

Adjectival participles in Turkish

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Abstract

Adjectival participles have been classified either as lexical participles or phrasal participles which are then further classified as target and resultant state participles based on some syntactic and semantic diagnostics as elaborated in Kratzer (1994, 2000), Anagnostopoulou (2003), Embick (2004) for German, Greek and English respectively. In this study we present the typology of adjectival participles in Turkish and show that unlike German, Greek and English, Turkish bears distinctive morphology for the three types of participles proposed in the literature. Based on diagnostics of event-oriented manner adverb modification, the present study argues that lexical adjectival participles formed with $-(I)k$ directly attach to the root without an eventive layer as is the case in German and Greek lexical adjectival participles but phrasal adjectival participles with $-(I)ll$ and $-mlş$ morphology both have an eventive layer. A distinction is drawn for phrasal adjectival participles based on compatibility with (i) by phrases, (ii) purpose clauses and (iii) agent oriented adverbials which indicate an additional voice projection for resultant state participles with $-mlş$ morphology. We propose that phrasal adjectival participles with $-(I)ll$ denote target state participles and Asp_{TARGET} does not directly attach with the root but selects for vP projection. Phrasal adjectival participle with $-mlş$ denote resultant state participles and unlike German and similar to its Greek counterpart, $Asp_{RESULTANT}$ selects for vP and VoiceP. Additionally, phrasal participles derived from atelic activity verbs become grammatical only with $-mlş$ participles when accompanied by telic expressions with an end point. We argue that the semantics of the aspectual stativizers differ for $-(I)ll$ and $-mlş$ participles and hence we get different restrictions on formation. This study shows that Turkish provides clear evidence for the tripartite classification of adjectival participles, and differences can be captured through different internal structures in syntax and semantic differences between the aspectual heads.

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1. Introduction

Investigation of adjectival participles has been an intriguing issue as adjectival-stative participles have distinctive properties from underived adjectives and verbal-eventive participles with which they can share the same morphology as in English. In German and Greek, adjectival passives and verbal passives bear distinct morphology as exemplified in (1a-b) for German. Adjectival passives are used with the auxiliary 'sein'; verbal passives are used with the auxiliary 'werden'.

Abbreviations: ABL, ablative; ACC, accusative; AGR, agreement; AOR, aorist; AUX, auxiliary; ASP, aspect; CAUS, causative; CM, compound marker; DAT, dative; GEN, genitive; FUT, future; INST, instrumental; LOC, locative; NEG, negation; NOM, nominative; NOML, nominalizer; PASS, passive; PAST, past tense; PERF, perfective; PL, plural; POSS, possessive; PROG, progressive; PRS, person; PTPL, participle; REF, reflexive; SG, singular; VERBL, verbalizer; VOICE, voice; QP, question particle.

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- (1) a. Das Theorem ist bewiesen. *Adjectival passive*
The theorem is proven.
b. Das Theorem ist bewiesen worden. *Verbal passive, perfect*
The theorem is proven gotten
The theorem has been proven. (Kratzer, 2000, 5)

For German adjectival participles, Kratzer (2000) makes a two way distinction as lexical and phrasal adjectival participles. Phrasal adjectival participles denote states resulting from prior events while lexical adjectival participles denote characteristic states. Phrasal adjectival participles are further analyzed as target state participles denoting reversible states and hence compatible with the adverbial *immer noch* 'still' as in (2a), and resultant state participles denoting irreversible states which are incompatible with the same adverbial as illustrated in (2b).

- (2) a. Die Geisslein sind immer noch versteckt.
The little goats are still hidden.
b. Das Theorem ist (*immer noch) bewiesen.
The theorem is (*still) proven. (Kratzer, 2000, 2)

Anagnostopoulou (2003) makes a three way distinction for Greek adjectival participles as (i) lexical adjectival, (ii) target state and (iii) resultant state participles. Lexical adjectival participles surface with the suffix *-tos* while both types of phrasal adjectival participles surface with the suffix *-menos*. In Greek, both target state and resultant state participles have an event implication. Additionally, implicit external argument implication is allowed with resultant state participles as illustrated in (3) below with the compatibility of *-menos* participle with a *by-phrase* (Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou, 2008).

- (3) Ta keftedakia ine tiganis-men-a apo tin Maria
the meatballs are fried by the Mary
'The meatballs are fried by Mary.'

Embick (2004) also makes a three-way distinction for English as (i) eventive passives, (ii) resultative and (iii) stative participles.

- (4) The door was opened.
a. *Eventive passive*
Someone opened the door.
b. *Resultative*
The door was in a state of having become open.
(5) The door was open.
c. *Stative* (Embick, 2004, 1)

Embick (2004) claims that resultative participles include a verbalizing head which states lack. The presence of *v*, eventive layer, makes adverbial modification possible in resultatives.

Turkish adjectival participles can bear *-(l)k*, *-(l)ll* and *-mıŝ* morphology as illustrated in the following examples.¹

- (6) a. aç-ık
open-PTPL
'open'
yırt-ık
tear-PTPL
'torn'

¹ The suffixes used in the participial formation can surface in the following forms due to vowel harmony in Turkish:

-(l)k: -ık, -ik, -uk, -ük *-(l)ll*: -ılı, -ili, -ulu, -ülü
-mıŝ: -mıŝ, -miŝ, -muŝ, -müŝ *-(l)l/-(l)n*: -il, -ül, -ul, -in, -in-, -un, -ün -n

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