciğer* is used.

CİĞER IS A VALUABLE ENTITY

(28) ciğeri beş/on para etmemek *lit*. "someone's liver-lung isn't worth five/ten cents" - being a worthless, useless and low-down person

Based on the metonymy CİĞER FOR THE PERSON (PART FOR WHOLE), in this idiom, the unworthiness of the disliked person is conceptualized in terms of the unworthiness of his/her liver-lung. The value or price of the person's liver-lung is projected onto his/her own honor or value that entails the CİĞER IS VALUE / A VALUABLE ENTITY.

HAPPINESS IS PHYSICAL CONTACT

When associated with happiness, *ciğer* is seen as AN OBJECT THAT CAN BE TAKEN AND GIVEN:

(29) ciğerini almak *lit*. "taking someone's liver-lung" - making someone happy

This idiom is used in the same meaning as *gönül (gönlünü) almak* (taking someone's gönül), in which ciğer is used in place of *gönül*. *Gönül* is an abstract term that roughly refers to heart, mind and desire, and is the site of wishes and thoughts (Ruhi & Işık-Güler, 2007). There is a complex structure of meaning in the idiom that leads metaphors from metonymy. Happiness in this idiom as well as in *gönül almak* seems to be particularly a kind of happiness or pleasure that exists as shared between two or more individuals (Ruhi, 2006, p. 97), so it can be called "intersubjective happiness." Nice words or behavior metonymically represent the hand of a person, while *ciğer* stands for another person, and there is a physical contact between them. This yields the metaphors HAPPINESS IS PHYSICAL CONTACT and EFFECT ON EMOTIONAL SELF IS A CONTACT WITH PHYSICAL SELF.

CİĞER FOR A DESIRABLE OBJECT/COMMODITY

Ciğer can stand for A DESIRABLE OBJECT or COMMODITY that one wants to possess, as in the following examples:

(30) kedi ciğere bakar gibi bakmak (süzmek veya seyretmek) *lit*. "looking (watching) as if a cat looks at liver-lung" - looking at something with desire

(31) kediye ciğer ısmarlamak/emanet etmek *lit*. "ordering/entrusting liver-lung to a cat" - giving something to someone untrustworthy to hide it

Both of the expressions depend on the cat's fondness of *ciğer* as its food. In the first idiom, *ciğer* is seen as A DESIRABLE OBJECT, which one aspires to own. Therefore a person's desiring looks at someone/something is likened to a cat's desiring looks to eat the meat. On the other hand, in the second idiom, *ciğer* is construed as A COMMODITY that is subject to get lost when left with someone unreliable.

3.4. CİĞER AS A CONTAINER

Human body and particular body parts are usually conceptualized as containers especially for the expression of emotions derived from the metaphor THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR EMOTIONS. As discussed above, the idioms 'knowing the inside of someone's liver-lung' and 'someone's liver-lung to fill up blood' illustrate a

container *ciğer* in which personal information is stored and blood flows into in case of injury.

The container image schema in our data provides further information for the conceptualization of the negative emotion sadness.

SADNESS IS A BURDEN ON ONE'S CİĞER

(32) ciğerine oturmak *lit*. "to sit/sink on one's liver-lung" - suddenly feeling sorry

Emotional stress or difficulties are usually conceptualized as a burden, yielding the metaphor EMOTIONAL DIFFICULTIES ARE BURDENS (Kövecses, 1998, 2000). According to Kövecses (1998, p. 143), many emotions like anger, fear, sadness, and shame are viewed as difficult states to cope with for the subject of emotion. In other words, the external pressure caused by the burden on the body-container corresponds to the distress or difficulty caused by the emotion on the self. In this idiom, the thing that causes sadness is conceptualized as a burden or a pressure on the body part, therefore troubles the person, and is schematized as SADNESS IS A BURDEN or SADNESS IS AN EXTERNAL PRESSURE.

CİĞER IS A CONTACT POINT / A PERMEANT ENTITY

In the following idiom, *ciğer* is conceptualized as A CONTACT POINT or A PERMEANT ENTITY that allows emotions to go inside:

(33) ciğerine işlemek *lit*. "penetrating into one's liver-lung" - being negatively affected or to feel upset by a bad saying or behavior

The idiom expresses sadness, which is metaphorized as A PHYSICAL CONTACT that makes a physical effect on *ciğer* by penetrating into it. This metaphor entails what Lakoff et al. (1991, p. 45) call the EFFECT ON EMOTIONAL SELF IS CONTACT WITH PHYSICAL SELF metaphor, where the source domain is contact and touch, and the target domain is feeling, emotion and effect. Similar expressions are found with the two heart words *kalp* and *yürek* in the idiom 'penetrating into one's heart' with the same meaning. As sensitive organs, liver, lung and

heart seem to absorb the things around them and are deeply affected by intense sadness.

CİĞER IS A MOVEABLE ENTITY
FEAR IS A PHYSICAL FORCE
FEAR IS MOTION/DISPLACEMENT OF THE INTERNAL ORGANS
Ciğer can also be conceptualized AS A MOVEABLE ENTITY whose position can be changed due to the physical force of the negative emotion fear:

(34) ciğeri ağzına gelmek *lit*. "one's liver-lung coming up into one's mouth" - to dread

In this idiom the word *ciğer* is used in a similar meaning to *yürek* (heart) as in the idiom *yüreği ağzına gelmek* (one's heart to come up into one's mouth). According to Rull, the self is commonly considered to be a space or container where internal events such as thoughts, beliefs or emotions are produced; therefore "[e]motions can be conceptualized as internal forces moving inside people exerting some pressure from the inside" (2001, p. 181). It is the FORCE schema that lies behind this conceptualization, which refers to the pressure of two forceful entities upon each other when they are in interaction (Kövecses, 2000; Talmy, 2000). In the example, the intensity of fear is conceptualized as an internal pressure, which forces one's *ciğer* (liver-lung) or heart to move up into one's mouth; thus, metaphorized as FEAR IS A PHYSICAL FORCE and FEAR IS MOTION/DISPLACEMENT OF THE INTERNAL ORGANS.

4. DISCUSSION

This study has investigated the cultural conceptualizations of *ciğer* (liver-lung) in Turkish figurative expressions and revealed a cognitive-cultural model of it that is made up of metaphors, metonymies and image schemas. Accordingly, in addition to being an internal organ vital for life, *ciğer* is conceptualized as the locus for emotions, one's private, inner realm where one's inner self and values are stored, one's valuable entity (i.e. a beloved object or a person), and the sensitive and vulnerable side of the person (i.e. permeant, burnable

and moveable entity) that is affected easily by outside factors (Figure 1). All these conceptualizations are different facets of the cognitive-cultural model of *ciğer*, and they demonstrate that there is not a single conceptualization, but an aggregate of different sub-folk models, all of which are interrelated to one another.
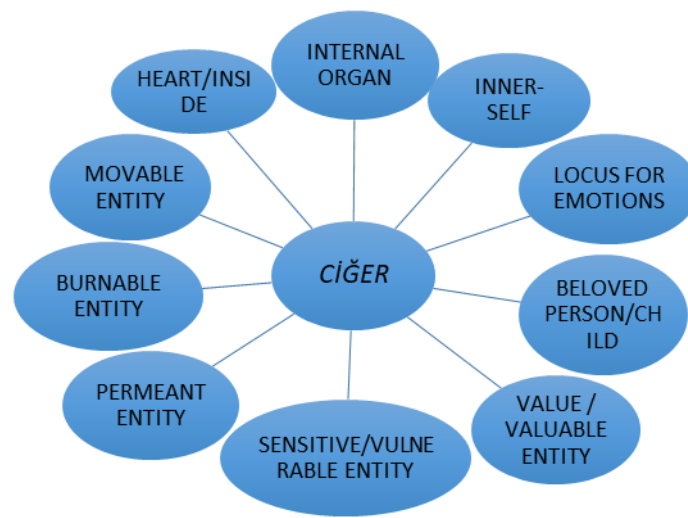
Figure 1. Components of the cultural model of *ciğer*

Depending on the PART-WHOLE image schema, the PART FOR WHOLE (i.e., CİĞER FOR PERSON) metonymy provides the underlying basis for most of the metaphors found in the study. This accords with the argument of Kövecses that some metaphors can emerge from schematization and elaboration through a metonymic process (2013, 2015). Because we experience our bodies as wholes with parts, we attribute different roles and functions to each part of the body, which in time, gain different metaphorical representations. In our case, one's body part *ciğer* is closely associated with one's self or the loved one, which forms the basis of submetaphorical conceptualizations such as THE OBJECT OF LOVE IS ONE'S CİĞER or CİĞER IS AN ANTHROPOMORPHIZED ENTITY.

Additionally, the CONTAINER image schema, which has a basic role in our understanding of daily experiences, operates mainly in the conceptualization of emotions identified in the analysis. The

conceptualization of our bodies as containers is related to IN-OUT orientations, as a natural result of the form and functioning of our bodies, including for example ingesting and excreting, or taking air into our lungs and breathing it out (Lakoff, 1987, p. 271). When these bodily experiences are combined with cultural values and traditions, specific body parts can be characterized as containers with distinct contents. The present study reveals that the container *ciğer* is generally filled with emotions, feelings and personal values, and is affected by its contents in a good or bad way.

Findings have also demonstrated that *ciğer* carries a meaning similar to the heart as it is used interchangeably with the heart words (*yürek* and *kalp)* in some idioms. This close association shows that *ciğer* is seen as important as the heart, which is considered the central organ for emotion. Just like the heart, *ciğer* is seen as a store where one's innermost feelings are preserved. On the other hand, unlike the heart (*kalp*), which is more prototypically used to convey romantic love (Baş, 2017), *ciğer* expresses a more general love, endearment, compassion, sincerity and self-sacrifice, which are associated with the relationship of affinity and kinship bonds in Turkish. We can deduce that when used in figurative speech, *ciğer* is more than a single organ; rather it is a conglomerate of organs that generally refers to the upper part of the body or one's inside. This accords with the view of McPherson& Prokhorov (2011, p. 40) that in butchering livestock, "the heart, liver and lungs are removed together in one piece, giving rise to the idea that at least the three together form a single complex organ that, due to its position in the upper abdomen, comes to be seen as the seat of the emotions." Moreover, *ciğer* acts as more than a physical organ in Turkish, but like *gönül,* it can be considered as one of the cultural key terms in Turkish, which covers the person's inner-self, including feelings, emotions, desires and values.

The study shows *ciğer* as a productive source domain for the communication and conceptualization of emotions in Turkish, which is manifested by CIĞER IS THE LOCUS/CONTAINER FOR EMOTIONS metaphor. This finding accords with the belief that the concept of emotion is generally identified with "the human body and its functioning" because emotions are commonly exhibited through bodily behavior (Kövecses, 2013, p. 77). In this sense, it provides evidence for the embodied nature of emotions by unveiling how

different types of emotion are conceptualized and schematized in the minds of Turkish speakers. Seven different emotion types are identified in the data, i.e. sadness, love, pity, disliking/hate, fear, happiness and affectivity. Among these emotion types, the most prototypical one is sadness, which is conceptualized as PHYSICAL DAMAGE, PHYSICAL AGITATION, FIRE, BURDEN and PHYSICAL CONTACT. Based on the findings discussed above, an outline of how the emotions are schematized via the body part term *ciğer* is presented in Figure 2:
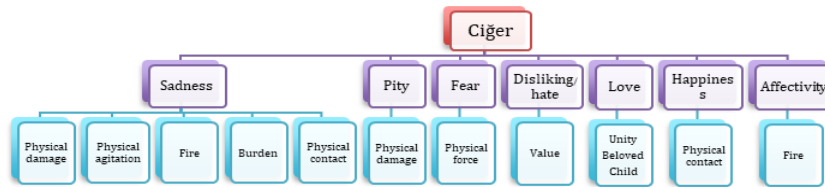
Figure 2. Conceptualizations of emotions via ciğer expressions

In addition to sadness, pity is conceptualized as a PHYSICAL DAMAGE, while fear is seen as a PHYSICAL FORCE, affectivity is seen as FIRE, happiness is seen as PHYSICAL CONTACT, love is seen as one's own liver-lung and UNITY between the loved one's liver-lungs, and hate is metonymically conceptualized in terms of VALUABLE ORGAN. Figure 2 also makes it clear that different emotion types can be conceptualized in similar ways, and that both metaphors and metonymies play important roles in the construal of emotions.

The emotion metaphors identified in the data are congruent with those identified by Kövecses (1990, 2000) at the generic level (e.g. EMOTION IS PHYSICAL DAMAGE, EMOTION IS PHYSICAL FORCE, EMOTION IS BURDEN, etc.). On the other hand, at the specific and linguistic levels, the emotion metaphors show characteristic features. For instance, Kövecses (2000) states that the heat/fire metaphor can be found in anger, romantic love, lust and shame, whereas it doesn't seem to occur as a source domain with sadness. However, the present study demonstrates that in Turkish, fire is a common source domain that is mapped with intense sadness, resulting in SADNESS IS FIRE metaphor. In this sense, sadness is one

of the hot emotions in Turkish, which, under excessive exposure, burns and damages the physical integrity of internal organs, namely, psychologically harming the emoter. Additionally, at the linguistic level, idiomatic expressions like *one's liver-lung being cauterized, or one's liver-lung becoming kebab* are observed as the elaborations of the specific metaphor SADNESS IS FIRE. In this respect, the Turkish data provide support for the "body-based social constructionism" view put forth by Kövecses (2000, 2015), which prescribes that both universal bodily experience and cultural variations can be observed in the creation of metaphors.

Finally, the findings on Turkish enable us to make cross-cultural comparisons on the conceptualization of the liver-lung. Similar to Indonesian (Siahaan, 2008), Malay (Goddard, 2008), Basque (Ibarretxe-Antuñano, 2008) and Dogon languages (McPherson & Prokhorov, 2011), the liver-lung is conceptualized as A LOCUS OF EMOTIONS in Turkish. However, the types of these emotions and how they are conceptualized differ. For instance, in Chinese, liver is closely associated with anger and sadness, while the lungs are only associated with sadness (Yu, 2002). In Indonesian, the liver describes the emotions including love, happiness, anger, worry and sadness (Siahaan, 2008). In Malay, the word for liver *hati* is conceptualized as the locus of desire, intention, romantic love, longing, jealousy and sorrow, (Goddard, 2001, 2008). In Dogon, anger, happiness, proud, satisfied, relieved, disgust and disappointment are encoded in liver expressions (McPherson & Prokhorov, 2011). In Basque, the liver is related to various feelings and attitudes, all of which are negative: listlessness, lethargy, laziness, mistrust, disdain, aversion, withdrawal, bitterness, introversion and hostility as a result of its conceptualization as the 'back region' (Ibarretxe-Antuñano, 2008, 2012). These differences show that although body parts, as a source domain, may be conceptually linked with the same target domain, that is, emotion, the inner mappings within these general domains are not necessarily the same, and they show difference across languages since each culture ascribes different emotional load to particular body parts.

Additionally, the conceptual content of the liver-lung may vary across languages. In Indonesian, the liver is conceived as a container for human characters and attitudes, mental activities, religious belief and moral values in addition to the emotions (Siahaan, 2008), and as the

character trait and the private, inner realm of the person in Malay (Goddard, 2001, 2008). On the other hand, the Turkish conceptualization of the liver-lung is restricted to the self, emotions, feelings, endearment and personal values. The only ciğer-expression used for the character trait can be *ciğersiz* (lack of ciğer), which refers to "coward" or "unconscientious" people depending on the context. We can deduce that differences outweigh in the conceptualization of the liver, which are natural results of the cultural embodiment. In other words, each culture reflects its native worldview on the internal organs, which in turn mirrors on the linguistic expressions.

5. CONLUSION

This paper attempted to establish the Turkish cognitive-cultural model of the body part *ciğer* based on the figurative expressions it is used with. The findings show that *ciğer* does not only stand for body organs but also for the psychological faculties, which are abstract in nature. In this sense, it plays a key role in the conceptualization of the world, and in interpreting the relationship between the self and outer world.

Different languages have different ways of conceptualizing the body depending on how they conceptualize the reality. As Yu states, "culture functions as a filter that selects aspects of sensori-motor experience and connects them with subjective experiences and judgments for metaphorical mappings" (2008, p. 247). This study represents a case in which conceptual metaphors are grounded in the body but shaped by a culture-specific metaphorical understanding of an internal organ inside the body. *Ciğer*, in Turkish context, is one of the moderators between cognition and culture, and it provides further evidence for the linguistic manifestation of embodied cognition.

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DERAILMENT OF STRATEGIC MANEUVERING IN A MULTI-PARTICIPANT TV DEBATE: THE FALLACY OF *IGNORATIO ELENCHI*

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Abstract: In pragma-dialectical terms, the fallacy of *ignoratio elenchi* results from derailment of an arguer's strategic maneuvering by violating the relevance rule of a critical discussion (van Eemeren, Grootendorst, & Henkemans, 2002). This study aims to introduce the institutional constraints of a multi-participant TV debate (MPTD) which provide evidence for regarding irrelevant argumentation fallacious (i.e., an unreasonable argumentative move) in this communicative activity type and illustrate how stategic maneuvering derails and leads to this fallacy. The paper draws its data from two episodes of *Siyaset Meydanı*. The analysis of extracts from the data revealed that both the moderator and the participants of the debate show sensitivity to arguing relevantly. Furthermore, it was observed that participants' maneuvering with the topical potential can be an effective argumentative move but not always a reasonable one.

Key words: *Multi-participant TV debate, strategic maneuvering, fallacy, ignoratio elenchi, pragma-dialectics*

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ÇOK KATILIMCILI BİR TV TARTIŞMA PROGRAMINDA STRATEJİK MANEVRALARIN RAYINDAN ÇIKMASI: *IGNORATIO ELENCHI* (İLGİSİZ SAVLAMA) SAFSATASI

Özet: Edimsel-eytişimsel yaklaşıma göre *ignoratio elenchi* safsatası, bir tartışmacının stratejik manevrasının, eleştirel tartışma kurallarından olan ilgililik kuralını ihlal etmesi dolayısıyla rayından çıkması durumudur (van Eemeren, Grootendorst, & Henkemans, 2002). Bu çalışmanın amacı çok katılımcılı televizyon tartışma programının kurumsal kısıtlamalarını tanıtmak ve ilgisiz savlamanın bu iletişimsel aktivite biçimde safsata olarak sayıldığına delil olan durumları ve safsatanın ortaya çıkış biçimini örneklemektir. Çalışmada veri olarak Siyaset Meydanı programının iki bölümü kullanılmaktadır. Bazı kesitlerin analizi sonucunda, savlamada ilgililik kuralına hem moderatörün hem de katılımcıların duyarlılık gösterdiği ortaya konulmuştur. Aynı zamanda, katılımcıların konu avantajından yararlanmasının etkili bir stratejik manevra yöntemi olabileceği ancak bunun her durumda makul bir savlama hareketi olmayabileceği gözlemlenmiştir.

Anahtar sözcükler: *Çok katılımcılı tartışma, stratejik manevra, safsata, ignoratio elenchi safsatası, edimsel-eytişimsel yaklaşım*

1. INTRODUCTION

TV debates are one of the most widely-used instruments to incorporate public into deliberative democracy. In such debates, people from various viewpoints or ideologies get together to voice their opinions about a topic (i.e., a contemporary topic from social, cultural, and political aspects) and try to produce convincing arguments for their claims. In a TV debate, there are not only supporters of a certain standpoint but there are also ones who criticize, cast doubt on, or claim the opposite of that standpoint, for controversial topics are evaluated differently by people with opposing ideologies or viewpoints. As a TV debate involves participants' putting forward a standpoint and presenting arguments in support of or against a standpoint, it is predominantly an argumentative event and can be studied effectively from an argumentative perspective.

There are a number of theoretical approaches that have offered fruitful insights in studying contexts of argumentation (cf. "Dialogue Types" by Walton & Krabbe, 1995; "Argumentation Designs" by Jackson & Jacobs, 1980; and "Pragma-Dialectics" by van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2004 (later developed further in collaboration with Houtlosser). Pragma-dialectical approach to argumentation provides the necessary theoretical, heuristic, and analytical tools to study argumentation systematically in a given context[2]. In pragma-dialectical conception, argumentation is a rational act which is not only governed by dialectical norms of reasonableness but also pragmatic principles as arguers produce speech acts in real life argumentative practices in order to convince a reasonable critic of the acceptability of a standpoint (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2004; van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2003, 2004; van Eemeren, 2010).

Convincing a critical audience of the acceptability of a standpoint requires a party to carry out sound argumentation. The soundness condition of argumentation in pragma-dialectics is determined by a set of rules that arguers are assumed to abide by in order to resolve a difference of opinion on the merits. These rules specify the dialectical standards of reasonableness. [3] However, dialectically sound

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[2] Several contexts of argumentation were studied though adopting the paradigms provided by the pragma-dialectical program. As van Eemeren (2010) notes, the approach aims to provide a basis for detecting the argumentative patterns that come about as a consequence of the institutional preconditions prevailing for certain argumentative contexts and set forth the stereotypical ways of arguing in the political (e.g. Andone, 2013), legal (e.g. Feteris, 2006), medical (e.g. Pilgram, 2009), and academic (Wagemans, 2016) domains of communication.

[3] Van Eemeren and Grootendorst (2004) came up with ten commandments for reasonable discussants, each corresponding to a rule of a critical discussion. These are; (1) freedom rule: parties should have the freedom to advance and criticize a standpoint, (2) obligation-to-defend rule: a party who raised a standpoint should defend that standpoint if he/she is asked to do so, (3) standpoint rule: attacks should bear on a standpoint that has actually been raised, (4) relevance rule: a standpoint should be defended by relevant argumentation, (5) unexpressed premise rule: discussants should not falsely attribute unexpressed premises to each other, (6) starting-point rule: discussants should not falsely present something as an accepted starting point, (7) validity rule: arguments used to defend a standpoint should be valid, (8) argument scheme rule: parties should use appropriate argument schemes to defend a standpoint conclusively, (9) concluding rule: a conclusively defended standpoint may not receive further doubts and an inconclusively defended standpoint may not be maintained, and (10) language use rule: parties should use appropriate language in defending their standpoints.

argumentation is not the only concern of arguers in their attempt to be convincing for their audience. They also try to find the most effective means to defend their stands. The endeavor of discussants to carry out effective argumentation while maintaining the dialectical standards of reasonableness is defined in pragma-dialectics as 'strategic maneuvering' (van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2003, 2004; van Eemeren, 2010). However, arguers sometimes fail to maintain the balance between dialectical and rhetorical goals in argumentation, and their strategic maneuvering derails due to the violation of one of the rules of a critical discussion (van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2003). These cases are, in pragma-dialectical view, fallacious argumentative moves.

One such derailment of strategic maneuvering stems from the violation of the relevance rule of a critical discussion, which reads as follows: "Standpoints may not be defended by non-argumentation or argumentation that is not relevant to the standpoint" (van Eemeren and Grootendorst, 2004, p. 192). The relevance rule (Commandment 4) of a critical discussion ensures that standpoints advanced are defended by relevant argumentation. Argumentation that is not relevant to the standpoint reduces the credibility of the standpoint and hinders the resolution of a difference of opinion. The fallacy of *ignoratio elenchi* is an instance of irrelevant argumentation, and like other fallacies, it impedes in the resolution process. Van Eemeren and Grootendorst (2004) note that the fallacy of *ignoratio elenchi* is committed when a protagonist "puts forward argumentation that does not allow a reconstruction of an argument scheme that would establish an argumentative connection between the propositional content of the argumentation that is advanced and the proposition that is expressed in the standpoint" (p. 171).

