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M. Fatih ADIGÜZEL

Dr., Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı
mfatihad@gmail.com



<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6962-0078>

Bodily Semelfactives in Turkish: Aspectual and Pragmatic Analysis of Öksür- and Göz Kırp-

*Türkçedeki Bedensel Anlık Edimler: Öksür- ve Göz
Kırp- Anlık Edimlerinin Görünüşel ve
Edimbilimsel Analizi*

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Abstract

The study covers aspectual potentials of the Turkish Semelfactive verbs öksür- (cough) and göz kırp- (wink) comprehensively through their concordances in the Turkish National Corpus TNCv3.0. Their common feature in their Semelfactive meanings is that the bodily events expressed with them may be both physiologically and pragmatically motivated, which determines Turkish speakers' aspectual choices. For öksür-, self-induced coughs are called fake coughs in the study, conveying pragmatic messages with corresponding aspectual shifts. Likewise, göz kırp-, when agent-controlled, conveys certain pragmatic messages. It also has figurative meanings, which causes aspectual shifts. The present article revealed the interactions between aspectual construals of the two verbs and their pragmatic functions and figurative meanings. Corpus data indicated that figurative meanings of göz kırp- are either inadequately defined or missing in the most comprehensive Turkish dictionary of Turkish Language Association (TDK dictionary). The study has lexicographic implications that some improvements and modifications should be made for the entry göz kırp- in the dictionary because aspectual construals are sensitive to different meanings and pragmatic functions. The study demonstrated that accurate aspectual assessments depend on not only sentential levels but also supra-sentential contexts. It was also found that for pragmatic reasons öksür- tends to select preponderantly male subjects.

Keywords: Turkish semelfactives, aspect, pragmatic function, göz kırp-, öksür-

Öz

Çalışma, Türkçe Ulusal Derleminden (TNCv3.0) bağlı dizinler yoluyla öksür- ve göz kırp- eylemlerinin görünüş/kınlınış potansiyellerini kapsamlı biçimde incelemektedir. Bu sözcüklerle ifade edilen beden kaynaklı bu anlık edimlerin ortak yönü kişi tarafından hem fizyolojik hem de edimbilimsel nedenlerle üretilebilmeleridir. Çalışmada kılıcı kontrolünde olan öksür- eylemleri sahte öksürük olarak adlandırılmış olup kimi edimbilimsel iletiler taşımaktadır. Aynı şekilde, göz kırp-, kılıcı kontrolünde üretildiğinde, belirli iletiler ifade etmektedir. Ayrıca, bu eylemin değişmeceli anlamları da vardır, ki bu da görünüş değerlerinde değişikliklere yol açmaktadır. Makale, ilgili iki eylemin görünüş/kınlınış örüntüleri ile eylemlerin edimbilimsel işlevleri ve değişmeceli anlamları arasındaki etkileşimleri ortaya koymaktadır. Ayrıca göz kırp- eyleminin bazı değişmeceli anlamlarının TDK sözlüğünde yetersiz tanımlandığı ve kimilerinin de eksik olduğu sonucuna varılmıştır. Bu eylemlerin görünüş/kınlınış örüntüsü, anlamlarındaki farklılaşmalara ve edimbilimsel işlevlerine göre değiştiğinden TDK sözlüğündeki göz kırp- girdisi için bazı düzeltmeler önerilmiştir. Çalışma, sağlıklı görünüş/kınlınış değerlendirmelerin sadece tümce düzeyine değil, aynı zamanda tümce üstü bağlama da bağlı olduğunu göstermektedir. Makalede ayrıca öksür- eyleminin bazı edimbilimsel nedenlerle baskın olarak erkek özneler seçtiği görülmüştür.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Türkçe anlık edimler, görünüş, edimbilimsel işlev, göz kırp-, öksür-

1 Introduction

This study is concerned with the aspectual and pragmatic analysis of the Turkish bodily Semelfactives¹ *öksür-* (cough) and *göz kırp-* (wink), whose common feature is that they denote actions occurring either physiologically as a reflex of the body or are self-induced, agent-controlled actions. When agent-controlled, *öksür-* and *göz kırp-* denote certain pragmatic purposes. Our analysis is based on attested data from the Turkish National Corpus – TNCv3.0 (Aksan et al., 2012). The aspectual potentials of these Semelfactive verbs were analysed as they occur in the perfective and imperfective viewpoints. Their pragmatic functions in real life situations seemed to be intriguing enough to be closely scrutinised to see what kind of aspectual choices the speaker is required to make when these verbs are used for different pragmatic purposes. Therefore, I decided to identify the interactions between their aspectual potentials and pragmatic uses that add certain meanings to conversations. The analysis of *göz kırp-* proved to be much more complicated because it is both pragmatically multifunctional and polysemous. It also drew my attention in the concordance of *öksür-* that it tends to select male subjects. I tried to unearth to what extent male subjects are more preponderantly chosen and what underlies this tendency because all people regardless of gender have the same anatomies producing these bodily events. I assumed there must be some pragmatic reasons for that.

With regard to our research questions, it could be said that the corpus-driven study aims to determine different aspectual construals involved in the use of the bodily Semelfactives *öksür-* and *göz kırp-* in Turkish, especially focussing any interactions between their aspectual realisations and in what sense or for what pragmatic messages they are used. It is assumed that self-induced/agent-controlled Semelfactive examples convey pragmatic messages. Doubtlessly, different pragmatic functions and figurative meanings involved will determine the speaker's aspectual choices. It is expected that situation types and grammatical aspects of verb constellations headed by the two Semelfactives will interact with their senses and pragmatic functions.

The overall purpose in this study is to answer the following research questions from corpus data:

- 1) To what extent do *öksür-* and *göz kırp-* denote physiologically motivated body acts or pragmatically motivated, agent-controlled acts?

¹ The initials of the words denoting types of the lexical aspect such as Semelfactives, Activities are written in capital in conformity with Smith (1997).

- 2) To what extent do pragmatically and physiologically motivated instances of these Semelfactives determine the speaker's aspectual choices?
- 3) Do any of these default Semelfactives have figurative meanings or pragmatic functions which affect the speaker's aspectual choices?
- 4) What is the distribution of male and female agentive subjects for each Semelfactive and does it make a particular sense?

The article is organized as follows. Firstly, it covers aspectual issues about Semelfactives. The next section summarizes data collection and how it was analysed. Next, I extensively discuss aspectual and pragmatic analyses of *öksür-* and *göz kırp-*. The final section provides extensive conclusions with theoretical implications.

2 Theoretical Framework

2.1 Grammatical Aspect

Aspect is a comprehensive semantic category which refers to “different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation” (Comrie, 1998: 3). Smith (1997) looks upon *aspect* as consisting of two independent components: 1) situation aspect (lexical), 2) viewpoint aspect (grammatical). Situation aspect categorizes verb phrases under two broad groups: states and events with five distinct subgroups, whereas grammatical (viewpoint) aspect involves two basic means of interpretation: perfective view and imperfective view. Grammatical aspect gives a temporal perspective to a sentence through morphological means such as affixes or other designated morphemes.

Grammatical aspect has two basic categories: perfective and imperfective aspect. The perfective viewpoint looks at a situation in its entirety, while the imperfective viewpoint views a situation from within. Compare:

- a) I waited there from 8 to 10 p.m. (perfective)
- b) I was waiting there at 8:30 (imperfective)

In a, the perfective viewpoint presents the situation as whole, with both the initial and final endpoints. However, (b) reflects the internal temporal structure of the event, profiling the event as it is in progress. The perfective viewpoint reduces a situation to a concrete whole, while the imperfective viewpoint profiles internal stages or a point in time when the event is still in progress. Comrie (1998: 25) states that the imperfective viewpoint has explicit reference to the internal temporal structure, which allows us to look into parts of situations between their initial and final endpoints. Languages differ in their categorization of imperfectivity. While some have only one category for it, others may have subdivisions. Subdivisions of imperfectivity can be seen in Table 1 (adapted from Comrie, 1998:25) below:

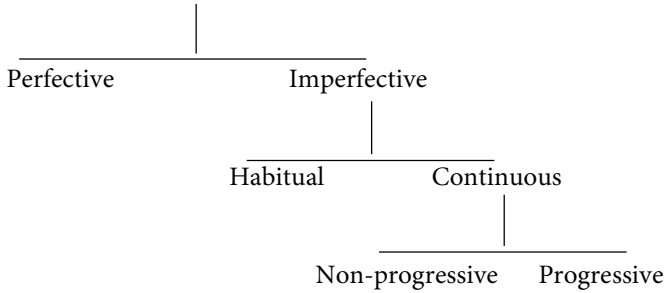
Table 1. Classification of aspectual oppositions*Classification of Aspectual Oppositions*

Table 1 does not hold for all languages, though. In English there is a distinct “habitual aspect” in the past tense: “used to”. Additionally, Simple Past Tense may also denote habitual aspect. Traditionally the imperfective is subdivided into two distinct concepts of habituality or continuousness. Thus the imperfective viewpoint denotes either a situation viewed in its duration or a habitual situation. However, in some languages a single category of the imperfective can include both meanings without any subcategorization. (i.e. to express a habit in Turkish two forms are used: *Her gün erken kalk-ar* (with aorist) or *Her gün erken kalk-ıyor* (with the progressive suffix) with the latter denoting both an event in progress or a habit). In some languages distinct forms are used to indicate progressiveness or non-progressiveness, while in others a non-progressive form can also include progressive meaning without any different marker.

