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COMPOUND PSYCH CONSTRUCTIONS IN TURKISH

Türkçede Duygu Durumu Bildiren Bileşik Yapılar

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Özet: Bouchard (1995), bir dilde duygu durumlarının dilsel yansımaları bağlamında, yalnızca duygu durumu ad ve eylemlerinin değil, *duygu durumu yapıları* olarak adlandırılacak tüm yapıların incelenmesi gerektiğini söyler. Türkçede duygu durumu, sözcüksel yapıların yanı sıra bileşik yapılarla da ifade edilir. Çalışmada Türkçede duygu durumu bildirme işlevi olan bileşik yapılar iki açıdan incelenmektedir;

1. bileşenlerinin yapısal özelliklerine göre
2. İbe (2004)'de önerilen, Türkçede duygu durumu eylemleri sınıfları ile ilişkisine göre

Çözümleme göstermektedir ki, Türkçede bileşik duygu durumu yapıları, eylemsel yapıların oluşturduğu sınıflandırmaya yeni sınıfların eklenmesini gerekli kılmaktadır.

Anahtar sözcükler: *Sözcük anlambilimi, eylem anlambilimi.*

Abstract: Bouchard (1995) argues that it is not only the psychological nouns and verbs but also the *psychological constructions* in their all forms are subject to analysis as the linguistic manifestations of psychological states in a language. In Turkish, psychological states can be expressed with compound forms as well as by lexical means. The paper analyzes compound constructions in Turkish which have psych meanings from two different points of view;

1. according to the structural properties of their components
2. according to their relation with psychological verb types in Turkish proposed in İbe (2004).

The analysis shows that compound psych constructions in Turkish form distinct classes which require that the above mentioned classification should be revised in the proposed way in order to cover the psychological constructions other than the verbal ones.

Key words: *Argument structure, lexical semantics, verb semantics.*

1. INTRODUCTION

According to the Universal Alignment Hypothesis of Permuter & Postal (1983) *there exists principles of UG that predict the structural relations between items from the thematic relations holding between them at the level of D-structure* and according to the UTAH principle of Baker (1988) *identical thematic relationships between items are represented by identical structural relationships between those items at the level of D-structure*. A group of psychological verbs constitute a kind of problematic area for the mentioned linking or mapping rules. There are a significant number of studies about *psych verbs* about these linking rules and the problems that a group of these verbs pose. A small group of psychological verbs map their Experiencer argument onto the object position with accusative case marking as opposed to a relatively bigger group of other psychological verbs which map the Experiencer onto subject position with nominative case marking. There are different explanations proposed for this so-called problematic situation. Among the most significant are Belletti and Rizzi (1988), Pesetsky (1995) and Grimshaw (1990).

İbe (2004) proposes an original classification for Turkish psych verbs based on the thematic roles, the case marking and the syntactic position of their arguments. According to this classification, all the verbs which have psychological meanings in Turkish should be one of the following four groups.

Table 1. İbe (2004): Psychological verb classes in Turkish

TYPE	SUBJECT	OBJECT	SAMPLE SENTENCE
1	Experiencer (NOM.)	Theme (ACC.)	Ali Ayşe'yi seviyor/ beğeniyor. Ali loves/ likes Ayşe.
2	Theme (NOM.)	Experiencer (ACC.)	Ali Ayşe'yi üzüyor/ etkiliyor. Ali made Ayşe upset. / Ali influenced Ayşe.
3	Experiencer (NOM.)	Theme (OBL.)	
3a	Experiencer (NOM.)	Theme (DAT.)	Ali Ayşe'ye inanıyor/ güveniyor. Ali believes/ trusts Ayşe.
3b	Experiencer (NOM.)	Theme (ABL.)	Ali Ayşe'den tiksiniyor/ utanıyor. Ali is disgusted with Ayşe./ Ali is ashamed of Ayşe.
4	Experiencer (NOM.)	Ø	Ali afalladı/ coştı. Ali is astonished./ Ali got enthusiastic.