In a study that investigated the argumentation strategies of participants in a Turkish TV debate involving multiple-participants, named *Siyaset Meydanı*, Demir (2014, pp. 151-152) has observed that the fallacy of *ignoratio elenchi* is the most typically committed fallacy in the two episodes of the debate program. 17 of the total 83 fallacies committed are an instance of *ignoratio elenchi*, reaching a percentage of 20.5 of all the fallacies committed. The prominence of the fallacy of *ignoratio elenchi* among other fallacies is worth paying careful attention to and evaluating by reference to the activity type of a multi-participant TV debate. The aim of this paper is to introduce the institutional constraints

of a multi-participant TV debate[4], which motivate the participants to regard irrelevant argumentation as fallacious (i.e., an unacceptable argumentative move) in this communicative activity type and exemplify how attempts to maneuver strategically can go wrong and lead to *ignoratio elenchi*. To this end, I will draw my examples from two episodes of the debate program *Siyaset Meydanı*.

In the following section of the paper, I will identify the institutional constraints of an MPTD that affect the argumentative practices of the individuals participating in this activity. In section 3, I will characterize the argumentative features of an MPTD by drawing on the four parameters proposed by van Eemeren and Houtlosser (2005; van Eemeren, 2010), which correspond to the four stages of a critical discussion[5]. In section 4, I will discuss some examples which show that irrelevant argumentation is regarded as a fallacious argumentative move in the context of an MPTD. Section 5 is dedicated to exemplifying how attempts to maneuver strategically may derail and result in irrelevant argumentation in this activity type. Finally, I will conclude by outlining the main results of this paper.

2. THE INSTITUTIONAL PRECONDITIONS OF AN MPTD AND THE WAY THESE PRECONDITIONS ARE EMBODIED IN *SİYASET MEYDANI*

An MPTD is a moderately conventionalized activity type that can be situated in both the political and interpersonal domains of communication. It can be regarded as an activity type in the political domain in the sense that political topics often dominate the discussions. In addition, it can rightfully be related to interpersonal communication domain as well, for it enables the exchange of viewpoints between people. The institutional point of an MPTD is deliberation aimed at opinion-formation. This institutional point is realized through the

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[4] The expression "multiple participants" is used to contrast an MPTD with debates involving two or a few participants, which allow for face-to-face interaction. Although it is not possible to indicate a certain number to meet the criterion of "multiple", we can say that MPTD involves many participants, whose interaction is mediated by a moderator and who are constrained by time and the amount of contribution they can make to the debate. The MPTD *Siyaset Meydanı*, which this paper draws its data from, involves more than 20 participants.

[5] For a full argumentative characterization of the activity type of a multi-participant TV debate, see Demir (2017).

agency of a moderator who brings together multiple participants with different perspectives to discuss a topic of public concern. The moderator undertakes the responsibility to obtain varied views in an equal and democratic way, poses questions to the participants with due impartiality [6], makes explanations when needed, and controls the speaking turns. Edwards (2002) sees the moderator as a democratic agent whose job is to increase the quality of debates (i.e., in his case, web-based debates) by serving deliberative democracy.

MPTD is a form of public debate (for the functions of public debates see Sunay, 2012, p. 36), a broad category of debates conducted by ordinary citizens to which a number of particular activity types are relatable. In accordance with the characteristics of public debates specified by van Eemeren and Houtlosser (2009, p. 9), an MPTD is not a fully conventionalized activity type as there are no explicitly recognized regulations that govern the conduct of the communicative practices in this activity type. This peculiarity of MPTD contrasts with some highly conventionalized deliberative activity types in the political domain such as European parliamentary debate (van Eemeren & Garssen, 2010) or Prime Minister's Question Time (Mohammed, 2009), in which the communicative practices of the participants are regulated by explicit procedural rules. Instead, an MPTD is bound by general broadcasting principles that regulate every news representation in order to ensure a democratic and equal conduct of such programs. The rules of debating in an MPTD are attributable to these general principles which are assumed to be known and accepted by the debaters and also to the principles of the program derivable from its inner dynamics.

The fact that an MPTD is a form of public debate involving ordinary citizens makes it comparable to other forms of public debate which

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[6] Andone (2013, p. 43) points out in the case of political interviews that journalists abide by the norm of 'due impartiality' while posing questions to political figures. It involves allowing a variety of views to be heard and not giving prominence to one view over another. Adopting such a norm allows the journalists to be equally adversarial or antagonist to even competing views when public interest is at issue. The same principle is true of moderators who serve as an agent between the public and the TV-watching audience, and this responsibility not only involves asking neutral questions to the participants and giving the turn to speak but also, when needed, asking adversarial questions to people with competing viewpoints to help execute deliberative democracy among ordinary citizens.

share a common institutional goal with MPTD, that is, the goal of opinion-formation. Two of them are internet political discussion forums (Lewiński, 2010) and British debate interviews (Emmertsen, 2007). In all three forms of public debate, opposing viewpoints are confronted and deliberated. They may differ, however, in the degree of conventionalization, in the audience they target, the presence or absence of a moderator, and the functions the moderator serves.

Internet political discussion forums, as Lewiński (2010) notes, involve an informal talk between the participants. It is a medium where people from varying backgrounds and ideologies exchange their viewpoints about controversial topics without any third-party arranging the organization or content of the debates as in the case of moderated ones. It is less conventionalized compared to an MPTD or a debate interview. The targeted audience for a certain participant of an internet discussion forum is the fellow discussants who disagree with him/her about the political topic under discussion.

An MPTD is more similar to a debate interview in that, first of all, they are both televised debates, so the discussants try to be convincing not only for their debate partners but also for the television-watching audience. Another important similarity is that both debates are moderated. Emmertsen (2007) defines a debate interview as a particular form of news representation that feature two or more interviewees invited as protagonists of opposite positions to discuss a controversial issue. A notable feature of this communicative activity type is that the interviewer's challenging questions serve to polarize the interviewees' (IE's) positions and attain an "aggravated and unmitigated IE-IE confrontation" (p. 570). Unlike the role the interviewer plays in a debate interview, which centers upon polarizing the positions of the participants through deliberate hostility, the moderator in an MPTD is mostly neutral, and the questions he uses are more often than not opinion-eliciting questions rather than critical ones. At times, he can exhibit a balanced antagonism towards opposing viewpoints to serve the public interest, but this antagonism is not as harsh as in the case of British debate interviews (cf. Emmertsen, 2007). On the contrary, he tries to mitigate hostile antagonism and encourage leveled and relevant criticism.

The last difference between an MPTD and a debate interview lies in the way different viewpoints about a topic are represented. In contrast to a debate interview in which two opposing positions are invited to discuss a controversial issue, in an MPTD, along with the directly opposing stands, there are also intermediate positions which avoid clear attachment to any of the opposing standpoints. Due to these varying positions, an MPTD represents several forms of opinions that can be voiced or heard in the society.

In Turkey, a TV debate program in the format of MPTD had been very popular for many years and became a typical example of public deliberation in the country. Named *Siyaset Meydanı* (Political Arena), the program was broadcasted for 19 years (between the years 1994 and 2013) with the moderation of Ali Kırca, a journalist and author in Turkey. [7] *Siyaset Meydanı* brought together different views to deliberate on topics that are of concern to the public. Topics chosen for debating in the program ranged from political, economic and social problems to topics as varied as arts, science, and sports. Nevertheless, political topics had dominance over other topics.

Siyaset Meydanı hosts a fixed group of participants, called *Halk Meclisi* (People's Assembly) in each program, accompanied by a number of special guests – usually experts in the relevant topic – to discuss an issue that is currently of public concern. The program starts with the moderator presenting the topic to be discussed in the relevant episode. He then picks one participant to express his/her viewpoint about the topic (or an aspect of that topic). Usually all participants have preparation for the speeches they will make or at least they have outlined the points that they want to mention during their speeches. The participants of the debate have different political or ideological tendencies, so their views on the topic discussed vary accordingly. When the moderator of the program gives the turn to speak, he takes into consideration these varying tendencies and tries to ensure that opposing views are heard successively. The discussion in *Siyaset Meydanı* proceeds mainly in a monological way rather than dialogical,

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[7] Siyaset Meydanı kept the format with multiple participants till 2011 and from then on underwent a structural change, inviting only a few guests to each program. The program had its final episode on 6 June, 2013 and it is no longer broadcast on TV channels.

for the constraints about time and number of debate participants make it difficult to allow direct interaction between the discussants.

Although two opposing viewpoints dominate the discussion, there are also intermediate ways of looking at the issue being discussed. The moderator does not pronounce his own standpoint, as he holds the role of directing the discussion with due impartiality. He undertakes the responsibility to not only control the speaking turns in the debate but also to ensure that each participant voices his/her opinion in a democratic, equal, and acceptable way. The notion "acceptability" is of special importance here as the moderator acts like a control mechanism monitoring, as it were, whether the dialectical standards of reasonableness are maintained in the discussion. To put it differently, the moderator tries to direct the discussion in a way that it is resolution-oriented.

The program does not aim at announcing any winner or loser of the debate. On the surface, the aim is to give people opportunity to talk freely about controversial issues that are currently significant and to express their viewpoints on these issues depending on their personal experience, background knowledge, values, and ideologies. However, at a deeper level, the program has the aim of stimulating public awareness about the issues being discussed and creating a potential for people in authority to be informed about public opinion on these issues, to understand them, and to take actions about them if possible or needed.

The activity type of MPTD is inherently argumentative as the participants of the debate express their standpoints with respect to the topic of the debate, try to come up with convincing arguments to defend their standpoints, criticize other standpoints, and respond to criticisms. While engaging in these acts, the debaters need to construct not only rhetorically effective arguments but also dialectically reasonable ones. In other words, they need to maneuver strategically to steer the direction of the discussion to their advantage (van Eemeren, 2010). However, in some cases attempts to maneuver strategically fail and lead to fallacious (unreasonable) argumentative moves, which impede in resolving the difference of opinion (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2004). Pragma-dialectical approach to argumentation emphasizes the importance of studying argumentation in the specific context in which

it occurs as different contexts exhibit different constraints for reasonable argumentation. *Ignoratio elenchi*, which is a derailment of strategic maneuvering by violating the relevance rule, can be efficiently evaluated by reference to the activity type in which it is committed. To this end, in the present section of the paper I have introduced the institutional context of an MPTD in general and *Siyaset Meydanı* in particular. In the next section, I will provide a characterization of MPTD as an argumentative activity type by making use of the four parameters proposed by van Eemeren and Houtlosser (2005; van Eemeren, 2010): the initial situation, procedural and material starting points, argumentative means and criticism, and possible outcome. Argumentative characterization of an activity type is regarded in pragma-dialectics as a necessary step in order to analyze and evaluate accurately the reasonableness of argumentative moves made in the relevant activity type.

3. MPTD AS AN ARGUMENTATIVE ACTIVITY TYPE

The *initial situation* in an MPTD is a difference of opinion among the participants of the debate regarding a controversial topic. The type of difference of opinion is mainly mixed as two opposing views dominate the discussion. However, during the ongoing discussion, there may also be cases when a party merely criticizes or casts doubt on a standpoint expressed by another party without putting forward an opposing standpoint. In this case, a non-mixed difference of opinion is also possible in an MPTD.

When a mixed difference of opinion is at issue, participants act as the protagonists of two opposing standpoints. In an MPTD, the proposition underlying the discussion (p) and the positive and negative stances taken with respect to this proposition can be represented as follows:

1. protagonists of p
2. protagonists of $\sim p$

In addition to the roles stated above, there is also a group of participants that approach both standpoints in a balanced way without necessarily adopting one. These participants agree with some aspects of p and some aspects of $\sim p$ when different criteria of evaluation are taken into

consideration; therefore, they can be said to agree with *p'* (p-prime), indicating that they agree with a variant of the proposition under discussion. These participants can be addressed as:

3. Participants who agree with *p'*

The last category of participants is the ones who do not defend any standpoint and just stay neutral. This category is typically exemplified by the moderator as he/she is expected to stay at an equal distance from both standpoints and exhibit no clear attachment to any of them. The last category can be stated as:

4. Neutral stand

In line with the stands specified above, there are protagonists of three prominent standpoints in an MPTD. To illustrate, in the episode of *Siyaset Meydanı* titled "Turkey's Vision", the relevant standpoints can be stated as follows:

1. Turkey's foreign policy is sound (*p*).
2. Turkey's foreign policy is not sound (*~p*).
3. There are both positive and negative indicators for Turkey's foreign policy (*p'*).

Excluding the moderator who is not supposed to take any stand in the discussion, each participant of the debate is, from the start, the protagonist of one of these standpoints as he/she has prior planning for the discussion and has noted down or thought of arguments that can be used to defend the relevant standpoint. Identifying the discussion roles is significant in that they directly affect the burden of proof in a discussion (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2004). Participants of an MPTD address their discussion partners, but primarily, they strive to be convincing for the TV-watching audience.

The moderator, who is attributed the neutral stand in the discussion, is neutral in the sense that he does not adopt a stand himself; rather he directs other participants to take their positions in relation to the topic of the debate. He helps execute the institutional point of the activity type –

deliberation aimed at opinion-formation. As part of his/her institutional responsibilities, the moderator is the warrantor of due impartiality; that is, he/she can take equal distance to two opposing standpoints, and when public interest is at issue, he/she can even exhibit relevant antagonism to both standpoints. Thomas (2012) stresses that moderators have the responsibility to pursue public interest and reveal "the truth" [emphasis added]. For this purpose, they seize the opportunities that are available to attain the ultimate goal of illumination of facts.

The *procedural starting points* of an MPTD are a set of explicit and implicit conventions that determine the rights and obligations of the individuals in this activity type. These conventions concern the rules of the debate and the distribution of burden of proof.

There may be examples of MPTD worldwide whose rules of debating are explicitly stated for individual programs. However, debate programs are often governed by general broadcasting principles that are applicable to any program that has expressive and informative content, which also applies to an MPTD. Regarded as explicit procedural starting points for the discussion, these principles specify the conditions for carrying out a debate in accordance with democratic conventions. In Turkey, radio and TV broadcasting is monitored by RTUK and governed by the Law on the Establishment of Radio and Television Enterprises and Their Media Services (April, 2012). Article 8 in RTUK Law No. 6112 on the Establishment of Radio and Television Enterprises and Their Media Services lists the provisions that specify the rights and obligations of media/broadcasting services. Some of these provisions are as follows:

Broadcasting services,

(ç) shall not be contrary to human dignity and the principle of respect to privacy, shall not include disgracing, degrading or defamatory expressions against persons or organizations beyond the limits of criticism.

(ı) shall be predicated on the principles of impartiality, truthfulness and accuracy and shall not impede the free formation of opinions within the society;

(o) shall respect the right of reply and rectification of the individuals or institutions.

Although the provisions given above point to general broadcasting principles, they contain expressions that are directly relevant to the structure of MPTD and that constrain participants' argumentation. For instance, the provisions given in article (1) support the impartiality principle adopted by the program. Accordingly, in an MPTD, giving dominance to a certain viewpoint is particularly avoided, and taking an equal distance to opposing viewpoints is ensured. The principle of impartiality is observed in the warranty of the moderator. The article (1) also includes constraints that have implications on argumentation along with article (ç). For example, *ad hominem* (attacking an opponent's character rather than answering his argument) and *ad baculum* (attacks that prevent freedom of expression by appealing to threat) attacks are inhibited. The right of reply and rectification expressed in article (o) can be associated with burden of proof in argumentative exchanges. When a party's arguments meet criticism, that party reserves the right to reply and submit evidence.

In addition to explicit procedural starting points that affect an MPTD, there are also implicit procedural starting points that participants are assumed to have accepted and that can be inferred from the debate itself. These implicit starting points concern aspects such as the distribution of burden of proof and the rules of debate.

In an MPTD, the burden of proof is attributed to all the participants of the debate excluding the moderator, for each participant is the protagonist of a standpoint from the beginning of the debate. However, in the course of the discussion, participants can find opportunities to criticize or cast doubt on a certain standpoint. In this case, they take the role of an antagonist. Once a participant's arguments meet with criticism, he/she is obliged to defend his/her standpoint by providing more relevant and convincing arguments. For this reason, the distribution of roles in the debate directly affects the burden of proof.

The moderator is accepted as the leader of the debate. As he is not the direct protagonist of a certain standpoint, he is not obliged to present argumentation and does not hold the burden of proof. Rather, his job is to help execute the deliberative discussion aimed at opinion-formation.

The moderator is also the one who distributes the burden of proof and gives the turn to speak. Turns to speak are organized in such a way to confront opposing views. The participants usually take the turns by asking the permission of the moderator.

Material starting points in an MPTD include facts, information, and standards of judgment that are used by the parties as a basis of argumentation. These starting points are selected from among less objectionable and socially agreed elements. We can speak of mainly three types of material starting points participants make use of in this activity type: scientific facts, expert opinion, and social standards of judgment. Scientific facts may include relevant statistics or other scholarly findings about the issue being discussed. Expert opinion is provided through arguments that appeal to authority. And finally, social standards of judgement draw on generally agreed values of 'right and wrong' or 'acceptable and unacceptable' in a certain society. By using these material starting points, participants of an MPTD try to narrow down the disagreement space.

The *argumentative* discussion in an MPTD rests upon the exchange of arguments in favour of two main opposing standpoints: p and $\sim p$: Participants are mostly polarized as to the standpoints they take in the discussion. In this sense, they take the protagonist role in a mixed difference of opinion (i.e., the protagonists of p and the protagonists of $\sim p$). Since they are expected to present argumentation in support of their standpoints one by one and usually within one single turn allocated to them, usually a well-organized argumentation structure can be observed. They contribute to the deliberative act aimed at opinion-formation by presenting as strong arguments as possible to prove their rightfulness in taking the stand they do. The protagonists of the two opposing standpoints mentioned construct their argumentation to fulfill the following claims:

My words are sufficient to show that p.
My words are sufficient to show that $\sim p$.

Besides the protagonists of the two opposing standpoints, the third category of participants who construct their argumentation in a balanced way try to show that they partially agree with these

standpoints when they are handled from different perspectives. The standpoint defended by the participants in this category can be represented as *p'*. They put forward arguments to show that:

My words are sufficient to show that *p'*.

The protagonist role is the most prominent role for the participants of an MPTD as they already have a stand before they start the discussion. However, that is not the only discussion role of the participants of an MPTD. They can also raise antagonism to an already pronounced standpoint by expressing criticism or doubt about the arguments used to defend that standpoint without necessarily claiming the opposite. Due to the turn and time constraints the participants have to rely on, the responses to a standpoint, challenges, or criticisms can be more remotely arranged. Therefore, the participants may address potential or anticipated criticism as often as they address an actual criticism since the time allotment for the participants may not allow them to talk again unless there is an issue about the use of the right to reply and rectify a claim.

No matter how they construct their argumentation (i.e., in the role of a protagonist or an antagonist), the participants of an MPTD make wide use of concrete facts in arguing for their standpoints. These concrete facts can sometimes be events or states of affairs, at times personal observations and experiences, and often scientific facts or findings. Also used as material starting points, these elements are taken advantage of in argumentation to make a standpoint more agreeable by a critic and the arguments used to justify a standpoint more reasonable.

Possible outcome of the discussion in an MPTD is usually a return to the initial difference of opinion. As the debate involves a deliberative discussion aimed at opinion-formation, no goal is pursued to resolve the difference of opinion in favour of one or more parties. Consequently, there is no winner or loser of the debate. One can say that an MPTD fulfills its institutional goal if it helps the primary audience (TV-watching audience) form their viewpoints and lets the authorities know about the public views on controversial topics about which measures can be taken when necessary.

The argumentative characterization of an MPTD is instrumental in understanding the relevancy of the argumentative moves the participants of an MPTD make in order to steer the discussion to their advantage. There are institutional constrains on the acceptable and unacceptable argumentative moves in an MPTD. In the following section, I will introduce some examples from the two episodes of *Siyaset Meydanı*, which show that irrelevant argumentation is regarded as an unacceptable argumentative move in the context of this activity type, resulting in the fallacy of *ignoratio elenchi*. The relevant episodes are titled "Budget of the Citizens" (16.12.2010) and "Turkey's Vision" (09.12.2010).

4. *IGNORATIO ELENCHI* AS AN UNACCEPTABLE ARGUMENTATIVE MOVE IN *SİYASET MEYDANI*

The fallacy of *ignoratio elenchi* is committed when a protagonist distorts his/her own standpoint by putting forward argumentation that is not relevant to that standpoint. This distortion stems from the protagonist's concern to make his/her standpoint easier to defend (van Eemeren, Grootendorst, & Henkemans, 2002); however, it also runs the risk of derailment of strategic maneuvering and may result in the fallacious *ignoratio elenchi*. In this section of the paper, I will illustrate with some examples that irrelevant argumentation is regarded as an unacceptable argumentative move in the context of *Siyaset Meydanı*.

The most prominent cases that show irrelevant argumentation is deemed as unreasonable in *Siyaset Meydanı* are the moderator's interventions in the participants who put forward arguments that are irrelevant to the topic of the debate, and indirectly, irrelevant to the standpoints they have taken with respect to that topic. In this sense, the moderator of the debate in *Siyaset Meydanı* acts, as it were, like a warrantor that the dialectical standards of reasonableness are maintained so that the discussion proceeds in a way that is resolution-oriented. This trait is in line with Edward's (2002) observation that the moderator is a democratic agent whose job is to increase the quality of debates. In the following extract, the moderator tries to motivate a participant whose argumentation has derailed due to committing the fallacy of *ignoratio elenchi* to bring his argumentation back into its rail. The extract is taken from the episode "Budget of the Citizens". The reconstructed standpoint of the participant is (*p*): "The

budget of the citizens is in a good state". (**M**: Moderator; **PR**: Public Representative from *Halk Meclisi* [The numbers are assigned to the PRs based on the number of the example, and not on the order these participants take turns to talk in the debates. The numbers refer to different individuals. The examples are translated from Turkish. The original forms can be found in the Appendix.])

(1)

M: Now... Are things going well with the citizens [concerning their budget] these days?

PR1: Mr. Kırca, believe me, the citizens are very happy. They are so happy with their lives. I'm frank. Now, why are they happy? Well, the government [AK Party government] provides support for agriculture, helps with fuel oil, supports the disabled, the blind, the crippled, the old. That is, it provides financial aid for all these people. How could the citizens not be happy with this? Now, my friend [addressing an opposing participant who, he hints, is a CHP supporter] was angry with me. Republican People's Party (CHP) [the main opposition party in Turkey], on the other hand, is buying 'their' [emphasis added: the opposition people's] needs. You can't revive a corpse. A corpse is already dead. It's not possible to revive CHP. Don't waste your effort. Why do you put an effort in this?

M: Now, our concern is not whether CHP is dead or alive; instead, are the citizens dead or alive? Let's talk about the citizens.

PR1: The citizens are extremely dynamic and fit. They are tough and strong. I mean it. Now... Mr. Kırca, I went to the city [Adıyaman], for instance. I wish the governor [of Adıyaman] was as self-sacrificing as our mayor…The governor of the Gerger district does good things, too. May Allah bless them. These are nice things. There is also the district of Kahta. The census of Kahta district… [speech interrupted by the moderator]

M: As far as I understand… Is everything fine in Adıyaman or in Turkey? You say things are fine in Turkey, but you talk about Adıyaman.

A reconstruction of PR1's argumentation is necessary to see how the derailment takes place[8]. The following is, thus, the reconstruction of PR1's argumentation in the part before the moderator's first

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[8] In pragma-dialectics, reconstruction of argumentation is needed in order to arrive at a clearer view of a resolution-oriented discussion. It involves determining which speech acts of the arguers contribute to resolving a difference of opinion. Such a task requires the analyst to make the unexpressed premises in the discussion explicit. For a full description of reconstructing argumentative discourse, see van Eemeren, Grootendorst, Jackson, and Jacobs (1993). Unexpressed steps in the argumentation structure are represented in parentheses (see van Eemeren, 2010).

intervention. The unexpressed steps in the argumentation structure are given in parentheses (see van Eemeren, 2010).

(1 The budget of the citizens is in a good state.)

((1).1) (The economic policies of the government are positive, which makes the citizens happy.)

> ((1).1) a The government provides support for agriculture.

> ((1).1) b The government helps with fuel oil.

> (((1).1)c) (The government provides financial aid for the citizens that are in need.)

> (((1).1)c).1 It supports the disabled, the blind, the crippled, the old.