2.2 Lexical Aspect and Semelfactives

Semelfactives are 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). Table 1 from Smith (1997: 20) shows the five idealized situations.

Table 2. Temporal features of the situation types

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

This classification indicates that Semelfactives are punctual events with temporal features [-static] [-durative] [-telic]. Semelfactive events represent 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 verbs focussed here, namely *öksür-* (cough) and *göz kırp-* (blink/wink) exemplify a special category called bodily Semelfactives which can be seen in aspectual literature (Smith, 1997:29-30; Kiss, 2011:123; Chen, 2013:199; Nelson, 2018:11,35)

Semelfactives denote single stage events if used in perfective aspect with the adverb *once* added (e.g. Tim coughed *once*). Croft (2012) uses the term *cyclic achievement* for Semelfactives; hence *Tim coughed once* involves the cyclic process: *uncoughing state - coughing - uncoughing state* (Croft, 2012:40) or *no noise - noise - no noise* (Klein, 1994:96). Table 2 shows Semelfactives (i.e. flap a wing, tap the table, knock at the door, cough, blink etc) are [-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). Still another feature of pure Semelfactive situations is that they are atelic, not telic because telicity involves having a natural endpoint.

In this study I also use the temporal feature [+/- Controlled] proposed by Dik (1997) and suggested by Güven (2003) to show the distinction between reflexive coughs for *öksür-* and agent-controlled, pragmatic, fake coughs in attested data. The same distinction also holds for *göz kırp-* (wink) between physiologically motivated blinking and pragmatically motivated winking. Croft (2012:257) describes such bodily actions as ‘normally uncontrolled’, which suggests that someone *coughs* or *blinks* reflexively when they have to. Such occurrences are [-Controlled]. However, *öksür-* and *göz kırp-* are special in that they can be *deliberately* produced, so they are [+Controlled]. When people *deliberately* cough or blink/wink, they are pragmatically motivated to add certain messages to communicative situations.

(1) Sigarayı ilk dendiğinde Ali birden *öksürdü*

When he first smoked a cigarette, Ali suddenly *coughed*.

(2) Konuşmaya başlamadan önce Ali (*kasten*) *öksürdü*.

Before starting to speak Ali (*deliberately*) *coughed* (i.e. cleared his throat)

Öksür- in (1) is reflexive [-Controlled] due to a respiratory problem. However, in (2) Ali *deliberately* produces a fake cough to draw attention before speaking, so it is [+Controlled] and has a pragmatic purpose.

Semelfactives “tend to occur either singly or in temporally contiguous groups” (Croft, 2012:94; Smith, 1997:30). Therefore, at the basic level, when not used iteratively for some duration, Semelfactives do not occur in the progressive. Pure Semelfactives denoting a single occurrence do not accept the progressive (Smith,

1997:172). Frawley (1992:313) states Semelfactives “have no internal structure to be extended”, so “extending a punctual event is to repeat it in a series”. When used in the progressive or with durative adverbials, these verbs do not cause ungrammaticality; we get multiple-event Activities, which become [+Durative]. Durative adverbials like “for x time” or “until x time” and indirect adverbials of duration like “sürekli / durmadan” (i.e. Continuously/Incessantly) also trigger aspectual shifts from Semelfactives to derived level Activities. Such uses do not reflect internal plurality for Semelfactives; hence iterations are external (Nelson, 2018; Aksan, Y and Aksan, M, 2009).

(3) Tim onu gördüğümde öksür-üyordu. (cough-Imperf)

Tim was coughing when I saw him. (multiple-event Activity)

(4) Ali yarım saat kadar öksür-dü. (cough-Perf)

Ali coughed for about half an hour. (multiple-event Activity)

Derived Activities in (3) and (4) are not as homogenous as unmarked Activities like *is/was walking* which can be symbolized with a continuous line (___). In contrast, the multiple-event Activity like *was coughing* involves externally pluralized Semelfactive events which occur consecutively and can be shown with successive dots (----) symbolizing separate coughs. The situation becomes [+Durative] like Activities. Rothstein (2004:29) interprets such uses of Semelfactives as homonyms of Activity situations with temporal features [+dynamic], [+durative] and [-telic]. Croft (2012:40) also states that *cough* (öksür-) has “an aspectual potential to be construed as either a cyclic achievement (Semelfactive) or as an activity.” When *öksür-* (cough) and *göz kırp-* (wink) are used for pragmatic purposes, we expect Semelfactives to be in the perfective aspect since one coughs or winks once to give pragmatic messages.

3 Data and Method

I adopted a corpus-driven study because intuitive examples do not always represent typical language use, but a corpus can yield more reliable attested data (Xia and McEnery, 2003:332). Besides, a corpus research also yields secondary findings not expected at the outset and hidden to mere intuition. Therefore, a corpus-driven approach was employed to identify pragmatic and aspectual properties of the Turkish verbs *öksür-* and *göz kırp-*. Other bodily Semelfactives could have been studied, but our selection is limited to bodily Semelfactives which are not only physiologically/reflexively produced but can also be agent-controlled. Self-induced *öksür-* and *göz kırp-* have pragmatic functions in social situations. From their concordances, I aimed to identify the interactions between their aspectual and pragmatic features.

For *öksür-* (cough), I focused on any interactions between its aspectual construals in perfective and imperfective viewpoints and its culture-specific pragmatic meanings. For instance, *öksür-* often occurs in Turkish as self-induced “fake coughs” to express annoyance, warning, disbelief or to advertise one’s presence. Pure Semelfactive *öksür-* aspectually denotes single-stage events that express a bodily act in reaction to respiratory problems. Such uses of *öksür-* are referred to as “real coughs” here. Data from the Turkish National Corpus (TNCv3.0) was analysed to show the distribution of agent-controlled [+Controlled] *öksür-* as “fake coughs” and reflexive [-Controlled] uses as “real coughs”, which determines the speaker’s aspectual choices.

Considering the internal temporal features of the Turkish Semelfactive *öksür-* and our definitions of fake and real coughs, I expected the corpus to provide sentences similar to the following intuitive ones:

- (5) (Doctor to Hasan) : *Öksür lütfen*
(*Cough* please) (imperative)
[+dynamic] [-durative] [-telic] [+controlled] (*Fake Cough*)
- (6) Hasan mikrofonu aldı, *öksürdü* ve konuşmaya başladı.
(Hasan picked up the microphone, *coughed* (i.e. cleared his throat) and began to speak) Basic Level [+dynamic] [-durative] [-telic] [+controlled]
Fake Cough
- (7) Hasan içeri girdi ve kendisine dikkat çekmek için *öksürdü*.
(Hasan entered and *coughed* to draw attention to himself/to make his presence known) [+dynamic] [-durative] [-telic] [+controlled] (*Fake Cough*)
- (8) Mehmet yalan söylüyordu. Hasan kızdı, “kes artık” dercesine ona bakarak *öksürdü*. (Mehmet was lying. Hasan got angry and *coughed*, looking at him as if meaning “cut the crap”) [+dynamic] [-durative] [-telic] [+controlled]
(*Fake Cough*)
- (9) Hasan *bazen* dairesinin zilini çalmadan önce *öksürür*.
(Hasan *sometimes coughs* before he rings the bell of his flat) (habitual)
[+dynamic] [-durative] [-telic] [+controlled] (*Fake Cough* at Basic Level)
- (10) Hasan sigarasını bir kez çektikten sonra bir kez *öksürdü*.
(Hasan *coughed* after he puffed on his cigarette once)
[+dynamic] [-durative] [-telic] [-controlled] (*Real Cough*)
- (11) Hasan eve döndüğümüzde korkunç biçimde *öksürüyordu*.
(When we returned home, Hasan *was coughing* terribly. (The progressive imperfective, multiple-event reading, derived level Activity)
[+dynamic] [+durative] [-telic] [-controlled] (*Real Cough* Derived Activity)
- (12) Dün gece Hasan 20 dakika kadar *öksürdü*.

(Hasan *coughed for about 20 minutes* last night) (perfective with durative adverbial, multiple-event reading, derived level Activity) [+dynamic] [+durative] [-telic] [-controlled] (*Real Cough* Derived Act.)

Examples from TNCv3.0 similar to those above yielded interesting conclusions especially about interactions between aspectual and pragmatic properties of *öksür-*. Likewise, *göz kırp-* may be either agent-controlled (wink at someone) or reflexive (blink). Utterances hosting this verb suggest that people often voluntarily wink at others to convey pragmatic messages like signalling a joke, secrecy or conspiracy etc. In our concordance analysis cases were also noted where *göz kırp-* has figurative meanings that affect the aspectual construal of this seemingly semelfactive verb.