In the following sections of the paper, the compound constructions which have psychological meanings will be analyzed with reference to the classification proposed in İbe (2004)

2. DATA COLLECTION TECHNIQUES AND LIMITATIONS

One way of creating a database of Turkish psych constructions would be to use only the translations of the psych verbs listed in another source such as Levin (1993) that would require the use of a bilingual dictionary which presupposes that there is a one to one correspondence between the senses of the two entries.¹ Moreover, that would mean only a few number of Turkish translations out of a huge number of English psych verbs because:

1. The Dictionary of Turkish Language Institute does not give the meaning nuances among distinct English psych verbs (for instance for *like, love, adore, admire, hate, loathe, detest*; there were translations like *sev-, az sev-, çok sev-, sevme-, nefret et-, şiddetle nefret et-, çok nefret et -* with degree adverbials etc.)
2. The Turkish translations in the Dictionary of Turkish Language Institute were mostly Arabic or Persian.
3. The compound psych uses whose numbers are as much as the number of psych verbs in Turkish are not listed as separate entries in the dictionary.

For all these reasons, a bilingual dictionary is both an insufficient and a problematic source for such a lexical study. Therefore, to examine the monolingual dictionary through a set of specified criteria would be

1. Wierzbicka and Harkins (2001) claim that there are some shared elements of meaning or emotional primitives across languages. These are regarded as universal concepts which can be understood by outsiders as well as the members of that society just like a “universal alphabet of human thoughts” (12). However, some languages express psychological states with elaborate distinctions which other languages do not even name. Detailed descriptions of psychological states and linguistic realizations of these states in some languages and their absence in some other languages has been a focus of attention in many areas of linguistics such as lexical semantics, cognitive semantics and even cultural semantics.

more logical than adopting a translational approach.²

Through the examination of the Dictionary of Turkish Language Institute (1988), İbe (2004) identifies four hundred psych verbs in Turkish. Apart from lexical psych verb forms, Turkish has a significant number of compound psych verbs. These are the compound forms which are mostly constituted of a noun, adjective, a verb or a pronominal plus a helping or a light verb:

- A compound psych construction= A verb/ noun/ adjective/ pronominal + A helping/ light verb

The selection of the compound forms in the data is limited with the same criteria which make a verb a *psych* verb which are;

- being semantically related to either of the *mental* or *emotional* domains,
- having an Experiencer argument who experiences the *mental* or *emotional* state.

The following two sections examine these compound constructions which have psychological meanings; (1) according to their components and (2) according to their comparison to the lexical psychological verbs.

3. ANALYSIS of the DATA

3. 1. Components of Compound Psych Constructions

In the Dictionary of Turkish Language Institute, there are 92 helping verbs which can be used in a compound psych construction the most often used of which are; *et-*, *ver-*, *duy-*, *kal-*, *ol-*, *çek-*, *düş-*, *kapıl-*, *gel-*, *al-*, *git-*, *besle-*, *göster-*, *kır-*, *bırak-*, *çıkar-*, *dön-*, *düşür-* and *kaçır-*.

3. 1. 1. Those which have nominal components

Most of the compound forms have nominal components. These nominals are almost always nouns which have psych senses. According to the case marking of the nominal, the helping verb can be combined either:

² Hornby (1983) in the analysis of emotional verbs in German and English observes that two emotional verbs which seem to be the translations of each other in German and English, apart from their pragmatic value (being more formal, informal or neutral) also differ in their semantic decompositional values.

1. with a nominative psych nominal: *ümit bağla-*, *nefret besle-*, *acı çek-*, *gurur/ ilgi/ istek/ utanç duy-*, *arzu/ endişe/ heves et-*, *bunalım geçir-*, *fenalık gel-*, *ilgi göster-*, *heyecan ver-*, *ilgi/ nefret uyandır-*, *baskı/ şımarıklık yap-*...

2. with a dative marked psych nominal: *üstüne/ ciddiye al-*, *aşka/ bunalıma düş-*, *garibine/ hoşuna git-*, *heyecana/ telaşa kapıl-*, *şaşkınlığa uğra-*, *farkına/ ayırımına var-*...

3. with an ablative marked psych nominal: *baştan/ çileden/ zıvanadan çıkar-*...

4. with a genitive marked psych nominal: in which the possessive argument can be either in the subject or in the object position in the sentence; *gönlünü al-*, *aklına gel-*, *gücüne/ hoşuna git-*, *keyfini kaçır-*, *gururunu kır-*, *canını sık-*, *bilincine var-*, *sabrını taşı-*, *özlemini çek-*...

