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CONTENTS

Chapter 1

INSIGHTS INTO TRANSLANGUAGING

Sibel TOKSÖZ / 1

Chapter 2

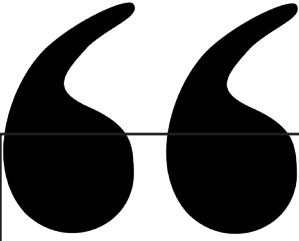
THREE TRADITIONS OF THE ENGLISH SONNET

Volha KORBUT SALMAN / 17

Chapter 3

EXPLORING ASPECTUAL AND PRAGMATIC BEHAVIOURS OF THE TURKISH BODILY SEMELFACTIVE GEĞİR- (BURP) IN THE CORPUS

M. Fatih ADIGÜZEL / 35



Chapter 1

INSIGHTS INTO TRANSLANGUAGING

Sibel TOKSÖZ¹

¹ Instructor, Kahramanmaraş İstiklal University, Department of Common Lessons, siblbayr@gmail.com, ORCID: 0000-0002-3782-7891

Introduction

The term “translanguaging”, originated from the Welsh term “trawsieithu,” was coined by Williams in 1994 (Conteh, 2018; Vogel & Garica, 2017; Otheguy, García, & Reid, 2015; Lin, 2017). Initially referred to as “translinguifying” in English, it gained broader recognition when Baker (2001) translated and popularized it as “translanguaging” (Erdin & Sali, 2020; Vogel & Garcia, 2017). By the end of the first decade of the 21st century, the concept of translanguaging underwent significant expansion beyond its original Welsh context through three influential publications. Garcia’s (2009) “Bilingual Education in the 21st Century: A Global Approach” played a crucial role in this transformation. Additionally, Blackledge and Creese (2010) contributed to this evolution with an article in *The Modern Language Journal*, and a book titled “Multilingualism: A Critical Perspective” (Blackledge & Creese, 2010). After these works, other scholarly contributions on translanguaging emerged.

Scholars advocating it strongly defined the term in different words. Baker (2011) defined translanguaging as “the process of making meaning, shaping experiences, gaining understanding and knowledge through the use of two languages” (p. 288). According to Garcia (2009) translanguaging is “the act performed by bilinguals of accessing different linguistic features or various modes of what are described as autonomous languages, to maximize communicative potential” (p. 140). Another major proponent of translanguaging, Canagarajah (2011), defined it as “the ability of multilingual speakers to shuttle between languages, treating the diverse languages that form their repertoire as an integrated system” (p. 401). Moreover, Baker (2011) explained the term as “to read and discuss a topic in one language, and then to write about it in another language, which means that the subject matter has to be processed and “digested” (p. 289).

Translanguaging is just one among several competing terms used to convey the heteroglossia inherent in language, as articulated by Bakhtin (1981). Other terms such as *polylingualism* (Jørgensen, 2008), *metrolingualism* (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2015), and *translingual practices* (Canagarajah, 2013) have been proposed to convey the idea that languages are dynamic resources within social, cultural, political, and historical contexts (Blommaert, 2010). Translanguaging shares many similarities with these alternative terms. MacSwan (2017) suggests that the concept emerged as a novel idea in the field of bilingual education. Similarly, Duarte (2018) contends that it was introduced as a mechanism facilitating the utilization of multiple languages in multilingual educational settings.

Translanguaging involves navigating not only between diverse linguistic structures, systems, and modalities but also surpassing their conventional boundaries (Li, 2011). Li’s (2011) concept of translanguaging encompasses

both creativity, which involves adhering to or challenging language usage norms, and criticality, which entails utilizing evidence to question, problematize, or express viewpoints. Vogel and Garcia (2017) also affirm that translanguaging offers a unique theoretical perspective on the phenomena of bi- and multilingualism. To Lin (2017) it encompasses the intricate and flexible language behaviors of bilingual individuals, along with the teaching methods that utilize and capitalize on these practices.

Translanguaging, Code-switching, and Code mixing

Some scholars have debated whether translanguaging is necessary when concepts like code mixing and code switching already address the use of multiple languages. Code mixing is described as the use of two languages to create a new code, incorporating elements from both languages into a structurally definable pattern (Maschler, 1998, p. 125). While the terms code mixing and code switching are often used interchangeably, there are distinctions. Code-switching is intentional and used to communicate clearly, whereas code-mixing occurs when individuals struggle to convey their meaning and switch between codes. Code-switching involves using more than one language intersententially (Cook, 2001).

Initially, code-switching was not widely accepted in mainstream language classrooms, where the focus was on the language learners were acquiring. However, researchers have observed that educators frequently employ code-switching to ensure students comprehend lessons delivered in a colonial or dominant language. Arthur and Martin (2006) highlight the concept of the ‘pedagogic validity of code-switching’ in instances where students face difficulty understanding the material. It has been recognized that teachers benefit from code-switching for various functions. Despite the acknowledgment of code-switching as a common pragmatic strategy, it is seldom officially supported or academically justified (Creese and Blackledge, 2010).

In Garcia’s earlier work (2009), code-switching was considered a practice that could be encompassed within the broader concept of translanguaging. However, in subsequent works (García & Li Wei, 2014; Otheguy, García, & Reid, 2015), a shift occurred, revealing an epistemological misalignment between the two concepts. While code-switching was observed to uphold named language categories intact, translanguaging theory challenged and deconstructed these categories, adopting an internal perspective to describe the language use of individuals deemed bilingual or multilingual.

Translanguaging, although sharing similarities with code-switching, involves the deliberate and systematic juxtaposition of the first and second languages, encompassing processes such as “meaning-making, shaping experiences, gaining understanding, and knowledge through the use of two

languages” (Baker, 2011, p. 288). Unlike code-switching, translanguaging goes beyond mere language alternation, emphasizing the intentional integration of linguistic modes for effective communication and learning.

Lewis, Jones, and Baker (2012) distinguish translanguaging from codeswitching and translation, emphasizing its unique role in the classroom context by promoting active meaning-making. Garcia (2009) notes that translanguaging goes beyond mere code-switching, encompassing various forms of bilingual language use and contact. Similarly, Lin (2017) asserts that translanguaging and code-switching, although both recognized in scholarly discussions, diverge significantly in their theoretical foundations and perspectives on bilingualism. Code-switching, even when considered a linguistic skill by some scholars, operates within a monoglossic framework, assuming that bilinguals possess two distinct language systems. In contrast, translanguaging challenges this view, presenting bilingual linguistic behavior as inherently heteroglossic and dynamic, responding to an integrated linguistic system rather than two separate monolingualisms (Bakhtin, 1981).

Garcia (2009) emphasizes that translanguaging extends beyond mere code-switching and translation. Instead, it encompasses the dynamic process through which bilingual students engage in bilingual performance across various multimodal dimensions within the classroom. Translanguaging’s emphasis on the dynamic use of language by bilingual speakers, rather than focusing on named languages, especially national or state languages, makes it a more beneficial theory for bilingual education than code-switching (Garcia, 2009). The theory’s potential to embrace the dynamic nature of bilingualism has gained traction among educators and scholars in the 21st century, as it aligns with the evolving understanding of language use by learners.

In the realm of educational literature, although code-switching is recognized for its merit, its emphasis lies not in preserving bilingualism itself but rather in instructing or simply conveying instruction in an additional language. In contrast, the concept of translanguaging makes a distinct contribution and is fundamentally different from an epistemological standpoint. This is evident in its challenge to the notion that bilingual individuals are merely shifting from one language to another (Lin, 2017).

THEORETICAL UNDERPINNINGS OF TRANSLANGUAGING

The notion of translanguaging corresponds closely with the theories put forth by Cummins (2001), whose influential work has long been a guiding force for practitioners in the field of English worldwide. Cummins introduces key concepts such as “separate underlying proficiency” (SUP), “common underlying proficiency” (CUP), and “linguistic interdependence”, emphasizing the positive aspects of language transfer in the process of learning (Conteh, 2018).

The Separate Underlying Proficiency (SUP)

This hypothesis posits that languages are compartmentalized in distinct “balloons” within the brain, implying that when one language is activated, the other is correspondingly deactivated. It assumes a lack of connection and transfer between the first and second languages, treating each language as functioning independently. According to this theory, proficiency in a second language is attainable solely through formal instruction and exposure to that specific language, advocating against the use of the first language for instructional purposes (Erđin & Salı, 2020).

The Separate Underlying Proficiency (SUP) model gave rise to misconceptions about bilinguals, such as the “balance effect,” suggesting that due to limited linguistic capacity in the brain, bilingual individuals would have to divide this capacity between their languages, resulting in reduced proficiency in each. Another misconception stemming from SUP proposed that as proficiency in one language (depicted as a balloon in the brain) increased, proficiency in the other would correspondingly decrease (Cummins, 1980).

However, the translanguaging theory proposes that all speakers possess a unified linguistic repertoire consisting of features chosen and employed in diverse contexts (Otheguy, Garcıa, & Reid, 2015). This marks a departure from earlier conceptualizations of bilingualism. The conventional cognitive theory of bilingualism, known as the “Separate Underlying Proficiency” model, posited that bilingual individuals maintained two distinct language systems in their minds, aligning with nationally sanctioned, standard, named languages like English, French, or Chinese. According to this theory, proficiency in a second language (L2) would only result from exposure to and instruction in L2, excluding instruction in the first language (L1) (Cummins, 1980).

The Common Underlying Proficiency (CUP)

Cummins (1984) challenged the SUP theory and its associated misconceptions by drawing upon research conducted in immersion French/English classrooms. Instead of conceiving a bilingual individual’s two languages as isolated balloons in the brain, Cummins illustrated their potential interaction. While on the surface, a bilingual may appear to operate in two distinct languages, beneath the surface, there exists a “common underlying proficiency.” The development of this proficiency is promoted through activities like reading, writing, listening, and speaking in one or both languages.

The theory suggests that while languages operate independently when producing output, they function interdependently in terms of cognitive processes (Erđin & Salı, 2020) This means that knowledge of the first language

influences the acquisition of the second language. Translanguaging, drawing on this model, places the first and second languages side-by-side, asserting that resorting to the first language aids in the development of the second. This theory also elucidates why acquiring a third language becomes easier after mastering a second one. Cummins (1984) employs the iceberg metaphor to describe CUP, wherein the surface reflects an individual's apparent use of multiple languages, while the bottom represents the entire linguistic repertoire enabling communication across various languages.

The Theory of Linguistic Interdependence

In Cummins's theory of Linguistic Interdependence (Cummins, 1979), he suggested that linguistic or metalinguistic skills acquired in one language could be transferred to another. For instance, a child familiar with identifying the main idea of a text in one language could transfer that competency to a new language. Although this theory challenges the notion that languages are entirely stored separately in the brain, it relies on the assumption that a bilingual individual possesses a dual linguistic system and can transfer competencies between these systems (García & Kleyn, 2016). According to this hypothesis, it is possible to pass on linguistic and/or metalinguistic activities that have been acquired in a language to another language (Cummins, 1979). In other words, learners can transfer competencies between available linguistic systems (Erđin & Salı, 2020).