As grammatical viewpoint acts like a lens to show internal constituency of a situation type (Smith, 1997:61), six independent entries were typed in the query box of the corpus TNCv3.0, which reflect Turkish perfective and imperfective viewpoints of *öksür-* with the corresponding suffixes: 1) *öksür!* 2) *öksür-dü* 3) *öksür-üyor / öksür-üyor-du* 4) *öksür-mekte* 5) *öksür-ür* 6) *öksür-müş*. The same procedure was also followed for *göz kırp-*. After concordance lines were obtained, the results were sorted out by hand. McEnery and Hardie (2012: 126) state “the computer’s role ends with supplying the analyst with a set of concordance lines”. Hence, I manually labelled each line with annotations like fake cough, real cough, basic level Semelfactive, derived level (multiple-event) Activity, perfective, imperfective etc.

Because sentential subjects of *öksür-* displayed far more male agents than females, it was investigated whether it was also the case for the gender distribution of *göz kırp-*’s subjects. The concordance lines were extended in unclear cases. The lines with unidentified genders were excluded.

4 Findings

4.1 Aspectual and Pragmatic Analysis of *Öksür-*

4.1.1 Corpus Search for the Node *Öksür-* (the imperative form)

The search for *öksür* retrieved 10 results, 8 of which were appropriate for analysis. All the 8 imperative cases of *öksür-* are naturally fake coughs produced especially when a doctor asked a patient to². The examples are basic level Semelfactives, which do not imply multiple event reading. Sample line³:

² In Turkey physicians ask patients to produce fake *coughs* while listening to their lungs, whereas English doctors instruct them to *breathe*.

³ Hereafter English renditions for Turkish examples are provided in brackets.

- (13) Figen sırtını açınca (doktor) dinleme cihazının öteki ucunu Figen'in sırtına koydu, "öksür" dedi. (When Figen laid bare her back, (the doctor) placed the sensor of the stethoscope on Figen's back. He said "Cough!") (W-VI19E1A-4001-71, TNCv3.0)

None of the imperative cases of *öksür-* are real coughs. All are fake, agent-controlled coughing events to fulfil a purpose (the doctor's aim to listen to the lungs or one's aim to signal one's presence in one example). It can be concluded that when *öksür-* (cough) is used in the imperative, it is a fake cough, self-induced for a purpose. Coughing in response to a Turkish doctor's command usually occurs once or twice and utterances suggest pure Semelfactive events.

4.1.2 The Perfective Viewpoint (öksür-dü)

Out of 100 results, 84 sentences were chosen because of unclear lines. 39 of the lines displayed fake coughing events and the remaining 45 real coughs. As example (14) shows, fake coughs in the perfective viewpoint are simply iterated once or twice compared to real coughs in the perfective which become multiple-event Activity with durative adverbials as in (15).

- (14) Bizimki ufaktan horlamaya bile başlamıştı. Öksürdüm. Tınmadı. Dokundum. Duymadı. Dürttüm...(My fellow friend had even started to snore. I coughed. He remained indifferent. I touched him. He didn't hear me. I nudged him. (Fake cough, to wake up man) (W-DI09C1A-0895-12)
- (15) ...uzun süre öksürdüm. (...I coughed for a long time) (real cough, derived level Activity) (TA16B1A-1192-1)

Table 3. Distribution of *öksür-dü* (coughed) in the perfective viewpoint on the basis of derived Activity vs basic level Semelfactive

Situation Type	Fake Cough	Real Cough	Total
Derived Activity	0 0 %	11 100 %	11
Basic Level Semelfactive	39 53,424 %	34 46,575	73

Table 3 demonstrates the derived Activity types in the perfective viewpoint are non-agent-controlled, durative, iterative real coughs. On the other hand, basic level Semelfactives in the perfective viewpoint are mostly punctual, agent-controlled coughs which can be both fake and real coughs, but iterated once or twice.

4.1.3 The Imperfective Viewpoint with Progressive Suffixes on the Verb (öksür-üyor, öksür-üyor-du, öksür-mekte)

52 lines with (-Iyor/-Iyordu) on the verb *öksür-* were analysed. 4 cases were found for *öksür-mekte*, the formal form of the Turkish progressive. Almost all the cases of *öksür-* in the progressive proved to be real coughs. 54 were real coughing events and 2 fake. The 56 progressive samples were derived-level Activities. This is not surprising at all because when used in the progressive, Semelfactives shift to derived-level Activities (Smith 1997). Physiologically motivated real coughs are iterative as long as a respiratory problem continues and thus profiled as multiple-event Activity with durative adverbials and the progressive aspect.

- (16) Fena *öksürüyorsun*. Valla kuş gribi olacaksın. (You are coughing terribly. I bet you'll soon catch the bird flu. (derived Activity headed by a Semelfactive verb) (W-RE36E1B-3293-3)
- (17) Hastanın hiç düşmeyen bir ateşi vardı ve durmaksızın *öksürüyordu*. (The patient had a never-dropping temperature and was coughing nonstop) (real cough, derived activity headed by a Semelfactive verb) (W-MA16B1A-0128-279)

4.1.4 The Imperfective with Present and Past Forms of Aorist (*öksür-ür / öksür-ür-dü*)

42 concordance lines were analysed, 37 with the present and 5 with the past form of aorist. Out of 42 sentences, 16 are fake coughing events and 26 are real ones. *Öksür-ür-dü* (past aorist) appeared in 5 sentences as expressing habitual aspect, 2 of which were fake and three real coughing events.

- (18) Yalnız ne altını kirletir ne de *öksürürdü*. (However, he didn't use to wet his underclothes, nor did he use to cough) (Real Coughing event in past habitual aspect) (W-GA15B2A-1925-1824)
- (19) ...bir görüş ileri sürmeden önce dikkat çekmek için her defasında *öksürürdü*. (Whenever he was about to assert a new argument, he used to cough to draw attention) (Fake Cough in habitual aspect) (W-VI19E1A-4052-3)

The Turkish aorist -(I/A)r basically denotes habitual imperfective, but the analysis of the 37 *present aorist* examples with *öksür-ür* yielded striking results: nearly all had the (narrative) *perfective* aspect instead of the imperfective. Only 6 sentences with *öksür-ür* were habitual, thus imperfective with 31 being perfective. It is because the present form of aorist also denotes events in a narrative sequence as narrative present as well as marking verbs for stage description. Then “the habitual is often formally indiscernible” because “in the present, the habitual typically is signalled by the narrative present” (Frawley, 1992:319), which does not automatically denote the habitual aspect. Table 4 displays the aspectual and pragmatic distribution of the 42 lines (37 cases of present aorist + 5 past examples).

Table 4. The distribution of aspectual construals for öksür-ür / öksür-ür-dü

Aspectual Class	Fake Cough	Real Cough	Total
Derived Activity (Perfective! Narrative - Past function)	0	1	1
Basic Level Semelfactive (Perfective! Narrative - Past function)	14	16	30
Pure Habitual Imperfective (<i>Semelfactive type</i>)	2	9	11
TOTAL	16	26	42
	38,09 %	61,90 %	

4.1.5 The Search with Öksür-müş (*past perfect m(I)şt(I) or narrative m(I)ş*)

The search retrieved only 4 examples, 3 of which were analysed, with one excluded. One was real and two fake coughing events. All the cases of *öksür-müş* displayed narrative perfective viewpoint, not pluperfect (*öksür-müş-tü*), though the suffix (-miş) can also mark the latter (Aksu-Koç 1998).

Table 5. Overall corpus outlook of the Turkish Semelfactive *öksür-* in terms of aspectual choices and semantic / pragmatic features

Aspectual Viewpoint Markers on the verb <i>öksür-</i>	Number of cases	Fake Cough (pragmatic)	Real Cough (body reflex)
<i>Öksür</i> (imperative, perfective future)	8	8 100 %	0 0 %
<i>Öksür-dü</i> (perfective-(DI))	84	39 46,428 %	45 53,571 %
<i>Öksür-üyor</i> (<i>du</i>) (Imperfective present and past)	52	2 3,846 %	50 96,153 %
<i>Öksür-mekte</i> (imperfective formal use)	4	0 0 %	4 100 %
<i>Öksür-ür / öksür-ür-dü</i> (Aorist, present and past)	42	16 38,095 %	26 61,904 %
<i>Öksür-müş / öksür-müş-tü</i> (Narrative perfective-m(I)ş and past perfect)	3	2 66,666 %	1 33,333 %
TOTAL	193 100 %	67 34,715 %	126 65,284 %

Table 5 shows that *öksür-* in the progressive expresses real coughs – involuntary bodily reactions to throat problems and they are multiple event Activities, not basic-level Semelfactive. Table 5 also clearly demonstrates that about

35 % of occurrences of *öksür-* in the concordance proved to be fake coughs; that is, agent-controlled coughs with pragmatic functions.