Most of the time, the possessive nominal is a *body part* noun which corresponds to mostly used body part nouns in psych constructions in other languages which demonstrates that human conceptualization of emotions are similar cross linguistically.³

They refer to either parts of human body like; *dudak, göz, göğüs, kalp, kafa, sinir, surat, tepe, yürek*... or more abstract concepts accepted as possessed by human beings like; *akıl, can, cesaret, gönül, hafıza, iç*...⁴

Among these four types of compound psych constructions with 3 Franklin (1992:4) lists eleven points in terms of why body part nouns constitute a productive area for a lexicographic study.

Ontological: Meaning, imagination, and reason are closely tied to our personal experience and have a bodily basis.

Experiential: Pain and emotions radiate from within us or from actual impairment to the body; hence the *heart, liver, brain*, etc. are used to describe these feelings.

Metaphorical: We lexicalize the expressions by means of body-parts.

Spatial: These are spatial metaphors, such as *face-off, backslide*, and so on.

Symbolic: These are actualized by means of a physical process: we shake *hands* on something, nod our *head* that it is OK, wave with our *hand* to acknowledge or dismiss, and so on.

Poetic: The human body is a base point of departure and a source of meaning, serving as an icon, model or reference point for imaging and providing spatial categories (Friedrich 1979:499).

Extensional: Each body part is connected to another and parts of the sets are copied to other domains as well.

4 For a further analysis of a “cultural key word” like *gönül*, see Ruhi (2002). Her cultural linguistic analysis focuses on idiomatic expressions including *gönül*. The analysis shows that *gönül, hatır* and *can* in Turkish constitute a semantic pattern in an idealized cognitive model.

nominal components, semantically, some nominals are psych nouns i.e. they have psych meanings like *acı*, *arzu*, *duygu*, *endişe*, *gurur*, *heyecan*, *ilgi*, *istek*, *özlem*, *sevda*, *sevgi*, *telaş*, *utanç*, *üzüntü*, *zevk*... and some others do not have psych meanings including all of the *body part* nouns.

3. 1. 2. Those which have adjectival components

A number of compound psych constructions have adjectival components. These adjectives are always modifiers of the Experiencer argument; *çekingen/ utangaç* davran-, *çılığına/ şaşkına* dön-, *huzursuz/ memnun/ mutlu/ rezil* et-, *tedirgin/ mutlu/ aşık/ hayran/ pişman* ol-, *deliye* dön-, *aşağı/ küçük* gör-, *memnun* kal-...

3. 1. 3. Those which have verbal components

A few number of helping verbs are compounded with another verb with –Ip. These compound psych constructions have stronger psych meanings compared to their lexical counterparts as can be seen in pairs like *dalıp git* vs. *dal/ dalgınlaş*, *unutup git* vs. *unut/ unutkanlaş*, *donup kal* vs. *don/ donuklaş*, *şaşırtıp kal* vs. *şaşır/ şaşkınlaş ...*⁵

3. 1. 4. Those which have pronominal components

The reflexive pronoun *kendi* can be combined with the following helping verbs resulting in compound psych constructions with a reflexive meaning like *kendini beğen-*, *kendinden geç-*, *kendini kaptır-*, *kendini ye-*, *kendini birşey zannet-*...

⁵ Aksan and Aksan (2005) propose the following table for some aspectual features of *descriptive verbs* like *ver-*, *git-*, *dur-* and *kal-*. Aspectual values of such verbs seem to add to the meaning of compound psych constructions if they take one of them as their verbal components.