Translanguaging Theory

According to translanguaging theory, the conventional notion of two interdependent language systems that bilinguals switch between is challenged. Instead, there is a single semiotic system that integrates various linguistic aspects, including lexical, morphological, and grammatical features, along with social practices (Vogel & Garcia, 2017). This system also encompasses features that individuals embody, such as gestures and posture, as well as external elements that become part of their bodily memory through use, like computer technology (García, 2016). People utilize these multimodal features in diverse contexts to achieve various communicative and expressive goals (García & Li Wei, 2014). The acquisition of these linguistic and communicative features occurs dynamically through an individual's activities and experiences in the physical and social world.

Translanguaging theory introduces a distinction between how society labels and perceives an individual's use of two designated languages (the external perspective) and how a speaker personally appropriates and employs language features (the internal perspective) (Otheguy, García, & Reid, 2015). Conventional concepts like "Language 1 (L1)" and "Language 2 (L2)," the idea of a "native speaker," the notion of a pure, static "language," and even the designation of specific languages such as "French," "Spanish," and "Hindi"

are societal terms commonly employed to characterize people's language practices. However, it is crucial to recognize that these are social constructions and not inherent linguistic realities (Otheguy, García, & Reid, 2015).

Translanguaging theory, rooted in the objective of dismantling named language categories, opposes ideologies that position-specific languages as superior and monolingual language practices as superior to those using linguistic resources that transcend strict language boundaries (Vogel & García, 2017). It recognizes that all individuals, irrespective of societal categorization as monolingual or bilingual, possess a singular linguistic repertoire acquired through dynamic social interactions. From this repertoire, individuals select and deploy features to create meaning in context. Thus, Vogel and García (2017) assert that translanguaging theory offers a unified lens for understanding the language practices of both monolinguals and bilinguals, emphasizing the shared aspect of selecting linguistic features to convey meaning.

PEDAGOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

In the 20th century, the perception of “bilingualism” underwent a notable shift. While not universally accepted, it evolved from being seen by many as a disadvantage to being recognized as an advantage. The understanding shifted from associating bilingualism with mental confusion to acknowledging the benefits of possessing dual language capability. The perception transformed from viewing bilingualism as a state of solitudes to recognizing it as a source of synergies and enhanced cognitive abilities (Lewis et al. (2012).

As globalization becomes more pronounced, and particularly with the increasing presence of bilingual students in schools, translanguaging is gaining recognition as a practice in classrooms worldwide. The concept of translanguaging in education, introduced by Welsh educator Williams (1996) and further discussed by others (Baker 2011; Wei 2011), involves intentionally allowing the interchangeable use of languages for input and output in bilingual education. Within multilingual classroom settings, scholars have adopted the term ‘translanguaging’ to characterize both oral interactions in multiple languages (García, 2009) and the incorporation of different languages in written texts (Canagarajah, 2011). However, Conteh (2018) critically reviews translanguaging as a pedagogical approach, contending that existing research has primarily focused on understanding interaction processes rather than fully exploring its pedagogic potential. The adoption of translanguaging in education has sparked considerable interest but also substantial disagreement. While many educators addressing language education, including the acquisition of additional languages for all and the preservation of minoritized languages, have enthusiastically embraced translanguaging theory and pedagogy, others approach it with caution. Some argue that translanguaging pedagogy places excessive emphasis on students’ bilingualism, while others

express concerns that it may pose a threat to the diglossic arrangements and language separation traditionally deemed essential for language maintenance and development (Vogel & Garcia, 2017). Within translanguaging, language is seen as an ongoing ‘process’ rather than a ‘thing’, a ‘verb’ rather than a ‘noun’ (Becker, 1988, p. 25), as in the notion of ‘*linguaging*’.

In translanguaging, there is a fluid and dynamic movement between languages, and individuals may switch between languages seamlessly within a single conversation or even a sentence. This approach challenges traditional notions of strict language boundaries and recognizes the interconnectedness of languages in the communicative process (Vogel & Garcia, 2017). In that sense, it “...disrupts the traditional isolation of languages in language teaching and learning” (Lin, 2017, p. 2).

In educational settings, teachers may encourage translanguaging to support students in their language development and academic understanding. This approach recognizes and validates the linguistic diversity that students bring to the classroom, fostering a positive and inclusive learning environment (Cenoz & Gorter, 2021). A translanguaging pedagogy can foster the development of both designated languages targeted in bilingual instruction. This efficacy stems from its approach, which views these languages along a horizontal continuum as integral components of the learners’ linguistic repertoire, rejecting the notion of keeping them as separate entities in a hierarchical relationship (Vogel & Garcia, 2017).

In brief, within an educational context, translanguaging refers to the utilization of the complete linguistic abilities of both students and educators to foster social, academic, and cognitive interactions, potentially leading to identity exploration and development. Translanguaging is regarded as a guiding philosophy in the education of English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) and bilingual students, as highlighted by Garcia (2009). It serves as an instructional strategy for teaching emerging bilinguals, as advocated by Baker (1996), and a method for cultivating bilingualism and biliteracy, as outlined by Hornberger and Link (2012).

Educational Benefits of Translanguaging

Translanguaging holds potential benefits for language education practitioners. The current discourse on translanguaging aligns seamlessly with the contemporary reassessment of ‘own-language use’ in language classrooms, a concept under scrutiny in English Language Teaching (ELT) discussions as described by Hall and Cook (2012). Blackledge et. al (2010) propose that translanguaging provides learners with the chance to establish connections, often in ways that may not be accessible to their educators, between their experiences beyond the classroom and those within it. The educational advantages of this practice can be noteworthy. For instance,

as illustrated by Conteh (2015), children demonstrated an improved understanding of discussions about time when they associated English vocabulary with terms used by their mothers in their home languages to describe fabric measurements.

To Vogel and Garcia (2017), as an instructional approach, translanguaging harnesses the flexible use of languages by learners to enhance their involvement and understanding of intricate content and texts. Furthermore, translanguaging pedagogy fosters the development of both languages targeted in bilingual instruction. This occurs by treating these languages along a horizontal continuum as integral components of the learners' linguistic repertoire, as opposed to isolating them into distinct compartments within a hierarchical structure (Vogel & Garcia, 2017).

Baker (2001) stressed four potential educational advantages to translanguaging such as promoting a deeper and fuller understanding of the subject matter, helping the development of the weaker language, facilitating home-school links and cooperation, and helping the integration of fluent speakers with early learners. Baker (2011) argued that translanguaging is very appropriate for the bilingual classroom: "The teacher can allow student to use both languages, but in a planned, developmental and strategic manner, to maximize a student's linguistic and cognitive capability, and to reflect that language is sociocultural both in content and process" (p. 290).

When examining students' collaborative efforts, Creese and Blackledge (2010) note that it is the combination of both languages that propels the task forward. In their study of complementary school classrooms, they observed the use of bilingual label quests, repetition, translation across languages, and simultaneous literacies. These practices served various purposes, including engaging students, establishing identity positions, facilitating pedagogic tasks, and negotiating meanings. Creese and Blackledge (2010) argue that the translanguaging pedagogical approach in these settings serves dual roles: it functions as a means of identity performance and as a tool for language learning and teaching. In this perspective, language is viewed as a social resource without rigid boundaries of nation, territory, or social group.

Translanguaging demonstrates positive effects, allowing purposeful alternation of languages in various modes, such as speaking, writing, listening, and reading (Baker 2011). Despite limited investigations on the impact of translanguaging in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) and English as a Foreign Language (EFL) contexts, studies indicate its potential benefits on language skills and students' perceptions (Mazak 2017). The intention is to support these arguments with empirical evidence of the effectiveness of translanguaging pedagogies.

To Otheguy, García, and Reid (2015) translanguaging, "provides a

smoother conceptual path than previous approaches to the goal of protecting minoritized communities, their languages, and their learners and schools” (p.283). The latest edition of the *International Multilingual Research Journal* provides evidence of the increasing popularity of translanguaging as a means to enhance the flexibility of structures and practices in dual-language bilingual education classrooms.

Translanguaging is a holistic teaching approach, as emphasized by Cummins (2005), that involves an integrated method rather than instructing two distinct languages separately. By establishing a translanguaging space and fostering a multilingual environment, this approach enables bilingual students to access instructional content and showcase their understanding without the limitations imposed by using a single language. Simultaneously, an analysis of the linguistic features utilized in each language during instruction can be undertaken to support language acquisition.

While scholars showcase the presence of translanguaging in bilingual and multilingual programs, the acceptance of translanguaging proves challenging for teachers who are deeply rooted in monoglossic language ideologies (Lin, 2017). Mazak (2017) contends that translanguaging challenges traditional theories of second-language acquisition, specifically the rigid separation of languages. This stands in contrast to conventional views that advocate teaching solely in the second language (L2) and perceive alternative approaches as inadequate (Mitchell 1988).

The obstacles facing the integration of translanguaging in policy and implementation within English Language Teaching (ELT) arise from what Hall and Cook (2012) identify as the deeply rooted monolingualism inherent in these aspects. Despite the substantial increase in global migration and mobility, leading to a rise in multilingualism in the global north, many language classrooms still adhere to Cummins’s concept of ‘two solitudes’ sometimes also called “two-way immersion” (Cummins 2008), maintaining a separation of languages and often neglecting learners’ home languages. Language policies, curricula, and assessment practices continue to prioritize national and standard languages.

However, there are promising signs. Educators who understand the significance of translanguaging in building connections with their students that foster mutual empowerment, coupled with researchers who acknowledge this potential and are committed to recognizing its importance in their classroom-focused investigations, collectively hold the potential to advance translanguaging pedagogies in the future (Conteh, 2018). Blackledge et. al (2010) challenge negative ideologies that stigmatize multilingualism in education and argue that ideas like translanguaging disrupt conventional notions such as ‘standard’ and ‘target’ language, which carry implicit hierarchies among languages (Otheguy, García, & Reid, 2015). Additionally,

they contend that translanguaging, along with other concepts, prompts essential inquiries concerning social justice in language education.

Vogel and Garcia (2017) summarize the need for accepting translanguaging in educational settings by stating:

“Unless educators understand that students are always translanguaging, that is, selecting appropriate features from their language repertoire in functional interrelationship with each other, they will promote the students’ linguistic insecurity, leaving them in limbo as they evaluate their practices according to isolated monolingual standards and practices. An insistence on isolating named languages in all types of language education classrooms will result in the student’s failure to acquire new linguistic features and will not develop their bilingualism” (p.12).

Pedagogical Translanguaging

The objective of language development has shifted away from achieving a proficiency level comparable to that of native speakers. Instead, the focus is on students strategically selecting elements from their communicative skills to express their bi/multilingual identities and effectively engage with their communication partners (Flores & Aneja, 2017). Additionally, Freeman et al. (2015) suggest that approximately 80% of English teachers globally are non-native speakers, surpassing native English-speaking teachers. This shift challenges the notion that English is tied to a specific country or region, implying that it has become a global language (Erdirin & Sali, 2020). In response to these changes, translanguaging has emerged as an approach to meet the demands of our current era. Translanguaging seeks to establish a unified linguistic repertoire by incorporating both the first language (L1) and the second language (L2), as well as any other languages present in the classroom.