Table 6. Overall distribution of perfective and imperfective viewpoints of *öksür-* on the basis of pure Semelfactives and derived level Activities.

Viewpoint/Grammatical Aspect	Number of Cases	Basic Level Semelfactives	Derived Level Activities
Perfective Viewpoint	126 100 %	114 90,476 %	12 9,523 %
Imperfective (progressive aspect)	56 100 %	0 0 %	56 100 %
Habitual imperfective	11 100 %	11 100 %	0 0 %
Total	193 100 %	125 64,766%	68 35,233 %

Table 6 shows all the sample lines with *öksür-* in the progressive display aspectual shifts to derived-level Activities headed by a Semelfactive verb. When *öksür-* is in the perfective viewpoint, the great majority of the samples (over 90 %) point to basic level Semelfactives, which apparently occurred once or twice. This corroborates Croft (2012:144), who found that cyclic achievements like *öksür-(cough)* are overwhelmingly in the perfective viewpoint except when *öksür-* is a multiple event activity presented in the imperfective. Because many concordance lines with *öksür-ür* (present aorist) seem to have the property of narrative present and locate it as a complete event in its entirety in a narrative sequence of events carrying a perfective viewpoint, I was able to identify only 11 examples of habitual aspect with the temporal features of basic level Semelfactives.

4.1.6 The Gender Distribution for the Agents of *Öksür-*

To answer the question WHO coughs more in attested data, the genders of agents of *öksür-* were identified.

Table 7. The distribution of the subjective agents' gender

Gender Distribution Total	Male Agents	Female Agents
193	162	31
100%	83,94 %	16,06 %

Our analysis revealed that male agents are 83,94 % in the concordance, whereas only 16,06 % were female coughers, which is a striking difference. The pragmatic motivation underlying this tendency might as well be the fact that Turkish society is patriarchal, so pragmatic purposes of coughing such as asserting oneself for

warning, expressing annoyance or disapproval, and displaying authority with one's coughing must be associated with being a male. Pearce (2008:10) suggests there is a male bias in subject selection, stating that "MAN seems to be more strongly associated than WOMAN with words that convey activity and *assertiveness*"⁴. Moreover, *öksür-* in Turkish sometimes co-occurs with phlegm, mucus, blood or spitting on the ground afterwards; therefore, speakers might avoid presenting ladies as subjects of sentences in such disgusting contexts as it would not be dainty for them.

4.1.7 Section Summary of the Findings about *Öksür-* (cough)

From the discussion so far, it can be concluded that the verb *öksür-* (cough) has pragmatic functions that cannot be inferred from its meaning given in the official TDK dictionary at sozluk.gov.tr. The definition given in the dictionary is simply "to expel the air in the lungs suddenly and with a loud noise due to the discomfort of the respiratory tract membranes." Rather than its semantic meaning, conversational pragmatic implications determine the marked and unmarked aspectual realizations of the Semelfactive (Olsen, 1997). The concordance of *öksür-* revealed that in several cases it functions as a conversational aid to convey a warning, disbelief, annoyance etc. rather than describe a real cough involuntarily produced because of a respiratory problem. About 30 % of the concordance lines with *öksür-* have proved to express fake coughs. My aspectual and pragmatic interpretations of the corpus examples of the Semelfactive *öksür-* can be summarized as follows:

In the imperative form, *öksür-* is highly likely to refer to a fake cough usually produced when a doctor examining your lung says "*Öksür lütfen*" ("*Cough please*"). Because someone instructs you to cough, which is normally an involuntary reflex, it cannot be a real cough. In this sense, *öksür-* has the Semelfactive situation type at basic level and happens usually twice. Such coughing events do *not* display a shift to derived level Activity. Hence the temporal features remain [+Dynamic], [-Durative], [-Telic] and [+Controlled].

With the imperfective viewpoint (*öksür-üyor*, *öksür-üyordu* and *öksür-mekte*), nearly all the examples (54 of the 56 examples) express *real coughs* with only 2 being *fake coughs*, which is striking. The imperfective viewpoint with Semelfactives reflects multiple iterations of coughing and causes an aspectual shift, making Semelfactives multiple-event Activities (Smith 1997; Croft, 2012). Durative adverbials like *sürekli* (*continuously*), *durmaksızın* (*incessantly*) etc. also cause clashes which cause aspectual shifts to derived Activities. Such events are extended over a long time with a lot of iterations and are not normally fake (pragmatically motivated). They are likely to result from respiratory problems; hence they are genuine coughing events unless one

⁴ Men are profiled as more assertive and *öksür-*, pragmatically self-induced, can show men's assertiveness, so this word in the quotation is italicised by the researcher.

thinks of a scenario in which one voluntarily coughs repetitively to catch another person's attention. Such examples of coughing events of long duration are multiple-event Activities in Smith's (1997) terms and undirected activities in Croft (2012). The aspectual shift involves shifted temporal features as well: [+Dynamic] [+Durative] [-Telic] and [-Controlled].

When the present aorist suffix -(A/Ir) is on the verb (e.g. *öksür-ür*), one would naturally expect that it denotes habitual aspect. However, it was seen that a small number of them reveal habitual aspect. As can be seen in Table 4, of the 42 lines, 1 is derived-level Activity and a real cough, 30 are basic-level Semelfactives with 14 fake coughs and 16 real coughs. Only 11 cases of habitual aspect were found. Most cases are in the perfective aspect in their contexts. It is because they express narrative present and function either as one of the events in a past sequence or as a pragmatic device to give messages. Normally habitual readings for pragmatically motivated coughs involve a Semelfactive aspectual construal with one or two repetitions of the punctual act of coughing, with default features [+Dynamic], [-Durative], [-Telic] and [+Controlled]. If habitual occurrences with *öksür-* result from real coughs regularly produced in certain circumstances, then we have a derived activity construed as a habit, with temporal features [+Dynamic] [+Durative] [-Telic] and [-Controlled]. Only one such example was encountered.

Lastly, the coughing events with *öksür-* were found to have overwhelmingly male subjects. The pragmatic messages given by agent controlled coughing such as warning, disapproval, annoyance, advertising one's presence or signalling one's approaching a place seem to be more associated with *assertive* attitude of males in our patriarchal society. Co-textual elements denoting derogatory and disgusting things like throwing out phlegm or mucus that collocate with *öksür-* may result in avoiding using females as agents of *öksür-* in disgusting contexts.

4.2 Aspectual and Pragmatic Analysis of *Göz kırp-* (wink)

Göz kırp- is a Semelfactive verb in its basic sense and corresponds to *winking at someone* or *blinking* in English. While *blinking* is physiologically motivated and an average person blinks 15 to 20 times per minute, *winking at someone* is an agent-controlled act to volitionally use the eyes' natural blinking ability for social signalling. Ryle (2009[1968]:494) defines *winking* as "to try to signal to someone in particular, without the cognisance of others, a definite message according to an already understood code." *Blinking* is usually reflexive and naturally iterative, and has no intended recipient, but *winking at someone* is subjective and adds pragmatic messages to conversations.

The common messages expressed by *winking* discussed in an English website ("Socialmettle," n.d.) include implying solidarity, intimacy, affection, friendliness, hinting "brewing mischief", making a flirtatious gesture, sharing a private joke or

poking subtle fun at a third party, signalling ease or comfort in unknown or uncomfortable situations, expressing mutual agreement, signalling the winkee that you ask for their approval when a secret plan is about to be executed, meaning to say “you understand what I mean, right?” or expressing your acknowledgement of someone. The winker usually winks at another person during a social context to mean he/she will hold the floor and the recipient is signalled to act accordingly without interfering or spoiling the joke, plan or hidden intention. In such cases, the winker thus urges the winkee towards a mutual involvement.

In this section I use corpus data to reveal aspectual and pragmatic features of *göz kırp-* (wink) and their interactions. Because *göz kırp-* is multi-functional and has figurative meanings, its different functions and senses should be in interaction with varying aspectual construals.

4.2.1 The Perfective Viewpoint (*göz kırp-tı, kırp-mış, kırp-mış-tı*)

88 concordance lines were obtained for *göz kırp-tı* in TNCv3.0. With unclear and repeated lines deleted, 71 examples were analysed. These examples in the perfective viewpoint have the temporal features of a pure Semelfactive. They are [-static] [-durative], [-telic]. Because the winks are voluntarily performed [agent-controlled] when used for pragmatic purposes, the verb constellations should also be assigned the value [+controlled]. Sample lines that clearly reflect pragmatic purposes of agent-controlled winking events:

- (20) ...o da profesöre *göz kırptı*. Böylece aralarındaki suç ortaklığının ilk işaret fişekleri atılmış oldu. (W-OA16B4A -0119-60) (He *winked* back at the professor. Thus started the first sparks of the conspiracy between them)

In this example *winking* denotes mutual agreement for a secret conspiracy between the winker and the recipient.

- (21) Kirkor usta, fazla üsteler gibi görünmemeye çalışarak, “öze anlatma” dercesine *göz kırptı*. (W-JA16B3A -0796-66) (Master Kirkor, trying not to seem to insist too much, *winked* (at me) as if meaning “don’t tell about it if it is private.”)

