

# SIMULTANEOUS INGRESSIVE ADVERBIALS IN TURKISH

Gülsüm Atasoy<sup>1</sup> D

Mersin University

Abstract: The purpose of the study is to describe the distinctive features of the Turkish aspectual adverbials derhal 'immediately' and hemen 'immediately', which are defined as synonymous in Türk Dil Kurumu 'Turkish Language Association' (TDK) dictionary. We use Turkish National Corpus (TNC) (Aksan, et al., 2012) as our database. In determining the number of the node words to be analyzed. Simple sampling method is used. The sampling number is calculated according to 95% confidence interval and 5% error margin on the normalized frequency per million words. We analyze the usage values, lexical patterns and structures of the aspectual adverbials considering their frequency distribution over the domains Informative and Imaginative with a corpus-driven approach. It is observed in the corpus data that these aspectual adverbials tend to appear in certain patterns and structures more frequently. According to their temporal features, activity sentences are the most frequently used situation type with these adverbials, which mark imperfective viewpoint aspect. What makes the difference between them is their manner. Hence, the Turkish aspectual adverbials derhal and hemen cannot be evaluated as exact synonym of each other as stated in TDK dictionary.

Key words: Aspectual adverbials, corpus, derhal, hemen.

<sup>1</sup> Mersin University, Faculty of Science and Letters, Department of English Language and Literature, Mersin, Turkey, gulsumatasoy@mersin.edu.tr Makale gönderim tarihi: 15 Mayıs 2017; Kabul tarihi: 19 Eylül 2017

# TÜRKÇEDE EŞZAMANLI BAŞLAMALI BELİRTEÇLİKLER<sup>2</sup>

Özet: Bu çalışmanın amacı Türkçe görünüş belirteçliklerinden yakın anlamlı gibi görünen *derhal ve hemen*'nin doğal dil verisiyle görünüş parametresi (Smith, 1997) kapsamında ayırt edici özelliklerini açıklamaktır. Çözümlemede Türkçe Ulusal Derlemi (Aksan ve diğ., 2012) kullanılmıştır. Çözümlenecek sözcük satır sayısı, 1 milyon sözcükteki sıklığın normalleştirilerek basit seçkisiz örnekleme yöntemine göre %95 güven aralığı - %5 hata payı oranıyla elde edilmiştir. Ardından bu belirteçliklerin eylemlerin hal türleri, görünüş çekim ekleriyle etkileşimiyle ortaya çıkan belirgin sözcüksel yapıları ve çoksözcüklü birimleri derlem-çıkışlı yaklaşımla çözümlenmiştir. Belirteçliklerle birlikte görünen yapıların ve görünüşlerinin belirgin karakteristik yapılarının olduğu gözlenmektedir. Zamansal özelliklerine göre bu belirteçlikler, belirli bir yapıyı, belirli bir görünüşü ve hal türünü seçmektedir. Dolayısıyla, Türkçede *derhal* ve *hemen* belirteçliklerini eş anlamlı olarak düşünemeyiz.

#### Anahtar sözcükler: Görünüş belirteçlikleri, derlem, derhal, hemen.

### **1. INTRODUCTION**

In the literature of aspect, Vendler (1957) is mentioned as one of the pioneering scholars of this concept after Aristotle, relating verbs with time, and temporal constituency. He suggests that "the use of the verb suggests the particular way in which that verb presupposes and involves the notion of time". In defining the term of "aspect", the scholars specify it in different perspectives. For example, Comrie (1976, p. 3) states that aspect is not about relating the time of a situation to any other time-point, aspect is concerned with the internal temporal constituency of the situation. Smith (1997, pp. 1-2) suggests that aspectual meaning is essential of a two-component theory, which is described through situation types and viewpoint. Situation type is conveyed by the verb constellation. The viewpoint is conveyed by grammatical morphemes. She adds that through the relation between viewpoint and situation

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Adverbial'ın Türkçedeki karşılığı olarak *belirteçlik* (Erözden ve Tarhan, 2008, p. 5). ve *belirtecimsi* (İmer, Kocaman ve Özsoy, 2011, p. 310) terimleri önerilmiştir. Ancak, belirtecimsi *adjunct*'ın Türkçe karşılığı olarak da önerilmektedir (İmer, Kocaman ve Özsoy, 2011, p.48). Daha anlaşılır olmak için bu çalışmada *belirteçlik* terimi kullanılmıştır.

structure, the term "aspect" has broadened. The situation types *state*, *activity*, *accomplishment*, *achievement* and *semelfactive* are stated below respectively with their features (Smith,1997, pp. 19-35):

**State** holds for a moment and consists of undifferentiated period without internal structure, whose features are static, durative, and atelic. The whole schema is true for every moment. Private predicates are *believe that..., hope that..., fear..., know that...,* etc.

Activity is a process that involves physical or mental activity, whose temporal features are dynamic, atelic, durative. Activities terminate or stop but they don't finish. Activities have the part-whole relation of cumulative events, going on in time in a homogenous way. Predicates are *stroll in the park, laugh, revolve, think about, enjoy, eat cherries*, etc.

Accomplishments consist of a process and an outcome or change of state, whose temporal features are dynamic, telic, durative. The change is the completion of the process, intrinsically bounded. Accomplishments have successive stages; in which the process advances to its natural final endpoint or may result in new state. Relevant predicates are *build a bridge, walk to school, drink a glass of wine*, etc.

Achievements are instantaneous events which result in a change of state. Their temporal features are dynamic, telic, instantaneous. There is no part-whole entailment. Achievement sentence is true for the moment of the event.

**Semelfactive** are single stage events with no result or outcome, whose temporal features are dynamic, atelic, instantaneous. Example predicates are [knock at the door, hiccup, flap a wing] bodily events [blink, cough], actions [tap, peck, kick, scratch, hammer a nail once].

The other component is the viewpoint aspect, which are perfective, imperfective, and neutral. Sentences with a perfective viewpoint present a situation as a whole. The span of the perfective includes the initial and the final endpoints of the situation. Sentences with an imperfective viewpoint present part of a situation with no information about its endpoints. Sentences with neutral viewpoint are aspectually vague, they lack a viewpoint morpheme (Smith, 1997, pp. 61-86).