“Pedagogical translanguaging is learner-centered and endorses the support and development of all the languages used by learners. It fosters the development of metalinguistic awareness by softening boundaries between languages when learning languages and content” (Cenoz & Gorter, 2021, p. 1).

Pedagogical translanguaging challenges entrenched language separation ideologies in schools, which are grounded in two main beliefs. First, there is a concern that exposing students to multiple languages simultaneously may lead to confusion. This perspective advocates for strict separation by assigning different teachers for each language, and allocating distinct spaces and times for language instruction (Cenoz & Gorter, 2021). Additionally, within the classroom, the prevailing principle is to exclusively use the target language, discouraging the use of any other languages. Pedagogical translanguaging seeks to overturn these practices, emphasizing the benefits of leveraging multilingualism to enhance learning outcomes (Cenoz & Gorter, 2021).

Second, the conventional approach emphasizes providing maximum exposure to the target language, a practice deeply ingrained in schools that teach majority languages to students with different home languages. To Cenoz and Gorter (2021) this separation ideology is not limited to such scenarios; even schools aiming to cultivate multilingual competence in various languages often adhere to this tradition. While extended exposure to the target language is crucial, there is a recognized necessity to build upon the existing knowledge that students bring with them. Translanguaging encourages the utilization of the first language alongside others, acknowledging that instead of being in conflict, different languages can complement each other effectively. Facilitated by teachers, learners are empowered to employ various languages in the classroom, thereby enriching their learning experience (Erdirin & Sali, 2020). Acknowledging and incorporating students' linguistic backgrounds can enrich the learning experience and contribute to a more effective language acquisition process.

Pedagogical translanguaging involves utilizing the linguistic resources of multilingual learners to enhance both language and content acquisition. Multilingual individuals possess diverse language skills and are often more adept at language learning. Unfortunately, their full potential has not been realized due to traditional monolingual approaches in schools, where languages are typically isolated in the curriculum. To optimize multilingual students' capabilities, it is essential to embrace and leverage their linguistic repertoires in educational settings (Cenoz & Gorter, 2021).

Conclusion

The concept of translanguaging is often associated with bilingual and multilingual contexts, where individuals are proficient in more than one language. It emphasizes the idea that language is a dynamic and flexible resource that can be used creatively to communicate effectively. Despite the disagreements among scholars, translanguaging has gained attention in the field of education, promoting a more inclusive and supportive approach to language learning that values and builds upon students' existing linguistic abilities.

Translanguaging is an instructional approach that involves purposefully and simultaneously using all languages spoken by educators and students to deliver instruction and teach language through specific strategies (Dougherty, 2021). To effectively implement this approach, educators play a crucial role in establishing a "translanguaging space." This space is created by bringing together various dimensions of the multilingual language user's personal history, experience, environment, attitude, belief, ideology, cognitive and physical capacity. The goal is to coordinate these elements into a meaningful performance, shaping it into a lived experience (Li, 2011).

Translanguaging practices will persist in bilingual classrooms, at times subtly and at other times openly. Embracing translanguaging brings numerous advantages for a multilingual future by adopting the perspective of individual speakers rather than that of the state. This approach liberates bilingual users from constraints, allowing a deeper understanding of each other and the discovery of common linguistic features. The linguistic flexibility of translanguaging enables individuals to freely appropriate linguistic features without strict associations with a particular language or state (Lin, 2017).

Cenoa and Gorter (2021) argue that maximizing the utilization of the linguistic resources available to multilingual speakers can positively impact students' linguistic and academic development. The intertwining of languages can serve to reinforce each other, and pre-existing linguistic knowledge provides an advantageous foundation for classroom learning. Contrary to concerns that using multiple languages in a lesson might diminish exposure to the target language, their argument suggests that this is not the case, even if the target language is a minority language. The time spent activating resources from the majority language within the context of the minority language can be effectively balanced when pedagogical translanguaging is consistently applied across the curriculum, allowing the minority language to be incorporated into majority-language lessons.

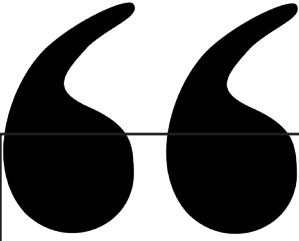
However, incorporating translanguaging in education may conflict with the regulatory role of schools. Bilingual educators face the decision of adhering to regulations that treat bilingual students as two monolinguals or finding spaces to unleash linguistic expression. Lin (2017) asserts that only through such liberation can bilingual education genuinely empower students to make informed choices about when to utilize or suppress specific features of their language repertoire, unleashing the full potential of their tongues, minds, and imagination.

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Chapter 2

THREE TRADITIONS OF THE ENGLISH SONNET

*Volha KORBUT SALMAN*¹

¹ Dr. Öğretim Üyesi, Yozgat Bozok Üniversitesi, Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi, Batı Dilleri ve Edebiyatları Bölümü, İngiliz Dili ve Edebiyatı Anabilim Dalı, ORCID ID 0000-0002-8808-2594

Over seven centuries have passed since the initial appearance of the genre of the sonnet on the distant shores of Sicily. One must investigate the aesthetics of the genre in order to understand why it has lasted for so long. In other words, one needs to look at the structure, or what Coleridge refers to as the “mechanic form” (1971: 462), of this particular class of poems. A thorough comprehension will not be obtained from the analysis provided in this paper, since it will be analysing a fossilized framework rather than a vibrant organism of a living sonnet. Based on a formal rhyme pattern, the sonnet is a fourteen-line lyric poem “in which some lonely feeling is developed” (Coleridge, 1912: 1139), dealing with a single subject. The sonnet is thought to have originated among the Sicilian court poets, who were influenced by troubadour love poetry. The genre then spread through Italy and soon became fashionable among Italian poets. Dante and Petrarch were the two most well-known Italian sonnet writers. It was Petrarch, however, who proved the most influential of them, especially through his sonnet sequence *The Canzonieri* (1330-1374), and it was under his influence that the genre quickly spread throughout Europe, becoming not only one of the most distinguished literary genres of the Renaissance due to its “ability to channel and control perceptual experience, and to supply especial sources of pleasure” (Stageberg, 1948: 133), but also one of the most referred to and respected types of poetry today.

Thomas Wyatt and Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, initiated the sonnet tradition in England and “greatly polished [its] rude and homelie manner of vulgar poesie from that it had been before” (Puttenham in D’Amico, 1979: 11). Known as the first English sonneteer, Wyatt encountered the sonnet on his travels to Italy and Spain. Besides translating some of Petrarch’s sonnets, he also wrote 32 sonnets in the Petrarchan form. Yet, Wyatt was “inferior to Surrey in harmony of numbers, perspicuity of expression and facility of phraseology, [while] his lyrics were harsh and had many faults of style and language” (Warton, 1781: 314). Surrey also translated Petrarch’s sonnets. Different from Wyatt, however, Surrey’s own sonnets deviated from the Petrarchan model in both theme and form. As a consequence, Wyatt can be portrayed in the role of “a pioneer, who fumbled in the linguistic difficulties that beset him and prepared the way for Surrey’s smoother lines and more pleasing accentuation” (Rollins, 1929: 77) giving an impulse to the appearance of the sonnet form known as the English or Shakespearean sonnet, named after its greatest practitioner.

Soon after its introduction, the sonnet became very widespread in England, reaching the peak of its popularity during the reign of Elizabeth I. A variety of sonnet sequences were written in the manner of Petrarch’s *The Canzonieri*. Many sonneteers used conventional themes, images and patterns and imitated Italian sonnets, but a few were able to rise above the normal standards and produce poems that can be classified among the best of their kind. Among these notable poets were Sir Philip Sidney with his sequence

Astrophel and Stella (1580), Samuel Daniel with his *Delia* (1592), Edmund Spenser with his *Amoretti* (1595), and of course William Shakespeare with his one hundred and twenty sonnets. Besides contributing timeless sonnets to the literary culture, the poets also contributed to the development of the English sonnet as a subtype of the classical sonnet genre. Rather than simply imitating and continuing the Italian tradition, the English poets domesticated the sonnet and made it become part of the English literary tradition as much as it was a part of the Italian literary tradition beforehand.

The Italian sonnet, as perfected and made popular by Petrarch consists of two parts. The first part is the octave (an eight-line stanza) rhyming ABBAABBA. The second part is the sestet (a six-line stanza) rhyming CDCDCD, or CDECDE. When combined, “these two parts are played off against each other in an infinitive variety of ways” (Dasenbrock, 1985: 39). The octave usually raises an idea, problem, or argument. There is a turning-point, called a ‘volta’ between the octave and sestet after which the sestet illustrates, answers, or solves the issue raised in the octave. As the English language was not as rich in rhymes as Italian, the rhyme scheme of the Petrarchan sonnet was not suitable for its English counterpart. The Shakespearean sonnet, therefore, consists of four parts rather than two. It is made up of three quatrains that rhyme, ABAB CDCD EFEF, and GG in the couplet that follows. Hence, “an idea or theme is built in three phases through variation, extension, and alternation” (Crawford, 2016: 158). As with the Petrarchan sonnet, the form also determines the content that is presented, so that the three quatrains usually present three aspects of an idea, three points in an argument or three parallel images while the couplet comments on, summarizes, or concludes these issues. The Shakespearean sonnet is nearly always written in iambic pentameter - a meter that is well-suited to the English language. A variation of the English sonnet is the Spenserian sonnet, named after Edmund Spenser, who initially introduced this sonnet form in his *Amoretti*. The Spenserian sonnet is also made up of three quatrains and a couplet. What distinguishes it from the Shakespearean sonnet is the linked rhyme scheme: ABAB BCBC CDCD EE. In addition, what makes the Spenserian sonnet unique is that

There is hardly a sonnet which does not contain words deliberately chosen for their strangeness. Medievalisms fast passing out of current use were revived and liberally introduced. Completely antiquated, almost forgotten words reappear. Side by side with these, Spenser introduced loan-words, taking pains, when they had already been assimilated, to restore the marks of their alien origin. Such romance forms as ‘semblant’, ‘pleasance’, ‘richnesse’ replaced their familiar, anglicized variants. Spenser’s mannerisms, were a deliberate retrogression, aiming to associate with his treatment of courtship a sense of remoteness from the everyday world. (Lever, 1956: 133)

As a consequence, though Spencer ostensibly attempts to introduce vivid innovations to the subgenre of the English sonnet, his sonnet diction more obscures than clarifies his literary aims.