Winking here denotes comforting the recipient, signalling his approval of the recipient’s possible decision not to talk about something private.

- (22) Aliye yeğenine *göz kırptı*. Bu “sen şimdi git ben birazdan gelirim” demekti. (W-MA16B3A-0039-72) (Aliye *winked* at her niece. This meant “You go now, and I’ll come over soon”)

In the extended context, a third party wants to take Aliye’s niece to her room for bedtime. Apparently the niece wants Aliye to join her. Winking at her, Aliye gives her a secret message “according to an already understood code” (Ryle, 2009

[1968]:494) which signals “You go now, and I’ll come over soon.” The gesture is correctly interpreted by her due to a mutual agreement.

- (23) “Yeni evliyiz de,” dedi Fuat, “ev bakıyoruz.” Yüzüne baktım şaşkınlıkla, göz kırptı bana. (PA16B4A-0162) (“We just got married,” said Fuat “and are looking for a house” I looked at him in surprise, and he *winked at me*)

In the extended context, two *unmarried* people are looking for a flat. The man thinks if he says they are married, the landowner will be more willing to lease out his flat to them, so he lies that that they are married. The winking conveys a gesture for the woman not to spoil the man’s lie. The winker attempts to hold the floor for further communication without his female partner saying or doing anything to the contrary to make the lie useful.

- (24) Boyalı bir kadın göz kırptı. Pastaneyi işaret etti. (W-CA16B2A-1328-25) (A woman with a heavy make-up *winked at me*. She pointed to the patisserie)

Such examples show if the winker is a stranger from the opposite sex, winking is a flirtatious gesture –to show she/he is interested in the recipient and wants to make sexual advances.

- (25) Mıstık, Orhan’a göz kırptı: “Hökümet emir çıkarmış: İhtiyar garıların gocaya varmasını istiyormuş!” (W-GA16B3A-1009-60) (Mıstık *winked at* Orhan. “The government has issued an order, allegedly requiring old women to marry men”)

The extended context of the concordance line shows that Mıstık wants to poke subtle fun at his grandma and his winking signals Orhan not to spoil it (mutual agreement for “brewing mischief”).

In two sample lines, *göz kırp-* has the figurative meaning *lean towards someone or signalling for collaborating or acceptance, joining them or their group*. In such examples, the subjective agent of *göz kırp-* does not actually open and close their eyes and the verb with the figurative sense does not have a Semelfactive construal, but a *Stative* reading:

- (26) (Kemal Derviş) önce Ecevit’i terk edip İsmail Cem’e göz kırptı, sonra ani bir kararla CHP saflarına geçti. (W-QD301B-2228-38) [(Kemal Derviş) first abandoned Ecevit and *winked at* İsmail Cem (*implied his wish to join or collaborate with İsmail Cem with his attitude and/or words*) and then joined CHP (a political party) making a sudden decision]

Winked at is incorrect in the English rendition above. What is meant by *göz kırptı* here is given in brackets after the incorrectly used *winked at*. The figurative sense here is to *imply* (with your behaviour and words) *your wish to collaborate with or join a political party*; therefore, the verb constellation denotes a *state* headed by a

seemingly Semelfactive verb. Then the temporal features of the construed situation are [-Dynamic] [+Durative] [-Telic] and [+Controlled] because of the idiomatic sense involved.

For the perfective aspect with *göz kırp-mış* and *göz kırp-mıştı* to find examples in narrative perfective and pluperfect forms, only 10 results were obtained, 7 of them analysed.

The gender distribution of the subjects of *göz kırp-* has no striking results as opposed to the preponderance of male subjects of *öksür-*.

Table 8. Gender distribution for the perfective viewpoint

Male Winkers	Female Winkers	Inanimate Agents	Total
43	31	4	78
55,128 %	39,743 %	5,128 %	100 %

Table 8 does not point to a considerable difference between the numbers of male and female winkers. *Göz kırp-* mostly has a pure Semelfactive reading in the perfective viewpoint to reflect both men and women's pragmatic messages.

4.2.2 The Imperfective Viewpoint (*göz kırp-ıyor*, *kırp-ıyor-du*)

An agent-controlled *wink* communicates a message when used as a pure Semelfactive. A Semelfactive in the progressive requires that the punctual event is iterated; hence, it aspectually shifts to multiple-event Activity. For example, one might wink or blink one after another for some time for fun and we get derived level Activity with new aspectual features. Consider the following intuitive example:

(27) Peter devamlı *göz kırpıyordu*. (Peter was winking/blinking continuously)

The situation type here is not a Semelfactive but derived Activity because one temporal feature associated with a Semelfactive has changed and become [+durative], hence not punctual anymore. The Semelfactive event is repeated, thus externally extended from without, in Frawley's (1992) terms.

However, the corpus search for the progressive aspect in present and past forms (*göz kırp-ıyor / kırp-ıyor-du*) did not retrieve such results. The 51 concordance lines with *göz kırp-ıyor* (present progressive) either digress from our definition of the Semelfactive or denote pseudo-progressive simply expressing events in a narrative sequence. When it exemplifies events in a narrative sequence like simple present marker (-A/ır), *göz kırpıyor* is not a derived level Activity going on now nor is it really in the progressive aspect or the imperfective viewpoint. It simply has the

perfective viewpoint, which can be termed as *narrative perfective*. In fact a group of successive actions are described in the past with a group of sentences that have verbs with the present progressive suffix (I)yor. Each such use denotes perfective happenings in a narrative sequence. In English the simple present tense has this function; therefore, that tense is used in its translation below, not as it is done with the present continuous (-Iyor) which appears in Turkish.

- (28) Ona benzettiği birine gülümsüyor. Karşılık veriyor genç kız. Gülümseyip göz kırptıyor. Bakışlarıyla gel diyor. (W-LA16B4A-0687-39) (He smiles at someone he mistakes for her. The girl smiles back at him. She *winks at* him smiling. She looks as if saying “come after me...”)

In this context the other sentences in present continuous help us judge the sentence with *göz kırptıyor* as expressing narrative present –an individual perfective event in a sequence of events with a single stage Semelfactive use in perfective viewpoint, not imperfective. Then as well as sentential level, supra-sentential level is also important to assign an aspectual value to a situation.

The most striking conclusion about *göz kırptıyor* (with progressive marker) is that over half the examples (28 examples out of 51) have *inanimate subjects* and *göz kırp-* does not denote the blinking function of human eyes. *Göz kırp-* has a figurative sense in such sentences and no longer reflects a Semelfactive situation. Both meanings and aspectual values of such sentences are rather different. Sample lines:

- (29) O da ne? Rafta yeni bir dergi bana *göz kırptıyor*, adı da Pink. Algıda seçicilikten dolayı, her türlü “Pembe”, “Pink” kelimesi hemen dikkatimi çeker... (W-SIO9C2A-0405-46) (What the hell is that? A new magazine on the shelf *is winking at me* (= *draws my attention*) and its name is Pink. Because of perceptual selectivity, any word meaning “Pembe” like “Pink” draws my attention)
- (30) KE500 2 megapiksel kamerası ...stil sahibi kullanıcılara, gümüş kaplama görünümü ile *göz kırptıyor*. (W-TC29D1B-2800-8) (KE500 2 megapixel camera... *is winking at* stylish users (*draws their attention/appears interesting*) with its silver-plated look)

In this example the camera (inanimate) is the subject of *göz kırp-* and because it is not performing any (dynamic) action, the aspectual value of *göz kırptıyor* in continuous aspect (Lit. *is winking*) is neither a Semelfactive nor a multiple-event Activity, but a *Stative* situation in a figurative meaning headed by the seemingly Semelfactive *göz kırp-*. The camera does not have eyes to wink, but with its attractive features, it is making itself conspicuous. Another example:

- (31) Grubun tartışma alanında alt altta duran iki başlık ise ikilemlerden ikilem beğen dercesine *göz kırptıyor* hepimize: “sevgi”-“sex.” (W-VI45F1D-4708-

57) (Two subheadings among the issues to be discussed by the group *are winking at us all (draw our attention/look so evident)*: “love”–“sex” as if referring to multiple dilemmas)

To sum up, the examples of *göz kırp-* in (29), (30), and (31) with *inanimate subjects and progressive form (-Iyor)* do not profile a situation in which someone successively produces countable winking/blinking events, which would otherwise make them multiple-event Activities. On the contrary, there is no action. The figurative sense of *göz kırp-* with inanimate subjects here is to *draw attention or appeal to someone* with its distinct feature(s). The predicate *göz kırp-* is no longer a Semelfactive above and reflects a *Stative* situation presented in the continuous aspect. Hence the corresponding temporal properties change: [-Dynamic] [+Durative] [-Telic] and [-Controlled].