In the literature, there are valuable studies on the adverbs and their functions, one of which are *Adverbs and Functional Heads* by Cinque

(1999). In Turkish, Erguvanlı-Taylan and Özsoy (1994, pp. 99-108) studied on the syntactic features of the Turkish adverbials. Scholars also try to define and describe the aspect in Turkish in different perspectives (Dilaçar 1974, Aksan and Aksan 2003, Güven, 2004). In addition to other studies on aspect, Erguvanlı-Taylan (2001) illustrates the relation between temporal/aspectual adverbs and the verb form in Turkish and states that aspectual adverbs play a determining role in the overall aspectual interpretation of a sentence, they also specify viewpoint aspect in combination with the verb inflection. She claims that orientation point is a feature only of adverbials which is used in defining temporal/aspectual notions and states that the particular verbal morphemes involved in expressing viewpoint aspect, -DI and -mIs are noted to express the perfective or perfect viewpoint while -Ivor expresses the imperfective viewpoint. She also mentions that investigating the distributional patterns of durative adverbials reveals dependency relations among the adverbial, situation type and viewpoint aspect.

We know that languages have grammatical tools in order to indicate the time when an event occurs or when a state holds. This is called tense. Tenses are not the only means available of locating events in time. Another mean is the use of other linguistic elements, for instance temporal adverbs such as *yesterday, soon* or prepositional phrases such as *in two days* (Comrie, 1985).

According to the time axis of Reichenbach's tense system (1947), we see that any event has a language-independent description on the time according to the reference point. Smith based this description of time on the lexical expressions of temporality. She (2009, p. 95) proposes that the temporal system is relational. Thus, the orientation and the values of temporal expressions are not fixed, however, their relational values are consistent. Likewise, the relational values of temporal adverbs can change and function differently depending on the structure in which they appear.

In the case of *derhal* and *hemen* as the simultaneous Ingressive adverbials, we mean that the reference time is simultaneous with the event time, thus, simultaneity refers to the present time. Ingressive aspect encodes the beginning of an event, the point at which an event begins to obtain as it focuses on the beginning of an event.

Simultaneous adverbials are *derhal* and *hemen* tend to mark Ingressive aspect in Turkish. The paper will proceed as follows: in section 2, the methodology of the study is introduced. In section 3, the analysis of the aspectual adverbials *derhal* and *hemen* is given in terms of their usage values, lexical patterns and structures of the aspectual adverbials considering their frequency distribution over the domains Informative and Imaginative texts of the TNC. In section 4, discussion is presented focusing on the tendencies the adverbials display in the data.

### 2. METHODOLOGY

This study is a descriptive study which gives qualitative and quantitative information. For the natural language data, we use the Turkish National Corpus (TNC), which is designed to be a balanced, large scale and general-purpose corpus for contemporary Turkish which consists of spoken and written data. We study on the written part, which has two domains, namely Informative and Imaginative. The Imaginative domain of the TNC, which contains texts from novels, drama, poems, short stories, consists of 9.310.000 words while the Informative domain, which contains texts from social sciences, art, commerce-finance, belief-thought, World affairs, applied science, natural science and leisure, consists of 39.690.000 words. Totally, the written part consists of 49 million words. In order to compare and contrast the results of these domains, they have to have the same number of words. Otherwise, the raw frequencies of the node words will not reflect the true figures. With the aim of equalizing the frequencies of each domain to one another, we have normalized the frequencies per million words for both domains. Simple sampling method is used in the analysis of the data. With the aim of representing the population (frequencies for each domain), the sampling number is calculated according to 95% confidence interval and 5% error margin on the normalized frequency per million words.

The analyses are made in the framework of the aspect theory and corpus linguistics methodology. In the framework of aspect, the analyses are conducted within two major approaches, namely, Smith (1997) and Comrie (1976). In the framework of corpus linguistics methodology, corpus-driven approach is pursued (Hunston and Francis, 2000, p. 19; Römer, 2005, pp. 6-10; Tognini-Bonelli, 2001, pp. 84-98). In order to attain patterns of the aspectual adverbials *derhal* and *hemen*, their usage

values, lexical patterns and the structures in which they occur are analyzed considering their frequency of distributions.

### **3.** ANALYSIS

In this section, the analysis of the aspectual adverbials *derhal* and *hemen* is presented.

### 3.1. DERHAL

Türk Dil Kurumu 'Turkish Language Association' (TDK) defines *derhal* as an adverb in the sense "çabucak" 'immediately'. In *Turkish hemen* and *derhal* are defined as synonymous in the sense of 'immediately, at once' (Göksel and Kerslake, 2005, p. 233).

The following patterns are the patterns observed in the temporal adverbial use of *derhal* in the TNC. *Derhal* occurs with the predicates either nominal or verbal and the verbal predicates show variety in terms of inflection types. Some of them can be analyzed under one category such as A/Ir and -mEktE as present. Hence, all these different types of verbal predicates are analyzed separately under word class categories such as -Iyor as continuous, -AcAk as future. Only the category of past tense is analyzed in terms of inflectional morphemes as -DI and -mIş. The reason for this is that they display meaningful results on the data, contrary to the other word class morphemes. That is why the table is designed as below, especially with the aim of showing the frequency distributions obtained from corpus. The patterns are given according to their frequencies and percentage values in comparison with the domains below:

Informative		
Patterns	Frequency	Percentage
Derhal +Vpresent	136	44%
Derhal +Vpast (-DI)	62	20%
Derhal+Vcontinuous	29	9%
Derhal + Nominal predicate	28	9%
Derhal +Vpast (-mIş)	25	8%
Derhal +Vfuture	14	5%
Derhal +Vimperative	14	5%
TOTAL	308	100%

<b>Table 1.</b> Patterns and frequencies of <i>derhal</i> in the Informative dom
--

**Table 2.** Patterns and frequencies of *derhal* in the Imaginative domain

Imaginative		
Patterns	Frequency	Percentage
Derhal +Vpast (-DI)	56	29%
Derhal +Vpresent	40	21%
Derhal +Vimperative	26	14%
Derhal +Vpast (-mIş)	21	11%
Derhal+Vcontinuous	20	10%
Derhal + Nominal predicate	16	8%
Derhal +Vfuture	13	7%
TOTAL	192	100%

