

## SOME LIMITATIONS ON THE CONTROLLABILITY OF THE REFERENT IN TURKISH DEMONSTRATIVES

### TÜRKÇE İŞARET SÖZCÜKLERİNDE GÖNDERGENİN KONTROL EDİLEBİLİRLİĞİ ÜZERİNDEKİ BAZI KISITLAMALAR

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#### Abstract

More recent linguistic works on Turkish demonstratives have turned their attention to the concept of controllability which is one of the pragmatico-semantic parameters and which conditions the occurrence of the text-dependent (non-anaphoric) usages of *bu* and *o* in the verbal text. In this study, it is shown that Turkish has a phenomenon which cannot be purely explained in terms of this concept, and it is argued that (i) there are some limiting conditions determining the distribution of the non-anaphoric demonstratives other than this parameter in Turkish demonstrative use, (ii) the interchangeability between the antecedent noun and the co-referential noun is one of the crucial factors that are operative in the selection of the appropriate usages of the non-anaphoric *bu* and *o*, (iii) on the situation where the intended referent is within the controllable domain of the speaker, 'bu' is used to refer to it if the co-referential noun semantically contains the antecedent noun, and 'o' is used to refer to it if the antecedent noun contains the co-referential noun, (iv) on the situation where the referent is not within the controllable domain of the speaker, 'o' refers to it regardless of whether the co-referential noun semantically contains the antecedent noun or not, (v) time is a secondary factor conditioning whether the intended referent is within the controllable domain of the speaker or not.

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#### Keywords

Turkish, demonstratives, the non-anaphoric use, controllable domain, antecedent noun, co-referential noun, time

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#### Öz

Türkiye Türkçesindeki işaret sözcükleri üzerine yapılan yakın zamandaki çalışmalar, edimsel ve anlamsal deęiřtirgenlerden biri olan, *bu* ve *o* sözcüklerinin metne baęlı (artęönderimsel olmayan) kullanımlarını belli bir şarta baęlayan kontrol edilebilirlik kavramına odaklanmıştır. Bu çalışmada, Türkçenin, bu kavram ile tamamen açıklanamayan bir olguya sahip olduęu gösterilerek řu konulara vurgu yapılacaktır: (i) Türkçe işaret sözcüklerinin kullanımında, kontrol edilebilirlik kavramı dışında, artęönderimsel olmayan işaret sözcüklerinin dağılımını belirleyen bazı sınırlandırıcı kořullar bulunmaktadır, (ii) öncül ad ve eřęönderimsel adın birbiriyle deęiřtirilebilme özellięi, *bu* ve *o*'nun artęönderimsel olmayan kullanımlarını belirlemedeki en önemli etmenlerden biridir, (iii) göndergenin konuşucunun kontrol edilebilir alanı içinde olduęu durumlarda; eđer eřęönderimsel ad anlamsal

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Gönderim Tarihi: 18.03.2019  
Kabul Tarihi: 20.08.2019

olarak öncül adı kapsıyorsa 'bu', eğer öncül ad anlamsal olarak eşgönderimsel adı kapsıyorsa 'o' işaret sözcüğü sözkonusu göndergeyi işaretler, (iv) göndergenin konuşucunun kontrol edilebilir alanı dışında olduğu durumlarda, eşgönderimsel adın öncül adı anlamsal olarak kapsayıp kapsamadığına bakılmaksızın 'o' işaret sözcüğü göndergeyi işaretlemek için kullanılır, (v) zaman, işaretlenmek istenen göndergenin konuşucunun kontrol edilebilir alanı içinde olup olmadığını belirleyen ikincil bir etmendir.