In some concordance lines, *göz kırıyor* (progressive form) denotes the agent’s attitude that reveals their warm messages for collaboration, their wish to *lean towards* someone or a group or to build solidarity or intimacy. In such examples the agent can be a person or a seemingly inanimate noun that stands metonymically for a country or a group. This figurative sense of *göz kırp-* is also mentioned in sozluk.gov.tr. Sample lines:

- (32) ABD başkanı George W. Bush, şer eksenine yerleştirdiği İran’a *göz kırıyor*. (W-QA16B2A-1435-56). (The US president George W. Bush *is winking at (is sending warm messages of collaboration to)* İran, which he regards as the most evil)
- (33) Tuncay Mataracı siyasete yeniden *göz kırıyor* (W-NG24D1B-2299-51) (Tuncay Mataracı *is winking at (signals/implies his willingness to enter)* politics again)

Because the agentive subjects of *göz kırp-* in those concordance lines above do not actually blink or wink using their eyes, *göz kırıyor* in the progressive aspect does not exemplify an aspectual shift to multiple event Activity. Rather, with its figurative meaning of displaying signals of friendship or collaboration or implying willingness to join a party or a group, *göz kırıyor* suggests *Stative* reading, not a Semelfactive or a derived Activity. Thus these concordance lines display an aspectual construal with features [+Static] [+Durative] [-Telic] and [+Controlled].

What is more complicated is how to assign an aspectual value to what a light source does when expressed in Turkish in the progressive with *göz kırıyor* (is/are winking). In some sentences *göz kırıyor* for light sources denotes *glitter* or *flash* whose internal structure involves repetitive subevents (Klein, 1994; Nelson, 2018) patterning like on-off-on. In such cases *göz kırıyor* is construed as a derived Activity with iterative events headed by a Semelfactive. If *göz kırıyor* expresses what a star or sun constantly does without any discernible signs of change in their light’s intensity,

it denotes *Stative* reading with the sense *is/are shining/shimmering*. As Smith (1997:58-59) states, “certain verb constellations are vague”; likewise, *göz kırp-*, when light sources are used as its subjects, has different aspectual values. Sample line:

- (34) Yıldızlar göz kırıyor raylardan akan trenlere. (W-QI22E1C-2910-40)
(Stars are winking at (are shining on) the trains going along the tracks).

Here the inanimate light emitters (i.e. stars) *shine* on trains, which profile a homogenous state, not cyclic, countable, separate Semelfactive events successively produced. When a light emitter *flashes* and is expressed with the verb *wink* or *blink*, we have a pure Semelfactive verb with the cyclic pattern *light not on, light on, light not on* (Klein, 1994:96). To put it more clearly, whether *göz kırıyor* in (34) means “*is shining*” or “*is winking/blinking* in the sense of *flashing*” determines the aspectual construal. Usually torches and siren lights produce visible and countable units of distinct light emission, which would be a Semelfactive or derived Activity according to the tense-aspect constructions. In (34) stars are *shining, and producing constant homogenous light, but not blinking like flashing*, so the verb constellation’s aspectual value is a *Stative* presented in progressive form like posture verbs (sit, lie etc.) in present continuous in English. Then *göz kırp-* (blink/wink), when it means *shine* and is presented in progressive aspect, lends itself to *Stative* reading with the corresponding temporal properties: [-Dynamic] [+Durative] [-Telic] and [-Controlled].

The search for *göz kırp-* in another common imperfective form – past progressive (*göz kırp-ıyor-du*), which normally corresponds to *was / were winking* in English, retrieved 26 concordance lines, two of which were unclear and removed. The remaining 24 lines proved to have almost the same meanings and aspectual features as I discussed for *göz kırıyor* above. In the majority of the lines (19 lines) the subjects were inanimate and *göz kırıyordu* had *Stative* readings. Sample concordance lines:

- (35) Karşı sırada ihtiyar, köylü kılıklı biri göz kırıyordu bize. Çok komik bir tipti. (W-HA16B2A-1938-12) (In the opposite row someone old, dressed like a villager was winking at us. He was a funny person)

This use in the progressive aspect denotes iterated events of winks, which shift the Semelfactive wink to a multiple-event Activity.

- (36) Fakat her yaptıkları çizimde dairenin içinden bir sır göz kırıyordu. Bu sır dairenin çevresi ile çapı arasında sabit bir oranın olmasıydı.(W-IB04A1A-1052-26) (But in every drawing they did, a secret was winking at them (drew their attention) from inside the circle. The secret was that there was a constant ratio between the circumference of the circle and its diameter)

- (37) Gömleğin arasından süt kadar beyaz kılsız teni göz kırpyordu. (W-JA16B3A-1133-19) (His milk white hairless skin was winking (was conspicuous/drew attention) through his shirt)

However, in those two examples above the situation type of *göz kırpyordu* is a *State* because it does not manifest the dynamic feature of Semelfactives, nor does it suggest someone's punctual blinking once. The *Stative* reading results from the figurative meaning of *göz kırp-* here, which is to *draw attention/look evident*. In the English renditions, I deliberately used past continuous form of English to show which tense the suffix *-(I)yordu* on the verb corresponds to in English.

- (38) (Prens Sabahattin) Bir yandan kökten dincilere diğer yandan Osmanlı bünyesindeki milliyetçi akımlara göz kırpyordu. (W-MD02A2A-3324-8) (Prince Sabahattin was winking at (showed signals of sympathy and friendship to) both the fundamentalists and the nationalist movements within the Ottomans)

In (38) *göz kırpyor* with a human agent does not denote *blinking*, but expresses the Prince's attitude towards adherents of two different ideologies. He leaned towards them / implied signals of friendship with them. Again this is not multiple-event Activity derived from a Semelfactive through the use of the progressive aspect because it has a figurative *Stative* meaning.

- (39) ...Erdal İnönü Ecevit'in koalisyon önerisine göz kırpyordu. (W-KD02A3A-0567-4) (Erdal İnönü was winking at (seemed to welcome warmly) Ecevit's coalition proposal)

In (39) *göz kırpyordu* does not refer to iterated winking actions of Ecevit's eye(s), but reflects his approval of İnönü's coalition proposal. *Göz kırpyordu* here figuratively means *seeming to welcome* the proposal *warmly*, thus suggesting a *Stative* reading.

- (40) Mavi (siren) ışık, yanıp sönen soluk bir yıldız gibi bahçeye göz kırpyordu. (W-KE09C2A-0307-11) (The blue light (of the siren) was winking (was flashing on and off) at the garden like a pale star which was flashing)

In (40) we see cyclic repetitions of the Semelfactive *göz kırp-* (*wink/blink*) as the progressive form suggests. The congruent iterations of individual Semelfactive blinks suggested by the progressive aspect shift the aspectual construal to multiple-event Activity (Smith, 1997) or undirected Activity (Croft, 2012). The figurative meaning of *göz kırpyordu* in (40) *-flashing-* is also a Semelfactive verb. According to Longman dictionary on line ("Wink," n.d.), the English lexemes *wink/blink* can signify what *flashing* does in English too. Then the inanimate light source in (40) was winking/blinking/flashing with repetitive cycles of *light off-light on-light off* (Klein,

1994; Nelson, 2018). The temporal features of this derived level Activity headed by a Semelfactive are [+Dynamic] [+Durative] [-Telic] and [-Controlled].

Table 9. Gender distribution for the imperfective viewpoint (progressive aspect) (*göz kırıyor, göz kırpyordu*)

Male Winkers	Female Winkers	Inanimate Agents	Total
18	8	49	75
24 %	10,66 %	65,33 %	100 %

Table 9 shows *göz kırp-* often selects *inanimate objects* as its agentive subjects when used in the progressive aspect. The difference between the male and female winkers is negligible as compared to the striking difference between the distributions of male and female subjects of *öksür-*.

4.2.3 The Habitual Imperfective (*göz kırp-ar, göz kırp-ar-đı*)

The search for *göz kırp-* with the present and past forms of the aorist (*-(I/Ar, -(I/Ar-đı* respectively) on the verb retrieved 36 concordance lines for *göz kırpar* (present aorist) and 5 lines for *göz kırpardı* (past aorist). 26 cases for *göz kırpar* were analysed because 10 were unclear and just 11 had the aspectual features of habitual imperfective. On the other hand, all the (5) examples of past aorist (*göz kırpardı*) displayed a habitual imperfective construal.

In most of the concordances, *göz kırp-ar* (present aorist) has the perfective viewpoint and expresses narrative sequences of events. It is a well-known function of the present aorist in Turkish to mark single, completed events in narration or events in stage directions, in which case we can assign the grammatical aspectual value *narrative perfective*. Sample lines for non-habitual cases:

- (41) Bence çocukluğun tadını çıkarmaya bak, hem bazı şeyler sadece çocukken yaşanabiliyormuş. (Tosbi'ye *göz kırpar*). (W-UA14B1A-1594-29) (I think you should enjoy childhood, what is more it is said that some things can be only be enjoyed as a child. (He *winks* at Tosbi)

Göz kırpar (present aorist form) denotes a completed past event in a play or occurs as a stage description where it expresses a single perfective Semelfactive event rather than repeated events as expected from a verb in habitual aspect. *Göz kırpar-* is in pseudo-past and a single stage event with the *narrative perfective* viewpoint.