According to the frequency distributions of the patterns over the domains, especially the pattern "Derhal +Vpresent" outnumbers the frequencies of the other patterns over both domains. In the Informative domain, the frequency distribution cumulates in the patterns "Derhal +Vpresent" with 44% and "Derhal +Vpast (-DI)" with 20% of the data. The other pattern distributions are close to each other in terms of frequency. In the Imaginative domain, the patterns "Derhal +Vpast (-DI)" and "Derhal +Vpresent" are the first two frequent patterns. However, there is not a significant frequency rise in the Imaginative domain, as it is in the Informative domain in the case of the pattern "Derhal +Vpresent". We can say that in comparison with the Informative domain, the Imaginative domain shows diverse use of patterns in terms of their frequencies. The patterns and their examples are stated below:

Table 3. Example concordances for the patterns of *derhal* 

Patterns	Example Concordances		
Derhal +Vpresent	düzenlenen bilançodan ortaklığın borca batık		
	olduğu anlaşılırsa yönetim kurulu durumu derhal		
	mahkemeye bildirir. Mahkeme kural olarak iflâsa		
	hükmeder. Ancak yönetim kurulunun		
	(LF05A1B-4442) 'If it is understood that the		
	partnership is indebt because of financial		
	statements, governing board will immediately		
	notify the situtation to the court'		
Derhal +Vpast (-DI)	çekilmesinin İsrail'in bütün Sina'yı işgaline yol		
	açacağını düşünen Nasır, bunu derhal reddetti.		
	Bunun üzerine, 31 Ekim'de uçaklarla Mısır		
	üslerini bombalamaya başlayan (DE05A3A-1909)		
	'Nasır who thinks that will cause Israel to conquer		

```
G. ATASOY
```

Patterns	Example Concordances
	the whole Sinai immediately declines this.'
Derhal+Vcontinuous	Çatır çutur sesler çıkıyordu. Kıymet Hanım Teyze'nin boşalttığı her tabak <i>derhal</i> <i>dolduruluyor</i> ; her yeni mantının üzerine bolca sarımsaklı yoğurt dökülüp, kızgın (MA16B4A-0126) 'Each plate which the aunt Mrs. Kıymet empties is immediately filled'
Derhal + Nominal predicate	üzere yapılan en önemli öneri, altına çevrilemeyen kağıt paranın piyasadan <i>derhal çekilmesidir</i> . Bunun sebebi olarak; bu tür paranın malların fiyatını artırmakta (ME05A1B-3914) 'the most important suggestion is that the Money which cannot be exchanged into gold should be immediately removed from the market'
Derhal +Vpast(-mIş)	vasıl olmuşlar. Burada padişah, "Gidip söyleyin, iftarımı Dürrizade'de açacağım," demiş. <i>Derhal</i> <i>yetiştirmişler</i> . Dürrizade hemen Ali Yekta Bey'in dedesi Halepli Cevher Ağa'yı (SA16B2A-0659) 'sultan is here, announce that I will break fast in Dürrizade, says he. They immediately announced it.'
Derhal +Vfuture	Cemil Bey biraz uzakta bekleyip sizi koruyacak, size yaklaşan olursa <i>derhal icabına bakacak</i> . Sizi yakalamaya kalkışan olursa, kim olursa olsun vuracak. (DA16B4A-0082) 'Mr. Cemil will guard you if anyone approaches you, he will immediately shoot him'
Derhal +Vimperative	"Bu ne cüret?" diye bağırdı ayağa kalkan sultan. "Ey deniz! <i>Derhal geri dön</i> ! Sana önümden çekilmeni emrediyorum. Bana itaat et!" O (QA16B2A-0672) 'how dare you? Shouted the sultan standing up. Hey sea! Come back immediately!'

Moreover, pragmatically the adverbial *derhal* seems to have a specific use with elliptical predicate. Such use is likely to occur in the context of a superior-subordinate relationship. The superior person has authority over the subordinate person. In the context, the superior person asks the subordinate person to do something. Hence, the subordinate person replies as *derhal* 'immediately' with the intension of obedience to the given order. For example, in the context of a restaurant, the client asks for a drink and fruits. The waiter answers as "derhal hocam, emriniz

olur" 'immediately sir' it is your order for me'. The related uses are exemplified below:

### (1)

a."Hem rakımızı yenile, hem de biraz meyve getir bize oğlum!" "Derhal hocam, emriniz olur!" Uzaklaştı. Günsu Fırat, giden garsonun arkasından dalgın (PA16B2A-1422) 'Pour raki and bring us some fruit, son!. Immediately sir, Your wish is my command!'

b."k olarak kitaptaki resimlere bakar. Haydi, onu odama getirin. *Dadı: Derhal efendim*. (Dadı dışarı çıkar. Bir süre sonra Reyhan'ı içeri getirir.) (VA14B1A-1602) 'Come on, bring it to my room. Nany: Immediately sir'

c.bir de Antalya'da pansiyon var ama..." "Aman efendim ne demek, *derhal*... Siz ülkemiz için saçınızı süpürge ediyorsunuz. Biz sizin için fırçamızı 'there is a hostel in Antalya but..., sir it is my pleasure, immediately...'

We also observe that *derhal* tend to be used to strengthen the meaning of the order. This use of *derhal* is observed to be used in military and health contexts, which also include superior-subordinate relationship. This sense of *derhal* is likely to underline the importance of the job to be done in the case of urgency and vitality.

In terms of the predication form of the verb for *derhal*, it is obvious that the adverbial *derhal* is almost always used with positive predicates. In the domain Informative only 1% use is in negative predication while in the domain Imaginative, all the uses are in positive predication. We think that positive predication use here can be caused by the sense of complying with obedience. *Derhal* contains the sense of urgency and vitality of the job or the order in terms of fulfillment. Below, the frequency distributions and the example concordances for the negative predication of *derhal* are presented:

	Informative		Imaginative	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Negative predicate	3	1%	0	0
Positive predicate	305	99%	192	100%
TOTAL	308	100%	192	100%

**Table 4.** Predication form of the verb for *derhal* and its frequency distribution over the domains

G.	ATASOY	ľ
----	--------	---

Table 5. Example concordances for the negative predication of *derhal* 

sürücüsü olmasına rağmen olay mahallini terk etmiş ve alkol	derhal	yaptırmamıştır. Rütbeli bir emniyet mensubu olarak kaza sonrası uygulanması gereken (VC01A1A-2709) 'He has not
ölçümünü		immediately measured alcoholometry'
ve onunla beraber	derhal	unutturamamıştı. Tontan göç 1941-1943
hoşgörü.ve iktisadi		yıllarındaki zorluklardan doğdu.
kalkınma, Varlık		(LE05A1B-3695) 'it cannot make it
Vergisi'ni ve Aşkale'yi		immediately forget the wealth tax and aşkale'