((1).2) (Republican People's Party (CHP) is supporting its own voters.)

> (((1).2).1) (It is an attempt to revive CHP.)

> > (((1).2).1).1 It is not possible to revive CHP.

> > > (((1).2).1).1.1 CHP is dead.

The structure of PR1's argumentation reveals that the participant distorts his standpoint by putting forward irrelevant argumentation, thus committing the fallacy of *ignoratio elenchi*. The standpoint is distorted in the sense that while the participant is expected to provide arguments in favour of the standpoint that "The budget of the citizens is in a good state", taken together, the main arguments he uses (1.1 and 1.2) seem to defend another standpoint which involves comparing the economic conducts of the government and the main opposition party. The resulting standpoint can be reconstructed as "The government's economic conduct is better that the main opposition party's economic conduct". Noticing that PR1's argument is not relevant to the initial standpoint of the participant, the moderator warns the participant to come to the main topic of the debate, which, he says, is not about CHP. The warning comes with the following words:

M: Now, our concern is not whether CHP is dead or alive; instead, are the citizens dead or alive? Let's talk about the citizens.

The moderator's first intervention might have urged PR1 to bring his argumentation back into its rail; however, in the second half of the exchange the participant goes on with further irrelevant argumentation as the following argumentation structure suggests:

(1 The budget of the citizens is in a good state.)

      (1).1 The citizens in Turkey are dynamic and strong.

      ((1).2) (AK Party mayors are carrying out positive activities.)

            (((1).2.)1) (There are nice improvements in Adıyaman.)

            (((1).2).1).1 The mayor is self-sacrificing.

PR1 reduces the discussion of talking about the budget of the citizens in Turkey to urban improvements accomplished in Adıyaman, a city in the southeast of Turkey, whose mayor was elected from the governing party. The moderator objects to his restricting the topic to the improvements in Adıyaman, and indirectly, points at the irrelevancy of the arguments PR1 uses to defend his standpoint. The following words suggest this:

M: As far as I understand… Is everything fine in Adıyaman or in Turkey? You say things are fine in Turkey, but you talk about Adıyaman.

As the second intervention also suggests, the moderator shows awareness that violating the relevance rule in the discussion will reduce the credibility of the standpoint a participant holds. Such a practice confirms the pragma-dialectical view that irrelevant argument used to defend a standpoint does not allow a reconstruction of the standpoint originally advanced. Therefore, a standpoint that is defended with irrelevant argumentation cannot be counted as conclusively defended.

In a different example, PR2 defends the standpoint that ($\sim p$): "The budget of the citizens is in a bad state". The arguments he uses to defend the standpoint, however, does not allow for the generalization that the standpoint suggests. The moderator's remark in the end shows that overpersonalization of the topic is not a relevant argumentative move:

(2)

PR2: Mr. Kırca, first let me talk about the country in general. Now, we have an export of about 120 or 130 billion dollars. And we have an import of around 320 to 330 billion dollars. We have a total internal-external debt of 600-650 billion dolars. Given these numbers, even retarded people can tell you if our

budget is good or bad. Now… coming to our own budget […] Look! This is a mandarin. I am farmer myself. I am the one who produces it. Do you know how much it costs to produce this? It costs 35 kurus, and we can't sell it for 40 kurus in Mersin, the place where we produce it. And it has been raining heavily for the past week. […] If there are 300 kilograms of fruit, 100 kilograms must have already gone bad, and it's still 25 kurus [the price you can sell a kilo of mandarin]. People in İstanbul might be eating it for 2-3 liras. I mean it. The price of Mandarin in Mersin is around 25-30 kurus.

M: OK, thank you. We'll come back to you again. Let's go on with AB [The initials for the following participant]. Now, "the budget of the citizens". This is our question. We have to continue our discussion from this point, though it's been reduced to Adıyaman and Mersin, in particular, or mandarin. Let's talk about the citizens.

The following is the reconstruction of argumentation put forward by PR2. The structure of his argumentation suggests that the participant uses two main arguments: one is about the negative economic indicators in Turkey, and the next one is about the economic hardships mandarin producers experience:

(1 The budget of the citizens is in a bad state.)

((1).1) (The economic indicators are negative in Turkey.) & ((1).1' Negative economic indicators have negative consequences for the budget of the citizens.)

> (((1).1).1a) (The import rate of Turkey is almost three times as much as the export rate.)

> ((1).1).1b Total internal-external debt of Turkey is about 600-650 billion dolars.

((1).2) (Mandarin producers in Mersin have economic problems.)

> ((1).2).1a The cost of producing mandarin is 35 kurus.

> ((1).2).1b The farmers can sell mandarin in Mersin for 25-30 kurus.

In an MPTD, participants are free to express their viewpoints on a controversial issue by drawing on their personal experiences; however, the moderator's directions as the leader of the debate may define the limits of this personalization. In the extract above, when the topic is about the economic hardships the citizens in general suffer, PR2's confining the topic to the economic hardships of the mandarin producers is regarded as insufficient, if not totally irrelevant, to arrive at

the conclusion that the budget of the citizens is in a bad state. For this reason, while the moderator is giving the speaking-turn to the next participant, he repeats the topic so that the upcoming speakers develop arguments that can make a positive or negative evaluation of the budget of the citizens in general. The following words show this:

M: [...] Now, "the budget of the citizens". This is our question. We have to continue our discussion from this point, though it's been reduced to Adıyaman and Mersin, in particular, or mandarin. Let's talk about the citizens.

The two extracts above suggest that the moderator is equally distant to the opposing views, and the leader role in the debate assigns him the right to interfere when the discussion diverges from the dialectical standards of reasonableness. He is, therefore, actively involved in the discussion, and, when needed, acts as a constructive critic to direct the participants to bring their strategic maneuvers back into rail. Such an endeavor indicates that although there is no goal to resolve the difference of opinion at the end of the discussion in this activity type, the moderator tries to increase the quality of the debate and arranges it as if the discussion is resolution-oriented.

Maintaining the dialectical standards of reasonableness is not only monitored by the moderator. Other participants in the discussion can be equally sensitive when a party's strategic maneuver derails due to putting forward irrelevant argumentation. The following extract is taken from the episode "Turkey's Vision" in which PR3 defends the standpoint that (p): "Turkey's foreign policy is sound". In the broader context, the participant puts forward arguments to defend this standpoint by drawing on examples from the practices of the government. Meanwhile, she also mentions a photo which she uses to make a comparison between the present image of the Turkish government and its image in the past. The photo depicts the then former Prime Minister, Ecevit, with the then president of the USA, Clinton. She implies that in the relevant picture Ecevit looked like a "loser". The participant's mentioning this case rests upon the implicit premise that "the strength of Turkey's foreign policy is reflected to the non-verbal signs of the Turkish prime ministers." This claim arouses criticism in the opponent participants as follows:

(3)

PR3: My point of view regarding Turkey's vision is as follows: I think Turkey is really successful in evaluating the Middle East countries. Actually, I didn't bring it with me today, but I posted a photo on Facebook. Well, he is no longer alive, but you know, the posture of Bülent Ecevit in that picture was so different than the posture [Erdoğan displays during the gathering with Obama] at present. That is, I believe we were rescued from the status of a loser country.

M: ... I told earlier that I would read some public comments that come via Facebook or Twitter. Now EA voices criticism against PR3 in Facebook. She states that "PR3 claims there is a photo of Ecevit with Clinton in which Ecevit draws a loser image for the country and that the present image of the country is much more different. First of all, it is very rude to call a deceased prime minister 'loser'. Moreover, the conjuncture which the country now operates in is different, and the president of the USA has changed. There is also a difference between our Prime Minister's [Erdoğan's] photo with Bush and his photo with Obama. Even if the points of view are different, calling Ecevit "loser" is a big disrespect and unjust. We'd like to ask her to apologize." What would you like to say, PR3?

PR3: No, I won't apologize because Ecevit, on the other hand, has dismissed Merve Kavakçı from the Parliament [an MP of AK Party who was not admitted to the Parliamentary talks because she was wearing a scarf]. This is a behavior I condemn and object to. Then, under these conditions, we won't have any right to say anything about our deceased prime ministers. It's not something personal about him. Therefore, I won't apologize.

M: Before we move on to the next participant, is there anyone who has a word to say about this? Yes, PR4...

PR4: Now, PR3 started with the scarf issue and ended up with calling Ecevit "loser". That Ecevit, whom she calls "loser" conquered Cyprus when the capabilities of the country were so restricted. She should not say a word about Ecevit. With the "loser" image, Ecevit was awarded legions of merit by American and Israeli Jewish communities.

Based on extract (3), the argumentation of PR3 can be reconstructed as follows:

(1 Turkey's foreign policy is sound.)

(1).1 Turkey is really successful in evaluating the Middle East countries.

((1).2) (Turkey has a better image in international politics.)

      (((1).2).1) (The strength of Turkey's foreign policy is reflected to the non-verbal signs of the Turkish prime ministers.)

((((1).2).1).1a) (The posture of the present Prime Minister, Erdoğan, in his gathering with Obama reflects self-confidence.)

((((1).2).1). 1a).1 We were rescued from the status of a loser country.

((((1).2).1).1b) (The former Prime Minister, Ecevit, drew a 'loser' image of Turkey.)

(((((1).2).1).1b).1) (This was apparent from his posture in the photo taken with Clinton.)

It is observed in the extract that PR3's argumentation encounters challenge from two other participants, one via Facebook and another from one of the debate participants. The first participant, voiced by the moderator, invites PR3 to apologize for the words she uttered against Ecevit. PR3 refuses to apologize as she does not approve of a behavior of Ecevit, namely, dismissing a former MP of AK Party, Merve Kavakçı, from the Parliament talks. The reason was not made explicit by PR3, but it is to the knowledge of the audience (as it is apparent from PR4's remark) that it was a case of trying to attend the Parliament talks with a scarf, something that was contrary to the dressing code of the Turkish Parliament by then.

PR4, on the other hand, points at a divergence in PR's argumentation. This is a divergence from argumentation in favour of the present foreign policy of the government. PR3 defends the standpoint that "Turkey's foreign policy is sound" first with the argument that the present government is capable of evaluating the Middle East countries successfully. She then continues the discussion by drawing attention to the 'loser' image of Turkey created by the former Prime Minister Ecevit. On being invited by an opponent participant to apologize, she rejects to do so stressing that Ecevit dismissed an MP with a scarf from the Parliament. PR4 evaluates this as an unacceptable argumentative move due to the fact that the new arguments are irrelevant to the original standpoint held by PR3. The reaction comes with the following words:

PR4: Now, PR3 started with the scarf issue and ended up with calling Ecevit "loser".

Although PR4 misrepresents the order of arguments used by PR3 (i.e., in fact, she first mentions the 'loser' image and then introduces the case with the MP with a scarf), such a reordering of PR3's arguments may well be motivated by PR4's attributing her an intention. It is apparent from PR4's reaction that he thinks PR3 has the intention to call Ecevit 'loser' due to the fact that she does not approve his behaviour towards the MP, and not because he showed weakness in foreign politics. This is the reason why this sub-argument (i.e., The former Prime Minister, Ecevit, drew a 'loser' image of Turkey) is regarded by PR4 as irrelevant to the main argument (i.e., The strength of Turkey's foreign policy is reflected to the non-verbal signs of the Turkish prime ministers.), and in turn to the original standpoint.

All in all, the three extracts discussed exemplify the sensitivity shown by the moderator and the debate participants about arguing relevantly. When the argument of a participant does not allow a reconstruction of the original standpoint advanced by that participant, both the moderator and the fellow discussants can verbally show that a derailment has occurred. The moderator's attempts to bring derailed argumentation back into rail are motivated by his leader role in the discussion who tries to ensure that the quality of the debate is maintained. The fellow discussants' interventions to the irrelevant argumentation of a party, on the other hand, are used as counter arguments to challenge and weaken the position of the party who advanced an irrelevant argumentation (i.e., committing the fallacy of *ignoratio elenchi*) and attain an advantageous position in the debate.

In the following section, I will exemplify how a participant's attempt to maneuver strategically goes wrong in the context of *Siyaset Meydanı* and results in the fallacy of *ignoratio elenchi*.

5. DERAILMENT OF STRATEGIC MANEUVERING THAT LEADS TO IGNORATIO ELENCHI IN SİYASET MEYDANI

A party may resort to irrelevant arguments in defending a standpoint because such arguments are readily available to the person who uses them, and they are the easiest way to defend his/her standpoint. However, the easiest argument that a party can come up with based on his/her subjective viewpoint may not always be a reasonable and

acceptable argument in a debate as the user of this argument runs the risk of going for a rhetorically effective argumentation at the expense of a dialectically reasonable one.

Pragma-dialectical approach to argumentation (van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 1997, 2002, 2005; van Eemeren, 2010) emphasizes the bipolar goal arguers pursue in a critical discussion in order to resolve a difference of opinion on the merits: the dialectical goal of maintaining reasonableness and the rhetorical goal of achieving effectiveness. In order to keep a balance between these two goals, arguers resort to strategic maneuvers. Strategic maneuvers can be regarded as argumentative moves that are made in order to stay on track while trying to convince a reasonable critic of the acceptability of a standpoint. However, the delicate balance between dialectically reasonable and rhetorically effective argumentation may derail at times, resulting in fallacious acts. *Ignoratio elenchi* comes out due to the derailment of strategic maneuvering by violating the relevance rule of the critical discussion (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2004).

Van Eemeren and Houtlosser (2002) distinguished between three interrelated aspects of strategic maneuvering: (a) selecting from the topical potential, (b) meeting the audience demand, and (c) exploiting presentational devices. In strategically maneuvering between their dialectical and rhetorical aims, parties opt for topics that they find easiest to discuss, they consider audience expectations in formulating their standpoints and converge to the points they think the audience will agree with, and they try to use the most effective presentational devices to convince the opposing party. Managing these three aspects of strategic maneuvering successfully is instrumental in resolving a difference of opinion on the merits.

In what follows, I will discuss, by drawing on an extract from a participant's argumentation in "Turkey's Vision" debate, in the first place, how the participant tries to make use of the three interrelated aspects of strategic maneuvering, and later show how his strategic maneuvering with the topical potential derails, resulting in the fallacy of *ignoratio elenchi*.

(4)

PR5: Now, Mr. Kırca, there is no shift of axis in Turkey. Our direction is definitely towards EU. Both the Prime Minister and the President of Turkey receive various international awards in Europe and in Africa, and in many other regions of the world. Today 22 Turkish executives manage companies and corporations abroad. I don't want to name them one by one, but they are 22 in number. Now…what happened, and we came to a point in which we have no problems at all with our neighbours? [Referring to some opposing voices] "Don't be friends to Iran; otherwise, they will impose their own politics on us" or "Don't be friends with Greece; they are enemy to us", "Don't do this, don't do that". Our Prime Minister developed a very good dialogue with all the nations. Today our export reached 140 billion dollars. They [AK Party government] increased it from 32 billion dollars to 140 billion dollars. Our gross national product has increased to 15.361 dollars, and the total gross national product of the country has increased to 1 trillion 600 billion dollars. Still these people [referring to some opponent participants] claim that our Prime Minister is a proponent of an axis shift. There's no such thing as Turkey's axis shift, but there are people who take advantage of a possible axis shift.

In extract (4), PR5 uses statistical facts as a material starting point for his argumentation. The information he provides shows that the participant has made a prior planning for his speech and noted down some numbers to use for exemplification, which would otherwise be difficult to remember (e.g. "Our gross national product has increased to 15.361 dollars"). Statistical facts and findings are usually advantageous starting points in a discussion as they are less objectionable due to their scientific value. Therefore, making use of these points is assumed to benefit a party in his pursuit of convincing his opponents of the acceptability of his standpoint. PR5's drawing on statistical findings in this context indicates that he takes into consideration possible criticisms that can be directed against him by the critical audience. His appeal to such argumentation is also meant to be convincing for the TV-watching audience too, which is the primary audience for such programs. Strategic appeal to statistical information is not only opted for as an attempt to meet the critical audience's demand for evidence, but it is also deemed as an effective presentational device enhancing the plausibility of an argument, and in turn, increasing the persuasiveness of the party using that argument.

PR5 draws on a number of different topics in this extract. These topics constitute separate arguments he uses to defend his standpoint that (*p*):

"Turkey's foreign policy is sound". The participant chooses to discuss these topics since they are easier to defend, given that he has statistical evidence to confirm their truthfulness. The topics include international awards given to the Prime Minister and the President of Turkey, Turkish executives' managing companies abroad, the government's positive dialogue with other nations, and positive economic indicators. However, PR5's strategic maneuvering with the topical potential concerning the economic indicators of Turkey derails and leads to *ignoratio elenchi* considering that there is not an immediate connection between positive economic indicators in a country and its sound foreign policy. The reconstruction of PR5's argumentation in the following lines suggests that this argument does not allow a reconstruction of the standpoint "Turkey's foreign policy is sound", and it is, therefore, irrelevant.

(1 Turkey's foreign policy is sound.)

(1).1 There is no shift of axis in Turkey

 (1).1.1 Our direction is definitely towards EU.

((1).2) (Turkey's politics is appreciated worldwide.)

 ((1).2).1 Both the Prime Minister and the President of Turkey receive various international awards in Europe and in Africa, and in many other regions of the world.

((1).3) (Turkish executives became trustable managers for international corporations.)

 ((1).3).1 Today 22 Turkish executives manage companies and corporations abroad.

(1).4 Our Prime Minister developed a very good dialogue with all the nations.

 (1).4.(1) (We have become friends with Iran and Greece.)

((1).5) (The present government accomplished economic achievements.)

 ((1).5).1a Today our export reached 140 billion dollars.

  ((1).5).1a.1 They increased it from 32 billion dollars to 140 billion dollars.

 ((1).5).1b Our gross national product has increased to 15.361 dollars

  ((1).5).1b.1 The total gross national product of the country has increased to 1 trillion 600 billion dollars.

The reconstruction of PR5's argumentation reveals that the argument ((1).5) (The present government accomplished economic achievements) does not relate to the main standpoint. The participant's committing the fallacy of *ignoratio elenchi* in this case shows that by resorting to a topic that he can defend the easiest, he opts for a rhetorically effective argumentation rather than a dialectically reasonable one. While his appeal to statistical evidence counts as a reasonable argumentative move concerning the topic about Turkish executives who manage corporations abroad, it is not so concerning the topic on positive economic achievements of the government. The argumentation of PR5 in this extract suggests that although statistical facts and findings can be a widely-exploited material starting point for the participants of an MPTD, their relevant and appropriate use matters in a discussion. In this context the statistical facts about Turkish economy marks an unreasonable argumentative move that stems from the derailment of the participant's maneuvering with the topical potential. The participant apparently has taken a position to give a positive evaluation of the government's general conduct, and he regarded the economic policies as a good candidate for an effective argument. However, ((1).5) does not qualify as a relevant argument to show that positive economic indicators in a country means it does not have an axis shift, and it has a sound foreign policy.

To sum up, parties' attempts to maneuver strategically with the topical potential, audience demand, and presentational devices may derail at times and result in irrelevant argumentation. The analysis of extract (4) shows that although statistical facts and evidence can normally count as an acceptable and less objectionable argument due to its scientific status, its relevancy in a given situation is the issue that matters the most. Therefore, preparing arguments to use in advance depending on ideological stances may not always be a reasonable argumentative move although at first sight it may look effective.

6. CONLUSION

In this paper, I aimed to introduce the institutional context of an MPTD, which provides a point of reference in regarding irrelevant argumentation fallacious, that is an unacceptable argumentative move in the discussion, and shed light on how strategic maneuvering in an

MPTD can derail and give way to *ignoratio elenchi*. Evaluating reasonableness efficiently in an argumentative event requires an analyst to describe the institutional constraints prevailing for the activity type in question. To this end, in the first place, I discussed some of the peculiarities of the activity type of MPTD that have an implication on argumentative exchanges. Next, I characterized MPTD as an argumentative activity type by using the four parameters proposed by van Eemeren and Houtlosser (2005; van Eemeren, 2010). Argumentative characterization of the activity type was instrumental in evaluating the argumentative moves the participants made in order to gain advantage over their opponents. Further in the paper, I drew on some examples from two episodes of the MPTD program *Siyaset Meydanı* to show that irrelevant argumentation is regarded as an unreasonable argumentative move both by the moderator and other participants of the debate. Finally, I have analyzed an extract from the same data to illustrate how a party's strategic maneuvering can derail while trying to manipulate the topic of the discussion to his/her advantage.

I have argued in this paper that MPTD is a form of public debate that has the institutional goal of conducting a deliberative discussion aimed at opinion-formation. The institutional role of the moderator as the leader of the debate assigns him the responsibility to lead the discussion in a way that is reasonable. Although resolving the difference of opinion is neither the aim of the program nor the aim of the participants, the moderator strives, as it were, to make the discussion one that is resolution-oriented. He does this by urging the participants to develop relevant argumentation so that they can defend their standpoint in a more convincing way. Such an endeavor plays part in increasing the quality of the debate and helps to serve the primary institutional point of the activity type. Based on the debate participants' sound argumentation, which involves dependable justification of the standpoints, the TV-watching audience is motivated to shape their opinions in a more grounded way. As the activity type centers upon the expression of different views, democratic and impartial perspective adopted by the moderator is the *sine qua non* of the debate. Therefore, argumentation in favour of opposing standpoints are monitored by the moderator in an equal way. When antagonism is needed to bring the irrelevant argumentation back into its rail, the moderator takes the duty to be critical about the argumentation of the opposing participants.

Through the analysis of a number of extracts from Siyaset Meydanı, it has been suggested that the moderator is not the only participant in the debate who shows sensitivity about reasonable argumentation by heeding relevance in the discussion. Similarly, fellow debaters can react critically when a participant's strategic maneuvering derails due to putting forward an argument irrelevant to the standpoint advanced. Critical reactions pointing at the irrelevancy of a party's arguments can be evaluated as counter attempts of the opposing party to gain advantage in the discussion in terms of persuasiveness.

The paper has also illustrated how a party's strategic maneuver can derail and give way to the fallacy of *ignoratio elenchi*. The institutional preconditions of the activity type are instrumental to understand this process, too. Because each participant in an MPTD is the protagonist of a standpoint from the start of the debate, they are able to make use of readily-prepared arguments based on their ideological tendencies to defend their standpoints. They try to draw on widely-agreed material starting points to minimize the disagreement space and maintain their standpoints. Appealing to scientific facts and findings such as statistical information is a strategy that participants use in order to gain an advantageous position in the discussion, for arguments drawing on scientific facts are less objectionable. They can use such arguments as strategic maneuvers to exploit the topical potential, appeal to audience expectation for concrete evidence, and attain an effective presentational strategy. However, statistical evidence as an argument can count as an acceptable and less unobjectionable argument only if it is employed relevantly and appropriately. Otherwise, as the analysis of extract (4) in this study shows, it may turn out to be an irrelevant argument, which does not allow a reconstruction of the standpoint already advanced by a party. Such cases illustrate that a party's strategic maneuvering with the topical potential can derail due to committing the fallacy of *ignoratio elenchi* by violating the relevance rule of a critical discussion. Consequently, preparing arguments to use in advance depending on ideological stances may not always be a reasonable argumentative move although at first sight such arguments can look effective.

The institutional constraints of an MPTD specified in this study have been instrumental in understanding the unreasonableness of irrelevant argumentation in *Siyaset Meydanı*. Evidence from MPTD examples in different cultures will be functional in strengthening the observations of this study.

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APPENDIX

(1)

M: Peki …Vatandaşın işleri yolunda mı bugünlerde?

PR1: Sayın Kırca inanın ki vatandaş çok güler yüzlüdür. Çok mutludur hayatından. Şunu samimi söylüyorum. Bakınız samimi söylüyorum. Şimdi nasıl mutlu efendim? Şimdi...devlet ürüne veriyor, mazota veriyor, sakata veriyor, köre veriyor, topala veriyor, ihtiyara veriyor. Yani hepsine para yardımı yapıyor. Halk nasıl memnun olmasın ki? Şimdi arkadaşımız kızdı mesela. Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi ise bunlara malzeme alıyor. Yahu arkadaşım ölüyü diriltemezsiniz yahu. Ölü ölmüş bir kere yahu. CHP'nin dirilmesi mümkün değildir. Uğraşmayın, ne uğraşıyorsunuz?