Descriptive verb	Internal temporal structure	Aspectual values	Agency	Manner
<i>ver-</i>	[+] telic, punctual	change, natural boundary, implicit boundary	[+/-] control	easiness, unexpectedness
<i>git-</i>	[+/-] telic, punctual, progressive	change, natural boundary, progressiveness	[+/-] control	decisiveness, unexpectedness
<i>dur-</i>	[-] telic, progressive	Progressiveness, iterativity	[+] control	regularity
<i>kal-</i>	[+/-] telic, progressive	Opposed to change and natural telicity	[-] control	unexpectedness, singularity

Among these four groups of compound psych constructions, with respect to their components, some helping verbs have psychological meanings on their own and some do not.⁶ For instance *alın-*, *beğen-*, *çatla-*, *çek-*, *dal-*, *duy-*, *incit-*, *iste-*, *kaptır-*, *kapıl-*, *korkut-*, *sarsıl-*, *sık-*, *sıkıl-*, *tutul-* have psych meanings even without their components. However, such verbs like *asıl-*, *besle-*, *bırak-*, *çık-*, *değiştir-*, *dön-*, *düş-*, *geç-*, *git-*, *göster-*, *güt-*, *kal-*, *kes-*, *otur-*, *saç-*, *-sal-* and *ye-* gain their psych meanings after the combination of mostly a psych (or sometimes a non psych) nominal.

3. 2. Psych Verb Types and Compound Psych Constructions

Four classes in Table 1 proposed for psych verbs in Turkish need to be revised in order to cover the patterns that compound psych forms display.

The argument structure of compound forms display the same pattern with the argument structure of their non-psych counterpart helping verbs which demonstrates that these forms are results of an incorporation process that incorporates either the Theme or the Goal argument.

When their psych senses are examined, compound psych constructions either:

- have the same thematic role distributions with psych verb classes
- add new subclasses to the existing psych verb classes

3. 2. 1. Compound psych constructions which have the same thematic role distributions with psych verb classes

Most of the compound psych constructions correspond to one of the four identified psych verb classes in Turkish.

3. 2. 1. 1. Type 1 compound psych constructions

These transitive compound forms -just like Type 1 psych verbs- have nominative Experiencer subjects and accusative Theme objects:

Table 2 Type 1 psych verbs

Type	Subject	Object
1	Experiencer (NOM)	Theme (ACC)

⁶ Derived verbs in the data constitute a larger group compared to the root ones. A considerable number of these verbs are derived with voice suffixes. However, properties of *voice* are not analyzed in this respect.

Table 3 Type 1 compound psych forms

Type	Compound Form		Sample Sentence
	Component	Helping Verb	
1	ciddiye	al-	Ali Ayşe'yi ciddiye almıyor. Experiencer Theme (NOM) (ACC)
1	arzu	et-	Ali bu işi çok arzu ediyor.
1	dert	et-	Ali herşeyi dert ediyor.
1	hayal	et-	Ali Ayşe'yi hayal ediyor.
1	merak	et-	Ali Ayşe'yi merak ediyor.
1	unutup	git-	Ali Ayşe'yi unutup gifti.
1	aşağı	gör-	Ali herkesi aşağı görüyor.
1	küçük	gör-	Ali herkesi küçük görüyor.

3. 2. 1. 2. Type 2 compound psych constructions

As it is the case with Type 2 psych verbs, some transitive compound psych constructions have accusative Experiencer objects and nominative Theme subjects. The helping verb has almost always a causative meaning:

Table 4 Type 2 psych verbs

Type	Subject	Object
2	Theme (NOM)	Experiencer (ACC)

Table 5 Type 2 compound psych forms

Type	Compound Form		Sample Sentence
	Component	Helping Verb	
2	hayran	birak-	Ali herkesi hayran bıraktı. Theme Experiencer (NOM) (ACC)
2	şaşkına	çevir-	Ali ailesini şaşkına çevirdi.
2	çileden	çikar-	Ali Ayşe'yi çileden çıkarıyor.
2	baştan	çikar-	Ali Ayşe'yi baştan çıkardı.
2	dehşete	düşür-	Ali herkesi dehşete düşürdü.
2	mutlu	et-	Ali Ayşe'yi çok mutlu ediyor.
2	tedirgin	et-	Ali Ayşe'yi çok tedirgin etti.
2	memnun	et-	Ali Ayşe'yi memnun etti.
2	heyecana	getir-	Ali Ayşe'yi heyecana getirdi.
2	huzura	kavuştur-	Ali Ayşe'yi huzura kavuşturdu.