After a period of overwhelming popularity and enthusiastic poetic composition, the seventeenth century brought with it a swift decline in the sonnet tradition. This was due to several reasons, one of them being the exhaustion of the sonnet convention in the hands of its enthusiastic supporters, another being the change of atmosphere brought about by political upheavals and scientific developments. Another important factor was the opposition that the genre met at the hands of the two most prominent poets of the century: John Donne and Ben Jonson, whose sonneteering was quite intricate and often perplexing, as “once you get past the hermetic syntax and the recondite learning, most of it easily elucidated by footnotes, all you need is to read it with the right intonation” (Fraser, 1987: 560). The sonnet’s ideal of platonic love and an unattainable lover was not suited to Jonson’s handling of secular, physical love, who as a “cantankerous old man, hateful of his rivals and the very art form in which he was required to work, as well as himself” (Bond, 1987: 47) was at the same time “the creator of sweet and tender verse” (Fanthorpe, 2003: 159). Similarly, although Donne wrote both secular and religious sonnets, his *Holy Sonnets* (1633) being one of the most important sonnet sequences of English literature, added a more scientific attitude, intensity, and wit to the sonnet, transforming the genre to meet not only his poetical needs, but also to fit into the brewing cartesian microcosm of the epoch based on the idea that “in our search for the direct road to truth, we should busy ourselves with no object about which we cannot attain truth equal to that of the demonstration of arithmetic and geometry” (Hutchins, 1952: 3). George Herbert, in his turn, mostly wrote religious sonnets which showed an evident break from the conventions and subject matter of the Elizabethan sonnet. The same line of reasoning might be applied to the poetry of John Milton who wrote sonnets on religious, political, and private issues, but his sonnets too show a marked difference from the ones written in the previous sixteenth century, evident through his extensive use of complex sentences that challenge the classical sonnet structure. Yet, not all poets in the seventeenth century challenged the traditional sonnet convention, with William Drummond, commonly identified as ‘Scottish Petrarch’, being one of them. As a consequence, the aim of this paper is to provide a thorough examination of the three sonnet traditions arising in the seventeenth century English literature in the poetry of George Herbert, John Milton and William Drummond. The framework of this study does not encompass an in-depth thematic and structural analysis of individual sonnets written by the abovementioned poets, rather it concentrates on unveiling the process of evolution of the sonnet as a poetic form so as to trace and highlight its place in the literature of the period.

When considering the evolution of the sonnet century by century, where does Shakespeare's legacy fit in? Is he the last prodigious sonnet writer of the sixteenth century, the summit of it, or the pioneer of the decline of the sonnet tradition in the seventeenth century when many sonneteers "produced intricate and cloudy stuff that puzzled the intellect and perplexed the brain for they had nothing of their own to say, or that they thought worth saying" (Klein, 1905: 472)? Despite the composition of some fine sonnet specimens by poets like William Drummond, George Herbert, John Donne, Ben Jonson and John Milton, the fact that sonnet sequence lost its former popularity in the seventeenth century rendered the age less productive for literary scholars. Since the decline of the sonnet tradition did not occur in European countries like Italy or France, it is possible to connect the deterioration of the genre in Britain to the change of a reigning monarch - from a queen, Elizabeth I (1568-1603), who ruled the country through erotic flattery and whom the British poets of the time paralleled to a paragon of Petrarchan love, to a king, James I (1603-1625), who showed profound enthusiasm towards academic learning and, hence, replaced the ideal of the Petrarchan mistress in poetry with that of a philosopher. To illustrate, an English statesman Sir Walter Raleigh managed to form a favourable relationship with Elizabeth I by dedicating Petrarchan verses to her, characterised by "abrupt stops which freeze lover and beloved in their impasse, formal detachment which diffuses the conflicts into other poetic modes, or, occasionally, a denouement which resolves the plot" (Neely, 1978: 360), yet, he had to change his tactics while attempting to form a similar kind of relationship with James I, by dedicating to him his opus entitled *History of the World* (1617).

With the onset of the seventeenth century George Herbert becomes the sacred voice of the period. In a few sonnets which he sent to his mother in 1610 Herbert condemns love poems and their consecration to Venus, arguing that the love of God should replace humanly love in those poems. He wants to find a better, more moral place for poetry in Sonnet I:

My God, where is that ancient heat towards thee,
 Wherewith whole showls of Martyrs once did burn,
 Besides their other flames? Doth poetry
 Wear Venus' livery? only serve her turn?
 Why are not Sonnets made of thee? and lays
 Upon thine Altar burnt? Cannot thy love
 Heighten a spirit to sound out thy praise
 As well as any she? Cannot thy Dove
 Outstrip their Cupid easily in flight?

Or, since thy ways are deep, and still the fame,
 Will not a verse run smooth that bears thy name!
 Why doth that fire, which by thy power and might
 Each breast does feel, no braver fuel choose
 Than that, which one day, Worms may chance refuse. (Herbert, 1974: 205)

As John Donne was a friend of the Herbert family, George Herbert was greatly influenced by his philosophical ideas. In the sonnet one can easily detect the tones and voices from the sacred sonnets composed by Donne. Thus, “unambiguous Herbert, type of the Protestant saint, despises “honour, riches, or fair eyes”, “dust,” he calls them, but that is caricature, offensive to this stickler for nice discriminations” (Fraser, 1987: 585). At the same time, though Herbert’s style involves Sidney’s colloquial immediacy, or involvement in an important subject, it has more of Donne due to the uses of enjambment or run-on lines. The questions ending in the middle of the lines and, thus, creating a sense of pause, are also Donnish. Thus, Herbert introduces novel structural elements into the format of the sonnet. Previous sonneteers respected the major divisions between sestet and octaves. “Sidney, who enjambes fairly freely in his sestet, tends to keep the octaves regular; Shakespeare hardly ever passes over a conventional boundary” (Spiller, 1993: 178). Herbert, on the other hand, at the age of 17 was quite innovative in his first sonnet. As can be seen, the turn of the direction of the thought does not come in the eighth line but between the ninth and the tenth, expanding the traditional eight-line octave part to line and leaving only five for the sestet. Moreover, a couplet emerges at the beginning of the sestet as well as at the end. Therefore, the rhyme scheme for the sonnet becomes ABAB CDCDE FFEGG.

Despite evident similarities, George Herbert was also different from Donne, who employed violent eclipses or omission of normally necessary words in his sonnets, which Herbert avoided maybe because it was against his plain style. What is more, Herbert’s sonnets also differed from Donne’s in their restrained use of hyperbaton or distortion of normal word order which often goes side by side with eclipses in Donne’s sonnets. Herbert wrote seventeen sonnets totally, in this way emphasizing the unique nature of the seventeenth century, and, like Shakespeare, he favoured a very simple rhyme scheme in general. Yet, in contrast to Shakespeare, Herbert did not appreciate a straightforward sonnet structure, nor did he approve of significant word order changes as Donne did. Samuel Taylor Coleridge, a compassionate reader of Herbert’s sonnets, proclaimed that the aim of a poet is to “employ the synthesizing and magical power of imagination to achieve the balance or reconciliation of opposite or discordant qualities” (Fraser, 1987: 571), which Herbert did not really attain, as “his opposites confronted each other, bristling with energy, his discords did not

effect a reconciliation: only an amalgam, still dissonant” (Fraser, 1987: 571). The subject of Herbert’s sonnets was centred on the image of a Christian sinner and the passionate self. The Christian persona in Donne’s sonnets, if compared to that of Herbert’s, is more restrained by the Christian dogma due to Donne’s use of eclipses, accentuations, and hyperbaton. As a result, Herbert’s sonnets did not attain the same level of influence and popularity as those of Donne, because he kept them for himself until his death, while Donne became an acknowledged poet whose poems received nationwide fame and circulation.

The accomplishment and beauty of the sonnets by William Drummond of Hawthornden was based on their old-fashioned and progressive nature, simultaneously absorbing Petrarchanism and modernizing it. He had a modestly lived quiet life in his country home at the south of Edinburgh where he had a library rich with books in six foreign languages (Italian, French, Greek, Spanish, English and Latin) the study of which enabled him to produce two sonnet collections, *Poems* (1616) and *Flowers of Zion* (1623). Among the writers whom he kept in touch with were his uncle William Fowler (the writer of the sonnet sequence called *The Tarantula of Love*, 1590), Sir Willaim Alexander (a lifelong friend and the author of *Aurora*, 1604), Sir David Murray (the author of *Caelia*, 1611), Ben Jonson, who paid him visits at Hawthornden, and Michael Drayton, with whom he communicated in writing. In addition, Drummond might have also read and admired the seventeenth century sole female sonnet composer, Lady Mary Wroth, though it is not certain whether he ever met her. In his sonnets, he gathers all classical features of the sonnet genre. His work *Poems* (1616) consist of sonnets in two parts (like Petrarch’s *The Canzonieri* or his friend Alexander’s *Aurora*), the first part is written to a living woman, whereas in the second one he bemoans her passing. Overall, his book consists of seventy-five sonnets, five songs, eighteen madrigals and two sestinas where he rejects earthly love by praising the love divine. It will not be an exaggeration to call him the first true Petrarchan sonneteer since the sixteenth century due to the nature of his sonnet sequence dedicated to the death of his mistress, supposedly Euphemia Cunninghame who died just before their marriage, which allows critics to detect autobiographical traits in Drummond’s sonnets. The first modern editor of Drummond, William Kastner, suggests that “where Drummond is plain and melodious, he is conceived to be speaking ‘simply and directly from the heart’ and where he is imitative and echoic, then ‘his model...has misled him into thinking more of his conceits than his grief” (1913: xxxi). Drummond was not a courtier, nor needed a patronage. Therefore, he wrote sonnets only as a reflection of his personal motives, as he did in Sonnet XVIII:

When Nature now had wonderfully wrought
 All Auristella's parts, except her eyes,
 To make those twins two lamps in beauty's skies,
 She counsel of her starry senate sought.
 Mars and Apollo first did her advise
 In colour black to wrap those comets bright,
 That Love him so might soberly disguise,
 And unperceived, wound at every sight.
 Chaste Phoebe spake for purest azure dyes,
 But Jove and Venus green about the light
 To frame thought best, as bringing most delight,
 That to pin'd hearts. Hope might for aye arise:
 Nature, all said, a paradise of green
 There plac'd, to make all love which have them seen. (Drummond, 1883: 166)

If one examines Drummond's biography, one can suppose that the time in the sonnet refers to the time when Auristella was still alive due to Drummond's use of the present perfect tense in the last line "which have them seen" (Drummond, 1883: 166) and that his mistress had green eyes. Thus, the sonnet successfully combines the reality with fictional atmosphere. The naming of the mistress is also noteworthy: "-stella" alludes to Sir Philip Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella*, while "Auri-" might refer to Aurora, the lover of Sir William Alexander in his sonnet series. In addition, another reference to Sidney might be observed in the first line of the sonnet "When Nature now had wonderfully wrought / All Auristella's parts..." (Drummond, 1883: 166) which has a similar tone with Sidney's "When Nature made her chief worke, Stella's eyes/ In colour black" (Sidney, 2010: 7). At least three tiers of reading are present in this sonnet: a narrative or descriptive surface layer, with the voices of the sonnet's other speakers hidden underneath it, and behind these one can observe mythical resonances. The lady's vanity caused by her status of the apex of nature provides her with a fairy-tale quality. In addition, one more mystification is connected to the lady's character, namely her portrayal as a being put together by gods from several components. The three layers in the sonnet confuse the reader about the identity of the main narrator in the sonnet. It is difficult to deduce whether it is a lover, a historian, or a poet. At the same time, "lacking Shakespeare's metaphorical power, and with no taste for the deconstructive energies of pun and irony, Drummond is perhaps nearest to Petrarch, with his sense of the emblematic landscape, the flowing syntax, and the antitheses of emotions and of times" (Spiller, 1993: 187) as can be observed in his Sonnet XVII:

Like to the solitarie pelican
 The shadie groves I hant and Deserts wyld,
 Amongst woods Burgesses, from sight of Man,
 From earths delights, from myne owne selfe exild.
 But that remorse with which my falle beganne
 Relenteth not, nor is by change beguild,
 But rules my soule, and like a famishd child
 Renews its cryes, though Nurse doe what shee can.
 Look how the shricking Bird that courtes the Night
 In ruined walles doth lurk, and gloomie place:
 Of Sunne, of Moone, of Starres I shune the light,
 Not knowing where to stray, what to embrace:
 How to Heavens lights should I lift these of myne,
 Since I denyed him who made them shine? (Drummond, 1894: 160)

The sonnet echoes Petrarch's Sonnet 35 of *The Canzoniere* "Alone and pensive I trace my steps/Through the most deserted places..." (2002: 95). Therefore, one may conclude that the sonnet developed by William Drummond in the seventeenth century gained a composite structure reflecting the joined style of Sidney, Shakespeare and, above all, Petrarch, and was greatly Italianated by him. Drummond can be envisioned as "a skilful adapter, and so dexterous and ingenious is the adaptation, in most cases, that it is no easy matter to trace it back to its first source, with the substance refashioned according to his own mould" (Kastner, 1907: 2). Consequently, Drummond's association of the sonnet with Petrarchanism and Italian sonnet writing tradition undermined the development of the English sonnet during the reign of James I, while the 1656 edition of Drummond's sonnets by Edward Philips is the final edition of the works of one of the most noteworthy English sonn

The poetic legacy of John Milton, one of the leading literary figures of the seventeenth century, is also worth exploring, not because he was the writer of the timeless epic poem *Paradise Lost* (1667), but because he was one of the leading sonneteers of the epoch, with his few, scattered, but, nevertheless, prominent sonnets taking their niche among the masterpieces of the sonneteing tradition. Unlike his predecessors, be it Sidney, Spenser or Shakespeare, Milton's sonnets were not formulated into a sequence, "depending for its definition upon the practice of individual poets, upon the advantages poets may find in setting sonnets in tandem" (Kalstone, 1970: 133), and they did not have erotic themes, nor were devotional like Donne's. Milton employed a different duty in his sonnets aimed at offering opinions on

current events and complimenting friends, “rousing people so as to change them, making actual into possible, or at least imagining the possible in the actual and disclosing it” (McCarthy, 1977: 101). Milton composed a total of twenty-four sonnets, one of which being the uncommon English tailed sonnet known as *sonnetto caudate*:

On the New Forcers of Conscience Under the Long Parliament
 Because you have thrown off your prelate lord,
 And with stiff vows renounced his liturgy,
 To seize the widowed whore Plurality
 From them whose sin ye envied, not abhorred,
 Dare ye for this adjure the civil sword
 To force our consciences that Christ set free,
 And ride us with a classic hierarchy
 Taught ye by mere A. S. and Rutherford?
 Men whose life, learning, faith, and pure intent
 Would have been held in high esteem with Paul
 Must now be named and printed heretics
 By shallow Edwards and Scotch what-d’ye-call:
 But we do hope to find out all your tricks,
 Your plots and packing worse than those of Trent,
 That so the Parliament
 May with their wholesome and preventive shears
 Clip your phylacteries, though balk your ears,
 And succor our just fears
 When they shall read this clearly in your change:
 New presbyter is but old priest writ large. (Milton, 2009: 314)

The tail of this sonnet consists of two extra units, comprising a couplet and a half line each, thus “exuding a strange hybrid quality, fusing [Milton’s] youthful and petulant outrage at indignity with a more mature anxiety about the relationship of poetic utterance to historical event” (Komorowski, 2014: 237). At the same time, Milton negotiates the lexical ambiguity around the term ‘conscience’, developing his conception of the faculty as an internal arbitrator between heavenly law and human reason.

Milton also employed the Italian structure in his sonnets and wrote five sonnets in the Italian language, thus becoming the only English poet notable

for that. Rather than composing a secular or religious sonnet sequence, he employed the form sparingly between 1629 and 1658 (the year of his wife's decease). In fact, Milton's career of sonnet writing is divided into three periods, the first one comprising seven sonnets written during his youth, the second one corresponding to the period of his early blindness and political life, while the third one finalizes with Sonnet XXIII "Methought I saw my late espoused saint" written for the death of his spouse:

Methought I saw my late espoused saint
 Brought to me, like Alcestis, from the grave,
 Whom Jove's great son to her glad husband gave,
 Rescu'd from death by force, though pale and faint.
 Mine, as whom wash'd from spot of child-bed taint
 Purification in the old Law did save,
 And such as yet once more I trust to have
 Full sight of her in Heaven without restraint,
 Came vested all in white, pure as her mind;
 Her face was veil'd, yet to my fancied sight
 Love, sweetness, goodness, in her person shin'd
 So clear as in no face with more delight.
 But Oh! as to embrace me she inclin'd,
 I wak'd, she fled, and day brought back my night. (Milton, 2003: 171)

The sonnet does not embody the tone of a sonnet written for an unreachable Petrarchan lady since Milton dedicated it to his dead wife. Milton's approach is familial and domestic. Yet, even if the saint in the sonnet is initially Milton's deceased spouse "she has been assimilated to a *donna angelatica* of the same type and function as Dante's Beatrice, emphasizing besides the pain of temporal separation the certainty of eternal reunion with her" (Spitzer, 1951: 18).

Milton's sonnets in Italian were addressed to a young Italian girl whose name might have been Emilia. The fact that he composed a sonnet mentioning his attraction to Emilia to one of his mates, Charles Diodati, makes it clear that the girl might have really existed. Milton was learning Italian during the period he wrote his Italian sonnets, which suggests that Milton might have wanted to impress Emilia by writing sonnets to her in her own language. Below is one of the vivid examples of Milton's Italian sonneteering:

As on a hill-top rude, when closing day
 Imbrowns the scene, some past'ral maiden fair
 Waters a lovely foreign plant with care,
 That scarcely can its tender bud display
 Borne from its native genial airs away,
 So, on my tongue these accents new and rare
 Are flow'rs exotic, which Love waters there,
 While thus, o sweetly scornful! I essay
 Thy praise in verse to British ears unknown,
 And Thames exchange for Arno's fair domain;
 So Love has will'd, and oftimes Love has shown
 That what He wills he never wills in vain.
 Oh that this hard and steril breast might be
 To Him who plants from heav'n, a soil as free. (Milton, 1889: 110)

The sonnet mainly focuses on the discussion of the difficulties of composing verse in a foreign language. Milton uses a woman figure struggling to raise an overseas plant in a more fertile English soil as a metaphor for the difficulty an English poet faces to write in Italian. The sonnet ends with a plea to reconcile differences between these soils, symbolising the urgent need to reconcile the differences between languages.

Milton was profoundly involved in the examination of the works of Italian writers be it Dante, Petrarch, Ariosto, or Tasso. Yet, above all he was influenced by Giovanni Casa who wrote in a different metrical regularity from that of the Petrarchan tradition, thus breaking apart from the mainstream Italian sonnet tradition just as Milton breaks from that of his predecessors. Similarly to Milton, Casa was “a gifted orator, scholar, poet, and aesthete, who struggled between being the moralist and the poet. Though he wrote much love-poetry, he was famous for his austere, dignified and learned style, and for his use of enjambment, which he established in Italian poetry” (Spiller, 1993: 190). Milton shared with Casa the style in the rhyme scheme as both of them generally favoured ABBA ABBA octave and CDCDCD sestets. This demonstrates that Milton avoided symmetry in his sonnets. Generally speaking, his consistent enjambments, transgressions, his use of spare, unusual words and word orders which could previously be observed in Donne all add to the idea that Milton “even when writing his love-sonnets to Emilia turned his back on the English sonnet as insufficiently grave and eloquent, and returned to the Italian humanist civic sonnet that had always run alongside the Petrarchan” (Spiller, 1993: 191).

What is more, Milton liked suspension and using enjambments in order to slow down the reader's comprehension and to extend the period of meaning absorption, rendering any statement weighty with denotation. This could be achieved through enjambment, or putting in extra words before the verb which encouraged the reader to ponder over meaning. This effect could also be achieved through inserting sub-clauses and hyperbaton, standing for the reversal of the normal order of words in a sentence. Milton had a wide recourse to these literary devices in his sonnets. An illustration of Milton's use of suspension, sometimes employed together with enjambment, can be observed in his Sonnet XIX:

When I consider how my light is spent,
 E're half my days, in this dark world and wide,
 And that one Talent which is death to hide,
 Lodg'd with me useless, though my Soul more bent
 To serve therewith my Maker, and present
 My true account, least he returning chide,
 Doth God exact day labour, light deny'd,
 I fondly ask; But patience to prevent
 That murmur, soon replies, God doth not need
 Either man's work or his own gifts, who best
 Bear his milde yoaik, they serve him best, his State
 Is Kingly. Thousands at his bidding speed
 And post o're Land and Ocean without rest:
 They also serve who only stand and waite. (Milton, 2003: 168)

The speaker gets ready to "fondly ask" (Milton, 2003: 168) something at the beginning of line 8, which the reader can only learn two lines later, constructing "an effect of strenuousness, of an energy that disdains containment, bursting through the line endings as if they constituted impious bars to liberty" (Fussel, 1979: 113). Thus, suspension is enhanced through the technique of enjambment.