M: Şimdi Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi değil de vatandaş ölmüş mü dirilmiş mi? Vatandaşı bir konuşalım.

PR1: Vatandaş son derece dinamik ve dinçtir. İri ve diridir. Şunu samimi söylüyorum. Şimdi Sayın Kırca…mesela ben vilayeti gezdim, keşke gerçekten bizim Adıyaman valimiz de belediye başkanımız kadar özverili olsa…Gerger kaymakamımız keza. Allah bin kere razı olsun onlardan. Bunlar güzel. Şimdi bir Kahta ilçemiz var. Kahta ilçesinin nüfus sayımı...

M: Benim anladığım kadarıyla Adıyaman'da mı işler yolunda, Türkiye'de mi işler? Türkiye'de işler yolunda deyip Adıyaman'ı anlatıyorsun.

(2)

PR2: Sayın Kırca, önce ülkeyi genelde ben bir söyleyeyim. Şimdi 120-130 milyar dolar aralığı bir ihracatımız var. 320-330 milyar dolar aralığı bir ithalatımız var. Toplam 600-650 milyar dolar da iç-dış borcumuz var. Yani bunu köre topala da sorsan bütçemiz iyi mi kötü mü onlar da karar verir. Gelelim bizim bütçemize [...] Bak bu mandalina [...] Ben çiftçiyim ben üretiyorum bunu ben. Bunun kilosu kaça maliyetli bize biliyor musun? [...] Bu mandalinanın maliyeti 35 kuruş. Şu anda Mersin'de dalında 40 kuruşa satamıyoruz. [...] Bir haftadır sağanak yağışlar da oluyor. [...] 300 kilo meyve varsa, o mandalinanın 100 kilosu zaten gitti ve hala 25 kuruş. İstanbullular 2-3 liraya yiyor olabilirler. Samimi söylüyorum mandalina Mersin'de 25-30 kuruş aralığında.

M: Peki tamam teşekkür ederim. Döneceğiz yine. AB [The initials for the following participant] ile devam edelim. Hemen mikrofonu verelim. Şimdi "vatandaşın bütçesi". Sorumuz belli. Yani bu çerçeveden gidiyoruz. Gerçi böyle Adıyaman, Mersin özeli ya da mandalina çerçevesinde oldu ama. Vatandaşı bir konuşalım.

(3)

PR3: Evet ben de Türkiye'nin vizyonuyla ilgili şöyle düşünüyorum. Türkiye gerçekten Ortadoğu ülkelerini değerlendirme konusunda başarılı. Ben tabi buraya getiremedim ama, Face'de bir resim yayınlamıştım. Rahmetli oldu gerçi ama Bülent Ecevit'in işte biliyorsunuz Clinton'la görüşmesindeki pozu ile şimdiki pozu arasında çok fark olduğunu düşünüyorum. Yani bir ezik ülke durumundan çıktığımıza inanıyorum.

...

M: ...Bu arada söylemiştim hem Facebook'tan, hem Twitter'dan, hem de telefonlar aracılığı ile sizin mesajlarınız geliyor, gelmeye devam ediyor. Ben onlardan zaman zaman okumak istiyorum. EA hanım Facebook'tan PR3'e bir eleştiride bulunuyor... "Merhabalar," diyor, "Sayın PR3 Ecevit'in Clinton ile görüşürken ezik bir ülke imajı çizen şeklinde fotoğrafı olduğunu söyledi. Şimdi durum daha farklı dedi. İlk olarak TC'nin merhum başbakanlarından birine ezik demek saygısızlıktır, ayrıca ülkenin konjonktürü ve ABD başkanının değiştiğini hatırlatalım. Sayın Başbakanımızın Bush ile çektirdiği fotoğrafla Obama ile çektirdiği fotoğraf arasında da fark vardır. Görüşler farklı olsa da bu ülkeye hizmet etmiş, tarihimizde yer etmiş sayın Ecevit'e 'ezik' demek büyük haksızlık ve saygısızlıktır," dedikten sonra "özür dilemesini rica ederiz" diyor. Ne diyor PR3?

…

PR3: Yok ben özür dilemiyorum çünkü Ecevit'in ona bakarsanız Bülent Ecevit Merve Kavakçı'yı meclisten kovmuştur. Bu da kınadığım ve eleştirdiğim bir harekettir. O zaman söylemeyelim. Geçmişte yaşamış başbakanlarımız hakkında hiç konuşmayacağız. Yani onun şahsıyla ilgili bir şey değil. Onun için özür dilemiyorum.

M: Bir sonraki katılımcımıza geçmeden önce buna yanıtı olan var mı? Evet PR4...

PR4: Şimdi PR3 yine türbandan girdi, rahmetli Ecevit'e ezik mezik demeye başladı… O ezik dediği rahmetli Ecevit ülkenin hiçbir imkanı yokken Kıbrıs'ı fethetti. Ecevit'e laf söylemesin. Yani ezik surette Amerika'daki, İsrail'deki Yahudi konfederasyonlarından üstün liyakat madalyası alan başbakandı.

(4)

PR5: Şimdi Sayın Kırca, bugün Türkiye'nin eksenine baktığımız zaman, Türkiye'nin hiçbir eksen kayması yok. Kesinlikle bizim eksenimiz AB'ye yöneliktir… Şimdi bugün dünyada, Avrupa'da olsun gerek de Afrika'da olsun her tarafta Sayın Cumhurbaşkanımıza, Sayın Başbakanımıza sürekli ödüller veriliyor. Bugün dünyada 22 tane yöneticimiz [yabancı] ülke kurumlarını, kuruluşları yönetiyorlar. İsimleri şimdi saymak istemem. 22 kişidir. Şimdi ne olmuş da komşularımızla sıfır... bir problemimiz yok. Vay efendim sen İran'a yanaşma bize siyaset ihraç eder. İşte Yunan'a yaklaşma bize düşmandır, şuna yaklaşma, buna yaklaşma. Sayın Başbakanımız herkesle gayet güzel diyaloglar kurdu. Bugün bizim ihracatımız 140 milyar dolara çıkmış. 32 milyar dolardan almış 140 milyar dolara çıkartmış. Bugün gayri safi milli hasılamız çıkmış 15.361 dolara, ülke gayri milli safi hasılamız çıkmış 1 trilyon 600 milyar dolara çıkmış. Beyefendiler hala diyorlar ki Sayın Başbakan eksen kaymasından yanaymış. Türkiye'nin eksen kayması kesinlikle yoktur ama bu eksen kaymasından nemalananlar var.

SIMULTANEOUS INGRESSIVE ADVERBIALS IN TURKISH

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Abstract: The purpose of the study is to describe the distinctive features of the Turkish aspectual adverbials *derhal* 'immediately' and *hemen* 'immediately', which are defined as synonymous in Türk Dil Kurumu 'Turkish Language Association' (TDK) dictionary. We use Turkish National Corpus (TNC) (Aksan, et al., 2012) as our database. In determining the number of the node words to be analyzed, Simple sampling method is used. The sampling number is calculated according to 95% confidence interval and 5% error margin on the normalized frequency per million words. We analyze the usage values, lexical patterns and structures of the aspectual adverbials considering their frequency distribution over the domains Informative and Imaginative with a corpus-driven approach. It is observed in the corpus data that these aspectual adverbials tend to appear in certain patterns and structures more frequently. According to their temporal features, activity sentences are the most frequently used situation type with these adverbials, which mark imperfective viewpoint aspect. What makes the difference between them is their manner. Hence, the Turkish aspectual adverbials *derhal* and *hemen* cannot be evaluated as exact synonym of each other as stated in TDK dictionary.

Key words: *Aspectual adverbials, corpus, derhal, hemen.*

TÜRKÇEDE EŞZAMANLI BAŞLAMALI BELİRTEÇLİKLER[2]

Özet: Bu çalışmanın amacı Türkçe görünüş belirteçliklerinden yakın anlamlı gibi görünen *derhal ve hemen*'nin doğal dil verisiyle görünüş parametresi (Smith, 1997) kapsamında ayırt edici özelliklerini açıklamaktır. Çözümlemede Türkçe Ulusal Derlemi (Aksan ve diğ., 2012) kullanılmıştır. Çözümlenecek sözcük satır sayısı, 1 milyon sözcükteki sıklığın normalleştirilerek basit seçkisiz örnekleme yöntemine göre %95 güven aralığı - %5 hata payı oranıyla elde edilmiştir. Ardından bu belirteçliklerin eylemlerin hal türleri, görünüş çekim ekleriyle etkileşimiyle ortaya çıkan belirgin sözcüksel yapıları ve çoksözcüklü birimleri derlem-çıkışlı yaklaşımla çözümlenmiştir. Belirteçliklerle birlikte görünen yapıların ve görünüşlerinin belirgin karakteristik yapılarının olduğu gözlenmektedir. Zamansal özelliklerine göre bu belirteçlikler, belirli bir yapıyı, belirli bir görünüşü ve hal türünü seçmektedir. Dolayısıyla, Türkçede *derhal* ve *hemen* belirteçliklerini eş anlamlı olarak düşünemeyiz.

Anahtar sözcükler: *Görünüş belirteçlikleri, derlem, derhal, hemen.*

1. INTRODUCTION

In the literature of aspect, Vendler (1957) is mentioned as one of the pioneering scholars of this concept after Aristotle, relating verbs with time, and temporal constituency. He suggests that "the use of the verb suggests the particular way in which that verb presupposes and involves the notion of time". In defining the term of "aspect", the scholars specify it in different perspectives. For example, Comrie (1976, p. 3) states that aspect is not about relating the time of a situation to any other time-point, aspect is concerned with the internal temporal constituency of the situation. Smith (1997, pp. 1-2) suggests that aspectual meaning is essential of a two-component theory, which is described through situation types and viewpoint. Situation type is conveyed by the verb constellation. The viewpoint is conveyed by grammatical morphemes. She adds that through the relation between viewpoint and situation

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[2] Adverbial'ın Türkçedeki karşılığı olarak *belirteçlik* (Erözden ve Tarhan, 2008, p. 5). ve *belirtecimsi* (İmer, Kocaman ve Özsoy, 2011, p. 310) terimleri önerilmiştir. Ancak, belirtecimsi *adjunct*'ın Türkçe karşılığı olarak da önerilmektedir (İmer, Kocaman ve Özsoy, 2011, p.48).   Daha anlaşılır olmak için bu çalışmada *belirteçlik* terimi kullanılmıştır.

structure, the term "aspect" has broadened. The situation types *state, activity, accomplishment, achievement* and *semelfactive* are stated below respectively with their features (Smith,1997, pp. 19-35):

State holds for a moment and consists of undifferentiated period without internal structure, whose features are static, durative, and atelic. The whole schema is true for every moment. Private predicates are *believe that…, hope that.,., fear…, know that...,* etc.

Activity is a process that involves physical or mental activity, whose temporal features are dynamic, atelic, durative. Activities terminate or stop but they don't finish. Activities have the part-whole relation of cumulative events, going on in time in a homogenous way. Predicates are *stroll in the park, laugh, revolve, think about, enjoy, eat cherries*, etc.

Accomplishments consist of a process and an outcome or change of state, whose temporal features are dynamic, telic, durative. The change is the completion of the process, intrinsically bounded. Accomplishments have successive stages; in which the process advances to its natural final endpoint or may result in new state. Relevant predicates are *build a bridge, walk to school, drink a glass of wine*, etc.

Achievements are instantaneous events which result in a change of state. Their temporal features are dynamic, telic, instantaneous. There is no part-whole entailment. Achievement sentence is true for the moment of the event.

Semelfactive are single stage events with no result or outcome, whose temporal features are dynamic, atelic, instantaneous. Example predicates are [knock at the door, hiccup, flap a wing] bodily events [blink, cough], actions [tap, peck, kick, scratch, hammer a nail once].

The other component is the viewpoint aspect, which are perfective, imperfective, and neutral. Sentences with a perfective viewpoint present a situation as a whole. The span of the perfective includes the initial and the final endpoints of the situation. Sentences with an imperfective viewpoint present part of a situation with no information about its endpoints. Sentences with neutral viewpoint are aspectually vague, they lack a viewpoint morpheme (Smith, 1997, pp. 61-86).

In the literature, there are valuable studies on the adverbs and their functions, one of which are *Adverbs and Functional Heads* by Cinque

(1999). In Turkish, Erguvanlı-Taylan and Özsoy (1994, pp. 99-108) studied on the syntactic features of the Turkish adverbials. Scholars also try to define and describe the aspect in Turkish in different perspectives (Dilaçar 1974, Aksan and Aksan 2003, Güven, 2004). In addition to other studies on aspect, Erguvanlı-Taylan (2001) illustrates the relation between temporal/aspectual adverbs and the verb form in Turkish and states that aspectual adverbs play a determining role in the overall aspectual interpretation of a sentence, they also specify viewpoint aspect in combination with the verb inflection. She claims that orientation point is a feature only of adverbials which is used in defining temporal/aspectual notions and states that the particular verbal morphemes involved in expressing viewpoint aspect, *-DI* and *–mIş* are noted to express the perfective or perfect viewpoint while *–Iyor* expresses the imperfective viewpoint. She also mentions that investigating the distributional patterns of durative adverbials reveals dependency relations among the adverbial, situation type and viewpoint aspect.

We know that languages have grammatical tools in order to indicate the time when an event occurs or when a state holds. This is called tense. Tenses are not the only means available of locating events in time. Another mean is the use of other linguistic elements, for instance temporal adverbs such as *yesterday, soon* or prepositional phrases such as *in two days* (Comrie, 1985).

According to the time axis of Reichenbach's tense system (1947), we see that any event has a language-independent description on the time according to the reference point. Smith based this description of time on the lexical expressions of temporality. She (2009, p. 95) proposes that the temporal system is relational. Thus, the orientation and the values of temporal expressions are not fixed, however, their relational values are consistent. Likewise, the relational values of temporal adverbs can change and function differently depending on the structure in which they appear.

In the case of *derhal* and *hemen* as the simultaneous Ingressive adverbials, we mean that the reference time is simultaneous with the event time, thus, simultaneity refers to the present time. Ingressive aspect encodes the beginning of an event, the point at which an event begins to obtain as it focuses on the beginning of an event.

Simultaneous adverbials are *derhal* and *hemen* tend to mark Ingressive aspect in Turkish. The paper will proceed as follows: in section 2, the methodology of the study is introduced. In section 3, the analysis of the aspectual adverbials *derhal* and *hemen* is given in terms of their usage values, lexical patterns and structures of the aspectual adverbials considering their frequency distribution over the domains Informative and Imaginative texts of the TNC. In section 4, discussion is presented focusing on the tendencies the adverbials display in the data.

2. METHODOLOGY

This study is a descriptive study which gives qualitative and quantitative information. For the natural language data, we use the Turkish National Corpus (TNC), which is designed to be a balanced, large scale and general-purpose corpus for contemporary Turkish which consists of spoken and written data. We study on the written part, which has two domains, namely Informative and Imaginative. The Imaginative domain of the TNC, which contains texts from novels, drama, poems, short stories, consists of 9.310.000 words while the Informative domain, which contains texts from social sciences, art, commerce-finance, belief-thought, World affairs, applied science, natural science and leisure, consists of 39.690.000 words. Totally, the written part consists of 49 million words. In order to compare and contrast the results of these domains, they have to have the same number of words. Otherwise, the raw frequencies of the node words will not reflect the true figures. With the aim of equalizing the frequencies of each domain to one another, we have normalized the frequencies per million words for both domains. Simple sampling method is used in the analysis of the data. With the aim of representing the population (frequencies for each domain), the sampling number is calculated according to 95% confidence interval and 5% error margin on the normalized frequency per million words.

The analyses are made in the framework of the aspect theory and corpus linguistics methodology. In the framework of aspect, the analyses are conducted within two major approaches, namely, Smith (1997) and Comrie (1976). In the framework of corpus linguistics methodology, corpus-driven approach is pursued (Hunston and Francis, 2000, p. 19; Römer, 2005, pp. 6-10; Tognini-Bonelli, 2001, pp. 84-98). In order to attain patterns of the aspectual adverbials *derhal* and *hemen*, their usage

values, lexical patterns and the structures in which they occur are analyzed considering their frequency of distributions.

3. ANALYSIS

In this section, the analysis of the aspectual adverbials *derhal* and *hemen* is presented.

3.1. DERHAL

Türk Dil Kurumu 'Turkish Language Association' (TDK) defines *derhal* as an adverb in the sense "çabucak" 'immediately'. In *Turkish hemen* and *derhal* are defined as synonymous in the sense of 'immediately, at once' (Göksel and Kerslake, 2005, p. 233).

The following patterns are the patterns observed in the temporal adverbial use of *derhal* in the TNC. *Derhal* occurs with the predicates either nominal or verbal and the verbal predicates show variety in terms of inflection types. Some of them can be analyzed under one category such as *A/Ir* and *-mEktE* as present. Hence, all these different types of verbal predicates are analyzed separately under word class categories such as *-Iyor* as continuous, *-AcAk* as future. Only the category of past tense is analyzed in terms of inflectional morphemes as *-DI* and -mIş. The reason for this is that they display meaningful results on the data, contrary to the other word class morphemes. That is why the table is designed as below, especially with the aim of showing the frequency distributions obtained from corpus. The patterns are given according to their frequencies and percentage values in comparison with the domains below:

Table 1. Patterns and frequencies of *derhal* in the Informative domain

Informative		
Patterns	*Frequency*	*Percentage*
Derhal +Vpresent	136	44%
Derhal +Vpast (-DI)	62	20%
Derhal+Vcontinuous	29	9%
Derhal + Nominal predicate	28	9%
Derhal +Vpast (-mIş)	25	8%
Derhal +Vfuture	14	5%
Derhal +Vimperative	14	5%
TOTAL	308	100%

Table 2. Patterns and frequencies of *derhal* in the Imaginative domain

Imaginative		
Patterns	*Frequency*	*Percentage*
Derhal +Vpast (-DI)	56	29%
Derhal +Vpresent	40	21%
Derhal +Vimperative	26	14%
Derhal +Vpast (-mIş)	21	11%
Derhal+Vcontinuous	20	10%
Derhal + Nominal predicate	16	8%
Derhal +Vfuture	13	7%
TOTAL	192	100%

According to the frequency distributions of the patterns over the domains, especially the pattern "Derhal +Vpresent" outnumbers the frequencies of the other patterns over both domains. In the Informative domain, the frequency distribution cumulates in the patterns "Derhal +Vpresent" with 44% and "Derhal +Vpast (-DI)" with 20% of the data. The other pattern distributions are close to each other in terms of frequency. In the Imaginative domain, the patterns "Derhal +Vpast (-DI)" and "Derhal +Vpresent" are the first two frequent patterns. However, there is not a significant frequency rise in the Imaginative domain, as it is in the Informative domain in the case of the pattern "Derhal +Vpresent". We can say that in comparison with the Informative domain, the Imaginative domain shows diverse use of patterns in terms of their frequencies. The patterns and their examples are stated below:

Table 3. Example concordances for the patterns of *derhal*

Patterns	*Example Concordances*
Derhal +Vpresent	düzenlenen bilançodan ortaklığın borca batık olduğu anlaşılırsa yönetim kurulu durumu *derhal mahkemeye bildirir*. Mahkeme kural olarak iflâsa hükmeder. Ancak yönetim kurulunun (LF05A1B-4442) 'If it is understood that the partnership is indebt because of financial statements, governing board will immediately notify the situtation to the court'
Derhal +Vpast (-DI)	çekilmesinin İsrail'in bütün Sina'yı işgaline yol açacağını düşünen Nasır, bunu *derhal reddetti*. Bunun üzerine, 31 Ekim'de uçaklarla Mısır üslerini bombalamaya başlayan (DE05A3A-1909) 'Nasır who thinks that will cause Israel to conquer

Patterns	Example Concordances
	the whole Sinai immediately declines this.'
Derhal+Vcontinuous	Çatır çutur sesler çıkıyordu. Kıymet Hanım Teyze'nin boşalttığı her tabak *derhal dolduruluyor*; her yeni mantının üzerine bolca sarımsaklı yoğurt dökülüp, kızgın (MA16B4A-0126) 'Each plate which the aunt Mrs. Kıymet empties is immediately filled'
Derhal + Nominal predicate	üzere yapılan en önemli öneri, altına çevrilemeyen kağıt paranın piyasadan *derhal çekilmesidir*. Bunun sebebi olarak; bu tür paranın malların fiyatını artırmakta (ME05A1B-3914) 'the most important suggestion is that the Money which cannot be exchanged into gold should be immediately removed from the market'
Derhal +Vpast(-mIş)	vasıl olmuşlar. Burada padişah, "Gidip söyleyin, iftarımı Dürrizade'de açacağım," demiş. *Derhal yetiştirmişler*. Dürrizade hemen Ali Yekta Bey'in dedesi Halepli Cevher Ağa'yı (SA16B2A-0659) 'sultan is here, announce that I will break fast in Dürrizade, says he. They immediately announced it.'
Derhal +Vfuture	Cemil Bey biraz uzakta bekleyip sizi koruyacak, size yaklaşan olursa *derhal icabına bakacak*. Sizi yakalamaya kalkışan olursa, kim olursa olsun vuracak. (DA16B4A-0082) 'Mr. Cemil will guard you if anyone approaches you, he will immediately shoot him'
Derhal +Vimperative	"Bu ne cüret?" diye bağırdı ayağa kalkan sultan. "Ey deniz! *Derhal geri dön*! Sana önümden çekilmeni emrediyorum. Bana itaat et!" O (QA16B2A-0672) 'how dare you? Shouted the sultan standing up. Hey sea! Come back immediately!'

Moreover, pragmatically the adverbial *derhal* seems to have a specific use with elliptical predicate. Such use is likely to occur in the context of a superior-subordinate relationship. The superior person has authority over the subordinate person. In the context, the superior person asks the subordinate person to do something. Hence, the subordinate person replies as *derhal* 'immediately' with the intension of obedience to the given order. For example, in the context of a restaurant, the client asks for a drink and fruits. The waiter answers as "derhal hocam, emriniz

olur" 'immediately sir' it is your order for me'. The related uses are exemplified below:

(1)

a."Hem rakımızı yenile, hem de biraz meyve getir bize oğlum!" "*Derhal hocam*, emriniz olur!" Uzaklaştı. Günsu Fırat, giden garsonun arkasından dalgın (PA16B2A-1422) 'Pour raki and bring us some fruit, son!. Immediately sir, Your wish is my command!'

b."k olarak kitaptaki resimlere bakar. Haydi, onu odama getirin. *Dadı: Derhal efendim*. (Dadı dışarı çıkar. Bir süre sonra Reyhan'ı içeri getirir.) (VA14B1A-1602) 'Come on, bring it to my room. Nany: Immediately sir'

c.bir de Antalya'da pansiyon var ama..." "Aman efendim ne demek, *derhal...* Siz ülkemiz için saçınızı süpürge ediyorsunuz. Biz sizin için fırçamızı 'there is a hostel in Antalya but…, sir it is my pleasure, immediately…'

We also observe that *derhal* tend to be used to strengthen the meaning of the order. This use of *derhal* is observed to be used in military and health contexts, which also include superior-subordinate relationship. This sense of *derhal* is likely to underline the importance of the job to be done in the case of urgency and vitality.