# The situation Types Derhal prefers

*Derhal* shows frequency consistency in both of the domains in marking situation types. Activity is the most frequently preferred situation type in comparison with the other situation types. This follows, accomplishment, state and achievement, respectively. Semelfactive does not occur in neither of the domains. Below, both the situation type frequencies in terms of the domains and the example concordances are presented, the number given in parenthesis refers to the frequency of occurrence of the adverbial *derhal*:

 Table 6. Situation types and its frequencies of derhal in the Informative domain

Informative
Numbers
$62\% (190)^3$
18% (54)
13% (41)
7% (23)
0
100% (308)

 Table 7. Situation types and its frequencies of *derhal* in the Imaginative domain

	Imaginative	
Situation types	Numbers	
Activity	58% (112)	
Accomplishment	21% (40)	

<sup>3</sup> The numbers in parantheses are the number of the concordance lines occurring with the given use in the corpus.

SIMULTANEOUS INGRESSIVE ADVERBIALS IN TURKISH

State	11% (21)
Achievement	10% (19)
Semelfactive	0
TOTAL	100% (192)

The following table illustrates the examples for each situation type used with the adverbial *derhal*.

Table 8. Example concordances for the situation types of derhal

Situation types	Examples
State	uçakları Yunanistan'a yollamak istemiyorlardı. İngiliz
	Genelkurmayı, Foreign Office'in aksine Türkiye'nin
	derhal savaşa katılmasından yanaydılar. Bu şekilde
	Yunanistan destek görecek ve Mısır (GE05A3A-190)
	'as opposed to Foregin Office, the British staff on the
	side of Turkey's entering into the war'
Activity	gelip yerinde teftişi çok yerinde olacaktır, efendim
	Peki ben derhal geliyorum. O yerli komünistler ve
	casuslar hepsi orada hazır olsunlar. (DA16B3A-0791)
	'ok, I am coming immediately. Those local communists
	and spies are ready there'
Accomplishment	eğilip tele baktığı sırada, başka bir tepeden, tekrar silâh
	sesleri. Derhal doğruldu, seslerin geldiği yana
	baktı; orası, telgraf direklerinin bulunduğu tepe.
	(OA16B3A-0415) 'shot from another hill. He
	immediately stood up, look at the direction of the shot'
Achievement	ilk girdiği sınavda kazandığından dolayı Siyasal'da
	halen kaydının bulunduğunu öğrenir. Derhal
	Ankara'ya varır, öğrenci bürosuna gider, kendini
	tanıtır. Gerisini Tibuk'tan dinleyelim: 'he learns that he
	is still registered to the politics. He immediately arrives
	Ankara and goes to the student administration office'
Semelfactive	-

# The Viewpoint Aspect Derhal co-occurs

In the table below, it is shown that the pattern "Derhal +Vpast (-DI)" with the average frequency (25%) over the domains focuses on the entirety of the situation. The pattern Derhal +Vpast (-mIş)" marks the situation taking place prior to the reference time with the average frequency 9% over the domains. And all the other patterns of *derhal* focus on the interval of the situations that semantically excludes endpoints. For example, the sentence *Mary was walking to school* 

does not entail that a complete event of arriving to school occurred. By this sentence, we only see the interval of the sentence, that is, the event of walking to school, which may terminate with completion or without completion of the event. Thus, the endpoint of the event is not visible (Smith, 1997, pp. 62-64). The frequencies of the patterns in terms of viewpoint aspect are consistent over the domains. According to the results, *derhal* tends to co-occur with the imperfective viewpoint aspect with the average frequency of the domains 66%. The frequency distributions of the patterns showing the viewpoint aspect over the domains are given below:

	Informative	2	
Patterns	Perfective	Imperfective	Perfect
Derhal +Vpresent		44% (136)	
Derhal +Vpast (-DI)	20% (62)		
Derhal+Vcontinuous		9% (29)	
Derhal + Nominal predicate		9% (28)	
Derhal +Vpast (-mIş)			8% (25)
Derhal +Vfuture		5% (14)	
Derhal +Vimperative		5% (14)	
TOTAL	20%	72%	8%

 Table 9. The viewpoint aspect of the patterns derhal and its frequencies in the Informative domain

**Table 10.** The viewpoint aspect of the patterns *derhal* and its frequencies in the Imaginative domain

	Imaginative	e	
Patterns	Perfective	Imperfective	Perfect
Derhal +Vpast (-DI)	29% (56)		
Derhal +Vpresent		21% (40)	
Derhal +Vimperative		14% (26)	
Derhal +Vpast (-mIş)			11% (21)
Derhal+Vcontinuous		10% (20)	
Derhal + Nominal predicate		8% (16)	
Derhal +Vfuture		7% (13)	
TOTAL	29%	60%	11%

The following table illustrates the example concordances of *derhal* in terms of the viewpoint aspect.

Table 11. Example concordances of *derhal* in terms of the viewpoint aspect

Viewpoint aspect	Examples
Perfective	bu uçak yeterince kötüydü, ama bu yıkıcı darbe olmuştu. <i>Kendini derhal toparladı</i> ve interkomun düğmesine bastı Janine, bana derhal Hava (RI22F1D-4714) 'this was a destructive strike. He immediately bounced back and pressed the button of intercom'
Imperfective	Mithat Bey de, dönmüş Fikriye'ye bakmıyorlar mıymış? Suçüstü yakalanmış oldular, <i>derhal başlarını başka tarafa</i> <i>çeviriyorlar</i> . "böyle bakmalarının, esbabı ne olabilir?" Mustafa (OA16B3A-0415)'they were caught red-handed, and they immediately turned their heads to the other side'
Perfect	hikâyesinin, belki de hayatının hikâyesinin ilk karalamaları varmış yalnızca. <i>Dostumu derhal hastaneye</i> <i>kaldırmışlar</i> , sevgililer onun hikâyesini çok sevmiş, hasta odasında gece (DA16B1A-1504) 'they immediately took my friend to the hospital. Lover liked his story very much'

## 3.2. HEMEN

TDK defines *hemen* 'immediately' as an adverb with the meaning *Çabucak* 'quickly'. In Turkish Comprehensive Grammar (Göksel and Kerslake, 2005, p. 233) *hemen* is defined as synonymous with the adverbial *derhal* in the meaning of "immediately" or "at once".