What is more, in sixteen of his twenty-four sonnets Milton had an extensive use of apostrophes; eleven of these thirteen included an explanatory relative clause following the name, while thirteen had the name as the first word, thus creating suspension. Examples for such apostrophes are as follows: "Captain or Colonel, or Knight in Arms/Whose chance on these defenceless

dores may cease” (Milton, 2003: 140), “Cromwell, our chief of men, who through a cloud/Not of war onely...” (Milton, 2003: 160), or “Avange, o Lord, thy slaughtered saints, whose bones/Lies scattered on the Alpine mountains cold” (Milton, 2003: 167). Milton’s commencement of most of his sonnets with an apostrophe followed by a ‘who’ clause allowed him to shadow the possible ‘I’ likelihoods in the text. Hence, the sonnet evolved into a social announcement by defining the addressee. If Milton’s sonnets were written solely for personal gratification, he would not need to make above like clarifications, which makes them different from the creations of his Renaissance predecessors. He was neither a courtier like Drummond, nor needed a patron to produce his poetry. Milton was destined to be a poet, so, he was more in search of an individual voice for his sonnets, rather than focusing on employing the petitionary ‘I’ characteristic of the Elizabethan sonneteers. That is the reason why most of the time ‘I’ is absent from his poetic works. Milton’s abilities of a public sonneteer can be illustrated to the outmost in Sonnet XVI dedicated to the persona of Oliver Cromwell:

Cromwell, our chief of men, who through a cloud
 Not of war only, but detractions rude,
 Guided by faith and matchless Fortitude
 To peace and truth thy glorious way hast plough’d,
 And on the neck of crowned Fortune proud
 Hast reared Gods Trophies, and his work pursu’d,
 While Darwen stream with blood of Scotts imbru’d,
 And Dunbarr field resounds thy praises loud,
 And Worsters laureate wreath; yet much remains
 To conquer still; peace hath her victories
 No less renowned than War, new foes arise,
 Threatening to bind our soules with secular chaines:
 Helpe us to save free Conscience from the paw
 Of hireling wolves whose gospel is their maw. (Milton, 2003: 160)

In this sonnet the octave tells of Cromwell’s past victories and overflows a half line to the sestet in line 9 which starts with the words “yet much remains” (Milton, 2003: 160). With the sestet one arrives at the future and the future cannot be narrated. For this reason, Milton first employs a maxim “peace hath her victories” (Milton, 2003: 160) in line 9, as it is safer to deal with the future with proverbs and maxims. With the couplet at the end of the sonnet, Milton uptakes the role of a petitioner to make the closing remarks. In addition, in

the sestet the reader comes across an enjambment which presents a dignified advice, allowing the reader to understand in full the main idea of the sonnet. As a result, Milton's voice in the majority of his sonnets can be characterised in the following way:

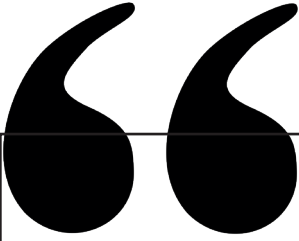
Milton is exceptional in his direct adoption of an Italian pattern, an Italianate rhetoric, and a persona neither conventionally Petrarchan nor penitentially religious: the civic humanist, servant and adviser, and also poet and moralist, is his projected /I/ throughout. Because this is a persona designed to sound like a guide, philosopher and a friend, and because Milton himself stood in something like that relation to later poets, the sonnets are easily read as intimate poems. (Spiller, 1993: 196)

To conclude, despite the visible innovations, the seventeenth century English sonnet was still under the profound influence of the Italian sonnet writing school. The special capability of English poets to perfect the genres artificially imported to the island from abroad allowed them to prolong the popularity of the sonnet up to the threshold of the eighteenth century. As far as our century is concerned, the sonnet, together with other literary varieties, has long ago lost its eminency as a literary genre due to the uncontrolled penetration of visual media into people's lives.

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Chapter 3

EXPLORING ASPECTUAL AND PRAGMATIC BEHAVIOURS OF THE TURKISH BODILY SEMELFACTIVE GEĞİR- (BURP) IN THE CORPUS

M. Fatih ADIGÜZEL¹

¹ Assoc. Prof. Dr., Mersin University, ELT Department, Orcid: 0000-0002-6962-0078 Email: mfatihad@gmail.com

1. Introduction

Aspect can be defined as “the way in which predicates present the temporal progression of an eventuality” (Egg 2018:65). Similarly, Comrie (1976:5) associates aspect with “internal temporal constituency of a situation.” In other words, aspectual analyses focus on how a situation expressed by a verb constellation unfolds in time. It was Smith (1991/1997) who originally proposed that Semelfactives ought to be classified as a fifth aspectual category due to their unique semantic features, setting them apart from the existing four categories: States, Activities, Achievements, and Accomplishments. She claimed that Semelfactives do not fit in Vendler’s (1967) classification (Trebisacce 2020:3).

Semelfactives are claimed to occur instantaneously with no result state. At the basic level Semelfactives present single stage events with the aspectual features [-Static], [-Durative], [-Telic] (Smith 1997) and [-Controlled] (Dik 1997). However, as we discuss in the body of the study, the features [-Durative] and [-Telic] are controversial (Rothstein 2004; 2008; Kearns 2011). Semelfactive verbs are subcategorised by Katalin (2011) as follows:

1. Bodily events: blink, cough, burp, sneeze, wink, glimpse, jump, skip, spring, jerk, fart
2. Internal events: flicker, flash (lights), gleam, ring, spurt, squirt, spew
3. Punctual actions involving movement: tap, peck, scratch, kick, hammer a nail (once), pound on the table (once), pop (the gun), hit, slap, thump, thwack, smack, clap, shake, knock
4. Punctual verbs of perception: cry out (in pain), call out, shout out
5. Punctual verbs implying a subsequent state: explode, find, break, break in, cave in, crack, split, smash, close

This study focuses on one of the Semelfactive verbs (*geğir-/burp*) in the first group, bodily events. The main aim of the study is to summarise the discussions about aspectual properties of Semelfactives and to explore the corpus about the aspectual behaviour of the bodily Semelfactive *geğir-* (burp/belch) in Turkish. The concordance lines were analysed both in terms of grammatical aspect, namely perfective and imperfective viewpoints and in terms of lexical aspect. The analyses focus on what aspectual choices are made by Turkish speakers in verb constellations headed by *geğir-*. It is aimed to see when aspectual shifts occur from single stage Semelfactive use of *geğir-* to derived level Activity. Another aim of the study is to investigate pragmatic features, if any, of *geğir-* in the sample. The Semelfactive predicate’s agentive subjects and its collocations are also analysed for collateral pragmatic findings.

2. Semelfactives and Their Aspectual Features

Semelfactives are almost the least studied aspectual class in the literature (Katalin, 2011). Although included neither in Vendler’s (1967) classification of aspectual classes of verbs nor in Dowty (1979) as a distinct aspectual category,

Semelfactives are discussed as a separate category as one of the five idealized situation types in Smith's (1997) two-component aspectual theory. Smith classifies aspectual situations into five idealized situation types on the basis of three binary temporal features (static/dynamic, telic/atelic and durative/punctual). This categorisation is often referred to as a basic source about Semelfactives even though some researchers state that the classification is not totally correct (Katalin 2011; Rothstein 2004; 2008; Kearns 2011).

Semelfactives are divided into some subcategories. These events may be single occurrences of punctual bodily events [*cough, blink, sneeze, hiccup, wink, belch*], internal events [the light flicker / flash] or some actions [*peck, tap, kick, scratch*] (Smith, 1997). The Turkish verb *geğir-* (burp/belch) which is focused in the present study is a member of the special category called bodily Semelfactives in aspectual literature (Smith, 1997:29-30; Kiss Katalin 2011:123; Chen, 2013:199; Nelson, 2018:11,35). Table 1 below from Smith (1997: 20) shows the five idealized situations described on the basis of binary aspectual features of static/dynamic, durative/punctual and telic/atelic:

Table 1. Temporal Features of the Situation Types

Situations	Static	Durative	Telic
States	+	+	-
Activities	-	+	-
Accomplishments	-	+	+
Semelfactives	-	-	-
Achievements	-	-	+

This classification of Smith (1997) describes Semelfactives as punctual events with temporal features [-static] [-durative] [-telic]. Semelfactives are single stage events which are intrinsically bounded and it has this unmarked singleton interpretation if used in perfective aspect with the adverb *once* added (e.g. Tim coughed *once*). Croft (2012) compares them to achievements, using the term *cyclic achievement* for Semelfactives; hence *Tim coughed once* involves the cyclic process: *uncoughing state - coughing - uncoughing state* (Croft, 2012:40). The same temporal progression of the Semelfactive event is described by Klein (1994:96) as *no noise => noise => no noise*. According to Table 1 above, another aspectual property of Semelfactives (i.e. flap a wing, tap the table, knock at the door, cough, blink etc) is their being [-Static]; that is, they are dynamic, because they take place in time with an input of energy unlike states.

Another feature of Semelfactives is that they are [-Durative]; that is, they are instantaneous because the time length between their initial and final endpoints is indiscernible (Smith, 1997:29). Rothstein (2004, cited in Trebisacce 2020:11) does not agree with Smith, stating that Semelfactives cannot be regarded as instantaneous because they “involve different movements that are

part of the denotation of the predicate” (Trebisacce 2020:11). It is said that a Semelfactive predicate like “kick the door” necessitates not only the punctual kicking point but also the movement of a leg towards the door.

Still another controversial feature of pure Semelfactive situations is their atelicity, with Smith arguing that it is not telic because telicity involves having a natural endpoint. Kearns (2011) states that there is no consensus about whether they are telic or atelic although she considers them to be atelic. Nelson (2018) suggests that it depends on the situation’s grammatical aspect; that is, if the predicate is presented as a derived level activity in the imperfective viewpoint, then it becomes atelic. Rothstein argues for the atomicity of Semelfactives and associates this with telicity, saying that “A VP is telic if it denotes a set of events X which is atomic, or which is a pluralisation of an atomic set (i.e. if the criterion for individuating an atomic event in X are fully recoverable” (Rothstein 2004:158)

In this study another temporal feature [+/- Controlled] proposed by Dik (1997) and suggested by Güven (2003) is added to the analyses when it is relevant to show the distinction between reflexive *geğir-* (burp) and agent-controlled burps. Croft (2012:257) describes such bodily actions (e.g. cough, blink, burp, fart) as ‘normally uncontrolled’, which suggests that someone *coughs* or *burps* reflexively out of a physical need. Such occurrences are [-Controlled]. However, when they are *deliberately* produced, they are [+Controlled]. Although fake coughs and blinks are produced by people to give pragmatic messages (Adigüzel 2022), the Turkish bodily Semelfactive *geğir-*, as self-induced burps, are less likely than deliberate coughs and blinks for pragmatic messages.

1) Ali varlığını hissettirmek için **öksürdü** (self-induced cough [+Controlled] for a message) (Ali **coughed** to advertise his presence)

2) Ali öğle yemeğinde doyunca birden **geğirdi** (reflexive burp [-Controlled]) (When he became full at lunch, Ali **burped** suddenly).

3) Ali bizi iğrendirmek için art arda **geğirdi** (self-induced cough [+Controlled] for a purpose) (Ali **burped** repeatedly to disgust us)

Semelfactives “tend to occur either singly or in temporally contiguous groups” (Croft, 2012:94; Smith, 1997:30). Egg (2018:65) states that the aspectual classification of Semelfactives prove to be very challenging because they refer to both singleton eventualities and iterations of such eventualities. At the basic level, when not used iteratively for some duration, Semelfactives do not occur in the progressive. That is, pure Semelfactives denoting a singleton interpretation do not licence the progressive because such eventualities are atomic and punctual (Smith, 1997:172). The (near) punctuality and atomicity of Semelfactives prevent them from being used in the progressive unless the film of a coughing event is played in slow motion (Comrie 1998). Frawley (1992:313) states Semelfactives “have no internal structure to be extended”, so “extending a punctual event is to repeat it in a series” and it creates an iterative interpretation or external pluralisation in this case. When a verb constellation

with a Semelfactive verb is used in the progressive or with durative adverbials, we do not get ungrammatical sentences; rather, we get an aspectual shift; that is, such eventualities are called multiple-event Activities, which become [+Durative]. An aspectual shift from Semelfactives to derived level Activities also occurs if we use Semelfactives with durative adverbials like “for x time” or indirect adverbials of duration like *continuously/incessantly*). However, it seems easier and more natural with some Semelfactives than others to use them in the way described.