There are more examples in which *göz kırpar* reflects single stage events presented in narrative perfective with certain pragmatic messages. The Turkish aorist normally suggests habitual actions. Thus, *göz kırpar* denotes habitual imperfective in a few lines.

- (42) ...böyle anlarda ... “Ne güzel şu yaşamak!” derim. Sevinirim. “Postacı amca!..” çağrışlarına *göz kırpar*, gülücükler gönderirim. (W-UI19E1A-4024-3) (...in such moments ...I think “How nice it is to live!” I get happy. I *wink* at children calling me “Uncle Postman!” and send them smiles.)

Above we see how the postman behaves on certain occasions. *Göz kırpar* denotes a Semelfactive event in habitual aspect and his blinking act pragmatically signals his feelings of friendship and affection towards children. I also encountered in the concordance a generic example in which *göz kırp-* has no pragmatic message but denotes our physiological need for blinking:

- (43) Kadınlar⁵ erkeklere göre 2 kat fazla *göz kırpar*. (W-SF32D1B-2746-18)
(Women *blink* twice as often as men)

As for the *past aorist* on the verb (i.e. *göz kırp-ardı*), the corpus retrieved only 5 examples, all of which proved to have habitual readings. 4 had inanimate subjects and 1 a male subject. The four inanimate subjects refer to light sources where *göz kırp-* has figurative meanings such as shining or flashing, each with different internal structures.

Table 10. Gender Distribution of *Göz Kırpar* and *Kırpardı* (Aorist)

Male Winkers	Female Winkers	Inanimate Agents (plus 1 animal)	Total
10	7	14	31
32,258 %	22,580 %	41,161 %	100 %

According to Table 10, there is no significant difference between gender distributions of the agents of *göz kırpar/göz kırpardı* (i.e. with the aorist suffix). However, it is striking that almost half the subjects are *inanimate*. Below we see the overall distribution of gender for all the cases of *göz kırp-*:

Table 11. Overall gender distribution of *göz kırp-* in the study

Gender of Subject	Perfective (direct and indirect past, past perfect)	Narrative Perfective (pseudo- past) with Aorist)	Imperf. Prog.	Imperf. Habit	Total

[⁵] Singular subjects are focussed throughout the study to see the gender distribution of the agents. Only here in the study is 1 plural subject (women) included to exemplify a factual statement involving non-pragmatic but physiological blinking.

Male	43	7	18	3	71
					38,58%
Female	31	7	8	0	46
					25,00%
Inanimate / nonhuman	4	1	49	13	67
			73,14%		36,41%
Total	78	15	75	16	184

The distributional differences between male and female winkers are not so significant because both men and women can wink at someone to convey most pragmatic messages although it would not be dainty for a female member to perform a flirtatious wink in our patriarchal society. What is most striking about Table 11 is the huge number of inanimate subjective agents (36,41 %). Because inanimate things do not have eyes to wink/blink, it is not surprising that such uses of *göz kırp-* denote figurative meanings and they are no longer Semelfactives or are Semelfactives with semantic variations, or denote *States* headed by a *seemingly* Semelfactive verb. It is also quite noteworthy that most of the examples in which *göz kırp-* semantically chooses inanimate subjects are observed in the *progressive aspect* (73,14% of the total 67 examples with inanimate subjects).

4.2.4 Section Summary of the Findings about *Göz kırp-* (wink)

Göz kırp- (wink) is a Semelfactive which usually denotes the winkers volitional blinking act to convey pragmatic messages. Analysing the concordance of *göz kırp-* turned out to be rather complicated because physiologically it denotes automatic eye movements (blinking), in which case it is a punctual single stage event called Semelfactive (Smith, 1997) or cyclic achievement (Croft, 2012), which becomes a multiple-event Activity in the progressive or with durative adverbials. This is a simplistic story to convey the aspectual potential *göz kırp-*. The corpus data shows that we usually have agent-controlled pragmatically motivated blinking events in which a male or a female wink at another person to signal intimacy, solidarity, friendliness, mutual involvement in a joke, a plan or a secret or to make a flirtatious gesture. It tends to be in the perfective viewpoint that *göz kırp-* denotes a pure Semelfactive situation type in which *human subjects* wink (with one eye) to add those pragmatic messages to conversations or social situations. The situation type for almost all the perfective examples is pure Semelfactive with temporal features of [+Dynamic], [-Durative], [-Telic] and [+Controlled]. Nevertheless, when used in the progressive aspect, this seemingly Semelfactive verb rarely licenses an iterative reading, and thus profiles an aspectual shift to derived Activity type as expected (Smith, 1997). However, in our case, over half the examples of *göz kırp-* in the progressive aspect select *inanimate subjects* (49 out of the total 75) and the verb has the figurative meaning “of an inanimate entity to *draw attention / look evident /*

appeal to someone with its conspicuous feature(s)". In such cases, the progressive aspect does not denote a shift from Semelfactive to derived Activity; it denotes *Stative* reading. Then we can conclude that the presence of inanimate subjects for *göz kırp-* in utterances disallows Semelfactive reading and this property becomes clear especially in the progressive aspect (*göz kırp-ıyor/kırp-ıyordu*, present and past progressive forms, respectively). In another figurative sense, if someone *winks at* someone or a group/party in Turkish, it means that the winker *leans towards* them for joining or collaborating with them. This figurative use is listed in the entry *göz kırpmak* in the official Turkish dictionary of Turkish Language Association at www.sozluk.gov.tr. Another thing that makes the analysis of *göz kırp-* more complicated is that when a light source is the subject of *göz kırp-*, it is no longer a bodily Semelfactive. It has the figurative meaning "to emit light", but identifying which light source emits light in what way depends on human perception or the kind of the light source. In general terms *göz kırp-* means either *flash* (a dynamic Semelfactive with subevents and internal plurality) or *shine/shimmer* (*Stative* reading without subevents), which determine aspectual construals.

Göz kırp-ar (with aorist) should be in *habitual imperfective*, but only 11 of the 26 examples denote a pure Semelfactive in habitual imperfective. The others have the function of narrative present which licenses (narrative) *perfective* reading as individual events in a sequence of past events. In this *narrative perfective* viewpoint, it is a pure Semelfactive with features [+Dynamic] [-Durative], [-Telic] and [+Controlled]. All the five examples where *göz kırp-* has the past aorist form (*göz kırp-ar-dı*) denote *habitual imperfective* (something like "used to wink"). In this case its temporal features are [+Dynamic], [+Durative], [-Telic] and [+Controlled].

5 Conclusion

The article covers an extensive research into the aspectual realizations and pragmatic features of two Turkish bodily Semelfactives. The verbs in their Semelfactive senses have the common feature that they are not only physiologically motivated involuntary acts but voluntarily produced for pragmatic purposes. When agent-controlled, *öksür-* (cough) and *göz kırp-* (wink) have functions of adding certain messages to conversational situations. Although they denote single stage Semelfactives in their basic meanings (Smith, 1997: 29-30; Kiss, 2011: 123; Chen, 2013: 199; Nelson, 2018: 11,35), the pragmatic functions, figurative meanings associated with them and the speaker's aspectual choice in terms of grammatical aspect –perfective or imperfective –determine their true aspectual values.

Öksür- (cough) expresses not only physiologically motivated *real coughs* for respiratory problems as a pure Semelfactive but also agent-controlled *fake coughs*. For instance, *öksür-* in the imperative form denotes fake coughs produced when a doctor instructs you to 'cough' while checking your lungs. Pragmatically motivated *fake coughs* are often self-induced to add pragmatic messages to conversations such

as conveying warnings, disbelief, and annoyance, advertising one's presence assertively, and clearing the throat before talking. If *öksür-* denotes pragmatic messages, it tends to be a pure Semelfactive presented in the perfective viewpoint. This corroborates Croft (2012: 144), who states that “[t]he perfective situations in the database are overwhelmingly achievements, which do not occur in the imperfective (except for the iterative construal of cyclic achievement COUGH).” However, almost all the examples of *öksür-* in the progressive (imperfective) in the corpus TNCv3.0 (54 of the 56 examples) proved to be real coughs caused by problems with the throat, often pointing to iterative reading. Except that the Turkish imperfectivizer -(I)yor expresses narrative perfective like aorist -I/Ar, almost all these cases manifest an aspectual shift from pure Semelfactive to derived Activity type (Smith 1997; Croft 2012; Rothstein 2004). Then the aspectual potential of the lexeme *öksür-* (cough) has two general patterns: 1) pure Semelfactive if the verb constellation refers to self-induced coughing events, with temporal features [-Static] [-Durative] [-Telic] [+Controlled] or 2) multiple-event Activity due to congruous iterations of the Semelfactive presented in the progressive or with durative adverbials, with new features: [-Static] [+Durative] [-Telic] [-Controlled].