In terms of the predication form of the verb for *derhal*, it is obvious that the adverbial *derhal* is almost always used with positive predicates. In the domain Informative only 1% use is in negative predication while in the domain Imaginative, all the uses are in positive predication. We think that positive predication use here can be caused by the sense of complying with obedience. *Derhal* contains the sense of urgency and vitality of the job or the order in terms of fulfillment. Below, the frequency distributions and the example concordances for the negative predication of *derhal* are presented:

Table 4. Predication form of the verb for *derhal* and its frequency distribution over the domains

	Informative		Imaginative	
	Frequency	*Percentage*	*Frequency*	*Percentage*
Negative predicate	3	1%	0	0
Positive predicate	305	99%	192	100%
TOTAL	308	100%	192	100%

Table 5. Example concordances for the negative predication of *derhal*

sürücüsü olmasına rağmen olay mahallini terk etmiş ve alkol ölçümünü	derhal	yaptırmamıştır. Rütbeli bir emniyet mensubu olarak kaza sonrası uygulanması gereken (VC01A1A-2709) 'He has not immediately measured alcoholometry'
ve onunla beraber hoşgörü.ve iktisadi kalkınma, Varlık Vergisi'ni ve Aşkale'yi	derhal	unutturamamıştı. Tontan göç 1941-1943 yıllarındaki zorluklardan doğdu. (LE05A1B-3695) 'it cannot make it immediately forget the wealth tax and aşkale'

The situation Types *Derhal* prefers

Derhal shows frequency consistency in both of the domains in marking situation types. Activity is the most frequently preferred situation type in comparison with the other situation types. This follows, accomplishment, state and achievement, respectively. Semelfactive does not occur in neither of the domains. Below, both the situation type frequencies in terms of the domains and the example concordances are presented, the number given in parenthesis refers to the frequency of occurrence of the adverbial *derhal*:

Table 6. Situation types and its frequencies of *derhal* in the Informative domain

	Informative
Situation types	*Numbers*
Activity	62% (190)[3]
Accomplishment	18% (54)
State	13% (41)
Achievement	7% (23)
Semelfactive	0
TOTAL	100% (308)

Table 7. Situation types and its frequencies of *derhal* in the Imaginative domain

	Imaginative
Situation types	*Numbers*
Activity	58% (112)
Accomplishment	21% (40)

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[3] The numbers in parantheses are the number of the concordance lines occurring with the given use in the corpus.

State	11% (21)
Achievement	10% (19)
Semelfactive	0
TOTAL	100% (192)

The following table illustrates the examples for each situation type used with the adverbial *derhal*.

Table 8. Example concordances for the situation types of *derhal*

Situation types	*Examples*
State	uçakları Yunanistan'a yollamak istemiyorlardı. İngiliz Genelkurmayı, Foreign Office'in aksine Türkiye'nin *derhal savaşa katılmasından yanaydılar*. Bu şekilde Yunanistan destek görecek ve Mısır (GE05A3A-190) 'as opposed to Foregin Office, the British staff on the side of Turkey's entering into the war'
Activity	gelip yerinde teftişi çok yerinde olacaktır, efendim. - Peki *ben derhal geliyorum*. O yerli komünistler ve casuslar hepsi orada hazır olsunlar. (DA16B3A-0791) 'ok, I am coming immediately. Those local communists and spies are ready there'
Accomplishment	eğilip tele baktığı sırada, başka bir tepeden, tekrar silâh sesleri. *Derhal doğruldu*, seslerin geldiği yana baktı; orası, telgraf direklerinin bulunduğu tepe. (OA16B3A-0415) 'shot from another hill. He immediately stood up, look at the direction of the shot'
Achievement	ilk girdiği sınavda kazandığından dolayı Siyasal'da halen kaydının bulunduğunu öğrenir. *Derhal Ankara'ya varır*, öğrenci bürosuna gider, kendini tanıtır. Gerisini Tibuk'tan dinleyelim: 'he learns that he is still registered to the politics. He immediately arrives Ankara and goes to the student administration office'
Semelfactive	-

The Viewpoint Aspect *Derhal* co-occurs

In the table below, it is shown that the pattern "Derhal +Vpast (-*DI*)" with the average frequency (25%) over the domains focuses on the entirety of the situation. The pattern Derhal +Vpast (-mIş)" marks the situation taking place prior to the reference time with the average frequency 9% over the domains. And all the other patterns of *derhal* focus on the interval of the situations that semantically excludes endpoints. For example, the sentence *Mary was walking to school*

does not entail that a complete event of arriving to school occurred. By this sentence, we only see the interval of the sentence, that is, the event of walking to school, which may terminate with completion or without completion of the event. Thus, the endpoint of the event is not visible (Smith, 1997, pp. 62-64). The frequencies of the patterns in terms of viewpoint aspect are consistent over the domains. According to the results, *derhal* tends to co-occur with the imperfective viewpoint aspect with the average frequency of the domains 66%. The frequency distributions of the patterns showing the viewpoint aspect over the domains are given below:

Table 9. The viewpoint aspect of the patterns *derhal* and its frequencies in the Informative domain

	Informative		
Patterns	*Perfective*	*Imperfective*	*Perfect*
Derhal +Vpresent		44% (136)	
Derhal +Vpast (-DI)	20% (62)		
Derhal+Vcontinuous		9% (29)	
Derhal + Nominal predicate		9% (28)	
Derhal +Vpast (-mIş)			8% (25)
Derhal +Vfuture		5% (14)	
Derhal +Vimperative		5% (14)	
TOTAL	20%	72%	8%

Table 10. The viewpoint aspect of the patterns *derhal* and its frequencies in the Imaginative domain

	Imaginative		
Patterns	*Perfective*	*Imperfective*	*Perfect*
Derhal +Vpast (-DI)	29% (56)		
Derhal +Vpresent		21% (40)	
Derhal +Vimperative		14% (26)	
Derhal +Vpast (-mIş)			11% (21)
Derhal+Vcontinuous		10% (20)	
Derhal + Nominal predicate		8% (16)	
Derhal +Vfuture		7% (13)	
TOTAL	29%	60%	11%

The following table illustrates the example concordances of *derhal* in terms of the viewpoint aspect.

Table 11. Example concordances of *derhal* in terms of the viewpoint aspect

Viewpoint aspect	Examples
Perfective	bu uçak yeterince kötüydü, ama bu yıkıcı darbe olmuştu. *Kendini derhal toparladı* ve interkomun düğmesine bastı. - Janine, bana derhal Hava (RI22F1D-4714) 'this was a destructive strike. He immediately bounced back and pressed the button of intercom'
Imperfective	Mithat Bey de, dönmüş Fikriye'ye bakmıyorlar mıymış? Suçüstü yakalanmış oldular, *derhal başlarını başka tarafa çeviriyorlar*. "...böyle bakmalarının, esbabı ne olabilir?" Mustafa (OA16B3A-0415) 'they were caught red-handed, and they immediately turned their heads to the other side'
Perfect	hikâyesinin, belki de hayatının hikâyesinin ilk karalamaları varmış yalnızca. *Dostumu derhal hastaneye kaldırmışlar*, sevgililer onun hikâyesini çok sevmiş, hasta odasında gece (DA16B1A-1504) 'they immediately took my friend to the hospital. Lover liked his story very much'

3.2. HEMEN

TDK defines *hemen* 'immediately' as an adverb with the meaning *Çabucak* 'quickly'. In Turkish Comprehensive Grammar (Göksel and Kerslake, 2005, p. 233) *hemen* is defined as synonymous with the adverbial *derhal* in the meaning of "immediately" or "at once".

(2) Bardakları hemen yıka.

　'Wash the glasses immediately.'

Moreover, *hemen* in the form of *hemen hemen* meaning 'almost' can occur before any numerical expression (2005, p. 207):

(3) Hemen hemen 100 sayfa okudum.

'I've read about 100 pages.'

The following patterns are the patterns observed in the adverbial use of *hemen* in the TNC. The patterns are given according to their frequencies and percentage values in comparison with the domains below:

Table 12. Patterns and frequencies of *hemen* in the Informative domain

	Informative	
Patterns	*Frequency*	*Percentage*
Hemen +Vpresent	131	35%
Hemen +Vpast (-DI)	74	20%
Hemen + Nominal predicate	63	17%
Hemen+Vcontinuous	48	13%
Hemen +Vpast (-mIş)	42	11%
Hemen +Vfuture	12	3%
Hemen +Vimperative	9	2%
TOTAL	379	100%

Table 13. Patterns and frequencies of *hemen* in the Imaginative domain

	Imaginative	
Patterns	*Frequency*	*Percentage*
Hemen +Vpast (-DI)	135	36%
Hemen+Vcontinuous	63	17%
Hemen +Vpresent	46	12%
Hemen +Vpast (-mIş)	44	12%
Hemen + Nominal predicate	36	10%
Hemen +Vimperative	30	8%
Hemen +Vfuture	16	4%
TOTAL	370	100%

According to the tables, in the domain Informative, the most frequently used pattern is Hemen +Vpresent with a 35% while in the domain Imaginative, the most frequently used pattern is Hemen +Vpast (-DI) with a 36%. We see that the pattern preferences differ in terms of domains here. This can be due to the characteristic features of the texts. While events in informative texts tend to be presented with present tense, events in imaginative texts tend to be presented with past tense. In both of the domains, the least frequently used patterns are "Hemen +Vimperative" and "Hemen +Vfuture". The rest of the patterns for the domain Informative, "Hemen +Vpast (-DI), *Hemen +* Nominal predicate, Hemen+Vcontinuous, Hemen +Vpast (-mIş)" show close frequency disributions over the data. The same is valid for the patterns "Hemen+Vcontinuous, Hemen +Vpresent, Hemen +Vpast (-mIş), *Hemen +* Nominal predicate" in the domain Imaginative. The following table illustrates the example concordance lines for the patterns of *hemen*.

Table 14. Example concordances for the patterns of *hemen*

Patterns	Example Concordances
Hemen +Vpresent	bire yer değiştirmesinden; bir bakıma, fırlatılıp atılıvermekten... Böyle bir durumda *hemen ağlamaya başlar*, bebek... (Oysa neler, ne korkular öğretiyoruz çocuklarımıza... Sıcacık (FI22C1A-0855) 'in such a situation, the baby immediately starts crying'
Hemen +Vpast (-DI)	yaptılar. İyice yoruldum. Doktorlar, biraz uzanıp dinlenin, dediler ya, dinlenemedim. *Hemen çıktım hastaneden*. Aslında, bir taksi çevirip binmeliydim. Biliyorum. Ama Demirtaş, (GH09C3A-0710) 'they told us to have a rest. I could not rest. I immediately left the hospital'
Hemen + Nominal predicate	bir mezar görmek için bu kadar acele etmezdi herhalde. "Afedersiniz, *hemen hazırlanmam lâzım*." "Tabi yavrum. Ben de ilk uçakta yer ayırtayım (VA16B3A-1088) 'sorry, I am immediately supposed to get prepared'
Hemen+Vcontinuous	kaldırdılar. Eldiven yerinden fırladı. Yukarıdaki avizeye tutundu. "Biraz parmaklarımı açayım, *hemen geliyorum*!" diye şakayla aşağıya bağırdı. Bu arada diğerleri, hemen pencereye (UA16B1A-3337) 'he hold the chandelier. I exercise with my fingers, then I immediately come'
Hemen +Vpast (-mIş)	pencereden girmek zorunda kalmışlardır. BEKÇİ: Benim düdüğün sesini duyunca da hemen, ânında, *Hemen kaçmışlardır*, değil mi? ARZU: Aynen öyle olmuştur Halil (IA14B1A-1620) 'when they heard the whistle, they immediately ran away, didn't they?'
Hemen +Vfuture	karaltı da hızla küçülüyordu. Koydan çıktık. Konuşmuyoruz. Birimiz "dönelim" dese *hemen döneceğiz*. Kaptan'ın tepkisizliği içimize oturdu. Hasan'ın çıkardığı haritayı inceliyoruz. Küt mi? (PA16B4A-0511) 'we left the bay, we do not talk. What if one of us say to return back, we would immediately return'
Hemen +Vimperative	yeni öğrendim. Ama şiirimi beğeneceğinizi umuyorum, dedi. - O halde *hemen okumaya başla*. Nesrin, bir yutkundu, derin bir soluk aldı, elindeki (UA16B1A-1201) 'But I hope you would like my poem, said he. Then immediately start reading it'

In the data, pragmatically we encounter with specific use of the adverbial *hemen* with elliptical predicate as an order in the context of a superior-subordinate relationship. This use of *hemen* appears only in one instance in the corpus. In the following example, the landlady gives order to the maid to take the luggages to the room. The order is emphasized by the adverbial *hemen* with elliptical predicate.

(4)

biraz şaşkın baktı hanımına. Sert bir sesle tekrar etti Füreya: "Hemen!" Adam merdivenlerde gözüktü. "Emine'nin elindeki valizi alın, odaya getirin. Diğerlerini (MA16B3A-0039) 'He look suprised to the lordlady. Füreya repeated with a strong voice: Immediately! The man appeared on the stairs. "take the lugguges from Emine and bring them to the room'

In terms of the predication form of the verb for *hemen*, it is obvious that *hemen* almost always takes positive predicates. In both of the domains, negative predication consists of 2% of the data. Negative predication tends to occur mostly in the pattern "Hemen +Vimperative", as in the cases *hemen maç vermeyin* 'don't make him play a match immediately', *hemen yanıtlama* 'don't answer immediately'. This use seems to have a warning signal to the audience in order to meet a precondition. For example, in the case of match, the speaker wants the jury to see his performance before making him play a match.", and in the other case, the speaker wants the audience to think before answering. The other patterns of *hemen* in negative predication has its usual sense of *immediately*.

Below, predication form of the verb for *hemen* and its frequency distribution over the domains and example concordances for the negative predication of *hemen* are presented:

Table 15. Predication form of the verb for *hemen* and its frequency distribution over the domains

	Informative		Imaginative	
	Frequency	*Percentage*	*Frequency*	*Percentage*
Negative predicate	9	2%	7	2%
Positive predicate	370	98%	363	98%
TOTAL	379	100%	370	100%

Table 16. Example concordances for the negative predication of *hemen*

amaçlı olarak hazırlanan eğitim temel yasasının bu iki maddesinin uygulanmasına	hemen	*geçilemedi.* 24 yıl sonra 1998 yılında Yasanın 38.maddesi uyarınca 8 (MF10A2A-1789) 'the two articles of the education law is not immediately carried into action'
emek birikimi olarak adlandırılmaktadır. Firmalar, herhangi bir talep artışı karşısında,	hemen	İşgücü istihdamı *yapamayacaklardır.* Önceden tedbir anlamında istihdam etmeleri de rasyonel (TF10A2A-1902) 'upon an increase on demand, firms will not immediately be able to employ labor force'
diyor. İlk görüşmede Saran, Samanyolu'na maç vermek ister. "Biz de,	hemen	Maç *vermeyin.* Önce performansımızı, spora bakış açımızı, ciddiyetimizi bir görün, (JE39E1B-2838) 'do not immediately make him play in the match. First watch his performance'
cinayet. Kadının ağzına yastığı bastırıp, onu boğdular." "Dur, sakin ol...	Hemen	*karar vermeyelim.* Oturup konuşalım." "Konuşacak zaman yok! Paris'e gitmem lazım."(PA16B4A-0099) 'take it easy, do not make up your mind immediately. Let us talk'
hiç kendi başına aldığın bir karar var mı? İyi düşün.	Hemen	*yanıtlama.* Kim bilir, belki kendine ait sandığın bir kararı sana (TA16B4A-0342) 'think long and hard, do not answer immediately'

The situation Types *Hemen* prefers

Hemen shows frequency consistency in both of the domains in preferring situation types. Activity is the most frequently occurring situation type with the adverbial *hemen*, which follows state, accomplishment and achievement respectively. Semelfactive does not occur in neither of the domains. Below, both the situation type frequencies in terms of the domains and the example concordances exist:

Table 17. Situation types and its frequencies of *hemen* in the Informative domain

	Informative
Situation types	*Numbers*
Activity	71% (270)
State	20% (76)
Achievement	6% (21)
Accomplishment	3% (12)
Semelfactive	0
TOTAL	100% (379)

Table 18: Situation types and its frequencies of *hemen* in the Imaginative domain

	Imaginative
Situation types	*Numbers*
Activity	65% (240)
State	15% (54)
Achievement	12% (46)
Accomplishment	8% (30)
Semelfactive	0
TOTAL	100% (370)

In the following table, example concordances for the situation types occurring with the adverbial *hemen* are given.

Table 19. Example concordances for the situation types of *hemen*

Situation types	*Examples*
State	sanatına sahip çıkmakta... Yurttaşlık, kendini geçmiş referanslarla tanımlamakta değil, yurttaşlık *hemen, şimdi, burada...* Yıldız Alpar Emiroğlu'nun okulu AKM'de düzenlenen bir resitalle (OG24D1B-2287) 'citizenship is not about defining yourself with the past references. Citizenship is right now, here…'
Activity	Otopsi yapılmasını istemeyen bin..." Hasibe Hanım'ın söyledikleri geliyor aklıma ama *hemen kovuyorum bu düşünceleri*. "Saçma. Latife Teyze'yi niye öldürsünler ki?" "Kim (KA16B5A-0098) ''I remember what Mrs. Hasibe told to me but I immediately dismiss those thoughts'
Accomplishment	aynı olduğu için, hem de yaptığı hareketten dolayı. Neyse efendim, *hemen adamın dükkânına gittik*. O kadar heyecanlıyım ki, sanki hemen

Situation types	Examples
	makineyi (QI22C2A-0670) 'because it is the same and also because of the behavior he displayed. Anyway, we immediately went to the man's store. I was so excited that as if immediately
Achievement	randevu isteğini belirtti. Kiraz karta şöyle bir göz attı. *İsmi hemen tanıdı*. Takvimini çıkardı. İki gün sonraya randevu verdi. Ancak sekreter,(DA16B2A-0888) 'Kiraz glanced at the card and immediately recognized the name'

"yurttaşlık *hemen, şimdi, burada*..." is state as it is stative and durative sentence temporally. "*hemen kovuyorum bu düşünceleri*" is an activity sentence with plural object, which displays multiple event activity of dismissing the thoughts. *"hemen adamın dükkânına gittik"* is an accomplishment sentence, which marks the completion of the process *going to the store* in terms of path and goal relationship. *"İsmi hemen tanıdı"* is an achievement sentence as it includes the instantaneous, telic and dynamic event *recognize*.

The Viewpoint Aspect *Hemen* co-occurs

In the table below, it is stated that the pattern "Hemen +Vpast (-DI)" with the average frequency 27% over the domains focuses on the entirety of the situation. The pattern "Hemen +Vpast(-mIş)" marks the situation taking place prior to the reference time with the average frequency 11% over the domains. And all the other patterns of *hemen* basically focus on the interval of the situations. The frequencies of the patterns in terms of viewpoint aspect are consistent over the domains. According to results, *hemen* tends to co-occur with the imperfective viewpoint aspect with 60% of the average frequency of the domains. To note that the imperfective aspect is more frequently used in the domain Informative than it is used in the domain Imaginative while the perfective aspect is used more frequently in the domain Imaginative than it is used in the domain Informative. The frequency distributions of the patterns marking the viewpoint aspect over the domains are given below:

Table 20. The viewpoint aspect of the patterns *hemen* and its frequencies in the Informative domain

	Informative		
Patterns	*Perfective*	*Imperfective*	*Perfect*
Hemen +Vpresent		35% (131)	
Hemen +Vpast (-DI)	20% (74)		
Hemen + Nominal predicate		17% (64)	
Hemen+Vcontinuous		13% (48)	
Hemen +Vpast **(-mIş)**			11% (42)
Hemen +Vfuture		3% (12)	
Hemen +Vimperative		2% (9)	
TOTAL	20%	69%	11%

Table 21. The viewpoint aspect of the patterns *hemen* and its frequencies in the Imaginative domain

	Imaginative		
Patterns	*Perfective*	*Imperfective*	*Perfect*
Hemen +Vpast (-DI)	36%(135)		
Hemen+Vcontinuous		17% (63)	
Hemen +Vpresent		12% (46)	
Hemen +Vpast **(-mIş)**			12% (44)
Hemen + Nominal predicate		10% (36)	
Hemen +Vimperative		8% (30)	
Hemen +Vfuture		4% (16)	
TOTAL	36%	52%	12%

The following table illustrates the example concordances of *hemen* in terms of the viewpoint aspect.

Table 22. Example concordances of *hemen* in terms of the viewpoint aspect

Viewpoint aspect	*Examples*
Perfective	Hatice Nine açtı. Karşısında Zeynep'le annesini görünce, çok sevindi. Zeynep *hemen Hatice Nine'ye sarıldı*. Hatice Nine bir yandan onu okşuyor, bir (UA16B2A-1248) 'She became very happy when she saw Zeynep and her mother. Zeynep immediately hugged Nanny Hatice'
Imperfective	alt rafındaki siyah telefon ahizesini gösteriyor. Telefona sarılıp Nevzat'ı arıyorum. *Hemen geleceklerini söylüyorlar*, ikimiz de susmuş onları beklerken sanki hiçbir şey (EA16B4A-0097) 'I call Nevzat at the phone.

	They tell that they will immediately come'
Perfect	kuşu olmuş, başlamış izlemeye. Gide gide padişahın sarayına varmışlar. *Delikanlı hemen bir elma olmuş*, gökten pattadak padişahın kucağına düşmüş. Gezgin, şahin(TA16B2A-1200) 'they arrived at the palace of Sultan. The young man immediately turned into an apple and fell on the Sultan's arms'

4. DISCUSSION

Both the adverbials *derhal* and *hemen* are defined with the same sense 'immediately' as synonymous in both TDK and in Turkish: A Comprehensive Grammar (Göksel and Kerslake, 2005:233). The corpus data shows that although they have some correspondences with each other, they also display differences. The following table summarizes the tendencies of each adverbial according to their patterns.

Table 23. The tendencies of *derhal* and *hemen* according to their patterns

Adverbials	The most frequent pattern	The least frequent pattern	Non-observed pattern
Derhal	Derhal+V present Derhal+Vpast(-DI)	Derhal+Vfuture Derhal+Vimperative	-
Hemen	Hemen+V present Hemen+Vpast(-DI)	Hemen+Vfuture Hemen+Vimperative	-

In the case of the frequent patterns of the adverbials *derhal* and *hemen*, we see correspondence on their frequencies. That is, in the domain Informative both of the adverbials have the tendency to appear in the pattern "V present" while in the domain Imaginative, both of the adverbials have the tendency to appear in the pattern "Vpast(-DI)". The same is observed for the least frequent patterns of these adverbials. In the domain Informative, both adverbials show the tendency to appear with the pattern "Vimperative" while in the domain Imaginative, both adverbials show the tendency to appear with the pattern "Vfuture". Hence, the domain is distinctive in this sense. Otherwise, they appear in all the patterns in the corpus data.

Both *derhal* and *hemen* appear with a negative predicate in a very low frequency. Their occurrence with the tense inflections on negative

predicate and average frequencies are given in the following table:

Table 24. The tense inflection preferences on negation and average frequencies of *derhal* and *hemen*

The adverbial	Tense inflection preferences on negation	Average frequency
Derhal	Perfect (-mIş) tense inflections	1%
Hemen	Perfective (-DI), Future, present tense inflections	2%

Bearing in mind that their frequencies are low with negative predicates, the adverbial *derhal* tends to appear with the Perfect (-mIş) whereas the adverbial *hemen* appears in Perfective (-DI), Future, present tense inflections. Overall, it is obvious that they are not preferable adverbials with negative predicates.

Both adverbials induce the temporal feature duration, dynamism and they are compatible with atelic sentences. Hence, they most frequently appear with the situation type activity in the data.

Table 25. Situation type tendencies and their frequencies of *derhal* and *hemen*

Adverbials	Situation Type Tendencies and their frequencies
Derhal	Activity (60%)
Hemen	Activity (68%)

It is obvious that the events modified by these adverbials tend to extend in time, which co-occur with imperfective aspect more frequently than the other viewpoints, perfective and perfect.