(2) Bardakları hemen yıka.

'Wash the glasses immediately.'

Moreover, *hemen* in the form of *hemen hemen* meaning 'almost' can occur before any numerical expression (2005, p. 207):

(3) Hemen hemen 100 sayfa okudum.

'I've read about 100 pages.'

The following patterns are the patterns observed in the adverbial use of *hemen* in the TNC. The patterns are given according to their frequencies and percentage values in comparison with the domains below:

**Table 12.** Patterns and frequencies of *hemen* in the Informative domain

	Informative	
Patterns	Frequency	Percentage
Hemen +Vpresent	131	35%
Hemen +Vpast (-DI)	74	20%
Hemen + Nominal predicate	63	17%
Hemen <sub>+</sub> Vcontinuous	48	13%
Hemen +Vpast (-mIş)	42	11%
Hemen +Vfuture	12	3%
Hemen +Vimperative	9	2%
TOTAL	379	100%

Table 13. Patterns and frequencies of hemen in the Imaginative domain

	Imaginative	
Patterns	Frequency	Percentage
Hemen +Vpast (-DI)	135	36%
Hemen <sub>+</sub> Vcontinuous	63	17%
Hemen +Vpresent	46	12%
Hemen +Vpast (-mIş)	44	12%
Hemen + Nominal predicate	36	10%
Hemen +Vimperative	30	8%
Hemen +Vfuture	16	4%
TOTAL	370	100%

According to the tables, in the domain Informative, the most frequently used pattern is Hemen +Vpresent with a 35% while in the domain Imaginative, the most frequently used pattern is Hemen +Vpast (-DI) with a 36%. We see that the pattern preferences differ in terms of domains here. This can be due to the characteristic features of the texts. While events in informative texts tend to be presented with present tense, events in imaginative texts tend to be presented with past tense. In both of the domains, the least frequently used patterns are "Hemen +Vimperative" and "Hemen +Vfuture". The rest of the patterns for the domain Informative, "Hemen +Vpast (-DI), Hemen + Nominal predicate, Hemen+Vcontinuous, Hemen +Vpast (-mIş)" show close frequency disributions over the data. The same is valid for the patterns "Hemen+Vcontinuous, Hemen +Vpresent, Hemen +Vpast (-mIş), *Hemen* + Nominal predicate" in the domain Imaginative. The following table illustrates the example concordance lines for the patterns of hemen.

 Table 14. Example concordances for the patterns of hemen

Patterns	Example Concordances
Hemen +Vpresent	bire yer değiştirmesinden; bir bakıma, fırlatılıp atılıvermekten Böyle bir durumda <i>hemen</i> <i>ağlamaya başlar</i> , bebek (Oysa neler, ne korkular öğretiyoruz çocuklarımıza Sıcacık (FI22C1A-0855) 'in such a situation, the baby immediately starts crying'
Hemen +Vpast (-DI)	yaptılar. İyice yoruldum. Doktorlar, biraz uzanıp dinlenin, dediler ya, dinlenemedim. <i>Hemen çıktım hastaneden</i> . Aslında, bir taksi çevirip binmeliydim. Biliyorum. Ama Demirtaş, (GH09C3A-0710) 'they told us to have a rest. I could not rest. I immediately left the hospital'
Hemen + Nominal predicate	bir mezar görmek için bu kadar acele etmezdi herhalde. "Afedersiniz, <i>hemen hazırlanmam</i> <i>lâzım.</i> " "Tabi yavrum. Ben de ilk uçakta yer ayırtayım (VA16B3A-1088) 'sorry, I am immediately supposed to get prepared'
Hemen+Vcontinuous	kaldırdılar. Eldiven yerinden fırladı. Yukarıdaki avizeye tutundu. "Biraz parmaklarımı açayım, <i>hemen geliyorum</i> !" diye şakayla aşağıya bağırdı. Bu arada diğerleri, hemen pencereye (UA16B1A-3337) 'he hold the chandelier. I exercise with my fingers, then I immediately come'
Hemen +Vpast (-mIş)	pencereden girmek zorunda kalmışlardır. BEKÇİ: Benim düdüğün sesini duyunca da hemen, ânında, <i>Hemen kaçmışlardır</i> , değil mi? ARZU: Aynen öyle olmuştur Halil (IA14B1A-1620) 'when they heard the whistle, they immediately ran away, didn't they?'
Hemen +Vfuture	karaltı da hızla küçülüyordu. Koydan çıktık. Konuşmuyoruz. Birimiz "dönelim" dese <i>hemen</i> <i>döneceğiz</i> . Kaptan'ın tepkisizliği içimize oturdu. Hasan'ın çıkardığı haritayı inceliyoruz. Küt mi? (PA16B4A-0511) 'we left the bay, we do not talk. What if one of us say to return back, we would immediately return'
Hemen +Vimperative	yeni öğrendim. Ama şiirimi beğeneceğinizi umuyorum, dedi O halde <i>hemen okumaya</i> <i>başla</i> . Nesrin, bir yutkundu, derin bir soluk aldı, elindeki (UA16B1A-1201) 'But I hope you would like my poem, said he. Then immediately start reading it'

In the data, pragmatically we encounter with specific use of the adverbial *hemen* with elliptical predicate as an order in the context of a superior-subordinate relationship. This use of *hemen* appears only in one instance in the corpus. In the following example, the landlady gives order to the maid to take the luggages to the room. The order is emphasized by the adverbial *hemen* with elliptical predicate.

### (4)

biraz şaşkın baktı hanımına. Sert bir sesle tekrar etti Füreya: "Hemen!" Adam merdivenlerde gözüktü. "Emine'nin elindeki valizi alın, odaya getirin. Diğerlerini (MA16B3A-0039) 'He look suprised to the lordlady. Füreya repeated with a strong voice: Immediately! The man appeared on the stairs. "take the lugguges from Emine and bring them to the room'

In terms of the predication form of the verb for *hemen*, it is obvious that *hemen* almost always takes positive predicates. In both of the domains, negative predication consists of 2% of the data. Negative predication tends to occur mostly in the pattern "Hemen +Vimperative", as in the cases *hemen maç vermeyin* 'don't make him play a match immediately', *hemen yanıtlama* 'don't answer immediately'. This use seems to have a warning signal to the audience in order to meet a precondition. For example, in the case of match, the speaker wants the jury to see his performance before making him play a match.", and in the other case, the speaker wants the audience to think before answering. The other patterns of *hemen* in negative predication has its usual sense of *immediately*.