3. 2. 1. 3. Type 3a compound psych constructions

Some intransitive compound psych constructions have dative Themes just like Type 3a psych verbs:

Table 6 Type 3a psych verbs

Type	Subject	Object
3a	Experiencer (NOM)	Theme (DAT)

Table 7 Type 3a compound psych verbs

Type	Compound Form		Sample Sentence
	Component	Helping Verb	
3a	ümit	bağla-	Ali bu işe ümit bağladı. Experiencer Theme (NOM) (DAT)
3a	kin	besle-	Ali Ayşe'ye kin besliyor.
3a	hayranlık	duy-	Ali Ayşe'ye hayranlık duyuyor.
3a	özlem	duy-	Ali Ayşe'ye özlem duyuyor.
3a	hayret	et-	Ali Ayşe'ye hayret etti.
3a	ilgi	göster-	Ali Ayşe'ye ilgi göstermedi.
3a	hayran	ol-	Ali Ayşe'ye hayran oldu.
3a	pışman	ol-	Ali sözlerine pışman oldu.
3a	aşık	ol-	Ali Ayşe'ye aşık oldu.
3a	gönül	ver-	Ali Ayşe'ye gönül verdi.

3. 2. 1. 4. Type 3b compound psych constructions

Another intransitive group of compound psych constructions have ablative Theme objects:

Table 8 Type 3b psych verbs

Type	Subject	Object
3b	Experiencer (NOM)	Theme (ABL)

Table 9 Type 3b compound psych constructions

Type	Compound Form		Sample Sentence
	Component	Helping Verb	
3b	haz	al-	Ali bu işten haz alıyor. Experiencer Theme (NOM) (ABL)
3b	zevk	al-	Ali yemekten zevk alıyor.
3b	cesaret	bul-	Ali Ayşe'den cesaret buldu.
3b	endişe	duy-	Ali bu hastalıktan endişe duydu.
3b	pışmanlık	duy-	Ali sözlerinden pışmanlık duydu.
3b	üzüntü	duy-	Ali bu kaygıdan üzüntü duydu.
3b	utanc	duy-	Ali sözlerinden utanc duydu.
3b	şüph	et-	Ali Ayşe'den şüph etti.
3b	ümit	kes-	Ali Ayşe'den ümidi kesti.
3b	tedirgin	ol-	Ali bu sestten tedirgin oldu.

3. 2. 1. 5. Type 4 compound psych constructions

The last group of intransitive compound psych constructions has only Experiencer subjects. These constructions usually but not necessarily require the existence of an adverbial support (temporal, reason, degree etc.):

Table 10 Type 4 psych verbs

Type	Subject	Object
4	Experiencer (NOM)	∅

Table 11 Type 4 compound psych constructions

Type	Compound Form Component	Helping Verb	Sample Sentence
4	acı	çek-	Ali (çok) acı çekiyor. Experiencer (NOM)
4	çığına	dön-	Ali (bunu duyunca) çığına döndü.
4	şüpheye	düş-	Ali (bunu duyunca) şüpheye düştü.
4	dalıp	gıt-	Ali (arasıra) dalıp gidiyor.
4	heşete	kapıl-	Ali (bunu duyunca) heşete kapıldı.
4	ümitsizliğe	kapıl-	Ali (bunu duyunca) ümitsizliğe kapıldı.
4	altüst	ol-	Ali (Ayşe'nin ölümüyle) altüst oldu.
4	kendini	ye-	Ali (sürekli) kendini yiyor.

3. 2. 2. Compound psych constructions which add new subclasses to the existing psych verb classes

Compound psych constructions which had been exemplified so far were the ones which correspond to psych verb types in Turkish in terms of the thematic role distribution and the case marking of arguments.

A significant number of compound psych constructions are different variations of the same thematic roles and case marking of the arguments of Type 2 and type 4 psych verbs:

3. 2. 2. 1. Type 2a as a variant of Type 2

The Experiencer of Type 2a verbs is in the object position similar to Type 2 but it is dative marked not accusative as opposed to Type 2:

Table 12 Type 2a psych verbs

Type	Subject	Object
2a	Theme (NOM)	Experiencer (DAT)

Table 13 Type 2a compound psych constructions

Type	Compound Form Component	Helping Verb	Sample Sentence
2a	korku	saç-	Ali etrafa korku saçıyor. Theme Experiencer (NOM) (DAT)
2a	endişe	ver-	Ali ailesine endişe veriyor.
2a	sıkıntı	ver-	Ali Ayşe'ye sıkıntı verdi.
2a	kaygı	ver-	Ali Ayşe'ye kaygı veriyor.
2a	başkı	yap-	Ali Ayşe'ye başkı yapıyor.