Table 26. Viewpoint tendencies and their frequencies of *derhal* and *hemen*

Adverbials	Viewpoint Tendencies and their frequencies
Derhal	Perfective (24%)
	Imperfective (66%)
	Perfect (10%)
Hemen	Perfective (28%)
	Imperfective (61%)
	Perfect (11%)

As Smith (1997, pp. 97-122) states it, *temporal location* locating a situation in time and *aspect* specifying the internal structure of the situation are complementary temporal systems. The expression of temporal location is intertwined morphologically with aspect. There are co-occurrence relations between temporal adverbials and verb constellations. Temporal adverbials locate situations by relating them to time or to other situations and every sentence has a temporal standpoint, some of which are expressed overtly by adverbials. In this study, the overall analysis and the frequency distributions of the data lead us to conclude that both adverbials *derhal* and *hemen* tend to encode the initial point of an event, the point at which an event begins to obtain. We witness this both in the sentences below and in the rest of the examples in the corpus data. Subsequent to the antecedent event, the adverbials *derhal* and *hemen* mark the beginning of the posterior event, which they modify. For example, in (5), the anterior event upon seeing Zeynep and her mother, the grandmother is happy and in the subsequent sentence, *hemen* marks the beginning of the posterior event *hugging the grandmother*. Likewise, in the sentence (6) *hemen* marks the beginning of *the baby's crying immediately* and in the sentence (7), *derhal* marks the beginning of the event *coming immediately*.

(5) Karşısında Zeynep'le annesini görünce, çok sevindi. Zeynep *hemen Hatice Nine'ye sarıldı*. (UA16B2A-1248) 'She became very happy when she saw Zeynep and her mother. Zeynep immediately hugged Nanny Hatice'

(6) Böyle bir durumda *hemen ağlamaya başlar*, bebek... (FI22C1A-0855) 'in such a situation, the baby immediately starts crying'

(7) Peki *ben derhal geliyorum* (DA16B3A-0791) 'ok, I am coming immediately'

The adverbials *derhal* and *hemen* focus on the beginning of an event. Their reference points differ depending on the domain. We can summarize them as follows:

- *Derhal* and *hemen* show the tendency to have present standpoint encoding the initiality of the event in the domain Informative.

- *Derhal* and *hemen* show the tendency to have a past standpoint of the event encoding the initiality of the event in the domain Imaginative.

These adverbials tend to have relational value of simultaneity marking the initial points of the event whose temporal standpoints are present or past depending on the domain. We call them simultaneous ingressive adverbials.

We see that *derhal* and *hemen* show the same tendencies on the pattern choices, situation types and viewpoint aspects. What makes difference is their use in the domains Informative and Imaginative. Moreover, they also display specific uses. The adverbial *derhal* specializes in the context of a superior-subordinate relationship in the sense of giving or taking an order, which signals that the order is vital and urgent. On the other hand, the adverbial *hemen* modifying temporal adverbs such as *hemen yarın* 'immediately tomorrow', *hemen şimdi* 'right now' express closeness in time to the speech time. And *hemen* modifying place adverbs such as *hemen yanında* 'right beside you', *hemen önünde* 'right in front of you' marks closeness of the given place. *Hemen* in reduplication as in *hemen hemen* or with quantifiers as in *hemen hepsi* has the sense of *almost*. With a negative predicate, *hemen* tends to signal a warning to the audience in order to meet a given precondition as in *hemen cevap verme* 'Don't answer immediately'. The speaker wants the audience to think before answering.

5. CONCLUSION

In this study, we have presented a detailed analysis on the Turkish aspectual adverbials *derhal* and *hemen* in naturally occurring data of TNC. In order to attain patterns of the aspectual adverbials *derhal* and *hemen*, their usage values, lexical patterns and structures are analyzed considering their frequency distributions. We have also presented quantitative and qualitative discussion of these aspectual adverbials over the domains informative and imaginative.

We have observed that both the aspectual adverbials *derhal* and *hemen* show similar tendencies on the pattern choices, situation types and viewpoint aspects. They have different standpoints in the domains informative and imaginative. Hence, we see that the context they

occur in is important. It is also obvious that *derhal* and *hemen* can be used interchangeably for one another, but the data shows that sense difference occurs especially in the case of *derhal*. *Derhal* is commonly preferred in the context of a superior-subordinate relationship in the sense of giving or taking an order, which signals that the order is vital and urgent. On the other hand, the adverbial *hemen* primarily marks closeness in time or place of the given time or place. Rather than their aspectual difference, it is their manner that causes the difference. Thus, out of a superior-subordinate relationship context, instead of *hemen*, the use of *derhal* may sound a little weird as in the sentence *Can hemen/?derhal bir yudum ayran içti*, 'Can immediately took a sip of ayran'; however, the outcome is still accepted as a native speaker.

This study concludes that the aspectual adverbials *derhal* and *hemen* tend to appear in patterns V present and Vpast more frequently than the other patterns. According to their temporal features, they most frequently tend to occur with activity sentences with the imperfective viewpoint aspect. Hence, they show the same tendencies but differ terms of manner, in which *derhal* with elliptical predicate is likely to be used in the context of a superior-subordinate relationship for asking someone to do something much more frequently than *hemen*. All and all, these Turkish aspectual adverbials *derhal* and *hemen* display subtle differences in terms of context of use.

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NOUN SEMANTICS AND NUMBER MARKING IN TURKISH

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Abstract: This work investigates the semantics of nouns and the marking of nominal number in Turkish. Nouns in Turkish behave in a way that is significantly different from their counterparts in languages like English. They appear in their bare form without number specification and are not pluralized when they co-occur with numerals. The questions raised are why nouns behave the way they do and whether their characteristics can be uniformly captured. In previous work, these questions were not addressed since the focus was mostly on the similarities and differences between nouns and adjectives and whether nouns form a lexical category. I show that nouns not only form a lexical category, but their semantic and morpho-syntactic properties indicate that they pattern with *set nouns* as a nominal subcategory within the typology of nominal subcategories (Rijkhoff, 2002ab, 2008). The analysis also accounts for number discord as well as lack thereof between plural subjects and verbs.

Key words: *Noun semantics, bare nouns, number marking, Turkish*

TÜRKÇEDE AD ANLAMBİLİMİ VE SAYI BELİRLEME

Özet: Bu çalışma, Türkçede adların anlambilimi ve adsal sayı belirlenmesini incelemektedir. Türkçede adlar İngilizce gibi dillerdeki muadillerinden önemli ölçüde farklı davranmaktadırlar. Özellikle, çıplak olarak ve herhangi bir sayı belirlemesi olmadan bulunabilirler ve sayı adları ve niceleyicileri ile birlikte aynı ortamlarda bulunduklarında çoğul eki almazlar. Burada sorulan sorular, Türkçede adların neden bu şekilde davrandıkları ve gösterdikleri özelliklerin sistemli bir biçimde açıklanıp açıklanamayacağıdır. Önceki çalışmalarda bu sorulara çok değinilmemiştir çünkü odak noktası genelde adlarla sıfatların benzerlik ve farklılıkları ile adların sözlüksel bir kategori oluşturup oluşturmadığıdır. Bu çalışmada, Türkçede adların yalnızca sözlüksel bir kategori oluşturmakla kalmayıp, anlamsal ve morfolojik-sözdizimsel bakımdan da Rijkhoff'ta (2002ab, 2008) ortaya atılan ve adsal bir alt kategori olan *küme adları* özelliklerine sahip oldukları gösterilmektedir. Bu açıklama ayrıca Türkçede çoğul özne ve eylem arasında görünen sayı uyumu ve uyumsuzluğunu da izah etmektedir.

Anahtar sözcükler: *Ad anlambilimi, çıplak adlar, sayı belirleme, Türkçe*

1. INTRODUCTION

It is well-attested that root nouns in Turkish are significantly different from their counterparts in other languages like English and Dutch in that they have what is often referred to as *general number* (Schroeder, 1999; Corbett, 2000; Bliss, 2004; Acquaviva, 2005; Bale, Gagnon & Khanjian, 2011; inter alia). This means that nouns are not specified for number in terms of singularity or plurality in their bare form. Consider (1).

(1)

a.   b.
çocuk   kitap
kid/kids   book/books

This characteristic of nouns in Turkish is what makes them different from nouns in such languages as English and Dutch where they are

known as singular count nouns.[2] Unlike singular nouns in these languages, nouns in Turkish can appear in their bare form inside noun phrases, as shown in (2).[3]

(2)

a.

Ülkü   kitap   oku-du.

Ülkü   book   read-pa3st

'Ülkü read a book / books'.

'Ülkü did book reading.'

b.

Kütüphane-den   kitap   çal-ın-dı.

library-abl   book   steal-pass-pa3st

'Books have been stolen from the library.'

'Book-stealing took place at the library.

c.

Masa-da   kitap   var.

table-loc   book   exist.pres

'There is a book / are books on the table.'

The sentences in (2) clearly illustrate that bare NPs are allowed to appear in different structures in the language. In (2a) and (2b), the bare NP 'kitap' *book* is in a verbal sentence and in (2c) the same one occurs in an existential construction. What is important here is that all the NPs are interpreted as as number-neutral.[4] That is to say, the referent of the

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[2] This classification of singular count nouns includes those such as 'dog' and 'chair' and excludes mass nouns like 'water' and 'furniture'.

[3] Abbreviations: ø = null morpheme; 1 = first person; 3 = third person; abl = ablative case; acc = accusative case; clf = classifier; dat = dative case; fut = future marker; indef = indefinite determiner; lin-sep = linker plus separating element; pass = passive voice; past = past tense; pl = plural marker; pres = present; redup = reduplication; sg = singular;

[4] Note that bare NPs include those that appear without any determiner, number specifying element as well as case marking in the language. In (ii), even though the

NP is not specified for either singularity or plurality. Note that singular count nouns in English and Dutch cannot appear in their bare form in any type of sentence without leading to ungrammaticality.

Moreover, it is possible for bare NPs to act like a predicate of plural-marked subject NPs, in addition to being a predicate for singular subject NPs in the language. This is shown in (3).

(3)

a.

Ülkü   öğretmen.

Ülkü   teacher

'Ülkü is a teacher.'

b.

Ülkü   ve   Pınar   öğretmen(-ler)

Ülkü   and   Pınar   teacher(-pl)

'Ülkü and Pınar are teachers.'

In (3b), even though the subject NP refers a plural entity, the predicate does not need to be plural-marked. In that respect, the characteristics of nouns in the language on the one hand, other languages like English, on the other, are significantly different from one another.

On the other hand, in order to specify the number of an entity as singular denoted by an NP, the element that is employed is the indefinite determiner 'bir' that is phonologically the same as the numeral one in the language.

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head noun does not co-occur with a determiner or numeral, it carries accusative case marking and the NP is interpreted as definite.

(i)   Ülkü kitap oku-du.
       Ülkü book read-pa3st
       'Ülkü read a book / books.'

(ii)   Ülkü kitab-ı   oku-du.
        Ülkü book-acc   read-pa3st
         'Ülkü read the book.'

(4)

a.   b.
bir   çocuk   bir   kitap
indef kid   indef book
'a kid'   'a book'

Note also that when a noun head appears with the plural marker -lAr[5], the NP obligatorily refers to more than one entity. Consider the examples in (5).

(5)

a.   b.
çocuk-lar   kitap-lar
kid-pl   book-pl
'kids'   'books'

Another important difference between nouns in Turkish and languages like English is that if there is a numeral or a quantifier inside the NP, the head noun does not get plural marking, as exemplified in (6).

(6)

a.
iki   / on   / elli   / birkaç çocuk
two   / ten   / fifty / a few   kid
'two   / ten   / fifty / a few   kids.'

b.
*iki / on   / elli   / birkaç   çocuk-lar
 two / ten / fifty / a few   kid-pl
 'two / ten / a hundred   kids.'

(7)

a.   b.
ten / a few kids   *ten / a few kid

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[5] The plural marker –lAr appears as either –lar (e.g. kitap-lar) or –ler (e.g. melek-ler) due to vowel harmony.

The grammaticality of the examples in (6a), as opposed to ungrammaticality of those in (6b), indicates that the head noun does not get plural marking when it co-occurs with a numeral or a quantifying element. This is in sharp contrast to the English examples in (7a) and (7b).

The data provided above show that nouns in Turkish display certain differences from their counterparts in other languages with respect to their morpho-syntactic and semantic characteristics. More specifically, it was shown that they are number-neutral in their bare form and can appear without any functional elements such as determiners, numerals or quantifiers. In addition, they do not need the presence of plural marking when they appear with number expressing elements like numerals or quantifiers. The question that arises at this point is why nouns behave the way they do in the language. Specifically, how can one account for the morpho-syntactic and semantic characteristics of nouns in a uniform manner? In this paper, I address these issues and propose an account in which I argue for a lexical semantic analysis.

The structure of this paper is as follows: in Section 2, I give an overview of earlier work on nouns and show why they do not fully account for the facts outlined above. In Section 3, I propose a lexical semantic account of nouns in order to capture their morpho-syntactic and semantic properties. In Section 4, I show that the proposed account also accounts for the number discord as well as lack thereof between plural subjects and verbs in the language Section 5 briefly concludes the paper and provides some suggestions for further work.

2. BACKGROUND

2.1. PREVIOUS WORK

It was noted in the earlier studies that nouns in Turkish are transnumeral in that they are semantically neither singular nor plural in their bare form (Schroeder, 1999; Corbett 2000; Acquaviva, 2005; inter alia).[6]

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[6] The fact that nouns in Turkish and some other languages are unspecified for number was termed differently in the literature. Such nouns were labeled as having *general number,* or being *number-neutral* or *transnumeral*. Even though they seem to capture the number-neutrality of nouns, these terms still lead to confusion, as will be shown below.

Corbett (2000, p. 14) argues that Turkish type of languages show an opposition general/singular versus plural where the first form does not specify number for the noun on its own. He goes on to say that expressing number is not impossible in these languages; however, it is done when it matters and not obligatorily in languages like English. On the other hand, some early accounts found in Nilsson (1985, p. 26) and Schroeder (1999, p. 46), make the claim that nouns in Turkish denote 'concepts' or 'kind of things' or categories. That is why they do not specify singularity or plurality in their bare form. Note, however, that while this idea seems to be in line with the fact that nouns in Turkish are not specified for number, there are certain characteristics that they do not share with their counterparts that are also categorized as denoting concepts or kinds of things in other languages. For instance, nouns that are often considered to denote concepts or kinds in languages such as Japanese, Chinese, Vietnamese and Thai obligatorily take classifiers when they co-occur with numerals. Their absence would lead to ungrammaticality. The reason for the presence of classifiers in the environment of numerals is that since nouns in languages like Chinese denote concepts or kinds of things, they are argued to be necessary for individuation or a spatial outline (Aikhenvald, 2000; Rijkhoff, 2002a).

In a more recent analysis found in Ketrez (2004), the idea of Turkish being a classifier language is entertained. Working on the different types of plurality in the language, Ketrez argues that Turkish has a fully-fledged classifier phrase as a syntactic category. Also, it has a classifier system associated with the plural marker -lAr in the language. In other words, the plural marker is treated as the head of the classifier phrase in her analysis. However, this line of reasoning would make wrong predictions in terms of language typology. First of all, classifier languages are known to not have plural marking on the noun, especially when there is a numeral in the structure. This, however, is not the case in Turkish. Moreover, the main function of classifiers, as mentioned above, is to individuate the referent of the noun phrase but there is no such requirement in the language. In that sense, Turkish nouns do not actually pair with their counterparts in those languages, as they do not need the obligatory presence of classifiers when modified by numerals. Therefore, any proposal that Turkish nouns should be categorized along with those that require the presence of classifiers would not be so reasonable.

2.2. THE STATUS OF NOUNS

Note that there is also another line of research with a focus on the existence of individual lexical categories in the language. The distributional similarities between nouns and adjectives in Turkish led some researchers such as Grønbech (1936) and Swift (1963) to posit the idea that these two classes must belong to the same category. This is mostly due to the fact that adjectives can act as nouns and carry nominal marking in Turkish. Similarly, Banguoğlu (1986) and Ergin (2001) make the claim that adjectives must be classified as a sub-category of nouns in the language. Based on the observation that nouns and adjectives behave alike in the language, Rijkhoff (2002ab, 2008) argues that Turkish nouns are flexible in the sense that there is no clear distinction between the two classes. Therefore, Rijkhoff categorizes Turkish along with languages such as Quechua and Hurrian and does not include Turkish nouns in his typological classification of noun subcategories. This conclusion, however, does not help to understand the true nature of nouns. The apparent similarities between nouns and adjectives should not prevent one from investigating nouns as a lexical category in the language. Besides, there are certain operational means that were already proposed to distinguish nouns from adjectives in Turkish. For instance, Göksel and Haznedar (2007, pp. 12-13) and Uygun (2007, 2009) note that there are certain distinctions between the two lexical categories. For instance, predicative adjectives and some complex adjectives do not denote entities and most nouns cannot denote properties. More specifically, adjectives in the predicate position always indicate a property and can never denote an entity. In addition, as far as their semantics is concerned, nouns primarily denote entities and not properties. Second, the way adjectives are interpreted is restricted in the sense that they are lexicalized in terms of meaning, as shown below.

(8)

a.

    Zengin   bir   adam / topluluk   / aile
    rich   indef   man / community / family
    'A rich man / community / family'

b.

    Bir   zengin biz-e   yardım   et-ti.
    indef   rich   we-dat   help   do-past
    'A rich person helped us.'

The example in (8a) indicates that an adjective like 'zengin' *rich* may modify different nouns such as 'adam' *man* or 'topluluk' *community*. However, the sentence in (8b) shows us that when the adjective 'zengin' appears in the absence of a noun and is functioning as one, it obligatorily refers to a human being, indicating that such terms cannot refer to any object that has the property described by the adjective.

Third, although adjectives bear inflectional morphemes, they are actually not inflected for nominal inflection. As there is no overt pronominal form denoting nouns in Turkish (e.g. *one* in English), and a nouns can be headless, the inflectional markers appearing morphologically on a noun can appear on an adjective where there is no noun head in the construction. Consider the example in (9).

(9)

Ben   büyük-ler-i   al-acağ-ım.
I   big-pl-acc   take-fut-1sg
'I will take the big ones.'

What is important in (9) is there is no head noun in the structure. The adjective is inflected for number and case only in the absence of a head noun. That causes the adjective to look like a noun.

Finally, Braun and Haig (2000) propose a diagnostic test in order to identify prototypical adjectives in the language. They argue that prototypical adjectives are compatible with 'X bir N(oun)' constructions, as in (10a). In addition, prototypical adjectives are able to appear in reduplication constructions, as in (10b).

(10)
a.

büyük   bir   araba
big   indef car
'a big car'

b.

büs-büyük
redup-big
'very big'

The arguments presented above clearly show that nouns and adjectives are not always indistinguishable in Turkish. In fact, the examples indicate that nouns and adjectives dramatically differ from each other in terms of their semantic, morpho-syntactic properties. Based on these facts, one could argue that nouns and adjectives belong to distinct lexical categories in the language. Therefore, it is necessary to understand the actual properties of nouns, to compare them with their counterparts in other languages and then come up with a general theory of noun semantics and number marking in the language. This is important in terms of finding out why Turkish nouns behave the way they do. In the next section, I introduce a theory of noun subcategories based on their semantics and morpho-syntax, proposed by Rijkhoff (2002ab) and then developed in subsequent work (Rijkhoff, 2008; Seifart, 2009ab), and argue that it uniformly captures the facts about nouns in Turkish and across languages.

3. A THEORY OF NOMINAL SUBTYPES

In his seminal work, Rijkhoff (2002a) investigates more than fifty languages and proposes a typology of six noun types according to their morpho-syntactic properties. Rijkhoff argues that a detailed investigation of nouns within and across languages illustrates that first order nouns (i.e. nouns used for discrete objects in the real world) do not appear to share the same morpho-syntax and semantics with regard to quantification. Specifically, languages differ in terms of (i) whether or not first order nouns appear with a plural marker when modified by a numeral (where n > 1), and (ii) if first order nouns directly co-occur with a numeral or whether numerals need to appear with a classifier.[7] A cross-linguistic investigation with respect to these two properties leads to the classification of six nominal subtypes including (i) singular object nouns, (ii) set nouns, (iii) sort nouns, (iv) mass nouns, (v) collective nouns, and (vi) general nouns. In the next section, I will introduce the first three of these noun subtypes that are most relevant to the discussion here, and elaborate on their morpho-syntactic and semantic characteristics. I will then address the question of whether nouns in Turkish fit into Rijkhoff's typological classification. [8]

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[7] See also Wiese (1997) and Acquaviva (2005) for a morpho-syntactically driven semantic analysis of nouns in various languages.

[8] The noun subtypes that are not strictly relevant to the analysis in this paper are (i)

3.1. NOUN SUBTYPES

3.1.1. SINGULAR OBJECT NOUNS

Singular object nouns denote only singular countable entities. This type of nouns is obligatorily marked with the plural marker when they are modified by a numeral greater than one. In addition, they do not need the presence of classifiers when modified by numerals. This type of nouns is found in typologically different languages such as English, Hittite, Ket, Dutch, West Greenlandic and Tamil, among others. The examples below are from two unrelated languages (Rijkhoff, 2002a pp. 35-36).

(11)
(Dutch)

twee   boek-en
two   book-pl
'two books'

(12)
(Ket)

qo'm   qim-n
ten   woman-pl
'ten women'

The examples in (11) and (12) clearly show that when a singular object noun co-occurs with a numeral in an NP, the plural marker is present obligatorily. This is in fact true for all singular object nouns whenever reference is made to more than one entity. Moreover, when the NP denotes more than one entity, the presence of the plural marker is also needed regardless of whether there is a numeral or not, as in *houses* and *dogs* in English. It should also be noted that this type of nouns always takes singular agreement whenever reference is made to singular entities, as shown in (13).

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mass nouns like 'silverware', 'milk' and 'freedom' in English, (ii) collective nouns such as 'family', 'team' and 'committee' in English, and (iii) general nouns that co-occur with general classifiers rather than sortal classifiers. General nouns are found in Yucatec Maya. See Rijkhoff (2002ab, 2008) for more details.

(13)

        I bought a car / *car.

The morpho-syntactic and semantic properties of singular object nouns suggest that they must be different from nouns in other languages in certain respects. Rijkhoff argues that the main distinction between different nouns is semantic in nature and therefore proposes a lexical semantic account. He goes on to say that nouns are composed of two lexical features, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Lexical semantic features of nouns

[±Shape]
[±Homogeneity]

The feature [±Shape] indicates whether the noun denotes an entity with a well-defined outline or not. It has a binary value, namely [+Shape] and [-Shape]. The origin of this concept goes back to Hundius & Kölver (1983) and Lucy (1992), who investigated the properties of nouns in Thai and Yucatec Maya, respectively. They argue for the idea that the meaning definitions of nouns in these languages do not involve the notion of 'spatial boundedness' or 'discreteness'. Nouns denoting discrete spatial entities designate properties that are not characterized as having a definite shape in the spatial dimension. So, there is a mismatch in that part of the lexical meaning of nouns does not include the notion 'shape' even though what they denote are inherently discrete in the real world. It is for this reason that numerals need to combine with a classifier in these languages. The basic function of classifiers is then to act like an 'individualizer' since only discrete entities can be counted. Therefore, the feature [-Shape] correlates with the obligatory use of numeral classifiers and [+Shape] correlates with the absence of classifiers. On the other hand, the feature [±Homogeneity] indicates whether the noun denotes entities that have portions or members. Following Goodman (1966), Rijkhoff argues that this feature is similar to notions such as 'likepartedness' or 'dissectiveness'. The term 'dissective' is defined as the property of a predicate if that predicate is satisfied by every part of every individual that satisfies it. Basically, nouns like 'flour' and 'oil' define homogeneous entities since they are both cumulative and dissective. For instance, if some flour is added to a

pile of flour, the bigger pile is also referred to as flour. This gives the property of cumulativity. If some flour is removed, the remaining would still be referred to as flour. Therefore, this type of nouns has the feature [+Homogeneity]. On the other hand, singular object nouns like 'bicycle' in English, 'puisi' *seal* in West Greenlandic define non-homogeneous entities since one cannot refer to something as a bicycle or a seal if they are more or less than one bicycle or one seal.