4) a) Jack odaya girdiğimde öksür-üyordu. (cough-progressive; multiple-event Activity) (Jack *was coughing* when I entered the room)

b) ? Jack odaya girdiğimde geğir-iyordu. (burp-progressive; multiple-event Activity) (? Jack *was burping* when I entered the room)

5) a) Jack 10 dakika kadar öksür-dü. (cough-perfective viewpoint; multiple-event Activity) (Ali *coughed for about ten minutes*)

b) ? Jack 10 dakika kadar geğir-di. (cough-perfective viewpoint; multiple-event Activity) (?Ali *burped for about ten minutes*)

Derived level Activities as in *Ali was coughing* are not as homogenous as unmarked Activities like *was running*. In Activity interpretations, the events that Semelfactives describe occur in repetitive sequences of individual atomic or singleton events. They involve externally pluralized Semelfactive events occurring consecutively and they are lexically accessible. Thus the situation with iterative interpretation becomes [+Durative] like Activities. Rothstein (2004, 2008) and Egg (2018) look upon the singleton and iterative use of a Semelfactive as a context-dependent phenomenon. That is, both linguistic context with certain collocations and tense selection and pragmatic concerns such as coughing to make your presence felt, to give a warning or to clear your throat before speaking are likely to change the aspectual construal of an eventuality.

The differences and similarities between Semelfactives and Achievements or Semelfactives and Activities are often discussed. For instance, Semelfactives were not regarded as a distinct category but were included in Achievements in Vendler’s (1967) classification of aspectual types. Although both Achievements and Semelfactives are punctual (this is controversial for Semelfactives), they have distinct aspectual differences. We often see Semelfactives aspectually shifted to multiple event Activities. When used in the progressive, each Semelfactive has a homonym in Activities (Rothstein 2004). Therefore it is not uncommon that we shift Semelfactives to Activities when we use them in the progressive or with durative adverbials. However, setting limits to how events occur in the world can sometimes backfire. That is, could another derived level aspectual class be achieved that is headed by a Semelfactive verb? In a cartoon scenario a man complains to his wife about her ungrateful attitude to him, saying “*You don’t appreciate the nice things I do. Yesterday I **burped** I love you’ in Morse Code and you didn’t even thank me!*” This use of the Semelfactive *burp* (geğir-) involves an aspectual shift to Derived Accomplishments, which

is an idiosyncratic use and thus not discussed anywhere in the aspectual literature. This example stretches the boundaries of the aspectual features of Semelfactives, which are [-durative] and [-telic]. In the utterance “*Yesterday I burped ‘I love you’ in Morse Code and you didn’t even thank me!*”, the marked object “*I love you*” is a clause to be coded in Morse code through burping. In Tenny’s (1992) terms, “*I love you*” is the object that *measures out* the event of burping over time. The agent-controlled burping events are to be volitionally repeated until all the sounds of the letters in the clause “*I love you*” have been coded in Morse code. Therefore, the clause “*I love you*” used after “burped” here shifts the aspectual class of the Semelfactive *burp* (*geğir-*) to a derived Accomplishment with the new temporal features [+durative] and [+telic]. “*I love you*” here is just like an object consumed in Accomplishments. More striking is the fact that if such a person were observed halfway through the burping event by someone who is not aware of the (morse-codifying) purpose of his self-induced burping events, they would perceive the iterated burping events as a derived-level Activity. Speakers make such marked aspectual choices for pragmatic reasons. As Smith (1997, p.10) states, “while standard choices follow conventional principles of association, marked associations violate them.”

3. Data and Method

This is a corpus-driven study with data obtained from the corpus Turkish Web 2012 enTenTen15. Intuitive examples do not always represent typical language use, while a corpus can yield more reliable attested data (Xia and McEnery, 2004, p.332). Moreover, conducting corpus research uncovers unforeseen and secondary discoveries that may not have been initially expected or may evade intuition. Consequently, a corpus-driven methodology was employed to explore the pragmatic and aspectual characteristics of the Turkish bodily Semelfactive *geğir-* (burp/belch). The concordance lines were scrutinized to reveal the interactions between aspectual and pragmatic features of the Semelfactive verb. Because grammatical viewpoint aspect acts like a lens to shed light on internal constituency of the situation type in concordance lines of the corpus, independent entries were searched in the corpus the Turkish Web 2012 enTenTen15 provided by Skecthengine, to explore the perfective and imperfective viewpoints of *geğir-* such as *geğirdi*, *geğiriyor*, *geğirir/geğirirdi*. After the corpus data was obtained, the concordance lines were sorted out by hand. A total of 97 lines were analyzed. We manually labelled each concordance line with such annotations as basic level Semelfactive, derived level (multiple-event) Activity, perfective, imperfective etc. Because we noticed that *geğir-* predominantly selected female subjects, we decided to form a hypothesis to test about it as well. About the gender of subjective agent of the Semelfactives, the context of the concordance line was extended when the gender was unclear in a line. The collocates of *geğir-* were examined when it selected female subjects to determine any pragmatic reasons for which it did so and any distinct aspectual choices made by the speaker accordingly.

4. Findings and Discussions

Geğir- (burp/belch) is a sudden reflexive action of the body. Therefore, it is a pure Semelfactive event that tends to be produced only once. Unless fake belches (an agent-controlled series of burps) are produced, the verb is unlikely to be seen in progressive contexts where it is iterated, becoming a multiple-event Activity. Our comments about *geğir-* are based on the data from the corpus Turkish Web 2012 enTenTen15. About the Semelfactive verb *geğir-*, 97 concordance lines were analyzed.

4.1. Perfective Viewpoint

Our search with *geğir-di* (simple past, perfective viewpoint) returned only 60 results, but with the unclear, gender-unclear and repeated lines excluded, we had 47 lines to comment on. Almost all of the concordance lines (46 lines) displayed basic level Semelfactive, single-stage instantaneous production of a belch with a singleton interpretation presented in the perfective viewpoint. Sample lines:

6) Bir maşrapa ayrıanı iki dikişte içerek, sağ kolunun gömleğiyle ağzını sildi ve gök gürültüsünü andıran bir sesle **geğir-di**. (Drinking a bowl of ayrıan at two gulps, he wiped his mouth with the right sleeve of his shirt and **burped** thunderously) (Pure Semelfactive in the perfective viewpoint)

7) Lucien arka arkaya iki kere **geğir-di**. (Lucien **burped** twice successively) (Pure Semelfactive with two iterations, perfective viewpoint involving a frequency adverbial)

Only in one case can the situation be accepted as derived level Activity which profiles a set of successive iterations of the Semelfactive with the durative adverbial *mütemadiyen* (*continuously*) as occurring for some time. The durative adverbial causes an aspectual shift from Semelfactive reading to multiple-event Activity interpretation:

8) ...iftarda dikkatimi çekti, anneannem her tabağından sonra *mütemadiyen* **geğir-di** ve bu bana hiç iğrenç gelmedi. (At the Ramadan dinner, it drew my attention that my grandma *continuously* **burped** after each helping of hers and I wasn't disgusted at all) (derived level Activity with multiple event reading, headed by the Semelfactive *geğir-*)

In order to capture the uses of *geğir-* in the perfective viewpoint we also searched the corpus for *geğir-mişti* (plueperfect form) and *geğir-miş* (evidential or indirect past form in Turkish), we had 7 lines in perfective viewpoint in plueperfect, but only 4 cases were analyzed because of the gender-unclear or repeated lines). As for the indirect past form *geğir-miş*, we had only one example. Sample lines:

9) “Buda” dedi sonra birden. A harfini söylerken **geğir-mişti**. (Then he said “Buda” suddenly. He **had burped** while saying the letter A) (Pure Semelfactive in plueperfect Perfective viewpoint)

10) ...adamın biri peygamberimizin huzurunda çok yemekten dolayı **geğir-miş**. (...a man **burped** (reportedly burped) in the presence of our prophet) (Indirect past/evidential marker for perfective viewpoint)

In both examples above we have basic level single-stage Semelfactive eventualities with typical features [-durative], [-telic], [-static] and [-Controlled]. They reflect sudden punctual reflexive production of burps.

4.2. Imperfective Viewpoint (*geğir-iyor / geğir-iyordu*, in present and past progressive)

For the node *geğiriyor*, our search of the corpus 42 retrieved concordance lines, but after we removed repeated lines, elliptical uses in a series of events which denote past continuous (instead of *geğiriyordu*) and other unclear or inappropriate cases, there were only 17 concordance lines left for analysis. The imperfectivizer *-(I)yor* does not necessarily denote the progressive aspect in all cases and has different functions in Turkish: it may express an event going on at the time of speaking, something habitually done, pseudo-present or narrative present like simple present tense.

The situation type of *geğiriyor* (progressive aspect) remains as a pure Semelfactive when it denotes habitual aspect. In some examples, *geğiriyor* denotes single stage basic level Semelfactive events in a narrative sequence of past events to denote successive actions with singleton interpretation. In such cases it denotes a complete event in perfective viewpoint as a pseudo-present – actually a simple past reading. In others, it really expresses the progressive aspect and becomes a derived level Activity with a multiple-event reading. Sample lines from the corpus Turkish Web 2012 enTenTen15:

11) Şaka bir yana, çok patavatsız bir adam, ben de öyleyim. Kendi kişisel pislikleri var, **geğiriyor** filan. (Joking aside, he is a very blunt man, so am I. He has his own personal nasty conducts; for instance he **burpes**) (habitual aspect, not progressive reading)

12) Keriman masaya *oturuyor*. Tak makarnayı *atıyor*. Ardından suyu *atıyor*. Biraz *bekliyor*, hafif bir **geğiriyor** ve “oh yarabbi şükür..” diyerek *kalkıyor* masadan. (Keriman *sits* at the table. She *swallows* the pasta. Then she *pours* the water in her mouth. Next she *waits* a second, gently **burps** and *says* “oh thank goodness” and *leaves* the table) (narrative present for a sequence of past events. Pure Semelfactive situation and *perfective* viewpoint)

13) 72 yaşındaki Jean Driscoll 2 yıldır durmadan **geğiriyor**. (The 72-year old Jean Driscoll **has been** continuously **burping** for two years. (Derived Activity because of the progressive aspect and durative time adverbial).

