

## Degree modification and event semantics: The role of verbal derivations and postverb constructions in Turkish

It has been cross-linguistically\* attested that certain morphemes influence the aspectual interpretation of a predicate. In particular, morphemes that express plurality of events became more important in event semantics studies recently. Following Lashersohn (1995), the notion of pluractionality came to be used to cover such aspectual categories including continuity, frequency, habituality, graduality, and the like. The pluractionality operators are said to create unbounded pluralities of event times. These operators indicate either temporal or spatial distribution of subevents. In some languages, different pluractionality operators may express differences in types of interaction and distribution of such subevents. van Geenhoven (2005) analyses a number of morphemes in West Greenlandic Eskimo as different pluractional distributive operators. Similarly, Tatevosov (2004), also analyzes a Chuvash pluractional morpheme, *-kala* and its function as pluractionality marker. Below, (1a) expresses a single event; (1b), expresses a repeated event (Tatevosov 2004):

- (1) a. *vasa suxala-r-e*  
      *vasja plow-PFV-3SG*  
      ‘Vasja plowed.’
- b. *vasa suxala-kala-r-e*  
      *vasja plow-KALA-PFV-3SG*  
      ‘Vasja plowed repeatedly.’

In his analysis, he approaches pluractionality from the perspective of scalar semantics proposed by Kennedy and McNally (1999, 2005) and concludes that verbs with *-kala* express variety of meanings that can be taken as expressing gradable properties rather than simply referring to plurality of events. Among possible meanings associated with this degree restrictor, he defines at least four different functions for *-kala* in Chuvash: continuity ( $F_{\text{CONTINUITY}}$ ), speed ( $F_{\text{SPEED}}$ ), duration ( $F_{\text{DURATION}}$ ), and, affectedness ( $F_{\text{AFFECTEDNESS}}$ ).

In this paper, we compare some Turkish pluractional suffixes, such as *-ALA*, *-(A/I)kla*, with that in Chuvash as discussed in Tatevosov (2004). The data of these suffixes express similar meanings involving,  $F_{\text{CONTINUITY}}$  (2a,d),  $F_{\text{DURATION}}$  (2c), and  $F_{\text{SPEED}}$  (2b):

- (2) a. *eş-mek* ‘to dig shallowly’    *eş-**ele**-mek* ‘to dig repeatedly’  
      b. *dur-mak* ‘to stop’            *dur-**ala**-mak* ‘to stop suddenly’  
      c. *uyu-mak* ‘to sleep’         *uyu-**kla**-mak* ‘to dose, to sleep for a short time’  
      d. *dürt-mek* ‘to prod’          *dürt-**ükle**-mek* ‘to prod continually’

We further extend scalar semantic approach to the analysis of postverb constructions in Turkish. With this, we attempt to develop a unified account to capture the actional diversity observed in different postverb constructions. In particular, degree modification analysis subsumes actional properties of postverb constructions such as dynamicity, phase structure, temporal properties, manner, affectedness and the like (Johanson 2000; Csato 2001) under one domain. In short, postverbs such as *durmak* ‘stand/stop’ or *vermek* ‘give’ can be viewed as degree modifiers of event predicates. Following Tatevosov (2004), two of gradable

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\* Wechsler (1989) for English; Martin (1996) for Spanish; van Geenhoven (2005) for English and West Greenlandic Eskimo.

properties (*continuity* and *speed*) with respective postverbs and their formal representations are given below (3 , 4):

- (3) a. Tuna bütün gün kitap-ı okuy-up dur-du  
 Tuna all day book-ACC read-CONV. stand/stop-PAST-3SG  
 ‘Tuna kept on reading.’

b.  $\lambda y \lambda e \exists d [F_{\text{CONTINUITY}} ([\text{oku}(e) \wedge \text{Theme}(y)(e)])=d] \wedge d < 1]$

$F_{\text{CONTINUITY}}$  measure against the  $S_{\text{CONTINUITY}}$  scale; determines the extent to which the event is continuous.  $S_{\text{CONTINUITY}}$  is upper closed scale. Thus,  $F_{\text{CONTINUITY}}$  yields 1 (=max ( $S_{\text{CONTINUITY}}$ )).

- (4) a. Tuna bebe-ği yıka-ıver-di.  
 Tuna baby-ACC wash-give-PAST-3SG  
 ‘Tuna washed the baby quickly.’

b.  $\lambda y \lambda e \exists d [F_{\text{SPEED}} ([\text{yika}(e) \wedge \text{Theme}(y)(e)])=d] \wedge d < C_{\text{SPEED}}]$

$F_{\text{SPEED}}$  measure against the  $S_{\text{SPEED}}$  scale; determines the extent to which the event is slow or fast.  $S_{\text{SPEED}}$  is open scale. Thus, for  $F_{\text{SPEED}}$  the maximal degree is undefined or defined by context  $C_{\text{SPEED}}$ .

Consequently, this paper provides evidence from Turkish for the pluractional and degree modification analysis of verbal derivational morphemes. The scalar semantic analysis adapted in our study further provides a new insight on the formal properties of postverb constructions in Turkish.

## References

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