Basically, different combinations of these two lexical semantic features output different noun types. For instance, singular object nouns in English and Ket are lexically specified for the features [+Shape, -Homogeneity]. The feature [+Shape] indicates that the property denoted by the noun has a well-defined outline. Thus, nouns occur without classifiers in NPs. The feature [-Homogeneity], on the other hand, indicates that the property being denoted is strictly not cumulative or divisive. In other words, the entity being denoted does not have parts or portions. In the next section, I consider set nouns and argue that Turkish nouns, based on morpho-syntactic characteristics, belong to this subtype of nouns.

3.1.2. SET NOUNS

Set nouns are different from singular object nouns in that they do not denote singular entities. In that sense, set nouns are number neutral and may refer to one entity or more than one entity. When they are modified by a numeral they are not marked with the plural marker. However, just like singular object nouns, they do not need the presence of classifiers when they co-occur with numerals. Consider (15) and (16), taken from Rijkhoff (2002a, pp. 40-41).

(14)
(Hungarian)

két   lány
two   girl
'two girls'

      (15)

(Oromo)

gala   lamaani
two   camel
'two camels'

The examples in (14) and (15) show the combination of set nouns with numerals in NPs. However, these languages have a plural marker and its presence is obligatory when reference is strictly made to pluralities. For instance, while the reference of the noun *saree* 'dog/dogs' is number-neutral, the reference of the noun *sareellee* 'dogs' needs to be plural in Oromo. This type of nouns is called set nouns as a set may contain any number of entities including one (i.e. a singleton set) or more than one (i.e. a collective set). These characteristics of set nouns lead Rijkhoff to argue that they are lexically specified for the features [+Shape, ±Homogeneity]. As noted above, the feature [+Shape] shows that the property denoted by the noun has a definite shape or outline. On the other hand, the feature [±Homogeneity] indicates that the property denoted by the noun is not specified for number. In other words, whether the property has portions or parts is not encoded in the lexical specification of the noun itself.

As illustrated in Section 1, nouns in Turkish display morpho-syntactic properties that are quite similar to those of nouns classified as set nouns in the typology of noun subtypes. Basically, Turkish nouns:

(i). are unspecified for number in their bare form,

(ii). do not take classifiers when they co-occur with numerals,

(iii). do not get plural marking when modified by numerals.

Based on these facts, it is reasonable to argue that nouns in Turkish are in fact set nouns, exhibiting all the features set nouns cross-linguistically display. Moreover, as we will see in Section 4, this line of analysis accounts for number marking in the verbal domain.

Note also that Rijkhoff (2002ab, 2008) makes a distinction between what he calls 'number marking' that generally applies to singular object nouns in English and 'nominal aspect marking' that applies to set nouns in Turkish. The main difference between the two is that number marking involves a strict singular/plural distinction. Also, plural marking is obligatory with number marking. Nominal aspect markers, on the other hand, restrict the reference to either singulars or plurals. Consider the examples below.

(16)

a.

      bir   çocuk
      indef kid
      'a kid'

b.

      çocuk-lar
      kid-pl
      'kids'

The singularization process in (16a) is in fact indicating that the noun designates the property of a singleton set that excluding pluralities. On the other hand, the plural marked NP in (16b) refers to sets with plural entities. Therefore, pluralization should be regarded as restricting the set to plural entities, excluding singulars. The singularization and pluralization above are in fact specifying the number of elements in the set, and not strictly number marking seen in English. This captures the difference between nouns that have the feature [-Homogeneity] and those that have the feature [±Homogeneity] even though both types of nouns are specified for [+Shape].

To sum up, it was shown in this section that the analysis morpho-syntactic and semantic characteristics of nouns in Turkish led to the conclusion that they pattern with what is known as set nouns within Rijkhoff's (2002ab, 2008) broad typology of noun subcategories. In that sense, the account proposed here contributes to the fine classification of nouns based on their meaning as well as structural properties. Nouns in Turkish display the properties of set nouns and their association with functional elements such as the indefinite marker and the plural marker lead to singularization and pluralization respectively. In the following section, I consider sort nouns that are different from both singular object nouns and set nouns in certain respects. The discussion of sort nouns is important here in order to capture the similarities and differences between this particular type and other noun types.

3.1.2. SORT NOUNS

Sort nouns are also known as transnumeral or number-neutral in terms of their number semantics. However, there are significant differences

between this type of nouns and other noun types to which they seem to be quite similar. First, sort nouns do not directly combine with numerals. They need the obligatory presence of a specific class of words known as 'classifiers'. Consider the examples below.

(17)
(Thai)

     pèt   hâa   tua
     duck   five   clf:body
     'five ducks'

(18)

     thian   sìi   lêm
     candle   two   clf:long, pointed object
     'two candles'

As shown in (17) and (18), the numeral needs the presence of a classifier and the noun itself is not marked for number. The absence of classifiers in these cases would lead to ungrammaticality. The reason why this is the case is that sort nouns are often considered to be denoting concepts or kinds. Therefore, they cannot be quantified directly. In other words, the lexical specification of this type of nouns is not set for the feature [±Shape], and a classifier that provide individuation is necessary for quantification. This type of nouns is lexically specified for the features [-Shape, -Homogeneity] in Rijkhoff's typology of noun subtypes. This classification provides us with the explanatory power that would otherwise unavailable, since classifying nouns as transnumeral in Turkish is quite problematic and it does not help capture the distinctions between nouns that are generally considered to be transnumeral. In the next section, I look at the number agreement and disagreement issue in the verbal domain which will further provide evidence for the argument that Turkish nouns are set nouns.

4. VERBAL NUMBER (DIS-)AGREEMENT

Another piece of evidence indicating that nouns in Turkish are in fact set nouns comes from the grammatical phenomenon called 'number

discord'.[9] Rijkhoff (2002ab) argues that another distinction between singular object nouns in languages like English and set nouns in languages such as Oromo is the fact that the systematic number discord between a plural NP and a verbal element is observed with set nouns only. Number discord in languages is explained assuming that the verb may agree with the set in which case we have singular verb agreement on the verb or with the individuals in the set in which case we have plural verb agreement. Rijkhoff notes that verb agreement is always with the single set in languages such as Oromo, Georgian and Lango. Consider the examples from Oromo (19).

(19)

a.

> Gala   lamaani   sooloo   d'ak'-e.
> camel   two   market   go-3sg.past
> 'Two camels went to the market

b.

> Nama   lamma-a-ti   mana   jaara.
> man   two-lin-sep   house   build.3sg.pres
> 'Two people build the house.'

In (19a) and (19b), the verbs have singular agreement marker agreeing with the set, hence singular verb agreement. In other words, the pronominal element in the verbal complex agrees with the set and not with individuals. Thus we have singular verb agreement on the verb even though the subject NP refers to multiple entities. A similar phenomenon in Turkish was also noted in various studies (Sezer, 1978; Bamyacı, Häussler & Kabak, 2014, Özyıldız, 2017). A verb may have singular or plural agreement when the subject NP is plural and the referent is a human or humanized entity. This is illustrated below.

(20)

> Dört   aday   bura-dan   ayrıl-dı-ø.
> four   candidate   here-abl   leave-pa3st
> 'Four candidates left here.'

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[9] The terms 'discord' and 'disagreement' are used interchangeably in this work.

(21)

      Dört   aday   bura-dan   ayrıl-dı-lar.
      three   candidate   here-abl   leave-pa3st-pl
      'Four candidates left here.'

The only difference between the two structures above is the fact that whereas the verb in (20) does not have plural agreement, the one in (21) is marked with the pronominal marker, agreeing with the plural subject NP. The consensus in the earlier analyses was that in those cases in which there is no plural agreement marker on the verb, the plural subject is interpreted as a 'collective'. In contrast to that in those cases in which the verb carries the plural agreement marker, the quantity referred to by the plural subject should be interpreted as a group of 'distinct' entities (cf. Dizdaroğlu 1976, p. 68, Sezer 1978 and Gencan 1979, p. 93f).

This line of reasoning is compatible with the account proposed here in that in the former there is no plural agreement marker on the verb even though reference is made to pluralities in the subject NP. If we argue that in those instances in which the verb agrees with the set and not with the individuals, we can account for the collective reading that the subject NP is assigned. On the other hand, in the latter the plural agreement marker on the verb invokes a reading in which the reference is made to a distinct group of entities. This makes sense if we argue that the verb agrees with distinct individuals in the set. Therefore, the number (dis)agreement on the verb supports the argument that Turkish nouns are set nouns.

5. CONCLUSION

In this paper, I argued against the claims that categorize nouns as denoting concepts and kinds and Turkish as a classifier language. In addition, I provided counterevidence for arguments that there is no categorical distinction between nouns and adjectives and the former do not form a lexical category by themselves in the language. I showed several ways in which nouns and adjectives unambiguously differ from each other. Then I made a three-way distinction between nouns in Turkish, English and Chinese based on their morpho-syntactic and semantic properties. This distinction illustrated that earlier work that categorized Turkish nouns with their counterparts in other languages

with respect to number-neutrality or transnumerality did not fully capture the facts. Based on Rijkhoff (2002ab, 2008), I argued that the morpho-syntactic and semantic properties of nouns in Turkish indicate that they should be classified as set nouns in the typology of noun subtypes. I also argued that what was traditionally known as number marking in Turkish needs to be seen as nominal aspect marking, leading to the process of singularization and pluralization in the language. The characteristic of nouns also accounts for the phenomenon called number discord as it takes place with set nouns only. For future work, it is necessary to investigate further characteristics of nouns in order to better understand their nature and compare and contrast them with other noun subtypes.

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METAPHOR PROCESSING IN TURKISH: AN EYE-MOVEMENT STUDY

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Abstract: Some studies about processing metaphors, which are accepted to be a natural product of the human cognitive system, focus on the processing where some focus on online processing of metaphors. Online studies where behavioral reactions are measured during silent reading are based on various methods such as self-paced reading, eye-movement and brain imaging techniques. This research will handle processing of prototypical and peripheral concepts and metaphors with varying degrees of familiarity during silent reading. This research aims to test behavioral reactions to prototypical and peripheral concepts and familiar and unfamiliar metaphors during silent reading. In this frame, behavioral reactions during silent reading in Turkish are measured by eye-movement method trying to answer how (a) prototypical concepts are processed, (b) peripheral concepts are processed, (c) metaphors with a high degree of familiarity are processed, (d) metaphors with a low degree of familiarity are processed. To answer these questions two pilot experiments and one main experiment has been carried out with separate subjects. In the research, where the findings of behavioral experiments which

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are applied as preparation to the main experiment with SMI RED 500 Hz eye-movement device are discussed as well, it is found that peripheral concepts are processed in a longer time compared to prototypical concepts, and metaphors with a low level of familiarity are processed in a longer time compared to metaphors with a high degree of familiarity.

Key words: *Metaphor, eye-movement, fixation, silent reading, prototypical, peripheral*

TÜRKÇE METAFORLARIN İŞLEMLENMESİ: BİR GÖZ İZLEME ÇALIŞMASI

Özet: İnsanın bilişsel sisteminin doğal bir ürünü olduğu kabul edilen metaforların işlemlenmesine ilişkin çalışmaların bir kısmı, süreç-dışı yöntemlerle, bir kısmı da süreç-içi yöntemlerle metaforların nasıl işlemlendiğine odaklanmaktadır. Sessiz okuma sırasında davranışsal tepkilerin ölçüldüğü süreç-içi araştırmalar, kendi hızında okuma, göz izleme, beyin görüntüleme gibi farklı yöntemleri temel almaktadır. Bu araştırmada, sessiz okuma sırasında öntürsel ve öntürden uzak kavramlarla, farklı bilinirlik düzeylerindeki metaforların işlemlenmesi ele alınacaktır. Araştırmada, sessiz okuma sırasında öntürsel ve öntürden uzak kavramlara ve bilinirlik düzeyi yüksek olan ve olmayan metaforlara yönelik davranışsal tepkilerin sınanması amaçlanmaktadır. Bu çerçevede araştırmada, Türkçede sessiz okuma sırasında (a) öntürü temsil eden kavramların işlemlenmesi, (b) öntürden uzak kavramların işlemlenmesi, (c) bilinirlik düzeyi yüksek olan metaforların işlemlenmesi, (d) bilinirlik düzeyi düşük olan metaforların işlemlenmesi süreçlerinde göz izleme yöntemiyle ölçülen davranışsal tepkilerin neler olduğu sorularına yanıt aranmıştır. Araştırmada farklı katılımcılardan oluşan toplam üç deney gerçekleştirilmiştir. SMI RED 500 Hz göz izleme sistemiyle uygulanan deneylere hazırlayıcı olması amacıyla uygulanan davranışsal deneylerin de bulgularının tartışıldığı bu araştırmada, öntürden uzak kavramların öntürü temsil eden kavramlardan, bilinirlik düzeyi düşük olan metaforların bilinirlik düzeyi yüksek olan metaforlardan daha uzun sürede işlemlendiği sonucuna ulaşılmıştır.

Anahtar sözcükler: *Metafor, göz izleme, sabitleme, sessiz okuma, öntür, öntürden uzak*

1. INTRODUCTION

Metaphors are accepted to be a natural product of the human cognitive system (Gibbs, 1994; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). In recent years, studies on metaphor processing have become significant, some of these studies focuses on how the metaphors are processed with offline methods (Gibbs & O'Brien, 1990; Gibbs & Colston, 2012), and some focus on how they are processed with online methods (Brisard, Frisson & Sandra, 2001; Blasko & Connie, 1993; Gibbs, 1990; Frisson & Pickering, 1999). These studies directed to measuring behavioral reactions in processing metaphors are based on different experimental methods such as self-paced reading, eye tracking and brain imaging techniques and have various limitations and approaches.

This study aims to measure the processing characteristics of prototypical and peripheral literal concepts and familiar and less familiar metaphors during silent reading using eye-movement experiments.

Within this framework, answer for the following question will be searched: How are the sentences with (1) prototypical literal concepts, (2) peripheral literal concepts, (3) familiar metaphors, (4) unfamiliar metaphors processed during silent reading in Turkish? In order to answer to these research questions, the theoretical framework will firstly be introduced. Following with the presentation of the method, findings and conclusion within this framework.

Theoretical Discussion

Psycholinguistic studies on figurative language processing focus on whether literal or figurative language is being processed faster. Before we review studies on processing literal and figurative language, we need to define what we understand from these concepts.

Literal and figurative language

It is difficult to make a definition of literal and figurative language since it is difficult to show the difference between these two meaning types. In their study, Gibbs and Colston (2006) try to make a unifying definition of these terms. In traditional terms literal meaning is defined as primary, conventional meaning where figurative meaning is

defined as non-literal secondary products. Figurative meaning has different types such as metaphors, metonymy, idioms, proverbs, irony, sarcasm etc. Another feature what makes defining figurative meaning difficult is that some instances seem more literal whereas some instances such as poetic or novel metaphors seem more non-literal. Parallel to this, there are also different dimensions of literal meaning such as subject matter, conventional, context-free and truth conditional literality (Gibbs, 1994). Thus, it is really difficult to talk about a principled difference between these two terms. Instead literal and figurative meaning can be seen as different ends of a continuum.

Apart from trying to give a definition for these terms, researchers also try to find out how these meaning types are processed. Since there is no agreement on how literal meaning is processed, it is difficult to make an exact assumption on the processing of figurative language. The main question is whether literal or figurative meaning is processed first.

Various models were proposed in order to explain how non-literal meaning is processed. First studies are mainly based on literal first hypothesis, which took its roots from Grice's (1989) theory of conversational implicature. This view, which was called "standard pragmatic", is also known as Indirect Access Model. This model proposes that literal meaning is processed first. In other words, the person processing language begins from literal meaning and processing figurative meaning requires more time. A second view claims that there is not a priority during the processing of literal and figurative meaning. Instead, lexical and contextual information interacts while processing non-literal language (Gibbs, 1994, Glucksberg, 1991; 2003). The supporters of this view, which is called the Direct Access View asserts that given sufficient context people understand non-literal meanings without first analyzing the complete literal meaning of an expression (Gibbs, 2002). In other words, comprehenders do not directly have to process the literal meaning at all. More recent models and theories also aim to describe the role of context on figurative language. For instance according to "Graded Salience Hypothesis" proposed by Giora (2002), context activates figurative meaning. In addition to this as for "Underspecification Model" developed by Frisson and Pickering (2001), in any context, when the reader comes across a figurative expression, the initial

meaning, that is whether it is a literal or figurative usage, is always underspecified. (Gibbs & Colston, 2006). Apart from these, there are studies focusing on different dimensions of figurative language. For example, some researchers defend that grammatical presentation of non-literal linguistic expressions effects processing (Glucksberg & Haught, 2006; Lowder & Gordon, 2013).

These models are proposed in views of offline or online experiments. Offline studies are the ones conducted via behavioral observation techniques. These studies may focus on different kinds of figurative language such as metaphors, idioms, jokes etc. For example in their preliminary study, Gibbs and O'Brien (1990) tried to find out how idioms are comprehended with an offline study in terms of the conceptual metaphors that motivate idioms researched. Iskandar (2014) questions how novel metaphorical linguistic expressions are interpreted. In another study conducted in Turkish, Akcan & Akkök (2016) investigated how metaphorical and metonymical expressions are interpreted through an offline test.

Online studies are the ones such as self-paced reading, eye-movement, brain imaging studies, which try to measure instant processing. The discussions about how figurative language is processed are largely directed by online studies. Some of these studies focus on processing different kinds of figurative language (Blank, 1988; Giora, 2002; Schwoebel et al., 2000). Some point out to the roles of various variables such as the type or familiarity of the metaphor (Onishi & Murphy, 1993; Lemaire & Bianco, 2003; Brissard, Frisson & Sandra, 2001). Some studies investigate metaphor processing in terms of conventionality and familiarity (Gökçesu, 2009; Blasko & Connie, 1993). Some inspect the sentence structure (Lowder & Gordon, 2013) and some types of figurative elements such as idioms, metonymy and metaphor (Frisson & Pickering, 1999); and some focus on the relation between metaphor processing and embodiment (Wilson & Gibbs, 2007).

Here it seems necessary to explain what we mean by the terms metaphor and familiarity. Metaphors are products of an individual's cognitive process. Because of this, the nature of language is metaphorical (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Kövecses, 2010). Within cognitive linguistic approach, we all think and act with metaphors.

However not all metaphors have the same familiarity. Metaphors, which are a type of non-literal language, have more literal and more non-literal samples on the literal-non-literal continuum. Likewise, literal language elements have samples closer to the literal end.

This study handles the literal members in the mentioned continuum as prototypical and peripheral, and non-literal members as familiar and unfamiliar metaphors. Two pilot studies have been carried out to prepare the experimental set used in the eye tracking experiment. The experiments and their findings have been explained below.

2. EXPERIMENTS

Two pilot studies were conducted before starting the main experiment. The first pilot study aimed to determine the literal sentences, and the second pilot study was made to determine the metaphorical expressions to be used in the main experiment.

2.1. PILOT STUDY I

Twenty-two native speakers of Turkish participated in the experiment. All participants (12 female, mean age: 35.2; 10 male, mean age: 29.8) were voluntary and included in the statistical analysis processes. The first pilot study aimed to determine prototypical and peripheral members for 30 categories (see Table 1).

Table 1. Categories used in pilot study (I)

Categories				
Tree	Body part	Gun	Crime	Game
Fruit	Medicine	Dessert	Sport	Smell
Insect	Bird	Punishment	Disease	Road
Flower	Place	Structure	Food	Energy
Color	Vehicle	Instrument	Science	Cloth
Artist	Monster	Animal	Mineral	Genius

In order to find out members representing prototypical and peripheral categories, the participants were asked to write down 7 examples for each category as shown in Table 2. The test was an offline pen and paper test with no time limitation.

Table 2. Sample answers for category members in pilot study (I)

KUŞ	AĞAÇ	ORGAN	RENK
1. Serçe (sparrow)	1. Çam (pine tree)	1. Kalp (heart)	1. Mavi (blue)
2. Bülbül (warbler)	2. Palmiye (palm tree)	2. Ciğer (lung)	2. Yeşil (green)
3. Kanarya (canary)	3. Erik (plum)	3. El (hand)	3. Pembe (pink)
4. Muhabbet (conversation)	4. Manolya (magnolia)	4. Mide (stomach)	4. Kırmızı (red)
5. Papağan (parrot)	5. Selvi (cypress tree)	5. Dalak (spleen)	5. Lacivert (navy blue)
6. Leylek (stork)	6. Kavak (poplar tree)	6. Böbrek (kidney)	6. Mor (purple)
7. Güvercin (dove)	7. Ladin (spruce tree)	7. Ayak (foot)	7. Leylak (lilac)

When analyzing the data, prototypical items were selected according to the frequency of the examples written by the participants. Looking at the frequency distributions of the category members, those which are on the first or second place, and have been used by at least half of the participants, have been selected. Conversely, peripheral category members were selected from the least mentioned category members, with the condition that they should be mentioned by at least two or three participants. Some examples of prototypical and peripheral members selected for the main experiment are presented in Table 3.

Table 3. Examples of prototypical and peripheral members

Categories	Prototypical Member	Peripheral Member
Fruit	Apple (16)	Fig (4)
Flower	Daisy (16)	Dandelion (3)
Colour	Blue (14)	Fuchsia (4)
Bird	Sparrow (13)	Starling (2)
Dessert	Rice Pudding (10)	Turkish Delight (2)
Suç	Robbery (12)	Bribery (3)
Tree	Plane Tree (10)	Fir Tree (3)
Insect	Roach (11)	Turtledove (3)
Artist	Painter (10)	Writer (2)
Organ	Brain (12)	Intestine (2)
Medicine	Aspirin (9)	Penicillin (2)
Place	School (8)	Hostel (2)
Vehicle	Car (14)	Truck (4)

Categories	Prototypical Member	Peripheral Member
Monster	Dragon (8)	Frankenstein (2)
Weapon	Gun (11)	Rocket (3)
Science	Physics (15)	Genetics (3)
Punishment	Jail (10)	Eunuch (2)
Building	Building (16)	Pyramid (2)
Instrument	Guitar (16)	Harmonica (2)
Animal	Cat (19)	Bull (3)
Sports	Soccer (14)	Fencing (2)
Illness	Cold (11)	Measles (2)
Food	Meat (10)	Gravy (2)
Mine	Gold (15)	Lignite (3)
Game	Hide-and-Seek (10)	Chess (2)
Odour	Perfume (13)	Lavender (2)
Way	Highway (9)	Alley (2)
Energy	Electricity (11)	Wind (3)
Clothing	Pants (12)	Pajamas (3)
Genius	Einstein (15)	Edison (2)

2.2. PILOT STUDY II

Thirty-seven native speakers of Turkish participated in the second pilot study. All participants (20 female, mean age: 38.7; 17 male, mean age: 41.3) were voluntary and included in the statistical analysis processes.

This study aimed to select the familiar and unfamiliar metaphors regarding the 30 categories determined. In this study, six sentences including metaphorical expressions are presented in *"An A is a B"* structure. The participants were asked to rate these metaphorical expressions on a five point scale as shown in Figure 1. Three of these metaphorical expressions included concrete concepts where three included more abstract concepts as in *Arkadaş/ Öğretmen/ Baba/ Yaşam/ Demokrasi/ Mertlik ağaçtır 'A friend/ teacher/ father/ life/ democracy/ bravery is a tree'*.

Figure 1. Scale used for familiarity

The data obtained from the second pilot study was obtained by frequency measurements of the most and the least familiar metaphors. In the light of the two pilot studies, the literal and metaphoric concepts are chosen and the experimental set to be used in the main experiment has been formed in the light of this data.

2.3. EYE-MOVEMENT STUDY

2.3.1. PARTICIPANTS

Forty native Turkish participants without any neurological, hearing or language impairments were included to the eye-movement experiments. Seven of the participants were excluded from the analysis due to their various eye-movements artifacts. 33 participants (22 female, mean age: 24.69, SD= 2.82; 11 male, mean age: 29.54, SD= 12.72) were included to analysis. All participants had normal or corrected-to-normal vision and they voluntarily attended the experiments.