We identified no sample line in which *geğiriyor* displayed a pure present continuous function to express an activity in progress at the moment. Then it would probably have an iterative reading and be aspectually defined as derived-level Activity. Although semelfactives tend to occur in a series (Smith 1997), it does not apply to *geğir-* because people do not burp continuously. It

is usually non-agent-controlled reflexive bodily reaction that shows one has become full during a meal. The multi-functional imperfectivizer *-(I)yor* on the Semelfactive verb *geğir-* in 6 above denotes habituality; one of a series of past actions in 7 as pseudo-present form in *perfective* viewpoint because *geğiriyor* presents a single stage event in its entirety); and multiple-event reading in 13 in which the progressive and durative adverbial cause an aspectual shift from Semelfactive to derived-level Activity.

For the past form of the progressive aspect we typed *geğiriyordu* in the query box of the corpus and got 11 results. The past progressive marker *-(I)yordu*, like the present form *-(I)yor*, expresses an event in progress at a certain time in the past, but can also mark habitual aspect in the past in Turkish. Because a Semelfactive verb shifts to derived level Activity in the progressive aspect, some concordance lines display this feature. In some cases, *geğiriyordu* denotes past habits, hence reflecting habitual imperfective aspect rather than exemplifying multiple event Activities.

14) Fazla yediğinden dolayı gerek arasıra midede biriken gazı çıkarmak için *geğiriyordu*. (It must have been due to the fact that he had eaten too much that he **was burping** now and then to remove the gas accumulated in the stomach) (derived level Activity)

15) Yediği dayaktan dolayı midesinde biriken gazları *geğiriyordu*. (Because he had been beaten, he **was burping** (out) the gas accumulated in the stomach) (derived level Activity)

16) Evde car car gevezelik ediyor, eşi gittiği zaman da çatlayana kadar yiyip, bir de üstüne üstlük *geğiriyordu*. (She used to chatter nonstop at home, and when her husband left, she used to eat too much, and (**used to**) **burp** on the top of it. (Semelfactive verb in habitual aspect)

In 14 and 15 we see iterated Semelfactive *geğir-* events which were aspectually shifted to derived level Activities, while 16 expresses the agent's habit of eating too much and burping after the departure of her husband from home. The concordance line 16 denotes a Semelfactive situation in habitual aspect despite the form *geğiriyordu*, which should normally express the past progressive.

4.3. Habitual Imperfective (*geğir-ir*, *geğir-ir-di-* Aorist present and past forms)

The Turkish aorist *-(I/A)r* on a verb usually marks simple present sentences or habitual aspect, and *-when d(I)* is added we get the past form to express general truths or habits in the past. Of the 17 concordance lines we obtained from the corpus, 14 samples had *geğir-* as a pure Semelfactive verb denoting habitual aspect with the *imperfective* viewpoint. The remaining 3 examples profiled *geğir-ir* (present aorist) as one of the events in a narrative sequence. Since narrative present denotes past actions as individual happenings in their entirety, *geğir-ir-* in those examples is a pure Semelfactive with the *perfective*

viewpoint. Thus, any aspectual definition of the sentences depends on the context provided by the verb's collocates.

17) Yemeğini bitirmeye yakın **geğir-ir** ve ondan sonra ağzına asla yemek koymaz. (He **burps** just before he finishes his meal and he does not eat anything at all afterwards) (Pure Semelfactive with the habitual aspect)

18) Küfreder, sürekli pis konuşur ve **geğir-ir**. (He swears, always speaks nasty words and **burps**) (Pure Semelfactive with the habitual aspect)

19) “Sunbae ne olur söyleme lütfen lütfen” Mercan gülümser, “çok feci **geğir-ir...**” (“Sunbae, please don’t tell” Mercan smiles, “she **burps** badly...” (Narrative/pseudo-present. Semelfactive in the perfective viewpoint)

We found only one example of the past form of aorist on the verb (**geğir-irdi**) which expresses past habitual aspect:

20) Eee benim süpermenim geçirmezdi ki, yani **geğir-irdi** de benim yanımda yapmazdı. (My superman did not use to burp; that is, he **used to burp** (of course), but he didn’t do that in my presence) (pure Semelfactive with the habitual aspect)

4.4. Collateral Pragmatic Findings

4.4.1. Gender Distribution of *Geğir-* (belch/burp) in Turkish Concordance Lines

As we mentioned in the Data and Method section, during our analysis of the concordance lines, it drew our attention that most of the agentive subjects of *geğir-* in the sentences were males. We investigated the prevalence of this tendency in the sentences with *geğir-*. The analysis of the 97 concordance lines showed that the Semelfactive verb *geğir-* selected 70 male agents, 20 female agents, and 7 inanimate, nonhuman and baby agents.

Table 2. Gender Distribution of Burping Agents

	Male Agents	Female Agents	Inanimate, nonhuman or Baby agents	Total
Number of Examples	70	20	7	97
Percentage	72,16 %	20,61 %	7,21 %	100 %

As can be seen from the table, male belchers (72,16 %) overwhelmingly outnumber female belchers (20,61 %). According to Pearce’s (2008) findings and the findings by other researchers he mentions, there is a masculine bias in subjective agents in the corpora the BNC, the 1961 Brown and LOB. Because we just focus on the subjects of *geğir-* events in this study, we do not know if there is a similar general masculine bias in our corpora TNCv3.0 and Turkish Web 2012 enTenTen15. About the cause of the huge numerical gap between male and female belchers in our study, I argue that the use of women as agentive subjects of the verb *geğir-* is culturally censored because *geğir-* (belch/burp) is socially despised, and the word tends to be in disgusting

contexts and collocates with other disgusting words like “*osur* (fart), *iğren* (get disgusted), *ağızları köpür* (of one’s mouth to foam), *yağlı eller* (oily hands), *kus* (vomit), *sıç* (shit), *öğür* (retch), *sümük* (phlegm), *sümkür* (blow one’s nose), *tükür* (spit), *aksır* (sneeze), *gaz* (gas), *gurultu* (rumbling of stomach), *pis* (dirty), *göbeğini kaşı* (*scratch one’s belly/stomach-*, used derogatively for men in Turkish culture), *çok feci* (terribly), *gürültüyle*, *gürültülü şekilde* (*burp thunderously*). These disgusting collocates cordially welcome *geğir-* (burp) in their lexical gatherings. Apparently, our culture does not license women as subjects of *geğir-* in such disgusting contexts. Oddly enough, I checked the English corpus BNCweb out of curiosity and saw that there is also a parallel example in that corpus where *belch* (*geğir-*) collocates with *göbeğini kaşımak* (*scratched his stomach*, used derogatively in Turkish):

21) He *belched*, *scratched his stomach* and then stumbled from the room. (AN73 419, BNCweb) (typical semelfactive in perfective viewpoint with a male subject and derogatory expression in Turkish – *scratched his stomach*)

4.4.2. Fake *Geğir-* as a Communicative Aid

We know that the semelfactives *öksür-* and *göz kırp-* can be self-induced to give pragmatic messages such as signaling a warning, a joke, a mutual secret, a wish for sexual advance etc. (Adıgüzel 2018). As for the use of *geğir-* (burp/belch) as a pragmatic device to give certain messages, we did not come across any lines in which *geğir-* occurred as an agent-controlled, self-induced event to signal something. Although it is also possible for people to produce fake burps for a purpose, we did not detect any in the concordance lines. As a Semelfactive verb, *burp* simply denotes a single-stage event that is usually produced once or twice to release the gas out of the stomach. Then we naturally burp for physical needs, not for pragmatic purposes. However, the fact that a particular example does not occur in a selected corpus data does not necessarily mean it never occurs in natural language. The example that we gave for producing fake *burps* for pragmatic purposes by referring to a cartoon dialogue at the end of Section 2 is possible in the world of comedy even though we did not encounter such an example in the corpus. The cartoon dialogue was mentioned to show that a Semelfactive verb can also head a verb constellation that can be aspectually defined as Derived Accomplishment, which has not been mentioned in aspectual literature. In terms of event plurality categorization, such uses of Semelfactives exemplify externally pluralized otherwise single events (Cusic 1981).

5. Conclusion

The verb constellations with *geğir-* (burp/belch) seem to reflect the typical aspectual features of a pure (bodily) Semelfactive. Therefore, the examples analyzed displayed the aspectual features of basic Semelfactives: [-Static], [-Durative], [-Telic] (Smith 1997) and [-Controlled] (Dik 1997). No figurative meanings and pragmatic functions were observed in the attested data. Unless

fake burps are produced or it is presented in the progressive aspect or with a durative adverbial, *geğir-* (burp) does not shift to derived level Activity. However, some instances where the verb has the progressive marker *-(I)yor* do not denote a progressive, ongoing action because it is a feature of Turkish that some seemingly progressive verbs function like the present form of aorist, thus denoting events in a narrative sequence as narrative present. In such cases we do not have derived Activity type but basic level Semelfactive in perfective viewpoint. With such instances excluded, we encountered only a small number of lines that suggest multiple event reading, therefore derived level Activities, but no instances of agent-controlled fake *geğir-* (burp) events were discovered that can suggest self-induced [+Controlled] events for any pragmatic purposes. In fact, bodily Semelfactives denote actions which are 'normally uncontrolled' (Croft (2012:257). The Semelfactive *geğir-* (belch/burp) is not used as an extra-linguistic communicative aid as opposed to other bodily Semelfactives *öksür-* (cough) and *göz kırp-* (wink).

However, it should be borne in mind that simply because we have no collateral finding about the use of deliberate production of burps (*geğirme*) does not necessarily mean that people cannot do that. Human mind and the way they use language are creative. The subscript of a cartoon included in the article which goes "*You don't appreciate the nice things I do. Yesterday I burped 'I love you' in Morse Code and you didn't even thank me!*" is a good example that shows how iterative fake Semelfactive production can turn the whole situation into a derived level Accomplishment. It exemplifies a case in which a man burps continually in Morse code until the expression "I love you" has been ciphered, which measures out the event over time (Tenny, 1992) in a derived Accomplishment with totally different temporal features: [+dynamic], [+durative], [+telic] and [+controlled]. It is also noteworthy that an outsider unaware of the burping person's purpose of measuring out the event with consecutive burps (expressing "I love you" in Morse code) would assign the situation type of derived Activity to those repetitive burps. Then the speaker's aspectual assessment of a verb may manifest how the observer looks at the situation as well as how and why an event takes place. Smith (1997, p.10) expresses this stating "while standard choices follow conventional principles of association, marked associations violate them."

Another collateral finding that is unrelated to the main purpose of the study but pragmatically important is the type of agentive subjects that the verb *geğir-* selects. The singularity and masculinity of the agents with these Semelfactive are striking. It was clear from the concordance lines, *geğir-* (belch/burp) is highly likely to be used with male agents. The Turkish culture seems to associate *geğir-* with male agents in disgusting contexts in particular, censoring the use of female agents because the word often collocates with disgusting other words. It was found that the subjects for *geğir-* are preponderantly males (72 %). The more common use of male subjects was mentioned by Pearce (2008) who found a male bias in such contexts in

some English corpora. However, the percentage that we found is quite high. Avoidance of female subjects seem to be due to the fact that *geğir-* is mired in a lexical swamp in which it co-occurs with such a lot of disgusting and pejorative words that a woman agent as the subject of this verb seems to be censored by our culture.

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