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#### **Anahtar Kelimeler**

*Türkçe, işaret sözcükleri, artgönderimsel olmayan kullanım, kontrol edilebilir alan, öncül ad, eşgönderimsel ad, zaman*



## 1. INTRODUCTION

Modern Turkish has three demonstratives: *bu* ‘this’, *şu* ‘this/that’, and *o* ‘that’. In addition, there are another set of forms that are morphologically associated with these demonstrative forms (Bastuji 1976; Gencan 2001; Kinsui et al. 2002; Göksel-Kerslake 2005; Hayasi 1985, 1989, 2008, 2009, 2014): *bura/burası* ‘here’, *şura/şurası* ‘here/over there’, *ora/orası* ‘there’ that refer to a location; *böyle* ‘in this way’, *şöyle* ‘in that way’, *öyle* ‘in that (other) way’ that refer to a situation; *bunca* ‘so much, this much’, *şunca* ‘this/that much’, *onca* ‘that much’ that denote situation or quantity.<sup>1</sup> This is illustrated in Table 1.<sup>2</sup>

Table 1. *Demonstratives in modern Turkish*

demonstrative roots	denotatum types			
	object/person	location	quantity	situation
<i>bu-</i>	<i>bu</i>	<i>bura/burası</i>	<i>bunca</i>	<i>böyle</i>
<i>şu-</i>	<i>şu</i>	<i>şura/şurası</i>	<i>şunca</i>	<i>şöyle</i>
<i>o-</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ora/orası</i>	<i>onca</i>	<i>öyle</i>

Among them, the monomorphemic forms *bu*, *şu*, and *o* have all characteristics of the noun modifiers and independent pronouns; *bunca*, *şunca*, and *onca* are used as noun modifiers (demonstrative adjectives); *bura/burası*, *şura/şurası*, and *ora/orası* function as independent pronouns (demonstrative pronouns); *böyle*, *şöyle*, and *öyle* serve as verb modifiers (demonstrative adverbs) or noun modifiers in a different syntactic context. All demonstratives other than the demonstrative adjectives and adverbs may have case and number features.

In the previous grammatical works on Turkish, the appropriate usages of these demonstratives are accounted for the concept of *relative distance* between the referent and the deictic center (i.e. the speaker’s location): *bu* refers to objects close to the speaker, *şu* a little away from the speaker, and *o* away from the speaker (Ergin 1958; Swift 1963; Lewis 1967; Iinuma 1995; Kornfilt 1997; Gencan 2001; Banguoğlu 2004; Korkmaz 2009). Besides, some accounts (Jansky 1943; Peters 1947) involve the additional notion *visibility* except for relative distance, i.e. *bu* is used to refer to objects that are in proximity to the speaker, *şu* is used to refer to visible objects at mid-distance to the speaker, and *o* is used to refer to invisible objects that are located at far distance from the speaker.

In challenging these past accounts, Underhill (1976), Hayasi (1985, 1989), Özyürek (1998), provide a more comprehensive explanation regarding the usages of *bu*, *şu*, and *o*. Underhill (1976) points out that the usage of *şu* can be associated with the notion of *deictic gesture* while the usage of *bu/o* cannot. Regarding the distinction between *bu* and *o*, Underhill reports that *bu* refers to the proximal objects and *o* refers to the distal objects with respect to the deictic center. Hayasi (1985, 1989) proposes that *bu/o* occurs when the entity is already introduced into the *discourse*<sup>3</sup> while *şu* occurs when the referent is not introduced into the discourse. According to

<sup>1</sup> English translations of *bu*, *şu*, *o* and their derivatives were added to show the analogy between the demonstratives in English and Turkish.

<sup>2</sup> Note that there is one other demonstrative form which has the reinforced meaning of both *şu* ‘this/that’ and *o* ‘that’: *şol*. This form is essentially formed by combining the words *uş* ‘here/because’ and *ol* ‘that’. Since it is no longer used in modern Turkish, it is not given place in Table 1.

<sup>3</sup> Hayasi (1985: 57) defines the notion of *discourse* as *mutual knowledge* between the speaker and the hearer concerning a situation and a context. In the present study, this notion is understood as *verbal text* that is formed by the speaker

Hayasi, the parameter that conditions the appropriate usages of *bu* and *o* is a *spatio-temporal/psychological distance*: *bu* indicates the objects close to the speaker and *o* denotes the objects away from the speaker. Özyürek (1998) proposes that the medial term *şu* is used when the intended referent is not within the hearer's visual attention, and both the proximal term *bu* and the distal term *o* are used when the referent is already within the hearer's visual attention.