One striking finding about the subjects of *öksür-* (cough) is that they are preponderantly males (about 84 %). One reason I propose is that pragmatically motivated coughing events suggest *assertiveness* –a characteristic typical of men in our patriarchal society and this also corroborates Pearce (2008), who found a male bias in contexts about assertiveness and power in some English corpora. Another reason is that co-textual elements denoting derogatory and disgusting things like throwing out phlegm or mucus that co-occur with *öksür-* may result in our culture avoiding using females as agents of *öksür-* in disgusting contexts.

Concordance analysis for *göz kırp-* proved to be extremely complicated but manageable. It was found that the aspectual potential of *göz kırp-* is multifaceted because it denotes various pragmatic messages and has figurative meanings: 1) *Göz kırp-* can refer to physiological blinking, which is a pure Semelfactive if the blinking is produced once or twice, but naturally becomes derived Activity with durative adverbials or in the progressive. 2) *Göz kırp-* expresses pragmatic messages, where it tends to be produced once with a single eye. Then it is a pure Semelfactive and is preponderantly used in the perfective (Croft, 2012:144). In this sense *göz kırp-* does not license a multiple-event Activity reading. 3) *Göz kırp-* is polysemous with additional figurative meanings which cause alternative aspectual construals: a) of an inanimate entity *to draw attention or appeal* to someone with its conspicuous features, in which case it is in the progressive aspect but not a multiple-event Activity headed by a Semelfactive, but has a Stative reading like posture verbs (i.e. sit, lie etc.) in progressive tenses. It has the temporal features [+Static] [+Durative] [-Telic] and [-Controlled]; b) of people *to lean forwards, to imply or signal their wish for collaboration with or acceptance* by a political or economic group, in which case it

describes a person's state or attitude, not their eye movement. Presumably, this sense of *göz kırp-* (wishing to get intimate with a person/group) is a metaphorical extension of its sense – winking for a flirtatious gesture. Neither in perfective nor imperfective viewpoints does *göz kırp-* in this sense denote a multiple-event Activity. It has a *Stative* reading with temporal features [+Static] [+Durative] [-Telic] and [+Controlled]; c) *to emit light*. Corpus data revealed that in terms of “light emission” *göz kırp-* has two meanings and corresponding aspectual construals: i) ‘flash’ type blinking/winking, in which case we have a three-state predicate describing a sequence of off-on-off states. An utterance like *the light source blinked/winked (göz kırp-ti) once* has a Semelfactive reading with the temporal features [-Static] [-Durative] [-Telic] and [-Controlled]. If *göz kırp-* in this Semelfactive sense is presented in the progressive or with durative adverbials, then we have a construal of derived Activity in which “a series of discrete punctual flashes separated by brief states (the light is off) is construed” (Croft, 2012:94). ii) ‘shine’ type blinking/winking, in which case we do not observe countable, discrete, off-on-off sequences of light emission. If *göz kırp-* is used to describe the sun's light emission, there is a constant, uncountable, homogenous, undifferentiated emission of light. This cannot be a Semelfactive situation. We have a *State* with temporal features [-Static] [+Durative] [-Telic] and [-Controlled].

Then accurate aspectual construal operations and judgements involving the predicate *göz kırp-* in Turkish depend on pragmatic knowledge reflected in or by the context of the utterance. One should not run away with the idea that *göz kırp-* is simply a bodily Semelfactive verb that acts accordingly. Croft (2012: 92) states that “[t]he range of aspectual construals found with any predicate or semantic class of predicates, that is, the aspectual potential of the predicate (class), is a function of speakers' encyclopaedic semantic representation of the situation type, and the construal operations that allow for alternative aspectual construals.” For *göz kırp-*, this encyclopaedic knowledge entrenched in the Turkish speaker's mind has been identified from this corpus-driven study, which revealed how polysemous *göz kırp-* is. Van Valin (2005: 48) states “for a polysemous verb each meaning would be associated with a different logical structure.” The differential logical structures in the basic and figurative meanings of *göz kırp-* quite naturally license different aspectual construals.

The study has revealed that Turkey's most comprehensive dictionary TDK (Turkish Language Association) *dictionary* which is online at www.sozluk.gov.tr does not contain all the figurative meanings of *göz kırp-*. From a lexicographical perspective, the role of corpus data for improving dictionary entries is unquestionably important (McEnery et al. 2006; Lauder, 2010). Only the lexicographer's introspections and intuitions can sometimes be inadequate. At www.sozluk.gov.tr, we see the following meanings for the entry *göz kırp-*:

- 1) göz kapağını kapayıp açmak (Close and open one's eyelids again).
- 2) başkasına söylediklerinin doğru olmadığını anlatmak için yanında bulunan kişiye gözünü kapayıp açmak (Close and open one's eyes / wink at someone to mean what one is saying is not true).
- 3) (mecaz) eğilimini göstermek (figurative) (Lean towards, display one's tendency).
- 4) (mecaz) ilgilenmek (figurative) (be interested in something or someone).

In the light of our corpus-driven research, I recommend the entry for *göz kırp-* in this dictionary should be revised and improved as follows:

1. göz kapağını kapayıp açmak (Close and open one's eyelids again; blink).
2. yakınlık, dayanışma, bir şakada, planda, yada sırda beraber davranma isteğini sezdirmek yada flört jesti yapmak için genelde bir kişiye yönelik olarak tek gözünü açıp kapatmak (Close and open one eye –wink at someone– to signal intimacy, solidarity, mutual involvement in a joke, a plan or a secret or to make a flirtatious gesture).
3. (mecaz) bir düşünceye, kişiye, gruba, partiye sıcak bakma, katılma ve işbirliği isteğini belirtme anlamında tutum sergilemek (figurative) (lean towards; show signals/implications of warmly welcoming an idea, person, group or party, or signalling your wish to join or collaborate with them).
4. (mecaz) (cansız bir nesne için) belirgin bir özelliği ile ilgisini çekmek; hitap etmek (figurative) (of an inanimate object, to attract one's attention, appear interesting, appeal to someone with a distinct feature).
5. (mecaz) (ışık kaynağı için) yanıp sönmek ya da parlamak/(figurative) (of a light source, to flash or shine).

Our findings demonstrate that the second, third and fourth senses of *göz kırp-* in the TDK Dictionary should be modified either because they are inadequate or unclear. The fifth meaning included above is missing in TDK dictionary and should be added. The 'flash' meaning for wink and blink is also true for English according to Longman English dictionary online (<https://www.ldoceonline.com/>). While the first two meanings of *göz kırp-* involve actual blinking movements of one's eyes and thus licence basic level Semelfactive and multiple-event readings, the last three meanings are figurative and no longer have Semelfactive readings except the 'flash' construal in sense 5. In the case of *göz kırp-*, we have one signifier with five signifieds. Aspectual construals of the polysemous *göz kırp-*, which also have various pragmatic functions, are sensitive to its different senses (Van Valin, 2005). Apparently, the Turkish speakers' aspectual choices depend on all this knowledge in their mental lexicons.

No durative adverbials were found in the concordance of *göz kırp-*. This results from the verb's denotation of pragmatic purposes which are naturally expressed in the perfective viewpoint, in which case the winker winks once to give certain messages; that is, it remains instantaneous. Another reason for non-occurrence of durative adverbials in *göz kırp-*'s co-text is its figurative meanings

which describe its subjects' state (inanimate objects) or attitudes (people). In such senses, *göz kırp-* does not license a construal of iterated blinks of a human eye to suggest multiple-event Activities.

A common finding about both verbs is that both the imperfectivizer suffix -(I)yor and the present form of aorist -I/Ar denote narrative present in some instances. The verbs with these suffixes often express pure Semelfactive events in the perfective viewpoint, not the imperfective, which I call *narrative perfective* viewpoint. In this case it is a pure Semelfactive with features [+Dynamic] [-Durative], [-Telic] and [+Controlled]. Both -(I)yor and aorist -I/Ar can also mark habitual imperfective. Therefore, just as -(I)yor does not automatically point to the progressive aspect in Turkish or derived Activity, nor does -I/Ar directly suggest habitual imperfective. They both often express actions completed in past narrative sequences, thus licensing implicit perfective readings. In addition to the aorist marking habitual aspect in Turkish, -(I)yor also occurs as indicative of habitual imperfective in some sentences.

Last but not least, a significant conclusion from the whole study is that like many other polysemous and pragmatically multifunctional words, the Semelfactive *öksür-* displays diverse pragmatic functions and *göz kırp-* has some figurative meanings. Hence, a particular figurative meaning of *göz kırp-* or a certain pragmatic function of *öksür-* licenses only certain aspectual construals. If not only the host sentence but also the other surrounding sentences determine which meaning or pragmatic function is expressed in a situation, then an accurate aspectual assessment of a verb constellation depends on not only the sentential level (Güven, 2003), but also the supra-sentential level. For instance, the multifunctional Turkish suffixes -(I)yor and -I/Ar (present aorist) require us to look at supra-sentential, wider contexts to determine whether they present a Semelfactive verb constellation in the imperfective or narrative perfective viewpoint.

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