Below, predication form of the verb for *hemen* and its frequency distribution over the domains and example concordances for the negative predication of *hemen* are presented:

distribution over the	Informative		Imaginative	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Negative predicate	9	2%	7	2%
Positive predicate	370	98%	363	98%
TOTAL	379	100%	370	100%

 Table 15. Predication form of the verb for *hemen* and its frequency distribution over the domains

Tuble 101 Example concordance		negative predication of nemen
amaçlı olarak hazırlanan eğitim temel yasasının bu iki maddesinin uygulanmasına	hemen	<i>geçilemedi.</i> 24 yıl sonra 1998 yılında Yasanın 38.maddesi uyarınca 8 (MF10A2A-1789) 'the two articles of the education law is not immediately carried into action'
emek birikimi olarak adlandırılmaktadır. Firmalar, herhangi bir talep artışı karşısında, diyor. İlk görüşmede Saran, Samanyolu'na maç vermek ister. "Biz de,	hemen hemen	İşgücü istihdamı yapamayacaklardır. Önceden tedbir anlamında istihdam etmeleri de rasyonel (TF10A2A-1902) 'upon an increase on demand, firms will not immediately be able to employ labor force' Maç vermeyin. Önce performansımızı, spora bakış açımızı, ciddiyetimizi bir görün, (JE39E1B-2838) 'do not immediately make him play in the match. First watch his performance'
cinayet. Kadının ağzına yastığı bastırıp, onu boğdular." "Dur, sakin ol	Hemen	karar vermeyelim. Oturup konuşalım." "Konuşacak zaman yok! Paris'e gitmem lazım."( PA16B4A-0099) 'take it easy, do not make up your mind immediately. Let us talk'
hiç kendi başına aldığın bir karar var mı? İyi düşün.	Hemen	<i>yanıtlama</i> . Kim bilir, belki kendine ait sandığın bir kararı sana (TA16B4A-0342) 'think long and hard, do not answer immediately'

Table 16. Example concordances for the negative predication of hemen

# The situation Types Hemen prefers

*Hemen* shows frequency consistency in both of the domains in preferring situation types. Activity is the most frequently occurring situation type with the adverbial *hemen*, which follows state, accomplishment and achievement respectively. Semelfactive does not occur in neither of the domains. Below, both the situation type frequencies in terms of the domains and the example concordances exist:

 Table 17. Situation types and its frequencies of *hemen* in the Informative domain

Informative
Numbers
71% (270)
20% (76)
6% (21)
3% (12)
0
100% (379)

Table 18: Situation types and its frequencies of *hemen* in the Imaginative domain

)

In the following table, example concordances for the situation types occurring with the adverbial *hemen* are given.

Table 19. Example concordances for the situation types of hemen

Situation types	Examples
State	sanatına sahip çıkmakta Yurttaşlık, kendini geçmiş
	referanslarla tanımlamakta değil, yurttaşlık hemen,
	şimdi, burada Yıldız Alpar Emiroğlu'nun okulu
	AKM'de düzenlenen bir resitalle (OG24D1B-2287)
	'citizenship is not about defining yourself with the
	past references. Citizenship is right now, here'
Activity	Otopsi yapılmasını istemeyen bin" Hasibe Hanım'ın
	söyledikleri geliyor aklıma ama hemen kovuyorum bu
	düşünceleri. "Saçma. Latife Teyze'yi niye öldürsünler
	ki?" "Kim (KA16B5A-0098) ''I remember what Mrs.
	Hasibe told to me but I immediately dismiss those
	thoughts'
Accomplishment	aynı olduğu için, hem de yaptığı hareketten dolayı.
	Neyse efendim, hemen adamın dükkânına
	gittik. O kadar heyecanlıyım ki, sanki hemen

Situation types	Examples
	makineyi (QI22C2A-0670) 'because it is the same
	and also because of the behavior he displayed.
	Anyway, we immediately went to the man's store. I
	was so excited that as if immediately
Achievement	randevu isteğini belirtti. Kiraz karta şöyle bir göz attı.
	İsmi hemen tanıdı. Takvimini çıkardı. İki gün sonraya
	randevu verdi. Ancak sekreter,(DA16B2A-0888)
	'Kiraz glanced at the card and immediately
	recognized the name'

"yurttaşlık *hemen, şimdi, burada...*" is state as it is stative and durative sentence temporally. "*hemen kovuyorum bu düşünceleri*" is an activity sentence with plural object, which displays multiple event activity of dismissing the thoughts. "*hemen adamın dükkânına gittik*" is an accomplishment sentence, which marks the completion of the process going to the store in terms of path and goal relationship. "*İsmi hemen tanıdı*" is an achievement sentence as it includes the instantaneous, telic and dynamic event *recognize*.

### The Viewpoint Aspect Hemen co-occurs

In the table below, it is stated that the pattern "Hemen +Vpast (-DI)" with the average frequency 27% over the domains focuses on the entirety of the situation. The pattern "Hemen +Vpast(-mIş)" marks the situation taking place prior to the reference time with the average frequency 11% over the domains. And all the other patterns of *hemen* basically focus on the interval of the situations. The frequencies of the patterns in terms of viewpoint aspect are consistent over the domains. According to results, *hemen* tends to co-occur with the imperfective viewpoint aspect with 60% of the average frequency of the domains. To note that the imperfective aspect is more frequently used in the domain Informative than it is used in the domain Imaginative while the perfective aspect is used more frequently in the domain Imaginative than it is used in the domain Informative. The frequency distributions of the patterns marking the viewpoint aspect over the domains are given below:

**Table 20.** The viewpoint aspect of the patterns *hemen* and its frequencies in the Informative domain

	Informative	e	
Patterns	Perfective	Imperfective	Perfect
Hemen +Vpresent		35% (131)	
Hemen +Vpast (-DI)	20% (74)		
Hemen + Nominal predicate		17% (64)	
Hemen+Vcontinuous		13% (48)	
Hemen +Vpast (-mIş)			11% (42)
Hemen +Vfuture		3% (12)	
Hemen +Vimperative		2% (9)	
TOTAL	20%	69%	11%

**Table 21.** The viewpoint aspect of the patterns *hemen* and its frequencies in the Imaginative domain

Imaginative	2	
Perfective	Imperfective	Perfect
36%(135)		
	17% (63)	
	12% (46)	
		12% (44)
	10% (36)	
	8% (30)	
	4% (16)	
36%	52%	12%
	Perfective 36%(135)	36%(135) 17% (63) 12% (46) 10% (36) 8% (30) 4% (16)

The following table illustrates the example concordances of *hemen* in terms of the viewpoint aspect.