In recent years, several studies which aim at shedding light on syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic properties of modern Turkish demonstratives have been conducted (Balpınar 2011, 2012, 2014, 2019). In order to provide a unified explanation for the various usages, Balpınar roughly divides the demonstrative uses into the *exophoric use* and the *endophoric use* on the basis of his analysis. The exophoric use is a demonstrative use which involves pointing to entities that do not occur as a linguistic expression in the discourse (i.e. the entities that is not textualized) and the endophoric use is a demonstrative use which involves reference to entities that occur as a linguistic expression in the discourse (i.e. the entities that is textualized). Moreover, he subdivides the endophoric use into the *non-anaphoric use*, which involves re-occurrence of the antecedent noun in the subsequent sentence, and the *anaphoric use*, which does not involve re-occurrence of the antecedent noun in the subsequent sentence. In these analyses, it is shown that in the exophoric use, the notions of the *speaker's space* and *recognition by the hearer* condition the appropriate usages of the demonstratives, and in the non-anaphoric and anaphoric uses, the concepts of *controllable domain* and *open sentence* are operative in determining the distribution of the endophoric forms, respectively.

In the present study, it will be focused on the non-anaphoric usages of *bu* and *o*, and shown that Turkish demonstratives have a phenomenon which solely cannot be explained by the concept of controllable domain, and proposed that the replaceability between the antecedent noun and the co-referential noun in the subsequent sentence also plays a major role in dealing with the phenomenon, and *time* is a secondary factor that determines whether the intended referent is within the controllable domain of the speaker or not. In the next section, in order to unfold the discussion, it will be taken a look at the notion of controllability originally proposed by Balpınar (2012), which conditions the distribution of the non-anaphoric demonstratives in the discourse.

## 2. Controllable Domain and the Usage of *bu* and *o*<sup>4</sup>

Balpınar (2012) deals with the endophoric usages of the non-anaphoric *bu* and *o*<sup>5</sup>, and proposes that when the referent noun in the preceding sentence (= antecedent noun) is repeatedly used in the *bu/o + noun* phrase in the subsequent sentence, (a) whether the referent is psychologically/spatially close to the speaker cannot be associated with the endophoric use of the demonstratives, and (b) whether the referent is within the *controllable domain* of the speaker plays a major role in determining the distribution of the non-anaphoric *bu/o*. These properties can be seen in the following examples.

(1) (The speaker works hard using his both hands, and asks his colleague beside him to do a favor for him)

Ön-üm-deki                    panel-de   kırmızı bir düğme  
front-1SG.POSS-NML   panel-LOC   red            a   button

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by means of using a sound or specific writing method. See Balpınar (2012: 104) regarding the consequences induced by these two different definitions.

<sup>4</sup> This section is a brief version of a part of my analysis in Balpınar (2012).

<sup>5</sup> Balpınar (2012) reports that *şu* does not have endophoric (non-anaphoric/anaphoric) usages and it has only exophoric usages (cf. also Kinsui et al. 2002: 241).

var ya. {bu/o} düğme-ye bas-ar mı-sın?  
 existent FIN DEM button-DAT push-AOR Q-2SG

‘You know there is a red button on the panel in front of me. Would you push that button?’ (Balpınar 2012: 101)

In (1), the intended referent *kırmızı düğme* ‘red button’ cannot be marked by *bu*. According to the previous accounts (Hayasi, 1985, 1989; Nishioka, 2006), the demonstrative *bu* should be used to refer to the referent because it is relatively close to the speaker. However, only the use of *o* is acceptable in this case. This raises the question of why *bu* is not used in a case like (1). One possible answer is that the speaker is within the situation where he is unable to push the button, since he cannot release his hands from the work he already deals with (because it might be dangerous). That is, the referent in question may be assumed within the domain where the free physical act of the speaker (e.g. push the button) is restricted.