2.3.2. MATERIALS: STIMULUS, APPARATUS AND PROCEDURE

Our eye-movements stimuli consisted of 30 sentences with four experimental conditions as follows in Table 4: Literal prototypical (LP), literal non-prototypical (LN), metaphor familiar (MF), and metaphor unfamiliar (MU) conditions.

Table 4. Sample stimuli of conditions

Conditions	Stimuli
LN	Çınar güzel *BİR AĞAÇTIR* ve çoğu zaman sağlam kökleri vardır.
	'*Sycamore is a beautiful tree and it has usually solid roots.*'
LP	Köknar güzel *BİR AĞAÇTIR* ve çoğu zaman sağlam kökleri vardır.
	'*Fir is a beautiful tree and it has usually solid roots.*'
MF	Baba güzel *BİR AĞAÇTIR* ve çoğu zaman sağlam kökleri vardır.
	'*Father is a beautiful tree and it has usually solid roots.*'
MU	Mertlik güzel *BİR AĞAÇTIR* ve çoğu zaman sağlam kökleri vardır.
	'*Bravery is a beautiful tree and it has usually solid roots.*'

In the study, according to the results of the pilot test, 30 category members chosen for each condition were presented within the initial structure "an A is a B" as below:

*Sycamore/Fir/Farther/Bravery is a nice **tree** and it usually has solid roots.*

Here, to separate the word giving the metaphorical meaning, "tree", from the words presenting the literal or metaphorical meaning, an adjective was put between them. After the sentence, again, to separate the category member (tree) and the defining phrase, the connective 'and' and a time adverb was added.

Eye-movement experiments were recorded in SMI RED (SensoMotoric Instruments) I View-X eye tracker running at 500 Hz sampling rate. To ensure the stability during the experiments, a chin restraint was used. Stimuli presentation was prepared with the SMI Experimental Suite software. 5-point system was used for eye-gaze calibration. The eye tracker and a 1900 CRT 22-inch wide screen monitor (refresh rate of 140 Hz) were interfaced with a 3-GHz Pentium 4 PC. For each experimental block, recalibration was carried out, before the experiment began. X and Y coordinates were tried to fix at the spatial accuracy rate under of 0.5 degree.

120 sentences were presented in a randomized order in three blocks of three trials. Experiments were recorded in the Linguistics Laboratory of Ankara University Department of Linguistics. Participants were seated in front of the stimuli screen approximately 70 cm from the screen. They were instructed to look at the fixation cross point (+) on the stimuli screen to minimize the eye-movement artifacts. The black-colored fixation cross point appeared in the top-left of the screen. After participants looked at the fixation cross point, they were instructed to read silently the visual stimulus. Then, a question point appeared on the response screen. At that moment, participants judged the linguistic acceptability of the visual stimulus by selecting 'acceptable' or 'non-acceptable' options (See in Fig.2) via using a button box. There were two resting periods of three experiment blocks up to five minutes. All the experiment procedures were applied in the same order for all experiment blocks. Experiments were completed approximately 30 minutes with resting periods for one subject. All of

the subjects were informed to avoid eye-movements artifacts such as eye blinks during the experiments.
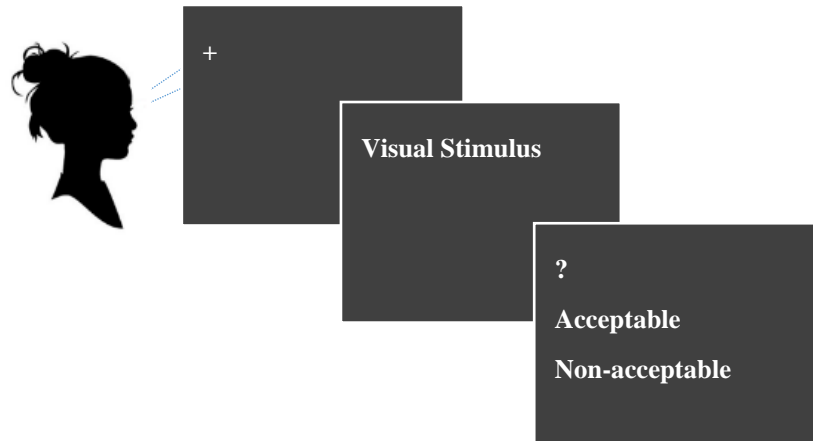
Figure 2. Stimulus design of procedure

2.3.3. DATA ANALYSIS

The lmer4 package were used for statistical data analysis in R programming (R Core Team, 2013) via *lmer()* function for eye-movement data and *glmer()* function (binomial family and logit link function) for behavioral data to fit linear mixed-effects (LME) models, with the fixed factors as *Literal* (prototypical, non-prototypical), *Metaphoric* (familiar, non-familiar). In addition to fixed factors considered in simple linear regressions, LME models account for random variation induced by items and participants. Visual inspection of residual plots did not reveal any obvious deviations from homoscedasticity or normality. P-values were obtained by likelihood ratio tests of the full model with the effect in question against the model without the effect in question. 7 of the 40 participants were discarded from the statistical data analysis due to their eye-movement artifacts.

Our AOIs were the same phrase ('bir ağaçtır') in all four conditions. Reading measurements for all the area of interest (AOIs) were analyzed in four eye-movement parameters: (a) First fixation, (b) first-pass duration, (c) second-pass duration, (d) number of regressions out of an AOI.

2.3.4. RESULTS

2.3.4.1. BEHAVIORAL RESULTS

Our results for behavioral data indicates that participants were more successful in literal responses than metaphoric ones. Correct responses were coded as number (1) and incorrect responses as number (0). The R analysis represented a boundary main effect of Literal (β= 0.773 (0.39) z= 1.952, p=0.05), small significancy for Metaphor (β= 0.338 (0.39) z= 1.062, p=0.28). However, there were a significantly important result for the interaction of Literal and Metaphor conditions (β= 3.208 (0.32) z= 9.875, p<0.001). Post hoc multiple comparisons using Bonferroni method on the LME model (*multcomp* package, Hothorn et al., 2008) indicated significant performances between *Literal* and *Metaphor* condition pairs. According to this, the pairwise analysis revealed that participants performed more successful in *Literal* (LN and LP) conditions (β= 0.877 (0.153) z= 5.719, p<0.001), than *Metaphor* (MU and MF) conditions (β= -0.245 (0.102) z= -2.398, p=0.10). While there were a remarkable significancy between LN and LP, there were any significancy between MU and MF condition pairs. Significancy results for acceptability (see in Table 5 and see in Fig.3) presented that the correct responses for Literal conditions pairs were significantly greater than Metaphor conditions pairs.

Table 5. Descriptive overview of the conditions

Conditions	Mean/SE	Standard Deviation
LN	0.844 (0.01)	0.363
LP	0.923 (0.01)	0.265
MF	0.425 (0.02)	0.494
MU	0.379 (0.02)	0.485
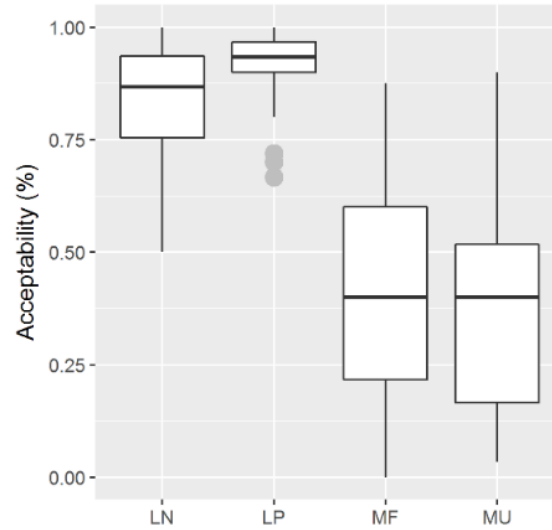
Figure 3. Acceptability rates for behavioral data

2.3.4.1. EYE-MOVEMENT DATA

To examine the effect of Literal and Metaphor on eye-movement measures, we used LME model (*multcomp* package, Hothorn et al., 2008) with post-hoc multiple comparisons tests using Bonferroni method. From this point, we pointed several fixation times on target word in our measurements as *first fixation durations*, *first pass* and *second pass durations*. As well described in Juhasz and Pollatsek (2011), the *first fixation duration* indicates the duration of the first fixation in a target word region. Accordingly, our results for *first fixation duration* on the target word displayed a significantly important finding for the total effects of literal and metaphor as seen in Table 6. Next, the *first pass duration*, which sums up the total time of the first pass processing on the target area, implies an important information for the early linguistic processes. First pass duration might also be an indicator for the initial access to critical word's meaning. As seen in Table 6, the results for first pass duration indicated significancy between condition pairs. Regarding to this, while literal conditions revealed no significancy, metaphoric knowledge indicated high difference for the main effect (β = -0.074 (0.03), t = -2.28) and the total of literal and metaphor (β = -0.125 (0.02), t = -5.92). The pairwise analysis for this significance displayed high importance between the conditions of MU (unfamiliar metaphor)

and LN (non-prototype literal) as (β = 0.130 (0.02), z = 4.694, p < 0.001); the conditions of MF (familiar metaphor) and LP (prototype literal) as (β = 0.119 (0.02), z = 4.235, p < 0.001); and for the conditions of MU and LP as (β = 0.193 (0.02), z = 6.903, p $\leq$ 0.00). There were also significancy for the pairwise analysis between MU and LP (β = 0.740 (0.02), z = 2.674, p < 0.05).

Table 6. Mean baseline values for first fixation, first pass, second pass and regression out durations on the regions

Measures	
First Fixation	
Literal non-prototype (LN)	168.59 (3.186)
Literal prototype (LP)	160.40 (2.491)
Metaphor familiar (MF)	177.02 (2.952)
Metaphor unfamiliar (MU)	187.44 (3.154)
First Pass	
Literal non-prototype (LN)	234.23 (5.075)
Literal prototype (LP)	220.49 (5.032)
Metaphor familiar (MF)	248.27 (5.457)
Metaphor unfamiliar (MU)	270.67 (5.793)
Second Pass	
Literal non-prototype (LN)	331.47 (25.771)
Literal prototype (LP)	314.30 (42.696)
Metaphor familiar (MF)	274.23 (19.653)
Metaphor unfamiliar (MU)	360.01 (29.270)
Regression Out	
Literal non-prototype (LN)	0.046 (0.008)
Literal prototype (LP)	0.034 (0.006)
Metaphor familiar (MF)	0.048 (0.008)
Metaphor unfamiliar (MU)	0.091 (0.011)

R analysis for the duration of re-fixations as *second pass duration* introduces an amount of the duration, which the participant spends a re-reading process on the target word after first-pass reading. As seen in Table 7, our results for the second pass duration showed significancy only in main effect of metaphor (β = -0.26 (0.11), t = -2.43). The pairwise analysis also supported a high significancy effect between the condition pairs of MU and MF (β = 0.274 (0.08), z = 3.366, p < 0.04).

Table 7. Linear mixed-effects models coefficients, their SEs, and corresponding t-values, for the analyses of first fixation durations, first pass and second pass durations

Measures		
First Fixation	β (SE)	*t*
(Intercept)	5.02 (0.03)	173.54
Literal	-0.03 (0.03)	-1.28
Word Length	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.96
(Intercept)	5.11 (0.02)	211.82
Metaphor	-0.05 (0.02)	-2.25
Word Length	0.01 (0.01)	0.47
(Intercept)	5.06 (0.02)	206.52
Literal & Metaphor	-0.09 (0.02)	-4.94
Word Length	-0.004 (0.01)	-0.47
First Pass		
(Intercept)	5.26 (0.04)	136.02
Literal	-0.06 (0.04)	-1.6
Word Length	0.02 (0.02)	1.23
(Intercept)	5.39 (0.03)	164.08
Metaphor	-0.07 (0.03)	-2.28
Word Length	0.03 (0.02)	1.67
(Intercept)	5.33 (0.03)	156.31
Literal & Metaphor	-0.13 (0.02)	-5.92
Word Length	0.03 (0.01)	2.25
Second Pass		
(Intercept)	5.41 (0.09)	62.28
(Intercept)	-0.17 (0.12)	-1.44
Literal	-0.01 (0.06)	-0.23
Word Length	5.45 (0.05)	104.62
(Intercept)	-0.26 (0.11)	-2.43
Metaphor	-0.002 (0.04)	-0.07
Word Length	5.47 (0.05)	105.74
(Intercept)	0.00 (0.07)	-0.04
Literal & Metaphor	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.34

The regressions include the regression time of the participant's first entering and moving out from the target word area. Regression numbers are generally sensitive for semantic integration processes. Our results for regression duration include mainly the analysis of regression out from the target word area. There were significantly important results for the main effect of both literal and metaphor conditions. According to these results, the comparison between the R results for the main effect of literal ($\beta = 0.26$ (0.29), $z = -0.9$, $p < 0.37$)

and metaphor (β = 0.69 (0.0), z = 965, p < 0.001) indicates significantly important differences as seen in Table 8. Even both of the condition pairs displayed significance; there were high difference between their significancy degrees. The pairwise analysis also indicated high significancy between conditions of MU and LN (β = 0.781 (0.19), z = 3.936, p < 0.001), MU and LP (β = -1.051 (0.21), z = 4.902, p < 0.001), MU and MF (β = 0.682 (0.19), z = 0.193, p < 0.001). These results supported the late process of metaphoric knowledge when compared to literal information.

Table 8.   Linear mixed-effects models coefficients, their SEs, and corresponding t-values, for the analyses of regressions

Measures			
Regressions Out	β (SE)	z	p
(Intercept)	-3.86 (0.27)	-14.12	<0.001
Literal	-0.26 (0.29)	-0.9	0.37
Word Length	-0.14 (0.15)	-0.96	0.337
(Intercept)	-3.17 (0.0)	-3200	<0.001
Metaphor	0.69 (0.0)	695	<0.001
Word Length	-0.04 (0.0)	42	<0.001
(Intercept)	-3.32 (0.18)	-18.52	<0.001
Literal & Metaphor	-0.61 (0.15)	-4.05	<0.001
Word Length	-0.03 (0.07)	-0.39	0.695

3. DISCUSSION

The aim of our study was to find out differences between cognitive reactions in online processing of literal and metaphoric sentences. In order to test this, we tried to find out whether prototypicality in literal sentences and degree of familiarity in metaphorical sentences effect processing time.

The overall results of the study showed that the effect in processing metaphorical sentences are higher than literal sentences. This result supports the literal first hypothesis, which means the results of the study showed that literal meaning is activated before metaphorical meaning. These results are also compatible to Brissard, Frisson & Sandra's

(2001) study conducted on Dutch literal and metaphorical sentences, which tested reaction times through a self-paced reading study.

If we remember the structure of the sentences used in our study, the Target word (T) shows whether the sentence is metaphorical or literal.

*Çınar/köknar/baba/mertlik güzel bir **ağaçtır** (Target) ve çoğu zaman sağlam kökleri vardır.*
*'Sycamore tree/fir tree/father/bravery is a fine **tree** and it usually has strong roots.'*

As we can see in the example the target word is *ağaç* 'tree' since it shows whether the sentence is metaphorical or not. The results, which show the effect in the study, are fixation duration, pass duration results and regression. Especially the results with respect to the target word show an effect on processing metaphors.

Eye-movement results show that target word in literal sentences have no effect where the target word in metaphorical sentences makes a significant effect. The findings of first fixation duration are considered as an indicator of early processing in metaphorical sentences, which means that metaphors are processed by reference to literal meaning. However, the findings of the first-pass and second-pass durations suggest an impact on both early and late processing of metaphor. The results of regressions numbers support the finding of first fixation durations and first-/second-pass durations results. According to this, the participants make regression when they encounter with metaphorical concepts when compared to literal ones. The significant effect among condition pairs proves this situation. These results indicate that the participants do not make regression out of the target word when the sentence is literal, however they do so when the sentence is metaphorical. Thus, the participants recognize a non-literal usage in the target word and make regressions. For this reason, in regressions results a significant effect is observed in especially unfamiliar sentences.

When we sum up the results in the framework of these parameters; a slight difference between LP and LN, a significant difference between MU-LN, MU-LP and MF ile MU condition pairs are observed. So prototypicality and peripherality in literal sentences don't have a sense

effect as familiarity or unfamiliarity of a metaphor. These results show the following charecteristics in line with the conceptual framework we discussed: The results show that processing slows down as the participants move from the literal end of the literal-figurative continuum to the figurative end of the continuum (See in Fig.4).
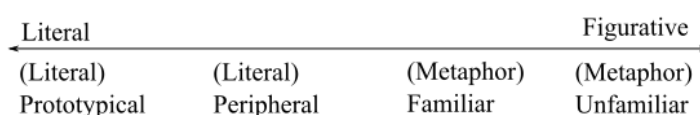
Figure 4. Literal-figurative continuum

Thus prototypical literal sentences are processed more rapidly while peripheral literal sentences are processed a little bit later than the prototypical sentences. It means that whether the sentence was prototypical or peripheral did not make a significant effect. When we analyze the metaphorical sentences, we observe that familiar metaphors are processed more rapidly than the unfamiliar ones. All these results make us think that the literal sentences are processed before metaphorical sentences. However as we discussed in the theoretical background of the study the studies on figurative language may show different results (Glucksberg, 2003; Frisson & Pickering, 2001). This brings up questions about some possible future studies.

These can be summarized in two parts: First, due to the nature of the study, and due to the tested sentence structure, the metaphors used here were novel metaphors. We question if we would obtain similar results without novel metaphors. Secondly, more interesting and easier to determine, we question if we would obtain similar results when we presented an introductory context at the beginning of the metaphorical sentences. Studies (Frisson & Pickering, 2001; Giora, 2002) show context plays an important role in processing. At this point, we are curious about how the results would be if we incorporated the effect of context. We are currently planning to make a second study and test this effect.

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5. Özetlerin sonunda 3-10 anahtar sözcük eklenmelidir. Anahtar Kelimeler ve Key Words çalışmaya uygun, açık ifadeli ve ilk harfleri büyük olacak şekilde 10 punto ile italik yazılmalıdır.

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8. Yazılarda; **Kağıt boyutu**: A4, sayfa yapısı **Alt**: 5.5 cm, **Üst**: 5.5 cm, **Sol**: 5.0 cm, **Sağ**: 5.0 cm. **Yazı tipi**: Times New Roman, **Punto**: 11 **Satır Aralığı**: En az, Değer: 0 nk, önce: 3 nk, sonra 3 nk olacak şekilde; **Kenar ayarı**: iki yana yaslanmış (full justified) olarak ayarlanmalıdır.

9. Makalelere sayfa numarası verilmelidir.

10. Makalelerde bölümler aşağıdaki şekilde düzenlenmelidir.

   - Öz

- Abstract (100-150 sözcük)
- Anahtar sözcükler / Key words (3-10 sözcük)
- Giriş
- Araştırma bulguları, tartışma ve sonuçları
- Kaynaklar

11. Ana bölüm başlıkları büyük harflerle alt başlıklar ise küçük harflerle ve koyu olarak metnin sol kenarında yer alacak şekilde yazılmalıdır.

12. Giriş, Yöntem, Bulgular, Tartışma ve Sonuç ana bölümleri birbirini izleyecek şekilde (1. GİRİŞ; 2. …; ve alt bölümler 1.1, 1.2, 1.3…; 2.1, 2.2, 2,3 vb.) numaralandırılmalıdır.

13. Makaledeki tüm Tablo ve Figürler metin boyunca numaralandırılmalıdır ve Tablonun adı ilgili tablonun üstüne; Figür'ün adı ise ilgili figürin altına yazılmalıdır.

14. Makaledeki tüm örnekler numaralandırılmalıdır. Açıklamalı örnekler bir tablo içerisinde her bir sözcük ve açıklaması tablonun ayrı bir hücresine gelecek şekilde yerleştirilmelidir. Dilbilgisel açıklamalar BÜYÜK HARF ile (CAPITAL) değil KÜÇÜK BÜYÜK HARF ile (SMALL CAPS) ile yazılmalıdır.

(1) Ali   yazı-sı-nı   biz-e   gönder-iyor.

Ali- NOM   writing-POSS3SG-ACC   we-DAT   send-PR3SG

'Ali sends us his writing.'

15. Makale ile ilgili gerekli görülen açıklamalar dipnot düzenlemesi ile verilmelidir. Dipnotlar Times New Roman yazı tipinde, 10 punto, tek aralık, iki yana yaslanmış kenar ayarı yapılarak yazılmalıdır.

16. Makalede kullanılan kaynaklar alfabetik sırayla metnin sonunda verilmelidir. Kaynaklar ve metin içi göndermeler APA 6 yazım kurallarına uygun hazırlanmalıdır. Kaynağın ikinci ve üçüncü satırları 0.5 cm içeriden başlatılmalıdır.

- Metin içi gönderimlerde temel düzen yazarın soyadı ve basım yılı şeklindedir.
  Örn: (Uzun, 2002), (Uzun & Huber, 2002).

- Üç ve daha fazla yazara (yediye kadar) ilk defa metin içi gönderimde bulunurken tüm adlar kullanılır. Daha sonraki metin içi kullanımlarında "ve diğ." terimi kullanılır.

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Schiffrin, D. (1994). *Approaches to discourse*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Kitap bölümü:

Kurtoğlu, Ö. & Uçar, A. (2011). İlköğretim Türkçe ders kitapları derleminde sözvarlığı görünümleri. V. D. Günay, Ö. Fidan, B. Çetin & F. Yıldız (Haz.) içinde, *Türkçe Öğretimi Üzerine Çalışmalar* (ss. 409-420). İzmir: Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi Yayınları.

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Gu, Y. (2006). Multimodal text analysis: A corpus linguistic approach to situated discourse. *Text and Talk, 26*(2), 127-167.

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Aksan, M. & Aksan, Y. (2013, September). Multi-word units and pragmatic functions in genre specification. Paper presented at 13th IPrA Conference New Delhi, India, 08-13 September 2013.

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Işık Güler, H. & Eröz Tuğa, B. (2010). Çevriyazıda geribildirim, sesli duraklama, sessizlikler ve ünlemlerin ölçünleştirilmesi. Ç. Sağın Şimşek & Ç. Hatipoğlu (Haz.), *24. Ulusal Dilbilim Kurultayı Bildiri Kitabı*, 17-18 Mayıs 2010 (ss. 455-462). Ankara: ODTÜ Yabancı Diller Eğitimi Bölümü.

Yüksek lisans / doktora tezi:

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10. Manuscripts should be divided into sections as

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12. Section headings (Introduction, Method, Findings, Discussion and Conclusion) should be numbered consecutively (1. INTRODUCTION; 2. …). Sub-sections should be numbered consecutively within each section (1.1, 1.2, 1.3, …; 2.1, 2.2, 2,3 etc).

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14. All examples should be numbered consecutively throughout the text, using parenthesized Arabic numerals. Linguistic examples with interlinear glossing should be presented in a table, as shown below. Lexical forms should be glossed in lower case letters and grammatical categories in SMALL CAPS, not in CAPITALS.

(1)	Ali	yazı-sı-nı	biz-e	gönder-iyor.
	Ali- NOM	writing-POSS3SG-ACC	we-DAT	send-PR3SG
	'Ali sends us his writing.'			

15. Footnotes should be used only if they contain some essential explanation that does not fit in the main text and should be numbered consecutively throughout the text in superscripts. They should be 10 pt Times New Roman and full justified.

16. References should be written using APA 6 referencing both in text and for listing at the end of the paper. References should be listed in alphabetical order in the Reference section. The indentations of the following lines of a reference should be 0.5 cm.

- The basic layout to use for an in-text citation is (Author's Surname, Date of Publication).
  Ex: (Uzun, 2002), (Uzun & Huber, 2002).

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  Ex: (Uçar, Kurtoğlu & Yıldız, 2011); (Uçar et al., 2011).

- When making a direct quotation, choose the correct in-text citation format for your work, but add the page number, preceding the page number with 'p.' and a single space eg.

  Ex: (Uzun & Huber, 2002, p. 27).

- Examples of end-text citation (reference list)

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Schiffrin, D. (1994). *Approaches to discourse*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Book chapter:

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Journal article:

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Conference paper:

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