Table 22. Example concordances of hemen in terms of the viewpoint aspect

Viewpoint aspect	Examples
Perfective	Hatice Nine açtı. Karşısında Zeynep'le annesini görünce, çok sevindi. Zeynep <i>hemen Hatice Nine'ye sarıldı</i> . Hatice Nine bir yandan onu okşuyor, bir (UA16B2A-1248) 'She became very happy when she saw Zeynep and her mother. Zeynep immediately hugged Nanny Hatice'
Imperfective	alt rafındaki siyah telefon ahizesini gösteriyor. Telefona sarılıp Nevzat'ı arıyorum. <i>Hemen geleceklerini</i> <i>söylüyorlar</i> , ikimiz de susmuş onları beklerken sanki hiçbir şey (EA16B4A-0097) 'I call Nevzat at the phone.

	They tell that they will immediately come'	
Perfect	kuşu olmuş, başlamış izlemeye. Gide gide padişahın sarayına varmışlar. <i>Delikanlı hemen bir elma olmuş</i> , gökten pattadak padişahın kucağına düşmüş. Gezgin, şahin(TA16B2A-1200) 'they arrived at the palace of Sultan. The young man immediately turned into an apple and fell on the Sultan's arms'	

### 4. DISCUSSION

Both the adverbials *derhal* and *hemen* are defined with the same sense 'immediately' as synonymous in both TDK and in Turkish: A Comprehensive Grammar (Göksel and Kerslake, 2005:233). The corpus data shows that although they have some correspondences with each other, they also display differences. The following table summarizes the tendencies of each adverbial according to their patterns.

Table 23. The tendencies of *derhal* and *hemen* according to their patterns

Adverbials	The most frequent pattern	The least frequent pattern	Non-observed pattern
Derhal	1	Derhal+Vfuture	ринет
Demai	Derhal+V present		-
	Derhal+Vpast(-DI)	Derhal+Vimperative	
Hemen	Hemen+V present	Hemen+Vfuture	-
	Hemen+Vpast(-DI)	Hemen+Vimperative	

In the case of the frequent patterns of the adverbials *derhal* and *hemen*, we see correspondence on their frequencies. That is, in the domain Informative both of the adverbials have the tendency to appear in the pattern "V present" while in the domain Imaginative, both of the adverbials have the tendency to appear in the pattern "Vpast(-DI)". The same is observed for the least frequent patterns of these adverbials. In the domain Informative, both adverbials show the tendency to appear with the pattern "Vimperative" while in the domain Imaginative, both adverbials show the tendency to appear with the pattern "Vimperative" while in the domain Imaginative, both adverbials show the tendency to appear with the pattern "Vinture". Hence, the domain is distinctive in this sense. Otherwise, they appear in all the patterns in the corpus data.

Both *derhal* and *hemen* appear with a negative predicate in a very low frequency. Their occurrence with the tense inflections on negative

predicate and average frequencies are given in the following table:

 Table 24. The tense inflection preferences on negation and average frequencies of *derhal* and *hemen*

The adverbial	Tense inflection preferences	Average frequency
	on negation	
Derhal	Perfect (-mIş) tense inflections	1%
Hemen	Perfective (-DI), Future, present tense inflections	2%

Bearing in mind that their frequencies are low with negative predicates, the adverbial *derhal* tends to appear with the Perfect (-mIş) whereas the adverbial *hemen* appears in Perfective (-DI), Future, present tense inflections. Overall, it is obvious that they are not preferable adverbials with negative predicates.

Both adverbials induce the temporal feature duration, dynamism and they are compatible with atelic sentences. Hence, they most frequently appear with the situation type activity in the data.

 Table 25. Situation type tendencies and their frequencies of *derhal* and *hemen*

Adverbials	Situation Type Tendencies and their frequencies
Derhal	Activity (60%)
Hemen	Activity (68%)

It is obvious that the events modified by these adverbials tend to extend in time, which co-occur with imperfective aspect more frequently than the other viewpoints, perfective and perfect.

Table 26. Viewpoint tendencies and their frequencies of derhal and hemen

Adverbials	Viewpoint Tendencies and their frequencies
Derhal	Perfective (24%)
	Imperfective (66%)
	Perfect (10%)
Hemen	Perfective (28%)
	Imperfective (61%)
	Perfect (11%)

As Smith (1997, pp. 97-122) states it, temporal location locating a situation in time and *aspect* specifying the internal structure of the situation are complementary temporal systems. The expression of temporal location is intertwined morphologically with aspect. There are co-occurrence relations between temporal adverbials and verb constellations. Temporal adverbials locate situations by relating them to time or to other situations and every sentence has a temporal standpoint, some of which are expressed overtly by adverbials. In this study, the overall analysis and the frequency distributions of the data lead us to conclude that both adverbials derhal and hemen tend to encode the initial point of an event, the point at which an event begins to obtain. We witness this both in the sentences below and in the rest of the examples in the corpus data. Subsequent to the antecedent event, the adverbials derhal and hemen mark the beginning of the posterior event, which they modify. For example, in (5), the anterior event upon seeing Zeynep and her mother, the grandmother is happy and in the subsequent sentence, hemen marks the beginning of the posterior event hugging the grandmother. Likewise, in the sentence (6) hemen marks the beginning of the baby's crying immediately and in the sentence (7), *derhal* marks the beginning of the event *coming* immediately.