By contrast with the case in (1), the demonstrative *bu* is used to refer to the entity *düğme* ‘button’ in the following (2).

(2) (The speaker explains some features of the car to the hearer)

Direksiyon-un üzer-in-deki düğme-yi gör-üyor  
 wheel-GEN surface-3SG.POSS-NML button-ACC see-PRES  
 mu-sun? {bu/\*o} düğme araba-nın hız-ın-ı sabitle-r.  
 Q-2SG DEM button car-GEN speed-3SG.POSS-ACC limit-AOR

‘Do you see the button on the wheel? This button limits the speed of the car.’

(Adapted from Balpınar 2012: 102)

In (2), the referent can be considered within the domain where the speaker’s physical act (push the button) is not restricted in that the speaker can freely control it by his own will.

On the basis of these observations, Balpınar (2012: 102; 2019: 30) refers “a domain/sphere in which the speaker presupposes that his/her free (subjective) act of reference is not prevented at the time and place of the utterance” as *controllable domain*, and emphasizes the following points regarding the distribution of the non-anaphoric demonstratives *bu* and *o*:

① The non-anaphoric *bu* is used to refer to the referent that is within the controllable domain of the speaker.

② The non-anaphoric *o* is used to refer to the referent that is not within the controllable domain of the speaker.

Note that these properties are also functional when the intended referent is not physically present into the locality of the utterance. Consider the following examples.

(3) a. Yarın bir mektup yaz-acağ-ım. {bu/\*o} mektub-u  
 tomorrow a letter write-FUT-1SG DEM letter-ACC  
 müdürbey-e ilet-ir-se-niz sevin-ir-im.  
 Director-DAT give-AOR-COND-2PL be.pleased-AOR-1SG

‘Tomorrow I will write a letter. I would be pleased if you give that letter to the director.’

b. Yarın bir mektup yaz-ınız ve {bu/o} mektub-u  
 tomorrow a letter write-2PL and DEM letter-ACC

müdürbey-e ilet-iniz.

director-DAT give-2PL

‘(You) write a letter and give that letter/it to the director.’

(Both 3a and 3b have been adapted from Hayasi 2004: 61 with a slight modification)

The referent *mektup* ‘letter’ in (3a-b) does not physically exist in the surrounding situation. In (3a), it can be considered that the speaker freely reflects his/her own idea to the content of the letter because the act of writing letter is performed by the speaker him/herself. In this sense, one can assume that the referent *mektup* ‘letter’ in (3a) is under subjective control of the speaker him/herself. In contrast, in (3b), the speaker cannot reflect his/her idea to the act of writing a letter because the person who writes the letter is the hearer. This indicates that the referent in (3b) is not within the controllable domain of the speaker. If these accounts are correct, our analysis predicts that *bu* is selected in (3a) according to the generalization in ① and *o* is used in (3b) according to the generalization in ②. As can be seen in (3a) and (3b), only *bu* in (3a) and *o* in (3b) are acceptable.

So far, we have seen that the concept of controllable domain is operative in determining the distribution of the non-anaphoric demonstratives *bu* and *o* in the discourse. In the following section, we will see that Turkish has a phenomenon which cannot be purely explained in terms of this concept, and show that there are some limiting conditions determining the distribution of the non-anaphoric demonstratives other than this parameter in Turkish demonstrative use.

### 3. Some Other Factors Determining the Distribution of *bu* and *o*

Balpinar (2011, 2019) reports that the controllable domain is not only operative when the antecedent noun is one and the same with the *co-referential noun* (= the noun occurring in the *bu/o* + *noun* phrase in the subsequent sentence) (e.g. 4a), but also operative when the antecedent noun is synonymous with the *co-referential noun* (e.g. 4b).<sup>6</sup>