3. 2. 2. 2. Type 2b as a variant of Type 2

Type 2b has also an Experiencer Theme but this time it is locative marked related to which we have only one example helping verb found in the data; *uyandır-*.

Table 14 Type 2b psych verbs

Type	Subject	Object
2b	Theme (NOM)	Experiencer (LOC)

Table 15 Type 2b compound psych constructions

Type	Compound Form		Sample Sentence
	Component	Helping Verb	
2b	ilgi	uyandır-	Bu konu Ayşe'de ilgi uyandırıyor. Theme Experiencer (NOM) (LOC)
2b	merak	uyandır-	Bu konu Ayşe'de merak uyandırıyor
2b	nefret	uyandır-	Ali Ayşe'de nefret uyandırıyor.

3. 2. 2. 3. Type 4a as a variant of Type 2

Type 4a has only an Experiencer subject similar to Type 4 however, it is not nominative but dative marked:

Table 16 Type 4a psych verbs

Type	Subject	Object
4a	Experiencer (DAT)	Ø

Table 17 Type 4a compound psych constructions

Type	Compound Form		Sample Sentence
	Component	Helping Verb	
4a	daral	gel-	Ali'ye daral geldi. Experiencer (NOM)
4a	fenalık	gel-	Ali'ye fenalık geldi.
4a	sıkıntı	gel-	Ali'ye sıkıntı geldi.
4a	sınır	gel-	Ali'ye sınır geldi.

Apart from these classes, in some psych compounds, the mentioned psych event seems to be experienced not only by the Experiencer but also by the mentioned part of that Experiencer. Therefore the psych event seems to affect only that part of the Experiencer partially. Thus, both the possessive nominal and the genitive Experiencer are regarded as the Experiencer as a whole:

(1) Ali Ayşe'nin gönlünü aldı/kafasını kızdırdı/canını sıktı/kalbini kırdı/gözünü korkuttu.

THEME EXPERIENCER

Lastly, less than a half of the compound psych constructions in Turkish have also lexical counterparts. The semantic comparison between the compound and the lexical form of the expression of a psychological state shows that either of the following situations emerges:

- both forms may express the same content as in *üzül/ üzüntü duy, sevin/ sevinç duy, endişelendir/ endişe ver, ilgilen/ ilgi göster...*
- compound form may express a stronger degree of psychological

affectedness according to the semantic content of the other component as in *şaşırt vs. şaşkına çevir; üzül vs. üzüntüye boğul, korkut vs. korku saç...*

4. CONCLUSION

The paper aimed to analyze compound psych constructions which is a very productive way of expressing psychological states in Turkish parallel to Bouchard (1995) who suggests that *psychological construction* is a cover term under which psych verbs constitute a sub group.

The analysis has focused on two aspects; the structural properties of their components and their interaction with mentioned psych verb types. It has observed that some compound psych constructions form distinct classes which should be added to the existing classification of psych verbs as the following table illustrates.

Table 18 Pysch constructions in Turkish

TYPE	SUBJECT	OBJECT	TYPE
1	Experiencer (NOM)	Theme (ACC)	Lexical
1a	Experiencer (GEN)	Theme (ACC)	Compound
2	Theme (NOM)	Experiencer (ACC)	Lexical
2a	Theme (NOM)	Experiencer (DAT)	Compound
2b	Theme (NOM)	Experiencer (LOC)	Compound
2c	Theme (NOM)	Experiencer (GEN)	Compound
3a	Experiencer (NOM)	Theme (DAT)	Lexical
3b	Experiencer (NOM)	Theme (ABL)	Lexical
3c	Experiencer (NOM)	Theme (LOC)	Lexical
3d	Experiencer (NOM)	Theme (INST)	Lexical
4	Experiencer (NOM)	Ø	Lexical
4a	Experiencer (DAT)	Ø	Compound
4b	Experiencer (GEN)	Ø	Compound
5	Experiencer (GEN)	Theme (DAT)	Compound
6	Experiencer (NOM)	Theme (GEN)	Compound

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