(5) Karşısında Zeynep'le annesini görünce, çok sevindi. Zeynep *hemen Hatice Nine'ye sarıldı*. (UA16B2A-1248) 'She became very happy when she saw Zeynep and her mother. Zeynep immediately hugged Nanny Hatice'

(6) Böyle bir durumda *hemen ağlamaya başlar*, bebek... (FI22C1A-0855) 'in such a situation, the baby immediately starts crying'

(7) Peki *ben derhal geliyorum* (DA16B3A-0791) 'ok, I am coming immediately'

The adverbials *derhal* and *hemen* focus on the beginning of an event. Their reference points differ depending on the domain. We can summarize them as follows:

• *Derhal* and *hemen* show the tendency to have present standpoint encoding the initiality of the event in the domain Informative.

• *Derhal* and *hemen* show the tendency to have a past standpoint of the event encoding the initiality of the event in the domain Imaginative.

These adverbials tend to have relational value of simultaneity marking the initial points of the event whose temporal standpoints are present or past depending on the domain. We call them simultaneous ingressive adverbials.

We see that *derhal* and *hemen* show the same tendencies on the pattern choices, situation types and viewpoint aspects. What makes difference is their use in the domains Informative and Imaginative. Moreover, they also display specific uses. The adverbial derhal specializes in the context of a superior-subordinate relationship in the sense of giving or taking an order, which signals that the order is vital and urgent. On the other hand, the adverbial hemen modifying temporal adverbs such as hemen yarın 'immediately tomorrow', hemen şimdi 'right now' express closeness in time to the speech time. And hemen modifying place adverbs such as hemen yanında 'right beside you', hemen önünde 'right in front of you' marks closeness of the given place. Hemen in reduplication as in hemen hemen or with quantifiers as in hemen hepsi has the sense of almost. With a negative predicate, hemen tends to signal a warning to the audience in order to meet a given precondition as in hemen cevap verme 'Don't answer immediately'. The speaker wants the audience to think before answering.

### **5.** CONCLUSION

In this study, we have presented a detailed analysis on the Turkish aspectual adverbials *derhal* and *hemen* in naturally occurring data of TNC. In order to attain patterns of the aspectual adverbials *derhal* and *hemen*, their usage values, lexical patterns and structures are analyzed considering their frequency distributions. We have also presented quantitative and qualitative discussion of these aspectual adverbials over the domains informative and imaginative.

We have observed that both the aspectual adverbials *derhal* and *hemen* show similar tendencies on the pattern choices, situation types and viewpoint aspects. They have different standpoints in the domains informative and imaginative. Hence, we see that the context they

occur in is important. It is also obvious that *derhal* and *hemen* can be used interchangeably for one another, but the data shows that sense difference occurs especially in the case of *derhal*. *Derhal* is commonly preferred in the context of a superior-subordinate relationship in the sense of giving or taking an order, which signals that the order is vital and urgent. On the other hand, the adverbial *hemen* primarily marks closeness in time or place of the given time or place. Rather than their aspectual difference, it is their manner that causes the difference. Thus, out of a superior-subordinate relationship context, instead of *hemen*, the use of *derhal* may sound a little weird as in the sentence *Can hemen*??*derhal bir yudum ayran içti*, 'Can immediately took a sip of ayran'; however, the outcome is still accepted as a native speaker.

This study concludes that the aspectual adverbials *derhal* and *hemen* tend to appear in patterns V present and Vpast more frequently than the other patterns. According to their temporal features, they most frequently tend to occur with activity sentences with the imperfective viewpoint aspect. Hence, they show the same tendencies but differ terms of manner, in which *derhal* with elliptical predicate is likely to be used in the context of a superior-subordinate relationship for asking someone to do something much more frequently than *hemen*. All and all, these Turkish aspectual adverbials *derhal* and *hemen* display subtle differences in terms of context of use.

### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This paper is part of the author's PhD dissertation.

#### REFERENCES

- Aksan, Y. et al. (2012). Construction of the Turkish National Corpus (TNC). Proceedings of the Eight International Conference on Language Resources and Evaluation (LREC 2012). Istanbul: Turkiye. Address http://www.lrec conf.org/proceedings/lrec2012/pdf/991\_Paper.pdf
- Aksan, Y., and Aksan, M. (2003). Postpositions in Turkish: Adverbial use and aspectual properties. In A. Sumru Özsoy et al. (ed.). *Studies in Turkish Linguistics* (175-184).
- Cinque, G. (1999). Adverbs and functional heads: A cross-linguistic perspective. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Comrie, B. (1985). Tense. Cambridge: CUP
- Comrie, B. (1976). Aspect. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dilaçar, A. (1974). Türk fiilinde kılınışla görünüş ve dilbilgisi kitaplarımız. *Türk Dili* Araştırmaları Yıllığı, 159-171.

- Erguvanlı-Taylan, E. (2001). On the relation between temporal/aspectual adverbs and the verb form in Turkish. In E. Erguvanlı-Taylan (ed.). *The verb in Turkish (pp. 97-128)*. Amsterdam: The John Benjamins Publishing.
- Erguvanlı-Taylan, E. & Özsoy, A. S. (1994). Türkçe'deki belirtecimsilerin sözdizimsel özellikleri. VIII. Dilbilim Kurultayı Bildirileri (26-27 Mayıs 1994) (pp. 99-108). İstanbul: İstanbul İletişim Fakültesi Yayınları.
- Erözden, A. and Tarhan, B. (2008) *Türkçe terim ve sözlükler-Dilbilim (1<sup>st</sup> edition)*. İstanbul: Yalın Yayıncılık.
- Güven, M. (2004). Adverbials in Turkish: The third parameter in aspectual interpretation. *Unpublished Doctoral Thesis*. Boğaziçi University. İstanbul.
- Göksel, A. and Kerslake, C. (2005). *Turkish: A comprehensive grammar*. Oxford: Routledge.
- Hunston, S., and Francis, G. (2000). *Pattern grammar. A corpus-driven approach to the lexical grammar of English* Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Imer, K., Kocaman, A., and Özsoy, A.S. (2011). *Dilbilim sözlüğü (2<sup>nd</sup> edition)*. İstanbul: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yayınevi.
- Reichenbach, H. (1947). Elements of symbolic logic. New York: Macmillan & Co.
- Römer, U. (2005). Progressives, patterns, pedagogy: A corpus-driven approach to English progressive forms, functions, contexts and didactics. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Smith, C. (1997). The parameter of aspect. Netherlands: Kluwer Academic.
- Tognini-Bonelli, E. (2001). Corpus linguistics at work. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.
- Vendler, Z. (1957). Verbs and times. Philosophical Review, 66(2), 143-160.