(4) a. Geçen hafta ev-imiz-de baba-m için  
last week house-1PL.POSS-LOC father-1SG.POSS for  
doğum gün-ü **parti**-si yap-tı-k.  
birth day-3SG.POSS party-3SG.POSS do-PAST-1PL  
{*bu/\*o*} **parti**-de ben on-un için bir şarkı söyle-di-m.  
DEM party-LOC I him-GEN for a song sing-PAST-1SG  
‘Last week, we threw a birthday **party** for my father in our house.  
At that **party**, I sang a song for him.’ (Balpinar 2011: 80)<sup>7</sup>

b. Geçen hafta ev-imiz-de baba-m için  
last week house-1PL.POSS-LOC father-1SG.POSS for  
doğum gün-ü **parti**-si yap-tı-k.  
birth day-3SG.POSS party-3SG.POSS do-PAST-1PL  
{*bu/\*o*} **kutlama**-da ben on-un için bir şarkı söyle-di-m.  
DEM celebration-LOC I him-GEN for a song sing-PAST-1SG  
‘Last week, we threw a birthday **party** for my father in our house.  
At that **celebration**, I sang a song for him.’

(4b is cited from Balpinar 2011: 80 with a slight modification)

<sup>6</sup> In Balpinar (2011, 2019), there is no further argument concerning this claim.

<sup>7</sup> At the stage of collection of data to be analyzed, it has been cared to cite from various sources as much as possible. In addition, the fact that this article is a continuation of the author's 2012 study (Balpinar 2012) made it also necessary to include examples from the study in the data analysis.

The demonstrative usage such as in (4b) can be treated as an instance of the non-anaphoric use which is a subtype of the endophoric use in that the co-referential noun (*kutlama* ‘celebration’) occurring within the *bu* + *noun* phrase can be associated with the antecedent noun (*parti* ‘party’) in the preceding sentence. That is, the antecedent of the *bu* + *noun* phrase is already introduced into the preceding verbal text. In this sense, according to the conception mentioned in section 2, the distribution of the demonstratives must be determined by the concept of *controllable domain*. Specifically, the referent in (4a-b) is within the domain where it is directly experienced by the speaker, and therefore it can be assumed that the intended referent is under subjective control of the speaker him/herself. If this account is correct, according to the generalization ① and ② in section 2, it is expected that *bu* is selected in (4a-b) to refer to the referent. Indeed, as seen in (4a-b), *bu* is used to refer to the referent. This shows that the distribution of the non-anaphoric demonstratives may even be determined by the concept of *controllability* such as in (4b). However, note that there are conditions other than this concept, which specify the appropriate usages of *bu* and *o*. Let us consider the sentence in (4b’).

(4b’) Geçen hafta ev-imiz-de baba-m için  
 last week house-1PL.POSS-LOC father-1SG.POSS for  
 bir **kutlama** yap-tı-k. { \*bu/o } **parti**-de ben on-un  
 a celebration do-PAST-1PL DEM party-LOC I him-GEN  
 için bir şarkı söyle-di-m.  
 for a song sing-PAST-1SG  
 ‘Last week, we threw a **celebration** for my father in our house.  
 At that **party**, I sang a song for him.’

As can be easily seen in (4b) and (4b’), the situation of the utterance in (4b’) is akin to the one in (4b). The only difference between (4b) and (4b’) is that the noun *parti* ‘party’ precedes the noun *kutlama* ‘celebration’ in the former, and the referent *kutlama* ‘celebration’ precedes the noun *parti* ‘party’ in the latter. In this regard, (4b’) can be seen as a non-anaphoric variant of (4b). If this is correct, and all else being equal, the notion *controllability* must work as seen in (4b) and *bu* must be selected to refer to the referent in (4b’) because as mentioned above (the speaker assumes that) the intended referent is within the controllable domain of the speaker. However, the usage of *o* is only acceptable in (4b’). This indicates that the appropriate usages of the non-anaphoric demonstratives *bu* and *o* show sensitivity to the *replaceability* between the antecedent noun and the co-referential noun. This phenomenon can also be seen in the following sentences.

(5) a. Yarın, bilişim teknoloji-ler-i ile ilgili  
 tomorrow information technology-PL-3SG.POSS with concerning  
 bir **makale** yaz-acağ-ım. { bu/\*?o } **yazı**y-ı editör-e  
 an article write-FUT-1SG DEM script-ACC editor-DAT  
 ver-ir-se-niz sevin-ir-im.  
 give-AOR-COND-2PL be.pleased-AOR-1SG  
 ‘Tomorrow, I am going to write an **article** concerning information technologies.  
 I would be pleased if you give that **script** to the editor.’  
 b. Yarın, bilişim teknoloji-ler-i ile ilgili  
 tomorrow information technology-PL-3SG.POSS with concerning  
 bir **yazı** yaz-acağ-ım. { \*bu/o } **makale**y-i editör-e  
 a script write-FUT-1SG DEM article-ACC editor-DAT  
 ver-ir-se-niz sevin-ir-im.



give-AOR-COND-2PL be.pleased-AOR-1SG  
 'Tomorrow, I am going to write a **script** concerning information technologies.  
 I would be pleased if you give that **article** to the editor.'

In (5a-b), the speaker can freely reflect his/her own will to the content of the article/script in question, since he/she performs the act of writing an article by him/herself. The referents in (5a-b) can be considered within the controllable domain of the speaker from this point of view. If this remark is correct, then *bu* must be a reasonable option for both (5a) and (5b) according to the conditions ① and ② in section 2. In (5a), as we have expected, the intended referent can be marked by the demonstrative *bu*. In contrast, the usage of *bu* in (5b) is not acceptable, and the only option to indicate the referent is the demonstrative *o*. This shows, as seen in (4b) and (4b'), that the order of precedence between the *antecedent noun* and the *co-referential noun* plays a major role in determining the appropriate usage of the non-anaphoric *bu/o* (e.g. 4b' and 5b) as well as the concept of controllable domain. If this remark is correct, how can we make sense out of the following phenomena in which the interchangeability between the antecedent noun and the co-referential noun is possible?

(6) a. Ön-ümüz-deki Cuma gün-ü Galatasaray ile Moda  
 next-1PL.POSS-NML Friday day-3SG.POSS Galatasaray and Moda  
 takım-lar-ı arasın-daki **maç**-ta hakemlik yap-acağ-ım  
 team-PL-3SG.POSS between-NML match-LOC refereeing do-FUT-1SG  
 {\*bu/o} **müسابakay**-a mutlaka gel.  
 DEM competition-DAT definitely come (COM)  
 'I am going to referee in the **match** between Galatasaray and Moda teams next Friday.  
 You should come that **competition**.'

b. Ön-ümüz-deki Cuma gün-ü Galatasaray ile Moda  
 next-1PL.POSS-NML Friday day-3SG.POSS Galatasaray and Moda  
 takım-lar-ı arasın-daki **müsabaka**-da hakemlik yap-acağ-ım  
 team-PL-3SG.POSS between-NML competition-LOC refereeing do-FUT-1SG  
 {\*bu/o} **maç**-a mutlaka gel.  
 DEM match-DAT definitely come (COM)  
 'I am going to referee in the **competition** between Galatasaray and Moda teams  
 next Friday. You should come that **match**.'

(Both 6a and 6b have been cited from Irmak 2002: n.p. with a slight modification)

In (6a-b), it seems that the distribution of the non-anaphoric demonstratives is not sensitive to replaceability between *maç* 'match' and *müsabaka* 'competition' unlike the case seen in (4b-b'/5a-b). This remark raises the question of what is the underlying reason of this phenomenon. One possible answer is that the referent in (4b-b'/5a-b) is within the controllable domain of the speaker while the one in (6a-b) is not. More specifically, the referent in (6a-b) (match/competition) is a future event that has not realized yet, and also its progress or result is not under subjective control of the speaker him/herself. In this respect, it plausible to assume that it is not within the controllable domain of the speaker. Note that this analysis raises the another question of why the intended referent in (4b'/5b) is marked by the demonstrative *o* although it is within the controllable domain of the speaker. In order to find the answer of this question, we must focus on the semantic relation between the antecedent noun and the co-referential noun. When we take a closer look at the referents in (4b') and (5b), we can see that the antecedent noun *kutlama* (4b') semantically contains the co-referential noun *parti*, and the antecedent *yazı* in (5b) semantically contains the co-referential *makale* in (5b). Based on this



observation, one can make the following generalization concerning the distribution of the non-anaphoric demonstratives *bu* and *o*, where the speaker assumes *the intended referent to be within the controllable domain*:

(7) Mark the intended referent using the non-anaphoric demonstrative *o* if and only if the antecedent noun semantically contains the co-referential noun, otherwise mark the referent using the non-anaphoric demonstrative *bu*.

The condition in (7) entails that in the non-anaphoric usage of the demonstratives, if there is a 'x is a y' relation between the co-referential noun (*x*) and the antecedent noun (*y*) (i.e. *y* semantically contains *x*; e.g. 4b'/5b), the intended object must be marked by the non-anaphoric demonstrative *o*; if there is a 'y is a x' relation (i.e. *x* contains *y*; e.g. 4b'/5a) or 'y is the same as x' relation (e.g. 1-3, 4a) between *x* and *y*, the referent must be marked by the demonstrative form *bu*.

So far, we have seen that (i) the distribution of the non-anaphoric demonstratives shows sensitivity to the interchangeability between the antecedent noun and the co-referential noun only when the referent is within the controllable domain of the speaker (e.g. 4b-b'/5a-b), and (ii) the distribution of the non-anaphoric demonstratives is not sensitive to the interchangeability between the antecedent noun and the co-referential noun when the referent is not within the controllable domain of the speaker (e.g. 6a-b). In the light of these accounts and the analysis in section 2, it is possible to schematize the appropriate usages of the non-anaphoric demonstratives *bu* and *o* as in Figure 1.

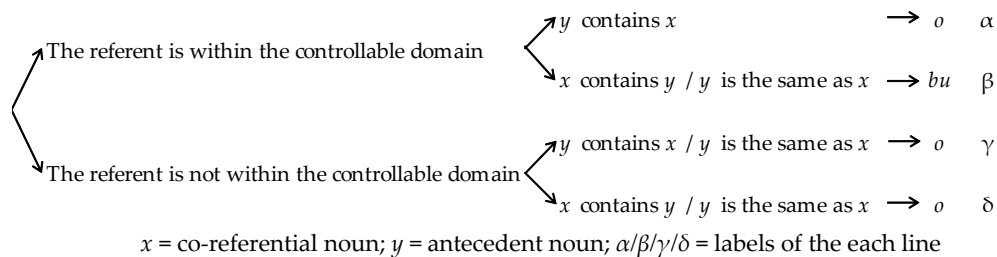


Figure 1. *The distribution of the non-anaphoric demonstratives in Turkish*

In this flowchart, according to the line in  $\alpha$ , the non-anaphoric form *o* is used to refer to the referent if it is within the controllable domain of the speaker and the antecedent noun semantically contains the co-referential noun (e.g. 4b'/5b); as for the case in  $\beta$ , *bu* refers to the object if it is within the controllable domain and the co-referential noun semantically covers the antecedent noun (e.g. 4b) or the co-referential noun is the one and the same with the antecedent noun (e.g. 1-4a); according the cases in  $\gamma$  and  $\delta$ , *o* indicates the entity if it is outside of the controllable domain of the speaker and the antecedent noun semantically contains the co-referential noun or vice versa (e.g. 6a-b) or the co-referential noun is the one and the same with the antecedent noun (e.g. 1/3b).

Finally, I would like to mention about *temporal* factors that play an immensely important role in determining whether the intended referent is within the controllable domain or not. Let us turn our attention to the demonstrative usages in (6a-b) again. In this example, we have seen that the referent (match or competition) is a future event that has not realized yet, and we have assumed that its progress or result is not under subjective control of the speaker him/herself. In this regard, one may consider that *the referent is controllable or not* is related to the time of the event in which that referent occurs. Note, however, that this does not mean that a referent which is a part of an event in the future/past unconditionally belongs to the domain that is

outside of the controllable domain. Although there is an entity which is clearly associated with a future/past event, that entity can be assumed to be within the controllable domain of the speaker when the speaker has a subjective stance (psychological affinity) or control regarding the entity in question. Consider the following sentences.

(8) a. İlkokul-da el-im-e bir **mandolin**

primary.school-LOC hand-1SG.POSS-DAT a mandolin  
tutuştur-muş-lar-dı. Öğretmen-im-den çok dayak  
slip-PF-3PL-PAST teacher-1SG.POSS-ABL very beating  
ye-di-m {\*bu/o} **çalgı** yüzünden.  
eat-PAST-1SG DEM instrument because.of

'They had slipped a **mandolin** at the primary school.

Because of that **instrument**, I was beaten by my teacher.'

b. İlkokul-da el-im-e bir **mandolin**

primary.school-LOC hand-1SG.POSS-DAT a mandolin  
tutuştur-muş-lar-dı. O an-dan itibaren {bu/\*?o} **çalgı**  
slip-PF-3PL-PAST DEM moment-ABL onwards DEM instrument  
hayat-ım-ın en önemli parça-sı ol-du.  
life-1SG.POSS-GEN most important part-3SG.POSS become-PAST

'They had slipped a **mandolin** at the primary school. From that time,  
that **instrument** has become the most important part of my life.'

(Both 8a and 8b have been adapted from Baydur 2009: 847 with a slight modification)

The speaker assumes that the referent *çalgı* 'instrument' / *mandolin* 'mandolin' in (8a) is not within his/her controllable domain while the same referent in (8b) is under control of him/herself although it is a part of the past event experienced by the speaker: In the former, the instrument denotes an object that reminds the speaker his/her unpleasant memories in the past; in the latter, on the other hand, the same object is indispensable for the speaker's daily life. If this account is correct, we can say that *o* is selected to refer to the object in (8a) according to the case  $\delta$  and *bu* is selected to indicate the same object in (8b) according to the case  $\beta$  in Figure 1. As can be seen in (8a-b), solely *o* in (8a) and *bu* in (8b) is acceptable. These remarks suggest that temporal dimension is a secondary factor in determining whether the entity is within the controllable domain of the speaker or not.

#### 4. Conclusions

In Balpinar (2012), it has been shown that the concept of controllable domain plays important role in determining the appropriate usages of the non-anaphoric demonstratives *bu* and *o*. In this study, it has been indicated that there is a phenomenon in Turkish demonstratives, which cannot only be dealt with this concept, and proposed that the interchangeability between the antecedent noun and the co-referential noun also plays major role in conditioning the distribution of the demonstratives *bu/o*. Among others, the following points are discussed in the text: 1) on the situation where the intended referent is within the controllable domain of the speaker, *bu* is used to refer to it if the co-referential noun semantically contains the antecedent noun, *o* is used to refer to it if the antecedent noun semantically contains the co-referential noun, 2) on the situation where the referent is not within the controllable domain of the speaker, *o* refers to it regardless of whether the co-referential noun semantically contains the antecedent noun or not, 3) temporal dimension is a secondary factor in determining whether the referent is within the controllable domain of the speaker or not. Such analysis on the non-anaphoric demonstratives *bu* and *o* are significant in that they

shed light on the semantic parameters which determine the occurrence of them in the universe of discourse, and in that its findings provide a more comprehensive view on understanding the demonstrative system of Turkish.

#### **Abbreviations**

1, 2, 3: first, second and third person, ABL: ablative; ACC: accusative; AOR: aorist; COM: comitative; COND: conditional; DAT: dative; DEM: demonstrative; FIN: final sentence enclitic; FUT: future; GEN: genitive; LOC: locative; NML: nominalization; PAST: past; PF: perfective; PL: plural; POSS: possessive; PRES: present; Q: interrogative particle; SG: singular

#### **Acknowledgment**

I would like to thank Semih Akyol, Nilgun Guler, and Necmettin Erdogan for acceptability judgments of the Turkish demonstrative examples used in this paper. All remaining errors are, of course, my own.

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